## RESILIENCE OF THE NASSERIST IDEOLOGY IN EGYPT: FROM ITS EMERGENCE TO THE ARAB SPRING

# A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES OF MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

CANAN ŞAHİN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE IN MIDDLE EAST STUDIES

FEBRUARY 2014

Approval of the Graduate School of Sciences

Prof. Dr. Meliha ALTUNIŞIK Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science in Middle East Studies.

Doç. Dr. Özlem Tür Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Doç. Dr. Özlem Tür Supervisor

#### **Examining Committee Members**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Özlem TÜR (METU, IR)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ferdan ERGUT (METU, HIST)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pınar BEDİRHANOĞLU (METU, IR)

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: Canan Şahin

Signature :

#### ABSTRACT

## RESILIENCE OF THE NASSERIST IDEOLOGY IN EGYPT: FROM ITS EMERGENCE TO THE ARAB SPRING

ŞAHİN, Canan

M.S., Department of Middle East Studies Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Özlem TÜR

February 2014, 200 pages

This thesis aims to analyze the relevance of the Nasserist ideology in the post-Tahrir Egyptian political scene by looking into its formation and transformation to date. It attempts to respond to the central question as to how come Nasserist ideology, which is thought to have fulfilled its mission at the end of the 1960s, seems to have been resurrected in the contemporary Egypt whether at the regime level in the embodiment of a military figure General Abdal Fattah Al-Sisi or at the oppositional level in the organisation and the persona of a once anti-Sadat and anti-Mubarak oppositional figure, Hamdeen Sabbahi. Whether the perceived popularity of the military and the pronouncement of a secular-nationalist discourse against the Muslim Brotherhood in a nostalgic Nasserism symbolized in the iconographic prevalence of Nasser's images next to Al-Sisi is a marker of a resurrection in the face of a popular uprising that took place in Tahrir three years ago is the central puzzle of this study. The aspects of the Nasserist state regime that have been kept intact so far and their relevance to the action taken by the Egyptian military and civilian opposition since the Tahrir uprising are examined with an in-depth descriptive analysis drawing on the existing literature on Nasserism, Nasserist legacy after during Sadat and Mubarak, programs of Nasserist parties, public speeches of the military and civilian Nasserist figures and their media representation.

Keywords: Nasserism, secular nationalism, Egypt, Arab Spring, coup d'etat

## ÖΖ

## ORTAYA ÇIKIŞINDAN ARAP BAHARI'NA NASIRCI İDEOLOJİNİN MISIR'DAKİ DİRENCİ

### ŞAHİN, Canan

## Yüksek Lisans, Orta Doğu Çalışmaları Bölümü Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Özlem TÜR

#### Şubat 2014, 200 sayfa

Bu tez, Nasırcı ideolojinin Tahrir sonrası politik süreçte Mısır'a etkisini bu ideolojinin oluşumundan bugüne nasıl bir dönüşüm geçirdiğine bakarak inceleyecektir. Misyonunu 1960'ların sonunda tamamladığı düşünülen Nasırcılığın hem General Abdül Fettah El-Sisi nezdinde rejim düzeyinde hem de bir zamanların Enver Sedat ve Hüsnü Mubarek karşıtı Nasırcı figürü olan Hamdin Sabahi'nin nezdinde muhalif düzeyde nasıl yeniden canlandığını yanıtlamayı hedeflemektedir. Ordunun bugün algılanan popülaritesi ve Müslüman Kardeşler'e karşı kullanılan laik-milliyetçi söylemin nostaljik bir Nasırcılıkla telafuz edilmesinin yanısıra üç yıl once Tahrir'de gerçekleşen halk ayaklanmasını arkaplana alan sürecin El-Sisi'nin resimlerine eşlik eden Nasır posterlerinin ikonografik yaygınlığı ile sembolize ediliyor olmasının Nasırcılığın yeniden dirilişinin bir işareti olup olmadığı bu tezin anahtar bilmecesidir. Nasırcılığın hangi unsurlarının etkin olmaya devam ettiği ve bu unsurların Mısır Ordusu ve sivil muhalefete etkisi Nasırcılık üzerine var olan yazılı literatüre, Nasırcı parti programlarına, Sedat ve Mübarek dönemlerindeki Nasırcı mirasa, El-Sisi'nin ve Nasırcı sivil figür Hamdin Sabbahi'nin konuşmalarına ve bunların medya temsillerine bakılarak derinlemesine betimsel bir analizle incelenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Nasırcılık, laik milliyetçilik, Mısır, Arap Baharı, darbe

To the Martyrs of Tahrir Revolution

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a debt of gratitude to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Özlem Tür for her priceless guidance, support and confidence. From the determination of the subject of this thesis to its completion she offered her invaluable judgment, observation and insight into every detail this thesis work includes. Without her encouragement, I would not have been able to finalize this work.

I also wish to thank my mother Nevruz Şahin, my father Ali Şahin and my sister Özlem Şahin for their support and faith in me. My sister became a source of inspiration each time I felt discouraged during my studies.

I would also like to thank my friend Fulya Arpacı for her invaluable support and encouragement.

Finally, I would like to give my special thanks to Selen Yıldırım, who has supported me with her cheerful, loving, helpful and inspiring attitude throughout my studies.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

PLAGIARISMv
ABSTRACT vi
ÖZvii
DEDICATION
ACKNOWLEDGMENTSix
TABLE OF CONTENTSx
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS,xiii
CHAPTER
CHAPTER I1
Introduction1
CHAPTER II
Nasserism as a Political Ideology17
2.1. Class Roots of Free Officers
2.2 Core Ideas of Nasserist Ideology
2.2.1.1 From Territorial Egyptianism to Pan-Arabism
2.2.1.2. Non-Alignment and Arab Unity
2.2.2 Arab Socialism: From Populism to State Capitalism
2.2.2.1. Populism
2.2.2.2. Étatizm: Industrialization and Nationalization
2.2.2.3. Rise of the Bureaucratic class: State Capitalism
2.2.3. Corporatism: Coopting Working Class, Peasants, Party Politics47
2.2.3.1. State-led Unions: Incorporating Working Class
2.2.3.2. Land Reform: Incorporating Peasants
2.2.3.3. Arab Socialist Union: Classless Society, Single Party53
2.2.4. Militarism: Creating A Power Elite
2.2.5. Secularism: Anti-Islamist Egyptian Nationalism
2.3. Chapter Summary
CHAPTER III
Nasserist Ideology During Sadat and Mubarak Era61

3.1 Nasserism during the Sadat Era	. 63
3.1.1 Denasserization-Discontinuities	. 64
3.1.1.1. Arab Socialism: From State Capitalism to Infitah	. 65
3.1.1.2. Arab Nationalism: From Soviet oriented Non-Alignment to Pro Westernism	. 68
3.1.1.3. Secularism: From Oppressing Muslim Brotherhood to Cooptation	
3.1.2 Continuities	
3.1.2.1. Militarism under Sadat: A coercive and collaborative Power Blo	
3.1.2.2. Cooptation: Political Platforms in Arab Socialist Union	
3.2. Nasserism under Mubarak Era	
3.2.1. Denasserization-Discontinuities	
3.2.1.1 Arab Socialism: From <i>Infitah</i> to Crony Capitalism	
3.2.1.2 Arab Nationalism: From Pro-Western Foreign policy to	. / /
Cooperation with USA	. 80
3.2.2. Continuities	
3.2.2.1. Secularism: Between Co-optation and Coercion	. 82
3.2.2.2. Militarism: Growing economic power of the Military	
3.2.2.3. Coercion over corporatism: Limited Political Democracy	. 85
3.3. Nasserism at Opposition Level: From Party Politics to Street and Workplace Protests	
3.3.1. Nasserist Opposition in Party Politics	
3.3.2. Demise of the Ruling Pact: Emergence of New Opposition in Nasser Framework	rist
3.3.3. Arab Nationalism: Nasserists in Anti-War Movement	. 97
3.3.4. Arab Socialism: Nasserists in Working Class Movement	. 99
3.3.5. Kifaya: Political Liberalism - A new ideological dimension	101
3.4. Chapter Summary	102
CHAPTER IV	105
Articulations of Nasserist Ideology in Egyptian Arab Spring	105
4.1. Tahrir 25 January: Explosion of the "Arab Political Street"	106
4.1.1. Nasserist Parties in Tahrir: Al-Karama, The Nasserist Party and Tagammu	110
4.2. From the Fall of Mubarak to the Fall of Morsi: From Alliance with	
Brotherhood to Alliance with Right-wing Liberals	
4.2.1. An analysis of Nasserist Hamdeen Sabbahi's Ideological Framework	
4.2.1.1. Arab Nationalism	
	141

4.2.1.2. Arab Socialism
4.2.1.3. Secularism
4.2.1.4. Militarism
4.2.2. Egyptian Popular Current: Hamdeen Sabbahi becomes a symbol of "Social Justice"
4.2.3. National Salvation Front: Nasserists ally with the Right and The Old Regime Figures
4.2.4. Tamarod Petition: A Nasserist Manifesto against Muslim Brotherhood
4.3. General Abdal Fattah Al-Sisi: The Specter of Nasser in the Regime 139
4.3.1. Secular Nationalism
4.3.2. Corporatism
4.4. Chapter Summary
CHAPTER V155
Conclusion
5.1. Revitalized Aspects of Nasserist Ideology157
5.2. Inanimate aspects of Nasserist Ideology
REFERENCES
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A - TÜRKÇE ÖZET190
APPENDIX B - TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ASU Arab Socialist Union
- NDP National Democratic Party
- EPC Egyptian Popular Current
- NSF National Salvation Front
- SCAF Supreme Council of Armed Forces
- ETUF Egyptian Trade Union Federation
- EFITU Egyptian Federation of Independent Trade Unions
- FJP Freedom and Justice Party
- NMC New Middle Classes
- UAR United Arab Republic
- RCC Revolutionary Command Council
- IMF International Monetary Fund
- WB World Bank

## **CHAPTER I**

## Introduction

This thesis aims to analyze the resilience of Nasserist ideology from its initial formation to its impact on the current political sphere in Egypt. The course of events since the Tahrir uprising in Cairo on 25 January 2011 has raised questions as to whether Nasserism is resurrected in Egyptian political geography.<sup>1</sup> Popularity of a military figure, General Abdal Fattah Al-Sisi, embrace of the military intervention by the popular masses and ascension of a civil Nasserist figure, Hamdeen Sabbahi, contributed to this puzzle. Perception of the Egyptian military as an institution of progressiveness rather than oppression, prevalence of the idea of secular nationalism as well as the corporatist tendencies of both the military and the public organizations including Nasserist political parties all seem to set the setting that allows for a comparative study of Nasserism between the time it was formed and the current political sphere.

Back on 23 July 1952, a group of soldiers called as "The Free Officers" had taken over the power in Egypt via a coup d'état led by Gamal Abdul Nasser, who turned into a political symbol representing "Egypt, a new class, an awakening, Arab authenticity, or even the resurgence of the Third World."<sup>2</sup> He was portrayed as a charismatic leader, who was capable of challenging both the monarchy and the West. He acquired a heroic image due to his successes in ending the British occupation of Egypt, opposition to the Baghdad Pact, nationalization of the Suez Canal Company,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Leyla Doss, "The Past Return," *Mada Masr*, October, 27, 2013, http://www.madamasr.com/content/past-return.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Leonard Binder, "Gamal Abd al-Nasser: Iconology, Ideology, and Demonology," in *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*, eds. Elie Podeh and Onn Winckler, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 45.

the seizure of foreign properties and business enterprises, and the adoption of socialist policies in 1961, to name but a few.<sup>3</sup>

However, it was not only Nasser as a heroic military figure that period was associated with but also the ideological framework which was based on Arab nationalism, Arab socialism, militarism and secularism. The analogies made between today and the Nasserite period as well as the similarity of the ideological aspirations of the Egyptian masses requires a comparative study in the modern history of Egypt between the current political and ideological composition and that of the Nasserite period. In order to set the context for the puzzle this thesis aims to figure out, a brief look into the recent developments in Egypt seems essential.

Tahrir uprising, which is considered to have been a part of the wave of the protests in the Arab Middle East denoted as Arab Spring, mobilized a significant proportion of Egyptian population bringing mass movements onto the political realm. The insistence of the movement on Mubarak's resignation kept the crowds in Tahrir mobilized for 18 days and after several clashes with the security services and *thugs*<sup>4</sup>, on 11 February 2011 the movement succeeded in ousting Mubarak<sup>5</sup>, who had remained in power for three decades from 1981 to 2011. The level of political activism created a fertile ground for diverse political ideologies to contest the established system with their own agendas. The political strata encompassed various action-oriented ideologies from the Islamism of *Muslim Brotherhood* to the Nasserist ideology of *Egyptian Popular Current*, among which that of *Muslim Brotherhood* had the strongest appeal and was the most rooted among the masses. The atmosphere of relative freedom provided diverse political lineages with an opportunity to launch publicly open political campaigns in the elections and at street level.

The ousting of Mubarak was not immediately followed by a civilian government. Instead, the power was transferred to Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF) headed by Mohamed Hussein Tantawi. The transition period from 11 February until the election of Muhammed Morsi on 30 June 2012 was a period of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Peter Beaumont, Jack Shenker and Mustafa Khalili "Mubarak supporters fight to take over Egypt's Tahrir Square," *The Guardian*, February 2, 2011, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/02/mubarak-supporters-fight-tahrir-square.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>"Mubarak resigns, Egypt celebrates," *Ahram Online*, February 11, 2011, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/1/5426/Egypt/Mubarak-resigns,-Egypt-celebrates.aspx.

military rule, during which Hussein Tantawi was the *de facto* the president of the Egyptian state. The attitude of the armed forces was interpreted in two major ways. The interpretation emphasized that the military was the core institution of the regime and reacted to protect the core bodies of the state by sacrificing Mubarak. The second interpretation emphasized the neutrality of the armed forces as a sign of its support for the revolutionary demands of the people. In either way, the Egyptian army has been on the forefront of the political conflict and struggle as one of the major players of paramount importance. Political resilience of the armed forces calls into questions related to the relevance of the Nasserism.

The second important event that sparked questions as to whether Nasserism was revitalized or not was the results of the first presidential elections held one year after Mubarak resigned. During the first round of presidential elections<sup>6</sup>, which were held on May 23 and 24 2012, there were three major candidates around whom the fractions and movements coalesced and conducted campaigns. One of them was Mohammed Morsi, representing The Freedom and Justice Party established by *Muslim Brotherhood* and the winner of the elections by collecting 25.30 percent of the votes in the first round. His rivals included two conflicting, yet well-known figures. One was the representative of the old regime and the prime minister in the final days of Mobarak, Ahmad Shafiq<sup>7</sup>, whereas the other one was a prominent Nasserist, Hamdeen Sabbahi<sup>8</sup>. The percentage of the votes Sabbahi took was 21.60 per cent, leading many to question whether Nasserism was resurrecting as an oppositional political ideology. The supporters of Hamdeen Sabbahi formed a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hezam Helal, "The 5 surprises of the presidential election's first round," *The Egypt Independent*, May 27, 2012, http://www.egyptindependent.com/opinion/five-surprises-first-round-egypts-presidential-elections.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> A former commander of the Egyptian Air Force, diplomat and politician, Ahmed Shafiq was a longtime minister in Mubarak's government and was appointed prime minister in the final days of Mubarak's rule.

Hannah Allam, "Ahmed Shafik, Mubarak's last prime minister, is the surprise contender in Egypt's presidential race," *McClatchyDC*, May 12, 2012, http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2012/05/17/149392/ahmed-shafik-mubaraks-last-prime.html#storylink=cpy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> A veteran Nasserist opposition figure and former member of parliament, Hamdeen Sabbahi is an outspoken critic of the United States and Israel. "Relive vote count in 1st round of Egypt presidential race: How Morsi and Shafiq moved on," *Ahram Online*, May 25, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/42755.aspx

movement called the *Popular Current*<sup>9</sup>. *Al-Karama* (Dignity Party), which had been formed in 1996 by Hamdeen Sabbahi and had been unrecognized until after 25 January revolution, became an active constituent of the *Popular Current* in an attempt to broaden its popular base.

Beginning with the Morsi's rise to the Presidential chair, the street protests and strikes gradually gained a louder anti-Muslim Brotherhood orientation. An increasingly nationalist tone permeated the oppositional rhetoric accusing the Islamists not only of betraying the principles of the revolution but also eradicating the Egyptian identity. A petition campaign demanding Morsi's resignation was launched by a group called *Tamarod* (Rebel)<sup>10</sup>. They collected 22 million signatures and called for a public protest in Tahrir on 30 June 2013, when the disillusionment created by Morsi's policies culminated to a climax populated by millions of protestors. Similar to what happened in February 2011 but this time with an increased degree of legitimacy, SCAF, headed by Abd al Fattah al-Sisi, urged the resignation of Morsi in an ultimatum and took the power on July 3, 2013. In contrast to Marshal Tantawi, whose associations with the old regime made him only a remnant of Mubarak era, Sisi was welcomed as a public hero, with his posters carried next to those of Gamal Abdal Nasser. His becoming an increasingly a saviour figure recalled connotations concerning the perceived popularity of the Free Officers among public.

After Hamdeen Sabbahi, a Nasserist oppositional figure from the rank and file, another specter of Nasser emerged from the ranks of the military. The rising slogan "people-army hand-in-hand"<sup>11</sup> at public level was accompanied by a growing discourse of "war on terror"<sup>12</sup> at the state level. *National Salvation Front*<sup>13</sup>, of which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> "Nasserist Sabbahi to launch 'Egyptian *Popular Current*' on Friday," Ahram Online, September 20, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/53379/Egypt/Politics-/Nasserist-Sabbahi-to-launch-Egyptian-Popular-Curre.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> "Anti-Morsi petition gathers steam: Organisers," *Ahram Online*, May 13, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/71379/Egypt/Politics-/AntiMorsi-petition-gathers-steam-Organisers.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> "Egypt army ultimatum hailed by opposition, sparks Islamist protests," *Ahram Online*, July 2, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/75447/Egypt/Politics-/Egypt-army-ultimatum-hailed-by-opposition,-sparks-.aspx

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> "Egyptian presidency: 'Our war on terrorism' doesn't breach human rights, " *Ahram Online*, July 26, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/77484/Egypt/Politics-/Egyptian-presidency-Our-war-on-terrorism-doesnt-br.aspx

*Popular Current* is a part, volunteered for the government building endeavor of SCAF legitimizing SCAF's rule and its oppression of the *Muslim Brotherhood* movement with fierce violence.

The discourse employed to gain support and legitimacy for the military takeover circulated vocabulary encompassing nationalist, secularist, militarist and populist ideas which accounted for the major tenets of Nasserist ideology. Considering both the ascension of a Nasserist civil political figure, Hamdeen Sabbahi, from within the movement and association of General Al-Sisi with Nasser along with a widespread appreciation of the military intervention, this thesis work aims to trace the Nasserist ideology with respect to its impact on current Egyptian politics. In this endeavor, formation of Nasserist ideology, its evolution under Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak rule, Nasserist political parties, prominent political and military figures with Nasserist tendencies and their discourse will be the primary areas to look into.

Before moving onto the outbreak of this study, what definition of ideology will provide the framework for the analysis of Nasserism needs to be clarified. Theories of ideology include definitions with "descriptive," "pejorative" and "positive" connotations.<sup>14</sup> Marx's interpretation of ideology as "false consciousness,"<sup>15</sup> by which he means ideology serves to obscure or conceal the interests of ruling classes and manipulates the oppressed classes, illustrates its "pejorative" use. Although this thesis will draw on Marxist notions of class analysis, it will rather employ a descriptive definition. The following definition by Stuart Hall attempts to offer a descriptive analysis of ideology and emphasizes the link between the set of ideas and the social classes those ideas correspond to. He defines ideology as "the mental frameworks -the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation- which different classes and social groups deploy in order

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The National Salvation Front is a recently-formed umbrella group led by former presidential candidates Hamdeen Sabbahi and Amr Moussa, along with reform campaigner Mohamed ElBaradei. "Egypt's National Salvation Front issues 3 demands for President Morsi," *Ahram Online*, December 5, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/59781.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Raymond Guess, *The Idea of a Critical Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology* in Collected Works, *vol. 5* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1976), 35-37.

to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works."<sup>16</sup> Hall's definition allows for both an analysis of ideas and its linguistic articulations. Therefore, the vocabulary or concepts employed by Nasserist figures and parties can be exposed to a discursive analysis in the light of this definition.

In the analysis of Nasserism, "mental frameworks" will also be evaluated with their "myth and emotion"<sup>17</sup> loaded aspects, which seems to have relevance to both articulations of Arab nationalism and Nasserist legacy after Nasser. To sum up, this study uses the term "ideology" in a descriptive sense and defines the concept, in Hall-based wording of Heywood, as "mental frameworks that embody or articulate class or social interests with an action-oriented and emotion-laden political doctrine".<sup>18</sup>

To offer a definition of Nasserism as an ideology, its hybrid nature requires to be addressed. Although this thesis will make an effort to locate the consistencies and inconsistencies in the analysis of Nasserism as an ideology, the concept of Nasserism will not be treated as "homogenous," "pure and unitary" or "monological" as challenged broadly in Eagleton's work *Ideology*.<sup>19</sup> Heywood argues "ideologies unfailingly lack the clear-cut form and innermore compactness of political philosophies, causing them to overlap with other ideologies and shade into one another." <sup>20</sup> Heywood considers this dialogical process as a key to ideological development and underlines the role of this process in the emergence of "hybrid ideological forms."<sup>21</sup> Nasserism stands at the intersection point of a range of ideologies including nationalism, socialism, militarism and secularism.

Nissim Rejwan, in his book *Nasserist Ideology: Its exponents and critics*<sup>22</sup>, points at the hybrid nature of Nasserist ideology maintaining that Nasserism

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Stuart Hall, "The Problem of Ideology," in *Marx 100 Years On*, ed. B. Matthews, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1983), 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Mostafa Rejai, *Comparative Political Ideologies* (New York: St. Martin's Pres, 1984), 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introdution* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: an Introduction*. (London: Verso. 1991), 45-46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Nissim Rejwan, Nasserist Ideology: Its Exponents and Critics (New York: JohnWiley, 1974).

"remains far from being coherent, self complementary, methodical, or consistent."<sup>23</sup> Yet, he argues, this lack of coherence and consistency does not cast doubt over its analysis as an ideology since ideology in general "is rarely perfectly defined, coherent, and universally accepted or approved system of values and beliefs."<sup>24</sup>

Similarly, John Waterbury points to the eclectic nature of Nasserist ideology, arguing "the fact that there was an enormous amount of '*ad hocism*'<sup>25</sup> in the Egyptian experiment"<sup>26</sup> mirrors Nasser's arbitrary nature of policy and ideology. In accordance with what Waterbury suggested, Simon Shamir describes the haphazard nature of the mental frameworks during Nasser period. Shamir argues that Nasserist ideology both involved oppositional ideas challenging: "imperialism, feudalism, and exploitative capitalism" and an action-oriented prescriptive program, which promoted "attaining social justice, building a strong army, and establishing a healthy democracy."<sup>27</sup> The hybrid nature of Nasserism is also highlighted by P.J. Vatikiotis, who offers an analysis of Nasserism in three different ideological phases: Egyptian nationalism (1952–54), pan-Arabism (1954–61), and Arab socialism (1961–67).<sup>28</sup>

In the light of the conceptual background provided above, the thesis will attempt to synthesize the hybrid Nasserist mental frameworks with the definition of ideology provided above. The guiding descriptive ideological definition of Nasserism will regard it as a hybrid system of ideas representing the interests of the military and civil bureaucrats and middle classes. The core ideas can be summarized as, firstly, Egyptian nationalism embedded in pan-Arabism, which elevates Egyptianism by reinventing its authenticity and commonalities in relation to its Arab geo-political context and by aspiring to lead the anti-colonial and anti-Israeli struggle

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Rejwan, Nasserist Ideology, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Rejwan, Nasserist Ideology, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Waterbury's argument is that the decisions were made on the spur of the moment rather than being planned in advance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> John Waterbury, "Reflections on the Extent of Egypt's Revolution: Socioeconomic Indicators," in *Egypt from Monarchy to Revolution: A Reassessment of Revolution and Change*, ed. S. Shamir (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Shimon Shamir, "The Decline of the Nasserist Messianism," in *Decline of Nasserism*, 1965-1970: *The Waning of a Messianic Movement*, ed. S. Shamir, (Tel Aviv: Mif'alim Universitayim, 1978), 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> P.J. Vatikiotis, *Nasser and His Generation*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 195.

in the Arab world; Arab socialism, which positions the state as a medium of industrial development in a populist manner and sustains itself in the political economy of state capitalism; corporatism, which involves political manipulation of the classes whose interests might potentially be at odds with that of the ruling strata; militarism, which involves recognition of the military as a vibrant focal of offensive and defensive international policy and domestic rule; and finally civic secularism with a rhetorical religiosity. An examination of the formation and the evolution of Nasserist ideology will take this definition as a point of reference in the following chapters.

The second chapter will offer a breakdown of the constituents of Nasserist mental frameworks through a study of the Nasserite regime in the 1950s and the 1960s. First, the class roots and ideological motives of the Free Officers' Movement will be addressed to explore the strata whose interests were pronounced and safeguarded by Nasserist ideology. Ellen J. Trimberger's analytical concept of "independent military bureaucracy,"<sup>29</sup> employed in her analysis of the revolution from above in underdeveloped countries and Tony Cliff's concept of "middle class intelligentsia,"<sup>30</sup> which was conceived as the ideological and political leaders of the radical from-above transformations in the colonial world will be utilized along with the large literature on the class analysis of the Egyptian military in the preceding decades to the 1952 Free Officers' coup d'état. An analysis of the educated classes in pre-Nasser Egypt and the interaction of the military with these classes will also be addressed.

After an analysis of the class roots of Free Officers' Movement, Arab Nationalism, the most salient ideological pillar of Nasserism will be explored. This inquiry of the Arab nationalism will place a special emphasis on the role of Egyptian identity in the construction of a cross-border nationalistic fervor. Eric Hobsbawm's definition of nationalism will be a point of reference for the study of both Egyptian and Pan-Arab nationalism. He defines nationalism as "the complex and multiple ways in which human beings define and redefine themselves as members of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ellen Kay Trimberger, *Revolution From Above: Military Bureaucrats and Development in Japan, Turkey, Egypt, and Peru*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1978).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Tony Cliff, "Deflected Permanent Revolution," *International Socialism* 12 (Spring 1963), www.marxists.org/archive/cliff/works/1963/xx/permrev.htm.

groups."<sup>31</sup> His emphasis on the multidimensional nature of nationalism seems to bear analytical potential for both Egyptian territorial nationalism and Pan-Arab identification. In the light of this definition, the two-dimensional nature of Arab nationalism will be examined by both offering an analysis of the perceived "distinctiveness" <sup>32</sup> of Egyptianism and "supra-Egyptian pan Arabism" <sup>33</sup> during Nasserite period. The notion of "political Arabisation" <sup>34</sup> referring to the anti-colonial nationalism in the Middle East will be integrated into the exploration of Pan-Arabism. The study of Egyptian and pan-Arab nationalism will also benefit from the concept of "self-differentiation."<sup>35</sup> The operative functions of such a selfdifferentiated perception of Egyptian national identity in territorial terms and at the same time cross-border identification with Arab identity against Western colonialism will be explored<sup>36</sup> through an analysis of the political uses of nationalism in domestic and international opposition. The emotional power of Egyptian and Pan-Arab nationalism<sup>37</sup> will be part of this inquiry to explore the emotional appeal<sup>38</sup> Nasserist nationalism had for the masses.

After an analysis of the nationalistic dimension of Nasserism, the second pillar of Nasserist ideology, Arab socialism or étatizm, will be examined. The definition proposed by Joel Beinin identifies Arab socialism as "state-led development, agrarian reform, import-substitution industrialisation, and social benefits for workers

<sup>35</sup> Walker Connor, *Etnonacionalismo*, (Madrid: Trama Editorial, 1998), 45.

<sup>36</sup> James G. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1998

<sup>37</sup> Walid Khalidi, "Political Trends in the Fertile Crescent," in *The Middle East in Transition*, ed. Walter Z. Laqueur, (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1958), 125.

<sup>38</sup> Hisham Sharabi. *Nationalism and Revolution in theArab World* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1966), 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1990), 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Gad Silbermann, "National Identity in Nasserist Ideology, 1951-1970," Asian and African Studies, Vol. 8 (1972): 53-57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Israel Gershoni and James P. Jankowski, *Redefining the Egyptian Nation*, 1930–1945 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Nazih N. Ayubi, *Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1995), 125.

and while-collar employees in a greatly expanded public sector." State-led development<sup>39</sup> was the major component of the Nasserist political economy as well as the Land reform,<sup>40</sup> which affected the peasants' material conditions and their perception of Nasserism. Both étatizm and nationalism were formulated as policies based on the interests of the Egyptian state within Nasserist ideological framework. However, between the two core ideas of Nasserism, this thesis will argue, national unity had the priority. <sup>41</sup> The symbiosis between these two aspects will be revisited in the analysis of the current articulations of Nasserism.

Next, populist nature of étatist policies will be studied with the conceptual framework provided by Raymond Hinnebusch<sup>42</sup> and Podeh and Winckler<sup>43</sup>, all of whom maintain that Arab Socialism was a diluted version of Soviet socialism and focus on the welfare policies promoted in a populist manner. International dimensions of Arab Socialism will be studied in order to highlight the scope of economic and military cooperation between the Soviets and Egypt during Nasser.<sup>44</sup> The efforts by the Egyptian thinkers to create an authentic interpretation of socialism distinct from that of the Soviets will be referred to attain a deeper understanding of Arab Socialism in Nasserist ideology. The discussions related to "Third way" international and economic policies will also be addressed in this part. Lastly, the concept of "state capitalism"<sup>45</sup> will be problematized as to whether bureaucracy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Rami Ginat. Egypt's Incomplete Revolution: Lutfi al-Khuli and Nasser's Socialism in the1960s (London: Frank Cass, 1997).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Janet Abu-Lughod, "Rural Migrations and Politics in Egypt," in *Rural Politics and Social Change in the Middle East*, eds., Richard Antoun and Iliya Harik, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Shahrough Akhavi "Egypt's Socialism and Marxist Thought: Some Preliminary Observations on Social Theory and Metaphysics" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Apr., 1975).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Raymond A. Hinnebusch, *Egyptian Politics under Sadat: The Post-Populist Development of an Authoritarian-Modernizing State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Elie Podeh and Onn Winckler, eds. *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Malak Zaalouk, *Power, Class and Foreign Capital in Egypt: the Rise of the New Bourgeoisie* (London: Zed Books, 1989).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Ahmad El-Sayed El-Naggar. "Economicy Policy: from state control to decay and corruption" in *Egypt: The Moment of Change*, eds., Rabah El-Mahdi and Philip Marfleet, (London: Zed Books, 2009).

functioned as a capitalist class due to its control of the means of production. In short, the inquiry of Arab socialism will attempt to explore the relationship between nationalism and socialism, describe the étatist policies as to how they contributed to the formation of a bureaucratic stratum while benefiting the peasants, working classes and educated segments of the Egyptian society. The principles of Arab socialism, framed in *the National Charter* and published in 1962, will be used as a primary source in the study of Arab socialism.

Next, institutionalization of Nasserist ideology through incorporation and cooptation will be analyzed. Corporatism or cooptation will also treated as a major tenet of Nasserist frame of thought in this thesis. In the discussion of corporatism, Antonio Gramsci will be referred to in terms of his analysis of "hegemony" construction.<sup>46</sup> Cooptation and corporation will be regarded as strategies of manipulation through ideological domination. Gramsci's propositions will be supplemented by Nazih Ayubi's concept "distributive corporatism," by which he means the "economic inclusion" of masses while excluding them "politically." This part will try to explore whether, in G. O. Donnell's words, "a state of relative harmony"<sup>47</sup> was achieved through corporatism. In this part of the chapter, two primary institutions will be looked into: State-led trade unions and the political party *Arab Socialist Union*. Cooptation of working classes<sup>48</sup> through unions and party politics as to how *Arab Socialist Union* monopolized the political realm<sup>49</sup> will be the two areas to look into in this part.

Militarism, another core idea of Nasserism, will also be examined with regard to the scale of power the armed forces attained in governance, politics and economy. The necessity for the regime to sustain military a locus of power will be discussed in the light of the concept of "fierce state." How the armed forces turned into a "power

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, Vol.1, (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2011), 150, 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Guillermo O'Donnell, "Corporatism and the Qestion of the State" in *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America*, ed., James M. Malloy, (Pittsburgh: Pittsbugh University Press, 1977).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Mahmoud Abdel-Fadil, *The Political Economy of Nasserism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Raymond William Baker, *Egypt's Uncertain Revolution Under Nasser and Sadat* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978).

elite"<sup>50</sup> and how this position was sustained will be exposed to an analysis to gain a deeper understanding of the militarist nature<sup>51</sup> of Nasserist ideology. Anouar Abdel-Malek's<sup>52</sup> study of Egyptian military will also be referred to as a source of statistical information about the appointment of officers in civilian positions and military-civil transivity.

The scrutiny of "militarism" will be followed by another core idea of Nasserism: secularism. In this part, how religion is interpreted within Nasserist mental framework will be discussed. The relation between Islamic identity and nationalism<sup>53</sup> and socialism will also be addressed drawing on Nasser's speeches. *Muslim Brotherhood* will also be incorporated into this discussion with respect to its impact on the articulations of religion and religiosity by Nasserist ideology.

The third chapter will examine the continuities and discontinuities with the Nasserist ideology at state and oppositional level during Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak periods. The concept of "pool of collective memory" <sup>54</sup> will be utilized to trace the Nasserist heritage in the pronouncements of oppositional ideas. In the analysis of the Sadat Era, cultural, political and economic de-nasserisation policies will be exposed to a scrutiny. Sadat's economic reforms, designated as *Infitah*, will be discussed as to the extent they created a shift in the étatist dimension of Nasserist regime.<sup>55</sup> The policy shifts<sup>56</sup> regarding Arab nationalism<sup>57</sup> will also be investigated in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Hicham Bou Nassif, "Wedded to Mubarak: The Second Careers and Financial Rewards of Egypt's Military Elite, 1981-2011" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 67 Issue 4 (Autumn 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Anouar Abdel-Malek, *Egypt: Military Society; The Army Regime, the Left, and Social Change under Nasser* (New York: Random House, 1968).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Ghada Hashem Talhami, *Palestine and Egyptian National Identity* (New York: Lexington Books, 1992).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> John E. Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Philip Marfleet, "State and Society," in *Egypt: The Moment of Change*, eds., P. Marfleet and R. El-Mahdi, (London: Zed Books, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Joseph P. Lorenz, *Egypt and the Arabs: Foreign Policy and the Search for National Identity* (Boulder Co: Westview Press, 1990).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Anne Alexander, "Mubarak in the international arena," in Egypt: the Moment for Change, eds, R. El-Mahdi and P. Marfleet, (London: Zed Books, 2009).

this chapter. How secular nature of Nasserism was challenged will be a matter of discussion with a special concern for the relation between *Muslim Brotherhood* and the Sadat rule, which was marked by a tactical turn to cooptation rather than oppression. Militarist aspect of Nasserism will be briefly discussed as to whether the military maintained its advantaged position in political and economic domain. Lastly, party politics will be examined as to whether the Nasserist ideology managed to articulate itself in political platforms.

The third chapter will also undertake an inquiry into the western oriented economic policies and pro-USA and pro-Israel international relations adopted during Mubarak period. Economic policies coined as "crony capitalism" and "productive infitah" will be explored.<sup>58</sup> The course of policies that challenged the Arab Nationalist dimension of the Nasserist ideology by seeking collaboration with USA and Israel will also be analysed. In addition, the perception of secularism during the Mubarak era by the Nasserist opposition and the regime will be discussed.<sup>59</sup> How corporatist aspect of Nasserist rejime was maintained or challenged during Mubarak era will be argued through the conceptual framework of "democratic bargain,"<sup>60</sup> "weak state"<sup>61</sup> and "flexible authoritarianism."<sup>62</sup> This part will attempt to answer whether the "social pact" designed by the Nasserist ideology was demised during the Mubarak era. "Social pact" <sup>63</sup> discussion will be furthered in order to trace how working classes responded to the economic policies during Mubarak era. Working

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Clement Henry and Robert Springborg, *Globalization and the Politics of Developments in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Joel Gordon, "Secular and Religious Memory in Egypt: Recalling Nasserist Civics," *Muslim World* Vol. 87, No. 2 (April 1997).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Steven Heydemann, "Taxation without representation: Authoritarianism and economic liberalization in Syria," in *Rules and rights in the Middle East: Democracy, society and law*, eds. E. Goldberg and J. Migdal, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Joel S. Migdal, Strong societies and weak states: State-society relations and state

capabilities in the Third World (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1988).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> John Waterbury, "The "Soft" State and the Open Door: Egypt's Experience with Economic Liberalisation 1974-84," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 18, no. 1. (October 1985).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Marsha Pripstein Posusney, "Collective Action and Workers' Consciousness in Contemporary Egypt," in *Workers and Working Classes in the Middle East: Struggles, Histories, Historiographies,* ed. Z. Lockman (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

class movement that started in 2006 will also be examined in its effect on the prevalence of reformist ideologies in today's Egypt. The movements that emerged at the turn of the millennium against war, corruption and oppression will be analyzed due to their being the signaling predecessors of the Tahrir uprising in the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. How Nasserists contributed to the protest movements during the Mubarak era will also be one of the major concerns of this examination. Kifaya(Enough) and anti-war campaigns will additionally be analyzed as coalitionbased campaigns in which Nasserists sustained their presence. The accounts of Rabab Al-Mahdi<sup>64</sup> and Asef Bayat<sup>65</sup> will be used in the analysis of protest movements. While explaining the politicization of "Arab Street," and its relevance to Nasserist ideology, Bayat's analysis will of primary use. The growing economic power of the military will also account for an area of analysis in this chapter. How militarist aspect of the Nasserist ideology was retained will be explained to gain a deeper insight into the resilience of the militarist aspect of Nasserism. This chapter will also accommodate a descriptive analysis of the Nasserist party politics in opposition with a brief examination of the party programmes and political outlooks of Tagammu, Nasserist Party and Karama. This discussion will be anchored to the oppressive electoral experiments undertaken during Mubarak Era.

The fourth chapter will try to explore the space Nasserism occupies in the political transformation that has occurred over the last three years in Egypt with an analysis of the contesting ideologies salient in the political domain. The chapter will be divided into three main sections, the first of which will make a brief overview of Tahrir uprising and pursue locating the resonance of the Nasserist ideology in the movement. Selected leaflets that circulated Nasserist ideas during the Tahrir uprising will be used as primary sources. The response of the regime to the challenges from below will be subject to an evaluation to explore whether the Nasserist legacy can be traced at institutional level. Intervention of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) in the governance will be investigated with an inquiry into the reasons why military still retains its position as a determining force and its relevance

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Rabab Al-Mahdi, "Enough!: Egypt's Quest for Democracy," *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 42, No. 8 (August 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Asef Bayat, "The Arab Street," in *The Journey to Tahrir*, eds. Jeannie Sowers and Chris Toensing, (London: Verso, 2012).

to the Nasserist legacy and ideology. The second section will analyse the discourse of the Nasserist ideology in opposition before the presidential elections and during the protests against Mohammed Morsi and after the coup d'etat. Hamdeen Sabbahi's interviews and press releases will be used as primary sources in this section. Sabbahi's rhetoric will be put under inquiry to explore how resonant the ideas of Arab socialism, Egyptian and Arab nationalism, militarism and secularism are at discursive level. Similarly, the political program of the Popular Current, a political movement formed around Hamdeen Sabbahi following the presidential elections will be put under examination to trace the resilient aspects of Nasserist ideology. In addition, the shifts that occurred in coalition building perspective of *Popular Current* will be studied with special emphasis on the National Salvation Front and Tamarod (Rebel) campaign. This part will, shortly, attempt to describe the shifts and turns that Nasserist ideology underwent since the Tahrir uprising. Hamdeen Sabbahi's interpretation of 3 July 2013 coup and the armed forces in general will be analyzed to trace the militarist, secularist and nationalist dimension of the Nasserist ideology in opposition. The third section will expose Sisi's speeches to a discourse analysis to trace the Nasserist legacy in a prominent military personality. This section will place a particular emphasis on the merge of secularism with nationalist discourse around Egyptian national identity. Along with Sisi's discourse, corporatist attempts of the SCAF will be examined questioning whether such moves provide evidence for the resurrection of Nasserism at state level.

This thesis will use Nasser's speeches and writings, Hamdeen Sabbahi's interviews and press releases and Sisi's speeches as primary sources. Discourse of these prominent political figures will be exposed to an analysis along with an indepth descriptive analysis of Nasserist ideology drawing on the broad literature on Nasserism. This study will, to a great extent, also rely on the examination of the discourse adopted by Nasser, Sabbahi and Sisi. Discourse, as Antonio Gramsci argues, will be seen as "ideological configurations with historical functions."<sup>66</sup> That is, the utterances made by these figures will be treated as ideological articulations with a historical function. Nasser, Sabbahi and Sisi all addressed an audience with an aim to diffuse their ideological framework through their discursive practices. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks, 34.

vocabulary and conception they opted for, therefore, can be of an analytical use in the study of the resilience of Nasserist ideology.

## **CHAPTER II**

### Nasserism as a Political Ideology

In the introduction, Nasserist ideology is defined as a hybrid system of ideas representing the interests of the military and civil bureaucrats and middle classes advocating Egyptian nationalism embedded in pan-Arabism, which elevates Egyptianism by reinventing its distinctiveness and commonalities in relation to its Arab geo-political context; anti-colonialism, which involves recognition of the military as a vibrant focal of offensive and defensive international policy; Arab socialism, which usually amalgamates populism and corporatism sustained in the political economy of state capitalism; bureaucratic authoritarianism, which positions the state as a medium of rule rather than governance; and finally secularism with a rhetorical religiosity. In this chapter, these core ideas will be addressed with an aim to generate a comprehensive analysis of the constituents of Nasserist ideology. The examination of the evolution of Nasserist ideology will take this definition as a point of reference in the following chapters.

Podeh and Winckler summarizes the context prior to 1952 revolution starting with the disillusionment that middle classes experienced with regard to the major political party of the time, Wafd. This disappointment resulted largely from the fact that even though Egypt formally gained independence and was provided with admission to the League of Nations in 1936, Britain's interference in Egyptian domestic and foreign affairs sustained. Furthermore, from the perspective of Egyptians, the monarchy and the nationalist Wafd Party have increasingly become identified with British imperialism, a process that brought about their losing legitimacy and subsequent fall. Therefore, the coup was not only a reaction against the regime's Western-oriented policies but also its being incapable of preventing 1942 humiliation with the British or the 1948 defeat against Israel. It was also an endeavor to free Egypt from all marks of colonialism.<sup>67</sup>

Many Egyptians, however, did not find it satisfactory to achieve complete independence and put an end to the western orientation. Shamir<sup>68</sup> and Hinnebush<sup>69</sup> argue that it was necessary to change the political institutions as well as the socioeconomic infrastructure. Before the revolution, the monarchy and a small, affluent landowning minority dominated the political system. The ruling minority had constantly prevented the access of the growing educated middle class, which could challenge its privileged position. This class, which was termed as *effendiyya* by Gershoni and Jankowski<sup>70</sup>, consisted of students, professionals, teachers, civil servants, and businessmen; namely, the bulk of the urban middle class.

Gershoni and Jankowski analyses the frustration felt by this new class in detail. They observe that the annoyance of the middle class was not only due to its inability to move up the social ladder and obtain a greater share in politics but also due to persistent control by foreign minorities over the professions in the non-public sector. These factors gave rise to the ever-growing violent political environment gripping Egyptian society beginning from the mid-1930s. Also, the same factors led to the spread of pan-Arabism among the educated intelligentsia *effendiyya*.<sup>71</sup> Most army officers participating in the July Revolution had their origins in this class. In relation to their class background and the political atmosphere they were moulded in, Vatikiotis argues, the Free Officers increased aspirations for political and economic reforms which can benefit the middle class; similar hopes were becoming widely available among other oppressed and under-privileged segments of society, too.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Eli Podeh and Onn Winckler, "Introduction: Nasserism as a Form of Populism," in *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*, eds., Eli Podeh and Onn Winckler, (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2004), 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Shamir, "The Decline of Nasserist Messianism," 9-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Hinnebusch, Egyptian Politics under Sadat, 11-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Gershoni and P. Jankowski, *Redefining the Egyptian Nation*, 7–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> P. J. Vatikiotis, *TheEgyptian Army in Politics: Pattern for New Nations?* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 21–43.

British colonial rule bore economic ramifications as well. Colonial rule increased reliance on the world economy. Until 1952, according to John Waterbury, "Egypt had been a classic example of an export-dependent country whose foreign exchange earnings rose and fell with the sale of raw cotton on international markets."<sup>73</sup> This situation had important social and economic implications, as Hinnebusch suggested:

Western imperialism shaped Egypt to suit its own needs, turning the country into a plantation for Western industry and its landed upper class into *compradors* with a stake in the extroverted economy. Egypt's agriculture developed but her peasants did not, and land concentration and population growth produced a growing and impoverished landless class. Industrial development was stunted and delayed while business and finance fell into the hands of foreigners.<sup>74</sup>

#### 2.1. Class Roots of Free Officers

Nasserism as an ideology was an expression of the interests belonging to the middle class, nationalist, militarist, elitist and bureaucratic strata of the Egyptian society. An analysis of the class structure and the basic motives of the Free Officers, the military group which undertook 1952 coup d'etat, in relation to the other classes in Egypt will allow a definition of Nasserist ideology as set of ideas representing the interests of a certain class or grouping through both corporation and oppression of the other classes in Egyptian society. The class structure and motives of this military and later bureaucratic grouping can be explained through Trimberger's theory of "revolution from above"<sup>75</sup> and Tony Cliff's theory called 'deflected permanent revolution."<sup>76</sup>

Ellen Kay Trimberger suggests that a revolution from below is only possible when the state apparatus loses both its capacity to support the status quo and to generate a revolution from above. In absence of both factors, military officers or/and civilian bureaucrats enter the class struggle as an independent force to solve the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> John Waterbury, *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: The Political Economy of Two Regimes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Hinnebusch, *Egyptian Politics under Sadat*, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Trimberger, *Revolution From Above*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Cliff, "Deflected Permanent Revolution."

existing social, political and economic crisis. The order is reestablished against the external forces and an upheaval from below.<sup>77</sup>

For this interference to occur, military cadres must not have been recruited from the dominant commercial or industrial classes. They have the potential to break the subordination to a party or a system representing class interests by using their control over resources.<sup>78</sup> Trimberger, in brief, suggests that if those who control the state power are independent of those who exercise control over the means of production, state policy can dramatically change and independent bureaucracy in newly industrialized and mostly agrarian countries can be capable of using the state apparatus to impose radical reforms from above.<sup>79</sup>

Trimberger's analysis not only sheds light on the class composition of the Free Officers but also their use of the state apparatus with an emphasis on "liberation," "social justice," and "national unity." Such ideological aspirations were connected with the class motive of the Free Officers to use the state apparatus to transform the society radically into a self-sufficient, independent and industrialized country, in which the interests of the military and bureaucratic classes will be ensured.

Although Trimberger's view assigns the military bureaucrats a progressive role in the radical political and economic transformation of the underdeveloped countries, Tony Cliff's theory of "deflected permanent revolution" emphasizes the oppressive nature of such an initiative after they gain power in a country and their ability to organize themselves as a state capitalist class gaining the control of the means of production, which they formerly lacked. In other words, Trimberger mainly focuses on the relation between the old ruling class and the military/civil bureaucracy in a Weberian point of view, the latter of which she assigns a "progressive" role only evaluating their modernization potential. Therefore, in the analysis of the repressive nature of the 1952 Coup, Trimberger's approach does not suffice. This aspect of the military bureaucratic class with their relation to the mass movements from below can be better understood with Tony Cliff's theory of *Deflected Permanent Revolution*.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Trimberger, *Revolution From Above*, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Cliff, "Deflected Permanent Revolution."

He underlines the growing importance of the state in "backward" countries and its being an instrument in the hands of classes making up intelligentsia, by which he referred to educated middle classes.

...It is one of the tricks of history that when an historical task faces society, and the class that traditionally carries it out is absent, some other group of people, quite often a state power, implements it. State power, under such conditions, plays a very important role. It reflects not only, or even mainly, the national economic base on which it rises, but the supra-national character of the world economy today.

In the face of a weak working class movement with respect to its political and organizational capabilities, the intelligentsia, Cliff contended, functions as "the leader and unifier of the nation, and above all as manipulator of the masses."<sup>81</sup> Although these tendencies to rise above the society, Cliff suggested, can be counterbalanced when the intelligentsia are engaged in mass politics, when they are free of the restrictions and pressure of a wider movement, "they show clearer and much more extreme tendencies towards elitism, arbitrariness, as towards vacillations and splits."<sup>82</sup> In a period of nationalist conflicts, a revolutionary intelligentsia becomes a "cohesive factor" and an "obvious source of professional elite."<sup>83</sup> Cliff concludes that if the working class fails to carry out the revolution in emergent nations and join the national and socialist tasks, other social groups will assume control, so permanent revolution turns into its antonym, "bureaucratic state capitalism."<sup>84</sup>

Free Officers' coup d'etat of 1952 can be seen as a deflected revolution from above. This revolution achieved national liberation through the coup d'etat of the military intelligentsia within the ranks of the officers, who assumed the place of the old ruling classes. Due to the fact that the private capital was not strong in Egypt, the state was the only lifting force of power and state-led economies became the representative model for national development. To sum up what Cliff suggested, the feebleness of the struggling social classes, i.e. workers and capitalists, peasants and

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

landlords and the intrinsic historical weakness of the middle classes outside the military ranks made the military elite omnipotent.<sup>85</sup> The Nasserite elite, who already emerged from the ranks of a highly organized segment of the state, i.e. army, constituted themselves as a bureaucratic and military class, which still accounts for a powerful institution of the Egyptian state.

Joel Beinin draws attention to the rising popularity of the notion of an independent state in his assessment of workers and peasants' struggle in the post colonial Middle East. He says: "the grievances and collective actions of workers, peasants, and their allies among the intelligentsia popularized the notion that truly independent national governments would serve the needs of workers and peasants."<sup>86</sup> Despite the existence of workers and peasants struggle, through a comparison between the processes in the Middle East with a recurrent pattern, he argues that workers and peasants were not determining groups that expelled the colonial and semi-colonial regimes and the structure of land ownership in the Middle East. In the Egyptian and Iraqi monarchies and the newly independent republic of Syria, in which the landed classes were predominant, the former regimes were ousted by the military officers, many of whom had their roots in middle classes or rural areas.<sup>87</sup>

David Halpern draws the same conclusion as Beinin and Cliff when he argues that starting with "Iraq's 1936 coup and lasting through the 1960s, the middle classes and other educated groups in the Middle East considered it almost "natural" for the military to take over the reins of power in order to start the process of political development, give speed and direction to industrialization, and pull the country out of "backwardness" and underdevelopment."<sup>88</sup>

In parallel to Cliff's theory, Manfred Halpern proposes the concept of the New Middle Classes (NMC) to account for politics of transformation and the central mission appointed to the army. He categorizes the middle class in the Middle East into two segments: one is the petty merchants and the bureaucrats, while the second

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Joel Beinin, Workers and Peasants in the Middle East (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> David Halpern, *The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), 112.

is the "salariat," which Halpern identifies as NMC. The NMC's most efficacious and well-integrated stratum, according to Halpern, is the military, and the army represents the other members of the NMC since it is the "most powerful instrument," especially when "securely anchored in well-organized movement."<sup>89</sup> Halpern has a parallel view to that of Ellen Kay Trimberger in their shared emphasis on the "progressive modernizing" view of the military officers.

Eliezer Be'eri makes a similar analysis of the role played by the army in the Arab world. He contends when "the Arab world was mired in a deep crisis, a malaise for which the only remedy was thought to be a revolution (al-thawra)...the only force in society capable of bringing about a revolution, of affecting meaningful change, was seen as the military."<sup>90</sup> However, he differs from Trimberger and Halpern in that he thinks the ideological armies of the Middle East all evolved into a state of decay<sup>91</sup> betraying the "sacred principles" of their revolutions.

To sum up, Trimberger, Cliff, Beinin, D. Halpern, M. Halpern and Be'eri all point to the capabilities of the military bureaucrats as the agents of national independence and industrialization in the absence of a powerful agent of radical transformation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Middle East. To understand the political power of the armed forces in Egypt, a close look into the transformation of the cadres in the military in the decades preceding the coup, and the ideological composition of the officers involved in Free Officers Movement seem necessary.

Joel Gordon<sup>92</sup> provides a detailed explanation of the background that led to significant changes in the recruitment policies in the Egyptian military. Egypt was given sovereignty over the military with the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty, but the British would remain. The treaty, which kept an occupation force of 10,000 men in Suez Canal Zone, gave Britain the right to occupy the country again in case of an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Manfred Halpern, "Middle Eastern Armies and the New Middle Class," in *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*, ed. John J. Johnson, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962), 286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Eliezer Be'eri, Army Officers in Arab Politics and Society (New York: Praeger, 1970), 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Joel Gordon, *Nasser's Blessed Movement: Egypt's Free Officers and the July Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 41.

international crisis. When the constraints previously imposed by the British were gone, successive Egyptian governments raised the military budget and reinforced the ranks at all levels. In 1936 the military was comprised of 398 officers and 11,991 noncoms and enlisted men. The numbers quickly went up to 982 and 20,783 respectively.<sup>93</sup>

This expansion had political implications due to the profile of the new cadres to be recruited. Gordon makes a comparison between the officers employed before and after 1937, allowing a class and political analysis of the Officers Movement. The founders of the Free Officers' movement and the majority of the officers who formed its core cadres were all admitted to the military academy between 1937 and 1939. The second rank of the movement pursued them in the early 1940s. These officers, the first generation of the enlarged military academy, were different from their predecessors in terms of their background, leaning, and loyalties. Officers that entered the academy before 1936 generally had families that came from a military tradition and seldom got engaged in political activity.<sup>94</sup> However, with the admission of lower and middle classes to the military, the armed forces became of locus of upward mobilization.

Gordon argues, to solidify their populist base, the Nasserite officers depicted themselves as members of the lower middle class, emphasizing their link to the countryside.<sup>95</sup> Because of their background, ideas, and political activities, the officers have been called as "intelligentsia in khaki." They were all born either in the years before or after the 1919 uprising, so they were brought up with stories of Zaghlul and the Wafd.<sup>96</sup> They went to secondary school in the mid-1930s, when a national front restored the 1923 Constitution, Young Eygpt's Green Shirts were in fight against the Wafdist Blue Shirts in the streets, and the Muslim Brotherhood grew fast throughout the country. They came from the same broad social stratum as their contemporaries, who received university education and graduated into their occupations.<sup>97</sup> The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Eliezar Be'eri, Army Officers, 311-313.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Gordon, Nasser's Blessed Movement, 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Saad Zaghlul was the leader of the Wafd (Delegation) Party and a well-known nationalist figure, who became president in 1924 and remained in that position for about nine months.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Gordon, Nasser's Blessed Movement, 43.

environment they were raised in and their intellectual engagements with nationalistic ideas against colonialism provided the officers with an incitement to use their resources to resolve the political loops of their time. Gordon's description of the fervor and commitment the officers had emphasizes their patriotic sentiments along with their political dissidence.

The foundations of a political ethos, a belief in a role that the army could and must play, grew out of the influx of politicized young cadets into the military academy and the tremendous pressures they faced both as officers and Egyptians during their years of training and apprenticeship. The army provided them a unique focus for their patriotism and political dissent. Like minded officers sought out one another and widened their circles.<sup>98</sup>

All in all, the Free Officers' movement was a consummation of a political reorientation that happened in the officer corps from 1936 to 1952. The Free Officers belonged to the generation that moved away from the existing political bodies and defied the leadership of its predecessors. The Free Officers' movement, established in late 1949, despite its ideological proximity to the hegemonic ideas of the time, remained independent of any grouping, party or leader with a rigid ideological frame.<sup>99</sup>

Yet, the point which is made by Mohamed Husayin Haikal, a Nasser loyalist who became the country's leading journalist and commentator suggests that the Officers "only acted to fill a void."<sup>100</sup> They were in fact radical conspirators –a group of nationalists within the officer corps frustrated by the inability of others to strike a decisive blow against colonialism. Most were opposed to mass political engagement, including involvement of their subordinates in the armed forces. Baker comments that "There was to be no revolutionary disruption of the ranks. From its inception the Free Officers movement was elitist, even within the military context".<sup>101</sup>

Free Officers' Movement emerged against the background of a mobilization of the working class and peasant masses, both of which articulated certain demands

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Ibid., 49-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Baker, Egypt's Uncertain Revolution Under Nasser and Sadat, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Ibid., 25.

arising from the political and economic crisis of the regime in the 1930s and 1940s. An examination of these struggles will shed light on the ideological formation of the Free Officers' initiative since their attempt was, to a great extent, ordained to address the demands raised by the Egyptian mass mobilizations of the time.

## 2.2 Core Ideas of Nasserist Ideology

Nasserism, which was built upon the ideological aspirations of the new middle classes in the military, is examined through a close look into each constituent of the hybrid set of ideas it embodied. Egyptianism and Arab nationalism are studied as the major tenet of Nasserism in this section. The evolution of Nasserist ideology from a territorial anti-colonial rising into a pan-Arab ideology is analyzed through the illustration of this process with the industralisation of the Suez Canal and the experiment of a political merge between Syria and Egypt in the United Arab Republic (UAR). Next, socialist measures taken during the Nasserite period are examined as the second ideological pillar of Nasserism. This section discusses the evolution of Nasserist populism into an etatist and state capitalist project. Third, corporatism is studied as another significant tenet of Nasserim. Despite tha fact that Nasserism was an articulation of the middle class elements of the Egyptian military, its practice involved incorporation of working classes, peasants and political fractions into the system through corporatist measures. In this section, the fourth pillar of Nasserism is presented as militarism, which involved the placement of the military at the heart of the regime construction and survival attempts. Lastly, this section portrays Nasserism as a secular project and sets the historical contradictions and similarities between the Nasserist vision and that of the Muslim Brotherhood.

### 2.2.1. Arab Nationalism: Egyptianism in Pan-Arab Context

In *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, Eric Hobsbawm defines nationalism as "the complex and multiple ways in which human beings define and redefine themselves as members of groups."<sup>102</sup> Following his assertion about the multidimensional character of collective identity, Hobsbawm maintains that "national identification and what it is believed to imply, can change and shift in time, even in the course of quite short periods."<sup>103</sup> Nasser's nationalistic ideology reflects Hobsbawm's stress on the haphazard and polysemic nature of national identity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism since 1780, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Ibid., 11.

The concept of Arab identity entered Egyptian intellectual discourse in the early 1930s, gradually amounting to an influential political particularity in Egyptian society. This ideology was more appealing to the educated *effendiyya* because Egyptian territorial nationalism had been advocated by the affluent elite and identified with developed Western models of community.<sup>104</sup> For a generation raised with anti-Western sentiment, an identity built on Arab-Islamic origin was adopted as a sort of defense mechanism against Western cultural hegemony.

Moreover, it owed much of its legitimacy to the indigenous nature of the alternative, with a potential for levering the *effendiyya's* low status to a highesteemed level. As Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski asserted, "Even if Supra-Egyptian nationalism was an invented tradition, at least it was a home-made invention."<sup>105</sup> James Kellas<sup>106</sup> defines nationalism as a political phenomenon which can exist in multiple forms; it is subject to several interpretations and is carried on by distinct agents. According to Kellas, in international relations nationalism has come up as a cause of conflict, as a source of opposition to the existing state system, as an opposition to international and supranational institutions and cooperation and as a determinant of a state's power in international affairs.<sup>107</sup> *Efendiyya's* nationalistic sentiments were loaded with all the factors mentioned in Kellas's proposition. This new intelligentsia was opposed to the monarchical rule, against colonialism and urged an independent national state which could maintain Egypt's territorial freedom.

Nationalism had a powerful emotional appeal and this led some scholars to interpret Nasserism as "an emotional trend rather than a regimented and coordinated movement."<sup>108</sup> A similar interpretation also belongs to Walid Khalidi, who defined Nasserism as an "attitude of mind" that is "eclectic, empirical, radical, and yet conservative."<sup>109</sup> In his opinion, Nasserism gave the Arab world a feeling of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Gershoni and P. Jankowski, *Redefining the Egyptian Nation*, 7-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Sharabi, Nationalism and Revolution in theArab World, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Khalidi, "Political Trends in the Fertile Crescent," 125.

confidence in themselves by making them the "centre of decisions concerning the future o the world."<sup>110</sup> Khalidi reaches the conclusion that the ability of Nasserism to appeal masses is in its power to provide a counterbalance to the psychological shock suffered following the loss of Palestine in 1948 War.<sup>111</sup>

## 2.2.1.1 From Territorial Egyptianism to Pan-Arabism

In his analysis of nationalism in Egyptian context, Jankowski<sup>112</sup> outlines both the continuities and discontinuities with Egypt's previous relationship with its Arab environment. Egypt's appropriation of the Arab nationalism as an ideological policy framework and its aspiration for Arab nationalist leadership in the first decade of the Nasserist era involves both cohesions and interruptions with its previous form. Egypt was not involved in the commencement of the Arab nationalist movement prior to and during World War I, when the major issue for the politically expressive Egyptians was the British occupation of Egypt rather than the Ottoman centralization that accounted for the main catalyst for independence and separatism in the Ottoman Arab provinces of Western Asia.<sup>113</sup> Egypt remained detached from Arab nationalism upon attaining formal independence after World War I. Politically; Egypt's attitude toward its Arab surrounding in the early years of the parliamentary monarchy was distant. At an intellectual level, foundation of a 'technically' independent Egypt after the nationalist uprising of 1919 was one factor giving rise to "a sense of Egyptian distinctiveness" and the emergence of "a specifically Egyptian territorial nationalism in the interwar era."<sup>114</sup>

To summarize Jankowski's account of the inter-war era, great depression, political crisis, the possible establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, "the axis challenge to British and French domination of the region during World War II" and

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> James Jankowski, *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism, and the United Arab Republic* (London: Lynne Rienner. 2002), 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski. *Egypt, Islam and the Arabs: the search for Eygptian Nationhood, 1900-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 10-13.

renewed efforts to provide coordination among the Arab states in the 1930s and 1940s offered Egyptians new opportunities along with new challenges.<sup>115</sup>

As a reaction to internal failures and changing international conditions, Egyptian nationalist attitudes and policies occurred got partially reoriented beginning with the 1930s. Intellectually, an exclusivist Egyptian territorial nationalism began to be voiced more loudly and this orientation also contended that Egypt was a member of a greater Arab community with which its destiny was intertwined. With 1952 Free Officers' Coup, Egypt's Arab policies under Nasser displayed continuity with the nature of nationalism that had marked previous decades.<sup>116</sup>

Jankowski contextualizes Egyptian exclusivist nationalism within the broader Arab context. Egyptian nationalism therefore bore multi-layers, intertwined into each other and articulations of national identity were derived from a territorial basis or on a broader Arab geography, displaying the contingent nature of Nasserism's nationalistic outlook. Against the British colonialism and occupation of their land, borrowing from Milton Easman, ideology of Egyptian nationalism represents "a system of ideas usually demanding rights of self-determination." As for the behavioural aspect of this nationalist thinking, it lay in the political motivation of the politically articulate strata, proclaiming "the distinctiveness of a particular people and their right to self-rule in their homeland", which is the territory of Egypt in our context.<sup>117</sup> All in all, Egyptian nationalism had both ideological and behavioural dimensions, gradually giving rise to formation of nationalistic movement within the newly recruited cadres of the armed forces.

As noted above, the early period of Nasserist rule was a continuum of the previously held territorial Egyptian nationalism. Nazih Ayyubi explains this distinctive perception of Egyptianism with Egypt being the largest and the most culturally and strategically influential Arab state.<sup>118</sup> Then, Ayubi provides a parallel account of the transition from Eygptian nationalism to a more comprehensive Arab nationalism. He argues Egypt had gained its autonomy from the Ottoman Empire

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Jankowski, Nasser's Eygpt, 181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Milton J. Easman, *Ethnic Politcs* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Universitiy Press, 1994), 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Ayubi, Over-Stating the Arab State, 142.

since the early nineteenth century, had already founded a state under Muhammed Ali, and had built a secularist notion of citizenship politicized in the 1919 revolution and among the ranks of the popular Wafd party. Egypt, therefore, already had its own concept of nationalism in which 'nation' (umma) was Egyptian, rather than Arab. However, during the inter-war period Egypt lived a process of 'political Arabisation'. The most important 'Arabiser', Ayyubi suggests, was the military success of "the Zionist settler project in Palestine and the defeat of the Arab armies in 1948."<sup>119</sup> In the context of Egypt, the perceived threat of Israel was more imminent in geographical terms. Still, the peak point of Arab nationalism came with the Suez crisis. From then onwards, Egyptian people were portrayed as a distinctive and often headmost ingredient of the Arab nation.<sup>120</sup> Arab nationalism came into life in both cultural and strategic and political terms. To paraphrase Ayubi, it was cultural in the sense that it referred to a common language and shared history; it was strategic in that it denoted a shared struggle against colonialism and for liberation and progress, and lastly it was political meaning that the actual criterion for its realization of Arab nationalism was Arab unity.<sup>121</sup> Overall, Arab nation was situated as a distinctive category both against colonialism and Zionism. Conor emphasizes the importance of the perception of distinctiveness and self-differentiation to the ideology of nationalism:

A nation can be described in terms of its particular amalgam of tangible characteristics. However...a prerequisite of nationhood is a popularly held awareness or belief that one's own group is unique in a most vital sense. In the absence of such a popularity held conviction, there is only an ethnic group...It is ....the self-view of one's group rather than the tangible characteristics, that is of essence in determining the existence or nonexistence of a nation.<sup>122</sup>

The nationalist aspect of Nasserism was in the foreground in the early years of the revolution, when the Free Officers evacuated British forces by signing the Anglo-Egyptian treaty in October 1954. This move signaled the termination of foreign

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Ibid., 142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Ibid., 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Ibid., 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Connor, *Etnonacionalismo*, 45.

occupation and gaining full independence.<sup>123</sup> It became a source of great pride for many Egyptians. "Lift up your head, brother, the age of subjugation is over"<sup>124</sup> was Nasser's frequently quoted slogan. This achievement allowed Nasser to appear as the only leader of the revolution, to employ pan-Arabism, an ideology he had never before advocated. Until the demise of the United Arab Republic in 1961, pan-Arabism was the ideological core of Nasser's discourse and policy.<sup>125</sup> The two national loyalties most pronounced in Nasser's case were his Egyptian and Arab allegiances. He repeatedly emphasized the coexistence as well as the compatibility of them.<sup>126</sup>

To pursue an ideological analysis of Nasser's Egyptian nationalism and Pan-Arabism, in addition of exemplary historical attempts, Nasser's discursive pronunciation of the ideology will be examined. Drawing on Gramscian perspective on the function of ideology, which loads ideological configurations with historical functions<sup>127</sup>, a discourse analysis might allow the inquiry of the discursive process which had ideological effects. Egyptian masses were addressed by Nasser in such a formative manner that their national identity was subject to linguistic reconfigurations each reflected in Nasser's speeches. Nasser's ideological journey was made public through his discourse where nationalism was a means of hegemony and subject formation. The interests of the Egyptian masses, who are constituted through a particular discursive process, are articulated in specific forms of ideological discourses.

A discursive analysis of Nasser's speeches demonstrates the gradual rapprochement of Egyptian nationalism to Arab nationalism. "Arab Egypt" was employed in Nasser's public rhetoric from an early date. Later speeches announced

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Hinnebusch, Egyptian Politics under Sadat, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> This slogan still resonates in the struggle of Egyptians against the old regime, SCAF and Muslim Brothers: "Lift your head up brother, you're an Egyptian!" Arab Spring created an atmosphere to recall the collective memories associated with national pride and dignity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Silbermann, "National Identity in Nasserist Ideology," 57–68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Jankowski, "Nasserism and Egyptian State Policy, 1952-1958" in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, eds., James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni (New Yok: Columbia University Press, 1997), 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Jan Rehmann, *Theories of Ideology: The Powers of Alienation and Subjection* (Leiden: BRILL, 2013), 121.

Egypt as a "member of the greater Arab entity."<sup>128</sup> The same addresses also included remarks the identification of the country with the greater Arab geography evident in his speech made on July 22, 1955: "by our country I mean the whole Arab world."<sup>129</sup> The Egytian National Charter of 1962, mostly penned by Nasser, reveals the strongest Nasserist assertion of his Arab nationalist allegiance, referring in its introduction to "the Arab people of Egypt" and later stating that "there is no conflict whatsoever between Egyptian patriotism and Arab nationalism."<sup>130</sup>

Nasser was a member of the generation imbued with fierce Egyptian patriotism in the 1930s.<sup>131</sup> In his autobiographical work, *The Philosophy of the Revolution*, he specifies the initial formative influences in his account of the 1930s. He states "the first elements of Arab consciousness" began to emerge in the 1930s as a result of his participation in the Palestinian and Syrian nationalist movements.<sup>132</sup> Nasser's nationalistic ideology had beyond-border context with a supra-Egyptian color.

The intellectual formulation of his Arabism gained ground in the 1940s with his military studies when his study of World War I campaigns in the Middle East caused him to be aware of the strategic significance of Palestine in defense of Egypt.<sup>133</sup> His involvement in the 1948 war reinforced his belief in the integral political connection between Egypt and Arab Asia:

After the siege and battles in Palestine I came home with the whole region in my mind one complete whole.....An event may happen in Cairo today; it is repeated in Damascus, Beirut, Amman or any other place tomorrow. This was naturally in conformity with the picture that experience has left within me: One region, the same factors and circumstance, even the same forces opposing them all.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> United Arab Republic, Majmu'at, 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Jankowski, Nasser's Egypt, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> United Arab Republic, State Information Service, *The Charter* (Cairo: National Publication House Press) 9-10, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Jankowski, "Nasserism," 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Gamal Abdal Nasser, *The Philosopy of the Revolution* (New York: Buffalo, 1959), 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Jankowski, "Nasserism," 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Nasser, Philosophy, 65.

1956 was a year that led to major impacts on Egypt's relationship to Arab nationalism. Western countries, i.e. USA refused to finance the construction of a new dam at Aswan. Consequently, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, resulting in an international crisis. British, French and Israeli militaries combined their efforts in an operation against Egypt, which eventually helped Nasser cement his personal charisma and status as an "unrivalled" leader of the Arab world. Suez crisis of 1956 lifted Arab nationalist sentiments to a new level and gave rise to the more condensed efforts to achieve meaningful Arab unity that the marked the end of the 1950s.<sup>135</sup>

In the instances of political or military crisis, Egypt was the major referent in Nasser's public addresses. Whereas his three hour speech of 26 July 1956 in which he announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal devoted substantial significance to Arab nationalism and its uses in its early stages, its emotional final, advocating the nationalization of the Canal and stressing Egypt's strong will to control its own resources placed Egypt in the centre:

Now, while I am speaking to you, Egyptian brothers of yours are taking over the administration and management of the Canal Company. At this moment they are taking over the Canal Company, the Egyptian Canal Company not the foreign Canal Company. They are taking over the Canal Company and its facilities and directing navigation in the Canal, the Canal which is situated in the land of Egypt, which cuts through the land of Egypt, which is part of Egypt and belongs to Egypt.<sup>136</sup>

When he expressed his belief in Arab nation, Arab nationalism, and Arab unity in the mid 1950s, his rationale was an amalgam of historical and contemporary considerations:

It [the revolutionary regime] believes that the place occupied by the Arabs between the continents of the world, their great contribution to culture, their valuable economic resources, and their connection with the Islamic East and the East as a whole nominates them for a great place and destines them for influence in the affairs of the world. The revolution also believes that the problems of the Arabs are the problems of Egyptians. If the problem of the occupation has until now absorbed the greatest part of the effort of Egyptians, it has never distracted them from participating in every Arab effort expended for the sake of the liberation of the Arabs.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Jankowski, "Nasserism," 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> United Arab Republic, *The Charter*, 561.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Ibid., 177.

Jankowski concludes that Nasser's Arab nationalism was "the protective armor" of each Arab state against both imperialism and Israel.<sup>138</sup> Arab nationalism was therefore justified in terms of its pragmatic function in the realization of the compatible nationalist longings of the diverse Arab lands. On the anniversary of the nationalization of Suez Canal, he made the link between Arab nationalism and Egyptian nationalism more lucid:

Our policy is based on Arab nationalism because Arab nationalism is a weapon for every Arab state. Arab nationalism is a weapon employed against aggression. It is necessary for the aggressor to know that, if he aggresses against any Arab country, he will endanger his interests. This is the way, oh brotherly compatriots, that we must advance for the sake of Egypt, glorious Egypt, independent Egypt.<sup>139</sup>

The leadership of the Egyptian revolutionary regime viewed Egyptian involvement in Arab nationalism through an Egyptian prism.<sup>140</sup> Until 1958 the configuration of Arab nationalism articulated by Nasser involved a strong sense of Egyptian distinctiveness within the body of the Arab nation and this configuration regarded Egyptian involvement in Arab politics to a great extent in terms of the advancement of Egyptian benefits. William Bloom makes a distinction between ethnic or civic nationalism and official nationalism. He maintains official nationalism is rehearsed at a state level by government agencies and through foreign policy. In this case, nationalism is expressed in terms of "national interest." According to Bloom, "National interest is that which can be perceived as being a part of national identity and thus is capable of triggering mass mobilization to defend or enhance it."<sup>141</sup> The state, which is a political entity, in Bloom's view, gathers the people's national loyalty. Loyalty to the state is highly instrumental and prone to be manipulated by the state. Although Nasser's nationalistic discourse was not a simple expression of the national interests perceived by the ruling classes, which requires the manipulation of the masses, it still had an instrumental aspect. Egyptian masses were already articulating their political demands in a nationalistic discourse. What

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Jankowski, "Nasserism," 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> United Arab Republic, *The Charter*, 718.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Jankowski, "Nasserism," 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> William Bloom, *Personal identity, national identity, and international relations* (Cambridge, GB: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 55.

Nasser did was exalting these aspirations to actualized policies, whose ramifications found expression through a Nasser-branded discourse. Nasserist nationalistic ideology, therefore, came to symbolize a form of official policy designation in which desires of the masses were comfortably couched and seemed not to contradict those of the ruling stratum until the end of Nasser's rule.

The difference between the perception of nationalism of the pre-1952 governments and that of the Nasserist regime was that the revolutionary regime followed a policy of Egyptian leadership of Arab nationalism with greater force and perseverance than its predecessors. In addition, contending classes or groups in the previous regime with a grave rift in their outlook to nationalism, colonialism and freedom were replaced by an integrated society, whose glue was radical nationalistic policies and acts of the ruling class and its mass popular support. When we seek to analyze the shifting political positions by Nasser, the insights of Sami Zubaida and Roger Owen are of great relevance. Zubaida has stressed the pivotal significance of the "modern political field," that "complex of political models, vocabularies, organizations and techniques comprising a political field of organization, mobilization, agitation, and struggle"<sup>142</sup> for comprehending Middle Eastern politics. Zubaida contends that in this political field the conception of the nation becomes the model in terms of which other commitments and loyalties are thought of.<sup>143</sup> Roger Owen, on the other hand, asserts the importance of the colonial power in establishing new territorial bodies. He argues that no matter what their original historical reality or artificiality was, once created, they draw the framework for consequent political activity: "methods of political organization and styles of political rhetoric are largely defined by the context ... From the colonial period on; this context was created by the territorial state."<sup>144</sup>

Jankowski suggests that it was a combination of the political field defined largely by the existence of an Egyptian territorial state, as well as the realities and imperatives of Egyptian state power, which were most important in determining the nationalist policies of the Egyptian government in the 1950s. It seems to have been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Sami Zubaida, Islam: The People and the State (London: I.B.Tauris, 1993), 145-146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Ibid., 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (London: Routledge, 1992), 20.

the constraints imposed by the modern state – maintaining both domestic control versus serious rivals and relative position versus external rivals for regional influence – that bulked largest in shaping the "Arabist" policies of the Nasserist regime.<sup>145</sup>

## 2.2.1.2. Non-Alignment and Arab Unity

In early 1954 policy of neutrality was declared. The government daily al-Jumhuriyya explained the policy in January 1954 "Egypt's new foreign policy position will not be one of 'neutrality' in general sense butt will be based on the principle that Egypt will not cooperate with anyone unless her rights and sovereignty are recognized"<sup>146</sup> Nasser announced that Egypt's policy from then on would be "non-cooperation with those who encroach her sovereignty."<sup>147</sup> Jankowski explains this formulation with respect to its utility for the achievement of Egyptian national goals, particularly the conclusion of a satisfactory agreement with Great Britain over the termination of the British base in the Suez Canal zone.<sup>148</sup> Egypt increased its assertiveness in the international arena using the opportunities provided by the Bandung Conference, convened in 1955. Nasser pursued a struggle against Westernaligned regional pacts and the Bandung conference was a concomitant effort to espouse greater inter-Arab cooperation as an alternative to alignment with the West. It was an opposition to a Western-controlled system for Middle Eastern defense in 1954-55, which triggered a policy of building up Arab solidarity with the initiative of the Egyptian state and the revolutionary regime was placed on the path of Arab nationalism in this process. This theme found a discursive equivalent on the outlets of the regime:

The "Voice of the Arabs" calls on the Arabs to stand in one rank in the face of imperialism, to expel the British, to cleanse the land of Arabdom from this plague, to obtain with their own money and to make for themselves arms

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Jankowski, "Nasserism," 167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Tarek Osman, *Egypt on the Brink: From the Rise of Nasser to the Fall of Mubarak* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Ginat, *Egypt's Incomplete Revolution*, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Jankowski, "Nasserism," 158.

which will repulse aggression, and to maintain peace and justice....This, O Arabs, is the policy of Egypt.<sup>149</sup>

In 1955, Iraq set an alliance with pro-Western regional states and Great Britain in the *Baghdad Pact*, which created a crisis over the matter of collective defense agreements in terms of their being independent or Western-linked. Egypt promptly signed defense agreements with Syria and Saudi Arabia, which marked the effective beginnings of the "Arabist" phase of Egyptian foreign policy during the Nasserist era.<sup>150</sup>

Even this seemingly Arabist turn was not taken for the sake of often-phrased "Arab unity". Podeh's interpretation of Egypt's vehement opposition to the Baghdad Pact is that Egyptian opposition was sparked less by its devotion to the idea of Arab unity than by the practical worry that the Iraqi alliance with the West was a move to seclude Egypt from Arab politics.<sup>151</sup> In a speech made in March 1955, Nasser explained the new policy of regional assertiveness:

All we want today is to create for ourselves an independent personality which will be strong and not dependent, which will be free to direct its domestic policy the way it wants and to direct its foreign policy in a way which serves its interests...If, God willing, we want to have an independent personality and develop it in the critical period we are in, we must steel ourselves. Our revolution calls for liberation and independence. This means liberation internally and externally, and that we must have an entity and an influence on what goes on around us.<sup>152</sup>

Achieving independence was not sufficient to maintain the "independent personality" of Egyptian state. It had to have a say in what was going around in the surrounding region to avoid perpetuation of foreign hegemony. Concluding an alternative agreement with the anti-Western states was translated into the discourse of "genuine freedom."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Gabriel Piterberg, "The Tropes of Stagnation and Awakening in Nationalist Historical Consciousness: The Egyptian Case" in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, eds., Gershoni and Jankowski, (New Yok: Columbia University Press, 1997), 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Elie Podeh, *The Quest for Hegemony in the Arab World: The Struggle Over the Baghdad Pact,* (Leiden: BRILL, 1995), 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Ibid., 238.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Jankowski, Nasser's Egypt, 72.

The most concrete example of Nasser's Pan-Arabism was the foundation of The United Arab Republic (UAR), which was a union between Egypt and Syria from 1958 to 1961. In other words, its formation was an example of how Egypt embodied the concept of Arab unity and pan-Arabism. It was Ba'ath Party in Syria that approached Egypt to form this alliance since the Syrian government were concerned that there would be a possible ousting of the government by the Syrian military and Ba'ath party. The formation of the UAR enabled Nasser to spread his idea of a one Arab region under Egypt's leadership further. Even as early as 1956, Nasser made public statements of unity between Egypt and Syria. During his Suez Canal Nationalization speech delivered on July 26, 1956, Nasser referred to Egypt and Syria as "one country."<sup>153</sup> Although Egypt's leadership role of the Arab Middle East was further solidified by the creation of the United Arab Republic or UAR, the alliance never turned into a new entity where institutions and policies became united. Military structures of the two countries were not successfully integrated. An uprising in the Syrian Army led to the collapse of the union in 1961.<sup>154</sup>

Despite the sharp "Arabism" of the rhetoric, the failure of the union demonstrates the extent to which the Middle Eastern states were territorialized. Furthermore, the collapse of the United Arab Republic showed the difficulty of conducting a 'revolution from above' without the involvement of mass mobilization. The Syrian Ba'ath Party hoped that the Egyptian leader would be a figurehead, and that his prestige would allow them to dominate Syria and overcome their rivals in the Communist Party. Nasser, however, alienated the Baathists, assigning them to positions in Cairo while his closest colleagues were appointed to rule in Damascus. He also oppressed the Syrian trade union movement by bringing it under state control and banned political parties.<sup>155</sup> The demise of the union marked a new stage in Nasserist regime characterized by bureaucratic socialist policies. While nationalism prevailed as a significant constituent of the hegemonic discourse, it was the socialist rhetoric and implementations that dominated the discursive and ideological sphere of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Jankowski, Nasser's Eygpt, 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Elie Podeh, *The Decline of Arab Unity: The Rise and Fall of the United Arab Republic* (Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 1999), 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Steven Heydemann, Authoritarianism in Syria: Institutions and Social Conflict 1946-1970 (New York: Cornell University Press, 1999), 121.

the regime. The breakup of the UAR, Podeh and Winckler argue, precipitated the adoption of étatist measures, enabling the regime to respond to internal and external challenges by broadening the social base of his regime and thereby strengthening his legitimacy.<sup>156</sup>

## 2.2.2 Arab Socialism: From Populism to State Capitalism

The third period of Nasserist regime was identified by the ideology of Arab socialism or étatism, which was fully developed during the years 1961–67 with the decline of pan-Arabism. However, etatist project of the Nasserist regime never got divorced from its nationalistic vision. In the definition provided by Beinin as to what was meant by "Arab Socialism," this link is evident:

The key economic and social policies of the regime were state-led development, agrarian reform, import-substitution industrialization, and social benefits for workers ad white-collar employees in a greatly expanded public sector – a package commonly designated "Arab socialism." This was often accompanied by a commitment, if only rhetorical in many cases, to pan-Arab nationalism.<sup>157</sup>

The link between the two core ideas of Nasserism shows how each aspect of Nasserist project overlaps wih the other despite the difference in the weight of importance each carries. To quote Heywood again: "ideologies unfailingly lack the clear-cut form and innermore compactness of political philosophies, causing them to overlap with other ideologies and shade into one another."<sup>158</sup> Akhavi analyzes the "hybrid" nature of Arab socialism by deconstructing it into its two constituent elements: Arab unity and egalitarianism, the first of which outweighs the latter in its impact on the policy formation. She explains:

Without question, the more prior of the twin concepts of unity and egalitarianism (i.e. the abolition of exploitation), both of which are embedded at the core of the Egyptian interpretation of Arab socialism, is unity. It is the mutual identification of Arabs in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, language, region, as well as common sense of purpose, shared commitment to a particular social and political community above and beyond all lesser commitments, a willingness to continue to coexist in the framework of this commitment, and solidarity in the quest for their greater destiny which, to Egyptians, make possible the attainment of egalitarianism. By contrast, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Podeh and Winckler, "Introduction," 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> Beinin, Workers and Peasants, 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 13.

abolition of man's exploitation of his fellow man, the leveling of social stratification, the ending of social alienation-these are seen to be epiphenomena, deriving logically as effects from Arab national unity and identity. Arab socialism, to Egyptian spokesmen, is admittedly an ideology whose basis and 'point of departure' [muntaliq] is nationalism.<sup>159</sup>

Ayubi has a similar evaluation of Arab socialism. In his opinion, "socialism" was partly adopted as an inevitable derivative of nationalist concerns. In other words, Arab socialism was an extension of Arab nationalism in economic spheres. National independence, state construction, mass support, and political control were the primary objectives of the regime, while the socialist policies were devised in an eclectic manner, generally as a response to foreign or domestic challenges.<sup>160</sup>

Akhavi argues that For the Egyptian socialists, socialism consists of liberation of all Arabs from exploitation. Their writers have devoted less significance to what exploitation meant and the social basis of politics. In an urgent need to challenge colonialism and neo-colonialism, the Egyptian theorists tend to merge practically all rank-and-file Arabs into the 'exploited' ranks.<sup>161</sup> Centrality of the Arab unity against colonizers and exploitation confined Arab socialist ideology within a nationalistic frame. Efforts to provide a theoretical frame for Arab socialism were regarded of secondary value. This is clearly implied in the following passage in Nasser's address to the opening session of the Preparatory Committee of the National Congress of Popular Forces, Nov. 25, 1961:

Many people say we have no theory, we would like you to give us a theory. What is the theory we are following? We answer, a socialist democratic cooperative society. But they persist in asking for a clearly defined theory. I ask them, what is the object of a theory ? I say that I was not asked on July 23rd to stage the revolution with a printed book including my theory. This is impossible. If we had stopped to write such a book before July 23rd, we would never have succeeded in carrying out two operations at the same time. Those who ask for a theory are greatly complicating matters. This is torture.<sup>162</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Akhavi "Egypt's Socialism and Marxist Thought," 190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Ayubi, Over-Stating the Arab State, 197–98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> Ibid., 194.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> President Gamal Abdel Nasser's Speeches and Press Interviews, Jan.-Dec. 1961 (Cairo: Information Department, 1961), 389.

Nasserist ideology shared similarities with Ba'thist ideology, which emerged in the late 1940s, in its perception of socialism. Ba'th thinkers had already refused communism and viewed it as a brainchild of European thought and of social historical conditions peculiar to Europe, which experienced an industrial revolution and a lengthy process of national unification. These early nineteenth century conditions, Ba'athist thinkers conceived, were not existent in the Arab world even a century later.<sup>163</sup> The conclusion was that communism was alien to the Arab soul and to the Arab historical circumstances, and shared no organic link to Arab lifestyle or thought. Michel Aflaq's criticism of European socialism was similar to that of Haikal. He argued that European socialism stemmed from the Industrial Revolution which separated the laborers from their land and past and brought laborers down in poverty. Therefore, contention was directed against "government, state, homeland, nation, national movement and anything else which represented or symbolized capitalism. European socialism developed upon this basis. When Marx urged the workers of the world to unite, stated Aflaq, he meant only the workers of Europe."<sup>164</sup>

Haikal and Aflaq shared the opinion that Western socialism rejected all things pertaining to the past. Unlike Western socialsim, Ba'th doctrine aimed at raising the future of the Arab nation on the basis of their heritage which was inherited from the periods during which Arab civilization was "full flower."<sup>165</sup> Distinctiveness of Arab nationalism also shaped the formulations of socialist ideology, emphasizing the peculiarity and exceptional characters of the Middle East versus Europe. Even the theoretical reasoning bore the notion of anti-colonial struggle, in search of a framework capable of explaining the Arab politics.

#### 2.2.2.1. Populism

Arab socialism as a state-led industrialization model had a populist nature. That is, populism was the ideological outcome of the state-led industrialization policies. In the mid-1990s, Nazih Ayubi provided a particular typology of Arab regimes. In his opinion, the "socialist" or "revolutionary" regimes correspond to a specific blend of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Ginat. Egypt's Incomplete Revolution, 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> Ibid., 38.

étatist and welfare policies. Since their description as "socialist" responded to the needs of domestic elites and the terminology of the Cold War, Ayubi opted to use the term *populist-corporatist*, which he applied to Nasser's Egypt as well.<sup>166</sup> It was not a socialist ideology that affected institutional arrangements in Ayubi's view. Rather, he asserted, it was the political enterprise for independence and for state building that caused Nasser to employ socialist programs.<sup>167</sup> Ayubi also claimed that Arab populist-corporatist leaders were in opposition to the old oligarchy identified with colonialism. Apart from that, he concluded, "their alliances and orientations were subject to a great deal of contingent change."<sup>168</sup> A similar conclusion was drawn by Riad El-Ghonemy, maintaining that the various measures taken for the sake of social justice did not suffice to get the title of "socialism".<sup>169</sup> Similar to Arab nationalism, which was exposed to contingent configurations, Arab socialist ideology displayed shifts in its scope, intensity and ability to mobilize masses.

Economically, populism involves "a reformist set of policies tailored to promote development without explosive class conflict. Eschewing unbridled capitalism or socialism, these programs seek national integration."<sup>170</sup> Lacking a rigid frame, populist regimes design a diluted version of socialism or welfare policies, partially appealing to the demands of the urban working class, the peasants, and some elements of the middle class. Podeh and Winckler differentiate populistcorporatist regimes from the Soviet system, arguing that the kind of étatizm this policy devised leads to the emergence of a "Third Way" between capitalism and communism. By aiming at industrialization, to summarize Podeh and Winckler, populist regimes seek to reduce reliance on the world economy in general and the previous colonial power in particular. In parallel, by introducing a variety of socialist

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Ayubi, Over-Stating the Arab State, 197–201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Ibid., 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Ibid., 198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> M. Riad El-Ghonemy. "An Assessment of Egypt's Development Strategy, 1952–1970" in *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*, eds., Eli Podeh and Onn Winckler, (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2004), 253.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> Podeh and Winckler, "Introduction," 12.

measures, they aim to generate a more egalitarian society, hence widening the social support of the regime and, as a result, its legitimacy.<sup>171</sup>

# 2.2.2.2. Étatizm: Industrialization and Nationalization

Hinnebusch claimed that "the Nasserist modernization strategy was essentially a populist form of étatism."<sup>172</sup> This meant that the state was seen as the major source of economic activity and employment, while allowing private enterprise to a certain extent. The emphasis on the pivotal role played by the state is important because, as Zaalouk notes, it was not a public sector that launched independent economic development, but a 'state' sector, one that had not emerged out of a radical socialist transformation, but "was growing within the framework that had existed in the past.<sup>173</sup>

Although some social change such as acceleration of industrialization, bureaucratization of the private sector and nationalization of foreign assets had been introduced in 1956 following the end of the Suez crisis<sup>174</sup>, the process of the intellectual formation, consolidation and institutionalization of "Arab socialism" began between 1960 and 1962. These years marked a significant change towards a radical social policy, involving nationalisation, expropriation and the expansion of the bureaucratic infrastructure of the private sector. In this period, the government also implemented its first five-year economic plan.<sup>175</sup> In the same period, rapprochements with Yugoslavia (Tito), India (Nehru), China (Chou En-Lai) and Syria (Ba'th Party) were manifest in the foreign policy of the Nasserist regime. The new Nasserist ideology of Arab socialism owed much to the reigning ideologies in these countries.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Ibid. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Hinnebusch, *Egyptian Politics under Sadat*, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Zaalouk, Power, Class and Foreign Capital in Egypt, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Charles Issawi. *Egypt in Revolution : An Economic Analysis* (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1986), 50-59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Ginat, Incomplete Revolution, 14.

It was the decrees of July 1961 that prompted state ownership of enterprises and the state's direct control of all major economic enterprises or properties on a large scale. To mention some of the items, on July 20<sup>th</sup> three laws were drafted nationalizing 400 industrial commercial and public facilities in the two regions of UAR, of which 322 were in Egypt. The boards of directors of all public and private companies were ordered to reduce their members to seven, and required to include one labour and one clerical representative. Directors' salaries were limited to 5,000 Egyptian pounds per year. Private ownership of land was limited to a maximum of 100 feddan, a decrease of 100 faddan stipulated by the Agrarian Laws of 1952.<sup>177</sup>

On 4 November 1961, a new system of popular representation was introduced. The purpose was "stressing the need for reorganization to preserve revolutionary zeal and to assert the role of the Arab nation in the development of socialism."<sup>178</sup> "National Congress of Popular Forces" was formed through elections held among farmers, workers, students and tradesmen. This shows the populist character of Arab socialism. However, this engagement of the working classes did not translate itself into political representation. Nasser inaugurated the Congress with The Charter of National Action, which, Ginat argues, is Nasser's most detailed and explicit statement of Egyptian policy of Arab socialism.<sup>179</sup> Vatikiotis argues that *The Charter* was a radical turning point in the political history of Egypt since it radically amalgamates Arab nationalist and socialist elements.<sup>180</sup> The Charter put "dissolution of class contradictions in the framework of Arab unity through collaboration between the popular representative forces."<sup>181</sup> The Charter also included chapters on socialism, production, fair distribution, industry, agriculture and religion. Socialism was not framed as freely chosen, but rather as historically inevitable, given the aspirations of the masses and geo-political conditions. The Charter did not opposed private sector but stipulated its being controlled by people. In terms of agricultural

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> P. J. Vatikiotis, *The Modern History of Egypt* (London: Preager, 1969), 403.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Ginat, Incomplete Revolution, 23-24.

policy, *The Charter* did not oppose private ownership of the land, but limited its. Industry was seen as the basis for a solid national existence.<sup>182</sup>

Nasser affirmed that the doctrine of Arab socialism had evolved with the benefit of empirical observation and analysis. In other words, application preempted theory. Application in this sequence meant a blend of idealism, self-interest and necessity.<sup>183</sup> Arab socialism was a fusion of nationalist, development-oriented and populist ideas. Arab socialism, like Arab nationalism stressed the distinctiveness of the Arab nation. The communist, Pennar notes, is inevitably bound to Marxist dialectics. In contrast, the Arab socialist "feels that the intellectual heritages of the whole world is open to him... he can add to his nationalistic experience and can develop it by means of his own historical legacy."<sup>184</sup> Arab socialism, in short, aimed to consolidate national unity by partially addressing the grievances of the working masses and the peasantry. The regime, with its growing bureaucratic, technocratic and military cadres, strived to increase the pace of industrialization through broadening its mass support, which falls into certain categories of hegemony construction. Nasserism utilized co-optation to widen its popular basis and increase its legitimacy or applied coercive strategies to consolidate its power.

### 2.2.2.3. Rise of the Bureaucratic class: State Capitalism

In order to assert his socialist policy, Nasser described Egypt's social structure before the revolution as "the half percent society," one in which only half of the Egyptian population were able to control both the economy and the political system.<sup>185</sup> This inequality was especially evident in the figures representing landownership, "where some 2,000 individuals representing an even smaller number of families owned almost 20 percent of the cultivated area."<sup>186</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Ibid., 22-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Jean Pennar, *The USSR and the Arabs: The Ideological Dimention* (New York: Crane, Russak and Co., 1973), 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> Galal A. Amin, *Egypt's Economic Predicament: A Study in the Interaction of External Pressure, Political Folly, and Social Tension in Egypt, 1960–1990* (Leiden: BRILL, 1995), 130–31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Robert Mabro, *The Egyptian Economy*, 1952–1972 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974) 216.

The economic policies of the Nasserist regime were connected with origin and ideological aspirations of The Free Officers. Zaalouk, in line with what Cliff's theory suggested, defines the Free Officers as a nationalist military group of petty bourgeois origin. She maintains that their primary concern had been the issue of independence before their seizure of power in 1952. In power, however, they recognized the need for industrialization, for the construction of a strong army, and for the restitution of national pride, and were sensitive to the plight of the poor dispossessed. Yet, Zaalouk goes on to note, they did not have a clearly thought out program for change. She argues the early years of the Nasser regime was an extension of the post-war period with only minor changes, most important of which was increased government intervention in economic planning.<sup>187</sup>

However, it was not until the breakup of the United Arab Republic when the role of the state in economy significantly increased. At international level, Egypt formed a closer alliance with the USSR.<sup>188</sup> During the first half of the 1960s the Nasser regime nationalized all other remaining foreign interests and took the Egyptianization movement to its extreme. The regime had now strong Soviet support for development plans. The Russians provided the regime with a manoeuvring space with respect to the West, technical assistance, modern equipment for the army, financial assistance for the purchase of machinery, steel products and all necessary industrial materials on relatively easy terms.<sup>189</sup>

In Nasserist economy, industrial development was state-directed and the entrepreneurial class was bureaucratic in nature.<sup>190</sup> El-Naggar thinks that the Nasserist model largely matched the theoretical model of state capitalism, in which the state controls capital accumulation, replacing the capitalists that were too weak to accomplish a substantial economic transformation. The result was a bureaucratic capitalism in which the class in power used public assets for their own interests. The bureaucracy became a closed class, inheriting positions of power and eventually

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Zaalouk, Power, Class, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> Mahmoud Hussein, *Class Conflict in Eygpt*, 1945-1971 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), 134, 142, 143.

producing a renewed private capitalism.<sup>191</sup> Both Zaalouk's evaluation of the Free Officers and El-Naggar's description of the bureaucratic state comply with Cliff's projection for the "deflected permanent revolution", which he thought would evolved into a state capitalist regimes.

# 2.2.3. Corporatism: Coopting Working Class, Peasants, Party Politics

Gramsci defines the state as "the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules."<sup>192</sup> In Gramsci, 'domination' as a basic concept of the state is also moderated by 'hegemony.' For Gramsci, the state constitutes hegemony protected by the armour of coercion of the state.<sup>193</sup> A class, Gramsci argues, establishes hegemony in two ways: 'leading' and 'dominance'. He explains "The state leads the classes which are its allies, and dominates those which are its enemies."<sup>194</sup> Gramsci identifies three types of states: gendarme-state, corporative-state and integral-state, the last being the most developed one since the state achieves hegemony not only through physical coercion but through diffusing its "worldview" by agencies of ideological control and socialization so that the prevailing consciousness is internalized by the broad masses to become part of their 'common sense.'<sup>195</sup>

Nasser's Egypt was an amalgam of these classifications as is reflected in its ideological shifts and turns. Out of this fusion, Nayubi argues, emerges was an authoritarian-bureaucratic state, consisting of three-layer layers: a boss state, a security state, and a party state that dominated most associations in society, while the civil bureaucracy was directed and controlled by all three. The mobilization of the people within the system, Ayubi contends, "was partly charismatic (via the boss),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> El-Naggar. "Economicy Policy: from state control to decay and corruption," 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Antonia Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, trans. (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Ibid., 263.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Ibid., 55-57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Carl Boggs, *Gramsci's Marxism* (London: Pluto Press, 1976), 39.

partly ideological/political (via the party) and partly organizational (via the bureaucracy and sometimes the army)."<sup>196</sup>

*The National Charter* stipulated that at least 50 percent of all elected seats, at whatever level of political, union, or cooperative activity, be reserved for workers and peasants.<sup>197</sup> This step demonstrated Nasser's conviction to activate constituencies that had been marginalized from the realm of politics previously and could now be expected to support the regime in its endeavor for socialist reforms. Henry Clement Moore claimed that none of the five groups managed to obtain sufficient corporate power to reach "a bargaining position that would allow influence in decision making."<sup>198</sup> G. O'Donnell observes that corporatism allows "special interests" to make inroads for themselves into state apparatus. Therefore, "state" comprises the crucial domain where special interests contradict or restore to a state of relative harmony.<sup>199</sup> Ayubi contends that this was exactly what Nasser aimed at: to mobilize the loyalties of the common people by implementing corporatist organizational principles without allowing an accompanying increase in their political power. Nazih Ayubi explained this contradictory policy:

Because Egypt's experimentation with corporatism has coincided with a populist phase (and often with the leader's charisma), the organizational sophistication of their corporatist arrangements could not exceed a certain prescribed level without upsetting the populist character of the regime and threatening to unravel its coalition. The populist coalition was basically "distributive," and it had therefore mainly incorporated its component classes and groups economically while excluding them politically.<sup>200</sup>

## 2.2.3.1. State-led Unions: Incorporating Working Class

Joel Beinin remarks that previous to the Officers' coup in 1952, trade union mobilization organized strikes and demonstrations, in which national freedom was hailed as the main demand. He points out how working class frustration due to unemployment and raising cost-of-living was expressed with a fury against both the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Ayubi, Over-Stating the Arab State, 203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Waterbury, *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat*, 325.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> Clement Henry Moore, "Authoritarian Politics in Unincorporated Society: The Case of Nasser's Egypt Comparative Politics," Vol. 6, No. 2. (Jan., 1974): 207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> O'Donnell, "Corporatism and the Qestion of the State," 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Ayubi, Over-Stating the Arab State, 208.

British colonialism and the monarchy. He illustrates his point through some statistical evidence. Towards the end of World War II, he notes, around 250.000 workers were laid off from war-related jobs. Unemployment was further embittered by sharp ups and downs in production and heavy mechanization in the textile industry. These conditions, Beinin argues, combined with the rising agrarian crisis, the military defeat in Palestine, the dissipation and decay of King Faruq, and the ongoing British occupation triggered the combination of radical trade union and nationalist mobilization that culminated to the fall of the monarchy.<sup>201</sup> He provides an example for merger of the working class mobilization with anti-colonial sentiments:

The amalgam of radical trade unionism and radical nationalism with the demand for the evacuation of British troops was manifested in the NCWS (National Committee of Workers and Students – al-Lajna al-Wataniyya lil-'Ummal w'al-Talaba). The NCWS called for a general strike and demonstation on February 21, 1946, which was designated as "Evacuation Day" and attended by an estimated 40,000 to 100,000 demonstrators in Cairo. The textile workers' union accounted for the thousand of the crowd.<sup>202</sup>

Trade union and nationalist struggle coincided once again when the 71,000 workers working at the British base in the Suez Canal Zone went on strike to support the Wafd government's annulment of the 1936 Anglo-Eyptian treaty on October 8, 1951.<sup>203</sup> Working class mobilization brought about both the obligation to respond to their demands and also subsequent oppression of their independent activity following the Officers' coup. The analysis of Nasserism, which does not take into account the aspirations of the mass movement, fails to denote Nasser branded "Arab socialism."

The way how the regime incorporated the working class economically while constrained its organizational power politically illustrates the corporatist-authoritarian nature of Nasserism. While industrial, clerical, and service workers were encouraged to join trade unions, national labor unions were directly wedded to ruling parties and states.<sup>204</sup> Union members received job security, higher wages,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Beinin, Workers and Peasants, 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Ibid., 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Ibid., 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Ellis Goldberg, "The Foundations of State-Labor Relations in Contemporary Egypt," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 2. (Jan., 1992): 147.

shorter hours, health care, unemployment insurance, pensions, and access to consumer cooperatives. In exchange, they gave up internal union democracy and the right to make economic and political demands unauthorized by the regimes. The state and labor federation leaders struck a corporatist bargain which might be renegotiated if necessary, but excluded initiatives by rank-and-file workers.<sup>205</sup>

Nasserism rejected the notion of class struggle and promoted the resolution of the conflicts in the "framework of Arab unity." Beinin, as a result of his comparison of Iraq, Syria and Egypt, maintains that Egypt under Gamal Abd al-Nasser, Syria under Ba'th rule and Iraq after the Free Officers' overthrow of the monarchy in 1958 were all authoritarian-populist regimes speaking in the name of "the people," "the toilers," or the "popular classes."<sup>206</sup> The political discourse of these regimes, Beinin notes, was animated with the vocabulary of class, exploitation, and imperialism, largely borrowed from Marxist terminology. Authoritarian-populism refused the notion of class struggle supplanting it with corporatism:

Trade union and peasant federations were linked to the state apparatus. Collective actions of workers and peasants that exceeded authorized boundaries were quashed. The magnanimity of the state, not popular initiative was the source of improvements in the standard of living and social status of workers and peasants.<sup>207</sup>

## 2.2.3.2. Land Reform: Incorporating Peasants

Peasant problem's being the most immediate issue to be addressed by the Free Officers with a land reform introduced in 1952 reveals its prominence politically. Some statistics can be an indicator of the gravity of peasant problem. In 1939, 53 per cent of all rural households in Egypt neither possessed nor rented land and lived only on wage labor. By 1950, 60 per cent of the rural population, 1.5 million families, was without land. Two million families, 72 percent of all landowners, owned only 13 percent of the land less than 1 *faddan*; about 12,000 families, less than 0.5 percent of all land owners, had 35 percent of the land over 50 *faddans*.<sup>208</sup> Population

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Abdel-Fadil, *The Political Economy of Nasserism*, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Beinin, Workers and Peasants, 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Samir Radwan and Eddy Lee, *Agrarian Change in Egypt: An Anatomy of Rural Poverty* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 7.

encumbrance on agricultural land caused constant migration from the rural areas to the cities. The combined population of Cairo and Alexandria increased from 1.24 million in 1917 to more than 3 million in 1947.<sup>209</sup> Despite these conditions, the political dominance of large landowners prevented land redistribution from receiving serious consideration in the 1930s. At the end of World War II, neither the minority governments of 1944-50 nor the *Wafd* regime of 1950-52 seriously considered this.<sup>210</sup>

The dominant power of landed classes and the absence of effective urban allies inhibited peasants from generating a united social or political mobilization. They clashed with "landlords, local officials, merchants, tax collectors, and the police over rents, evictions, taxes, illegal drugs and arms, and water rights. Between 1924 and 1936 there were twenty collective actions while this figure was thirty-seven for the period between 1944-1952, which shows a marked rise in peasant collective activity."<sup>211</sup> In the face of such grievances among the working class and peasant populations, nationalist aspirations converged with the political ideas prioritizing the solution of the crisis in favor of the Egyptian lower classes. Their challenge to imperialism was also a challenge to the existing political order, which was encapsulated in Nasser's slogans employed in his speeches.

Abu-Lughod suggests that migrants became politicized in proportion to their degree of urbanization. In other words, as they became more accommodated into the city, migrants got more engaged with politics.<sup>212</sup> Podeh and Winckler view this political background as a suitable terrain for Nasser's emergence as a charismatic leader. They argue that many migrants migrating into the major cities were psychologically ready for the emergence of such a leader. Although their actual political contribution would be rather limited, they maintain, migrants would play an important role in demonstrations and other mass political mobilizations.<sup>213</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Beinin, Workers and Peasants, 118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> Hishaam D. Aidi, *Redeploying the State* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Nathan J. Brown, *Peasant Politics in Modern Eygpt: The Struggle against the State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 128-147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> Abu-Lughod, "Rural Migrations and Politics in Egypt," 323.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Podeh and Winckler, "Introduction," 15.

Silbermann supports this argument suggesting that the circumstances for the emergence of populism in Nasser's Egypt were mature, considering the country's political crisis, along with increasing socioeconomic frustration.<sup>214</sup> Nasser's speeches addressed working classes and peasants promising to resolve the political and social crisis. To be able to engage all social classes, he phrased his messages simply and broadly. His messages were enveloped in slogans such as "freedom," "social justice," "independence," "anti-imperialism," "anti-Zionism," and "pan-Arabism." By emphasizing the issue of "restoring national dignity" in his discourse, Nasser made a psychological appeal to the emotions of Egyptians and Arabs from all walks of life.<sup>215</sup>

By 1952 the protest movements had weakened the power of the state, with uneasiness rising in the army, a guerrilla campaign against British forces in the Canal Zone, which was falling out of the government's control. The burning of Cairo on 26 January 1952 was the most evident sign of the old regime's feebleness.<sup>216</sup> The army officers who ousted the monarchy made use of the political crisis, but they were not in the center to the movement. Nasser, for instance, had worked with activists from various political backgrounds including the Muslim Brotherhood and the Communists in the Democratic Movement for National Liberation. However, he maintained that it was necessary for the officers' group to keep its independence.<sup>217</sup> Therefore, when the Free Officers came to power in July 1952, they immediately avowed their autonomy, acting against the independent trade unions and then the left, and later against the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>218</sup>

Soon after they seized the power and overthrew the monarchy, the Free Officers enacted the land reform in September 1952, which increased their legitimacy in the eye of the public. The law set a rather high ceiling of 200 *faddans* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Silbermann, "National Identity." 74–76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Podeh and Winckler, "Introduction," 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Hrair Dekmejian, *Egypt under Nasir: A Study in Political Dynamics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1971), 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Khaled Mohi El Din, *Memories of a Revolution: Egypt 1952* (American University in Cairo Press, 1995), 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 105-106.

on land ownership (300 for a family), gradually reduced to 50 *faddans* (100 for a family) by 1969. Accompanying measures such as an agricultural minimum wage, tenancy reforms, and limiting agricultural rents to seven times the land tax contributed to raising peasants' life standards. The reform was very significant, but far from being revolutionary. It succeeded in breaking the political power of the large landowners, but their property was not expropriated, and the agrarian system went on to be based on rather unequal distribution of privately owned land.<sup>219</sup>

The buyers of the lands sold by the wealthy landowners were primarily middle and rich peasants, whose numbers increased as a result of the reform.<sup>220</sup> Binder claimed that the Free Officers formed an alliance with part of the rural class who were locally influential landowners of moderate means (owners of ten to fifty *feddans*) and mobilized through the medium of the Arab Socialist Union.<sup>221</sup> Indeed, the September 1952 Agrarian Reform, supplemented by the reform laws of 1961 and 1969, deprived the wealthy landowners of their economic privileges and political power. Instead, an enlarged group of rural small landlords emerged, becoming the link between the regime and the villagers. This new position of the rural middle class enabled the regime to use it as an instrument of political and social control in the countryside.<sup>222</sup> Overall, however, the common villagers not only regarded Nasser's policies and reforms in the countryside as "positive proof of his concern for the *fellahin*" but also "identified with him and accepted his innovations."<sup>223</sup>

## 2.2.3.3. Arab Socialist Union: Classless Society, Single Party

Soon after seizing power, the Free Officers abolished the multiparty system. Instead, Nasser attempted to establish a single mass organization. The term *party* was avoided due to its connotation of partisanship. The organization was designed as a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> Hinnebusch, *Egyptian Politics under Sadat*, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Leonard Binder, *In a Moment of Enthusiasm: Political Power and the Second Stratum in Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Waterbury, *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat*, 277.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> James B. Mayfield, *Rural Politics in Nasser's Egypt: A Quest for Legitimacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 7.

means of mobilizing, activating, and controlling the masses. The goal was "melting" (*tadhwib*) all class differences on the road to a classless society. <sup>224</sup>

In 1953 Nasser set up a single legal political organization called *the Liberation Rally*. He stated: "The Liberation Rally is not a political party. Its creation was prompted by the desire to establish a body that would organize the people's forces and overhaul the social set-up."<sup>225</sup> Baker depicts Rally as 'an instrument for depoliticizing public life,' a means of preventing trade union activism, peasant activism in rural collectives that had emerged in response to land reform and the activities of communist and Islamist organizations.<sup>226</sup>

It was replaced by the National Union in 1956, which was an instrument of solidarity constitution against Britain, France and Israel during the Suez crisis. In 1962, this was replaced with the Arab Socialist Union (ASU), a body which at first sight looked like a conventional party, with mass membership and branches in villages, city districts, workplaces and educational institutions. However, the Union was also controlled autocratically by the military elite and by senior bureaucrats: in 1965 Nasser admitted, "The fast is we have no internal organization, except on the books."<sup>227</sup> The ASU did, however, provide mechanisms for co-opting dissidents who survived Nasser's intensive repression. The clearest example was the Egyptian Communist Party, which dissolved itself in 1964.<sup>228</sup>

Arab Socialist Union (ASU) was meant to be a representation of the "national alliance of working forces" consisting of workers, peasants, intellectuals, national capitalists, and soldiers. "While the five parts of the alliance were far more a rhetorical device than an organizational reality," wrote Waterbury, "they served to focus attention on social categories that cut vertically across strata of income and privilege."<sup>229</sup> Corporative structures of the regime were designed as reinforcements to Nasserist rhetoric, aiming to provide evidence to the feasibility of their narrative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Podeh and Winckler, "Introduction," 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> Derek Hopwood, Egypt, Politics and Society 1945-1990, (London: Routledge, 1993), 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> Baker, Egypt's Uncertain Revolution, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> Baker, Egypt's Uncertain Revolution, 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Marfleet, "State and Society," 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Waterbury, *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat*, 315.

"National Unity." However, these efforts were put into practice in an authoritarian top-down manner, which also involved the accompaniment of physical coercion to cooptation strategies.

Nasser saw the communist movement as a threat and did not adopt a benign stance towards communism. When he received an invitation from USSR, he announced that "our anti-communist principles" would not be overshadowed by the trip, and asserted his commitment to continue to "arrest the communists and put them on trial."<sup>230</sup> Despite their own persecution, all the Egyptian communist groups began to support the Nasserist regime for its neutralist, anti-imperialist, and Arab nationalist policies. Beinin suggests<sup>231</sup> Gamal Abdel Nasser's prominent role at the April 1955 Bandung Conference, the purchase of arms from Czechoslovakia in September 1955, the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956, and the establishment of the UAR in 1958 and the set of 'socialist' measures introduced by 1961 decrees all culminated in the dissolution of the communist party in 1964. Many former communist intellectuals assumed leading positions in the cultural and educational apparatus of the Arab Socialist Union; however, Beinin adds, working-class former party members were generally not embraced by the regime<sup>232</sup>.

Marfleet argues when the ECP dissolved in 1964, its leading figures joined Nasser's Arab Socialist Union (ASU), the country's only legally recognized party.<sup>233</sup> This was designed as a mass-membership organization with branches in villages, in urban centers, and in workplaces and educational institutions. Yet, Marfleet notes, the organization had no internal life and in reality no members.<sup>234</sup> Nasser himself also made the same remark saying: "The fact is we have no internal organization, except on the books."<sup>235</sup> The union worked as a state institution, which was run by bureaucrats and army officers, who controlled every aspect of national political life.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> Ginat, *Incomplete Revolution*, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> Beinin, Workers and Peasants, 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Philip Marfleet, ""Never going back": Egypt's continuing revolution" in International Socialism Journal 137 (Winter 2013) http://www.isj.org.uk/?id=866.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup>Baker, Egypt's Uncertain Revolution, 96.

In workplaces, contrary to its formal role as an educator, it operated as part of the security services, maintaining surveillance on workers and even on local managers. Baker observes that the ASU operated mainly as a spy system in industry.<sup>236</sup>

The reason for their dissolution, Beinin argues, lies in their conception of the revolution.<sup>237</sup> Most Arab Marxists formulated the transition in a strategy of stages, which was compatible with the Nasserism's own tendencies. Marxists held the belief that the first stage was the nationalist, anti-imperialist struggle which would then be followed by the struggle for social progress and socialism. Beinin notes that when Marxists started to think that army officers were more effective than workers and peasants in overthrowing British and French imperialism and when they saw the Soviet Union admitted the military regimes as allies despite their refusal to adopt "scientific socialism," the Marxists, though not with enthusiasm, embraced the regime.

The regime, in return, accepted this embrace only if the Marxists left their independent perspective or buried it beneath the surface. However, Beinin says, this collaboration had grave consequences for the workers and peasants since communists became part of the effort to prevent workers and peasants from developing their own independent organizations.<sup>238</sup> To sum up, cooptation represented the regime's top down efforts to mobilize workers, peasants and political organizations by incorporating them into a state-designed project as passive members rather than active political participants. However, for regime survival, cooptation did not suffice. Ayubi contends that Arab state is a "fierce" state that has to rely on raw coercion in order to preserve itself.<sup>239</sup> Such preservation became possible with the growing dominance of the military in the regime, gradually creating a "power elite"<sup>240</sup> who concentrated the tools of supervision and coercion at hand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Ibid., 189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> Beinin, Workers and Peasant, 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> Ayubi, Over-Stating the Arab State, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Mills, *The Power Elite*, 4.

### 2.2.4. Militarism: Creating A Power Elite

As soon as the Free Officers seized power, they tied their military colleagues to their regime by quickly transforming them from military elite into a "power elite."<sup>241</sup> The policies of the Free Officers' regime under Nasser gave the military an ideological mission, which transmuted it into an instrument for social transformation. As the state embarked on comprehensive development programs under Nasser, it relied on the military to provide technological expertise and bureaucratic supervision.<sup>242</sup>

Nasserist regime consolidated the role of the army as the main constituent of Egypt's nationalistic endeavors. The nationalist picture of the role of the armed forces during Nasser's regime was based on a series of heroic deeds from its success in toppling a foreign and corrupt dynasty in 1952 to its striving to redistribute wealth and achieve social. The Egyptian military became the symbol of the efforts to restore national dignity and achieve economic prosperity. The ideational link between liberation, development and the military was the main source of legitimacy of their residing the regime for the masses.

Apart from ideational links, Nassif suggests, Nasser provided officers with a stake in the regime by encouraging their private interests.<sup>243</sup> After the 1952 coup, the members of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), the body formed consisting of the Free Officers, stipulated that officer would control the work of one or more ministries.<sup>244</sup> Nasser and his colleagues became the supervisors of every ministry. So as to establish loyalty and create clientele inside the military, RCC members appointed their fellow officers as advisors and representatives in the new administration. By 1953, officers occupied scores of prestigious and highly-paid civilian jobs that were unattainable under the monarchy. Anouar Abdel-Malek maintains that 1,500 former officers were appointed to top nonmilitary positions between 1952 and 1964.<sup>245</sup> Nasserism, to summarize, placed military in the center of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Nassif, "Wedded to Mubarak, 510.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Ibid., 512.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Ibid., 513.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Abdel-Malek, *Egypt: Military Society*, 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Ibid., 92.

its regime building and regime survival project assigning the army a nationalistic ideological mission, a populist reformist appeal and a growing political power. While Nasserism interpreted the ideas through the prism of nationalism, the popular masses viewed Nasserism as an ideology radiating from the centrality of the military in governance and rule.

## 2.2.5. Secularism: Anti-Islamist Egyptian Nationalism

Nasserism allocated a space for religion as a constituent of Arab nationalism; however, this inclusion always bore a caution against its manipulative exploitation. For that reason, it was largely neglected on the level of policy. On the one hand, religion was part of the native ingredient of Arabness which contributed to its peculiarity in its encounters with Western colonialism as well as Western Marxism; therefore it was espoused to arouse consent among masses and as a point of distinctiveness. On the other hand, it was an area which needed to be contained in order not to allow political movements such as Muslim Brothers to organize masses on the basis of religion against the regime.<sup>246</sup>

An illustration of cautious containment can be seen in *The National Charter*, which emphasized that, all monotheistic religions, in essence, are human revolutions, which aim at realizing man's prosperity but under certain circumstances religions are manipulated for reactionary ends. Furthermore, it stated that no religion can accept a system of class distinction.<sup>247</sup> In parallel to Ginat's remark, Jankowski contends religious affiliation was kept at the margin as political referent in the discourse employed by Nasser.<sup>248</sup> Although while addressing audiences consisting of foreign Muslims or while speaking at religious institutions such as al-Azhar, Nasser employed religiously enhanced vocabulary such as "fighting for the sake of God,"<sup>249</sup> his rare references to religion demonstrate his secularist rejection of the political relevance of religion in the modern world.<sup>250</sup> Nasser denied religion as the source of state policy as he stated in an interview in 1954:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Ginat, *Incomplete Revolution*, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Jankowski, Nasser's Egypt, 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, *The Cairo Documents* (New York: Garden City, 1973), 20-21.

After eighteen months in power, I still don't see how it would be possible to govern according to the Koran....The Koran is a very general text, capable of interpretation, and that is why I don't think it is suitable as a source of policy or political doctrine.<sup>251</sup>

The Nasserist regime's rejection of religion as a basis for national identity and state policy took place in a particular context. In the early years of the revolution, the most serious domestic opposition to the regime came from the Muslim Brotherhood. Therefore, its denial of religion as a political referent was in part a reaction to the agenda advocated by the Brotherhood and was to some degree conditioned by the need to mark off its program and appeal from that of its main domestic rival.<sup>252</sup>

Nasserism's position with respect to religion bears similarities with its treatment of the communist or working class movement in that it tried to absorb it to its discourse reducing it to a tool of emotional appeal without a political resonance. However, when religion became politicized from the ranks of a rival political organization, i.e. Muslim Brotherhood, hegemony was sustained resorting to physical coercion. In a November 1952 address, Muhammad Naguib, the coup's nominal leader, declared that the revolution's principles were 'religion, union, and order.'<sup>253</sup> By 1954, 450 members of the Muslim Brotherhood were arrested, and by the end of 1954 the organization was banned. Yet, to illustrate the populist corporatist nature of the regime, the constitution which was proclaimed in 1956 designated the Egyptian state as 'Islamic'.<sup>254</sup>

Although Nasser's view can be seen as a continuation of the secular line of thinking adopted by the former generation of Egyptian territorial nationalists, Nasserist ideology treated religion both as a marker of Arabness and as a potentially dangerous field to be exploited, resulting in efforts to contain its popular appeal as well as oppress its political configurations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Jean Lacouture, *Egypt in Transition* (New York: Methuen, 1958), 458-459.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> Talhami, *Palestine and Egyptian National Identity*, 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> Ginat, *Incomplete Revolution*, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Ibid., 2.

### 2.3. Chapter Summary

Nasserist ideology was shaped in the ranks of a highly politicized officers imbued with the anti-colonialist and anti-establishment sentiments prevalent in the 1930s and the 1940s. The excessive politicization of the middle class members of the Egyptian military filled vacuum marked with the absence of a powerful, independent and unified mass movement outside the barracks. Officers' movement from above provided the Egyptian masses with corporate and unified sense of identity against imperialism and the landed and capitalist classes. Therefore, it gained a mass appeal going beyond the ranks they emerged. In its encounter with British Imperialism and landowners, Nasserism also addressed to the common consciousness prevailing throughout the region which was expressed as belonging to a single Arab nation beyond the political borders splitting the Arab states emerging from the colonial period.

Against the background of the national fervour and patriotic zeal among the masses, Nasserism found a long-enduring emotional impetus. Defending the 'watan,' liberating the Palestine, defeating Israel and its colonial supporters, rising against the British and the Americans were all "emotion-laden" promises that, in the 1950s and the 1960s, "touched a deep and receptive chord among millions throughout the Arab world."<sup>255</sup> The emotive aspect was supplemented with a programmatic dimension which was based on the projects that were essentially nationalist and statist and was defined in terms of economic nationalism, industrial development and state capitalism.

Despite its popular appeal, it was also a political project enforced from above, in which the Free Officers strived after conserving control, manipulating and oppressing popular movements and forces such as the Muslim Brotherhood and the Egyptian Communist movement. Built upon such a radical regime building project as well as oppressive authority construction practice, Nasserist ideology exerted significant national, regional and international impact.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Mehran Kamrava, "Military Professionalization and Civil-Military Relations in the Middle East," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 115, No. 1 (Spring, 2000): 77.

# CHAPTER III

# Nasserist Ideology During Sadat and Mubarak Era

A detailed picture of the Nasser's era was given in the previous chapter. Nasserism after Nasser came to be associated with the moves that challenged the imperialism and increased the level of prosperity and security for the working masses and masses. That is, Nasserism was identified with the dismissal of the monarchy; the evacuation of occupation forces; land reform; industrialization policies; nationalization of the Suez Canal and subsequent triumph against Britain, France and Israel; and the Palestinian cause.<sup>256</sup> In addition to all these positive associations, Nasserism was also identified with the alienation of dissent political currents which managed to hold a genuine attraction among people. Communists and Muslim Brotherhood, whose activists were arrested, tortured and among whom some were executed, can illustrate the degree of alienation.<sup>257</sup> Moreover, Nasserism was characterized with a method of rule in which the power was increasingly concentrated in the circle of a group of loyalists within the military and state bureaucracy. The former communist Anouar Abdel-Malik argued that the Officers betrayed those who had ushered them to power. Egypt had fallen into the hands of 'a devouring bureaucracy... let loose with the immunity of autocracy'; the people had been subordinated to the interests of military-bureaucratic elite which 'determined the objectives and modes of national action': the people were present merely 'to supply the manpower.<sup>258</sup> In addition, Nasserism was identified with a reinforced police and intelligence apparatus around which a network of informers was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Marfleet, "State and Society," 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), 27-28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> Anour Abdel-Malek, *Egypt, Military, Society: The Army Regime, the Left, and Social Change under Nasser* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), 366.

developed in order to monitor workplaces and communities on the model of the Stalinist state.<sup>259</sup>

Hatina argues that Nasserism lost its force as a political ideology from the 1980s to 2000s due to the two presidents that followed Nasser: Anwar al-Sadat and Hosni Mubarak. Both of them made major changes in the revolutionary legacy they inherited from Nasser's period. Sadat inaugurated "*Infitah*" policies which were ostensibly designed to bring about economic and political openness. He also made the status of Islam stronger. In addition, he took the initial steps to tie Egypt's future to the West. Finally, he signed a peace deal with Israel.<sup>260</sup> Mubarak followed a similar course of action, entrenching the processes that took place during Sadat's period. Mubarak, furthermore, considered himself as "godfather" of the peace negotiations conducted between Israel and its neighbors.<sup>261</sup> The policy shift towards Israel marked a radical reorientation of not only the foreign affairs but also the domestic agenda. Despite all these alterations, official and symbolic linkage to the revolution was preserved. While a constant process of de-Nasserization can be observed in the state policies<sup>262</sup>, institutions created during Nasser era were adjusted rather than being eliminated according to the requirement of the new policies.

While the official governance pursued a radically different path in terms of ideological roots, the legacy of Nasserism remained alive in the collective memory. Hatina argues that this legacy "constitutes the pool of the social and cultural experiences and often serves as a political device in promoting competing interpretations and interests."<sup>263</sup> Therefore, Nasserism after Nasser does not have a monolithic lineage but hosts a number of diverse interpretations. John Bodnar regards collective memory as a pool where perspectives and authentic views are recalled and reproduced to address the most significant issues that the society are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> Marfleet, "State and Society," 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> Michael Winter, "Islam in the State: Pragmatism and Growing Commitment," in *Egypt from Monarchy to Republic*, ed., Shimon Shamir, (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1995), 50–53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> Meir Hatina, *Islam in Modern Egypt* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2000), 36–45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> Robert Springborg, *Mubarak's Egypt: fragmentation of the political order* (Boulder Co: Westview Press, 1989), 20–21, 37–38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Samuel N. Eisenstadt, *Tradition, Change, and Modernity* (New York: John Wiley, 1973), 119–21.

being affected by at present.<sup>264</sup> When this interpretation of collective memory is translated into the Egyptian frame of reference, Nasserism as a hybrid set of ideas provided a historical prism through which the country's current experience was seen. As a myth-laden ideology, its presence could be felt in relation to everlasting issues that the political structure was not able to solve.<sup>265</sup> Nasserism, during Sadat's rule and Mubarak's administration, unfolded into a forceful myth without a substantial impact at national level but still with a shadowy presence on the Egyptian political scene. This presence was felt when the social-pact and Arab nationalism on which the Nasserist policies were based as the major sources of legitimacy for Nasserist ideology were under threat; therefore, each attempt to deviate the core configurations of Nasserism was met with contention and opposition. Although their potency was bruised toward the end of Nasser's rule, they maintained their position as optimal ideals that were not to be easily eliminated.<sup>266</sup> In other words, they were translated into cultural and historical myths loaded with historic significance and sentimental commitment. This legacy led Nasserism to be retained as an ideology alive in the Egyptian national memory.<sup>267</sup>

## 3.1 Nasserism during the Sadat Era

Sadat era will be examined in two ways, one of which will focus on the shifts and turns in the state policies culminated in *Infitah* (Open Door) policy and "de-Nasserization" campaign, while the other part will examine the formation of Nasserism as an oppositional ideology to sustain its existence and challenge the "de-Nasserisation" policies.<sup>268</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 14–15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds., Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1–11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> Gordon, "Secular and Religious Memory in Egypt," 104–105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Meir Hatina, "History, Politics, and Collective Memory: The Nasserist Legacy in Mubarak's Egypt," in *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*, eds, E. Podeh and O. Winckler (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Ellie Podeh and Onn Winckler, "Introduction," in *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*, eds, E. Podeh and O. Winckler (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 6.

During Sadat era, cultural, economic, and political de-Nasserization of Egypt was increasingly encouraged.<sup>269</sup> In this environment, the publication of a variety of books and articles displaying the degree of political repression that had been implemented under Nasser produced a considerably negative image of Nasser, which played a significant role in the weakness of Nasserist opposition against Sadat's policies.<sup>270</sup> Economically, *Infitah* policy was launched, aiming to attract foreign investment, Western technology, encourage Egyptian private capital.<sup>271</sup> Politically, the regime developed new co-optation policies under Nasser at domestic level, while internationally Egypt retreated from the ideals of pan-Arabism through peace-seeking policies replacing confrontation with Israel.<sup>272</sup>

## 3.1.1 Denasserization-Discontinuities

During Sadat's era, a "de-Nasserization" program was initiated which lifted the ban on the publication of books, articles, and movies, describing or illustrating the brutal suppression of civil rights under Nasser. These publications depicted Nasser as a ferocious dictator whose way of rule was in opposite terms with the benign and sensitive feature of Egyptian popular culture. Leonard Binder illustrates this argument with two examples: "Tawfiq al-Hakim's *Awdat al-Way* (Restoration of consciousness) and Nagib Mahfuz's *Al-Karnak* (also a movie) were influential statements of the harm done to Egypt's civic culture by Nasser."<sup>273</sup> These cultural productions were reinforced by the long-awaiting complaints of "the Silent Ones," members of the original Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) who had been demoted to secondary and largely ineffectively symbolic positions because of their liberal or religious tendencies. Islamic opposition embodied in *Muslim Brotherhood* also joined the critics accusing Nasser of the "slaughter" of the *Muslim Brotherhood*,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> Hinnebusch, *Egyptian Politics under Sadat*, 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>270</sup> John Waterbury, *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: The Political Economy of Two Regimes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 338, 339.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> Ray Bush, "The land and the people," in *Egypt: The Moment of Change*, eds. R. El-Mahdi and P. Marfleet, (London: Zed Boooks, 2009), 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> Tarek Osman, *Egypt on the Brink: From the Rise of Nasser to the Fall of Mubarak* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), 129-130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> Binder, "Gamal Abd al-Nasser: Iconology, Ideology, and Demonology," 46.

which was referring to the policy of oppression that was begun following the assassination attack against Nasser in 1954.<sup>274</sup>

#### 3.1.1.1. Arab Socialism: From State Capitalism to Infitah

In Hinnebusch's opinion, the major cause of the decline of Nasserism was the growing conflict between Nasser's radical populist policies and the dominant bourgeois segments of the regime's social base. He explained: "The official ideology was socialist, collectivist, and anti-imperialist, but the 'state bourgeoisie' kept a covert 'counter-ideology,' liberal, pro-Western, and consumption-oriented, alive at the very heart of the state." This trend also influenced the Free Officers in that they were gradually "embourgeoised."<sup>275</sup> Another factor, according to x, Nasserism suffered from institutional weakness. The masses supported and benefited from Nasserism without a viable political part which could make them politically active. In other words, the political passivity of the masses rendered Nasserism ideological powerful but institutionally weak.<sup>276</sup>

In April 1974, Sadat delivered the "October Working Paper" which declared that "the Egyptian economy would have to be opened up to foreign investment and that Egypt would accept unconditional aid and loans from abroad to aid in development."<sup>277</sup> Sadat suggested that the public sector would remain to be the backbone of the Egyptian economy, but the private sector was essential to strengthen the economy. The purpose was to alleviate the unemployment problem through private investment.<sup>278</sup> The most significant part of the "October Working Paper" was the new economic policy Sadat would apply, which is referred to as the "*Infitah*" or "Open Door Policy." This new policy brought about the enactment of Law 43 in 1974 which allowed the private companies to be established, promoted foreign investment, lifted the states monopoly on the banking system, and permitted joint

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> Hinnebusch, *Egyptian Politics under Sadat*, 29–31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> Waterbury, *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat*, 355-356.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> Ibid., 356.

ventures between private and public sectors.<sup>279</sup> In order to attract foreign investment in Egypt, the government offered tax breaks, tariff incentives, and less governmental control over industry.<sup>280</sup> The *Infitah* was a major liberalization of the Egyptian economy, and was a major reversal of Nasser's economic policies.

Pan-Arabism was a political project during Nasser era; that is, Nasserism was based on the unity of the Arab countries in political terms; the *Infitah* turned this political project into an interest-based economic endeavor by allowing the oil-rich Arab countries to invest more in Egypt. The pan-Arabist idea of cooperation between Arab countries was replaced with an economic reintegration project. Before the *Infitah*, oil-rich Arab countries invested approximately 350 million dollars every year and after the *Infitah* their investments rose to 3 billion dollars.<sup>281</sup>

*Infitah* enabled traditional capitalism to actively exist in all fields of economic activity. A new capitalist class emerged, which is described by Sadowski in their relation to the state:

...accumulated wealth through connections with bureaucrats and government officials who sold state-owned agricultural land and real estate at low prices in return for huge commissions. Such mechanisms led to the emergence of a capitalist class loyal to the bureaucratic ruling class.<sup>282</sup>

In parallel, a stratum of agricultural capitalists was recreated at the disadvantage of small farmers. Sadat undertook agricultural policies eradicating the gains of poor and middle-income peasants, initiating a process that would last for over thirty years, resulting in the reversal of Nasserist agricultural reform.<sup>283</sup>

To be able to receive IMF and WB loans, Sadat put into effect new economic policies that reduced the amount of public spending and lift certain subsides.<sup>284</sup> Under these new policies the government lessened the financial support for public

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> Waterbury, The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat, 180, 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> Bush, "The Land and the people," 54,56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> Lorenz, Egypt and the Arabs, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> Yahya M. Sadowski, *Political Vegetables? Businessman and Bureaucrat in the Development of Egyptian Agriculture* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 1991), 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> Ahmad El-Sayed El-Naggar, "Economic policy: from state control to decay and corruption," in Egypt: the Moment of Change, eds, R. El-Mahdi and P. Marfleet, (London: Zed Books, 2009), 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> Bjorn Olav Utvik, Islamist Economics in Egypt (Boulder CO.: Lynne Rienner, 2006), 4.

education and health care services, removed rent control and subsidies on food and clothing, and ceased the building of low cost housing.<sup>285</sup> In brief, the government abandoned the policies and attributes which constituted Nasser's social contract. The *Infitah* policies caused a large amount of social disillusionment and dissatisfaction. These policies produced a rift between the government and the population.<sup>286</sup> The conditions of the mass of people got worse: in 1976 one study suggested that 80 percent of the population were worse off than when the new policy had been issued just three years earlier.<sup>287</sup> Those who benefited from *Infitah*, according to Hinnebush) were mainly commission agents and profiteers:

Contractors, real-estate speculators, and merchants flourished on the economic boom: importers, partners and agents of foreign firms, tourist operators, lawyers and middlemen who helped investors negotiate bureaucratic tangles, thrived on the cuts they took from the resource inflow... Officials reaped commissions on the state contracts and engaged in widespread corrupt practices. Together, these groups were forming a 'parasitic bourgeoisie' living off *Infitah*.<sup>288</sup>

The segments described above were 'fat cats', who were in the target in 1977, when huge protests called as 'food riots' took place against Sadat's attempts to remove subsidies on staple foods and fuel as part of the loan deals with IMF. Millions of people joined the demonstrations and in Cairo symbols of the new wealth – luxury hotels, boutiques, nightclubs and casinos- were ransacked and burned. Marfleet provides a different explanation from that of Hinnebush by pointing to the link between the "new class" and the "old state bourgeoisie":

Sadat had not created a new 'parasitic' class; however, rather, he had opened opportunities for private capitalists tolerated under the Nasserist state and among whom some had seized opportunities for enrichment. Together with the arrivistes among the building contractors, property dealers and traders encouraged by liberalization, they gained entry into a network of interests in which senior military figures and bureaucrats made common cause with business and commerce.<sup>289</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> Hinnebusch, Egyptian Politics under Sadat, 269-270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> Marfleet, "State and Society," 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> Baker, Egypt's Uncertain Revolution Under Nasser and Sadat, 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> Hinnebusch, R. (1985) *Egyptian Politics under Sadat*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 69-70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> Marfleet, "State and Society," 21.

# **3.1.1.2.** Arab Nationalism: From Soviet oriented Non-Alignment to Pro Westernism

Sadat's strategic and economic opening to the West, initiated in the mid-1970s, had complicated aims. Egypt's economic relationship with the Soviet Union and its allies, established in the 1950s, had started to cause increasing difficulty. An expanding need for food imports from the USA, Australia, Canada and Europe, which could only be paid back in convertible currency, forced Sadat to look for new external connections.<sup>290</sup> As he sought an alliance with the USA, Sadat had the intention to weaken his opponents in the Egyptian military and in the ruling party, the Arab Socialist Union.<sup>291</sup> Sadat's initial step was to start the October War of 1973. During this war the Egyptian army crossed the Suez Canal, temporarily forcing the Israeli forces to retreat. This move was an attempt to strengthen Egypt's hand in the American-sponsored peace negotiations with Israel rather than a move to claim Nasser's status.<sup>292</sup>

The result was a shared support from the Arab Middle Eastern countries. However, his agenda involved strategic purposes such as gaining a more neutral position for Egypt in the international scene. Sadat's turn towards West is explained by Lorenz with its strategic and military dimensions:

Under Nasser, Egypt had become politically, militarily, and economically aligned with the Soviet Union and isolated from the United States. Sadat understood that in order for Egypt to gain a victory over Israel he would not only have to rely on the Arab countries, but also the United States' influence over Israel. In order to become more neutral, Sadat expelled the 15,000 Soviet Union military advisors from Egypt in 1972.<sup>293</sup>

The War of Attrition ended when Egypt accepted a cease-fire proposed under United Nations Resolution 338. Sadat didn't consult Egypt's Arab allies despite their military support in the war. Many of the Arab Middle Eastern countries saw this as a betrayal by Egypt. The impression of Egypt as the leading Arab country in the fight against the colonial powers and Israel was replace with an image of Egypt in pursuit

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> Waterbury, "The "Soft" State and the Open Door," 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> Alexander, "Mubarak in the international arena," 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> Lorenz, *Egypt and The Arabs*, 45.

of self-interests and in obedience to the will of the West. Unlike Nasser, Sadat believed that Egypt could benefit from foreign investment and diplomatic relations with the United States. In 1974 and 1975 Egypt and Israel signed disengagement agreements, known as Sinai I and Sinai II, which called for the end of military conflict between the two countries. Sadat had again made these agreements without consulting his Arab allies, and Hinnebusch comments on how this shift was perceived. He says this "go-it-alone policy was destroying Egypt's traditional leadership of Arab nationalism."<sup>294</sup>

This perception was reinforced with another international move Sadat made. The official end to Egypt's pan-Arabic ideals was the Peace Treaty Sadat signed with Israel in March 1979. The deal led Israel to retreat from Sinai. However, Nasserists strongly opposed this treaty on the grounds that peace with Egypt protected Israel's southern region. As Noam Chomsky puts it, "crucially, Egyptian military forces were excluded from the Arab-Israeli conflict, so that Israel could concentrate its attention (and its military forces) on the occupied territories and the northern border." <sup>295</sup> Nasserist opposition held this treaty and its signaturer, Sadat, responsible for the further attacks of Israel. They maintained that a generation of peace in Sinai made it possible for the Israel Defense Force to launch war on Lebanon and Gaza.<sup>296</sup>

# **3.1.1.3. Secularism: From Oppressing** *Muslim Brotherhood* to Cooptation

Sadat's *Infitah* policies created a lot of resentment as can be seen in the "breadriots" in 1977. He also alienated his opponents in the military whose international alignment idea was an alliance with the Soviets. In addition to affecting an increase in the economic power of the military, Sadat supported Islamist segments of the political spectrum against the leftist and Nasserist oppositional groups. L. Browers explains this policy as a common feature of Arab political scene:

Arab-leaders have often traded repression and cultivation of one ideological grouping at the expense of the other to diminish the capacity of each to act as a significant oppositional force vis-à-vis state and further deepening the lines

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup> Hinnebusch, Egyptian Politics under Sadat, 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> Noam Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle: The United States,Israel and the Palestinians* (London: Pluto Press, 1999), 194-195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> Ibid., 195.

that divide political groups. In the 1970s, Egyptian president Anwar Al-Sadat bolstered *Muslim Brotherhood* in his campaign against leftists and Nasserists.<sup>297</sup>

The Muslim Brotherhood benefited extensively from this support and economic policies of Sadat. The Infitah created a space for the Muslim Brotherhood to run a parallel and hidden economy that provided social services for the Egyptian population; these social services included health care, education, and charities.<sup>298</sup> The charities supplied food, water, clothing, and money to the poor segments of population that was affected by the removal of subsides. Since all of the schools built by the Muslim Brotherhood were Islamic schools, the students were only taught the teachings of the Quran and the need to have a just society based on Islamic teachings and fundamentals. With regards to health care services, the first Muslim Brotherhood hospital, established in 1947, treated over 51,000 patients in 1947. These patients were unable to afford the health care services at state run hospitals.<sup>299</sup> Sadat's Infitah policies also enabled the Muslim Brotherhood to open up Islamic banks and investment companies within Egypt.<sup>300</sup> By means of these Islamic banks, the Egyptian population was able to get interest-free loans and a greater rate of return on their investments. These loans and investments allowed the Egyptian population to open up their own businesses and participate more actively in the economy.

Providing these social services gave the *Muslim Brotherhood* the opportunity to gain the support of Egyptian population. That support resulted in a dramatic increase in membership of *the Brotherhood* within both the middle and lower class citizens. The membership occupations of *the Brotherhood* included students, teachers, civil servants, private business owners, military and police officers,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> Michaelle L. Browers, *Political Ideology in the Arab World: Accommodation and Transformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup> Davut Ates, "Economic Liberalization and Changes in Fundamentalism: The Case of Egypt,"

Middle East Policy, Vol. 12, Issue. 4 (Winter 2005):5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> Janine Clark, Islam, Charity, and Activism: Middle Class Networks and Social Welfare

in Egypt, Jordan, and Yemen (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004), 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>300</sup> Bjorn Olav Utvik, "Filling the Vacant Throne of Nasser: The Economic Discourse of Egypt's Islamist Opposition," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Fall 1995): 30-31.

merchants, and farmers.<sup>301</sup> *Muslim Brotherhood*, in short, managed to diffuse its Islamist ideology among the Egyptian lower and middle classes, contesting the ideological hegemony of the Nasserist ideology. The embittered class started to articulate their disillusionment with Sadat's policies predominantly through Islamist opposition rather than Nasserist vocabulary.

## 3.1.2 Continuities

# 3.1.2.1. Militarism under Sadat: A coercive and collaborative Power Block

The military was a significant power bloc during Nasser's era ideologically because the fact that the radical attempts to challenge the former system sprang from its ranks gave this institution a supra-state status among public. They also retained a substantial portion of the political power in their hands since they were the ones occupying the leading positions in key ministries. The latter was bargained for a greater share in economic sphere during Sadat's era. That is to say, although the political potency of the military did not erode dramatically, it was its economic power that was entrenched by Sadat.

Seeds of a military economic empire were planted during Sadat's rule. The military's engagement in the economy provided the Egyptian generals with a new part to enact during peace process Post-1967 period caused a decline in the need for their role as the nation's safeguard against Israel. However, ideologically this economic empowerment was given a rationale to keep the military as the major bulwark of the Egyptian nation. The strategic rationale behind this mission served three purposes:

...to rebrand the armed forces as a major contributor to Egypt's prosperity, and thus garner the same degree of reverence and special treatment they enjoyed in war times; to avoid laying off thousands of officers no longer needed in the military after the signature of the 1978 Camp David Accords; and to find new venues for the top brass to pursue their private interests, provided they remain politically quiescent.<sup>302</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> Ziad Munson, "Islamic Mobilization: Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood," *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 42, Iss. 4, (September 2011): 492.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>302</sup> Nassif, "Wedded to Mubarak," 513.

Sadat, similar to Nasser, propagated ideational links with the military; however, his were different from those of Nasser. Sadat moved away from pan-Arabism after 1973 alienating the Nasserist intelligentsia and the segments of the public still committed to the ideals of pan-Arabism. However, Sadat did not receive such a negative response from the officer corps since Sadat oriented his foreign maneuver with an explicitly declared "Egypt-first" slogan. Remembering the fact that Nasserism advocated a pan-Arabist policy without completely moving away from territorial Egyptian nationalism, Egypt-first policy could be built on a fertile soil to flourish into a solid political tendency. Therefore, it was not so difficult to convince the armed forces to the idea that in the Arabs' war with Israel, "it was Egyptians who died while other Arab states postured and orated."<sup>303</sup> Sadat's fundamental argument was that the Egyptian military had made a huge sacrifice to realize its country's pan-Arab commitment: "it fought in 1948 to defend the Palestinians, from 1962 to 1967 to help the Yemenis, and in June 1967 to take pressure off the Syrians."<sup>304</sup>

Thanks to their remarkable performance in the 1973 war, Nassif argues, it was time for the armed forces to be kept away from further encounters with Israel and for Egypt to give priority to its own interests.<sup>305</sup> Sadat's withdrawal from pan-Arab engagement coincided with the ideological shift in the armed forces. Sprinborg explains how Sadat achieved a partial harmony between his rule and the military:

This narrative of contemporary Egyptian history and Sadat's inward-looking shift drew the military closer to his rule, although civil-military relations remained fundamentally tainted by mutual suspicion. Sadat's retreat from the flamboyant pan-Arab engagement of Nasser, symbolized by changing the country's name from the United Arab Republic to the Arab Republic of Egypt, was in tune with the mainstream political sympathies of the officer corps which had become, by the time he took office, "impervious" to radical pan-Arab ideological appeals.<sup>306</sup>

### 3.1.2.2. Cooptation: Political Platforms in Arab Socialist Union

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup> Thomas Lippmann, *Egypt after Nasser: Sadat, Peace, and the Mirage of Prosperity* (Minneapolis: Paragon House, 1989), 183.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> Nassif, "Wedded to Mubarak," 513.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup> Hinnebusch, *Egyptian Politics under Sadat*, 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> Springborg, *Mubarak's Egypt*, 98.

Nasserist period co-opted the leftist groups starting with the Decrees of 1961, which were considered a comprehensive socialist turn in economic policy. In 1962 National Charter was drafted by Arab Socialist Union (ASU), in which Arab socialism was stated as a major principle of Egyptian state. Communist Party of Egypt joined ASU, hoping to deepen these socialist attempts to a full-fledged socialist turn. However, 1967 defeat by Israel resulted in an increasingly oppositional tendency among the leftists in ASU. In 1968, popular demonstrations were held, forcing Nasser to declare in a statement on March 30 with a promise to introduce further democratization reforms. However, the same year also marked a turning away from the vaguely defined socialist commitments of the early and mid-1960s.<sup>307</sup>

The regime of Anwar Sadat in the 1970s also practiced co-optation, modifying Nasser's monolithic single party, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU), to find space for "platforms" said to represent key opposition groups. By this means the bourgeois liberal Wafd and the remnants of communist and Nasserist organizations were given rights to organize as distinct political currents. But the changes were of limited value: the "platforms" ran offices and publications but were forbidden to organize publicly, with the result that they were in effect parties without members. Under the pressure of Sadat's radical reorientation policies and growing Islamism, the communist group in ASU started to portray Nasser as an adamant follower the socialist commitments, class struggle, and opposition to Arab reactionaries. Their glorification of Nasser was published in a special issue of their organ in November 1970.<sup>308</sup> Furthermore, Nasser was also described as an Egyptian equivalent of Lenin, a committed democrat, and a farsighted builder of political organizations and institutions. Nasser was depicted as a leader who shared the popular sentiments and experience of the masses of workers and peasants. In their portrayal, Nasser was capable of arguing that the ultimate justification of the social revolution he was leading was the same social justice (aladala) that is the goal of the Islamic Shari'a. In brief, Nasser became an anti-Sadat and anti-Western icon for the left. 309 Yet, this reading was challenged by the increasing force of the Islamic resurgence which limited Nasserism's ideological

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> Binder, "Gamal Abd al-Nasser: Iconology, Ideology, and Demonology," 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>309</sup> Raymond William Baker, *Sadat and After: Struggle for Egypt's Political Soul* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1990), 99-100.

potential to a secularist Sunni Arab minority, to paraphrase Binder. Nasserist model remained the dominant statist pattern save for the monarchies; however, Nasserism became increasingly irrelevant to the domestic and foreign challenges despite the fact that its ideology was retained in public memory, as "a symbol of a powerful and persuasive transnational ethnic and cultural force.<sup>310</sup>

In 1978 he declared the formation of NDP with the motto "Food for every mouth, a house of every individual, and prosperity for all."<sup>311</sup> The new party took over the entire leadership of the ASU. Rather than a political party NDP became a governmental organization which inherited control of the armed forces and the bureaucracy. Another group within the ASU became *the New Wafd* ('Delegation') party, which claimed the legacy of nationalist resistance and of the liberal era of the early twentieth century, while remnants of the Egyptian Communist Party and Nasserite nationalists became *The National Progressive Unionist Party* (usually known as al-*Tagammu*).<sup>312</sup>

## 3.2. Nasserism under Mubarak Era

Mubarak rule led to the emergence of a new account of Nasserism, which referred to history to urge the government to take action on compelling issues such as a growing Islamist movement, the status of the Copts, and democracy. This account of Nasserism, mainly emphasizing its civic nature, was challenged by both the Nasserist and anti-Nasserists. The first called Mubarak's legitimacy into question accusing him of obliterating the revolutionary legacy, while the latter also questioned the legitimacy of the Mubarak rule by accusing him of being an heir to Nasser.<sup>313</sup>

As for what Mubarak's opinion of Nasserism was, he credited the revolution on the grounds that it liberated Egypt from political anarchy and put an end to exploitation; on the other hand, he emphasized the dynamism of history which should always proceed towards progression. His main argument was that the strength of a revolution depends on its adjustment ability to new circumstances. Mubarak

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup> Binder, "Gamal Abd al-Nasser: Iconology, Ideology, and Demonology," 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>311</sup> Derek Hopwood, *Egypt, Politics and Society 1945-1990,* (London: Routledge, 1993), 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup> Marfleet, "State and Society," 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> Hatina, "History, Politics, and Collective Memory," 113.

maintained there was a need to reassess certain achievements of the revolution such as economic centralization and nationalization, which he thought created a burden on public sector and inhibited the private initiative which was the key to economic development. He also suggested that the policy of Arab unity was pursued with a careless hastiness ignoring the complicated natural of Arab reality. He added the complex characteristic of Arab reality was more suitable for long-span and gradual coordination rather than abrupt unity. In brief, Mubarak called for an adaptation of the Nasserist ideology to the requirements of the time.<sup>314</sup> The emphases made by Mubarak not only exhibited continuity by means of a new interpretation of the history but also reflect the official account of the Nasserism debate.<sup>315</sup>

The official parameters also drew attention to the non-violent nature of the July revolution, which came to "symbolize the protection of liberty, justice and national honor" without bloodshed.<sup>316</sup> However, the official account criticized Nasserism in its failure to institutionalize democracy. Mubarak's supporters noted that the establishment of a democratic government was relegated to the bottom of the Free Officers' agenda.<sup>317</sup> The criticism of the Nasserism due to its democracy deficit was aired by Mubarak supporters to highlight how democratic Mubarak's regime was. He was seen as the architect of the third phase of the revolution. Under Nasser the revolution had experienced shocks. In Sadat era, it witnessed some dramatic changes. Under Mubarak's rule the revolution attained stability and was put back on the right track. Mubarak was represented as a figure who led the transition from revolution to democracy in the face of an increasing economic crisis and regional isolation due to the peace treaty with Israel.<sup>318</sup>

The official account also tried to disassociate Nasser from the July revolution. It was the army that served to follow the people's will to put an end to a reign of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup> Osman, "Egypt on the Brink," 181-182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup> Hatina, "History, Politics, and Collective Memory," 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>316</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup> Mehran Kamrava, "Preserving Non-Democracies: Leaders and State Institutions in the Middle East," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 2, (March 2010): 259-260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>318</sup> Susan Muaddi Darraj and Vicki Cox, *Hosni Mubarak* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2007), 62.

tyranny and corruption.<sup>319</sup> Nasser was relegated to the pool of the nationalistic leaders preceding him with an equal importance.<sup>320</sup> The discourse Mubarak followers used sought to rescue Mubarak from being overshadowed by Nasser's charisma.<sup>321</sup> In addition, they emphasized the relativity of Nasser's era, relegating Nasserism to a restricted time frame. They attempted to strip Nasserist ideology of its timeless vision and promote the idea that there must be a new thinking and strategy to take Egypt further.<sup>322</sup> In brief, Nasserism was discarded as a viable alternative which can put forward a normative set of ideas that could design contemporary governance of Egypt. Despite this state-supported diminution of Nasserism, there was a growing public resentment against Mubarak's rule. Hatina argues:

Clearly, the laborers and the fellahin, the two primary, yet poorest, sectors in society, had difficulty in accepting the privatization of public corporations, the downsizing of the public sector, and the partial reclamation of landowners' rights, which had been revoked by the revolution. While this open-door policy did not return Egypt to the days of the pashas, as leftists charged, it certainly engendered public grievances.<sup>323</sup>

In this respect, the vision of social justice promoted by Nasserism continued to cast a threatening shadow over Mubarak's regime. Therefore, bridging social gaps and encouraging a more equal distribution of income came to be associated with Nasserist ideology among the masses in their opposition to Mubarak's neoliberal policies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>319</sup> Amor Perlmutter, "The Praetorian State and the Praetorian Army: Toward a Taxonomy of Civil-Military Relations in Developing Polities," in *Analyzing the Third World: Essays from Comparative Politics*, ed. Norman W. Provizer, (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1978), 378.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>320</sup> Egyptian Revolutionaries: Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ahmed Orabi, Doria Shafik, Hoda Shaarawi, Saad Zaghloul, Youssef Seddik, Hussein El-Shafei (Memphis: LLC Books, 2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>321</sup> <u>Nael Shama</u>, *Egyptian Foreign Policy From Mubarak to Morsi: Against the National Interest* (London: Routledge, 2013), 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>322</sup> Steven A. Cook, *The Struggle for Egypt: From Nasser to Tahrir Square* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>323</sup> Hatina, "Egypt," MECS 21 (1997): 321–22.

#### 3.2.1. Denasserization-Discontinuities

#### 3.2.1.1 Arab Socialism: From Infitah to Crony Capitalism

The socio-economic framework of the Mubarak regime is built on selective choice of free-market principles with a disregard for social welfare or democratic reform in the interests of the Egyptian masses.<sup>324</sup> In other words, Mubarak's policy turned its back on the Nasserist legacy in almost every sphere. Mubarak launched structural economic reforms, privatized public companies, and passed laws to introduce incentives for local and foreign capital entrepreneurs.<sup>325</sup> Even one of the greatest achievements of Nasserist rule, the September 1952 Agrarian Reform, was eradicated in a new Land Act (Act 96, 1992)<sup>326</sup>, which cancelled the forceful control over land-lease fees that Nasser had set up. <sup>327</sup> The act gave the landowners the right to determine leasing fees according to market prices.

The economic framework of Mubarak era was associated with the term 'Crony capitalism,' which is used to describe "privatized economies in which rent-seeking bureaucrats were closely linked to businessmen, and their mutual interest and patronage were reflected in economic policies" by Sadowski.<sup>328</sup> This strategy was designated as 'productive *Infitah*', which he promised could bring the developmental benefits of privatized capitalism without the expenses of the Sadat period. However, this 'well-balanced' strategy turned into a "missionary zeal"<sup>329</sup>, in Springborg's terms, as a result of the pressure from Western advisers and officials over Egypt to pursue a faster and broader program:

They believe that by forcing Egypt to accept the growth of the new orthodoxy they will save it from itself. By encouraging the growth of the private at the expense of the public sector, by forcing relaxation of controls over producers, especially those in agriculture, by inducing economic decision makers to devalue the currency, raise interest rates and rationalize consumer subsidies,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>324</sup> El-Naggar, "Economic Policy," 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>325</sup> Robert Springborg, *Political Structural Adjustment in Egypt: A Precondition for Rapid Economic Growth?* (San Domenico: European University Institute, June 1999), 22–26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup> Bush, "The Land and the People," 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>327</sup> Hatina, "Egypt," MECS 21 (1997): 321-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>328</sup> Sadowski, Political Vegetables?, 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>329</sup> Springborg, Mubarak's Egypt, 257.

they will help establish an economically viable, productive and ultimately more independent Egypt.  $^{330}$ 

In the wake of a deepening debt burden and with a significant encouragement from the business lobby Mubarak accepted to implement most of the IMF's demands without sacrificing the interests of "his bedrock support – the officer corps and the cadre of senior officials which have continuity with the Nasserist era."<sup>331</sup> Consequently, the state evolved into an entity which concentrated centralized control over economic and political issues in its hands with a special promotion for private capital at the highest level. By the mid-1990s, Henry and Springborg contend, Egypt came to be a country "in the grip of a nexus of cronies, officers, bureaucrats and public sector managers."<sup>332</sup>

The intertwined nature of private and public interests led to seemingly contradictory consequences. Mitchell argues US aid enterprise and the ostensible encouragement of 'pluralism' actually reinforced the position of the state. The military became the part of the state with the highest benefits, gaining a greater share in manufacturing, agriculture and construction. To illustrate, the early years of the 1980s "the Food Security Division of the armed forces had become the largest agro-industrial complex in the country."<sup>333</sup> By the 1990s top officials of the regime were at the same time Egypt's leading businessmen.<sup>334</sup> In 2006 *Kifaya*, which was an important organization within the democracy movement, issued a report on *Corruption in Egypt: A Black Cloud That Never Passes*.<sup>335</sup> This report claimed that the president's sons took bribe for assisting the activities of foreign investors. It also alleged that a range of top members of the regime, some with close ties with the Mubarak family, profited from business deals in which their influential presence

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup> Ibid., 257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>331</sup> Marfleet, "State and Society," 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>332</sup> Henry and Springborg, Globalization and the Politics of Developments in the Middle East, 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>333</sup> Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>334</sup> Marfleet, "State and Society," 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>335</sup> Ibn Khaldoun, "Corruption in Egypt... A Dark Cloud That Does Not Vanish," Kefaya, (2009): 1-184.

guaranteed preferences or even monopolies in the domestic market.<sup>336</sup> Even the American media estimated that his personal fortune \$40 billion to \$70 billion.<sup>337</sup> Marfleet argues that although Nasser and Free Officers relegated the private capital to a subordinated position, it managed to survive and was able to use the state as a means of advancing its private interests during Sadat and Mubarak periods.<sup>338</sup>

In spite of some economic growth, liberalization caused a sharp economic and social polarization which exerted pressure on the corporatist structures that had been established under Nasser. Anne Alexander observes that in Egypt under Nasser:

Workers were offered a social contract where in return for renouncing their political independence they could expect some gains, such as subsidized housing, education, other welfare benefits and relative job security. Nasserist rhetoric, particularly in its late phase, idealized workers for their contribution to national development. But the Nasserist state crushed independent workers' organizations and in their place built an official trade union federation which was subservient to the government.<sup>339</sup>

Alexander continues, "the reforms of the 1990s and beyond fractured the Nasserist system."<sup>340</sup> The demise of the "social pact" led to a rise in poverty, inequality and unemployment rates. In 2010 the International Labor Organization (ILO) reported that 44 percent of Egyptians were below the international poverty line of \$2 a day.<sup>341</sup> By 2008, the total number of unemployed amounted to 7.9 million

<sup>340</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>336</sup> Stephen Juan King, *The New Authoritarianism in the Middle East and North Africa* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2009), 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>337</sup> Sudarsan Raghavan, "Egyptians Focus Their Attention on Recovering the Nation's Money", *Washington Post*, February 13, 2011, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/02/12/AR2011021203767.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>338</sup> Philip Marfleet, "Act One of the Egyptian Revolution," *International Socialism Journal* 130 (Spring 2011), http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php4?id=721&issue=130#130marfleet\_21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>339</sup> Anne Alexander, "The Gravedigger of Dictatorship", *Socialist Review*, March 2011, www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=11580.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>341</sup> Rania Al-Malky, "In Egypt, A Fair Minimum Wage is Inevitable," *Daily News Egypt*, April 17, 2010, www.thedailynewsegypt.com/editorial/in-egypt-a-fair-minimum-wage-is-inevitable-dp1.html.

and unemployment rate was 26.3 per cent.<sup>342</sup>On the other hand, a thin layer of ultrarich has accumulated massive wealth and power.<sup>343</sup>

Ultimately, neo-liberalism in Egyptian experience did not mean a separation of economic and political power but its fusion. The Nasserist state bureaucracy retained their privileged positions and became agents of "fortune transfer" in a network of private capital, bureaucracy and military. The regime was no longer a state capitalist one; rather, it was capitalist with a state mechanism inherited from a bureaucratic and authoritarian regime.

# **3.2.1.2 Arab Nationalism: From Pro-Western Foreign policy to Cooperation with USA**

Egypt under Sadat and Mubarak gradually constituted the basis of the network of alliances by means of which the US built its hegemony over the Middle East, along with Israel and Saudi Arabia. The alliance of Mubarak regime with the USA can be seen in Egypt's role in US-led military attempts. First, Egypt joined the alliance against Saddam Hussein in the 1991 Gulf War. Habeeb explains the rewards that Egypt received in return of its support in Gulf War:

Saddam Hussein's defeat in the Gulf War of 1991 provided opportunities for revitalization of Egypt's ambitions to regional leadership: Mubarak played a central role in bringing together Arab participants in Operation Desert Storm, which expelled Iraqi forces from Kuwait. USA officials wrote off some \$7 billion of Egypt's military debt in return.<sup>344</sup>

Egypt also contributed to CIA's Extraordinary Rendition programs<sup>345</sup> introduced to question the detainees following the Iraqi occupation of USA in 2003.<sup>346</sup> In addition, Egypt under Mubarak maintained the blockade on Gaza. In

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>342</sup> El-Naggar, "Economic Policy," 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>343</sup> Joel Beinin, "Workers' Struggles under 'Socialism' and Neoliberalism," in *Egypt: The Moment of Change*, eds. El-Mahdi and Marfleet, (London: Zed Books, 2009), 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>344</sup> William Habeeb, "US-Egypt Aid Negotiations in the 1980s and 1990s," in *Power and Negotiation*, eds. I. Zartman and J. Rubin, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>345</sup> Peter Popham and Jerome Taylor, "The War on Terror: Inside the Dark World of Rendition," *Independent*, June 8, 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>346</sup> Stephen Soldz, "The Torture Career of Egypt's New Vice President: Omar Suleiman and the Rendition to Torture Program", *Dissident Voice*, January 31, 2011, http://dissidentvoice.org/2011/01/the-torture-career-of-egypts-new-vice-president-omar-suleiman-and-the-rendition-to-torture-program/.

return, the Egyptian armed forces that remained the basis of the regime were supplied with an annual "strategic rent" of \$1.3 billion in US military aid.<sup>347</sup> The mutual network of interests between US strategic and economic interests is the most important factor resulting in American intervention in the Egyptian economy.

When Israeli forces invaded Lebanon in 1978 and again in 1982 and thousands of Palestinian civilians were massacred in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps by Israel's Lebanese allies,<sup>348</sup> Mubarak's response was only to halt the moves towards 'normalization' by calling back home the Egyptian ambassador. Mubarak's 'cold peace' with Israel<sup>349</sup> was not disturbed by the increased degrees of resistance that started with the Palestinian intifada of 1987.<sup>350</sup>

In 2005, 'cold peace' policy was abandoned and a normalization process was reinitiated. An Egyptian ambassador was sent to Tel Aviv and a \$2.5 billion worth natural gas deal for the sale to Israel of Egyptian natural gas was signed. This agreement caused fury among the Egyptian opposition including the Nasserists.<sup>351</sup> In 2008, when Israel started an assault on Gaza, and Egypt didn't permit Gaza residents to escape to Egypt, Mubarak was accused of having collaborated with the Palestinian's torturers.<sup>352</sup>

From 1997 to 2007 the Egyptian government received almost \$62 billion dollars from the United States in economic aid and foreign military assistance.<sup>353</sup> Springborg notes that American aid caused the Egyptian economy to be militarized by supplying funds used by the military industrial sector to spread into areas such as production of food and consumer goods.<sup>354</sup> The armed forces maintained its power as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>347</sup> Alex Callinicos, "The return of the Arab revolution," *International Socialism Journal*, 130 (Spring 2011), http://www.isj.org.uk/?id=717.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>348</sup> Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>349</sup> Joel Beinin, "The Cold Peace," Middle East Report, No. 29 (1985).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>350</sup> Alexander, "Mubarak in the international arena," 141-142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>351</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>352</sup> Jason Brownlee, *Democracy Prevention: The Politics of the U.S.-Egyptian Alliance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>353</sup> Jeremy M. Sharp, *Egypt: Background and U. S. Relations* (Darby, PA: DIANE Publishing, 2011), 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>354</sup> Springborg, *Mubarak's Egypt*, 107.

a political and economic entity under the Mubarak regime primarily thanks to the military aid received from the USA and the cash payments called as commissions related to the arms trade.

#### 3.2.2. Continuities

## 3.2.2.1. Secularism: Between Co-optation and Coercion

Mubarak period adopted a rather oppressive and an occassionally pragmatic approach towards growing threat of Islamism. In the early years of Mubarak's rule, the Brotherhood was allowed to compete in the election setting up a variety of political alliances with recognized opposition parties. Through its alliance with The Wafd Party, Muslim Brotherhood won eight seats in parliament in the 1984 elections, and thirty-seven seats in 1987 through its alliance with the Socialist Labor Party.<sup>355</sup> This some commentators ranging from liberals and leftists to Nasserists criticized Mubarak for neglecting the threat of Islamism and praised the Nasserite period due to its separation of religion from politics and its oppression of Islamist groups.<sup>356</sup>To illustrate, Yunan Labib Rizq was a left-wing Copt and he praised the revolution's egalitarian attitude towards religious minorities. Milad Hanna, again a left-wing Copt, had a similar appraisal of the revolution arguing that unlike The Wafd and the King, the revolution did not mobilize religion for political purposes. Hanna argued Nasserism regarded Egyptian citizens as equal and treated them with justice. They maintained that even the Arab unity Nasserism promoted was a secular project aimed to bring together the countries of the Fertile Crescent, in which religious minorities were respected.<sup>357</sup> The main reason why these commentators put an emphasis on the secular political culture of the revolution was to warn Mubarak of the politicization of religion and invoke a sense of caution against Mubarak's moderation signals

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>355</sup> William B. Quandt, *The Middle East: Ten Years After Camp David* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1988), 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>356</sup> Meir Hatina, "On the Margins of Consensus: The Call to Separate Religion and State in Modern Egypt," *Middle Eastern Studies* 36, No. 1 (2000): 55–60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>357</sup> Milad Hanna, *Seven Pillars of Egyptian Identity* (Egypt: General Egyptian Books Organization, 1989), 52.

towards Islamist opposition. They argued against the sectarian division and considered the state authority a warranty for non-sectarian citizenship.<sup>358</sup>

In 1991, the relationship between *the Brotherhood* and the Mubarak regime came under strain and a significant number of MB members were arrested. In the mid-1990s, Mubarak adopted a "zero-tolerance" approach and he warned of the danger the Muslim Brotherhood posed:

I must tell you, this whole problem of terrorism throughout the Middle East is a by-product of our own illegal Muslim Brotherhood whether it as al-Jihad, Hizbollah in Lebanon or Hamas, they all spring from underneath the umbrella of the Muslim Brotherhood. They say that they have violence, but in reality they are responsible for the all the violence, and the time will come when they will be uncovered.<sup>359</sup>

Following a small number of Muslim Brothers were arrested in the early 1990s, the regime gradually more offensive in 1995, when eighty-one prominent leaders were trialled in military courts.<sup>360</sup> Strains on the MB relaxed by 2000, when the group managed to win a representation of seventeen members in parliament. Despite the oppression that lasted throughout the 1990s, the Brotherhood grew as a mass organisation on campuses, in the professional syndicates and with the help of a comprehensive social programme built on local welfare associations, clinics and schools providing services to poor families. It gradually became the sole grass-roots opposition to the regime, demanding equality and social reform, accusing Mubarak of official corruption and of creating a police state, and even incorporating a "populist critique of neoliberalism in its erstwhile pro-market discourse."<sup>361</sup> With the left still paralyzed by the absence of an independent presence the Brotherhood could

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>358</sup> Marry Ann Weaver, "The novelist and the Sheikh," *New Yorker*, January 30, 1995. http://www.newyorker.com/archive/1995/01/30/1995\_01\_30\_052\_TNY\_CARDS\_000370344?current Page=all.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>359</sup> Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), 79.Barry Rubin, *Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 19–27, 150–55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup> Barry Rubin, *Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 19–27, 150–55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>361</sup> Ibid., 116.

be all things to all Egyptians. It recruited across the spectrum: the rich, the petty bourgeoisie, students, workers, peasants and the urban poor.<sup>362</sup>

#### 3.2.2.2. Militarism: Growing economic power of the Military

Under Mubarak, there was no ideological connection between the presidency and the armed forces. The Nasserist discourse of social transformation was abandoned, and Egypt was at peace with Israel. In short, Mubarak did not have a nationalistic mission to offer the officers. The armed forces were neither the champions of the poor nor the liberators of occupied land.<sup>363</sup> During Mubarak rule the system of control was built on a promise of the accumulation of rewards and post-retirement career opportunities for officers who were considered to be loyal throughout their career.<sup>364</sup> Senior officers expected appointments in high-rank positions in the state bureaucracy. They could also receive direct cash payments, or if they were involved in the arms trade, they received commissions.<sup>365</sup>

In addition to being appointed in the bureaucracy in large numbers<sup>366</sup>, retired officers held managerial positions in what Robert Springborg designates "Military, Inc.," i.e. the armed forces' economic empire.<sup>367</sup> The main military bodies involved in economic activities are the ministry of military production, the Arab Industrial Organization (AIO), and the National Service Projects Organization (NSPO). They run 35 factories and farms in total. According to Zeinab Abul-Magd, a historian writing articles on the Egyptian Armed Forces' economic power, 40% of the goods manufactured by the Ministry of Military Production are nonmilitary products. The NSPO exclusively manufactures nonmilitary equipment.<sup>368</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>362</sup> Sameh Naguib, "Islamism(s) old and new," in *Egypt: The Moment of Change*, eds. R. El-Mahdi and P. Marfleet, (London: Zed Books, 2009), 118-119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>363</sup> Nassif, "Wedded to Mubarak," 514.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup> Springborg, *Mubarak's Egypt*, 95–133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>365</sup> Nassif, "Wedded to Mubarak," 516.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>366</sup> Zeinab Abul-Magd, "The Egyptian Republic of Retired Generals," *Foreign Policy*, May 8, 2012, http://mideastafrica.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/05/08/the\_egyptian\_republic\_of\_retired\_generals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>367</sup> Nadine Marroushi, "US Expert: Leadership of 'Military Inc.' Is Running Egypt," *Egypt Independent*, October 26, 2011, http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/us-expert-leadership-militaryinc-running-egypt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>368</sup> Zeinab Abul-Magd, "The Egyptian Republic of Retired Generals."

The peace treaty with Israel (1979) reduced the need for a large standing army and caused the release of thousands of young conscripts and army officers. With an already high rate of unemployment, particularly in the 18-24 age groups, releasing a large number of conscripts and non-commissioned officers as well as junior-ranked officers into the labor market of a limited absorptive capacity would not have been either practical or politically sound.<sup>369</sup>

To address the newly emerging economic reality, Egypt, under President Hosni Mubarak established an economic body known as the National Services Projects Organization (*jihaz mashru'at al-khidma al-wataniyah*) which proceeded to create industrial, manufacturing, financial, and commercial entities that were able to absorb at least some of the released conscripts.<sup>370</sup> More importantly, the new military-industrial complex provided ample opportunities for generals and colonels to occupy the many managerial positions created. Some of the retired senior military officers who were deemed loyal to the regime were gradually co-opted into the presidential system of Hosni Mubarak's double attributes of "privilege and patronage." In the words of one analyst, Yezid Sayigh, the officers' corps did not disappear from the scene but, rather, "became invisible by virtue of its ubiquity." Sayigh adds that the officers' role in the civilian sphere "became as pervasive as to be deemed normal and natural, not only by others but also, crucially, by its members." Egypt, in Sayigh's words, has become an "officers' republic."<sup>371</sup>

#### 3.2.2.3. Coercion over corporatism: Limited Political Democracy

Mubarak regime approached electoral practices with disdain. In 2005 judges reported systematic abuse of the voting system during a national referendum on constitutional change.<sup>372</sup> The major reason why Mubarak had contempt for elections was that National Democratic Party (NDP) lacked popular support. It was in fact a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>369</sup> Zeinab Abul-Magd, "The Army and the Economy in Egypt," *Jadaliyya*, December 21, 2011, www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3693.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>370</sup> Nimrod Raphaeli "Inquiry and Analysis Report 1001: Egyptian Army's Pervasive Role In National Economy," *The Middle East Media Research Institute*, July 29, 2013, http://www.memri.org/report/en/print7313.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> Yezid Sayigh, "Above the State: The Officers' Republic of Egypt," *Carnegie Endowment*, August 1, 2012, http://carnegie-mec.org/publications/?fa=48996.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>372</sup> Marfleet, "State and Society," 24.

shell organization consisting of a network of appointed agents and officials tied closely to the national and local machinery of the state. It also maintained complex affiliations of patronage starting from the president down to the village level.<sup>373</sup> Not all the regime's methods were based on physical coercion. Kassem comments that for many years Mubarak used "a mixture of fear and rewards" to co-opt the main opposition parties and to render key organizations such as trade unions and professional syndicates ineffective. This approach also has its roots in corporatist strategies developed under the Nasser and Sadat regimes.<sup>374</sup>

Despite the fact that the modern Egyptian state has demonstrated certain elements of strength, a closer detailed analysis reveals that it is a relatively "weak"<sup>375</sup> or "soft" state, without certain abilities to penetrate and dominate the society. Aware of this restriction and what the construction of a postcolonial "modern" state necessitated, different Egyptian regimes mixed the use of coercion with some sort of legitimacy of performance as well as elements of state-corporatism in a matrix of "flexible authoritarianism" to reinforce their ruling pact. To briefly mention, Nasser's ruling pact relied on a nationalistic liberation project and corporation with the popular sectors in exchange of a marginal redistribution of resources and a resulting process of social mobilization. This project was replaced with Sadat's ruling pact in the 1970s, which depended on his being "the hero of war and peace" referring the accomplishments in the 1973 war and the signing of the Camp David Peace Accords in 1979. The economic component of this pact and his class allegiances were based on an alignment with the business sector, promises of prosperity via the opening up of the economy, and an influx of rents following the oil crisis and channelled through remittances of Egyptian labour in the Gulf States.<sup>376</sup> Heydemann argues that both regimes were based on a "democratic bargain" which meant the postponement of political participation rights in return for socioeconomic rights or a project of national independence.<sup>377</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>373</sup> Maye Kassem, *Egyptian Politics: The Dynamics of Authoritarian Rule* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2004), 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup> Migdal, Strong societies and weak states, 183.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>376</sup> Waterbury, "The "Soft" State and the Open Door."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>377</sup> Heydemann, "Taxation without representation," 69.

Unlike Nasser or Sadat, Mubarak never managed to construct a ruling pact of his own. Instead, he depended on the continuation or momentum of the projects of his predecessors, blending elements of nationalism from the Nasserite era with a statist economic policy during the first 10 years of his reign, which was inherited from Nasser; next, a turn to market-oriented economic prerogatives with promises of prosperity, a policy inherited from Sadat; and an extension of the limit of freedom that Sadat started. Using this mixture, Mubarak capitalized on the achievements and class alignments of his predecessors without building his own.<sup>378</sup>

In a pursuit of pluralism, the Egyptian regime allowed eight parliamentary elections from 1976 to 2005 in each of which the ruling party secured a high majority in the People's Assembly (the Parliament). Moreover, since the establishment of a republican system after 1952, there were not multiparty presidential elections.<sup>379</sup> The president was nominated by the People's Assembly, dominated by the ruling party. A referendum used to follow the nomination where a single candidate was voted yes or no. There was no Egyptian president voted out of the office. In addition in such an electoral system, opposition groups "have never disrupted the hegemony of the ruling party organization."<sup>380</sup>

Marfleet argues that cooptation diminishes when it becomes apparent in the eyes of the public that the official bodies act as the buttresses of the regime.<sup>381</sup> In the case of Egypt, Mubarak's policy to supervise and control every area of formal politics resulted in failure to constitute support for the regime and suppression of the opposition with a denial of opportunities to develop oppositional agendas against the regime. During elections, polling stations were surrounded by riot police who protected officials engaged in ballot-rigging and fraud, and whose job was to guarantee huge majorities for NDP candidates. At the November 2010 parliamentary elections, *Ahram Weekly* reported:

Footage showed people stuffing ballot boxes, attacking voting stations, opening and destroying ballot boxes, in some cases by setting them on fire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>378</sup> Al-Mahdi, "Enough!: Egypt's Quest for Democracy," 1021.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup> Jason Brownlee, *Authoritarainism in an Age of Democratization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup> Marfleet, "Act One of the Egyptian Revolution."

Independent watchdogs say nine people were killed in connection with the violence that erupted in dozens of constituencies across the nation.<sup>382</sup>

# 3.3. Nasserism at Opposition Level: From Party Politics to Street and Workplace Protests

Wafdists provided a critique of the revolution viewing it as the underlying reason for Egypt's economic defects and insufficient democracy. However, the Nasserists depicted it as a lever for promoting social justice, progress, and Arab unity. The *Muslim Brotherhood*, on the other hand, blamed the revolution for having pursued a secular policy. Many leftists, as opposed to *Muslim Brotherhood*, viewed the revolution as a secular model for the separation of religion and politics.<sup>383</sup>

Virtually all the opposition groups appreciated Nasser's struggle against Israel. That is, they all defied the peace treaty signed a decade after Nasser's death. The Mubarak government, on the other hand, argued that the peace-making efforts embraced by Sadat and Mubarak were the only way viable for the reacquisition of the lands lost in the June 1967 War.<sup>384</sup>

#### 3.3.1. Nasserist Opposition in Party Politics

Nasserism came to be seen as a chapter in Egypt's national history during Mubarak period. After having reached the status of an official ideology in the 1950s and the 1960s, Nasserism has evolved into an oppositional ideology, contesting for a place of honor in the Egyptian collective memory at the end of the century.<sup>385</sup> *The Nasserist Party* joined the legal opposition as late as in 1992, but it exerted little impact on domestic and foreign politics.<sup>386</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>382</sup> Amira Howeidy, "*The Brotherhood*'s Zero", *Ahram Weekly*, December 2-8, 2010, http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2010/1025/eg9.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>383</sup> Springborg, Mubarak's Egypt, 201–202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>384</sup> Hatina, "History, Politics, and Collective Memory," 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>385</sup> Gordon, "Secular and Religious Memory in Egypt," 97–98, 102–103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>386</sup> Tamir Moustafa, *The Struggle for Constitutional Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 155.

In terms of party politics, most of the supporters of Nasserism were identified with the Arab Democratic Nasserist Party<sup>387</sup> or with the National Progressive Unionist Grouping (NPUG-Tagammu), both of which were in the parliamentary opposition. The Nasserist Party emerged without a legal recognition in 1987 and was given a legal approval by court in 1992. The *Tagammu* founded in 1976 and largely consisted of members from middle-class intelligentsia, which encompassed Nasserist elements, leftist students, and workers.<sup>388</sup> The party leader was Khalid Muhi al-Din, one of the Free Officers who had a Marxist inclination.<sup>389</sup> It was established by a mixed group of leftist interests: socialists, Nasserists, nationalists, liberalists and communists. Initially the party had 150,000 registered members and an active core of 20,000; its weekly paper, Al-Ahali, was said to have a circulation of 130,000 copies.<sup>390</sup> Tagammu called for the maintenance of a powerful state capable of protecting citizens from economic exploitation<sup>391</sup>, which indicates their opposition to "Infitah" policies which precipitated the neo-liberal policies of the Mubarak era. They also emphasized the need for empowerment of impoverished people, expansion of small businesses and a just tax system to increase funds which could allow free treatment at public hospitals. They, additionally, demanded liberation from international organizations such as IMF, World Bank and domineering attempts of the United States.<sup>392</sup> They strongly opposed the peace processes between Israel and Egypt and urged the peace deals be annulled, referring to the 1979 agreement.<sup>393</sup> They held a firm stance against religious politics in the embodiment of Muslim Brotherhood to the extent that collaboration with the regime in their fight against

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> "The Arab Democratic Nasserist Party (Al Arabi Al Nasseri)," *Electionnaire*, http://egypt.electionnaire.com/parties/?id=28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>388</sup> "The National Progressive Unionist (Tagammu)," *Ahram Online*, November 18, 2011, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/104/26697/Elections-/Political-Parties/The-National-Progressive-Unionist-*Tagammu*.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>389</sup> Springborg, Mubarak's Egypt, 37–38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>390</sup> "The National Progressive Unionist (Tagammu)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>391</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>392</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>393</sup> "The Tagammu Party," *Egypt Independent*, December 22, 2010, http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/*Tagammu*-party

Islamism was a justifiable strategy for *Tagammu*.<sup>394</sup> Apart from protests over Egypt's "normalization" with Israel, *Tagammu*' had no distinctive profile. Its leaders saw their main task as opposing the Islamist movement and were prepared to endorse the regime's extreme violence against Muslim activists. In the mid-1990s, Secretary-general Rifa'at al-Said said: "We believe that the policies of the ruling party are wrong and dangerous for the country, while Islamist groups are more wrong and more dangerous."<sup>395</sup>

When *the Brotherhood* grew as a mass organization in the 1980s *Tagammu*' aligned with the state against the Islamists: with tens of thousands of members and supporters of *the Brotherhood* in prison, the Communists hoped for accommodation with the regime and a role in government. On the fall of Mubarak, *Tagammu* split—the majority entering an alliance with liberal capitalist parties, one of which was the Free Egyptians of billionaire Naguib Sawiris. In the presidential run-off of 2012 *Tagammu* backed the SCAF's candidate Ahmed Shafiq against Morsi, arguing that this was the only way to prevent Egypt becoming an Islamic state.<sup>396</sup> To sum up, *Tagammu* represented the distinctly secular and fairly social democratic brand of the leftist spectrum.

Another political party that needs to be mentioned, in terms of its role in the continuation of a Nasserist line of opposition to date, is *The Arab Democratic Nasserist Party* (al-Arabi al-Nasseri). It represented the nationalist Nasserist ideology in its crude form in Egypt. It was established in 1992, calling for a political system based on intellectual and organizational pluralism without monopolization of authority. It rejected American hegemony and Camp David Agreement and all forms of relations with Israel. The party called for the re-adoption of an economic system based on socialist principles including the expansion of the public sector under the supervision of the state while the private sector retains an auxiliary role. Self-sufficiency in agriculture was thought to be a counter-balance to rising food prices. Its radical rhetoric borrowed a lot from Gamal Abdel Nasser. However, the party did

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>394</sup> "The National Progressive Unionist (Tagammu)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>395</sup> Philip Marfleet, "Never going back": Egypt's continuing revolution," *International Socialism Journal*, No.137 (Winter 2013), http://www.isj.org.uk/?id=866.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>396</sup> "Leftist *Tagammu* Party might support Shafiq for Egypt president" *Ahram Online*, June 3, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/43681/Egypt/Politics-/Leftist-*Tagammu*-Party-might-support-Shafiq-for-Egy.aspx.

not have broad grassroots support among public. They considered the basic problems facing Egypt are not that different from the ones confronted in the 1960s and 70s. Although *The Nasserist Party* had comparatively more rigorous demands compared to *Tagammu* at economical level, whereas its emphasis on the secularism is not as marked as that of the latter. *The Nasserist Party*, legally recognized heir to Nasserist ideology, did not differ from *The Wafd*, the *Muslim Brotherhood* or the Left in that they all shared the same front demanding a greater political liberty under Mubarak.

The Nasserists tried to use every possible method of opposition in the Mubarak era to advance their political philosophy. They had two notable weekly publications, *Al-Arabi* and *Al-Ahali*. However, their opposition did not hold a very influential position in the struggle over the Egyptian collective memory. Sadat's era witnessed the leftists from all shades recall the Nasserist legacy as a revolutionary attempt that must be deepened. This uncritical attitude was replaced with arguments which created deep ideological conviction in the revolution with a "considerable apologetic element."<sup>397</sup> Their arguments mirrored those of their opponents:

They delegitimized the prerevolutionary period, attacked the wholesale dismissal of Nasserism, and praised its achievements as an antithesis to the existing order. Their proudest banner was the revolution's achievements in the realm of social justice; their Achilles' heel was its suppression of democracy.<sup>398</sup>

The most noteworthy supporter of the Nasserist ideology was Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, who also became the personal symbol of the revolutionary heritage personally as Nasser's closest comrade, a figure in *the Nasserist Party* and the chief editor of the state-sponsored dailies *Al-Akhbar* and *Al-Ahram.*<sup>399</sup> Haykal opposed all the attempts to associate the Nasserist era with exploitation and corruption. He maintained that such accusations weakened the foundations of every succeeding government. Making condemnations, he suggested, leaves no government blame free, especially when the steps taken by Nasser's successors are taken into account. McDermott drew attention to the continuity of the structures

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup> Hatina, "History, Politics, and Collective Memory," 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>398</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>399</sup> Sonia Dabous, "Nasser and the Egyptian Press," in *Contemporary Egypt*, ed. Charles Tripp (London: Routledge, 1993), 110–119.

created by the revolution.<sup>400</sup> By emphasizing historic continuity, he suggested, those who disclaim the revolution disregard a basic element of their own legitimacy.

The major emphasis Nasserists made was that the revolution kept on nurturing the hopes of millions of Egyptians for freedom, justice, and dignity. Although the course followed was challenging and painful, this was an indispensable result of the exalted goals that the revolution identified for itself, which included the fight for national freedom, social justice, and Arab unity. However, Nasserists argued, the achievements of the revolution in these areas were gradually eroded by Sadat significantly and under Mubarak completely.<sup>401</sup> During Mubarak's rule, Egypt had completely surrendered to international financial institutions and had obeyed American and Israeli dictates. This, Nasserists maintained, happened at the expense of the negligence of society's deprived strata, an increase in unemployment rates, and the sale of Egypt's public sector to foreign investors, thereby further expanding socioeconomic inequality. Arab unity, too, had been deleted from the terminology of the governments as a genuine political goal; instead, it was reduced to a phrase stripped of its real reference.<sup>402</sup>

Nasserists criticized Mubarak in nationalistic terms arguing that Mubarak didn't have a well-defined and radical policy that could elevate the country to the next level of progress. This, they said, was the fundamental distinction between Nasser's revolutionary struggle and Mubarak's policy aiming to achieve stability. They contrasted revolution to stability-centered efforts in that the first aims to radically shape society again and attain the impossible; the latter kills the national fervor and results in social recession.<sup>403</sup>

In drawing on the revolutionary legacy to denounce the existing order, the Nasserists prioritized economic and social matters such as the standard of living and quality of life of the people over the political concerns, namely democracy. Their demand for democratic governance, which had not been allowed under Nasser, did not have a convincing appeal. In that respect their defense of the revolution had an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>400</sup> Anthony McDermott, *Egypt from Nasser to Mubarak (RLE Egypt): A Flawed Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1988), 42..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>401</sup> Baker, Sadat and After, 107, 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>402</sup> Ginat, *Egypt's Incomplete Revolution*, 62-63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>403</sup> Cook, *The Struggle for Egypt*, 185, 200.

apologetic tone. According to the Nasserists, although Nasserism had a firm belief in political freedom, it was made contingent on the achievement of social equality. In other words, the attainment of social justice and the eradication of divisions between rich and poor were the required stages of the revolution to take for democracy to be achieved. To support their argument, they maintained that land reform, nationalization policies, free public education, and creating employment opportunities for all university graduates were rather significant reforms contributing to the emergence of a new social structure. If these steps had been taken further, they would have acted as a stimulus in bringing about political freedom.<sup>404</sup> In fact, the authoritarian government was in place throughout Nasserist period even though the above mentioned steps had been taken in the early years of the revolution. Nasserism's authoritarian method of governance strengthened the arguments in favor of pluralism raised by its liberal critics. Liberal criticism argued for the separation of social liberties from the political ones. Their argument was in line with the liberals who concluded, following the collapse of the regimes in Eastern Europe, that social liberties cannot be achieved at the expense of the latter.<sup>405</sup>

According to this hierarchy of political objectives, the superior position seemingly belonged to social justice over social liberties. However, Beinin argues, when "national question" was the issue on the agenda, "social justice" was degraded to a lower level. He explains:

The rest of the Egyptian left embraced a more or less Nasserist perspective that effectively separated the "national question" and the "social question," even as they paid lip service to the organic link between the two. The result was the subjugation of the demands of labor and other social justice movements to the nationalist agenda of opposition to Western imperialism and Israel's dispossession of the Palestinians.<sup>406</sup>

This means that Nasserist political ideology had as its primary constituent nationalism, which was followed by concerns over social justice and lastly issues related with social liberties. A new party, called *Al-Karama*, was born out of the split groupt that broke away with the Nasserist Party in 1997,. Despite claiming the title

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>404</sup> Ghassan Salame, *Democracy Without Democrats?: The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World* (New York: I.B.Tauris, 1994), 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>405</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>406</sup> Beinin, "Workers' struggles under "socialism"," 97.

"Nasserist," Al-Karama aimed to bring about certain renewed perspectives which could help the Nasserist ideas catch on and be an alternative to the Mubarak regime. It was founded by Hamdeen Sabbahi.<sup>407</sup> Yet, it managed to receive a legal status only after 25 January revolution in August 2011. Al-Karama maintained that Egypt emblematized the fountainhead of Arab nationalism, and a true Arab renewal could only be achieved through social justice and scientific and cultural development. The party sought a profound redistribution of wealth and resources in Egyptian society, along with the poverty alleviation measures through state planning and social welfare programs. The party called for a truly social democratic system. Al-Karama regarded religion as an important cultural component of Egyptian society but did clearly oppose a theocratic form of governance. Different from Tagammu, Al-Karama did not pronounce its religious views in secularist vocabulary. Its program stated that secularists "want to separate nationalists from their past and present and insert them into a contemporary western scene totally alien to them."408 In short, its configuration of nationalism was based on authenticity and religion had a role in national identity construction. As for the popularity, Al-Karama, in contrast to the previously mentioned left nationalist parties, showed a solid presence among the working class organizations. Al-Karama campaigned against the ban on strikes and stressed the importance of workers' constitutional rights. In terms of foreign relations, Al-Karama appeared to be on the same wavelength as the other Nasserist parties since it also opposed normalization of relations with Israel and stated it wished to see the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel to be annulled.

In this sense, as Beinin argued, the leftist segments of the opposition with a Nasserist inclination prioritized anti-imperialist struggles over the struggle for social and economic justice. This might have contributed to the salience of Islamism as hegemonic political ideology among the toiling classes since there was a vacuum which was created by the absence of the leftists, which resulted in the division of opposition into three major lines: the most deprived masses, organized in the ranks of the *Muslim Brotherhood*; the educated middle classes and a segment of the organized working classes, responding to the nationalistic and increasingly social democratic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>407</sup> "Al-Karama," *Ahram Online*, November 18, 2011, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/104/26690/Elections-/Political-Parties/AlKarama.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>408</sup> Ibid.

politics of the leftist-Nasserist organizations; the better-off middle classes and the upper classes, attracted by the promise of a more democratic and transparent rule, *The Wafd*.<sup>409</sup>

### **3.3.2.** Demise of the Ruling Pact: Emergence of New Opposition in Nasserist Framework

Erosion of the ruling pact, which traditionally involved the sacrifice of democracy in favor of socioeconomic gains, led to the emergence of new structural conditions and new "mobilizing structures" that later evolved into the prodemocracy movement. These changes encouraged the participation of new actors into the emerging collective action forums that were not part of the oppositional movement before the Intifada in 2000, bringing activists into a broad collaboration. Beginning with the Popular Committee to Support the Intifada, a number of small movements seemed to be budding during 2000-2003, dealing with the causes such as antiglobalization, labor rights and democratic reforms. No matter what each was specifically engaged in, their rise in the Egyptian political scene was of utmost importance because it animated the opposition-free political sphere and provided grounds for engagement of activists outside the political party platforms. The figures who initiated and actively constructed the anti-war and anti-globalization movements between 2000 and 2003 also took part in the formation of 2004 movement Kifaya (Enough). People such as a revolutionary socialist Kamal Khalil<sup>410</sup>, a human rights activist Aida Seif Al-Dawla<sup>411</sup>, and Nasserist Hamdeen Sabbahi<sup>412</sup> gained an increasingly prominent role in the emerging struggles starting with the Intifada and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>409</sup> Nadia Ramsis Farah, *Egypt's Political Economy: Power Relations in Development* (Cairo: American Univ in Cairo Press, 2009), 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>410</sup> Mohammed Saad, "Kamal Khalil: Memoirs of 40 years of political struggle in Egypt," *Ahram Online*, January 20, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/18/0/62857/Books/Kamal-Khalil-Memoirs-of--years-of-political-strugg.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>411</sup> Katalin Wrede, "Dr. Aida Seif El Dawla – Egyptian activist against torture and violence,"*Human Dignity Forum*, November 12, 2011, http://www.human-dignity-forum.org/2011/11/dr-aida-seif-el-dawla-the-egyptian-spokesperson-against-torture-and-violence/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>412</sup> Ekram Ibrahim, "Hamdeen Sabbahi," *Ahram Online*, April 2, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/36/124/36856/Presidential-elections-/Meet-the-candidates/Hamdeen-Sabbahi.aspx.

moved to become the leading figures of both *Kifaya* and the Popular Campaign for Change.<sup>413</sup>

Asef Bayat regards these movements as the characteristics of the new "Arab Street." He argues with the US-British invasion of Iraq in 2003, the street protests throughout the Arab world gained a new momentum.<sup>414</sup> The street protests, he notes, was not only directed against a foreign adversary but also against Hosni Mubarak's presidency. These rallies, he adds, evolved into an explicitly pro-democracy movement headed by *Kifaya* and other political groupings.<sup>415</sup>

Rabab El-Mahdi gives an account of the development of "cycles of protest"<sup>416</sup> explaining how they gradually gained momentum. In the massive mobilization in Cairo against the US/British invasion of Iraq in 2003 demonstrators occupied the centre of the city in a "Tahrir intifada." As a result of the activists' gaining confidence in their opposition to war, the following year they launched a range of campaigns for democratic change in which they organized rallies, lobbies, marches and "flash mob" protests which were made possible by email networks and social networking sites. Although numbers were not very high there was a cumulative growth in confidence, which was also mirrored in workplace actions emerging in all sectors of industry. To quote Beinin, "in 2005 there were 202 collective labor actions; in 2006 the number rose to 222; and in 2007 to 614."417 These struggles included a strike at the Mahalla al-Kubra textile factory which was the most important sustained strike for over 20 years and managed to win two major concessions and served as a green light for numerous other groups of workers. The regime did not respond brutally worrying about such a confrontation would generalize the movement. Emboldened by the gains made by the Mahalla al-Kubra workers, other groups initiated a series of protests: "for student rights on campus, over shortages of bread and water, against land seizures, in response to housing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>413</sup> Al-Mahdi, "Enough! Egypt's Quest for Democracy," 1024.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>414</sup> Asef Bayat, "The Arab Street," in *The Journey to Tahrir*, eds. Jeannie Sowers and Chris Toensing, (London: Verso, 2012), 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>415</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>416</sup> Rabab El-Mahdi, "The democracy movement: cycles of protest," in *Egypt: the Moment of Change*, eds.R. El Mahdi and P.Marfleet, (London: Zed Books, 2009), 87-102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>417</sup> Beinin, "Workers' struggles under "socialism"," 79.

disasters (following numerous incidents of collapsed buildings) and against police brutality."<sup>418</sup>

Within all these protest movements Nasserists, particularly *Al-Karama*, found an audience to appeal to. A brief analysis of the oppositional movements will be made both to examine the political sphere oppositional Nasserist ideology acted in and to comprehend the cumulative grievances underlying the Tahrir uprising in January 2011. What was briefly outlined above will be examined in three sections: anti war protests, the workers' struggle and *Kifaya* (Enough) movement

### 3.3.3. Arab Nationalism: Nasserists in Anti-War Movement

The protest activities culminating in the background of the Tahrir uprising emerged with the anti-Israeli and anti-American protests at the time of the second intifada, and in the protests leading up to the Iraq war. Although the Emergency Law<sup>419</sup>, first imposed after the assassination of President Anwar Sadat, banned all the protests, the *Egyptian Popular Committee in Solidarity with the Palestinian Intifada* was set up by various non-governmental organizations including the Nasserist *Al-Karama*. These efforts culminated in the formation of the "Cairo anti-war Conference" in 2002, which allowed local groups to create links across ideological and social divides thanks to the broad nature of the issues dealt with, such as anti-war and anti-neo-liberalism.<sup>420</sup>

Politically, what the movement criticized mostly was the absence of an influential pro–Arab role for Egypt during the second Intifada in Palestine and the American invasion of Iraq. It was seen as a huge blow to the nationalist dimension of the regime's ruling pact. Al-Mahdi explains why the USA occupation stimulated such a broad coalition of movements:

It was the first time in the modern history of this region that foreign forces physically took over a country after the "postcolonial" era. Thus, by 2004 there was a new geopolitical map of the region that prodded not only veteran activists who initiated the democracy protest movement but also a large part of the intelligentsia and middle-class professionals who have been classically tied to the state. Figures like ex-prime minister Aziz Seddki, ex-minister

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>418</sup> Marfleet "Act One of the Egyptian Revolution."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>419</sup> Maye Kassem, *In the guise of democracy: governance in contemporary Egypt* (London: Garnet and Ithaca Press, 1999), 57–58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>420</sup> Browers, Political Ideology in the Arab World, 111.

Yehia El-Gamal, and a number of columnists in state-owned newspapers became associated with these movements. In a press conference held at the Journalists' Syndicate in May 2005, those figures reiterated the same position of concern regarding Egypt's relationship to "Western" powers as a reason for regime change.<sup>421</sup>

Bayat underlines the importance of the revival of the "Arab street" in 2002 in solidarity with the Palestinians with respect to the resurgence of a pro-democracy secular movement which could offer an alternative apart from Islamism to those following an anti-Mubarak cause. In Bayat's words, "the Palestinian solidarity movement showed that there is more to Arab street politics than Islamism, and spurred the renewal of a political tradition."<sup>422</sup>

A seemingly important point was that the Nasserists engaged in anti-war movements shared a nationalistic agenda with the *Muslim Brotherhood*. *Al-Karama* opted for building a joint coalition where it's anti imperialist and pan-Arab rhetoric and ideology entered the same sphere as the *Muslim Brotherhood* Islamist nationalism. This attitude was radically different from that of al-*Tagammu*, which even supported the Mubarak regime in its crackdown on *Muslim Brotherhood*. Sabbahi's *Karama Party* gained an opportunity to relate to the activists these movements mobilized without fearing a coalition with the *Muslim Brotherhood* might undermine its legitimacy among the middle class secular intellectuals. L. Browers describes the anti-war conference pointing to the ideological range it encompassed:

The Cairo Anti-War Conference, which held conferences and demonstrations against the war in Iraq annually from December 2002, brought together members of Egypt's *Muslim Brotherhood*, the banned Egyptian Communist Party, the Islamist Wasat Party, the pan-Arab Karama Party, the Organization of Revolutionary Socialists, and the Socialist People's Party, as well as an ideologically wide array of international activists and intellectuals.<sup>423</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>421</sup> Al-Mahdi, , "Enough!: Egypt's Quest for Democracy," 1023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>422</sup> Bayat, "The Arab Street," 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>423</sup> Browers, *Political Ideology in the Arab World*, 3.

### 3.3.4. Arab Socialism: Nasserists in Working Class Movement

Marsha Pripstein Posusney describes the protests that took place during the 1970s and early 1980s within the frame of a 'moral economy' consciousness.<sup>424</sup> Popular slogans like 'In the days of defeat, the people could still eat' (raised by strikers in 1975) or 'Nasser always said, "Take care of the workers" (heard in 1977) suggest that workers were referring to a period when their wages and their social status were higher than they were in the Sadat era.<sup>425</sup> Beinin quotes what Sayyid Habib, a veteran worker at Misr Spinning and Weaving in Mahalla al-Kubra reminisced: "When Abdel-Nasser died, the female workers wore black. When [the popular singer] Abd al-Halim Hafiz died, they also wore black. When Sadat died, no one wore black."

Posusney views the price rises and a falling real wages as the underlying stimulators of the workers action. He says from 1984, the collapse of the oil boom and increased pressure from international financial institutions to adopt neoliberal policies resulted in price rises and falling real wages.<sup>427</sup> In response, there was a sharp rise in workers' collective actions. Unlike the 1970s, the mid and late 1980s saw a growing impact of the leftist and Nasserist ideology on the workers' movement. In other words, workers' struggle started to gain a political character linked to both the legal and the underground Left. Al-Ahali, the newspaper issued by *Tagammu* featured labor issues regularly.<sup>428</sup>

Privatization had a tremendous impact on the textile sector. By 2003, 10 per cent of spinning, 40 per cent of weaving, 60 per cent of knitting, and 70 per cent of garment enterprises were privately owned.<sup>429</sup> According to AmCham, in 2004 public sector firms employed about 120.000 workers, while private sector firms employed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>424</sup> Posusney, "Collective Action and Workers' Consciousness in Contemporary Egypt," 222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>425</sup> Beinin, "Workers' struggles under 'socialism'," 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>426</sup> Ibid., 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>427</sup> Posusney, "Collective Action," 221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>428</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>429</sup> AmCham, "The Egyptian Economy: Progress and Prospects," *American Chamber of Commerce in Egypt*, (2004), https://www.amcham.org.eg/operation/Events/Events04/agm.asp.

about 143,500 workers.<sup>430</sup> A combined factor of labor costs and insufficient capital investment caused Egyptian textile industry to become globally uncompetitive. Workers in the public companies worked for eight hours a day, whereas in private sector textile workers worked 12 hour shifts.<sup>431</sup>

Concerns about losing jobs and the reluctance of new private investors to pay fringe benefits or contributions to retirement funds were the main reasons for the collective actions that started soon after Nazif government took office in 2004. The strike wave, which began in 2004 and continued up to 2009, was the largest social movement Egypt witnessed before the Tahrir uprisings. Over 1.2 million workers and their families got involved in some form of action in the context of political ferment which was initiated by a taboo-breaking demonstration in December 2004 organized by *Kifaya*.<sup>432</sup>

The workers struggle against neoliberal policies also accommodated for nationalist sentiments against imperialism. The anti-colonial vocabulary, raised against the Western powers in the 1950s and the 1960s, was repeated by the workers this time in defense of their economic freedom against the international institutions. In September 2007 some of the Mahalla strike leaders explicitly expressed their struggle as a political contest with national implications. Beinin summarizes the importance of workers struggle preceding the Tahrir as a factor changing the perspective of the middle class activists. He explains:

Thus, years before the January 25 Revolution, a social movement of workers, their families, and their neighbors had established their presence. Through strikes and other collective actions, workers had made substantial economic gains, teaching many Egyptians a crucial lesson: Engaging in collective action, previously regarded as a losing game by all but committed middle-class activists, could achieve something of value.<sup>433</sup>

<sup>432</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>430</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>431</sup> Joel Beinin, "Underbelly of Egypt's Neo-liberal Agenda," *Middle East Report Online*, April 5, 2008, http://www.merip.org/mero/mero040508.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>433</sup> Joel Beinin, "Workers and Egypt's January 25 Revolution," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 80 (Fall 2011), 192.

### 3.3.5. Kifaya: Political Liberalism - A new ideological dimension

*The Egyptian Movement for Change* rallying under the slogan *Kifaya* (Enough) called on President Mubarak "not to seek a fifth term and . . . rejected the prospect that Gamal Mubarak, the president's younger son, would 'inherit' power."<sup>434</sup> During the previous decades, the driving force behind mobilization was economic or regional issues. However, starting with *Kifaya*, pro-democracy groups represented a "noteworthy development" in terms of their "number and ideological diversity," which spanned the political spectrum.<sup>435</sup> The founders and members of these groups were from all shades of political backgrounds. Therefore, it was a coalition of leftists, Nasserists, liberals, and Islamists.<sup>436</sup>

As for the class base of the movement, in accordance with the classic claim that political liberalization is a middle-class demand, the signatories, in terms of profession and education, came from the middle class. A few months after its first demonstration, which was attended by a few hundred political activists, *Kifaya* demonstrations started attracting new "faces"—young people for whom *Kifaya* was their first collective political action. Thus, "while *Kifaya*'s national organizational capacity was limited, the slogan caught in Egypt and abroad. For two years the movement inspired myriad offshoots such as *Youth for Change*, *Workers for Change*, *Journalists for Change*, etc."<sup>437</sup>

The founding statement of *the Popular Campaign for Change* briefly summarizes many of the structural changes that led to the rise of collective protest action in Egypt. Issued on the September 9, 2004, the statement declared:

After 24 years of Mubarak's rule, it has become evident that the regime constitutes an obstacle in the way of the change and development that the country needs to achieve in order to confront the economic and social challenges that it faces and which have led to widespread corruption, deterioration of infrastructure, monstrous rise in prices, deterioration in the level of livelihood of citizens and aggravation of unemployment. At the same

<sup>436</sup> Al-Mahdi, "Enough!: Egypt's Quest for Democracy," 1013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>434</sup> Samer S. Shehata, "Opposition Politics in Egypt: A Fleeting Moment of Oppurtunity," *Arab Reform Bulletin*, Vol.2, No. 9, (2004): 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>435</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>437</sup> Joel Beinin, "Neo-liberal Structural Adjustment, Political Demobilization, and Neo-Authoritarianism in Egypt," in *The Arab State and Neo-Liberal Globalization: The Restructuring of State Power in the Middle East*, eds. Laura Guazzone and Daniela Pioppi, (New York: Ithaca Press, 2009), 29.

time the country faces external challenges that threaten its national security represented in the continued aggressive policies of the Zionist State and the U.S. occupation of Iraq.<sup>438</sup>

In a similar vein, the founding statement of *Kifaya* called *Declaration to the Nation* (2004) announced:

We believe there are two grave dangers which beset our nation today. They are two sides of the same coin, each nourishing the other, and neither curable alone. First, the odious assault on Arab native soil. . . . Second, the repressive despotism that pervades all aspects of the Egyptian political system.<sup>439</sup>

*Kifaya* movement showed how people with radically different aspirations – ranging from secular socialist state to the Islamist theocracy- have agreed on the need to end Mubarak's rule. This movement introduced to the Egyptian political scene 'united front' policy called as 'cooperative differentiation' in the literature on social movements. Abdel-Rahman explains:

One of the major tactics which rising global movements, characterized by coalition-building adopt, and which is clearly present in the Egyptian case, is that they develop a means of ensuring 'cooperative differentiation', whereby they 'maintain a public face of solidarity towards the movement's targets while differentiating themselves in communications with their constituencies.' This allows for diverse political groups with different ideological leanings, class interests, and long-term projects to work together.<sup>440</sup>

### 3.4. Chapter Summary

During the last three decades of the twentieth century, Nasserism sustained itself as an oppositional ideology without a substantial impact on the political sphere. Formation of al-*Tagammu* as a leftist bloc in the Arab Socialist Union in 1976 did not suffice to make the left interpretation of Nasserism a prominent ideology with a mass appeal in Egyptian political domain. Establishment of *the Nasserist Party* in 1992 also failed to enable the Nasserist ideology to contest the hegemonic presence of the *Muslim Brotherhood* in the oppositional politics. Pan-Arab nationalism of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>438</sup> Al-Mahdi, "Enough!: Egypt's Quest for Democracy," 1020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>439</sup> Ibid., 1020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>440</sup> M. Abdel-Rahman, "With the Islamists?—Sometimes. With the State?—Never!' Cooperation between the Left and Islamists in Egypt," *British Journal for Middle East Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (2009): 40.

Nasserist ideology was abandoned by the succeeding presidents, Sadat and Mubarak, leading Islamism to fill the vacuum directing the criticism towards the Nasserist legacy. Therefore, Nasserism at oppositional level had to differentiate itself from the beneficiaries of the former state structures to maintain their independent Nasserist politics. Similar to the Islamists, Nasserists criticized the succeeding rulers on the grounds that they pursued a pro-western alignment with the imperialist powers such as USA and dealt with Israeli presence through a peace-seeking international diplomacy rather than a direct confrontation. 1979 Peace Treaty during Sadat and pro-USA coalition in 1991 Gulf War and 2003 Iraqi occupation during Mubarak became the major anti-Nasserist steps that Nasserist ideology was revoked to challenge. In addition to international politics, Nasserists came to hold the post-Nasser governments responsible for the growing rift between the classes and increasing inequality in Egypt. Sadat's Infitah policies and Mubarak's "crony capitalism" strategy not only aggravated poverty but also distorted the "social pact" settled during the Nasserite period. Embittered segments of the society got alienated from the state and organized within the ranks of the Muslim Brotherhood in absence of an independent leftist organization. Although Nasserism considered the resolution of the conflict between classes in favor of the working classes in the July Decrees of 1961, Nasserist organizations after Nasser failed to penetrate into the poor segments of the society with a radical social transformation agenda. Nasserist politics became marked by the nationalistic and anti-Islamist opposition rather than an equality and justice-centered political project. Their anti-Islamist policy failed to have a distinctive political presence from that of the Mubarak regime. This situation pushed the Nasserists to form cross-class coalitions in which social policies of the regime were not prioritized. The perception of the *Muslim Brotherhood* as the greatest threat on Egyptian identity became the core conviction held by the Nasserites, reflected in the politics of the *Tagammu*.

The movements that emerged against war, globalization, poverty and oppression in the first decade of the twenty first century created a new mobilization in which Nasserist ideology had an audience. From a middle class movement, the mobilization gradually evolved into a working-class struggle reaching a peak with the strike of the Mahalla al-Kubra textile workers. Nasserists, through *Al-Karama* (Dignity Party) got engaged in a political struggle where democracy, anti-imperialism and social justice were the main goals. Pro-Palestine coalitions in 2000,

anti-war alliances in 2003, *Kifaya* movement against the anti-democratic rule of Mubarak in 2004 and strike waves in the late 2000s compelled the Nasserite movement to modify its rhetoric to contain the multiple grievances experienced at public level. Among the Nasserist groupings, the one that came closer to have such a presence in the movement was *Al-Karama*, led by Nasserist Hamdeen Sabbahi.

### **CHAPTER IV**

### Articulations of Nasserist Ideology in Egyptian Arab Spring

This chapter aims to analyze the resilience of the Nasserist ideology examining the political and ideological shifts that have occurred over the last three years in Egypt with an analysis of the contesting ideologies salient in the political domain. First, a brief overview of the Tahrir uprising will be made to present its initiators, composition, basic demands and ideological evolution within a short period from 25 January to 11 February.

In order to understand how Nasserist ideology engaged with the oppositional movement, *Tagammu, the Nasserist Party, Al-Karama* and Hamdeen Sabbahi as a public figure whose influence stretches beyond *Al-Karama* will be examined. A short analysis of the ideological impact these political bodies exerted on the Tahrir uprising, which was marked by an anti-Mubarak rhetoric released through a nationalistic vocabulary, will be made. Hamdeen Sabbahi's electoral speeches will be analyzed to see how Nasserist ideological framework related to the movement and the political rivalry among Islamists, liberals and Nasserists. Hamdeen Sabbahi's interviews and press releases will also be used as primary sources in this section.

Secondly, the ideological shift from an anti-Mubarak rhetoric to an anti-Brotherhood discourse will be examined. The pragmatic turns of the Nasserists and their strategic alliances with other political groupings will a matter of investigation within the same context. Establishment of *Egyptian Popular Current* after the presidential elections in June 2012 and formation of *National Salvation Front*, a cross-ideological anti-Brotherhood umbrella organization will be examined to get a clearer picture of Nasserists' involvement in the mass mobilizations and coalition building efforts against *the Muslim Brotherhood*. The discourse of the Nasserists during the protests against Morsi in June 2013 and after the coup d'etat on 3 July will

105

also be analyzed. The analysis of the political process will embody the study of Nasserist ideological framework as to how they changed the order of priority among the ideas in their framework and whether they had a resonance in the political demands and slogans raised by the coalitions built.

The response of the regime to the revolutionary and reform-oriented demands will also be subject to an evaluation to explore whether the Nasserist legacy can be traced at institutional level. In this sense, how Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) responded to the crises in February 2011 when Mubarak resigned and in June 2013 when millions of anti-Morsi protestors challenged the President will be examined. In addition, discourse of General Abdal Fattah Al-Sisi, head of the SCAF, will be examined to identify the legacy of the Nasserist ideology at military level.

Lastly, post-Morsi period will be examined to explore how the discourse of the oppositional Nasserists overlapped the discourse of the representatives of the regime, embodied in the SCAF head Al-Sisi. The structure of the Interim government formed under the supervision of the SCAF, the constitutional referendum held in 2014 and the candidacies for the upcoming Presidential elections will be investigated to explore the degree Nasserist ideology relates to the current political circumstances.

# 4.1. Tahrir 25 January: Explosion of the "Arab Political Street"

Asef Bayat remarks that street politics in general and the Arab street in particular are more complex. Neither is the street a mere physicality or brute force, nor is the Arab street simply inert. The Arab Street is a representation not simply of street politics in general, but especially of what she calls the "political street." The street in this sense, Bayat suggests, is the main locality of politics for ordinary people, those who are institutionally absent from structural positions of power.<sup>441</sup> Therefore, the political nature of the Arab street has been evident beginning with the anti-colonial struggles of the 1950s up to anti-war and pro-democracy movements of the twenty-first century, in all of which Nasserist ideology played a role. Bayat gives a brief historical account of the political use the 'Arab street':

Arab anti-colonial struggles attest to the active history of the Arab street. Popular movements arose in Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Lebanon during the late

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>441</sup> Asef Bayat, *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 13.

1950s after Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal...in pro-Palestinian wave of 2002 and in social protests by worker, artisans, women, and students calling for domestic social development, citizens' rights, and political participation poured onto the streets. In Egypt, 1970s marked the heyday of a student activism dominated by leftist trends. Outraged opposition to the Camp David peace treaty and economic austerity brought thousands of students out into urban streets. Twenty years later in 1991, students in Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Jordan, Yemen and Sudan demonstrated to express anger against both the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the US-led war to drive Iraq out of Kuwait.<sup>442</sup>

Along with such an historical overview, Bayat characterizes the most influential political class in the Arab world in the 1950s and the 1960s as "the educated middle class –state employees, students, professionals, and the intelligentsia- who mobilized the "street" in the 1950s and 1960s with overarching ideologies of nationalism, Ba'athism, Nasserism, socialism, and social justice."<sup>443</sup>

From the 1960s to the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the composition of the mobilizing classes seems to have changed to a certain extent according to El-Ghobashy. For an analysis of the political class that exhibited mobilization before the Tahrir uprising occurred, El-Ghobashy provides a detailed account of the localities where 'Arab Street' was politically vitalized. Ghobashy classifies Egypt's demonstrations in terms of the mobilizing structure that causes people to take to the streets in three groups. She writes:

The first is workplace protest, including collective action by industrial laborers, civil servants, students, and trade practitioners such as car mechanics and gold traders. The second is neighborhood protest, whether on the scale of a single street or an entire town. Protests by Copts, Sinai Bedouns, and farmers are often organized along residential lines. Associational protest is the third sector. The organizing mediums here are professional associations such as lawyers' and doctors' syndicates; social movements such as the pro-Palestine solidarity campaigns, the anti-Mubarak *Kifaya* movement and the April 6 youth group; and the youth wings of political parties such as Ayman Nour's liberal Ghad, the Muslim Brothers, the liberal *Wafd*, the Nasserist Karama, and the Islamist Wasat.<sup>444</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>442</sup> Asef Bayat, "The "Arab Street"," in *The Journey to Tahrir: Revolution, Protest, and Social Change in Egypt*, eds., Jeannie Sowers and Chris Toensing, (London: Verso, 2012), 76-78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>443</sup> Ibid., 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>444</sup> Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Praxis of the Egyptian Revolution," in *The Journey to Tahrir: Revolution, Protest, and Social Change in Egypt*, eds., Jeannie Sowers and Chris Toensing, (London: Verso, 2012), 24.

As described above, Egyptian political street encompassed a wide range of movements from industrial working class strikes to pro-democracy marches; from identity-based protests of the Copts to anti-imperialist campaigns against US and Israel. All these concerns found their expression in the political struggle against the Mubarak regime and the other competing currents in the movement with the start of the 25 January 2011 uprising.

On January 25, 2011, ten days after Ben Ali departed from Tunisia hastily, around 15,000 demonstrators took to the streets in Cairo's Tahrir (Liberation) Square in a "Day of Wrath"<sup>445</sup> against poverty and repression.<sup>446</sup> The initial "Day of Wrath" was called for by activists who had been involved in different movements described by El-Ghobashy above. They included human rights campaigners, liberals, Nasserists, trade unions, professional syndicates, Copts and revolutionary left. <sup>447</sup> Once the confrontation grew in Tahrir Square, this core group was joined by the young members of the Muslim Brotherhood, even though the official leadership still hesitated.<sup>448</sup> Although initiated by a limited circle of protestors, 25 January Revolution managed to turn into a mass uprising.<sup>449</sup> The organizers held the following demands:

Raising the monthly minimum wage to 1,200 Egyptian pounds (\$215); assistance for the unemployed; an end to the state of emergency in force continually since 1981; dismissal of the hated Minister of Interior; release of all those detained without charge; disbanding the parliament fraudulently

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>445</sup> "Egyptian activists inspired by Tunisia for 'day of wrath'," *The Telegraph*, January 25, 2011, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/egypt/8280741/Egyptian-activists-inspired-by-Tunisia-for-day-of-wrath.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>446</sup> Bobby Ghosh, "Rage, Rap and Revolution," *Time*, February 28, 2011, http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2050022,00.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>447</sup> Alex Callinicos, "The return of the Arab revolution," International Socialism Journal, 130 (Spring 2011), http://www.isj.org.uk/?id=717#130analysis\_47

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>448</sup> Salma Shukrallah, "How divided is Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood?," Ahram Online, April 4, 2011,

http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/8949/Egypt/Politics-/How-divided-is-Egypts-Muslim-Brotherhood.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>449</sup> Kareem Fahim and Mona El-Naggar, "Violent Clashes Mark Protests Against Mubarak's Rule,"TheNewYorkTimes,January25,2011,http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/26/world/middleeast/26egypt.html?pagewanted=all&\_r=0.

elected in November-December 2010 and holding free elections; establishing a constitutional limit of two presidential terms.<sup>450</sup>

The uprising, according to Shanine, stemmed predominantly from "the increased embeddedness of neo-liberalism, visible in the widening gaps between social classes, the effects of structural adjustment programs at the micro level, and the influx of foreign capital and spread of privatization."<sup>451</sup> In addition to the frustration of the masses against neo-liberalism, Egyptian opposition mobilized to express their rage against the oppressive apparatus of the state. The inequalities mentioned above were sustained through an oppressive state apparatus. MacMahon argues that towards the end of Mubarak's presidency the economic elites that monopolized much of the Egyptian economy relied extensively on the police and security forces for the oppression of the mass mobilization.<sup>452</sup>

Given the plural composition of the Tahrir scene and the shared rage against the Mubarak regime, Egyptian masses converged putting aside the sectarian divisions among the constituents of the movement for 18 days. Still, this tendency to focus on the common enemy did not prevent certain ideological configurations from dominating the movement and penetrating the common consciousness of the participants. Ahmad Shokr observes how the popular mood and dominant ideas changed from 25 January up to 11 February when Mubarak resigned:

People arrived demanding free elections, regime change, and an end to police brutality, improvements in their economic lot, or all of the above. As the days passed, the discourse was slowly taken over by expressions of patriotism. The people's art in every corner of the square became less and less visible in a staggering mass of Egyptian flags. The consensus against Mubarak developed into a jubilee of national pride. Following Mubarak's resignation on February 2011, Tahrir erupted in joy. "Hold your head high," chanted hundreds of thousands. "You are Egyptian!" Smaller groups demanding "civilian, not military rule" were drowned out.<sup>453</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>450</sup> Joel Beinin and Fédéric Vairel, "Afterword: Popular Uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt" in *Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*, eds., Beinin and Vairel, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 242.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>451</sup> Selim H Shahine, "Youth and the Revolution in Egypt," Anthropology Today 27, no. 2 (2011), 1-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>452</sup> S. McMahon, "Egypt's Social Forces, the State, and the Middle East Order," in *Egypt's Tahrir Revolution*, eds. Dan Tschirgi, et al., (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013), 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>453</sup> Ahmad Shokr, "The Eighteen Days of Tahrir," in *The Journey to Tahrir: Revolution, Protest, and Social Change in Egypt*, eds., Jeannie Sowers and Chris Toensing, (London: Verso, 2012), 45.

Shokr's observation reveals that the masses calling for more freedom and social justice expressed their grievances in a nationalistic vocabulary placing a special emphasis on Egyptian identity. The slogan Shok quoted belongs to a speech delivered by Nasser<sup>454</sup>. This shows how the myth of Nasserism can be translated into slogans address the contemporary concerns. When the demands and the political mood are taken into an evaluative account of Nasserist ideology, it can be argued that certain core ideas of Nasserism such as social justice and Egyptian nationalism are seemingly strong ideological currents in the Tahrir uprising. Before moving onto the ideological tensions that arose after Mubarak had gone, the engagement of the Nasserist parties in the protests will be examined to see how they related to the movement.

## 4.1.1. Nasserist Parties in Tahrir: Al-Karama, The Nasserist Party and Tagammu

Hamdeen Sabbahi was among the most important participants in the first day of the January 25 revolution. He led a march from his hometown and joined the massive demonstration in Tahrir Square in Cairo.<sup>455</sup> The unrecognized *Al-Karama* and *The Nasserist Party* party endorsed the "Day of Wrath."<sup>456</sup> However, *The Tagammu*, once a platform of Nasserists, leftists and communists, refused to endorse the "Day of Wrath" on the grounds that it coincided the day of the police and an appreciation of the police force, for them, requires withdrawal from the streets on that day.<sup>457</sup> However, when the young cadres refused to obey the leadership, the party convened a press conference only the next day to praise the protestors.<sup>458</sup> Tahrir uprising was an opportunity for the Nasserist parties to address to a wider audience.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>454</sup> Silbermann, "National Identity in Nasserist Ideology, 1952–1970," 57–68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>455</sup> Mohammad Khawly, "In Search of Egypt's Fifth President: Hamdeen Sabahi," *Al-Akhbar*, May 23, 2012, http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/7604.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>456</sup> Beinin and Vairel, "Afterword," 243.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>457</sup> "The National Progressive Unionist (Tagammu)," Ahram Online, November 18, 2011,

http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/104/26697/Elections-/Political-Parties/The-National-Progressive-Unionist-*Tagammu*.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>458</sup> Beinin and Vairel, "Afterword," 244.

Marfleet observes that some secular currents which had seemingly been exhausted by decades of unfruitful resistance to the Mubarak regime have experienced a revival.<sup>459</sup> He also adds radical nationalism has been renewed in the Egyptian political landscape.<sup>460</sup> This revival of nationalism can be seen in the leaflets circulating in the movement, some of which were archived by an internet project called "Tahrir Documents." In a leaflet distributed by *The Nasserist Party* on September 7, 2011 reads:

Regarding content, there are deliberate attempts to wipe out the current state of patriotism and populist sentiment, to incite the Egyptian people's official media outlets against the revolution...Furthermore, the Zionist entity's assault on the sovereignty of the Egyptian state, its violation of Egypt's borders, and its execution of a planned, open attack in cold blood on our virtuous, brave soldiers in the Sinai necessitates a similar response—or expelling the ambassador at the very least—out of consideration for our dignity and patriotism as well as out of consideration for deterring the enemy. Unfortunately, this did not happen...We cannot accept this.<sup>461</sup>

The emphasis on patriotism, anti-Zionism and territorial nationalism indicate that Nasserist component of the mass movement made a significant effort to channel the frustration over the Mubarak rule into a Nasserist nationalistic revival.

Another document circulating in the Tahrir square was an extract from one of the speeches of Gamal Abdal Nasser and distributed with his signature, implying that the conditions faced today are not different from what Nasser drew attention to:

O Peasants... O Workers... O Toilers! The country is your country; the farms are your farms. The factories are the property of the nation. It is all your property. The national economy is your armor and your protection. Beware — all of that is vanishing. Beware of losing your way, and of those who mislead. Beware of deception... and of deceivers. Beware of representation, and of representatives. Beware of the servants of colonialism and their agents. Open your eyes...<sup>462</sup>

http://www.tahrirdocuments.org/2011/09/the-nasserist-revolutionary-statement-to-restore-the-revolution-to-its-path/)

<sup>462</sup> "Gamal Abdel Nasser calls upon the people of Egypt to go out on the 8th of July to save the revolution," *Tahrir Documents*, July 30, 2011,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>459</sup> Marfleet, "Never Going Back."

<sup>460</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>461</sup> "The Nasserist Revolutionary Statement to Restore the Revolution to its Path," *Tahrir Documents*, September 18, 2011,

Similar to the leaflet distributed by *the Nasserist Party*, this one tries to appeal to the toiling masses through a nationalistic discourse. Colonialism is associated with globalization and neoliberalism in contemporary Egyptian context. The notion of Arab socialism where the working classes were the heroes of the national economy is revoked to address the poverty-stricken masses.

*Tagammu* handed out a brochure to introduce its political background as well as its objectives on 8 July 2011.<sup>463</sup> In the part of the brochure that gives background information about the party, 23 July 1952 revolution is paralleled to 25 January 2011 uprising. Also, *Tagammu*'s role in both is highlighted. Like *the Nasserist Party*, *Tagammu* also claims the legacy of the Free Officers' Movement:

The *Tagammu*' Party was founded by a group of nationalist and historically progressive labor leaders, first among them Mr. Khalid Muhyi al-Din, one of the leaders of the Free Officers Organization which carried out the 23 July Revolution in 1952. That was in April, 1976—that is, with the beginnings of the return of party pluralism. Just as party leader and founder Khalid Muhyi al-Din contributed to the 23 July Revolution of 1952, *al-Tagammu*' greatly contributed to the 25 January Revolution of 2011 as a continuation of that legacy.<sup>464</sup>

In the previous chapter, John Bodnar's description of collective memory was visited to interpret the nostalgic defense of Nasserist ideology during the 1970s and 80s. Tahrir uprising can also be said to have stirred up what is called as collective memory. The revolutionary core of the Nasserist period associated with pride, dignity, independence and social justice were recalled to address the existing political controversies in Egypt. In other words, the pool of inspiring experiences, where authentic views were thought to be existent came to be reproduced to address the most significant issues.<sup>465</sup> Nasserist parties both tried to set a similarity between the two revolutionary periods and also nurtured the already existent nationalistic sentiments in the movement.

http://www.tahrirdocuments.org/2011/08/the-national-progressive-union-party-hizb-al-Tagammu-who-are-we/.

<sup>464</sup> Ibid.

http://www.tahrirdocuments.org/2011/07/gamal-abdel-nasser-calls-upon-the-people-of-egypt-to-go-out-on-the-8th-of-july-to-save-the-revolution/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>463</sup> "The National Progressive Unionist Party [Hizb al-Tagammu']: Who are We?," *Tahrir Documents*, August 6, 2011,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>465</sup> Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 14–15.

"Arab political street" witnessed a widespread working class struggle characterized by strikes and sit-ins, too. In other words, the demonstrations of January and February 2011 triggered a burst of energy across Egyptian society. It was in this realm Nasserists found an audience to appeal to, which helped them to operate outside middle-class intellectual activists. In the removal of Mubarak, strikes had played a very important part and gaining confidence, workers took the broadest and most prolonged industrial actions since the 1940s.<sup>466</sup> The New York Times described the movement as "a growing challenge for the military and the caretaker government."467 Egyptian Federation of Independent Trade Unions (EFITU) was set up on 30 January 2011 as a nationwide alternative to the state-lead official union, Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF), which for over 50 years had discouraged workers' action and had an important role in the incorporation of the old left into the state. <sup>468</sup> Rather than negotiate and struggle for the demands of the working class, the union worked to inhibit industrial struggle and co-opt activists.<sup>469</sup> Activist and radical journalist Hani Shukrallah identifies ETUF as a "governmentowned and run, Soviet-style dinosaur...no more than a headstone set up on the grave of basic trade union freedoms and rights."470

Kamal Abu Aita,<sup>471</sup> who was a prominent member of *Al-Karama*, was the leader of the first independent union in Egypt called Independent Union for Real Estate Tax Collectors in 2009.<sup>472</sup> This union had started a trend that gathered a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>466</sup> Anne Alexander, "The Egyptian workers' movement and the 25 January Revolution", *International Socialism Journal*, 133 (Winter 2012), www.isj.org.uk/?id=778.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>467</sup> Anthony Shadid, "Suez Canal workers join broad strikes in Egypt", *New York Times*, February 17, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/18/world/middleeast/18egypt.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>468</sup> Joel Beinin, "Workers' Struggles under 'Socialism' and Neoliberalism", in *Egypt: The Moment of Change*, eds., El-Mahdi and Marfleet, (London: Zed Books, 2009), 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>469</sup> Heba F. El-Shazli, "Where Were the Egyptian Workers in the June 2013 People's Coup Revolution?," *Jadaliyya*, July 23, 2013, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/13125/where-were-the-egyptian-workers-in-the-june-2013-p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>470</sup> Hani Shukrallah, "Good morning revolution: A to do list," *Ahram Online*, February 12, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/4/5434/Opinion/Good-morning-revolution-A-to-do-list.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>471</sup> "Al-Karama Party," *Jadaliyya*, November 18, 2011, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3151/*Al-Karama*-party

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>472</sup> Hossam el-Hamalawy, "Egypt's tax collectors and the fight for independent trade unions," *Socialist Review*, December, 2008, http://www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=10654.

greater force since the January 25 Revolution. He became the president of EFITU. An example of how Nasserist ideology is reflected in Abu Aita's discourse can be seen in a speech he delivered in London, 2 July 2011:

The Egyptian Independent Union Federation has a very clear position and that is one of solidarity with the Palestinian Arab people, support for their right to a state in the whole of their land and support for their right to use all forms of resistance against the Zionist state. The EIUF announces its rejection of all forms of normal relations with the racist, settler Zionist state and we will not co-operate with any of its official or trade union bodies because they are all connected to the Zionist occupation of our land.<sup>473</sup>

This reveals the rift between the institutional legacy of Nasserist state and its reformulation at the oppositional level to challenge neo-liberalism along with a USA-oriented pro-Israeli agenda of the Mubarak regime. EFITU both opposed the incorporated nature of ETUF and formulated an independent working class struggle to fight for social justice and national independence.

# 4.2. From the Fall of Mubarak to the Fall of Morsi: From Alliance with Brotherhood to Alliance with Right-wing Liberals

Tahrir protests caused Mubarak to resign<sup>474</sup>; however, SCAF took the power over suspending the constitution and dissolving the parliament, by which two demands of the protestors were met. Still, the transition period was overseen by the military and the protestors were attacked by the security forces during the transition from February 2011 until the end of the elections in February 2012.<sup>475</sup> Political parties used this transition period to form allegiances to secure as many seats as possible in the parliament. The biggest coalition which was formed in the wake of the January revolution was *Democratic Alliance for Egypt*<sup>476</sup> in which forty political

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>473</sup> "Egypt independent trade unions endorse BDS," *Arabawy*, July 2, 2011, http://www.arabawy.org/tag/kamal-abu-eita/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>474</sup> "Mubarak resigns, Egypt celebrates," *Ahram Online*, February 11, 2011, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/1/5426/Egypt/Mubarak-resigns,-Egypt-celebrates.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>475</sup> "Anti-SCAF march attacked," *Arabawy*, July 23, 2011, http://www.arabawy.org/2011/07/24/to-be-updated-anti-scaf-march-attacked/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>476</sup> "Al-Tahaluf al-Dimuqrati (The Democratic Alliance)," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, September 26, 2011, http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2011/09/26/the-democratic-alliance.

parties were represented. Al-Karama, Tagammu and the Nasserist Party were all members of this alliance along with the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) of Muslim Brotherhood<sup>477</sup>, fearing that the old regime figures might use the electoral competition to reassert their power. That is, post-25 January transition period was initially not determined by the secularist-Islamist division. Rather, the major line of contention was drawn along the old regime and those demanding change. Yet, the sectarian attitude of the Muslim Brotherhood led many members to leave and build their own coalitions. The Nasserist Party and Tagammu split away from the alliance on the grounds that FJP dominated the coalition and it has a secret agenda of imposing Sharia when it came to power.<sup>478</sup> Despite the two other Nasserist parties left the coalition, Hamdeen Sabbahi's Al-Karama entered the elections within Democratic Alliance. Al-Karama, which had managed to broaden its popular base among the working class struggle and professional syndicates to a certain extent, avoided tensions on "religious" grounds in the first year after the Tahrir uprising. It seems to have been motivated by three factors. First, Al-Karama had a history of alliances with the Muslim Brotherhood in the anti-war movements and workers' strikes. Secondly, being aware of the popular support the Muslim Brotherhood had, Al-Karama leadership sought to guarantee its entrance into the lower house by relying on a more powerful force. Lastly, Muslim Brotherhood had a radical social democratic rhetoric before the elections due to the urban poor and rural classes it was connected to, which complied with Al-Karama's vision. The Brotherhood's electoral program prioritized the need for social reform guided by Islamic principles:

...our election program regards achieving social justice and ensuring that distribution of revenues from economic activity achieves justice, equality and equal opportunities [as] some of the most important obligations of the state. In recognition of this responsibility, the most important goals of our election program are addressing the issue of high prices, the elimination of poverty and unemployment, providing basic public services such as education, healthcare, transportation and other services and facilities, improving living conditions of workers and peasants...<sup>479</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>477</sup> "The Egyptian Bloc," *Ahram Online*, November 18, 2011, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/103/26718/Elections-/Electoral-Alliances/The-Egyptian-Bloc.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>478</sup> "National Progressive Unionist (Tagammu) Party," *Jadaliyya*, November 18, 2011, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3157/national-progressive-unionist-(*Tagammu*)-party

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>479</sup> "FJP 2011 Program on Social Justice," *Ikhwanweb*, December 4, 2011, www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=29300.

*Al-Karama*, *Tagammu* and *The Nasserist Party* seem to have held a similar socio-economic projection. However, *Muslim Brotherhood*'s history of resistance against the Mubarak regime meant that rather than recruiting new supporters, it could rely on its already existing base.

To sum up, incorporation of a social democratic program and having a solid base in the syndicates of a wide range of occupations(i.e. doctors, engineers, teachers and farmers) and its being the only political movement with a mass appeal in the 1980s and 1990s rendered Muslim Brotherhood the only alternative to the Mubarak regime. Their discourse bore a remarkable similarity with that of the Nasserists and many political parties on the left spectrum of the political scale. Thanks to its wider appeal, Muslim Brotherhood won half of the seats in the elections held between November 28, 2011 – February 15, 2012 in the lower house of the parliament. *Al-Karama*, headed by Hamdeen Sabbahi, managed to win 6 seats only.

Despite its overtly social democratic election promise, after gaining the majority of the seats in the People's Assembly in January 2012<sup>480</sup>, the Brotherhood emerged fully as champions of the market economy<sup>481</sup>, eager to develop a modified neoliberal agenda that served the specific interests of private sector. Three months after the parliamentary elections, in May-June 2012, Presidential elections were held.

However, when Brotherhood sought to consolidate its presence rather than address the demands from below, mass demonstrations continued urging trials of Mubarak and the *feloul*, for purging of the state apparatus, and for justice for martyrs of the uprising. Strikes across industry raised demands concerning economic issues<sup>482</sup> and pursued *tathir*.<sup>483</sup> More and more often street actions and strikes were attacked by police in moves clearly sanctioned by SCAF. Despite their social

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>480</sup>Jasmine Coleman, "Egypt election results show firm win for Islamists," *The Guardian*, January 21, 2012, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/21/egypt-election-clear-islamist-victory.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>481</sup> Patrick Werr, "Egypt's Brotherhood looks to private sector to boost economy," *Reuters*, June 6, 2012, http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/06/06/us-egypt-election-economy-idUSBRE8550RK20120606

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>482</sup> Ibrahim El-Houdaiby, "Mubarak's class biases remain in place," *Ahram Online*, October 5, 2012 http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/4/54854/Opinion/Mubarak%E2%80%99s-class-biasesremain-in-place—.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>483</sup> cleansing of corrupt managers, owners of enterprises and hostile officials of the state-run trade unions

democratic economic projects, in October 2012 the Brotherhood attacked striking Cairo bus drivers for committing "an act of treason": the strike, they said, was "illegal" and "criminal."<sup>484</sup> The common perception of the time was the presence of some sort of an alliance between SCAF and Brotherhood since, during that period, the Brotherhood endorsed the new repression, while it avoided participation in key national demonstrations, the most important of which was "Second Day of Rage" in May 2011 called to pursue "completion of the objectives of the 25 January Revolution."<sup>485</sup>

The Brotherhood's perceived pact with the SCAF involved agreement on certain articles in the new constitution which was voted in 2012 with the participation of only 32% of the registered voters despite the approval of the 68.83% of the voters involved. According to the new constitution, the new defense minister would have to be exclusively a military officer (article 195) and the National Defence Council would have a majority of military commanders (197), which effectively gave the military a veto over any national security or sensitive foreign policy issue.<sup>486</sup> The same council had the authority to oversee the military budget. In other words, constitution gave control of the military's budget to the military dominated National Defense Council.<sup>487</sup> Article 198 gave the military the discretion<sup>488</sup> to try civilians in military courts, specifically in cases involving "crimes that harm the Armed Forces."<sup>489</sup> The military's longstanding political and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>484</sup> "Cairo metro workers suspend strike following victory" *Ahram Online*, November 14, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/58047/Egypt/Politics-/UPDATED-Metro-workers-suspend-strike-following-vic.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>485</sup> Dina Ezzat, "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood battles against its youth," *Ahram Online*, May 28, 2011, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/13148.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>486</sup>Melissa M. Cyrill, "New Egypt's Democracy Woes - Challenges for President Morsi," *Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses*, January 10, 2013, http://www.idsa.in/backgrounder/EgyptsChallengesforPresidentMorsi\_mmcyrill\_100113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>487</sup> Scott Williamson, "Egypt's New Draft Constitution Expands the Military's Powers," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, November 26, 2012, http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2013/11/26/new-draft-egyptian-constitution-expands-the-military%E2%80%99s-powers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>488</sup> "Egypt: New Constitution Mixed on Support of Rights," *Human Rights Watch*, November 30, 2012, http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/11/29/egypt-new-constitution-mixed-support-rights)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>489</sup> Hesham Sallam, "Morsi Past the Point of No Return," *Jadaliyya*, December 8, 2012, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/8881/morsi-past-the-point-of-no-return).

economic privileges remained untouched by the Muslim Brotherhood-controlled presidency. Moreover, they were institutionalized in the new political order, thanks to the new constitution. Through negotiations with the Muslim Brotherhood, the most profound institution of the Nasserist legacy retained its political and economic privileges.

Although Muslim Brotherhood drafted a constitution which expanded the power of the military, it also attempted to strengthen its social and political position of Islamism through some articles defining the principles of Sharia in the constitution.<sup>490</sup> In November 2012, Morsi issued a constitutional declaration centralizing a massive amount of authority in his hands.<sup>491</sup> All anti-Brotherhood political currents were drawn to a new coalition which involved figures from the old regime. Hamdeen Sabahi of the nationalist Karama Party, together with Mohamed El Baradei of the liberal Destour Party, welcomed Mubarak-era foreign minister Amr Moussa into *National Salvation Front*, which brought together liberal *Wafd*, right wing party *Free Egyptian Party, Social Democratic Party* and the Nasserist parties including *Al-Karama*, *Tagammu* and *The Nasserist Party*.<sup>492</sup> This coalition campaigned against Morsi's authoritarian Islamic agenda; however, it also created a shift in the ideological framework of the Nasserist opposition by prioritizing secularism over all the other concerns such as building social justice and destroying the old regime.

In December more than 100.000 protestors gathered in front of the Presidential palace and the violence unleashed against the protestors caused 10 people to be killed.<sup>493</sup> The pressure led Morsi to annul his constitutional declaration on December 8 2012.<sup>494</sup> He also announced a range of subsidy cuts and tax increases to comply

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>490</sup> "Egypt's new constitution limits fundamental freedoms and ignores the rights of women," *Amnesty International*, November 30, 2012, http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/egypt-s-new-constitution-limits-fundamental-freedoms-and-ignores-rights-women-2012-11-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>491</sup> "English text of Morsi's Constitutional Declaration ," *Ahram Online*, November 22, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/58947.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>492</sup> "Profile: Egypt's National Salvation Front," *BBC News*, December 10, 2012, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-20667661.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>493</sup> "Clashes erupt between rival political camps at Egypt's presidential palace," *Ahram Online*, December 5, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/59841.aspx.

with IMF demands. However, within 24 hours, these were cancelled under pressure from below and the key figures in *the Freedom and Justice Party*.<sup>495</sup>

On 15-22 December, Egyptians were to vote in a constitutional referendum. However, only 32% of the registered voters participated and the boycott along with the protests continued. The assaults against the protests<sup>496</sup> by the police and the military and by Brotherhood supporters<sup>497</sup> and the sectarian attacks on the Coptic minority triggered a new wave of protests that destroyed Morsi's presidency and made the army's hand stronger. The majority of activists now identified Morsi and the Brotherhood as obstacles to securing basic needs and political freedoms.<sup>498</sup>

*Tamarod* (Rebel) campaign, which demanded resignation of Morsi, mobilized the shared anti-Morsi sentiments and on 30 June, millions of people from the remnants of the old regime to the Nasserist opposition coalesced around a single demand. In the face of such a broad based public gathering, SCAF took initiative and embarked an oppressive policy against the Brotherhood by incorporating the opposition on the other hand.

### 4.2.1. An analysis of Nasserist Hamdeen Sabbahi's Ideological Framework

Against a background of a climate of increasing opposition to the Brotherhood's agenda, Hamdeen Sabahi of the *Al-Karama* mobilized wide support among workers, the urban middle class and the urban poor. Before making a discourse analysis of his election campaign, a brief background analysis of Hamdeen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>494</sup> "Morsi's decree cancelled, constitution referendum to take place on time," *Ahram Online*, December 9,2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/60092/Egypt/Politics-/Morsis-decree-cancelled,-constitution-referendum-t.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>495</sup> "Egypt president Morsi halts tax hikes, calls for dialogue," *Ahram Online*, December 10, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/3/12/60166/Business/Economy/Egypt-president-Morsi-halts-tax-hikes,-calls-for-d.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>496</sup> "Egypt's opposition protest on Friday to reject constitutional declaration, draft constitution," *Ahram Online,* November 29,2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/59476/Egypt/Politics-/Egypts-opposition-protest-on-Friday-to-reject-cons.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>497</sup> "Protest against Morsi's decrees attacked by unknown assailants," *Ahram Online*, November 24, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/59051.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>498</sup> "El-Hamalawy: "Morsy has failed even in the simple bread and butter issues," *Daily News*, November 28, 2012, http://dailynewsegypt.com/2012/11/28/hossam-el-hamalawy-morsy-has-even-failed-in-the-simple-bread-and-butter-issues/.

Sabbahi's involvement in politics in general and in Nasserist movement in particular can help gain a deeper understanding of his ideological lineage.

Sabahi became active in politics since the student movement of the early 1970s. He established the Nasserist Thought Club at Cairo University in 1974.<sup>499</sup> During those years, Sabbahi and a large group of his university peers saw president Sadat "following in the footsteps of Abdel Nasser with an eraser," particularly by steering the economy into a liberal capitalist direction.<sup>500</sup> Following the food price riots of January 1977, Sabahi opposed President Anwar El-Sadat at a televised meeting between the president and the General Federation of Students. As a result, he was banned from working in the national press. He was arrested was in 1991, when he addressed a Cairo University student demonstration protesting Americanled strikes against Iraq, following its occupation of Kuwait.<sup>501</sup>

He ran in the parliament's lower house elections for the first time in 1995 as an independent candidate, even though he was a member of *the Nasserist Party* at the time. He ran again as an independent in the 2000 and 2005 elections because *Al-Karama* was denied a formal party license under the Mubarak regime. He was the first Member of Parliament to publicly raise the issue of Egyptian gas exports to Israel. In line with his party, Sabbahi maintained a firm stance against the construction of a separation barrier along Egypt's border with the besieged Gaza Strip.<sup>502</sup> In 1997, Sabbahi was arrested and charged with inciting agricultural workers to stage an open-ended sit-in on their land in protest against a new law regulating the relationship between landowners and tenant farmers. The new law effectively reversed land reforms implemented in the immediate wake of the 1952 Revolution. The raft of new reforms allowed landowners to impose enormous rent increases and evict tenant farmers.<sup>503</sup> Sabbahi was also among the founders and leaders of the *Kifaya* movement. He also active in *The National Association for Change*, a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>499</sup> "Hamdin Sabahi: Seventies' credentials,"*Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, October 12-18, 2000, http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2000/503/el7.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>500</sup> Mohammad Khawly, "In Search of Egypt's Fifth President: Hamdeen Sabahi," *Al-Akhbar*, May 23, 2012, http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/7604

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>501</sup> "Hamdin Sabahi: Seventies' credentials."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>502</sup> "Al-Karama Party."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>503</sup> "Al-Karama Party."

coalition of opposition figures and groups formed in 2010 to demand democratic reforms and free and fair presidential elections in which independent candidates that were not handpicked by the Mubarak regime could run.<sup>504</sup>

His political activism since the 1970s and role in the anti-Mubarak cause seem to have made him an alternative to Muhammed Morsi of the FJP and Ahmad Shafiq, the candidate of the SCAF. The Presidential elections were held in May-June 2012 in two rounds. In the first round of elections in May, Sabbahi collected over 20 percent of the vote, coming first in each and every major urban centre, causing a profound shock for Mursi and for the SCAF's candidate Ahmed Shafiq, who were placed first and second respectively. His votes represented a clear class vote, demonstrating the wish of millions of people to advance the revolution by addressing key social and economic issues. In this part, Sabbahi's ideological framework will be compared and contrasted with the Nasserist ideology framed in the first chapter.

### 4.2.1.1. Arab Nationalism

In an interview with Ahram Online, Sabbahi stated that his candidacy was to help the Egyptian revolution to complete its projects for revival. He added: "I am a son of July 23 [1952 Free Officers' Coup] and a son of the Nasserite movement. I am proud of being a Nasserist Nationalist. I see Egypt as the heart of the Arab world." Then, he stated that what the Egyptians wanted became clear in the Tahrir Square: "Bread, Freedom, Justice and Human Dignity."<sup>505</sup> From what he underlined, the core ideological traits of Nasserism seemed to be alive: Arab nationalism with Egypt at its core and Arab socialism which articulates itself within a populist social democracy.

Regarding the foreign policy, Sabbahi asserts that war against poverty at home is the real war the Egypt must fight. By this assertion, he mitigates opposition against Nasserists' war-seeking foreign policies. He, pragmatically, appeases the potential voters by promising to focus all his efforts on the problems of poverty at home rather than seeking victories beyond borders. After he denounces Camp David agreement with Israel, he says: "Cancelling the agreement, as a President, will not be one of my

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>504</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>505</sup> "Interview: Presidential Candidate Hamdeen Sabbahi," YouTube video, 8:34, posted by "Ahram Online," April 3, 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wFkgq01UBvI.

priorities."<sup>506</sup> The utterance that Egypt's backwardness and being in poverty should be resolved before any other matter is actually compensating the lack of Nasserite vigor on the anti-Israeli front with a nationalist populist policy, which would make Sabbahi both an ardent follower of Nasserism and a down-to-earth political leader of the millennium. Making Egypt a developed country with its citizens in wealth is a nationalistic project pursued by Nasser as well. Sabbahi moulds his anti-Israeli stance into a slightly milder form. Instead of calling for the annulment of Camp David treaty, he urges Eygpt halt its gas export to Israel immediately since it is a matter of humiliation while there is gas shortages in the country.<sup>507</sup> Consequently, Sabbahi's Israel policy is connected with his perception of domestic politics. Nasserism, embodied in Sabbahi's popularity, does not articulate Pan-Arabist unity against Israel but a Eygptian-centered reaction with economic and nationalists concerns. Gas exportation to Israel is seen as "a waste of national wealth and as a subsidy used to kill our Palestinian brothers" by Sabbahi. Sabahi has engaged in many battles. Perhaps the most important one was inside the parliament in 2008, when he became the first MP to demand an end to exporting gas to the occupying Israel. In the same year, Sabahi was also the first Egyptian lawmaker to break the Israeli occupation's blockade on Gaza when he entered the besieged strip and met with Hamas leaders to relay the Egyptian people's support for the Palestinians.<sup>508</sup>

When asked about the situation in Syria, Hamdeen Sabbahi abstained from vilifying Asad and vaguely stated that he was with the Syrian people and supported their demands for freedom and peace. *The Popular Current* campaign group, formed after the elections, called for a protest against a possible US-led assault on Syria with the slogan "Here is Damascus" on 31 August 2013.<sup>509</sup> While Sabbahi hesitated to denounce Asad and support the opposition groups in Syria, he denounced a US-led war immediately when it appeared as an option on the table. This stance results from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>506</sup> "Interview: Presidential Candidate Hamdeen Sabbahi."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>507</sup> Safa Azaab, "Riding the Wave: Interview with Hamdeen Sabbahi" *The Majalla*, May 5, 2011, http://www.majalla.com/eng/tag/hamdeen-sabahi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>508</sup> "In Search of Egypt's Fifth President: Hamdeen Sabahi."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>509</sup> "Egyptian Popular Current calls demo against military intervention in Syria," *Ahram Online*, August 31, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/80428/Egypt/Politics-/Egyptian-Popular-Current-calls-demo-against-milita.aspx.

the perception of Asad still as an anti-imperialist leader and a relatively better alternative in the face of Islamist groups which were eager to undermine the "Ba'athist state" which was formed in parallel to that of Nasser.

In the same vein as Sabbahi, *the Nasserist Party* paid a visit to Bas'ar Asad and the spokesperson of *the Nasserist Party*, Farouq El-Eshri was reported to say: "If Bashar falls, we are left with three scenarios: 1. the fall of 'Arab Nationalist' Syria, 2. Syria will fall under the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood, 3. It will be a civil war...Syria is the last defence line for Pan-Arabism," El-Eshri added.<sup>510</sup> Sabbahi's comments on Syria do not reveal his sympathy or overt support for Asad, but his silence concerning Asad parallels him with the other Nasserist strains in Egypt.

Sabbahi borrowed from Nasser's nationalist terminology in his frequent emphasis on national unity. He had accused Morsi of dividing the nation. Sabahi explained: "He was elected to fulfill the demands of a revolution and proved incapable of doing so, was elected to be president of all Egyptians and proved to represent only one group, was elected to embody the unity of Egyptians in Tahrir Square and is now leading a policy that significantly divides the people, was elected to end a reign of oppression but more than one hundred people were killed under his regime and hundreds were injured. We are back to the time of torture in jails and police stations, imprisonment of political activists and violations against the basic rights of Egyptians."<sup>511</sup> He also equated Morsi with foreing invaders in that they both inflict death and should be opposed with resistance: "Despite their history of bravery, popular resistance and displacement during Egypt's long wars, Port Said and Suez found themselves facing the local tyrant after fighting the foreign invaders."<sup>512</sup>

When SCAF ousted Morsi on 3 July, despite the fact that USA did not call the military intervention a coup d'etat, Sabbahi criticized a possible cut in the military aids provided for Egypt:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>510</sup> "Egyptian Nasserist defends controversial visit to Syria's Al-Assad," *Ahram Online*, February 13, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/64667/Egypt/Politics-/Egyptian-Nasserist-defends-controversial-visit-to-.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>511</sup> Mohannad Sabry, "Egyptian Leftist Bloc Leader Calls Morsi 'New Mubarak'," *Al-Monitor*, March 10, 2013, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/fa/contents/articles/originals/2013/03/morsi-new-mubarak-opposition-leader-hamdeen-sabahi.html#ixzz2p1SzejjJ.

If a nation wants to protect its interests in Egypt, that nation has to respect the will of the Egyptian people. At the moment we salute the Arab nations, namely Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Jordan. Those countries that have declared that if aid is cut, then they, Arab countries which are rich in men and money, will compensate for that.<sup>513</sup>

Rather than a call for an end to the military cooperation between the USA and Egypt, which became associated with the Mubarak rule, Nasser implies that relationship witht USA can be maintained provided that it recognizes the military rule as the will of the Egyptian people. In this statement, "the national will" refers to the popular movement, which approved of the military takeover of the presidential authorities. In case of a cut in the military aid, Sabbahi turns to other Arab nations appreciating their offer of assistance drawing on the Arab nationalist vocabulary in a pragmatic way. Ultimately, neither anti-USA attitude nor the pro-Arab emphasis bears the same degree radicalism as the Nasserist ideology. Rather, they are sustained in milder and more pragmatic forms to maneouver in diplomatic terms.

### 4.2.1.2. Arab Socialism

With respect to economy, "planning" was put forward as the major solution. Planning as an economic project echoes the five year plans implemented during Nasser's period. Thanks to those plans, nationalization of certain industries, new investments and new governance models were put into effect. That is, planning means overseeing the economy by placing the state in the centre as the planner so that the middle and lower classes will not be overlooked.

He put emphasis on the man power Egypt had and suggested a secure partnership with the private sector. At economic level, Sabbahi suggested a Keynesian model where social rights would be guaranteed despite an ambitious industrialization partnership with the private sector. *Al-Karama*'s party program formulates the economic organization in a more systematic way. At economic level, *Al-Karama* calls for an economic system made of three sector; a public sector that is free of bureaucracy and adopts modern administration and scientific planning; a cooperative sector that improves production capabilities and competition and a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>513</sup> "NSF's Hamdeen Sabahi: 'Egypt will not return to the times of Mubarak'," *Euronews*, August 21, 2013, http://www.euronews.com/2013/08/21/hamdeen-sabahi-egypt-will-not-return-to-the-times-of-mubarak/.

private sector that is led by national capitalism.<sup>514</sup> Development and public welfare would go hand in hand in Sabbahi's projections, as stated in most social democratic party manifestos. He made a distinction between two kinds of capitalism: national capitalism versus the thieves' one. The former, in the form of relaxed state capitalism with a continued partnership with the private one, was in effect during Nasser's period. The latter is a designation referring to the *Infitah* and "crony capitalism" of Sadat and Mubarak periods, respectively. He purported that Egypt would be able to live its economic renaissance with the cooperation of public and private sector within an 8 year period. His policies can be read as a reaction to Mubarak's privatizations, the inequality marked with a gap between the poor and the rich and unemployment, the figure for which was recorded to be at around 13%.<sup>515</sup>

When the SCAF-appointed government attempted to negotiate a \$3.2 billion deal with the IMF after Mubarak's resignation, academics and activists in *the Popular Campaign to Drop Egypt's Debt* started a high-profile media campaign opposing the loan, arguing that Egypt should abandon practices of the Mubarak era. Hamdeen Sabbahi was a prominent figure in that campaign even arguing that the government should refuse to repay loans raised by the state both outside and inside Egypt. He said that money had been misused by the former regime and the Egyptian people were not supposed to repay it.<sup>516</sup>

Similarly, in April 2013, when Morsi was negotiating a loan from the IMF, Sabbahi told "Egypt should refuse a \$4.8 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund rather than submit to terms that would further impoverish the poor and could spark a revolution of the hungry". He continued "neither the global lender nor Egypt's Islamist-led government had told the public the truth about austerity conditions attached to the proposed loan". Sabbahi's opposition to IMF loans is the expression of a widespread contention among the masses.<sup>517</sup> The vision of national

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>514</sup> "Al-Karama Party."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>515</sup>" Interview: Presidential Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>516</sup> Mohamed Elmeshad, "Advocacy group rejects government's IMF-pleasing reform plan," *Al Masry Al Youm*, March 22, 2012, www.egyptindependent.com/news/advocacy-group-rejects-government% E2% 80% 99s-imf-pleasing-reform-plan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>517</sup> "Leftist leader says Egypt should refuse IMF loan," *Ahram Online*, April 30, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/3/12/70421/Business/Economy/INTERVIEW-Leftist-leader-says-Egypt-should-refuse-.aspx.

independence, self-sufficiency, national dignity could be achieved, in Sabbahi's perception, only if Egyptian economic policy were rescued from the humiliating burden of international monetary policy. This notion of independence also exhibits how Sabbahi's rhetoric echoes Nasserist discourse of self-sufficiency and dignity.

Sabbahi incorporated a harsh criticism of uncontrolled free market and IMF policies. His opposition to the Muslim Brotherhood drew attention to the similarity between their economic policy and that of the Mubarak regime. In an interview, he said: "Because the Brotherhood's economic and social thought is the same as Mubarak's: the law of the markets," Sabbahi said he had told Mr. Morsi, referring to Hosni Mubarak, the former president. "You will just make the poor poorer, and they will be angry with you just as they were with Mubarak."<sup>518</sup>

Mr. Sabahi insists the IMF loan would be unnecessary if the country followed his radical prescriptions to turn away from Western economic orthodoxy. In addition to steeper annual taxes on the rich, Mr. Sabahi is calling for Egypt to meet its deficit with a one-time 20 percent tax on the wealth of anyone with more than about \$17 million, which he says is about 1 percent of Egyptians. He is calling for a ban on all exports of raw materials, including the important commodities of natural gas and cotton, so they can be used for domestic production. He proposes to increase fees on businesses that use natural resources as well as on real estate and stock market transactions. And at the same time he wants to expand Egypt's already bloated public sector to create more jobs for the poor.<sup>519</sup>

Nasserist Hamdeen Sabbahi, called for a mass email campaign in which Egyptians should protest to the IMF about its conditions for the loan in November 2012. Sabahi's model message told the Fund: "Your loan is causing our poverty. Your condition to interfere in our politics is unacceptable. And the history of your institution and loans was disastrous to our economy."<sup>520</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>518</sup> David D. Kirkpatrick, "First Fighting Islamists, Now the Free Market," *The New York Times*, December 25, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/26/world/middleeast/egypts-hamdeen-sabahy-vs-islamists-and-free-markets.html?\_r=0.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>519</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>520</sup> "Egypt's Popular Current launches anti-IMF loan campaign," *Ahram Online*, November 3, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/57034/Egypt/Politics-/Egypts-Popular-Current-launches-antiIMF-loan-campa.aspx

In a speech he had delivered at a conference on workers' rights in 2009, Hamdeen Sabbahi criticized Mubarak's neoliberal economic policies and referred to Nasser's period as a role model. He said: "There has been deliberate violation of workers and peasants' rights that they earned during Nasser's era; we need to restore a fair distribution of the country's proceeds and adopt legislations and actions biased to the poor."<sup>521</sup> Sabahi added that following the advice of International Monetary Fund and major economic institutions has proven unsuccessful and a socialist economy would be the best alternative.<sup>522</sup>

Socialism corresponds to a radical social democratic project in today's Nasserist terminology. During Nasser's period, 'socialist' measures served two functions: incorporation of the working masses into the regime and development of national economy independent from the foreign capital. Today, Nasserist economic policies aim to achieve the same goals. *Al-Karama* expresses the demands of the working class to engage with the masses better. Meanwhile, they aim to create an independent Egyptian economy where private sector will retain its national character. The similarity lies in the fact that Nasserism both in its practice during the 1950s and 1960s and in its reformulation by the Nasserist factions of the movement respond to the economic issues from a nationalistic angle. *Al-Karama* associates IMF loans and the structural adjustment program the debt requires with national huminiliation of Egyptian people. Therefore, pronouncement of national demands is linked to the unity "Egyptian people," which is also a reminiscient of the Nasserist ideal of "classless" society where the conflicts are resolved through mutual sacrifice.<sup>523</sup>

### 4.2.1.3. Secularism

As for the religion, Sabbahi said his party *Al-Karama* contributed to bridging the divide between the Nationalists and Islamists. Sabbahi, as part of the nationalist bloc, underline the importance of four schools of thought in the Arab world: Islamist, Liberalism, Nationalism, which he says has been reflected as Nasserism in Egypt,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>521</sup> "Karama Party leader calls for revival of Nasser's policies," *The Free Library*, September 30, 2010, http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Karama+Party+leader+calls+for+revival+of+Nasser's+policies.-a0238363433.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>522</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>523</sup> Ginat, "Egypt's Incomplete Revolution," 19-21.

and Socialism. These lines of thinking are not necessarily hostile to each other. On the contray, harmony is what the country requires rather than grave differences between their economic and social projections. Sabbahi pays enormous heed not to adopt a hostile rhetoric towards Islamists. This caution, to a great extent, depends on the awareness of the mass base of Muslim Brotherhood and their experience of joint campaigns with Islamists in anti-war and Kefaya movements. His anti-Brotherhood rhetoric differs from Tagammu and the Nasserist Party in that he does not formulate his opposition in a categorical anti-islamist tone. What he objects to with respect to Morsi's rule was not their being in power after the first free presidential elections. Rather, their pursuit of "Brotherhoodisation" policies, which came to surface with the decrees concentrating all the power in the presidential authority in November 2012. He asserts: "I advise them to replace the failed project of 'Brotherhoodising' Egypt with Egyptianising the Brotherhood so it becomes part of the Egyptian people and their national dream and not above them."<sup>524</sup> "Egyptianising" appears to stress the nationalistic trait of Nasserist ideological heritage, which involves welcoming the participation of the nationalistic bodies in the governance.

#### 4.2.1.4. Militarism

When he was asked about his opinions of the SCAF which administered the interim government from the fall of Mubarak in February 2011 until Morsi took the office in June 2012, he said SCAF and the army had the full confidence of the people at the beginning of the interim period. "The trust in army has not shaken but the trust in SCAF has shaken as a result of their management of the interim period" he added. He urged SCAF to revolve the deaths and injuries that occurred during its governance with fair and prompt trials. He specified this problem as an unsettled matter between them and SCAF. He also repeated his confidence in SCAF's promise to transfer power. Sabbahi pointed at the importance of revolutionaries in the ruling of the country. He stated no government without revolutionaries could run the country.<sup>525</sup>

If what Sabbahi denoted is decoded, it can be seen that Nasserism's perspective of revolution still haunts the Nasserist ideology. Nasser came to power following

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>524</sup> "Leftist leader says Egypt should refuse IMF loan."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>525</sup> "Interview: Presidential Candidate Hamdeen Sabbahi."

mass protests against monarchy and colonialism. However, rather than a collective transformative power from below, he relied on officers, technocrats and bureaucrats to transform the society. Sabbahi, similarly, welcomes SCAF's intervention since mass mobilizations need to be halted at some point, in his opinion. From now onwards, what Sabbahi thinks essential is a new government that can reform the regime addressing the social issues and reposition the country as a leading power in the Arab geography once more. With this line of thinking, however radical his rhetoric is, he give the portrait of a nationalist reformist, considering the masses as lever to power. All in all, the ideological tropism that mobilization from below should be checked with a radical transformation from above still remains to be one of Nasserism's major postulations.

### 4.2.2. Egyptian Popular Current: Hamdeen Sabbahi becomes a symbol of "Social Justice"

After the presidential elections in May 2013, a broader circle with no organic membership relations with *Al-Karama* formed around Hamdeen Sabbahi. Those who conducted the presidential campaign were in need of a political organization which could draw those who were looking for an alternative outside Muslim Brotherhood and old-regime and had voted for Hamdeen Sabbahi (20.7 %). Out of this search was *Egyptian Popular* Current [Al-Tayar Al-Sha'aby] (EPC) born.<sup>526</sup> The movement presented itself as a counterbalance to the ruling Islamist government and pledges to unite secular organizations across the political spectrum to challenge the Islamists in the coming parliamentary elections. The movement was officially launched on September 21, 2012, in a mass rally led by Sabbahi.<sup>527</sup> Amin Iskandar, one the leaders of the current, explains that the "Popular Current is coalition of forces that voted for Hamdeen Sabbahi, including those who are already affiliated to existing parties or individuals who are reluctant to join political parties but view Sabbahi as a symbol."<sup>528</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>526</sup> "Nasserist Sabbahi to launch 'Egyptian Popular Current' on Friday," *Ahram Online*, September 20, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/53379/Egypt/Politics-/Nasserist-Sabbahi-to-launch-Egyptian-Popular-Curre.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>527</sup> "Egypt's Secular Forces," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, November 19, 2012, http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2012/11/19/egypt%E2%80%99s-secular-forces.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>528</sup> "Egypt: Popular Current Party is Born," *Al-Akhbar*, September 24, 2012, http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/12589.

The EPC lists the following three objectives as preconditions for realizing the revolution's goals and achieving a "comprehensive Egyptian renaissance"<sup>529</sup>:

A democratic political system in the framework of a national, civil, and modern democratic state that respects the sovereignty of the people. A state based on a new constitution that enshrines all public freedoms; achieves separation of powers; rebuilds the state's institutions; guarantees the independence of the judiciary; guarantees the freedom of press, innovation, thought, and belief; provides equality between citizens in rights and duties; and establishes the rule of law and institutions.<sup>530</sup>

The first objective, based on the separation of powers, rule of law and institutionalization, is not the item that differentiates EPC from the other political currents in Egypt. A similar point is made in the political programs of all the parties, including Muslim Brotherhood. This conception of state as an entity independent from the interests of capitalist, military and bureaucratic classes is an idealized definition of this body of governance. Challenging the system Mubarak imposed was only possible through a reconfiguration of the roles and the duties of the institutions in the state which can be enforced only through the rule of law. This reformist line of thinking demands a radical amendment in the state rather than its collapse.

The second item concerns the social policy the new political organization will promote:

Social justice based on radical societal transformation brought about by a comprehensive development project that guarantees equal opportunity, sufficient production, and just distribution. The project will protect national wealth from waste and corruption and guarantee economic and social rights for all Egyptians, including the rights to food, housing, healthcare, education, employment, just pay, insurance, and a clean environment.<sup>531</sup>

On 8 April 2013, Popular Current organized an economic conference on Sunday under the title "Saving the Egyptian economy, towards an alternative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>529</sup> 'renaissance' is a term that was adopted by the nationalist anti-colonialist parties of the Arab world in the 1950s. 'B'ath Party' in Iraq and Syria used the term to refer to nationalist awakening at that time. Their shared ideological background with Nasserism is reflected in the formulation of this slogan. Renaissance refers both to a nostalgic yearning for the Nasserite period and a nationalistic myth aiming to create a vision of Egypt shaken out of corruption, inequality, injustice and western humilitiation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>530</sup> "Egypt's Secular Forces."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>531</sup>"Egypt's Secular Forces."

program."<sup>532</sup> Writer Muhammed Hasanayn Haikal, who attended the conference, said he "wished to participate in Egypt's better future". He added that "we have history to help us" and that Egypt is currently undergoing "a critical situation with circumstances where vision is absent, as she [Egypt] needs combined efforts to bypass this critical phase."<sup>533</sup> Haikal refers to the Nasserist experience when he mentions 'history' as a source of inspiration. 'Combined efforts,' similarly, refers to a national cohesion in which the unprivileged will be compensated by the sacrifices to be made by the over-privileged segments of the ruling class. Again a balance needs to be stricken, highlighting the mediocrity of their reformist policy. This Nasserist reformism is translated into a populist form regarding the basic services such as education and healthcare services. Hussien Abdel Ghani, member of the Popular Current party, added in the same conference:

The Party's model aims to support the healthcare sector, especially since the government spends only 1.6% of state revenues on the sector, whereas in other countries in the region this can be as high as 3%, or 5% in countries outside the middle east. We also advocate 5.2% of GDP to be spent on the education sector, in order to develop education in the country, and increase the wages of workers employed in the sector and cancel private lessons.<sup>534</sup>

These policies are not only designed for the betterment of the declining standards of living among the lower classes but also aimed at appealing to the masses incorporated in Muslim Brotherhood's social charities. The Popular Current did not prefer to compete with the Brotherhood through a debate based on secular-non secular controversy. Instead, the EPC aimed to attract people addressing the issues of poverty, unemployment and inability to access to the basic services. The party, however, adopted an increasingly anti-Brotherhood discourse starting with the turn of Morsi as the President.

A mixture of state and private entreprise was the method of economic development as mentinoed briefly while analyzing the *Al-Karama*'s program. Similary, *the Egyptian Popular Current* called for the adoption of a blend of public

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>532</sup> Lamia Nabil, "Popular Current launches first economic conference," *Daily News Egypt*, April 4, 2013, http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/04/08/popular-current-launches-first-economic-conference/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>533</sup> Ibid.

<sup>534</sup> Ibid.

and private economy as the most appropriate economic model for Egypt. Hussein Abdel Ghani says:

First, the most suitable economic system should be a mixed one, which embeds the private sector as part of a general funding strategy, as this independent model can do better than the models of the ousted Mubarak regime or even Morsi's current one, who really follows in the previous regime's footsteps.<sup>535</sup>

The most salient property of the model is its "independence" from the foreign capital. Interestingly, the foreign investment is only problematized when it is connected to the Western powers. Saudi aid or Qatar's investments are not seen as impediments to development. Therefore, the EPC's notion of independence still bears an anti-colonial, pan-Arabist and nationalistic character. The third objective stated in the program of the EPC illustrates this point with reference to their vision of international policy:

Dignity that is protected by an independent state that will recover Egypt's leading role in the Arab, Muslim, and African worlds. We need a state that will build a new international bloc to stand against rapid globalization and support the legitimate right to fight occupation whether in Palestine, Iraq, or elsewhere.<sup>536</sup>

This objective summarizes the international outlook of the Nasserist ideology with the contingent elements in the background. The party does not only aim to rebuild the Egyptian independence but also reconstruct its hegemony in the region. The problems arising from globalization and the occupation of Palestinian and Iraqi lands are considered to have stemmed from the same source: colonialism of Western powers in the guise of globalization. Egypt as a role model and an initiator of a collective struggle against the humiliation of the Arab, Muslim and African region can be a remedy. Ultimately, the backbone of the Nasserist ideology, Egyptian territorial nationalism within a broader Arab context, remains intact, evident in the third objective above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>535</sup> Hend El-Behary, "Al-Tayar Al-Sha'aby offers alternative economic model for Egypt," *Daily News Egypt*, April 8, 2013, http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/04/08/al-tayar-al-shaaby-offers-alternative-economic-model-for-egypt/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>536</sup> "Egypt's Secular Forces."

To sum up, Al-Karama represented a revised version of the Nasserist legacy in that by differentiating itself from the aged leadership of *the Nasserist Party*. It also attempted to reinvent the Nasserist tradition by translating its core demands such as liberation, social justice and pan-Arabism into the contemporary context. Participating in the pro-Palestinian, anti-war movement, getting engaged with the anti-Mubarak pro democracy Kifaya campaign and attempting to establish connections with the leadership of the working class struggles demanding independent unions, Al-Karama succeeded in creating a Nasserist point of attraction in the movement by both collaborating the middle class components of the movement and the leadership of the working class struggle. Furthermore, unlike Tagammu, Al-Karama did not hesitate to form coalitions with Muslim Brotherhood sticking to a rigid secularist frame. This flexibility allowed Al-Karama to widen its impact at a popular level. However, this popularity had to wait until the candidacy of Hamdeen Sabbahi to be articulated in electoral resonance. Egyptian Popular Current became the new organizational formulation of this popularity almost inheriting the program of Al-Karama without a single amendment. By the time EPC was formed, Nasserism had striven to challenge the Mubarak regime, its discontinuities with the Nasserist legacy and accordingly present a more democratic, nationalistic and social democratic program. Yet, Nasserist movement became obliged to address the conflict arisen from the Muslim Brotherhood's being the majority in the People's Assembly and Morsi's presidency. The new debate required the Nasserist ideology to underscore a relatively less emphasized idea in its composition: "secular" dimension of Egyptian identity. When the confrontation was formulated within that context, EPC had to change the alliances it formed and started to reformulate its discourse in relation to the state and its institutions such as the military and security forces. Stepan and Linz explains the context that urged the secular participants to adopt contradictory positions:

Soon after Mubarak's fall, many of the young secular liberals who had filled Tahrir Square began to argue that the MB was so strong and so fundamentally undemocratic that core liberal-democratic values could only be saved if secular liberals cut a deal with a nondemocratic source of power—the military. Many liberals argued that the military should help structure, or even write, the constitution *before* elections for the Constituent Assembly, or at the

very least appoint a committee of experts to draft the constitution so that the Brotherhood could not constitute a majority.<sup>537</sup>

# 4.2.3. National Salvation Front: Nasserists ally with the Right and The Old Regime Figures

The third layer that Nasserism was situated in was a broad coalition called National Salvation Front. The only unifying element that brought 35 diverse groups in an alliance was an anti-Islamist agenda.<sup>538</sup> On November 24, 2012, leading Egyptian opposition politicians and political parties came together in the National Salvation Front (NSF) to coordinate opposition to a constitutional declaration issued by then president Mohamed Morsi on November 22.539 Morsi's move was seen as a dangerous attempt to assert authoritarian powers. The mobilization against Morsi, therefore, articulated an anti-authoritarian discourse calling for the separation of powers, a more transparent judicial purview and separation of religion from the state. At the time of the NSF's formation, its three most prominent members were Mohamed ElBaradei, co-founder of the liberal Constitution Party; Amr Moussa, cofounder of the secular Conference Party; and Hamdeen Sabbahi, co-founder of the Egyptian Popular Current, another secular alliance. In addition to these three leaders and their parties, a number of other opposition organizations joined the front. Some of the most prominent of these were the Wafd Party, the Free Egyptians Party, the Al-Karama, the Egypt Freedom Party, the Egyptian Social Democratic Party, Kifava, the April 6 Youth Movement, and the Maspero Youth Union.<sup>540</sup> For the next three weeks, the coalition organized massive protests against the president and the Brotherhood.<sup>541</sup>

541 Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>537</sup> Alfred Stepan and Juan J. Linz, "Democratization Theory and the "Arab Spring"," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April 2013): 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>538</sup> Nada Hussein Rashwan, "Egypt's National Salvation Front faces existential challenges," *Ahram Online*, February 25, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/65497/Egypt/Politics-/Egypts-National-Salvation-Front-faces-existential-.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>539</sup> "Gabhat al-Inqath al-Watani (The National Salvation Front)," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, September 3, 2013, http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2013/09/03/gabhat-al-inqath-al-watani-the-national-salvation-front

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>540</sup> Ibid.

The members of the coalition had a liberal party on its ranks, the Wafd, the political body that blamed Nasserism for all the authoritarian practices of the state even after Nasser, the Free Egyptian Party, which is considered to be the most rightwing party with its demand for the withdrawal of the state from economic field and Kifaya Movement, which is considered to have been the initiator of the first social movement with a brave anti-Mubarak cause, April the  $6^{th}$  movement, a prominent youth initiative which took its name from a workers' strike that had been held on 6<sup>th</sup> April in 2008. The Maspero Youth Union is Coptic youth organization which was campaigning against the sectarian violence instigated by the Islamist agenda of Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafists against the Coptic Christians and their churches. Tahrir uprising had created an anti-Mubarak mobilization among the Christian community in Egypt; however, due to the sectarian attacks that happened in October 2011 in Maspero, they held a massive protest march to protest the inability of the SCAF to protect them and tens of people were killed by the security forces and troops. Although the army was part of the suppression, the Christian community perceived the Islamist movement as the major threat to their existence. In addition to the street violence, Christians protested the items in the Constitution which promoted Sharia. Their parliamentary representation was not under the warranty of the Constitution, either. Therefore, the Coptic community became a part of the coalition against the Brotherhood. With this coalition, the idea of the "unity of the crescent and the cross" became a strong recurring theme.<sup>542</sup>

Therefore, participation of the Nasserist movement in such a coalition partially resulted from the shared desire to devise a pragmatic solution to the disillusionment that stemmed from the Brotherhood's efforts to center the authority in its body ignoring the demands of the masses for more democracy. On the other hand, it was a confirmation of the weakness of the each single body in the coalition against the Brotherhood. The mixed composition of the coalition left only one principle to coalesce around: secular nationalism, which redesigned the political sphere ultimately. From that point onwards, the public debate was not revolving around the accusations of the old regime and expectations from the new one. Instead, it was centered on what Brotherhood wants to install and what to defend from this attempt,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>542</sup> Yassin Gaber, "A Friday of national unity in Egypt," *Ahram Online*, March 11, 2011, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/7474/Egypt/Politics-/A-Friday-of-national-unity-in-Egypt.aspx.

resulting in an alliance with the long-lasting institutions and civil proponents of the 'old regime.' The radical movement built from below against both the old regime and the anti-democratic and pro-capitalist agenda of the Brotherhood was gradually incorporated into a polarized debate and confrontation, which culminated in the intervention of the SCAF, as the guardian of the public will.

## 4.2.4. Tamarod Petition: A Nasserist Manifesto against Muslim Brotherhood

Similar to the January 25 2011 demonstrations, initiated by a group of activists demanding more democracy from the regime, the "Rebel"<sup>543</sup> campaign in Egypt started with a very simple idea. At the beginning of May, a group of young revolutionary activists launched a campaign to collect signatures on a statement withdrawing confidence from the President Mohammed Morsi and demanding early elections. They announced that their goal was to have more than 15 million signatories by the anniversary of Morsi's inauguration on 30 June.<sup>544</sup> Their petition read:

Because security still has not returned to the street... we don't want you. Because the poor still do not have a place in society... we don't want you. Because you are still begging from abroad... we don't want you. Because the martyrs have not been vindicated... we don't want you. Because I have no dignity and neither does my country... we don't want you. Because the economy has collapsed and is now reliant on begging... we don't want you. Because the economy has collapsed and is now reliant on begging... we don't want you. Because the economy has collapsed and is now reliant on begging... we don't want you. Because you are subservient to the Americans... we don't want you. As a member of the Egyptian people, I hereby declare that I withdraw my confidence from the President of the Republic Dr. Mohammed Morsi and call for early presidential elections. I vow to stay true to the goals of the revolution and work towards achieving them, as well as publicizing the *Tamarod* campaign amongst the ranks of the masses until together we can achieve a society of dignity, justice, and freedom.<sup>545</sup>

In just over a week the first two million signatures had rolled in. By the beginning of June they had reached the half-way mark: 7.5 million. On 29 June

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>543</sup> Kelby Olson, "Egypt's Tamarod Movement: An Unsustainable Alliance," *Muftah*, May 23, 2013, http://muftah.org/egypts-*Tamarod*-movement-an-unsustainable-alliance/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>544</sup> "Profile: Egypt's Tamarod protest movement," *BBC News*, July 1, 2013, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-23131953.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>545</sup> "The Officers' War of Terror," *Jadaliyya*, July 27, 2013, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/13226/the-officers%E2%80%99-war-of-terror.

campaign organizers announced they surpassed the target reaching 22 million.<sup>546</sup> *Tamarod* (Rebel) campaign was the most significant political activism in the course of events leading to coup d'état. The political causes that had stimulated a mass movement three years ago such as anti-imperialism, anti-neo liberalism, anti-authoritarianism were channeled against the Muslim Brotherhood, blamed for a pro-American, pro-globalization and authoritarian agenda. In short, the petition was a Nasserist manifesto and this document stimulated people from all currents to take action against the Brotherhood.

The independent labor movement eagerly signed on the petition. The reason why the workers signed onto this campaign was formulated by ETUF this way:

...they had endured a difficult year of daily violations of worker rights. There had been no progress on a new trade union law that guaranteed freedom of association, and the right to organize and to negotiate and bargain collectively. Unemployment was on the rise, with no plan in sight for job creation projects. Strikes were condemned by the government and workers were attacked figuratively and literally.<sup>547</sup>

Before 30 June, the major players in the independent workers' movement: EDLC together with CTUWS and EFITU set up "operation centers" in their offices to monitor workers' presence in the protests and any incidents of violence or harassment. These operation centers were also in direct communication with the *Tamarod* Campaign headquarters, in order to coordinate activities such as meeting points for workers to begin to march towards Tahrir Square, and to the Presidential Palace. In addition, tents were set up for workers at each protest location. These served as resting stops as well as meeting points for protesters to get news updates.<sup>548</sup> Immediately after 30 June, workers participated in the call to end Morsi's rule in a more organized manner, such as conducting acts of civil disobedience. Meanwhile, leaders of major labor organizations appeared on major television talk shows to encourage workers to make their voices heard and to establish their presence on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>546</sup> Salma Abdullah, "In Pictures: Tamarod surpasses 22 million signatures," *Daily News Egypt*, June 29, 2013, http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/06/29/in-pictures-tamarod-surpasses-22-million-signatures/#sthash.1xd83Vyv.dpuf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>547</sup> "Egypt: locked-out IFFCO food workers continue strike," *MENA Solidarity Network*, June 5, 2013, http://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2013/06/05/egypt-locked-out-iffco-food-workers-continue-strike/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>548</sup> The Center for Trade Union and Worker Services, "The situation of workers one year after the rule by the Muslim Brotherhood," *CTUWS Press Release*, (June 24, 2013).

political scene. In brief, EFITU, whose leadership consisted of Nasserist figures, endorsed the campaign by deploying all the opportunities it had.

Although the campaign started as an initiative from below, the cross-class alliances and endorsement of the old regime figures of the movement, the protests turned into a coalition of liberal, right-wing and pro-Mubarak groups. As *the Egyptian Popular Current* became increasingly involved in the shared ambition of *the National Salvation Front* to oust Morsi, it got disassociated from the radical demands of the movement. Like other political parties, Nasserists tried to benefit from the popular movement to further their interests in a pragmatic way. From that point onwards, it was the core institution of the state that became the center of power shaping the public opinion. The military as the most resilient institution of Nasserist legacy and the backbone of the regime became the determining force in the course of events once again with a massive public support. Nasserism as an oppositional ideology handed its capacity of political activism over to the military. The major factor which made such a takeover possible was that: the core institutions of Mubarak's state were intact and Nasserists, like other political bodies, saw no alternative but to make a deal with them.

The major reason why SCAF's move on 3<sup>rd</sup> July to overthrow Morsi was welcomed by the Nasserists lies in their attitude stemming from the idea that the army should lead a unified people. Similar to *Tagammu*'s support for the oppression of the Muslim Brotherhood during Mubarak reign, Nasserists after the coup lent their consent to the military in their efforts to oppress the Muslim Brotherhood's movement. According to Hamdeen Sabbahi, who had once been attacked and put in prison by Mubarak's police, said "The army and the police are patriotic state institutions. They are all at war against terrorism."<sup>549</sup> Nasserists attempted to legitimize the SCAF coup by reconfiguring the revolutionary period and criticizing certain slogans with a backward analysis. In an interview Hamdeen Sabbahi told Al-Ahram that: "The chanting of 'Down with military rule' harmed the revolution."<sup>550</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>549</sup> Philip Marfleet, "Egypt: Revolution contained?," *Socialist Review Monthly*, July 2013, http://www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=12379.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>550</sup> "Down with military rule' chant harmed revolution: Egypt's Hamdeen Sabbahi," *Ahram Online*, June 23, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/74717/Egypt/Politics-/Down-with-military-rule-chant-harmed-revolution-Eg.aspx.

transition period administered by the army from 11 February until 30 June, when Morsi was given the presidential authority.

# 4.3. General Abdal Fattah Al-Sisi: The Specter of Nasser in the Regime

On 3<sup>rd</sup> July, three days after the mass protests began, SCAF suspended the constitution and removed the president.<sup>551</sup> General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, head of the SCAF was appointed as the Minister of Defense, whose discourse based on "a war on terror" dominated the post-Morsi political realm.

The Nasserist revival has happened in parallel with the rise of a man who seems to be filling the role of Egypt's strongman: General Abdel Fattah El Sisi. In his crackdown on the Brotherhood since ousting the Islamist president Mohammed Morsi on July 3, in his publicly assertive attitude to western reservations about the brutality of his security forces, and in his stirring, nationalist rhetoric, some Egyptians see a new Nasser in Gen El Sisi, and put their pictures together on posters and placards.<sup>552</sup> In his public appearances since the 3 July coup, Sisi has mirrored Nasser's key messages of nationalism, scepticism of western intentions, Arab dignity and strong leadership.

When the 25 January revolution erupted in 2011, General El-Sisi was head of military intelligence as well as the youngest member of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces<sup>553</sup>, the body which went on to rule the country until presidential elections in June 2012. In August 2012, Mohamed Morsi appointed El-Sisi Minister of Defense to replace Field Marshal Tantawi.<sup>554</sup> On 3 July, El-Sisi declared on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>551</sup> "Egypt military unveils transitional roadmap," *Ahram Online*, July 3, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/75631.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>552</sup> Alice Fordham, "Amid Egypt's troubles, Nasser era takes on a rosy hue," *The National*, September 17, 2013, http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/amid-egypts-troubles-nasser-era-takes-on-a-rosy-hue#ixzz2pCDaFuiK .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>553</sup> "Profile: Egypt armed forces chief Abdul Fattah al-Sisi," *BBC News*, January 30, 2014, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-19256730.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>554</sup> "Egypt leader Mursi orders army chief Tantawi to resign," *BBC News*, August 12, 2012, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19234763.

television that President Morsi had failed Egyptians and that he was no longer president, to be replaced by the head of the Supreme Constitutional Court.<sup>555</sup>

#### 4.3.1. Secular Nationalism

El-Sisi maintained that the army was acting solely to preserve Egypt's national security. He said "Army did not intervene in politics in the last few months; however, I want to say, there is a moral responsibility and a national responsibility placed on our shoulders."<sup>556</sup> He also added: "We will not let Egypt go into a dark tunnel."<sup>557</sup> On 24 July 2013, during a speech to recent military graduates, the commander, Gen. Abdul-Fattah el-Sisi, again warned of forces taking the country into a "dark tunnel," a clear reference to Islamist supporters of the deposed president, Mohamed Morsi, and he asked Egyptians to protest on Friday. "I'm asking you to show the world," he said. "If violence is sought, or terrorism is sought, the military and the police are authorized to confront this."<sup>558</sup> Sisi has been able to receive the support of the National Salvation Front (NSF) that united the bulk of these forces against Morsi without this imposing any serious constraint on him. Secular opposition of nationalists and leftist, including the Nasserists, circulated the very same terminology as Sisi against Morsi.

After the military coup, protests did not end immediately. In the wake of continued protests and violence, army chief Abdel Fattah el-Sisi said that he would no longer restrain his forces from confronting "attackers who want to destroy Egypt." He added:

Our self-restraint will not continue. We will not accept any more attacks. We will meet with full force. Attackers want to destroy Egypt. Whoever imagines violence will make the state and Egyptians kneel must reconsider; we will never be silent in the face of the destruction of the country. [There is] room for everyone [and the security services would not] conspire [to take power].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>555</sup> Abigail Hauslohner, William Booth and Sharaf al-Hourani, "Egyptian military ousts Morsi, suspends constitution," *The Washington Post*, July 3, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/egypts-morsi-defiant-under-pressure-as-deadline-looms/2013/07/03/28fda81c-e39d-11e2-80eb-3145e2994a55\_story.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>556</sup> "General Al Sissi Strong speech," YouTube video, 5:13, posted by "Mesalhy," July 3, 2013, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n\_WKGeOuShQ)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>557</sup> "General Al Sissi Strong speech."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>558</sup> Kareem Fahim and Mayy El Sheikh, "Egyptian General Calls for Mass Protests," *The New York Times*, July 24, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/25/world/middleeast/egypt.html?\_r=1&.

The will of the Egyptian people is free, their will is free, they can choose whoever they want to rule them, and we are the guardians of this will. The army and the police right now are the guardians of the will of the people with regard to choosing who their leaders will be. I said previously that Egyptians if they want to change the world, they are capable of that, and I tell the Egyptian people now that if you want to build Egypt and its future, you will and you can, and you can make it 'Egypt the mother of all nations' Egypt will be as big as the world itself, with God's will.<sup>559</sup>

El-Sisi's discourse is built on the notation of the Egyptian identity on a totalitarian and discriminative basis. Sisi sets the criteria for Egyptianism by excluding those who do not recognize their rule as non-Egyptian. The vocabulary, mostly clustered around the 'will of the Egyptian people,' served two purposes. On one hand, the army managed to contain the nationalistic sentiments and pacify the mass movement; on the other hand, it fortified the legitimacy of its blow against the *Muslim Brotherhood* by calling it a national struggle against the violent terrorists. What allowed Sisi to play this role was that the movement from below failed to develop neither sufficiently popular self-organization nor a political party capable of effectively formulating the economic and political aspirations of the workers, peasants and urban poor. Rather than pursuing an independent project, the Nasserist movement in NSF and other sections of the left preferred to back Sisi. This tendency provides evidence for the prominence of the Nasserist legacy which relies on the army as the major force of transformation rather than the mass movement from below. Sisi exploited this ideological legacy of Nasserism, which allowed it to put on a "national" and "popular" cloak. Abdel Moneim Said, former chief of the Al Ahram centre for political studies, said:

There has been a swelling of nostalgia for times gone by among Egyptians who do not even remember those times. People think of Nasser's rule as "an era of dignity, an ability to talk with other countries with heads held high, an ability to do nationalizations like the Suez Canal.<sup>560</sup>

When asked about the nostalgia for Nasser, Hamdeen Sabbahi stated in the Guardian:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>559</sup> "Egypt army chief vows to use full force," *Aljazeera*, August 19, 2013, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/08/201381817321417962.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>560</sup> "Amid Egypt's troubles, Nasser era takes on a rosy hue."

Nostalgia for Gamal Abdel Nasser is the result of the Egyptian people's awareness that the army has embraced the people's wishes and made sure that the revolution could take place.<sup>561</sup>

Sabbahi interpreted the popularity of Sisi by placing the army at the heat of his analysis:

The question remains, to what degree can the new system of government fulfill the needs of the people, especially their social and economic needs, and to what degree will he be able to hold on to his image as a savior. We have to make a distinction between Sisi as a person and the military institution he represents. He has a good chance to prove himself now and there is a sense that he represents the Egyptian national identity that the Brotherhood wanted to steal away.<sup>562</sup>

Sabbahi's speech reflects both the populist and nationalist ideas at the core of the Nasserist ideology. When the growing popularity of the populist and nationalist discourse of Nasserism in popular struggle came to be accompanied by Sisi's emergence as a military leader against the Brotherhood from the most prominent institution of the state, two specters of Nasserist ideology got wedded to each other giving a solid resonance to the core ideas of Nasserism.

In addition to cooptation, Sisi reproduced Nasser's legacy with the help of his emphasis on the need for a strong leader against a perceived threat. The difference is that whereas this threat for Nasser was external, in today's context the impending threat was presented as an internal enemy: the Muslim Brotherhood. The new vision of Egyptian nationalism, which positions itself against the Islamism of Muslim Brotherhood rather than the West, was reinforced through an association of Muslim Brotherhood with the USA. Thus, the continuation with the Nasserist anti-colonial discourse could be sustained through the creation of merge between Muslim Brotherhood and its west-oriented economic policies. The deposition of Morsi took a ceremonial form with a renewal of nationalist and pro-military sentiments.<sup>563 564</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>561</sup> Martin Chulov, "Egypt wonders if army chief is another Nasser," *The Guardian*, August 7, 2013, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/07/egypt-morsi-nationalist-general-sisi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>562</sup> Chulov, "Egypt wonders if army chief is another Nasser."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>563</sup> Ursula Lindsey, "The Cult of Sisi," *The New York Times*, September 12, 2013, http://latitude.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/09/12/the-cult-of-sisi/?\_php=true&\_type=blogs&\_r=0

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>564</sup> Tumblr. 2013. "where else have you seen Sisi today?" http://sisifetish.tumblr.com/.

There was also a strong belief that Egypt was the target of many pernicious schemes from hostile nations and entities, and popular discussions of conspiracy theories were substantially existent. Once Muslim Brotherhood started to be perceived as an agent of the USA plans, similar oppositional currents Middle Eastern countries like Syria and Palestine, where the opposition consisted of a considerable number of Islamist organizations were thought to be the part of the same plot played in Egypt. Samih Naguib, a leading member of a socialist organization called Revolutionary Socialists says in an interview:

There's a campaign of fear saying that the Syrians and the Palestinians are all part of a plot to destabilize Egypt, to create enough paranoia in Egyptians so that they begin to feel that Syrians, or anybody who has paler skin and who might be a Syrian, might be planting a bomb somewhere. The Americans are involved, the Europeans are involved, the Israelis are involved, the Syrians are involved, the Palestinians are involved, the Qataris are involved... you know this big international plot to dismember Egypt, and to have a kind of Syrian scenario in Egypt, to dismantle the state and to tear it apart.<sup>565</sup>

This common sentiment can be interpreted as both continuity and discontinuity from the Nasserist framework of Arab nationalism. It marks continuity in that Western powers were still considered to be responsible for the instability, reactionary movements and insecurity in the Arab geography. However, it also signifies a radical break away from the Nasserist line of thinking in that Syrian and Palestinian refugees in Egypt started to be seen as unfriendly intruders, which seems to have distorted the notion of Arab solidarity and unity in a radical way. Arab solidarity and unity was redefined depending on the ideological tendencies of the oppositional movements in Palestine and Syria. The quoted public opinion was reinforced by the discourse of Sisi, which assured the "anxious" segments of the society with its heroic practices.

Similar to what they did after 11 February 2011, the officers started to advocate a narrative in which they intervened in a heroic way to save the day and "protect the revolution."<sup>566</sup> After they helped oust Morsi out of power, the officers asked Egyptians for their support in return. The people were expected to offer a blind eye

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>565</sup> Rana Nessim, Rosemary Bechler, And Sameh Naguib, "Sisi's Egypt," *Open Democracy*, November 8, 2013, http://www.opendemocracy.net/arab-awakening/sameh-naguib-rosemary-bechler-rana-nessim/sisi%E2%80%99s-egypt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>566</sup> Ben Wedeman, Reza Sayah and Matt Smith, "Coup topples Egypt's Morsy; deposed president under 'house arrest'," *CNN*, July 4, 2013, http://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/03/world/meast/egypt-protests/.

to the military practices as it made use of deadly force, repression, and xenophobia to force its challengers into submission.<sup>567</sup> The prevalent discourse adopted by the military as part of its "war on terror" soon turned into more than mere words when the security officers killed thousands of Muslim Brotherhood in August 2013.<sup>568</sup> Demonization of the Muslim Brotherhood was not a new phenomenon in the Egyptian politics. SCAF's policies, with a mass support from the public, was the continuation of the Mubarak era in that the latter also sought to legitimize himself in the eyes of the USA by foregrounding the "fight against terrorism," in which he attempted to keep Islamic fundamentalism under control.<sup>569</sup> The efforts to legitimize the army's operation to cleanse the streets of Morsi supporters culminated in a fierce operation leading to an estimated number of 1000 deaths only on 14 August 2013.<sup>570</sup>

The similarity in discourse demonstrates that there are two dimensions to the military takeover. First, the SCAF presented itself as the only potent and patriotic force, in the service of people's demands, to get rid of the Muslim Brotherhood, and soon, imposed its rule through a hegemonic discourse of historic legitimacy. In this sense, the military institution drew on the Nasserist ideological legacy in the public memory. On the other hand, the military rule marked a return to the Mubarak era, when a consensus among the power elites accounted for the ruling bloc. On 11 February, the ruling class was forced to get rid of Mubarak and open its doors to a state of confusion, whereas on 3<sup>rd</sup> of July, the ruling class got rid of Morsi to unite its own ranks and repair the cracks.<sup>571</sup> An important aspect of the events starting with 30 June was the military elite's effort to prevent the protests from reaching a point

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>567</sup> Sarah Carr, "On Sheep and Infidels," *Jadaliyya*, July 8, 2013, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/12779/on-sheep-and-infidels.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>568</sup> "The Officers' War of Terror," *Jadaliyya*, July 23, 2013, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/13226/the-officers%E2%80%99-war-of-terror.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>569</sup> Talal Asad and Ayça Çubukçu, "Neither Heroes, Nor Villains: A Conversation with Talal Asad on Egypt After Morsi," *Jadaliyya*, July 23, 2013, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/13129/neither-heroes-nor-villains\_a-conversation-with-ta.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>570</sup> Abigail Hauslohner and Sharaf al-Hourani, "Fall-off in Egyptian protests as army stays silent on total killed or arrested," *The Guardian*, September 3, 2013, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/03/egyptian-protests-muslim-brotherhood-military.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>571</sup> "Egyptian Revolutionary Socialists letter to supporters," *Socialist Worker*, August 20, 2013, http://socialistworker.co.uk/art/34144/Egyptian+Revolutionary+Socialists+letter+to+supporters).

where the army itself and its privileged position became targets.<sup>572</sup> Both interventions were efforts to determine the course of events following massive mobilization at the grassroots level, and an immense revolutionary energy that seemed capable of demanding critical socio-economic and political demands.

Nasserists in opposition grew at the heart of the movement airing the socio economic demands with an agenda for a greater democracy, while Nasserist institutions at the top persistently reacted to keep their privileged position intact by sustaining their alliance with the other components of the power elite. The heroic image of the military helped SCAF to restore order and maintain the Nasserist tradition of cooptation. The tendency to see an alliance between the army and political parties as the only viable way to power, on the other hand, weakened the possibility of radical socioeconomic and political demands to be fulfilled. Popular dissatisfaction was used by the beneficiaries of the Mubarak regime. In an interview in December 2012, Ahmad Shafiq, a former military man and the last prime minister of the Mubarak era, accused Morsi of being a tyrant and publicly declared his belief in the impartial natural of the military:

The only ones who have the right to speak about the army's role or intervention in any conflict are its leaders. As a former military man, I am well aware that the army is devotedly loyal to its homeland and people. The proof of this is that during the height of Mubarak's power, the army did not fire a single bullet against the people. Should the army step into the conflict, it will side with the people and in favor of the public interest. No one can stand against tanks, not the Brotherhood or anybody else.<sup>573</sup>

Anti-Mubarak and pro-democracy leftist movement called the elements in the anti-Morsi movement as the *feloul*; that is, the beneficiaries of the Mubarak regime. The *feloul* took advantage of a certain amount of popular disillusionment. One of the biggest millionaires, Naguib Sawiris, for example, was bankrolling the *Tamarod* movement.<sup>574</sup> Talad Asad argues that anti-Brotherhood opposition consisted largely of an elite that was still in power:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>572</sup> Sara Salem, "The Egyptian Military and the 2011 Revolution," *Jadaliyya*, September 6, 2013, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/14023/the-egyptian-military-and-the-2011-revolution-#\_edn9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>573</sup> Mahmoud Ramzi, "Egypt in 'Real Danger,' Says Ahmed Shafiq," *Al-Monitor*, November 27, 2012, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2012/11/ahmed-shafiq-ready-for-comeback-in-wake-of-morsi-decree.html##ixz2qeyVf1GS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>574</sup> Talal Asad and Ayça Çubukçu, "Neither Heroes, Nor Villains."

...the rich businessmen who established themselves during Mubarak's neoliberal regime; high court judges that maintained close links with the army; ambitious politicians and ex-politicians; television directors and show hosts; famous newspaper journalists; the Coptic Pope and the Shaykh of al-Azhar; and so forth. The fact is that the senior army officers are very much part of these elite...<sup>575</sup>

Therefore, SCAF's intervention was reconsolidation of the ruling power blocks in domestic field. In addition to this, 3<sup>rd</sup> July military coup was an attempt to resume the international state of affairs inherited from the Mubarak era. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates were strong supporters the military-sponsored interim government. They offered eight billion between the two of them<sup>576</sup>, and Kuwait has also promised four million.<sup>577</sup> Saudi Arabia has been very close to the Salafis and not to the Muslim Brothers. The United Arab Emirates like Saudi Arabia were afraid of a populist Islamist movement, which could threaten its international and domestic benefits and privileged status. Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries were not only very strongly against the Morsi government, but they have also been very close allies of the United States.<sup>578</sup>

The nature of the international solidarity for the SCAF intervention shows that the nationalistic discourse of the military has little to do with that of the Nasser period. While the former bases its nationalistic discourse against Islamisation and Brotherhoodisation of the Egyptian identity, the latter adopted a highly anticolonialist and pan-Arab rhetoric. The support of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries bear an anti-Palestinian, pro-US and pro-Israeli aspect, while during Nasser period the Palestinian cause was placed in the center of pan-Arabist discourse. Still, the threats of US government to cut the military aid were denounced in a rather nationalistic tone both by the Nasserist supporters of the coup and al-Sisi himself. Despite the pursuit of a pro-American and pro-Israeli international policy, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>575</sup> Talal Asad and Ayça Çubukçu, "Neither Heroes, Nor Villains."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>576</sup> Lee Jae-Won, "Saudi Arabia and UAE to lend Egypt up to \$8 billion," *Reuters*, July 9, 2013, http://rt.com/news/uae-saudi-egypt-loan-849/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>577</sup> "Arab aid to Egypt reaches \$12 billion, after Kuwait pledges \$4 billion," *Egypt Independent*, July 10, 2013, http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/arab-aid-egypt-reaches-12-billion-after-kuwait-pledges-4-billion

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>578</sup> Rod Nordland, "Saudi Arabia Promises to Aid Egypt's Regime," *The New York Times*, August 19, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/20/world/middleeast/saudi-arabia-vows-to-back-egypts-rulers.html?\_r=0.

defense of the military coup articulated its legitimacy through a discourse of independence and the right of the Egyptian to mould their future without any foreign intervention. Yet, such an emphasis on independence was tactical rather than a long-term shift in international policy, evident in John Kerry's visit to Egypt declaring the US endorsement for the military "road map."<sup>579</sup>

#### 4.3.2. Corporatism

The efforts to increase the legitimacy of the military intervention were not confined to a nationalistic discourse of the Egyptian international policy. Within domestic politics, the SCAF adopted the long-lasting authority consolidation policy of the Nasserist regime: cooptation by offering a wider representation of Nasserists in the constitutional committee and the Cabinet. Prominent Nasserists figures became members of the 50-member committee after 3<sup>rd</sup> July coup. These include Sameh Ashour, the head of the Lawyers' Syndicate and of *the Nasserist Party*, Mohamed Sami, head of *Al-Karama* and Mahmoud Badr, co-founder of the anti-Morsi *Tamarod* movement and member of the Nasserist-leaning *Popular Current*.<sup>580</sup>

The SCAF called for the establishment of an interim-government, headed by Hazem El-Beblawi, the founder of *Egyptian Social Democratic Party*.<sup>581</sup> The members of the government consisted mainly of liberals, technocrats and Nasserists. The design of such a government was essential to create a picture in which the armed forces were the servants of the civilian representatives of the opposition, marking a continuation with the Nasserist methods of cooptation and incorporation. The most striking example of this policy was the appointment of Kamal Abu-Eita as the Minister of Manpower.<sup>582</sup> Abu-Eita was the president of the Egyptian Federation of Independent Trade Unions (EFITU), a co-founder of *Al-Karama*, a popular figure in the *Egyptian Popular Current* and a member of *the National Salvation Front*. Since

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>579</sup> Michael R. Gordon "Egyptians Following Right Path, Kerry Says," *The New York Times*, November 3, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/04/world/middleeast/kerry-egypt-visit.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>580</sup> Leyla Doss, "The past return," *Mada Masr*, October 27, 2013, http://www.madamasr.com/content/past-return.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>581</sup> "Who's who: Egypt's full interim Cabinet," *Ahram Online*, July 17, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/76609.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>582</sup> "Cabinet ministers sworn in," *Daily News Egypt*, July 16, 2013, http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/07/16/cabinet-ministers-sworn-in/.

Morsi's ouster, however, he has been openly supportive of the "30 June revolution" and called on members of EFITU to end labour strikes:<sup>583</sup>

They are the heroes of the strikes against the two previous governments and now they will be the heroes of hard work and production for the nation. They only want in return to feel like human beings and not second class citizens.<sup>584</sup>

EFITU's language is reminiscent of the nationalist jargon of the 1960s and 1970s in that it expresses EFITU's commitment of its members to get back to work to rebuild Egypt in a nationalistic and populist discourse. The nationalistic rhetoric to pacify the working class movement became successful to a great extent. However, it also created disillusionment among the workers who once supported the Nasserist leaders of their grass-root movement. *Ahram Weekly* reported what Gebali Al-Maraghi, deputy chairman of the Egyptian Trade Union Federation said:

...the new independent unions participated in ousting former president Mohamed Morsi by gathering signatures for the *Tamarod* Movement that was a main engine of the 30 June Revolution; the labour movements themselves now seem to have been tamed by the interim government put in place after that Revolution. The number and significance of strikes, sit-ins and protests declined through the second half of the year. The number of strikes had decreased by at least 50 to 60 per cent during the second half of the year and after the 30 June Revolution. Abu Eita's opponents increased one month after his taking office when he turned a blind eye to the use of force by the security forces against strikes at the Suez Steel Company and the Mahalla Textile factory, both of which were dispersed by tanks.<sup>585</sup>

Kamal Abu Eita was allowed to introduce an increase in the minimum wage from LE 700 to LE 1200<sup>586</sup> in return for the cooperation he offered. However, his role in the resolution of the conflicts in the form of class conflicts was rather limited. EFITU executive board member Fatma Ramadan sees Abu Eita's appointment as cooptation. According to her, he did not consult with other EFITU leaders before suggesting that workers would abandon the strike weapon. On July 10 she stated:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>583</sup> "Strikes under control," *Ahram Weekly*, December 17, 2013, http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Print/4970.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>584</sup> Jano Charbel, "And where do the workers stand?," *Mada Masr*, July 15, 2013, http://www.madamasr.com/content/and-where-do-workers-stand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>585</sup> "Strikes under control."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>586</sup> "Egypt sets LE1200 as minimum wage for government workers," *Ahram Online*, September 18, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/81942.aspx.

As a union federation our role must be to uphold all workers' rights, including the right to strike.... We cannot possibly call on workers to protect the interests of businessmen by forfeiting labor rights under the pretext of bolstering the national economy....the military and the *fuloul* (old regime remnants) kidnapped the June 30 movement.<sup>587</sup>

Three months after the coup, public sector workers who were dismissed from their jobs organised sit-ins and dispersed by the interim government. The Permanent Conference for Alexandria Workers announced that they are completely against Abu-Eita's policies in dealing with dismissed and demonstrating workers. "The minister, who was falsely thought to be a revolutionary, used violence to disperse the sit-in, something that we condemn," the group said.<sup>588</sup>

Abu-Eita's move from the picket line to the presidential palace is a marker of the failure of the Nasserist movement in fulfilling the expectations of the working class struggle once they are incorporated in the state machine where the privileged segments of the ruling bloc make the decisions. 18 months ago, on the anniversary of the 25 January uprising, the same workers filled the Tahrir Square with the slogan "Down with the armed forces."<sup>589</sup> The Nasserist leaders of the movement who claimed to represent the movement politically are collaborating with a military machine which for decades was at the heart of the Nasserist state. This alliance provides the key explanation for the recent turn of events

A similar pattern can be observed in the field of cultural affairs. During Morsi's presidential period, there were protests in front of the Ministry of Culture to protest Alaa Abdel Aziz, the Minister of Culture, appointed by Morsi. He was accused of "Brotherhoodizing" Egyptian culture and "destroying Egyptian identity." These protests attracted support from a wide range of anti-Morsi currents. Tahani El-Gebali, vice president of the Supreme Constitutional Court said:

Our culture is being destroyed by Islamist bulldozers. We are not just any country. We have a history and culture of 7000 years. With this accumulated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>587</sup> "Egypt: "Workers need a political voice" – interview with Fatma Ramadan," *Mena Solidarity Network*, July 10, 2013, http://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2013/07/10/egypt-workers-need-a-political-voice-interview-with-fatma-ramadan/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>588</sup> Mostafa Salem, "Labour groups denounce sit-in dispersal," *Daily News Egypt*, October 3, 2013, http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/10/03/labour-groups-denounce-sit-in-dispersal/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>589</sup> "Egyptians mass in Tahrir to honour uprising," *Aljazeera*, January 25, 2012, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2012/01/201212535836564645.html.

identity, we now need to live in modernity, in a modern constitutional system; we need to continue developing and create a modern republic. We must not go backwards.<sup>590</sup>

As can be seen from the discourse, a renewed emphasis on Egyptianism accounted for one of the major ideological footholds against Islamism. This opposition produced dichotomies between the progressive and reactionary, Egyptian and non-Egyptian, modern and backward which culminated in a polarization along the lines of middle class secularism and Islamism.

The Minister of Culture in the Interim Government is Mohamed Saber Arab, a professor of Arab history from Al-Azhar University, a state-led symbol of the symbiosis between the Islamic and national character of Egyptian national identity. The University was brought under state control by Law 103 of 1961 during Nasserite period.<sup>591</sup> Since then, as a state-led university, the professors from its ranks have been expected to serve the officially declared objectives. Today, the Minister of Culture functions as the guardian against the Islamization of the Egyptian identity by securing its secularly Islamic character.

As another example of cooptation, the interim government appointed a Nasserist, Hossam Eissa, as the Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Education.<sup>592</sup> Anti-Mubarak movement had expressed demands for an increase in the share of the budget allocated to education, also a salient demand among the Nasserists. By appointing such figures to the Ministries that are associated with the key demands, SCAF has sought to incorporate the movement, coopt with the leadership and marginalize the resistance from below, which would then be easier to subjugate. It was vital for them to inaugurate an exclusively designed political process which can be managed and controlled.<sup>593</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>590</sup> Ati Metwaly, "From opposing culture minister to fighting for Egypt's 'identity'," *Ahram Online*, June 14, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/1/73960/Egypt/From-opposing-culture-minister-to-fighting-for-Egy.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>591</sup> Ibrahim El-Houdaiby, "The Identity of Al-Azhar and Its Doctrine," *Jadaliyya*, July 29,2012, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/6638/the-identity-of-al-azhar-and-its-doctrine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>592</sup> "Who's who: Egypt's full interim Cabinet."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>593</sup> Hesham Sallam, "Post-Elections Egypt: Revolution or Pact?," *Jadaliyya*, February 10, 2012, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/4314/post-elections-egypt\_revolution-or-pact.

All in all, for the last three years since the Tahrir revolution, which managed to oust Mubarak, the old regime had retained the control, with the army being part of it. The freedom that the Egyptian masse demanded is significantly framed by the vision of the army. <sup>594</sup> Anour Malek wrote about the role of the military during Nasser period by arguing that "the army as a whole itself constitutes a force within the national political process."<sup>595</sup> Today in Egypt, the Armed Forces seem to maintain their status quo as the major factor in the political process. Yezid Sayigh explains the complex process the SCAF had to undergo to secure its interests:

The SCAF nonetheless had to undergo an unfamiliar learning process when it emerged from Mubarak's shadow and took center stage in Egypt's politics ... when faced with an unfamiliar and unnerving transitional process, the SCAF fell back on its paternalistic values and authoritarian legacy, reacting conservatively and increasingly defensively whenever it felt that its status or core interests were being directly challenged.<sup>596</sup>

It can be inferred from what Sayigh suggested that the SCAF mostly undertook a preemptive strategy, removing Mubarak to abort a deeper revolutionary change and protect itself. In its intervention the SCAF took the advantage of Nasser's heritage, lingering memory of calls for national unity, tough crackdowns on Islamists, and development of the country.

Constitutional Committee, formed under the supervision of the SCAF, drafted a constitution which was voted in referendum on 14-15 January 2014.<sup>597</sup> The constitution was the documentation of the collaboration between the civil Nasserism and the Nasserist legacy at the state level. The authority of the SCAF was secured by keeping this institution exempt from supervision for eight years in terms of their budget and appointment of the Minister of Defense. In exchange, Copts and women were given a share of parliamentary representation and political activism based on religion was rendered illegal. It was voted by only 38% of the registered voters;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>594</sup>Talal Asad and Ayça Çubukçu, "Neither Heroes, Nor Villains."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>595</sup> Anour Abdel Malek, *Egypt: Military Society: The Army Regime, the Left, and Social Change Under Nasser* (London: Random House, 1968), 330.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>596</sup> Yezid Sayigh, "Above the State The Officers' Republic in Egypt," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Middle East, (August 2012): 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>597</sup> "Official vote result: 98.1% approves Egypt's post-June 30 constitution," *Ahram Online*, January 18, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/91874.aspx.

however, it managed to receive the consent of 98.7% of them.<sup>598</sup> This cooptation was secured by harsh implementation of security measures, which led 11 people to be killed by the security forces on the first day of the referendum.<sup>599</sup>

#### 4.4. Chapter Summary

Tahrir uprising was an explosion of the political "Arab street," following the Tunisian experience. The ideological currents having contested the Mubarak regime for decades entered a new chapter in which struggle to build hegemony required formation of alliances both along pragmatic and ideological lines. Nasserist Parties Al-Karama, Tagammu and The Nasserist Party all joined the Tahrir protests with an agenda underscoring the need for social justice, national independence from the international financial institutions and a clear anti-Israeli diplomacy. Hamdeen Sabbahi, the founder of Al-Karama conducted an electoral campaign based on the ideological framework of social justice, Egyptian nationalism with an anti-imperialist and anti-Israeli tone and secularism with a nationalistic religiosity. Tahrir "revolution" was likened to the Free Officers' "Revolution" leading a nostalgic form of Nasserism to emerge. These parties formed an alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood in the wake of the Tahrir uprising against the old regime in *Democratic* Alliance for Egypt. When Brotherhood gained half of the seats in the lower house and 90% of the seats in the upper house and accounted for the majority of the constitution drafting committee, it sought to consolidate its power and collaborated with the International Monetary Fund. The Brotherhood also drafted a constitution where "sharia law" was described in a more detailed way than the former constitution. Secular parties from all class backgrounds formed an oppositional block called National Salvation Front, to confront "Brotherhoodization" of the regime. Egyptian Popular Current, which was a broad-based campaign initiative formed by the supporters of Hamdeen Sabbahi endorsed the National Salvation Front. The working class movement, whose demands had not been met by the Brotherhood, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>598</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>599</sup> "Egyptians vote for new constitution amid unrest," *Al Arabiya News*, January 14, 2014, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2014/01/14/Egyptians-vote-for-constitution-amid-tensions.html.

middle classes, whose notion of authentic Egyptian identity was thought to be endangered by the Brotherhood's Islamic agenda and the military ruling class, whose interests were threatened by the radical movement from below, coalesced in a secular nationalistic framework to challenge *the Brotherhood*.

Although protests during the January 25 revolution in 2011 saw the use of posters of Gamal Abdel Nasser, it was not until the June 30 anti-Morsi protests of 2013 that the iconic image of Nasser proliferated in protests, streets, and local media. Sisi revitalized Nasser's legacy with his emergence as a strong military leader to challenge a perceived danger, which unfolded through the ouster of Morsi. In other words, while the major threat was seen as colonialism and the corrupt monarchy during Nasser's time, the main danger was regarded as *the Muslim Brotherhood* after the coup, highlighting the secular nationalism of Nasserism in a more pronounced manner. The discourse employed by Sisi and the overt support of the Nasserite movement contributed to the division of the political sphere along the line of a nationalistic discourse marked with patriotism with an exclusive anti-Islamist tone.

The "military" was another central component in the nationalist discourse. It was thought to represent the "nation" as a whole. The structural integrity, security and strength of the state were all embodied in the intervention of the military. The privileged position of the army in the state structure (the Minister of Defense), in the economic structure (military-run factories) and in the international system (military-aid from the USA) confirmed both the reason for the military intervention and the limits to the changes the military could afford.

As for secularism, despite the oppression of the Muslim Brotherhood, Islam remained to be a strong constituent of the Egyptian state. However, a moderate form of Islam was promoted. The myth of the nationalist army and state that is secular, that protects the unity of Muslims and Christians alike became a very useful one for the SCAF despite the killing of dozens of Christian protesters at Maspero on 9 October 2011 by the army itself.<sup>600</sup> The fear of Islamism on the part of the Copts is incorporated into the new anti-Islamist nationalistic discourse. The most striking feature of the coalition was the relegation of all the differences among the members

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>600</sup> Tony Gamal Gabriel, "After Maspero: Have Egypt's Christians reconciled with the military?," *Ahram Online,* October 9, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/151/83105/Egypt/Features/After-Maspero-Have-Egypts-Christians-reconciled-wi.aspx.

of the anti-Morsi coalition to the lowest level in face of the perceived threat of Islamism.

Economically, some of form of mixed economy was promoted within the new nationalistic frame by the Nasserist parties and figures, wherein the state is expected to also play some direct role in the economy, providing a support the most vulnerable segments of the society, and engaging in national economic and infrastructural projects, all without necessarily indicating desire for socialism or a hostility to the private sector. In short, Nasserist vision of economy proposed a moderate form of economic model entailing at least the erosion of neo-liberalism and, perhaps, the beginning of an era of more balanced growth with a more equitable distribution of benefits. Ultimately, a readjusted version of socialism dominates the thinking of today's Nasserist ideology.

### **CHAPTER V**

### Conclusion

It can be concluded from the study of current political terrain in Egypt that certain aspects of Nasserist ideology managed to attain a considerable resonance both within the regime, which managed to survive through military intervention, and among a significant segment of the masses, which associated the regime survival attempts with a nostalgic Nasserist fervor. This notion of Nasserism seems to have rested on two distinct channels; one was the mass movement itself, in which a populist current of Nasserism has flourished, emblematized with Hamdeen Sabbahi's *Egyptian Popular Current*, while the other one was the ranks of the military, where a corporatist and militarist notion of Nasserism emerged in the embodiment of General Abdal Fattah Al-Sisi. The first advocates the conventional conceptual framework that Nasserist ideology embodies in a relatively milder, i.e. less radical, form, while the latter is identified with Nasser beyond its deliberate articulations of Nasserist ideology. The first relies on its engagement in grass-roots activism; the latter is reliant on the Nasserist legacy in the regime.

The ideological components of Nasserism which appear to be salient in Egyptian politics today are militarism, corporatism, Egyptian nationalism and secularism. The armed forces, the most powerful institution of the regime, whose legitimacy and institutional authority can be traced back to the Nasserist regime under Nasser himself, provided the mass movement with a military leader and, in exchange, the Nasserist support from below offered the military a popular base. The symbiosis drew on the corporatist tendency of the regime and militarist tendency of the Nasserite movement. The shared mental frameworks concerning Egyptian nationalism and secularism facilitated the wedding between the civil Nasserism and its official legacy. While a secular nationalistic mental framework with a militarist aspect seems to have been revitalized with a pronouncement in a Nasserist

conceptual discourse, Nasserism as an ideology seems far from being relevant to the current political economy of Egypt in a comprehensive sense.

To identify the degree of relevance of Nasserist ideology to Egyptian political landscape today and to address the puzzle of this thesis as to whether Nasserism has been experiencing a resurrection or not, this part of this thesis offers its conclusive remarks tracing each tenet of the Nasserist ideology in a comparative and contrasting manner taking into account the discontinuities and continuities with the Nasserist legacy both at regime level and in the oppositional deployment of Nasserist ideology. In the light of the interpretation of Nasserism retained and eradicated under Sadat and Mubarak in the second chapter and the interpretation of the Nasserist articulations both at oppositional and regime level in the third chapter, this study has reached two sets of conclusions clustered within the categories of continuities and discontinuities.

The first cluster is based on inferences made from the descriptive and in-depth analysis of today's context against the core ideas of Nasserist ideology formed in the 1950s and 1960s. This cluster is comprised of set of ideas indicating a degree of revitalization in the resonance of Nasserist ideology. To put it briefly, ideas of Egyptian nationalism with a notion of uniqueness and in a reactive manner against the perceived international and domestic plots, militarism which merged with nationalistic sentiments and army appraisal, secularism with an anti-Islamist and anti-Brotherhood nationalistic frame, charismatic leader myth embodied in the savior figure of Al Sisi, hegemony construction methods which involve both corporation through cooptation as in the case of trade unions and political parties and oppression through physical coercion as exemplified in the case of the oppression of the Muslim Brotherhood protests and the priority of the regime survival over democracy still seem to carry a resonance in the ideological domain of Egyptian politics, which mark the lines of continuities with the Nasserist ideology.

The second cluster of conclusions consists of ideas regarding the discontinuities with the Nasserist legacy. Étatizm within a framework of state-led political economy, anti-western Pan-Arabism and anti-Israeli Palestinian solidarity agenda seem to have been translated into more pragmatic ideological articulations in today's political realm in Egypt. In other words, the second cluster comprises conclusions regarding étatizm and pan-Arabism by addressing them as the inanimate aspects of Nasserism. The factors which prevent today's political sphere from being

permeated by a radical Nasserist agenda is presented with conclusive prompts in the second cluster of inferences.

#### 5.1. Revitalized Aspects of Nasserist Ideology

#### Egyptian Nationalism

The study of the Arab spring and Morsi period and the military intervention with respect to the impact of Nasserist ideology on today's political sphere revealed that a strong sense of Egyptian nationalism is revitalized bearing a certain degree of resemblance to the notion of distinctiveness of Egyptian identity deployed during Nasser period. Although the Nasserist period was often associated with the idea of Arab nationalism, Egypt was still at the heart of Nasserist ideology and it was viewed as the engine of the pan-Arab movement, allowing both the embrace of Arab nationalism while also retaining a sense of Egyptian uniqueness. Jankowski<sup>601</sup> and Connor<sup>602</sup> interpreted this emphasis on Egyptian authenticity during Nasser period as the resilience of "territorial nationalism" which is based on "self-differentiation" and "distinctiveness." Identification with the Arab identity during Nasser's period contributed to the preservation, rather than eradication, of this "distinctive" feature, which nurtured a perception of Egyptianism as the leader of the Arab nationalism rather than an equal participant.

In today's context, a distinctive and self-differentiated Egyptian nationalism seems to be as relevant to the politics as it was during Nasserite period. However, this time rather than operating on a discourse of Arabism against colonial powers and "corrupt" monarchy, it operates within an anti-Mubarak and anti-"Brotherhoodization" vocabulary. Although such an anti-western and anti-Zionist rhetoric was circulated in the Tahrir uprising through the Nasserist parties such as the Nasserist Party, Tagammu and Al-Karama, this response was not able to generate a mainstream response in the movement. Rather, a nationalistic discourse pronounced against the Muslim Brotherhood seems to have been dominating current of Egyptian nationalism evident in the discursive practices for the last two years in Egyptian press and in the public speeches and press releases of prominent Nasserist figures such as Hamdeen Sabbahi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>601</sup> Jankowski, "Nasserism and Egyptian State Policy, 1952-1958," 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>602</sup> Walker Connor, *Etnonacionalismo*, 45.

In short, in today's context, "self-differentiation" is not deployed against a colonial project of domination as was during Nasser period; rather it is situated within a domestic political context, where the authentic Egyptian identity needs to be safeguarded against Islamization projects of Muslim Brotherhood. When this threat seems to be associated with foreign figure whether Arab or Western, nationalistic outlook acquires an international dimension, demanding non-interference in the Egyptian domestic politics. To illustrate, when the coup occurred, the SCAF and the Nasserists in opposition responded to a probable USA-Egypt international crisis in a nationalistic frame of non-interference. However, this challenge never approached a point where the mutual relations were put at risk.

To summarize, this thesis work concludes that drawing Hobsbawm's remark on the contingent nature of definition and identification of nationalism<sup>603</sup>, although orthodox Nasserist perception of nationalism embedded in Pan-Arab context cannot be traced with clear-cut configurations neither in the oppositional movement nor in the vocabulary of the regime, Nasserist emphasis on the "uniqueness" of Egyptianism is sustained, observable in the speeches both made by Al-Sisi and Hamdeen Sabbahi. Current nationalistic discourse, however, articulates a strong view of the Egyptian identity as separate from the other larger competitors, namely: Arab and Islamic identifications.

#### Militarizm

From the study of both 1952 Free Officers' coup and  $3^{rd}$  July 2013 coup d'état and from the analysis of the function, scope of political and economic power of the armed forces during Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak periods, it can be concluded that the Egyptian armed forces today seem to retain a heroic position drawing on a history of revolutionary legacy as the protectors of the Egyptian identity from domestic and foreign threats. Participants in the anti-Morsi movement, including the Nasserist *Egyptian Popular current* and its leader Hamdeen Sabbahi, regard the military as a patriotic institution,<sup>604</sup> which rests on the Nasserist legacy. Historical events such as the Free Officer's movement and Egypt's wars with Israel reinforce the military's historical role within the popular imagination. In line with what Hatina<sup>605</sup> suggested,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>603</sup> Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>604</sup> Sara Salem, "The Egyptian Military and the 2011 Revolution."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>605</sup> Hatina, *Islam in Modern Egypt*, 36–45, Hatina, "History, Politics, and Collective Memory," 90.

it can be inferred from the representation of Sisi in the media and public protests, collective memory of a significant segment of Egyptians associates Sisi's anti-Brotherhood move with that of Nasser's anti-monarchic and anti-colonial struggle. Sisi's nationalist rhetoric displays the continuity of the discursive articulations of militarism with the Nasserist period.

The 1952 Free Officers' coup transformed Egypt into a country in which the military-dominated state controlled the objectives and direction of the economy, characterized by nationalization and industrial growth. In other words, Nasser's rule institutionalized a prominent political role for the military within the ruling class, and paved the way for its control over the means of production. During Nasser, military acquired an ideological role, as Kamrava<sup>606</sup> argues, promoting the economic model of Arab Socialism. This ideological role diminished during the Sadat and Mubarak era; however, the military remained as a powerful institution in economic and administrative terms. Based on the analyses offered by Nazih Ayubi, Wright Mills, Hicham Bou Nassif, Anouar Abdul Malek and Mehran Kamrava,<sup>607</sup> this thesis concludes that militarist dimension of the Nasserist regime was preserved within the network of alliances the regime fostered under Sadat and Mubarak. Although militarism was part of the official ideology during both periods, 3<sup>rd</sup> July intervention was of nationalist nature rather than an ideological mission. Ideological coloring that characterized the Egyptian military during Nasserite period seems to have been replaced with a nationalist character. The rhetoric of Al-Sisi and the policies of the SCAF headed transition periods reveal that the popular image of the army as the guardian of the Egyptian masses is used to conceal the self-interests of the armed forces to maintain the political status-quo, i.e. regime. That is to say, militarism in today's Egypt is not accompanied by the Pan-Arab and Arab Socialist ideologies of the Nasser period, rendering the militarist aspect of Nasserism merely a regime preservation motive. The armed forces massive professionalization and economic power seem to be masked by its heroic representation.

Secularism

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>606</sup> Kamrava, "Preserving Non-Democracies," 259-260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>607</sup> Ayubi, Over-Stating the Arab State, 142, Mills, The Power Elite, 4, Nassif, "Wedded to Mubarak," 514-516, Malek, Egypt: Military Society, 330, Kamrava, "Preserving Non-Democracies," 259-260.

It can be concluded from the examination of the Nasserist ideology that Nasserism has always been a secular ideology. However, the analysis of Nasser's discourse and that of Hamdeen Sabbahi also reveal that Nasserists tend to employ a rhetorical religiosity in populist terms without making it a part of their political projection. Yet, Tagammu, the first Nasserist oppositional party in the 1980s, has preserved a rigid secular mental framework up to the current Egyptian context. Except for Tagammu, the other political parties such as the Nasserist Party and al-Karama did not allocate the secularist aspect of Nasserism a considerable space in their conceptual map before Tahrir uprising. However, when the rivalry between Muslim Brotherhood and the rest of the political parties increased in intensity in the post-Tahrir period, Nasserists were attracted to the secularist camp of the polarization along with many left-wing, right-wing and liberal parties. Given the salience of secularism, what Talhami<sup>608</sup> suggested seems to have turned out to be the case in today. That is, Nasserist ideology mobilized around the denial of religion as a political referent in part as a reaction to the agenda advocated by the Brotherhood and to some degree as Nasserists came to be conditioned by the need to mark off their program and appeal from that of their main domestic rival.

Another important conclusion that can be drawn from the study of the Nasserist groups and figures over the three years in Egyptian political scene is that secularism came to be articulated in nationalistic terms and having a secular mental framework started to be associated with Egyptian identity. Therefore, secularism seems to be loaded with a prescriptive framework imposed both officially and through popular channels as a criterion of Egyptianism.

Another significant conclusion concerning secularism is that it has attained a remarkably higher status over the other constituents of Nasserism. The ideological contestations among the secular forces in terms of political democracy, social welfare reforms and class-orientations seem to have been degraded to the bottom of the political agenda. In other words, secularism became a nationalistic project, for the sake of which diverse class interests and ideological lineages were erased. Foundation of *National Salvation Front* in December 2012 exemplifies the urge to unite felt among the anti-Brotherhood groups along secularist and Islamist lines. To sum up, the role secularism played in the mental framework of Nasserist ideology

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>608</sup> Talhami, Palestine and Egyptian National Identity, 70.

increased in degree and intensity and modified the definition of nationalism from anti-western authenticity to modern anti-Islamism.

As for the secular legacy of Nasserism at the state level, despite temporary cooptation policies towards Muslim Brotherhood, the bureaucratic and the military strata governing the regime sustained its secular character, never allowing Islamist ideology and Islamist bourgeoisie to infiltrate the nexus of alliances of the ruling classes. It appears that religion got assimilated into a harmless spiritual guidance through the establishment of Al-Azhar University; and despite the constitutional reference to *sharia*, Al Azhar interpretation of Islam seems to have accounted for the official mechanism of the regime to respond to distinct Islamist challenges from below.

Lastly, secularism seems not only to serve to the reconfiguration of the Egyptian national identity in a distinct manner from what Brotherhood imagines but also it appears to represent the political articulation of the economic interests of the current ruling, military or private, classes. On the one hand, the economic power of the military as a conglomerate of a significant number of factories and its network within and beyond the Egyptian market seem to have displayed a conservative response to preempt the potential Brotherhoodization of their economic interest. Secularism within a vocabulary of nationalism seems to have been utilized as the most appealing ideology with a potential to generate a cross-class popular support. On the other hand, secularism became increasingly deployed as an official ideology in the face of the failure of the Muslim Brotherhood to contain the mass movement. Thanks to secularist articulations, a shared framework was discursively designed which contributed to the pacification of the mass mobilization, which ultimately served to secure the economic and political interests of the armed forces.

#### **Cooptation and Coercion**

One of the most persistent legacies of Nasserism, based on the study of the methods of hegemony construction during Nasser, Sadat, Mubarak and Sisi, seems to be its corporatist and coercive aspect. Mubarak period can be singled out in that corporatist mechanisms were rather weak in cross-class terms and this weakness was reflected in its increased deployment of oppression and violence against the opposition. Therefore, 3 July coup appears to have revitalized the corporatist aspect of Nasserism by incorporating the leading figures of the secular opposition into the "interim government" formed under the supervision of the Supreme Council of

Armed Forces. As discussed in the first chapter in detail corporatism, above all, involves political manipulation of the classes whose interests might potentially be at odds with that of the ruling strata by offering them certain material gains. Also, through corporatist structures "hegemony" of the ruling classes is diffused down the middle and the working classes, as explained in the framework offered by Gramsci<sup>609</sup>.

Given the appointment of Kamal Abu Aita, the former head of the Egyptian Independent Trade Union Federation (EITUF) to the position of the Minister of Manpower, the regime can be said to have attempted to incorporate the working class struggle by manipulating its leadership, pacifying its workplace-based activism and offering certain economic benefits such offering a rise in the minimum wage. Similarly, forming a constitution drafting committee followed a corporatist pattern, which sought to accommodate a number of Nasserists. This illustrates, to a small extent, the continuation with the method designated as "distributive corporatism" by Nazih Ayubi<sup>610</sup>. A limited economic inclusion of the oppressed classes seems to be exchanged for its political exclusion in the long run. In other words, as suggested by Henry Clement Moore<sup>611</sup>, co-opted classes are excluded from decision-making mechanisms.

As for the party politics, which was used as a means of cooptation during Nasser and Sadat periods, *National Salvation Front* seems to be a similar organization to *Arab Socialist Union* in that it is based on a cross-class composition and despite conflicting economic interests, they seem to be united in ideological terms, namely in defense of secular Egyptian identity against the Brotherhood. This thesis concludes that corporatism is a continuation of the regime survival strategies of the Nasserist regime since, to express in the conceptualization of G. O'Donnell, "a state of relative harmony"<sup>612</sup> seems to have been attained for the regime to survive through its corporative mechanisms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>609</sup> Gramsci, Prison Notebooks, 150,156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>610</sup> Ayubi, Over-Stating the Arab State, 208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>611</sup> Moore, "Authoritarian Politics in Unincorporated Society," 207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>612</sup> O'Donnell, "Corporatism and the Qestion of the State," 11.

As regards the continuation of the coercive aspect of the Nasserist regime, it can be stated that this aspect has never been absent from the political practices of the regime starting with Nasser's arrests of Communists, Muslim Brotherhood stretching up to Mubarak's oppressive "emergency law." However, what seems to differentiate the recent coercive practices mainly targeting Muslim Brotherhood from those deployed during Mubarak era is the popular support the regime recruited behind. The discourse on "war on terror" and "people-army hand-in-hand" indicates the conceptual framework through which public support is mobilized. The endorsement of coercive practices contributes to an increased degree of legitimacy in the eyes of the segments incorporated into the military-led governance. In this sense, both corporatist mechanisms operating through cooptation of a political party based on a cross-class alliance and coercive practices conducted with a popular consent of the incorporated segments mark a resemblance to the Nasserist regime and its mental framework regarding these methods.

#### 5.2. Inanimate aspects of Nasserist Ideology

#### Étatizm: Arab Socialism in a State Capitalistic Frame

The study of the Nasserist currents in opposition revealed that none of the Nasserist groupings including *Tagammu*, *Nasserist Party* and *Al-Karama* and *Egyptian Popular Current* advocate a state-led socialist economic model. Therefore, articulations of demands for social reforms such as job security, pay rise, shorter working hours, increased benefits or perks, purge of corrupt managers do not express an aspiration for the radical nationalisation and industrialisation policies of the Nasserite period. That is, Raymond Hinnebusch and Joel Beinin's<sup>613</sup> definition of étatizm in which development is conducted by the state intervention, peasants are co-opted through agrarian reforms, workers and white-collar employees are provided with social benefits in an expanding public sector neither exists in today's economic landscape nor pronounced via programmatic party politics. Instead, Nasserist parties set as their objectives a social welfare state which will authenticate the international market oriented policies of liberalism to render it less painful for the lower and middle classes in Egypt. Hamdeen's Sabbahi's speeches, the party programmes of *Tagammu, Al-Karama* and *Popular Current* show that it is a radical form of social

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>613</sup> Hinnebusch, Egyptian Politics under Sadat, 14, Beinin, Workers and Peasants, 126.

democracy rather than socialism what today's Nasserists demand. Although populism appears to be a significant component of oppositional Nasserists, its scope is confined a social democratic project of political economy.

In this sense, if Podeh and Winckler's<sup>614</sup> definition of Arab socialism is taken as a reference point, which describes it as "a diluted version of Soviet socialism with a focus on welfare policies promoted in a populist manner," Nasserists today can be said to maintain the orthodox Nasserist legacy. However, if El-Naggar and Waterbury's<sup>615</sup> description of Arab socialism as a form of "state capitalism" is taken into account, Nasserists seem far from seeking a state capitalist economy where the state as a whole will function as a capitalist class. Yet, today's oppositional Nasserism bears a shared concern with the Nasserist ideology of the 1960s in that it seeks to figure out an authentic "third way" which could be an alternative to marketdriven liberal economic policies. However, although a Nasserite figure occupies the Ministry of Manpower, it seems clear that interim government of the SCAF-led process fails to deliver social-welfare policies. Furthermore, despite the resonance of their reformist agenda among the working and middle classes, Nasserites seem to have ceased to promote a social welfare agenda, which may lead to the conclusion that their oppositional anti-neoliberalism proved to be rhetorical rather than programmatic.

Another conclusion this thesis has drawn in relation to Arab socialism is that in the 1950s and 60s, Arab socialism was in the accompaniment of Arab nationalism with its counterparts with similar political projects in Syria and Iraq. However, today's nationalistic discourse is coupled with secularism rather than étatizm, which marks a significant shift in the ideological conception of Nasserism by the oppositional Nasserists.

When the étatist legacy of Nasserism at the state level is examined, despite the existence of state-led factories, some of which are run by the military itself, last twenty years have created a shift in the ownership of capital from the state to the private local and foreign bourgeoisie through privatisation policies. Therefore, étatizm is the least salient ideology of the Nasserism represented at state level. The attack on the workers strikes under the rule of SCAF shows how intolerant the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>614</sup> Podeh and Winckler, "Introduction," 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>615</sup> El-Naggar. "Economicy Policy," 35, Waterbury, The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat, 17-20.

economic framework of the military can be towards the demands raised by the workers. This study revealed that the military has grown in terms of its economic power during Mubarak era. The class roots of the military cadres which undertook the 23 July 1952 Free Officers' coup and those of the officers which launched the 3 July 2013 coup are completely different in that the first mostly consisted of rural and middle classes, while the latter represent a segment of the capitalist elite in Egypt today. Therefore, the economic vision of the military officers is confined to their class interests, which seem to favor a balanced neo-liberal project rather than statist policies.

To summarize, Arab socialism or étatizm seems to have been confined to a historical period marked by close relations with the Soviets and a search for a "third way"<sup>616</sup> taking Yugoslavia as a role model. Instead, a populist form of social welfare policies appears to be the advocated economic mental framework of today's Nasserist opposition, which seems to be put aside due to the perceived priority of the anti-Brotherhood agenda since the 3 July coup.

#### Pan-Arabism: anti-western and anti-Israeli Arab nationalism

The oppositional currents of the Nasserist ideology operate in a rhetorical antiwestern and anti-Israeli discourse in a similar vein to the Nasserist attitude in the 1950s and 1960s. However, it can be concluded from the study of the Nasserist party programs and speeches of Hamdeen Sabbahi that oppositional Nasserism tend not to problematize the official de-nasserization attempts such as peace deals with Israel and the military aid offered by USA in a radical pronouncement. Following the collaboration with the military intervention on 3<sup>rd</sup> July, 2013, oppositional Nasserism seems to have withdrawn its anti-USA agenda.

The study of the anti-Mubarak movement showed that anti-western lineage of the Nasserist ideology has been a part of the movement starting with the street activism in 2000 in the solidarity protests for Palestinian *Intifada*. Opposition to neoliberal policies of Mubarak also bore a joint ground with the opposition against US-Egypt and Israel-Egypt alliances. The analysis of Sabbahi's speeches and press releases along with the party programs of *Tagammu*, *al-Karama* and *Egyptian Popular Current* demonstrated that Sabbahi and all these parties oppose any alliance with the USA and Israel. However, although they argue for an annulment of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>616</sup> Ginat, Incomplete Revolution, 14.

Egypt-Israeli peace treaty, they suggest a public referendum be held to decide whether an annulment is required. Such an approach indicates that rather than seeking a role similar to that of Nasser in 1967, today's Nasserists prioritize Egyptian security and integrity over the interests of pan-Arab geography. Although Nasserists grew partly in the movements organized to show solidarity for Palestinians and Iraqis, their projection seems to be based on a more pragmatic, less romantic and more territorial notion of nationalism.

The study of the Nasserist political parties and figures also revealed that the division of the political contention along the lines of secularism and Islamism had a significant impact of the perception of the Arab world. While Nasserist ideology conceived the Arab geography as a political landscape with common sufferings and common interests, today's Arab context seems too fragmented to promote a political unity of Arab countries. That is, secular lineage of Nasserist ideology has a determining power in the perceived popular image of the Arab world.

Anti-western and anti-IMF sentiments have mostly been articulated through Islamist currents in the Arab world recently; therefore, secular oppositional figures and parties seem to feel forced to forge alliance with the old regime and even western countries to overcome the threat of Islamism. In Egyptian context, the analysis of the Brotherhood rule and the position of the Nasserists revealed that once Islamism failed to provide the promised welfare and freedom it had promised, Nasserism took advantage of the collaborative policies of Brotherhood with the West and publicized its anti-Morsi campaigns without being selective about its alliances. Muslim Brotherhood was portrayed as a power block which developed a friendly relationship with the USA and admitted to pursue IMF-designed policies. From then onwards, the protestors associated Islamism of the Brotherhood with a politically Western promoted and economically liberal and culturally a non-Egyptian project. As a result, anti-Morsi campaigns were nurtured by anti-USA sentiments of the secular currents in the movement.

When the USA threatened the SCAF to revise its military aid program, both the secular popular support and Sisi demanded non-intervention and welcomed the financial aid from the Gulf countries. The financial aid was provided mostly by the countries governed by monarchic rule. Still, this international aid move was pictured as an example of Pan-Arab solidarity by Hamdeen Sabbahi, indicating a rather pragmatic policy frame. After a brief period of crisis, the USA preferred not to

designate the military intervention as "coup" and the aid scheme resumed without an interruption. Sabbahi's Popular Current and other Nasserist parties did not campaign against the normalization of the relations between the regime and the USA, which also provides evidence for their adoption of anti-Western and pan-Arab discourse in a rather rhetorical manner. When the recent diplomatic traffic between Egypt and USA is also taken into consideration, it can be concluded that the SCAF is far from promoting an anti-USA agenda. The Nasserist components of the interim government are on the same wavelength as the regime, focusing on the eradication of Brotherhood. The regime aims to maintain friendly relations with the USA, Israel and Gulf monarchies all and it can be concluded from the absence of any anti-Sisi declaration from the Nasserist parties that they back the regime in its efforts. This international policy framework marks a continuation with that of Sadat and Mubarak, while failing to reanimate Nasserist anti-western and anti-Israeli policies.

Given the discontinuities with the Nasserist ideology in terms of populist economic policies and pan-Arab anti-western agenda, Sisi's resemblance to Nasser seems to be confined to morphological or stylistic terms. All in all, this study concludes that despite Hamdeen Sabbahi's popularity in the presidential elections held in May 2012 and Sisi's association with Nasser, Nasserist resilience can be traced in a limited sphere with a modified content. An identity based Egyptian nationalism, a nationalism based secularism and a secularism and nationalism based on militarism and a form of distributive-corporatism appear to be the factors that create the impression of a Nasserist resurrection; however, it can be argued that what Egyptian political scene has been witnessing since the military intervention is a modern, anti-Islamist, secular, militarist and corporatist version of nationalism which only partially finds its expression in Nasserist ideology.

#### REFERENCES

#### **Books and Journals**

- Abdel-Fadil, Mahmoud. *The Political Economy of Nasserism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Abdel-Malek, Anouar. Egypt: Military Society; The Army Regime, the Left, and Social Change under Nasser. New York: Random House, 1968.
- Abdel-Rahman, Maha. "With the Islamists?—Sometimes. With the State?—Never!' Cooperation between the Left and Islamists in Egypt." *British Journal for Middle East Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (2009): 37-54.
- Abu-Lughod, Janet. "Rural Migrations and Politics in Egypt." In *Rural Politics and Social Change in the Middle East*, edited by Richard Antoun and Iliya Harik, 315-334. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972.
- Aidi, Hishaam D. Redeploying the State. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Akhavi, Shahrough. "Egypt's Socialism and Marxist Thought: Some Preliminary Observations on Social Theory and Metaphysics." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Apr., 1975): 190-211.
- Alexander, Anne. "Mubarak in the international arena." In *Egypt: the Moment for Change*, edited by R. El-Mahdi and P. Marfleet, 136-150. London: Zed Books, 2009.
- Al-Mahdi, Rabab. "Enough!: Egypt's Quest for Democracy." *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 42, No. 8 (August 2009): 1011-1039.
  - ——. "The democracy movement: cycles of protest." In *Egypt: the Moment of Change*, edited by R. El Mahdi and P.Marfleet, 87-102. London: Zed Books, 2009.
- Amin, Galal A. Egypt's Economic Predicament: A Study in the Interaction of External Pressure, Political Folly, and Social Tension in Egypt, 1960–1990. Leiden: BRILL, 1995.
- Ates, Davut. "Economic Liberalization and Changes in Fundamentalism: The Case of Egypt." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 12, Issue. 4 (Winter 2005): 133-144.
- Ayubi, Nazih N. Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East. London: I. B. Tauris, 1995.

Baker, R. William, *Sadat and After: Struggle for Egypt's Political Soul.* London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1990.

——. *Egypt's Uncertain Revolution Under Nasser and Sadat*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978.

Bayat, Asef. "The "Arab Street"." In *The Journey to Tahrir: Revolution, Protest, and Social Change in Egypt,* edited by Jeannie Sowers and Chris Toensing, 73-84. London: Verso, 2012.

*——. Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010.

- Be'eri, Eliezer. Army Officers in Arab Politics and Society. New York: Praeger, 1970.
- Beinin, Joel and Fédéric Vairel. "Afterword: Popular Uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt." In Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa, edited by Beinin and Vairel, 237-254. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.

——. "Neo-liberal Structural Adjustment, Political Demobilization, and Neo-Authoritarianism in Egypt." In *The Arab State and Neo-Liberal Globalization: The Restructuring of State Power in the Middle East*, edited by Laura Guazzone and Daniela Pioppi, . New York: Ithaca Press, 2009.

——. "Workers and Egypt's January 25 Revolution." *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 80 (Fall 2011): 189-196.

——. "Workers' Struggles under 'Socialism' and Neoliberalism." In *Egypt: The Moment of Change*, edited by El-Mahdi and Marfleet, . London: Zed Books, 2009.

——. Workers and Peasants in the Middle East. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Binder, Leonard. "Gamal Abd al-Nasser: Iconology, Ideology, and Demonology." In *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*, edited by Elie Podeh and Onn Winckler, 45-71. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004.

——. In a Moment of Enthusiasm: Political Power and the Second Stratum in *Egypt*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

- Bloom, William. *Personal identity, national identity, and international relations.* Cambridge, GB: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Bodnar, John E. Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Boggs, Carl. Gramsci's Marxism. London: Pluto Press, 1976.

- Browers, L. Michaelle. *Political Ideology in the Arab World: Accommodation and Transformation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Brown, J. Nathan. *Peasant Politics in Modern Eygpt: The Struggle against the State.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Brownlee, Jason. *Authoritarainism in an Age of Democratization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

——. *Democracy Prevention: The Politics of the U.S.-Egyptian Alliance.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

- Bush, Ray. "The land and the people." In *Egypt: The Moment of Change*, edited by R. El-Mahdi and P. Marfleet, 51-67. London: Zed Boooks, 2009.
- Callinicos, Alex. "The return of the Arab revolution." *International Socialism Journal*, 130 (Spring 2011). http://www.isj.org.uk/?id=717.
- Chomsky, Noam, *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians*. London: Pluto Press, 1999.
- Clark, Janine. Islam, Charity, and Activism: Middle Class Networks and Social Welfare in Egypt, Jordan, and Yemen. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- Cliff, Tony. "Deflected Permanent Revolution." *International Socialism* 12 (Spring 1963), www.marxists.org/archive/cliff/works/1963/xx/permrev.htm.
- Connor, Walker. Etnonacionalismo. Madrid: Trama Editorial, 1998.
- Cook, A. Steven. *The Struggle for Egypt: From Nasser to Tahrir Square*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Dabous, Sonia. "Nasser and the Egyptian Press." In *Contemporary Egypt*, edited by Charles Tripp, 110–119. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Darraj, M. Susan and Vicki Cox. *Hosni Mubarak*. New York: Infobase Publishing, 2007.
- Dekmejian, Hrair. *Egypt under Nasir: A Study in Political Dynamics*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1971.
- Eagleton, Terry. Ideology: an Introduction. London: Verso. 1991.
- Easman, J. Milton. Ethnic Politcs. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Egyptian Revolutionaries: Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ahmed Orabi, Doria Shafik, Hoda Shaarawi, Saad Zaghloul, Youssef Seddik, Hussein El-Shafei, edited by LLC. Memphis: General Books LLC, 2010.

- Eisenstadt, N. Samuel. *Tradition, Change, and Modernity*. New York: John Wiley, 1973.
- El-Ghobashy, Mona. "The Praxis of the Egyptian Revolution." In *The Journey to Tahrir: Revolution, Protest, and Social Change in Egypt*, edited by Jeannie Sowers and Chris Toensing, 21-40. London: Verso, 2012.
- El-Ghonemy, M. Riad, "An Assessment of Egypt's Development Strategy, 1952– 1970." In *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*, edited by Eli Podeh and Onn Winckler, 253-263. Florida: University Press of Florida, 2004.
- El-Naggar, Ahmad El-Sayed. "Economicy Policy: from state control to decay and corruption." In *Egypt: The Moment of Change*, edited by Rabah El-Mahdi and Philip Marfleet, 34-50. London: Zed Books, 2009.
- Farah, N. Ramsis. *Egypt's Political Economy: Power Relations in Development*. Cairo: American Univ in Cairo Press, 2009.
- Gershoni, Israel and James Jankowski. Egypt, Islam and the Arabs: the search for Eygptian Nationhood, 1900-1930. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
  - ——. *Redefining the Egyptian Nation, 1930–1945.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Ginat, Rami. Egypt's Incomplete Revolution: Lutfi al-Khuli and Nasser's Socialism in the1960s. London: Frank Cass, 1997.
- Goldberg, Ellis. "The Foundations of State-Labor Relations in Contemporary Egypt." *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (January, 1992): 147-161.
- Gordon, Joel. Nasser's Blessed Movement: Egypt's Free Officers and the July Revolution. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- ——. "Secular and Religious Memory in Egypt: Recalling Nasserist Civics." *Muslim World* Vol. 87, No. 2 (April 1997): 94-110.
- Gramsci, Antonia. Selections from the Prison Notebooks. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.
- *——. Prison Notebooks*, Vol.1. Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Guess, Raymond. *The Idea of a Critical Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Habeeb, William. "US-Egypt Aid Negotiations in the 1980s and 1990s." In *Power and Negotiation*, edited by I. Zartman and J. Rubin, 81-103. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.

- Hall, Stuart. "The Problem of Ideology." In *Marx 100 Years On*, edited by B. Matthews, 57-86. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1983.
- Halpern, David. *The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Halpern, Manfred. "Middle Eastern Armies and the New Middle Class." In *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*, edited by John J. Johnson, . Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962.
- Hanna, Milad. Seven Pillars of Egyptian Identity. Egypt: General Egyptian Books Organization, 1989.
- Hatina, Meir. "History, Politics, and Collective Memory: The Nasserist Legacy in Mubarak's Egypt." In *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*, edited by E. Podeh and O. Winckler, . Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004.

——. "On the Margins of Consensus: The Call to Separate Religion and State in Modern Egypt." *Middle Eastern Studies* 36, No. 1 (2000): 55–60.

——. Islam in Modern Egypt. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2000.

Haykal, M. Hasanayn. The Cairo Documents. New York: Garden City, 1973.

Heydemann, Steven. "Taxation without representation: Authoritarianism and economic liberalization in Syria." In *Rules and rights in the Middle East: Democracy, society and law,* edited by. E. Goldberg and J. Migdal, 69-101. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993.

——. Authoritarianism in Syria: Institutions and Social Conflict 1946-1970. New York: Cornell University Press, 1999.

- Heywood, Andrew. *Political Ideologies: An Introdution*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Hinnebusch, A. Raymond. *Egyptian Politics under Sadat: The Post-PopulistDevelopment of an Authoritarian-Modernizing State.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1-11. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- ——. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Hopwood, Derek. Egypt, Politics and Society 1945-1990. London: Routledge, 1993.

- Hussein, Mahmoud. *Class Conflict in Eygpt*, 1945-1971. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973.
- Issawi, Charles. *Egypt in Revolution : An Economic Analysis*. London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1986.
- Jankowski, J. "Nasserism and Egyptian State Policy, 1952-1958." In *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, edited by James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni, . New Yok: Columbia University Press, 1997.

——... *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism, and the United Arab Republic*. London: Lynne Rienner. 2002.

Kamrava, Mehran. "Military Professionalization and Civil-Military Relations in the Middle East." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 115, No. 1 (Spring, 2000): 67-92.

——. "Preserving Non-Democracies: Leaders and State Institutions in the Middle East." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 2, (March 2010): 251–270.

- Kassem, Maye. *Egyptian Politics: The Dynamics of Authoritarian Rule*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2004.
- Kassem, Maye. In the guise of democracy: governance in contemporary Egypt. London: Garnet & Ithaca Press, 1999.
- Kellas, James G. *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 2nd ed. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1998.
- Khaldoun, Ibn. "Corruption in Egypt... A Dark Cloud That Does Not Vanish." *Kefaya*, (2009): 1-184.
- Khalidi, Walid. "Political Trends in the Fertile Crescent." In *The Middle East in Transition*, edited by Walter Z. Laqueur, 121-128. New York: F. A. Praeger, 1958.
- King, J. Stephen. *The New Authoritarianism in the Middle East and North Africa*. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2009.
- Lacouture, Jean. *Egypt in Transition*. New York: Methuen, 1958.
- Lippmann, Thomas. *Egypt after Nasser: Sadat, Peace, and the Mirage of Prosperity.* Minneapolis: Paragon House, 1989.
- Lorenz, Joseph P. Egypt and the Arabs: Foreign Policy and the Search for National Identity. Boulder Co: Westview Press, 1990.
- Mabro, Robert. The Egyptian Economy, 1952–1972. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974.
- Malek, Abdel A. Egypt: Military Society: The Army Regime, the Left, and Social Change Under Nasser. London: Random House, 1968.

- Marfleet, Philip. ""Never going back": Egypt's continuing revolution." *International Socialism Journal* 137 (Winter 2013). http://www.isj.org.uk/?id=866.
  - —. "Act One of the Egyptian Revolution." International Socialism Journal 130 (Spring 2011). http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php4?id=721&issue=130#130marfleet\_21.

——. "Never going back": Egypt's continuing revolution." *International Socialism Journal*, No.137 (Winter 2013). http://www.isj.org.uk/?id=866.

- Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. *The German Ideology* in Collected Works, Vol.5. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1976.
- Mayfield, James B. Rural Politics in Nasser's Egypt: A Quest for Legitimacy. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971.
- McDermott, Anthony. Egypt from Nasser to Mubarak (RLE Egypt): A Flawed Revolution. London: Routledge, 1988.
- McMahon, Stephanie. "Egypt's Social Forces, the State, and the Middle East Order." In *Egypt's Tahrir Revolution*, edited by Dan Tschirgi, Walid Kazziha, and Sean F. McMahon, 165-172. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013.
- Migdal, Joel S. Strong societies and weak states: State-society relations and state capabilities in the Third World. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1988.
- Mills, C. Wright. The Power Elite. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Mitchell, P. Richard. *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Mitchell, Timothy. *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Mohi El Din, Khaled. *Memories of a Revolution: Egypt 1952*. American University in Cairo Press, 1995.
- Moore, Clement Henry and Robert Springborg. *Globalization and the Politics of Developments in the Middle East.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Moore, Clement Henry. "Authoritarian Politics in Unincorporated Society: The Case of Nasser's Egypt." *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (January 1974): 193-218.
- Moustafa, Tamir. *The Struggle for Constitutional Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

- Munson, Ziad. "Islamic Mobilization: Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood." *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 42, Issue 4, (September 2011): 487-510.
- Naguib, Sameh. "Islamism(s) old and new." In *Egypt: The Moment of Change*, edited by. R. El-Mahdi and P. Marfleet, 103-119. London: Zed Books, 2009.

Nasser, Gamal Abdal. The Philosopy of the Revolution. New York: Buffalo 1959.

- Nassif, Hicham Bou. "Wedded to Mubarak: The Second Careers and Financial Rewards of Egypt's Military Elite, 1981-2011." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 67 Issue 4 (Autumn 2013): 509-530.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. "Corporatism and the Qestion of the State." In *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America*, edited by James M. Malloy, 47-88. Pittsburgh: Pittsbugh University Press, 1977.
- Osman, Tarek. *Egypt on the Brink: From the Rise of Nasser to the Fall of Mubarak.* London: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Owen, Roger. State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East. London: Routledge, 1992), 20.
- Pennar, Jean. *The USSR and the Arabs: The Ideological Dimention*. New York: Crane, Russak & Co., 1973.
- Perlmutter, Amor. "The Praetorian State and the Praetorian Army: Toward a Taxonomy of Civil-Military Relations in Developing Polities." In Analyzing the Third World: Essays from Comparative Politics, edited by Norman W. Provizer, 300-322. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1978.
- Piterberg, Gabriel. "The Tropes of Stagnation and Awakening in Nationalist Historical Consciousness: The Egyptian Case." In *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, edited by Gershoni and Jankowski, 42-62. New Yok: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Podeh, Elie and Onn Winckler. "Introduction: Nasserism as a Form of Populism." In *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*, edited by Eli Podeh and Onn Winckler, 1-44. Florida: University Press of Florida, 2004.
- Podeh, Elie. The Decline of Arab Unity: The Rise and Fall of the United Arab Republic. Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 1999.

*——. The Quest for Hegemony in the Arab World: The Struggle Over the Baghdad Pact.* Leiden: BRILL, 1995.

Popham, Peter and Jerome Taylor. "The War on Terror: Inside the Dark World of Rendition." *Independent*, June 8, 2007.

- Posusney, M. Pripstein. "Collective Action and Workers' Consciousness in Contemporary Egypt." In Workers and Working Classes in the Middle East: Struggles, Histories, Historiographies, edited by Z. Lockman, . Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993.
- President Gamal Abdel Nasser's Speeches and Press Interviews. January-December 1961. Cairo: Information Department, 1961.
- Quandt, William B. *The Middle East: Ten Years After Camp David*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1988.
- Radwan, Samir and Eddy Lee. *Agrarian Change in Egypt: An Anatomy of Rural Poverty*. London: Croom Helm, 1986.
- Rehmann, Jan. *Theories of Ideology: The Powers of Alienation and Subjection*. Leiden: BRILL, 2013.
- Rejai, Mostafa. Comparative Political Ideologies. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984.
- Rejwan, Nissim. Nasserist Ideology: Its Exponents and Critics. New York: JohnWiley, 1974.
- Rubin, Barry. Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Politics. London: Macmillan, 1990.
- Sadowski, Yahya M. Political Vegetables? Businessman and Bureaucrat in the Development of Egyptian Agriculture. Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 1991.
- Salame, Ghassan. Democracy Without Democrats?: The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World. New York: I.B.Tauris, 1994.
- Shahine,H. Selim. "Youth and the Revolution in Egypt." *Anthropology Today* 27, No. 2 (2011): 1-3.
- Shama, Nael. Egyptian Foreign Policy From Mubarak to Morsi: Against the National Interest London: Routledge, 2013.
- Shamir, Shimon. "The Decline of the Nasserist Messianism." In Decline of Nasserism, 1965-1970: The Waning of a Messianic Movement, edited by S. Shamir, 1-60. Tel Aviv: Mif'alim Universitayim, 1978.
- Sharabi, Hisham. *Nationalism and Revolution in theArab World*. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1966.
- Sharp, Jeremy M. *Egypt: Background and U. S. Relations*. Darby, PA: DIANE Publishing, 2011.

- Shehata, S. Samer. "Opposition Politics in Egypt: A Fleeting Moment of Opportunity." *Arab Reform Bulletin*, Vol.2, No. 9, (2004).
- Shokr, Ahmad. "The Eighteen Days of Tahrir." In *The Journey to Tahrir: Revolution, Protest, and Social Change in Egypt*, edited by Jeannie Sowers and Chris Toensing, 41-46. London: Verso, 2012.
- Silbermann, Gad. "National Identity in Nasserist Ideology, 1951-1970." Asian and African Studies, Vol. 8 (1972): 53-57.
- Springborg, Robert. *Mubarak's Egypt: fragmentation of the political order*. Boulder Co: Westview Press, 1989.
  - ——. Political Structural Adjustment in Egypt: A Precondition for Rapid Economic Growth?. San Domenico: European University Institute, June 1999.
- Stepan, Alfred and Juan J. Linz. "Democratization Theory and the "Arab Spring"." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April 2013): 15-30.
- Talhami, Ghada Hashem. *Palestine and Egyptian National Identity*. New York: Lexington Books, 1992.
- Trimberger, Ellen Kay. Revolution From Above: Military Bureaucrats and Development in Japan, Turkey, Egypt, and Peru. New Brunswick: Transaction Books. 1978.
- United Arab Republic, Information Department, *The Charter*. Cairo: National Publication House Press, 1962.
- Utvik, Bjorn Olav. "Filling the Vacant Throne of Nasser: The Economic Discourse of Egypt's Islamist Opposition." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Fall 1995): 29-54.
- Utvik, Bjorn Olav. Islamist Economics in Egypt. Boulder CO.: Lynne Rienner, 2006.
- Vatikiotis, P. J. Nasser and His Generation. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978.

——. *The Egyptian Army in Politics: Pattern for New Nations?*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961.

*———. The Modern History of Egypt.* London: Preager, 1969.

- Waterbury, John. "Reflections on the Extent of Egypt's Revolution: Socioeconomic Indicators." In Egypt from Monarchy to Republic: A Reassessment of Revolution and Change, edited by S. Shamir, 61-65. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995.
  - . "The "Soft" State and the Open Door: Egypt's Experience with Economic Liberalisation 1974-84." *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 18, No. 1. (October 1985): 65-83.

——. *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: The Political Economy of Two Regimes.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

- Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement*. Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Winter, Michael. "Islam in the State: Pragmatism and Growing Commitment." In *Egypt from Monarchy to Republic*, edited by Shimon Shamir, . Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1995.
- Zaalouk, Malak. Power, Class and Foreign Capital in Egypt: the Rise of the New Bourgeoisie. London: Zed Books, 1989.
- Zubaida, Sami. Islam: The People and the State. London: I.B.Tauris, 1993.

#### Reports

- "Al-Tahaluf al-Dimuqrati (The Democratic Alliance)." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, September 26, 2011. http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2011/09/26/the-democratic-alliance.
- "Egypt: New Constitution Mixed on Support of Rights." *Human Rights Watch*, November 30, 2012. http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/11/29/egypt-newconstitution-mixed-support-rights.
- "Egypt's new constitution limits fundamental freedoms and ignores the rights of women." *Amnesty International*, November 30, 2012. http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/egypt-s-new-constitution-limits-fundamental-freedoms-and-ignores-rights-women-2012-11-30.
- "Egypt's Secular Forces." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, November 19, 2012. http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2012/11/19/egypt%E2%80%99s-secular-forces.
- "Gabhat al-Inqath al-Watani (The National Salvation Front)." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, September 3, 2013. http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2013/09/03/gabhat-al-inqath-alwatani-the-national-salvation-front.
- American Chamber of Commerce in Egypt (AmCham). "The Egyptian Economy:<br/>Progress and Prospects." 2004,<br/>https://www.amcham.org.eg/operation/Events/Events04/agm.asp.

Beinin, Joel. "The Cold Peace," Middle East Report, No. 29 (1985).

Beinin, Joel. "Underbelly of Egypt's Neo-liberal Agenda." *Middle East Report Online*, April 5, 2008. http://www.merip.org/mero/mero040508.

- Cyrill, Melissa M. "New Egypt's Democracy Woes Challenges for President Morsi." *Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses*, January 10, 2013. http://www.idsa.in/backgrounder/EgyptsChallengesforPresidentMorsi\_mmcyrill\_ 100113.
- Raphaeli, Nimrod. "Inquiry and Analysis Report 1001: Egyptian Army's Pervasive Role In National Economy." *The Middle East Media Research Institute*, July 29, 2013. http://www.memri.org/report/en/print7313.htm.
- Sayigh, Yezid. "Above the State: The Officers' Republic of Egypt." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, August 1, 2012. http://carnegiemec.org/publications/?fa=48996.
- The Center for Trade Union and Worker Services, "The situation of workers one year after the rule by the Muslim Brotherhood," *CTUWS Press Release*, (June 24, 2013).
- Williamson, Scott. "Egypt's New Draft Constitution Expands the Military's Powers." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, November 26, 2012. http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2013/11/26/new-draft-egyptian-constitution-expands-the-military%E2%80%99s-powers
- Wrede, Katalin. "Dr. Aida Seif El Dawla Egyptian activist against torture and violence." *Human Dignity Forum*, November 12, 2011. http://www.humandignity-forum.org/2011/11/dr-aida-seif-el-dawla-the-egyptian-spokespersonagainst-torture-and-violence/.

#### **Online News Sources**

- "Al-Karama Party." *Jadaliyya*, November 18, 2011. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3151/Al-Karama-party.
- "Al-Karama." *Ahram Online*, November 18, 2011. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/104/26690/Elections-/Political-Parties/AlKarama.aspx.
- "Anti-Morsi petition gathers steam: Organisers." *Ahram Online*, May 13, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/71379/Egypt/Politics-/AntiMorsipetition-gathers-steam-Organisers.aspx.
- "Anti-SCAF march attacked." *Arabawy*, July 23, 2011. http://www.arabawy.org/2011/07/24/to-be-updated-anti-scaf-march-attacked/.
- "Arab aid to Egypt reaches \$12 billion, after Kuwait pledges \$4 billion." *Egypt Independent*, July 10, 2013. http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/arab-aid-egypt-reaches-12-billion-after-kuwait-pledges-4-billion.
- "Cabinet ministers sworn in." *Daily News Egypt*, July 16, 2013. http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/07/16/cabinet-ministers-sworn-in/.

- "Cairo metro workers suspend strike following victory." *Ahram Online*, November 14, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/58047/Egypt/Politics-/UPDATED-Metro-workers-suspend-strike-following-vic.aspx.
- "Clashes erupt between rival political camps at Egypt's presidential palace." *Ahram Online*, December 5, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/59841.aspx.
- "Down with military rule' chant harmed revolution: Egypt's Hamdeen Sabbahi." *Ahram Online*, June 23, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/74717/Egypt/Politics-/Down-withmilitary-rule-chant-harmed-revolution-Eg.aspx.
- "Egypt army chief vows to use full force." *Aljazeera*, August 19, 2013. http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/08/201381817321417962.html.
- "Egypt army ultimatum hailed by opposition, sparks Islamist protests." *Ahram Online*, July 2, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/75447/Egypt/Politics-/Egypt-armyultimatum-hailed-by-opposition,-sparks-.aspx.
- "Egypt independent trade unions endorse BDS." *Arabawy*, July 2, 2011. http://www.arabawy.org/tag/kamal-abu-eita/.
- "Egypt leader Mursi orders army chief Tantawi to resign." *BBC News*, August 12, 2012. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19234763.
- "Egypt military unveils transitional roadmap." *Ahram Online*, July 3, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/75631.aspx.
- "Egypt president Morsi halts tax hikes, calls for dialogue." Ahram Online, December 10, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/3/12/60166/Business/Economy/Egyptpresident-Morsi-halts-tax-hikes,-calls-for-d.aspx.
- "Egypt sets LE1200 as minimum wage for government workers." *Ahram Online,* September 18, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/81942.aspx.
- "Egypt: "Workers need a political voice" interview with Fatma Ramadan." *Mena Solidarity Network*, July 10, 2013. http://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2013/07/10/egypt-workers-need-a-political-voice-interview-with-fatma-ramadan/.
- "Egypt: locked-out IFFCO food workers continue strike." *MENA Solidarity Network*, June 5, 2013. http://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2013/06/05/egypt-locked-out-iffco-food-workers-continue-strike/.
- "Egypt: Popular Current Party is Born." *Al-Akhbar*, September 24, 2012. http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/12589.

"Egypt's Popular Current launches anti-IMF loan campaign." *Ahram Online*, November 3, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/57034/Egypt/Politics-/Egypts-Popular-Current-launches-antiIMF-loan-campa.aspx.

"Egyptian activists inspired by Tunisia for 'day of wrath'." *The Telegraph*, January 25, 2011. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/egypt/828074 1/Egyptian-activists-inspired-by-Tunisia-for-day-of-wrath.html.

"Egyptian Nasserist defends controversial visit to Syria's Al-Assad." Ahram Online, February 13, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/64667/Egypt/Politics-/Egyptian-Nasserist-defends-controversial-visit-to-.aspx.

"Egyptian Popular Current calls demo against military intervention in Syria." Ahram Online, August 31, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/80428/Egypt/Politics-/Egyptian-Popular-Current-calls-demo-against-milita.aspx.

"Egyptian presidency: 'Our war on terrorism' doesn't breach human rights." *Ahram Online,* July 26, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/77484/Egypt/Politics-/Egyptianpresidency-Our-war-on-terrorism-doesnt-br.aspx.

"Egyptian Revolutionary Socialists letter to supporters." *Socialist Worker*, August 20, 2013. http://socialistworker.co.uk/art/34144/Egyptian+Revolutionary+Socialists+letter+to+supporters.

- "Egyptians mass in Tahrir to honour uprising." *Aljazeera*, January 25, 2012. http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2012/01/201212535836564645.html.
- "Egyptians vote for new constitution amid unrest." *Al Arabiya News*, January 14, 2014. http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2014/01/14/Egyptians-vote-for-constitution-amid-tensions.html.
- "Egypt's National Salvation Front issues 3 demands for President Morsi." *Ahram Online*, December 5, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/59781.aspx.
- "Egypt's opposition protest on Friday to reject constitutional declaration, draft constitution." *Ahram Online*, November 29, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/59476/Egypt/Politics-/Egypts-opposition-protest-on-Friday-to-reject-cons.aspx.
- "El-Hamalawy: "Morsy has failed even in the simple bread and butter issues." *Daily News*, November 28, 2012. http://dailynewsegypt.com/2012/11/28/hossam-el-hamalawy-morsy-has-even-failed-in-the-simple-bread-and-butter-issues/.

- "English text of Morsi's Constitutional Declaration." *Ahram Online*, November 22, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/58947.aspx.
- "FJP 2011 Program on Social Justice." *Ikhwanweb*, December 4, 2011. www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=29300.
- "Gamal Abdel Nasser calls upon the people of Egypt to go out on the 8th of July to save the revolution." Tahrir Documents, July 30, 2011. http://www.tahrirdocuments.org/2011/07/gamal-abdel-nasser-calls-upon-thepeople-of-egypt-to-go-out-on-the-8th-of-july-to-save-the-revolution/.
- "General Al Sissi Strong speech." YouTube video, 5:13, posted by "Mesalhy." July 3, 2013. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n\_WKGeOuShQ)
- "Hamdin Sabahi: Seventies' credentials."Al-Ahram Weekly Online, October 12-18, 2000, http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2000/503/el7.htm
- "Interview: Presidential Candidate Hamdeen Sabbahi." YouTube video, 8:34, posted by "Ahram Online." April 3, 2012. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wFkgqo1UBvI.
- "Karama Party leader calls for revival of Nasser's policies." *The Free Library*, September 30, 2010, http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Karama+Party+leader+calls+for+revival+of+Nass er's+policies.-a0238363433.
- "Leftist leader says Egypt should refuse IMF loan." *Ahram Online*, April 30, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/3/12/70421/Business/Economy/INTER VIEW-Leftist-leader-says-Egypt-should-refuse-.aspx.
- "Leftist Tagammu Party might support Shafiq for Egypt president." *Ahram Online*, June 3, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/43681/Egypt/Politics-/Leftist-Tagammu-Party-might-support-Shafiq-for-Egy.aspx.
- "Morsi's decree cancelled, constitution referendum to take place on time." *Ahram Online*, December 9, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/60092/Egypt/Politics-/Morsisdecree-cancelled,-constitution-referendum-t.aspx.
- "Mubarak resigns, Egypt celebrates." *Ahram Online*, February 11, 2011. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/1/5426/Egypt/Mubarak-resigns,-Egypt-celebrates.aspx.
- "Nasserist Sabbahi to launch 'Egyptian Popular Current' on Friday." *Ahram Online*, September 20, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/53379/Egypt/Politics-/Nasserist-Sabbahi-to-launch-Egyptian-Popular-Curre.aspx.

- "National Progressive Unionist (Tagammu) Party." *Jadaliyya*, November 18, 2011. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3157/national-progressive-unionist-(Tagammu)-party.
- "NSF's Hamdeen Sabahi: 'Egypt will not return to the times of Mubarak'." Euronews, August 21, 2013. http://www.euronews.com/2013/08/21/hamdeen-sabahi-egypt-will-not-return-to-the-times-of-mubarak/.
- "Official vote result: 98.1% approves Egypt's post-June 30 constitution." *Ahram Online,* January 18, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/91874.aspx.
- "Profile: Egypt armed forces chief Abdul Fattah al-Sisi." *BBC News*, January 30, 2014. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-19256730.
- "Profile: Egypt's National Salvation Front." *BBC News*, December 10, 2012. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-20667661.
- "Profile: Egypt's Tamarod protest movement." *BBC News*, July 1, 2013. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-23131953.
- "Protest against Morsi's decrees attacked by unknown assailants." *Ahram Online*, November 24, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/59051.aspx.
- "Relive vote count in 1st round of Egypt presidential race: How Morsi and Shafiq moved on." *Ahram Online*, May 25, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/42755.aspx.
- "Strikes under control." *Ahram Weekly*, December 17, 2013. http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Print/4970.aspx.
- "The Arab Democratic Nasserist Party (Al Arabi Al Nasseri)." *Electionnaire*, http://egypt.electionnaire.com/parties/?id=28.
- "The Egyptian Bloc." *Ahram Online*, November 18, 2011. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/103/26718/Elections-/Electoral-Alliances/The-Egyptian-Bloc.aspx.
- "The Nasserist Revolutionary Statement to Restore the Revolution to its Path." *Tahrir Documents*, September 18, 2011. http://www.tahrirdocuments.org/2011/09/the-nasserist-revolutionary-statement-to-restore-the-revolution-to-its-path/.
- "The National Progressive Unionist (Tagammu)." *Ahram Online*, November 18, 2011. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/104/26697/Elections-/Political-Parties/The-National-Progressive-Unionist-Tagammu.aspx.
- "The National Progressive Unionist Party [Hizb al-Tagammu']: Who are We?." *Tahrir Documents*, August 6, 2011. http://www.tahrirdocuments.org/2011/08/the-national-progressive-union-party-hizb-al-Tagammu-who-are-we/.

- "The Officers' War of Terror." *Jadaliyya*, July 23, 2013. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/13226/the-officers%E2%80%99-war-of-terror.
- "The Tagammu Party." Egypt Independent, December 22, 2010. http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/Tagammu-party.
- "Who's who: Egypt's full interim Cabinet." *Ahram Online*, July 17, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/76609.aspx.
- Abdullah, Salma. "In Pictures: Tamarod surpasses 22 million signatures." Daily News Egypt, June 29, 2013. http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/06/29/in-pictures-tamarod-surpasses-22-million-signatures/#sthash.1xd83Vyv.dpuf.
- Abul-Magd, Zeinab. "The Army and the Economy in Egypt." Jadaliyya, December 21, 2011. www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3693.
- Abul-Magd, Zeinab. "The Egyptian Republic of Retired Generals." Foreign Policy, May 8, 2012. http://mideastafrica.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/05/08/the\_egyptian\_republic\_o f\_retired\_generals.
- Alexander, Anne. "The Egyptian workers' movement and the 25 January Revolution." International Socialism Journal, 133 (Winter 2012), www.isj.org.uk/?id=778.
- Alexander, Anne. "The Gravedigger of Dictatorship." Socialist Review, March 2011. www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=11580.
- Allam, Hannah. "Ahmed Shafik, Mubarak's last prime minister, is the surprise contender in Egypt's presidential race." McClatchyDC, May 12, 2012. http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2012/05/17/149392/ahmed-shafik-mubaraks-last-prime.html#storylink=cpy.
- Al-Malky, Rania. "In Egypt, A Fair Minimum Wage is Inevitable." Daily News Egypt, April 17, 2010. www.thedailynewsegypt.com/editorial/in-egypt-a-fair-minimum-wage-is-inevitable-dp1.html.
- Asad, Talal and Ayça Çubukçu. "Neither Heroes, Nor Villains: A Conversation with Talal Asad on Egypt After Morsi." Jadaliyya, July 23, 2013. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/13129/neither-heroes-nor-villains\_a-conversation-with-ta.
- Azaab, Safa. "Riding the Wave: Interview with Hamdeen Sabbahi." The Majalla, May 5, 2011. http://www.majalla.com/eng/tag/hamdeen-sabahi.
- Beaumont, Peter Jack Shenker and Mustafa Khalili. "Mubarak supporters fight to take over Egypt's Tahrir Square." The Guardian, February 2, 2011. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/02/mubarak-supporters-fight-tahrir-square.

- Carr, Sarah. "On Sheep and Infidels." Jadaliyya, July 8, 2013. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/12779/on-sheep-and-infidels.
- Charbel, Jano. "And where do the workers stand?." Mada Masr, July 15, 2013. http://www.madamasr.com/content/and-where-do-workers-stand.
- Chulov, Martin. "Egypt wonders if army chief is another Nasser." The Guardian, August 7, 2013. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/07/egypt-morsi-nationalist-general-sisi.
- Coleman, Jasmine. "Egypt election results show firm win for Islamists." The Guardian, January 21, 2012. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/21/egypt-election-clear-islamist-victory.
- Doss, Leyla. "The Past Return." Mada Masr, October, 27, 2013. http://www.madamasr.com/content/past-return.
- El-Behary, Hend. "Al-Tayar Al-Sha'aby offers alternative economic model for Egypt." Daily News Egypt, April 8, 2013. http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/04/08/al-tayar-al-shaaby-offers-alternativeeconomic-model-for-egypt/.
- El-Hamalawy, Hossam. "Egypt's tax collectors and the fight for independent trade unions." Socialist Review, December, 2008. http://www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=10654.
- El-Houdaiby, Ibrahim. "Mubarak's class biases remain in place." Ahram Online, October 5, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/4/54854/Opinion/Mubarak%E2%80% 99s-class-biases-remain-in-place—.aspx.
- El-Houdaiby, Ibrahim. "The Identity of Al-Azhar and Its Doctrine." Jadaliyya, July 29, 2012. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/6638/the-identity-of-al-azhar-and-its-doctrine.
- Elmeshad, Mohamed. "Advocacy group rejects government's IMF-pleasing reform plan." Al Masry Al Youm, March 22, 2012. www.egyptindependent.com/news/advocacy-group-rejectsgovernment%E2%80%99s-imf-pleasing-reform-plan.
- El-Shazli, Heba F. "Where Were the Egyptian Workers in the June 2013 People's Coup Revolution?." Jadaliyya, July 23, 2013. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/13125/where-were-the-egyptian-workers-in-the-june-2013-p.
- Ezzat, Dina. "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood battles against its youth." Ahram Online, May 28, 2011. http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/13148.aspx.

- Fahim, Kareem and Mayy El Sheikh. "Egyptian General Calls for Mass Protests."TheNewYorkTimes,July24,2013.http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/25/world/middleeast/egypt.html?\_r=1&.
- Fahim, Kareem and Mona El-Naggar. "Violent Clashes Mark Protests Against Mubarak's Rule." The New York Times, January 25, 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/26/world/middleeast/26egypt.html?pagewanted =all&\_r=0.
- Fordham, Alice. "Amid Egypt's troubles, Nasser era takes on a rosy hue." The National, September 17, 2013. http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/amid-egypts-troubles-nasser-era-takes-on-a-rosy-hue#ixzz2pCDaFuiK.
- Gaber, Yassin. "A Friday of national unity in Egypt." Ahram Online, March 11, 2011. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/7474/Egypt/Politics-/A-Friday-of-national-unity-in-Egypt.aspx.
- Gabriel, Tony Gamal. "After Maspero: Have Egypt's Christians reconciled with the military?." Ahram Online, October 9, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/151/83105/Egypt/Features/After-Maspero-Have-Egypts-Christians-reconciled-wi.aspx.
- Ghosh, Bobby. "Rage, Rap and Revolution." Time, February 28, 2011. http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2050022,00.html.
- Gordon, Michael R. "Egyptians Following Right Path, Kerry Says." The New York Times, November 3, 2013. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/04/world/middleeast/kerry-egypt-visit.html.
- Hauslohner, Abigail and Sharaf al-Hourani. "Fall-off in Egyptian protests as army stays silent on total killed or arrested." The Guardian, September 3, 2013. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/03/egyptian-protests-muslimbrotherhood-military.
- Hauslohner, Abigail, William Booth and Sharaf al-Hourani. "Egyptian military ousts Morsi, suspends constitution." The Washington Post, July 3, 2013. http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/egypts-morsi-defiant-under-pressure-as-deadline-looms/2013/07/03/28fda81c-e39d-11e2-80eb-3145e2994a55\_story.html.
- Helal, Hezam. "The 5 surprises of the presidential election's first round." The Egypt Independent, May 27, 2012. http://www.egyptindependent.com/opinion/five-surprises-first-round-egypts-presidential-elections.
- Howeidy, Amira. "The Brotherhood's Zero." Ahram Weekly, December 2-8, 2010. http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2010/1025/eg9.htm.
- Ibrahim, Ekram. "Hamdeen Sabbahi." Ahram Online, April 2, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/36/124/36856/Presidential-elections-/Meet-the-candidates/Hamdeen-Sabbahi.aspx.

- Jae-Won, Lee. "Saudi Arabia and UAE to lend Egypt up to \$8 billion." Reuters, July 9, 2013. http://rt.com/news/uae-saudi-egypt-loan-849/.
- Khawly, Mohammad. "In Search of Egypt's Fifth President: Hamdeen Sabahi." Al-Akhbar, May 23, 2012. http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/7604.
- Khawly, Mohammad. "In Search of Egypt's Fifth President: Hamdeen Sabahi." Al-Akhbar, May 23, 2012. http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/7604.
- Kirkpatrick, David D. "First Fighting Islamists, Now the Free Market." The New York Times, December 25, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/26/world/middleeast/egypts-hamdeen-sabahy-vs-islamists-and-free-markets.html?\_r=0.
- Lindsey, Ursula. "The Cult of Sisi." The New York Times, September 12, 2013. http://latitude.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/09/12/the-cult-ofsisi/?\_php=true&\_type=blogs&\_r=0.
- Marfleet, Philip. "Egypt: Revolution contained?." Socialist Review Monthly, July 2013. http://www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=12379.
- Marroushi, Nadine. "US Expert: Leadership of 'Military Inc.' Is Running Egypt." Egypt Independent, October 26, 2011. http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/us-expert-leadership-militaryincrunning-egypt.
- Metwaly, Ati. "From opposing culture minister to fighting for Egypt's 'identity'." Ahram Online, June 14, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/1/73960/Egypt/From-opposingculture-minister-to-fighting-for-Egy.aspx.
- Nabil, Lamia. "Popular Current launches first economic conference." Daily News Egypt, April 4, 2013. http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/04/08/popular-current-launches-first-economic-conference/.
- Nessim, Rana, Rosemary Bechler, And Sameh Naguib. "Sisi's Egypt." Open Democracy, November 8, 2013. http://www.opendemocracy.net/arab-awakening/sameh-naguib-rosemary-bechler-rana-nessim/sisi%E2%80%99s-egypt.
- Nordland, Rod. "Saudi Arabia Promises to Aid Egypt's Regime." The New York Times, August 19, 2013. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/20/world/middleeast/saudi-arabia-vows-toback-egypts-rulers.html?\_r=0.
- Olson, Kelby. "Egypt's Tamarod Movement: An Unsustainable Alliance." Muftah, May 23, 2013. http://muftah.org/egypts-Tamarod-movement-an-unsustainable-alliance/.

- Raghavan, Sudarsan. "Egyptians Focus Their Attention on Recovering the Nation's<br/>Money." WashingtonPost,<br/>Post,<br/>FebruaryFebruary13,<br/>2011.http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-<br/>dyn/content/article/2011/02/12/AR2011021203767.html.13,2011.
- Ramzi, Mahmoud. "Egypt in 'Real Danger,' Says Ahmed Shafiq." Al-Monitor, November 27, 2012. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2012/11/ahmedshafiq-ready-for-comeback-in-wake-of-morsi-decree.html##ixzz2qeyVf1GS.
- Rashwan, Nada Hussein. "Egypt's National Salvation Front faces existential challenges." Ahram Online, February 25, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/65497/Egypt/Politics-/Egypts-National-Salvation-Front-faces-existential-.aspx.
- Saad, Mohammed. "Kamal Khalil: Memoirs of 40 years of political struggle in Egypt." Ahram Online, January 20, 2013. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/18/0/62857/Books/Kamal-Khalil-Memoirs-of--years-of-political-strugg.aspx.
- Sabry, Mohannad. "Egyptian Leftist Bloc Leader Calls Morsi 'New Mubarak'." Al-Monitor, March 10, 2013. http://www.almonitor.com/pulse/fa/contents/articles/originals/2013/03/morsi-new-mubarakopposition-leader-hamdeen-sabahi.html#ixzz2p1SzejjJ.
- Salem, Mostafa. "Labour groups denounce sit-in dispersal." Daily News Egypt, October 3, 2013. http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/10/03/labour-groups-denounce-sit-in-dispersal/.
- Salem, Sara. "The Egyptian Military and the 2011 Revolution." Jadaliyya, September 6, 2013. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/14023/the-egyptian-military-and-the-2011-revolution-#\_edn9.
- Sallam, Hesham. "Morsi Past the Point of No Return." Jadaliyya, December 8, 2012. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/8881/morsi-past-the-point-of-no-return.
- Sallam, Hesham. "Post-Elections Egypt: Revolution or Pact?." Jadaliyya, February 10, 2012. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/4314/post-elections-egypt\_revolution-or-pact.
- Shadid, Anthony. "Suez Canal workers join broad strikes in Egypt." New YorkTimes,February17,2011.http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/18/world/middleeast/18egypt.html.
- Shukrallah, Hani. "Good morning revolution: A to do list." Ahram Online, February 12, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/4/5434/Opinion/Goodmorning-revolution-A-to-do-list.aspx.
- Shukrallah, Salma. "How divided is Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood?." Ahram Online, April 4, 2011. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/8949/Egypt/Politics-/How-divided-is-Egypts-Muslim-Brotherhood.aspx.

- Soldz, Stephen. "The Torture Career of Egypt's New Vice President: Omar Suleiman and the Rendition to Torture Program." Dissident Voice, January 31, 2011. http://dissidentvoice.org/2011/01/the-torture-career-of-egypts-new-vice-presidentomar-suleiman-and-the-rendition-to-torture-program/.
- Tumblr. 2013. "where else have you seen Sisi today?." http://sisifetish.tumblr.com/.
- Weaver, M. Ann. "The novelist and the Sheikh." New Yorker, January 30, 1995. http://www.newyorker.com/archive/1995/01/30/1995\_01\_30\_052\_TNY\_CARDS \_000370344?currentPage=all.
- Wedeman, Ben, Reza Sayah and Matt Smith. "Coup topples Egypt's Morsy; deposed president under 'house arrest'." CNN, July 4, 2013. http://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/03/world/meast/egypt-protests/.
- Werr, Patrick. "Egypt's Brotherhood looks to private sector to boost economy." Reuters, June 6, 2012. http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/06/06/us-egypt-election-economy-idUSBRE8550RK20120606.

#### APPENDICES

#### **APPENDIX-A**

#### **TÜRKÇE ÖZET**

Bu tez Nasırcı ideolojinin bugünün Mısır politik sahnesindeki direncini, bu ideolojiyi ortaya çıkışından Tahrir ayaklanması sonrası dönemdeki etkisine kadar uzanan süreçte inceleyerek analiz etmeye çalışmaktadır. 25 Ocak 2011'de başlayan Tahrir ayaklanmasından beri gelişen olaylar dizgesi Nasırcılığın yeniden dirilip dirilmediğine dair soruları gündeme taşıdı. Askeri bir figür olan General Abdal Fattah El-Sisi'nin popülaritesi, 3 Temmuz 2013'te gerçekleşen askeri darbenin geniş yığınlar tarafından sevinçle karşılanması ve sivil bir Nasırcı figür olan Hamdin Sabahi'nin yükselişi Nasırcılığın yükselişine dair soruların gündeme gelmesine katkıda bulundu. Mısır ordusunun baskıcı bir kurumdan ziyade ilerici bir kurum olarak algılanması, laikliğe dayanan bir milliyetçilik fikrinin hakimiyeti ile birlikte hem ordunun hem de Nasırcı siyasi partilerin işbirlikçi eğilimlerinin baskın oluşu Mısır'ın bugününü Nasır döneminde oluşan fikirlerin etkileri bakımından incelemeye olanak sağlamakta.

23 Temmuz 1952'de "Özgür Subaylar" ismindeki bir grup subay Cemal Abdül Nasır liderliğinde Mısır'da darbe yapmıştı. Nasır bu darbeden sonra gelişen süreçte sadece Mısır'ı değil, politik olarak güçlenen yeni bir sınıfı, Arap otantizmini ve hatta Üçüncü Dünya'nın ayaklanışını sembolize eden bir lidere dönüştü. Hem monarşiye hem de Batı'ya karşı çıkabilecek karizmatik bir lider olarak resmedildi. Mısır'ın İngiltere tarafından işgalini bitirmedeki başarısı, Bağdat Paktı'na karşı çıkışı, Süveyş Kanalı Şirketi'nin millileştirilmesi, yabancı şirketlere el konulması ve 1961'de "Arap Sosyalizmi" olarak bilinen devletçi politikalar uygulamaya başlaması Nasırcılık ideolojinin inşasında önemli adımlar oldu.<sup>617</sup>

1952'den 1970'e kadarki dönemde gelişen Nasırcılık Arap milliyetçiliği, Arap sosyalizmi, militarizm ve laiklik üzerine kurulu bir ideolojik çerçeveye oturdu. Bugün Mısır'da yaşanan süreçle Nasır dönemi arasında yapılacak bir kıyaslama kitlelerin ideolojik yönelimlerinin Nasırcılıktan ne düzeyde etkilendiğini saptamak açısından önemli görünüyor. Bu tezin çözmeye çalıştığı problemin daha anlaşılır hale gelmesi için Mısır'ın son dönemde yaşadığı sürecin çok kısa bir özeti yardımcı olacaktır.

Ortadoğu'da Arap Baharı olarak bilinen devrim dalgası Mısır'da önemli bir kitle hareketi yarattı. Hareketin Mübarek'in istifa etmesi konusundaki direnci kalabalıkları 18 gün boyunca sokakta tuttu ve 1981'den beri iktidarda olan bir lideri 11 Şubat 2011'de istifaya mecbur bıraktı. Siyasi aktivizmin düzeyi farklı politik ideolojilerin sisteme kendi gündemleriyle meydan okumalarını mümkün kıldı. Hem Mısır Halk Akımı denilen Nasırcı örgüt hem de Mısır'ın en köklü muhalefet örgütlerinden Müslüman Kardeşler bu mücadelenin parçası oldular. Müslüman Kardeşler Tahrir sonrasında gelişen sürecin kitle tabanı en geniş ve en köklü örgütüydü.

Mübarek'in devrilmesinin hemen arkasında sivil bir hükümet iktidara gelmedi. Bunun yerine iktidar Mısır Yüksek Askeri Konseyi'ne devredildi. 11 Şubat 2011'den Muhammed Mursi'nin cumhurbaşkanı olarak atandığı 30 Haziran 2012'ye kadar iktidar fiilen askeri yönetimdeydi. Ordunun tutumu iki şekilde yorumlandı. Yorumlardan ilki ordunun aslında rejimin çekirdek kurumu olduğunu ve esas amacının Mübarek'i feda ederek rejimi korumak olduğunu iddia ediyordu. Bir diğer yorum ise silahlı kuvvetleri yozlaşmış siyasetin yanında daha nötr kurum olarak algılamakla kalmıyor ordunun halkın devrimci taleplerinin destekçisi olduğunu iddia ediyordu. Her iki türlü de Mısır ordusu siyasi çatışmanın merkezindeki ana oyunculardan biri olarak görülmeye devam etti. Bu durum Nasırcılığın önemli bir parçası olan ordu kurumunun tekrar Nasırcı bir çizgiye doğru evrilip evrilmediğine dair tartışmalar yarattı.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>617</sup> Leonard Binder, "Gamal Abd al-Nasser: Iconology, Ideology, and Demonology," in *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*, eds. Elie Podeh and Onn Winckler, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 45.

Nasırcılığın ideolojik olarak tekrar etkin hale gelip gelmediği tartışmasını tetikleyen bir başka önemli olay da Mübarek'in devrilmesinin ardından yaşanan ilk cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimlerinin sonuçları oldu.<sup>618</sup> 23-24 Mayıs 2012 tarihlerinde yapılan ilk tur oylamada en yüksek oyu alan ilk üç adaydan biri Nasırcı Hamdin Sabahi idi.<sup>619</sup> Özgürlük ve Adalet Partisi'ni temsil eden Muhammed Mursi oyların %25.30'unu toplayarak cumhurbaşkanı olurken, Hamdin Sabahi %21.60 oy oranıyla üçüncü en yüksek oyu toplayan adaydı. Bu başarı Nasırcılığın politik bir ideoloji olarak tekrar canlandığına dair bir tartışmayı beraberinde getirdi. Hamdin Sabahi'nin destekçileri ve seçmenleri büyük oranda kent yoksullarından oluşuyordu. Bu başarının ardından Halk Akımı isminde bir hareket inşa ettiler. 1996'da Hamdin Sabahi tarafından kurulan *Karama (Onur) Partisi* ise *Halk Akımı* hareketinin aktif bir inşacısı oldu. Daha sınırlı bir etkiden Tahrir ayaklanması ile harekete geçen işçi sınfı ve kent yoksullarını da kapsayan bir hareketin Nasırcı bir temsilcisinin olması bu ideolojinin hangi ayaklar üzerine inşa edildiğini sorgulamayı gerektiriyordu.

Mursi'nin Cumhurbaşkanlığı koltuğuna oturmasının ardından sokak protestolarının ve işçi grevleri daha çok Müslüman Kardeşler karşıtı bir ton kazandı. Gittikçe artan oranda milliyetçi bir vurgu muhalefetin retoriğine sızdı ve İslamcılar hem devrimin taleplerine ihanetle ham de Mısır kimliğini yok etmekle suçlandılar. Kasım ayında Mursi'nin yetkileri çoğunlukla elinde toplayan kararnamesinin ardından Nasırcıların liderliğindeki *Halk Akımı* hareketi diğer liberal ve sağcı partilerle ortak bir Ulusal Kurtuluş Cephesi adını verdikleri bir cephe kurdular. *Tamarod* (İsyan) isimli bir grup tarafından Mursi'nin istifasını isteyen bir dilekçe kampanyası Nisan 2013'te başlatıldı. <sup>620</sup> Bu hareketin kurucuları arasında da Nasırcılar bulunmaktaydı. 22 milyon imza topladılar ve 30 Haziran 2013 tarihinde milyonlarca insanın katıldığı büyük bir gösteri düzenlediler. 11 Şubat 2011'de

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>618</sup> Hezam Helal, "The 5 surprises of the presidential election's first round," *The Egypt Independent*, May 27, 2012, http://www.egyptindependent.com/opinion/five-surprises-first-round-egypts-presidential-elections.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>619</sup> A veteran Nasserist opposition figure and former member of parliament, Hamdeen Sabbahi is an outspoken critic of the United States and Israel. "Relive vote count in 1st round of Egypt presidential race: How Morsi and Shafiq moved on," *Ahram Online*, May 25, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/42755.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>620</sup> "Anti-Morsi petition gathers steam: Organisers," *Ahram Online*, May 13, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/71379/Egypt/Politics-/AntiMorsi-petition-gathers-steam-Organisers.aspx

Mübarek'in istifasını isteyen Yüksek Askeri Konsey (SCAF) bu sefer de Mursi'nin istifası için ültimatom verdi ve 3 Temmuz 2013'te yönetime el koydu. Fakat 2011 ve 2012 yılları boyunca Mısır ordusunun başkıcı uygulamalarını da karşısına halan hareketin yerini ordu müdahalesinin meşruiyetine ve ilericiliğine artan bir inanca sahip büyük yığınlar aldı. Mübarek'in arkasından görevi alan Mareşal Tantavi eski rejimle özdeşleştirilen bir figür olarak görülürken Mursi'yi tutuklayan darbenin lideri General Abdül Fettah El-Sisi bir halk kahramanı olarak görüldü. Cemal Abdül Nasır'ın posterleri Sisi'nin posterleriyle yan yana taşınıyordu. Sisi'nin Mısır'da laikmilliyetçi muhalefet tarafından bir kurtarıcı olarak görülmesi Özgür Subaylar'ın Nasır döneminde sahip olduğu popülariteyi çağrıştırıyordu. Halk hareketi içinden yükselen Nasırcı Hamdin Sabahi'nin arkasından Nasır'ın hayaleti askeri bir figürle özdeslestirildi. Ordu-Halk el ele<sup>621</sup> sloganının halk nezdinde kabul görmesine Teröre karşı Savaş<sup>622</sup> konsepti eşlik etti. Nasırcı Halk Akımı Hareketinin de bir parçası olduğu Ulusal Kurtuluş Cephesi darbe sonrası geçici hükümet kurma çabalarına gönüllü oldu. 623 Gecici hükümet Müslüman Kardeşler üzerine uygulanan sert baskının destekçisi oldu.

Askeri müdahalenin meşruiyet zeminin yaratmak ve destek sağlamak için kullanılan söylem milliyetçi, laikçi, orducu ve popülist fikirleri kapsayan bir dilin sirküle edilmesini beraberinde getirdi. Bu fikirlerin Nasırcı ideolojinin ana bileşenlerini olduğu düşünüldüğünde, hem Nasırcı bir sivil figür olan Hamdin Sabahi'nin hem de Nasır ile özdeşleştirilen askeri bir karakterin yükselişi Nasırcılığın bir şekliyle yeniden politik alanda bir karşılığının olduğu fikrini doğurmakta. Bu tez Nasırcı ideolojinin bugününü incelerken, bu ideolojinin nasıl oluştuğuna, Nasır sonrasında Enver Sedat ve Hüsni Mübarek dönemlerinde izlediği seyre, Nasırcı politik partilerin programatik çerçevelerine, ve önemli Nasırcı figürlerin söylemlerine bakmıştır.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>621</sup> "Egypt army ultimatum hailed by opposition, sparks Islamist protests," *Ahram Online*, July 2, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/75447/Egypt/Politics-/Egypt-army-ultimatum-hailed-by-opposition,-sparks-.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>622</sup> "Egyptian presidency: 'Our war on terrorism' doesn't breach human rights, " *Ahram Online*, July 26, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/77484/Egypt/Politics-/Egyptian-presidency-Our-war-on-terrorism-doesnt-br.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>623</sup> The National Salvation Front is a recently-formed umbrella group led by former presidential candidates Hamdeen Sabbahi and Amr Moussa, along with reform campaigner Mohamed ElBaradei. "Egypt's National Salvation Front issues 3 demands for President Morsi," *Ahram Online*, December 5, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/59781.aspx

Öncelikle bu tezde Nasırcılık Stuart Hall'ın tanımladığı çerçevede bir ideoloji olarak ele alınmıştır. Stuart Hall ideolojiyi "zihinsel çerçeveler" olarak tanımlamaktadır. Bu zihinsel çerçeveler "diller, kavramlar, kategoriler, düşünsel imgelem ve çeşitli sembol sistemleri" ile ifade edilir ve "farklı sınıflar ve toplumsal gruplar tarafından toplumun nasıl işlediğini ifade etmek ya da anlaşılır kılmak için kullanılır."<sup>624</sup> İdeolojinin bu tanımı Nasırcılığın incelenmesinde bu ideolojinin hangi sınıfların çıkarlarını ifade ettiğini anlamamız bakımından ve ideolojinin söylem düzeyinde kullanılan kavramlarla ilişkisini gözlemlemek açısından önemlidir. Nasırcı ideoloji Stuart Hall'ın ideoloji tanımından beslenerek ve John Waterbury, Nissim Rejwan, Nazih Ayubi ve P.J. Vatikiotis'in Nasırcılık incelemelerinden yola çıkarak hibrid/melez bir ideoloji olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu melez ideoloji *Arap Milliyetçiliği, Arap Sosyalizmi, Militarizm, Halkçı-Korporatizm* ve *Laiklik* fikirleririn bir kombinasyonundan oluşmuştur.

Arap milliyetçiliği her ne kadar Mısır'ın sınırlarını aşan bir anlam ifade etmiş olsa da (Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti (UAR) deneyinde olduğu gibi) Mısır milliyetçiliği Nasırcı ideolojide hep özel yerini korumuştur. Mısır kimliğinin "farklı" ve "ayırt edici" özellikleri Nasır'ın konuşmalarında vurgulanmış ve Mısır milliyetçiliği içine yerleştirildiği Arap milliyetçiliğinde lider bir konuma yükseltilmiştir. Arap sosyalizmi ise Sovyet ekonomik modelinin inceltilmiş ve popülist bir versiyonuna dayanmıştır. Yugoslavya ve Küba'yı takip ettiğini ve üçüncü bir yolu tercih ettiğini söyleyen Nasır'ın bu bağımsızlık vurgusuna rağmen uluslar arası siyaset açısından ve ekonomi politik projelerin Sovyetler'e kıyaşla yapılıyor olmasından dolayı

Bu tezde incelenmesi hedeflenen sorunsalın giriş bölümünde sunulmasının ardından, ikinci bölümde Nasırcı ideolojinin Nasır döneminde nasıl bir ifade bulduğuna bakılmıştır. Üçüncü bölümde Nasırcı ideolojinin Sedat ve Mübarek dönemlerinde rejim tarafından ne düzeyde korunduğu ve ekonomik ve politik değişimlere karşılık Nasırcılığın muhalif bir ideoloji olarak fonksiyonunun ne olduğuna bakılmıştır. Dördüncü bölüm Tahrir ayaklanması ile başlayan sürecin ardından geçen üç yıllık süreçte Nasırcılığın sivil ve askeri açıdan nasıl bir ideolojik karşılık bulduğunun anlamaya çalışmıştır.

İkinci bölümde Nasırcı ideolojinin 1930'larda ve 1940'larda Mısır'da gelişen sömürgecilik ve monarşi karşıtlığından etkilenmiş yüksek oranda politize subaylar

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>624</sup> Stuart Hall, "The Problem of Ideology," in *Marx 100 Years On*, ed. B. Matthews, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1983), 59.

arasında geliştiği anlatılmıştır. Mısır ordusunun orta sınıf üyelerinin politizasyonu bağımsız ve birleşik bir kitle mücadelesinin yokluğunun yarattığı boşluğu doldurmuş ve Özgür Subaylar'ın yukarıdan aşağıya uyguladıkları radikal dönüşüm Mısır kitlelerini emperyalizm, büyük toprak sahipleri ve yabancı sermayeye karşı birleştiren bir ortak kimlik duygusu yaratmıştır. Bu yüzden de Nasırcılığın popülaritesi kışlanın ötesine taşmış ve bir kitle ideolojisi formuna bürünmüştür. İngiliz emperyalizme ve toprak sahiplerine karşı savaşta, Nasırcı ideoloji bölgede 1960'larda hakim olan tek bir Arap ulusuna ait olma bilincine seslenmiştir. Bu Arap ulusu sömürgecilik döneminden kalma yapay sınırların ötesinde bir aidiyet tanımı yapmış ve Ortadoğu ülkelerinin ortak talepler etrafında biçimlenecek bağımsızlığını öncelikli hedef haline getirmiştir.

Bu Arap milliyetçisi havada Nasırcılık uzun sure kendisini ayakta tutacak bir dayanak bulmuştur. "watan" savunusu, Filistin'i özgürleştirmek, İsrail'i ve sömürgeci işbirlikçilerini yenmek, İngiliz ve Amerikalılar'a karşı mücadele 1950'ler ve 60'larda "Arap dünyasının milyonlarca üyesinde derin ve hassas bir tele basmak"<sup>625</sup> anlamına gelmiştir. Bu duygusal taraf özünde devletçi olan çeşitli ekonomik projelerle desteklenmiş ve ekonomik olarak milliyetçi, endüstriyel gelişim odaklı bir devlet kapitalizmi modeline doğru evrilmiştir.

Halk nezdindeki çekiciliğine rağmen, Nasırcı ideoloji yukarıdan aşağıya uygulanan projeleri merkezine alan bir ideolojiydi. Özgür Subaylar konumlarını sağlamlaştırdıktan sonra halk hareketlerini manipüle ettiler ve bastırdılar. Bu güçlerin arasında Müslüman Kardeşler ve Mısır komünist hareketi sayılabilir. Radikal bir rejim inşa ideolojisi olmakla birlikte Nasrcılık baskıcı bir otorite inşa projesi olarak görülmüştür.

Tezin üçüncü bölümünde Nasırcılığın Sedat ve Mubarek dönemlerindeki etkisi ve dönüşümü incelendi. Nasır sonrası dönemde Nasırcılık, yarattığı kurumların devamlılığı ile ideolojik alandan çok rejim idamesi sürecinde direncini korudu. İdeolojik olarak ise politik alanda büyük bir etkiye sahip olmaksızın Sedat ve Mübarek döneminin ekonomik ve uluslararası siyaseti dair adımlarına muhalif bir çizgiye doğru kaydı. 1976'da Arap Sosyalist Birlik'in içinde *Tagammu* isimli bir sol blok kuruldu. Nasırcıları da içeren bu grup politik partiye dönüşmesine rağmen bu

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>625</sup> Mehran Kamrava, "Military Professionalization and Civil-Military Relations in the Middle East," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 115, No. 1 (Spring, 2000): 77.

girişim Nasırcılığı Mısır'da kitlesel desteğe sahip sol bir ideolojiye dönüştürmeye yetmedi. 1992'de kurulan Nasırcı Parti de muhalefetteki Müslüman Kardeşler hakimiyetini kırmaya yetmedi.

Rejim düzeyinde Nasırcı ideolojinin Pan-Arab politikaları terk edildi. Bu ise emperyalizm karşıtlığı ideolojisinin daha çok büyüyen siyasal İslam tarafından kullanılmasını sağladı. Rejimin politikalarının eleştiren Nasırcı partiler ise hem Müslüman Kardeşler'in temsil ettiği İslamcılık'tan hem de Nasır sonrası cumhurbaşkanlarının politikalarından kendilerini ayrıştırma çabasındaydı. Sedat ve Mübarek döneminde İsrail ile barış yanlısı politikalar güdülmesini eleştirdiler. 1979'da Sedat döneminde imzalanan barış anlaşmasını, 1991'de Körfez Savaşı'na Mübarek yönetiminin ABD yanında verdiği desteği, ABD ile stratejik askeri isbirliğine Nasırcılar muhalefet ettiler. Bunun yanı sıra Nasır döneminin devletçi politikaları Sedat döneminde uygulamaya konulan İnfitah politikaları ile tasfiye edildi. Mübarek döneminde bu politikalar özelleştirmeler ve IMF politikaları ile daha da neoliberal bir evreye girdi. Nasırcı dönemde oluşturulan "toplumsal sözleşme" bu politikalarla bozuldu ve artan eşitsizlik ABD-İsrail ve savaş karşıtlığının yanında kapitalizm karşıtlığını da içeren Nasırcıların içinde yer aldığı yeni bir hareketin doğmasına yol açtı. Fakat neoliberal politikaların yabancılaştırdığı ve devleti Nasırcı gelenekle özdeşleştiren Mısır'ın yoksul kitleleri için Nasırcılardan çok Müslüman Kardeşler'in sosyal yardımlar içeren örgütlenmesi daha etkili oldu ve Nasırcıların daha güçlü bir toplumsal muhalefet örgütlemeyi başardılar. İslamcılık ve neoliberalizmle aynı anda savaşmaya çalışan Nasırcılar için devletin İslamcılar üzerindeki baskısı kimi zaman devleti desteklemekle sonuçlandı. Başka bir ifade ile Nasırcı muhalefet Nasırcı kurumların "devlet laikçiliğinden" kopamadı. Bu politikaların en güçlü örneğini Tagammu sergiledi.

2000'lerle birlikte savaş, küreselleşme, yoksulluk ve baskı karşıtı bir hareket doğdu. Bu hareket içinde Nasırcılar yeni bir kitleye hitap etme olanağı yakaladılar. Hareket orta-sınıf bir bileşimden Mahalla Al-Kubra'daki tekstil işçilerinin grevleriyle gittikçe işçi sınıfının da dahil olduğu bir alt-sınıf karakter edindi. Geleneksel Nasırcı partilerden 1996'da *Al-Karama*'yı (Onur Partisi) isimli bir parti kurarak ayrılan Hamdin Sabahi bu mobilizasyonun başından itibaren aktivist bir parçası oldu. 2000'de Filistin ile dayanışma, 2003'de savaş-karşıtı, 2004 ise Kifaya (Yeter) hareketi içinde Nasırcılar önderlik dahil önemli pozisyonlara sahip oldular.

Bu tezin dördüncü bölümünde bir önceki bölümde bahsedilen hareketin zirveve ulaştığı ve Arap Baharı denilen eylemler zincirinin Mısır'daki halkası olan Tahrir ayaklanmasının Nasırcı ideoloji ile ilişkisi incelendi. Tahrir isyanı Asef Bayat'ın "Arap Sokağı" dediği politik coğrafyanın bir patlamasıydı. Mübarek rejimini on yıllardır eleştiren tüm ideolojik akımlar çeşitli ittifaklarla hegemonya mücadelesine giriştiler. Nasırcı partiler olan Al-Karama, Tagammu ve Nasırcı Parti, Tahrir ayaklanmalarına katıldılar ve toplumsal adalet, uluslar arası finans kuruluşlarından bağımsızlık ve daha açık bir İsrail-karşıtı politika hattını anlatarak Mısır'ın muhalif yığınlarının içinde büyüme olanağı elde ettiler. Nasırcı partiler içinde bu süreci en iyi değerlendiren Hamdin Sabahi ve onu politik partisi Al-Karama oldu. Cumhurbaşkanlığı kampanyasının temel vurgusu toplumsal adalet, anti-emperyalist Mısır milliyetciliği ve milliyetci bir dindarlık da içer laiklik üzerineydi. Tahrir "devrimi" Özgür Subaylar'ın "devrimine" paralel bir devrim olarak sunuldu. Bu partiler Mübarek sonrası dönemde Müslüman Kardeşlerle ittifak yaptılar ama bu konuda en esnek olan Nasırcı grup Al-Karama oldu. Cumhurbaşkanlığı rekabeti ile Müslüman Kardeşler ile yolları tamamen ayrılan Nasırcılar 2012 Haziran'ından itibaren Mübarek rejiminin artıklarına karşı mücadele etmekten çok Müslüman Kardeşler'e karşı bir hatta birleşen muhalefetin parçası haline geldi ve "laiklik" temelli kutuplaşmanın laik kısmının önemli bir ortağı oldu. Hamdeen Sabahi seçilememiş olsa da kent yoksullarının da desteği ile Mısır Halk Akımı hareketi kurdu ve bu hareket daha sonra siyasi bir partiye dönüştü.

Müslüman Kardeşler'in parlamentonun %90'ını oluşturuyor olması, Anayasa Komitesi'nde tüm diğer gruplardan daha fazla üyesinin olması ve ekonomik krizi çözmek için IMF ile anlaşma ihtimali Mursi'nin yetkileri kendi elinde toplamayı hedefleyen otoriterleşme eğilimi ile birleşince Müslüman Kardeşler karşıtı büyük bir muhalefet doğdu. Nasırcılar Ulusal *Kurtuluş Cephesine* girdiler ve bu koalisyonda sağ örgütlerle işbirliği yaptılar. Ordunun 2013 Temmuz'unda göreve el koymasından sonra Nasırcılar tam desteklerini sundular ve hem geçici hükümette hem de anayasa komisyonunda aktif görev üstlendiler. Nasırcı rejimin en önemli mirası olan Mısır ordusunun rejimi sürdürme refleksi ile İslamcılık karşıtı laik muhalefetin Müslüman Kardeşleri siyaseten yenme isteği örtüştü ve Nasırcılık hem devlet hem de sivil siyasette bir yankı buldu. Sisi ve Nasır posterleri yan yana taşınan iki ikona dönüştü.

Talepleri Müslüman Kardeşler tarafından karşılanmayan işçi sınıfı hareketi, özgün Mısırlı kimliklerinin İslami kimlik tarafından tehdit altında olduğunu düşünen orta sınıflar ve aşağıdan hareketin büyümesinin kendileri için tehdit olduğunu gore askeri sınıf laik bir milliyetçi söylemle bir araya geldi.

Nasırcı posterlerin ikonografik kullanımı Nasır döneminde taşıdığı politik anlamdan çeşitli sapmalarla politik tedavüle girdi. Ana tehdit Nasır döneminde sömürgecilik ve yozlaşmış monarşi iken Tahrir sonrası Mısır'da bu tehdit Müslüman Kardeşler olarak algılandı. Yani Nasırcılığın laik milliyetçi fikirleri daha öne çıkarıldı. Bu koalisyona Hristiyan Kıpti nüfusun da hatırı sayılır kesimleri katıldı. Ordunun 2011'deki Maspero katliamına<sup>626</sup> rağmen Hristiyanlar İslamcıların kiliselere saldırmasına karşı korunmak için statükonun kurumlarıyla yan yana geldi.

Militarizm bu milliyetçi söylemin bir başka öğesini teşkil etti. Ordunun tüm "ulusu" temsil ettiği fikri ordu müdahalesinin diğer boyutlarını flulaştırdı. Askeriyenin devlet içindeki ayrıcalıklı konumu (Savunma Bakanlığı), ekonomi içinde tuttuğu ciddi payda (askeri fabrikalar) ve uluslararası bağlantıları (ABD'den alınan ekonomik yardım) Askeri Konsey'in hem müdahale nedenini hem de bu müdahalenin değişim kabiliyetinin sınırlarını gösteriyordu.

İktisadi olarak, Nasırcı örgütler Nasır döneminin radikal devletçi çerçevesinin dışında bir tür karma ekonomi savundular. Devletin ekonomideki doğrudan rolünün toplumun dezavantajlı kesimlerine destek sağlamak olarak görüldüğü bir sosyal demokrat program savunuldu. Özetle Nasırcı ekonomik vizyon neoliberalizmin erozyonunu savunan ve karın daha eşit dağıtılmasına dayanan dengeli bir büyüme politikası sunuyordu.

Bu tez hem tarihsel dönemin hem de bugünün söylem ve basın temsillerinin incelenmesinden şu sonuçları çıkarmıştır. Bugün Mısır'da hala canlı olduğu görülen Nasırcı fikirler militarizm, korporatizm, Mısır milliyetçiliği ve laikliktir. Rejimin en güçlü kurumu olan ordunun meşruiyeti ve kurumsal otoritesi Nasır dönemine uzanmaktadır. Bu anlamda bir süreklilikten bahsetmek mümkündür. Rejimin halk desteğini arkasına almasıyla birlikte işbirlikçi korporatizm ve milliyetçi militarizm sivil ve askeri Nasırcı unsurların birleşmesine yol açmıştır. Bugün milliyetçi bir laiklik anlayışı militarist boyutuyla birlikte Nasırcı söylem ve ikonografi eşliğinde yeniden dirilse de Nasırcılık politik ekonomi açısından Mısır'da yeniden hayat

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>626</sup> Tony Gamal Gabriel, "After Maspero: Have Egypt's Christians reconciled with the military?," *Ahram* Online, October 9, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/151/83105/Egypt/Features/After-Maspero-Have-Egypts-Christians-reconciled-wi.aspx.

bulmamıştır. Nasırcılığın hakim alanı daha çok zihinsel bir çerçeve sunmasındadır. Tez incelemenin sonuçlarını Nasırcılığın canlı ve ölü fikirleri olarak ikiye ayırmıştır. Birinci grupta uluslararası komplolara ve bunların ulusal uzantılarına karşı yükselen bir Mısır milliyetçiliği, İslamcılık karşıtı bir çerçeveye oturtulmuş laiklik anlayışı, Al-Sisi nezdinde ifadesini bulan bir lider miti ve korporatizm metodunu içeren bir hegemonya inşa uğraşı gibi yeniden hayat bulmuş fikirler vardır. İkinci grupta ise Nasırcılığın bugün pek karşılık bulmayan fikirlerine yer verilmiştir. Devamlılık arz etmeyen bu fikirler devlet-odaklı politik bir ekonomi içeren devletçiliği ve Arap coğrafyasından daha geniş çaplı bir anti-emperyalist dayanışmayı ve İsrail'in Filistin politikalarına karşı bir politika içermektedir. Hem canlı olduğu düşünülen hem de ölü olduğu görülen fikirler dikkate alındığında, Nasırcılığın ilerici askeri müdahalelerle özdeşleştirilmiş milliyetçi tarafının laiklikle birleşmesi sivil Nasırcılığın devlet rejimine tabi olması anlamına gelmiş ve ordunun değişen ekonomik gücünden dolayı Nasırcılığın radikal bir değişim ideolojisi olmasını engellemiştir. Bilakis, Nasırcılık darbe karşıtlarına karşı yapılan sert müdahalelerin ideolojik zeminini teşkil etmiştir.

# **APPENDIX B**

# TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

## <u>ENSTİTÜ</u>

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	
Enformatik Enstitüsü	
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	

### **YAZARIN**

Soyadı : Şahin Adı : Canan Bölümü : Ortadoğu Çalışmaları

<u>**TEZIN ADI**</u> (İngilizce) : Resilience of the Nasserist Ideology in Egypt: From Its Emergence to the Arab Spring

	<b><u>TEZİN TÜRÜ</u></b> : Yüksek Lisans $$ Doktora	
1.	Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.	$\checkmark$
2.	Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.	$\checkmark$
3.	Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.	$\checkmark$

## TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: \_\_.03.2014