

City University of New York (CUNY)

## CUNY Academic Works

---

Dissertations, Theses, and Capstone Projects

CUNY Graduate Center

---

6-2017

### Back to Square One: Understanding the Role of the Egyptian Armed Forces

Ahmed A. Ahmed

*The Graduate Center, City University of New York*

[How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!](#)

More information about this work at: [https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc\\_etds/2069](https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/2069)

Discover additional works at: <https://academicworks.cuny.edu>

---

This work is made publicly available by the City University of New York (CUNY).

Contact: [AcademicWorks@cuny.edu](mailto:AcademicWorks@cuny.edu)

BACK TO SQUARE ONE: UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE  
OF THE EGYPTIAN ARMED FORCES

by

AHMED AHMED

A master's thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, The City University of New York

2017

© 2017

Ahmed Ahmed

All Rights Reserved

Back To Square One: Understanding The Role of The Egyptian Armed Forces  
by

Ahmed Ahmed

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Liberal  
Studies in satisfaction of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

---

Date

---

Jillian Schwedler

Thesis Advisor

---

Date

---

Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis

Acting Executive Officer

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

## ABSTRACT

Back To Square One: Understanding The Role of The Egyptian Armed Forces  
By

Ahmed Ahmed

Advisor: Jillian Schwedler

**Abstract:** Six years ago, in 2011 the Egyptian youth took to the streets across Egypt demanding freedom from the corrupt, autocratic, and authoritarian Mubarak government. Within days, tens of millions of Egyptians demanded the resignation of President Mubarak, who had ruled the country for 30 years. Millions of Egyptians were fed up with the rampant corruption of the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP). Democratic activists warned that presidential election slated for September 2011 were not going to be competitive, rather successional so that Mubarak's son Gamal would be president. Most analysts argue that the vast masses of protests severely damaged the ability of Mubarak to continue governing as the Arab Spring swept through the region. While the protests were significant, the conventional analysis misses the role the Egyptian military played in forcing the resignation of Hosni Mubarak in February of 2011. Discontent within the military establishment against the rule of Mubarak had been building up, before climaxing in 2011. Military officials held that the mismanagement of Egypt's economy was a national security threat even though the army controlled a significant portion of it. Top generals saw the increasing nature of liberalization and privatization of the economy as an insurmountable contest between capital-rich firms and a bogged down military bureaucracy. The influx of businessmen and non-military appointments of government officials and parliamentarians sidelined the historical influence of the military in Egyptian politics. With talks of hereditary succession pointing to educated British banker, Gamal Mubarak's rise to the political spotlight, the Egyptian military looked for the right moment to regain their lost status. When the Arab Spring protests began, so did the opportunity to

remove Mubarak from power. During the first few days of the protests, military establishment leaders openly refused to condemn demonstrators. Instead many declarations legitimized the protests by stating 'the demands of the people are legitimate and to be addressed.' With protesters calling for no less than Mubarak's resignation and the police force unable to control protests, the government looked for the military to reestablish law and order. In response, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, a body consisting of the generals of each branch of the armed forces, met without the commander-in-chief President Hosni Mubarak for the first time in the entirety of Mubarak's 30-year rule. The symbolic nature of that meeting and the statement by the military that it would not intervene to break up demonstrations effectively destroyed any hope for Mubarak's survival, who resigned and was arrested a few days later. Egyptians celebrated and praised the military for taking the side of the people, but unknown to most was whose interest the military acted in, which was not democratic.

## Table of Contents

Section I: Literature Review .....	Page 2
Section II: Historical Background of Egyptian Politics.....	Page 9
Section III: Mubarak Government (1981-2011) .....	Page 15
Section IV: 2011 Revolution and Military Intervention .....	Page 24
Section V: Military Political Resurgence.....	Page 30
Section VI: Morsi’s Battle With The Military .....	Page 35
Section VII: Military Dominance .....	Page 42
Section VIII: Conclusion.....	Page 44
Bibliography.....	Page 47

While other analysts focus on the role of the demonstrators, I conclude that the Mubarak government although severely threatened by the social movement was not shaken at all. The cause for his removal from power did not originate from the millions on the ground; rather it stemmed from the abandonment of Mubarak by the military, who let him fall from grace to protect their role in ruling Egypt. In my research, I explore the relationship between the 30-year reign of Mubarak and the Egyptian military. I analyze their interactions together with the factors of emerging opposition movements, youth discontent, and crony economic liberalization, as a method of explaining the military's actions during the uprisings. Using primary resources; including academic journals articles, books, government documents, and secondary sources; newspaper articles, and Arabic reports written and discussed on television about the subject, I provide an alternative explanation of the dynamics leading to the 2011 and 2013 reinstatement of military rule. Supported by evidence of the economic and political resurrection of the military post-2011 and 2013.

To do so, I first briefly describe the historical role of the Egyptian Military in society, politics, and the economy. Second, by exploring the relationship between the army and Egypt's two other previous Presidents Gamal Abdel Nasser (1952-1970) and Anwar Sadat (1970-1981), I emphasize how the military's autonomy and interests at many junctions are a point of contention with the government. Third, I analyze in-depth the relationship between Mubarak and the military during his 30-year reign. Showing how the relationship maintained periods of cooperation before splitting apart over different economic and political interests. Fourth, I revisit the 18-day uprising in doing so I provide a narrative of the events from the viewpoint of the military. Fifth, I track the post-Mubarak and Morsi phase by showing how the military has solidified its grip on Egypt, through a new military government. Lastly, concluding that uprisings



only succeeded in overthrowing two governments due to the army's intervention. That when analyzing the underlying interests of the military it becomes clear why they behaved in that manner.

### **Literature Review**

Completed works on the Egyptian revolution and post-revolutionary Egypt is diverse and covers a large range of topics. While some of the most popular literature surrounding the Arab Spring and the Egyptian revolution focuses on the role of social media and youth mobilization to account for the success of the movements, I differed in my approach. During my LR I looked for articles and books that related to the Egyptian military and the relationship between the state. Here I found that the literature addresses the military in these four ways 1: the civil-military relationship between the executive branch of government and the military, 2: economic interests the military was involved in, 3: the uprisings, and 4: post-2011 revolution transition phase and the role of the military during that period. What I looked to do was built on the existing literature to develop an analysis that centers on bringing to the forefront the role of the military in the 2011 and 2013 revolutions.

### ***Civil-Military Relations***

To understand the Egyptian military, Hillel Frisch argues that we need to view the institution as not encompassing a "guardian role" for the ruling government but as a separate institution with diverging interests. Using the David Pion-Berlin definition of a civil-military institutional framework, Frisch finds the conditions that produce effective relationships between a civilian government and military to be lacking in Egypt.

The reason for this he finds is the presence of civilians in the major defense institutions is missing. Second, the empowerment of defense ministries has grown from traditional advice and consent roles, to figures who make their own decisions. Third, the military's chain of command operates within itself at a different hierarchy. Within the Egyptian military structure exist a 23- member body called the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF). It is comprised of the top generals and high ranking officers from each branch of the army. However, instead of reporting to the president, the council answers to directly the Defense Minister and his appointed deputy. Decisions of war and troop mobilization are decided within the council and not the parliament or executive branch. Frisch concludes that the modus operandi of the Egyptian army is a high level of autonomy. For scholars analyzing the Arab Spring in the region, I found it necessary to understand how the relationship between the government and the larger security apparatuses affected the outcome of the revolutions.

As Peter Weber notes Tunisia and Egypt are today in such different places on the road to democracy. Tunisia's professional military has traditionally steered clear of politics, and when Ben Ali's government and fearsome security apparatus collapsed, the military remained neutral and was widely respected for that. In Egypt, the military has been the strongest political faction since the 1950s, and not only did it appear to take a side of the demonstrators, they played a vital role not only in removing President Hosni Mubarak but also his democratically elected successor, Mohamed Morsi<sup>1</sup>.

Eliezer Be'eri similarly described the Arab world as in a profound crisis of when it comes to transitioning to democratic rule. To overcome this obstacle, he argues for a bottom-up

---

<sup>1</sup>Weber, Peter. "How Tunisia Beat Egypt In The Democracy Game". *Theweek.com*. N.p., 2017. Web. 11 Mar. 2017.

revolutionary change that begins by alternating social structures of the institutions that affect government. In many of the Arab Republics, historically no force has played a larger role in reorganizing the system other than the officer corps. Military officers when empowered have carried changes altering the democratic transition<sup>2</sup>.

In the months after the 2011 revolt, the Egyptian military took steps that were not supportive of democracy nor human rights. More than 5,000 civilians and leaders of the revolution were brought to military tribunals, denied adequate legal representation and sentenced over dubious 'national security' crimes<sup>3</sup>. When Democratic activist rallied against these detentions, they were met with extreme violence. One of the first events of brutal military repression was the Maspero massacre. Soldiers killed 24 people, and over 200 were wounded in the violence<sup>4</sup>. The military and the ruling SCAF showed they had little tolerance for dissent during the period of transition.

### **Economic Empire & Patronage**

Abul-Magd Zeinab, exploring the patronage the officer corps enjoyed in Egypt, develops historical episodes that tell us of the great political leverage officers enjoyed. Zeinab does this by analyzing the economic control the Egyptian military holds using three key phases. First, the Camp David Accords in 1979 between Israel and Egypt, allowed the country to receive an average of 1.3 billion dollars of U.S aid and millions more from European nations. Second, in the 1990s when Egypt began implementing Economic Liberalization programs to receive IMF loans,

---

<sup>2</sup> Be'eri, E., 1966. The officer class in politics and society of the Arab East. Merhavaya: Sifriat Poalim [Hebrew].

<sup>3</sup> "Egypt: Military Trials Usurp Justice System". *Human Rights Watch*. N.p., 2017. Web. 4 Apr. 2017.

<sup>4</sup> "Cairo Clashes Leave 24 Dead After Coptic Church Protest - BBC News". *BBC News*. N.p., 2017. Web. 5 Apr. 2017.

and third, in the 2000s, when a ripple in the relationship between the government and the army arose, stemming from the privatization of State-owned enterprises.

Zeinab analyzes the growth of the Ministry of Military Production (MOMP) a separate entity from the Defense Ministry. He finds that MOMP operates a whole 30 factories across the country. Civilian products produced in these factories include; medical and diagnostic equipment; domestic appliances; fire extinguishers, drills, television receivers, computers; batteries, electric and water meters, cars, single engine aircraft, and a variety of foods<sup>5</sup>. As the liberalization process intensified in Egypt, so did the competition between private companies and the military. A predicament they were not happy to be in. One former Minister of MOMP general Sayed Meshal who ran the industry stated that revenue in 1999 accounted for nearly 2 billion Egyptian pounds a year (\$345 million) arising from the selling back of products to civilians. Still, the official revenues of the military remain a secret in the 'black box' as it is known in Egypt.

For this paper, I looked to confirm my political assumption that with the rise of a business elite, the advantage military held in production diminished. Nadia Farah in her book highlights the trend of privatization of many State-Owned Enterprises. Her findings suggest that the emergence of the business elite posed an economic threat to the military who enjoyed near domination in most areas of production. Describing that as private companies moved with more technologically advanced production techniques and a larger access to capital, the military struggled to innovate and expand. With Gamal Mubarak leading this charge, it is plausible to

---

<sup>5</sup> "Ministry Of Military Production - Special Weapons Agencies - Egypt". *Fas.org*. N.p., 2017. Web. 29 Mar. 2017.

believe the economic empire of the military would have ended had he taken power from his father.

Robert Springborg commenting on the expansive nature of involvement of the military in the economy says the question is not what sectors do they invest in, but rather: is there a sector that they do not invest in? Estimates have said the army accounts for anywhere between 10 to 40 percent of Egypt's entire economy<sup>6</sup>. Mubarak during his tenure had no issue in allowing the military to enter the economic frontier initially. In 1981, the nation had already brokered peace with arch rival Israel. The issue of independence, sovereignty, war and peace, was settled. New concerns moved onto public discussions such as infrastructure revitalization, and industrial productivity. To gain military support for his government, Mubarak endorsed pay raises, benefit housing and a diversification of the weapons portfolio. Springborg concluded that Mubarak might have been trying to pamper a major constituency as he sought to widen backing for other items on his political agenda, including efforts to promote Egyptian democracy and economic efficiency.

### **Uprisings**

When the revolt began, many analysts scrambled to understand what the military would do. Scholars like Ibrahim Karawan argued that the army did not want power because “it does not have much to offer, and it knows it.” Concluding that army leadership was keen to pursue rapid constitutional reform to prepare the way for free and fair elections<sup>7</sup>. Although the conditions leading up the revolt were not indicative that Mubarak nor the army were keen to allowing free

---

<sup>6</sup> Kholaf, Dahlia. "The Egyptian Army's Economic Juggernaut". *Aljazeera.com*. N.p., 2017. Web. 30 Mar. 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Karawan, Ibrahim A. "Politics and the Army in Egypt." *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 53 (2011): 43-50. JSTOR. Web. 25 Mar. 2017.

elections. Jeff Martini and Julie Taylor argue the military decided to intervene in the uprising because “The generals felt their influence slipping away as Mubarak disregarded their economic interests, ignored their advice on ministerial appointments, and organized a campaign to transfer power to his son against their wishes”<sup>8</sup>. However, they prematurely conclude that the actions of the military were not meant to “overthrow Mubarak”, rather, the intervention was only intended to reposition the power dynamics away from crony capitalism and the NDP.

These analyses miss key moments in the uprisings. One such example is the SCAF excluded Mubarak from their meeting. It also neglects the declarations issued by the military recognizing the demands of the people as legitimate and the proclamation that it would not disperse protesters. With demands for Mubarak to resign, the military took a de facto stand with the demonstrators.

Witold Mucha and Ahmed Khalifa see the military intervention as a signal of maintaining stability and imposing de-escalation measures. They argue that the role of armed forces from the onset of the protests applied a stabilizing function and not a political one. Explaining that military wanted to avoid conflict because it craves order. They conclude that the army did not open fire to prevent any identification of the military with Mubarak’s security forces. Understanding that repressive behavior by the military could have furthered activist to arm themselves to defend their cause<sup>9</sup>. The analysis is correct to point out that the military certainly views themselves as separate entities, in which the stability of the nation is not dependent on the

---

<sup>8</sup> Martini, Jeff. "Commanding Democracy in Egypt: The Military's Attempt to Manage the Future." *Foreign Affairs* 90.5 (2011): 127-37. *JSTOR*. Web. 7 Mar. 2017

<sup>9</sup> Mucha, Witold, and Ahmed Khalifia. "The Military In Egypt Peacemaker With Expiration Date?". *Journal of African Militaries* N/A.N/A (2017): 1-23. Print.

government in charge. The paper neglected to address the underlying interests the military works to achieve.

My analysis considers the literature in a way that incorporates the many arguments into one. Highlighting the interests of the military as a way of explaining their actions beyond just a security minded viewpoint.

### **Post-2011 Resurgence**

While many activists involved in the January 25th protests initially viewed the military as guardians of the transition, they came to realize that the military, led by the SCAF, was only interested in maintaining its superiority. As early as February 25th, 2011, the military began using force to remove protesters from Tahir Square and other areas of gathering. Curfews were imposed. Dina Bishara argued the military's role in the uprisings was a defensive response to protect the state, that happened to provide an opportunity to reclaim lost power. Following the SCAF transition period she find that Constitutional Proclamations issued by SCAF strengthened both the role of the military in politics and its autonomy from civilian institutions<sup>10</sup>. Army officers voiced their intention to see an article introduced in the future constitutions which guarantees the military's vision to "belong to the people" rather than to a government. Also ensuring financial and organizational independence of the armed forces from the presidency and parliament.

---

<sup>10</sup> Albrecht, Holger, and Dina Bishara. "Back on Horseback: The Military and Political Transformation in Egypt." *Middle East Law and Governance* 3 (2011): 13-23. Brill. Web. 5 Dec. 2016

### **Historical Background:**

The Egyptian army for six decades has been a solid institutional pillar of the modern Egyptian Republic. In 1952, a group of military officers headed by Gamal Abdel Nasser led a coup d'état against the British-backed monarchy of King Farouk. The officers aimed at not just removing the king, but at also creating a new political system. Running off popular support for the overthrow of the king, the officers moved to suppress political movements they labeled to be weak and corrupted by foreign influence. Power in the new system was consolidated into a highly centralized presidential system<sup>11</sup>, headed by a single political party called the Arab Socialist Union (ASU). Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt's first military president, in 1954 led the country through its post-colonial transition. The ASU drew its support from the populist, egalitarian policies it enacted. Abolishing formal titles, redistributing land ownership to peasant farmers, and having a populist economic approach, they allowed them to cement governing legitimacy.

Under Nasser's presidency from 1956-1970, the executive office was turned into an unchecked authority, which drew most political appointments from the military<sup>12</sup>. Civil society was curtailed, movements like the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and labor unions became illegal

---

<sup>11</sup> Angrist, Michele Penner, Nathan J. Brown, Emad Shahin, and Joshua Stacher. *Politics & Society in the Contemporary Middle East Chapter Egypt Page 218*. 2nd ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2013. Print.

<sup>12</sup> Angrist, 2013



under Law 32<sup>13</sup> which placed restrictions on the formation and activities of NGOs. Citizens faced incarceration for participating in any group deemed illegal by the government.

The Egyptian military emerging from a colonial army underwent modernization under Nasser. With the state using over \$216 million dollars in 1955<sup>14</sup> to expand the size of the military. The Pan-Arabism political and social ideology echoed by Nasser was the driving force behind growing the role of the military. The resources of the state were steered toward the military, whose engineers and contractors took the lead in land reclamation projects, public infrastructure development, the administration of essential commodities, and the domestic manufacturing of consumer appliances and electronics, as well as the production of industrial and agricultural inputs like steel and fertilizer. High-ranking members of the officer corps were also appointed to replace civilian factory managers<sup>15</sup>.

Nasser was convinced that Egypt had a stake in defending Arab nations from what he considered to be “imperialist Arab governments” and sought to expand officer corps ideology to the region. Nasser, ordered the dispatch of the Egyptian military and police for training missions to Yemen in 1954 and 1957<sup>16</sup>, to assist military officers in Yemen carry out a overthrow against the Saudi and British-backed monarchy. The intervention was a complete and utter failure for Nasser and the military. Labeled as Egypt’s Vietnam, the intervention caused the Egyptian

---

<sup>13</sup> Angrist, 2013

<sup>14</sup> "Gamal Abdel Nasser." New World Encyclopedia. World Encyclopedia, 25 May 2007. Web. 30 Jan. 2017. <[http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Gamal\\_Abdel\\_Nasser](http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Gamal_Abdel_Nasser)>.

<sup>15</sup> Hicham Bou Nassif, “Wedded to Mubarak: The Second Careers and Financial Rewards of Egypt’s Military Elite, 1981–2011,” Middle East Journal 67, no. 4 (Autumn 2013)

<sup>16</sup> Ferris, Jesse. *Nasser's Gamble: How Intervention in Yemen Caused the Six-Day War and the Decline of Egyptian Power*. Princeton: Princeton Page 32, 2013. Print.

economy to decline due to deteriorating US-Egyptian relations, leading to the ending of a vital food program upon which the Egyptian economy depended on<sup>17</sup>.

Egyptians began to feel disillusioned with the military government of Nasser. When the humiliating six-day war defeat occurred in 1967, there were hints that a collapse of the administration and the military was imminent. Across Egypt, riots broke out against the military, whom many Egyptians called traitors and cowards for failing to maintain territorial integrity over the Sinai Peninsula from Israeli aggression. The Pan-Arab dream of having the strongest army in the region suddenly disappeared because of gross negligence in its leadership<sup>18</sup>.

Nasser prepared his resignation speech in June 1967, claiming he was responsible for the swift defeat of Egypt's military forces. Nasser would later decide against resigning and instead offered 50 senior officers and members of the Egyptian ruling elite to stand trial on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 1968. They were indicted for crimes related to national security, including charges of plotting to overthrow the government<sup>19</sup>. Light sentences were handed down by a sympathetic court, but the military's supremacy in the public eye was severely diminished.

### **Early Protests Against Authoritarian Policies**

University students began leading protests against Nasser. Calling for the start of democratization in Egypt. Anwar Sadat, who at the time was Vice-President and a prominent officer in the military, met with student protesters to mediate relations between the government and them. Nasser agreed to concessions by ordering the holding of new elections, establishing a

---

<sup>17</sup> Ferris, 2013

<sup>18</sup> Karawan, Ibrahim A. 2011.

<sup>19</sup> Blanga, Yehuda. "Turmoil in Egypt – 1968–2011: The Status of the Armed Forces in Citizen Uprisings in Egypt." *Contemporary Politics* 20.2 (2014): 365-383(Page 5). Web. 8 Mar. 2017. <<http://www.tandfonline.com.proxy.library.csi.cuny.edu/toc/ccpo20/20/3#.VSRnxvnF-Qw>>.

new administration, and replacing military members of the government<sup>20</sup>. Nasser hoped to rally support by averting attention from the dire economic state of the nation to focus on preparing for a new battle against Israel.

When Gamal Abdel Nasser died in 1970, and Anwar Sadat became President, he sought to avoid the same mistakes that plagued his predecessor. Sadat realized that the oppressive ruling that brutally repressed speech, media, and dissent would not garner patience for his inevitable war against Israel. Sadat began to “demilitarize” the Egyptian state by significantly reducing the number of army officers in government positions, and ordering the military to focus more on preparing for war<sup>21</sup>. Sadat shifted the military’s expansive economic grip on industries to focus more narrowly on defense-related manufacturing. By 1980, Sadat’s last administration, less than five ministerial positions were held by military men, compared to 22 of 26 in 1964<sup>22</sup>.

Sadat’s “corrective revolution” as he called it, relaxed the implementation of Law 32 and allowed for NGOs, syndicates, and political groups to emerge. Under Sadat, civil society groups could pluralize the discourse of politics and economics. Discontent against Sadat’s opposition for a quick war with Israel grew quickly among students. It was in 1971 that the first unified opposition movements emerged. The Higher National Committee of Cairo University Students and the Student Union, held a 20,000-people strong demonstration against Sadat in Liberation Square<sup>23</sup>, known today as Tahir Square.

The protests were violently quelled by security forces, but their request was heard. Sadat quickly moved to restart diplomatic negotiations with Western powers to attain a peaceful

---

<sup>20</sup> Blanga, Yehuda.2014.

<sup>21</sup> Blanga, Yehuda. 2014.

<sup>22</sup> Springborg, Robert. "The President and the Field Marshal: Civil-Military Relations in Egypt Today." *MERIP Middle East Report* No. 147.Egypt's Critical Moment (1987): *JSTOR*. Web. 13 Feb. 2017.

<sup>23</sup> Blanga, Yehuda 2014

settlement over the Sinai Peninsula while seriously preparing for war. The students' demands were fulfilled on October 6<sup>th</sup> 1973, in the Yom Kippur War, which many Egyptians hold as the resurrection of the nation. It was the first time in post-colonial Egypt that an alternative force besides the military influenced government policy.

### **Prequel To 2011**

The war earned the Sadat government and the military a big boost in popularity. In the aftermath of the war, the Egyptian army faced the question of how their institution would survive a lack of hostilities. In government, they were already in transition to being another bureaucracy. Sadat, now entering negotiations with Western powers, held that economic liberalization was the path most necessary for Egypt's economic development.

Sadat's government began by privatizing large state-run firms and returned land that had been nationalized under Nasser to its former owners. The policy had the desired effect of attracting foreign investment. State-sponsored subsidies which many segments of the population relied on, needed to be removed for Egypt to receive a \$40 million dollar loan from the World Bank<sup>24</sup>. For the military, this was a threat to the egalitarian economic policies they implemented since 1952. Military generals warned Sadat that economic insecurity of the growing population would be a grave threat to Egyptian national security and advised him not to continue with these steps<sup>25</sup>.

The liberalization continued despite military opposition and caused enormous social gaps and rampant government corruption<sup>26</sup>. Cumulating into the bread riots of January 1977. The riots

---

<sup>24</sup> 1977: Egypt's Bread Intifada". *Libcom.org*. N.p., 2017. Web. 25 Mar. 2017.

<sup>25</sup> Nassef, Sharif. "Shifting Sands: Political Liberalization Of Egypt Since 1952 - Fair Observer". *Fair Observer*. N.p., 2017. Web. 21 Mar. 2017.

<sup>26</sup> Blanga, Yehuda 2014.

posed a significant threat to the stability of Sadat. Police were unable to control the outbreak of violence across the country, causing Sadat to order the military to help restore stability to the nation. Police stations, railways, and the headquarters of the ruling Egypt Arab Socialist Party in Cairo were attacked and set on fire.

The military refused to intervene unless the subsidies were reinstated first<sup>27</sup>. Sadat caved into the demands of the public and reversed his decision. Soldiers deployed to control the protests and participated in baking bread for citizens using wheat reserves stored by the military<sup>28</sup>. The riots and contention over subsidies showed how the military could use its strong coercive power of stability to make the government adhere to their interests. Had the bread riots continued without the military intervention, Sadat's government would have surely suffered damages at a time where he was securing the Camp David accords. The strongman image Sadat broadcast to world required a firm and stable government.

### **Death of Sadat**

In 1978, Anwar Sadat dissolved the ASU, symbolically ending Nasser's and the free officers' political legacy. A new party was formed called the National Democratic Party (NDP), where the chairperson was the President of the country. ASU leaders renounced their former party memberships and flocked to the new NDP in droves<sup>29</sup>. Leaving the policies and faces mostly the same as the ASU. Sadat remained chairman up until his assassination on October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1981, at a military celebration commemorating their victory over Israeli forces in 1973.

---

<sup>27</sup> Karawan, Ibrahim A. 2011.

<sup>28</sup> Mahr, Krista. "Bread Is Life: Food And Protest In Egypt | TIME.Com". *TIME.com*. N.p., 2017. Web. 15 Mar. 2017.

<sup>29</sup> Heiss, Andrew. "The Failed Management Of A Dying Regime: Hosni Mubarak Egypt's National Democratic Party and the January 25<sup>th</sup> Revolution." *Journal of Third World Studies* XXIX.1 (2012): 1-18. *JSTOR*. Web. 2 Mar. 2017.

Subversive conscripted Islamists within the army turned their guns on Sadat for signing the historic Camp David Accords in 1979, which recognized and normalized diplomatic relations with Israel.

### **The Emergence of Hosni Mubarak**

Hosni Mubarak, the former commander of the Egyptian Air Force and Vice-President, became Egypt's third president on October 7<sup>th</sup>, 1981. He became the new chairman of the NDP immediately after becoming President. Mubarak's first declaration as President was the enactment of Law 158/64, which placed Egypt under a perpetual state of emergency. Under the law, the President could at any time "whenever public security or order are threatened, by oral or written order carry out these acts: 1. Restrict people's freedom of assembly, movement, residence, or passage in particular times and places; arrest suspects or [individuals who are] dangerous to public security and order [and] detain them; allow searches of persons and locations without being restricted by the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code<sup>30</sup>, 2. Order the surveillance of letters of any type; supervise censorship; seize journals, newsletters, publications, editorials, cartoons, and any form of expression and advertisement before they are published, and close their publishing places"<sup>31</sup>.

The interior ministry and the Central Security Forces (CSF), both of which were run by NDP members, became the primary enforcers of the emergency law. CSF membership was around 300,000<sup>32</sup> shortly after Sadat's death. Empowering the security force was vital for Mubarak to have an alternative to the military's ambiguous support for the government. With a

---

<sup>30</sup> Emergency. Law article. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Emergency. Law article. 3.

<sup>32</sup> Springborg, Robert. 1987.

large police force equipped to intercept and repress opposition, the government would be free to implement their policies without fear of being dependent on the military for stability.

Mubarak at the same time began ushering in a similar but altered role for the military. The Ministry of Defense in 1981 created an economic arm called the National Service Products Organization (NSPO) separate from the MOMP. This arm of the military contributed to public infrastructure projects to produce cheap civilian goods for the middle and lower classes<sup>33</sup>. The NSPO had its budget and bank account cloaked from civilian oversight and immune from the Central Auditing Organization. Making its income and expenses secret from the public domain<sup>34</sup>. Under the Egyptian Constitution of 1971, no article legally mandated oversight of the military's annual budget or any of the related security and defense agencies.

Defense Minister Abu Ghazala in 1982 looked to transform the military into a for-profit institution for the country. Through a system of patronage, Ghazala was able to secure benefits for the officer corps not seen before in post-colonial Egypt. The military was no longer devoted exclusively to warfare preparation; it broadened activities dramatically into areas that are traditionally civilian<sup>35</sup>. The military began heading out into poor regions and started building up cities. Areas like Nasr city on the outskirts of Cairo were primarily made for military members and their families. The army would construct large apartment blocks using conscripted force as cheap labor and would sell back the estate to the rest of the population at a significant profit margin. Competition between the military and the private sector grew unbalanced. Civilian

---

<sup>33</sup>Abul-Magd, Zeinab. "The Egyptian Military in Politics and the Economy: Recent History and Current Transition Status." *Everyday Maneuvers: Military - Civilian Relations in Latin-America and the Middle East* 2 (2012): 1-6. *JSTOR*. Web. 15 Mar. 2017.

<sup>34</sup>Springborg, Robert. 1987.

<sup>35</sup>Springborg, Robert. 1987.

companies complained about the lack of access to building contracts handed out by the government.

In essence, Mubarak created a de facto pact with the military. He and the NDP would continue to support the military in expanding their commercial network in return for the stability they provided for backing his government. From the military's standpoint, they were able to rule but were not needed to govern. Mubarak, still was shown to be weak without military support. This became apparent when the CSF started rioting in February of 1986 over the low wages they received. For two days, the Interior Ministry was unable to maintain public order, like his predecessors Mubarak looked to the military to re-establish control over the country. The riots showcased to the NDP and Mubarak that the real protector and keeper of the government was the military.

### **Growing the Patronage: Economic Liberalization & Crony Capitalism**

Mubarak in the 1990s began edging Egypt towards full economic liberalization under the terms set forth by the \$370 million dollar loan provided by the International Monetary Fund (IMF)<sup>36</sup>. Dozens of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) were privatized, and state sponsored subsidies to the poor were cut dramatically<sup>37</sup>. Mubarak sold SOEs to fellow NDP members who in turn shared profits with the party and the government. Mubarak signed Egypt to the Economic Restructuring and Adjustment Program (ERSAP) in 1991, and with it<sup>38</sup> came the erosion of social safety nets. Income inequality between the wealthy and poor grew exponentially as the

---

<sup>36</sup> "Egypt to Get an I.M.F. Loan." The New York Times. The New York Times, 17 May 1991. Web. 2 March 2017.

<sup>37</sup> Heiss, Andrew. 2012.

<sup>38</sup> Farah, N., 2009. Egypt's political economy: power relations in development. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.



year 2000 approached, with 22% of the population living in poverty at just under \$2 a day<sup>39</sup>. The liberalization process effectively ended the state-run economy put in place by Nasser and the free officers.

Social protest at the time was minimal: as the government security apparatus was ruthless to any form of public dissent. Security forces were in the midst of putting down a violent Islamist insurgency in the ancient city of Luxor spearheaded by terror group called Gamaa al-Islamiyya. The terrorist campaign killed over 1,200 Egyptians from 1992- 1997. Mubarak instituted new regulations that began to dictate the time, place, and degree of all political discussions<sup>40</sup>. Secret police roamed public areas searching for dissidents. Thousands of alleged dissenters and other enemies of the state were incarcerated, tortured, and killed<sup>41</sup>.

### **Tensions Arise: The New Guard, Gamal Mubarak, And the Rise of The Business Elite**

The emergence of the business class into politics placed a third actor in the middle of the government and the military. Headed by Mubarak's youngest son Gamal, a British-educated banker, the NDP had an influx of businessmen who held differing economic intentions than that of the military. Political participation by the business elite in Egypt's parliament increased from 8 elected officials in 1995 to 150 by 2005 elections<sup>42</sup>.

These businessmen helped influence Egypt's increased privatization of many industries that the state once controlled. The steel industry, once a state-owned enterprise became a monopoly consisting of one company owned by infamous NDP member named Ahmed Ezz.

---

<sup>39</sup> The World Bank, 2011b. Egypt data at a glance. Available from: [http://devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/egy\\_aag.pdf](http://devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/egy_aag.pdf) [accessed March 2017].

<sup>40</sup> Joshua Stacher, "Parties Over: The Demise of Egypt's Opposition Parties

<sup>41</sup> Heiss, Andrew. 2012.

<sup>42</sup> Joya, Angela. 2011

Many Egyptians regard him as a corrupt and deplorable individual who created a business environment that made it impossible to buy an apartment due to the high construction cost of steel. Close associate of Gamal Mubarak, Ezz controlled two-thirds of the steel market, giving him the ability to control the price of an essential building material<sup>43</sup>. Both engaged in patronage relationship that was masked in the language of the free market. During the revolution of 2011 Ezz's name was condemned by protesters alongside with Hosni Mubarak.

For the military privatization was a significant threat to its vast economic empire<sup>44</sup>. State enterprises quickly passed into the hands of crony capitalists. As neoliberal reforms expanded, the military found itself with severe competition from their neoliberal counterparts with access to a greater amount of capital<sup>45</sup>. The military involved in many civilian production sectors such as steel, wheat, automobiles, food items, electronic appliances, and cement struggled to maintain a competitive edge. To offset against the Mubarak government campaign of economic liberalization and privatization, Egypt's military leaders diversified their financial portfolio. Beginning with financing technology from foreign and domestic private sector sources, as well as joint partnerships with a variety of nonmilitary businessmen and foreign interests. Embarking on projects such as building wind farms, medicine, and medical facilities. Leaving the Egyptian state liable for potential financial losses while the military enjoyed de facto control over revenues<sup>46</sup>.

---

<sup>43</sup> Joya, Angela. 2011.

<sup>44</sup> Abul-Magd, Zeinab. "The Egyptian Military in Politics and the Economy: Recent History and Current Transition Status." *Everyday Maneuvers: Military - Civilian Relations in Latin-America and the Middle East* 2 (2012): 1-6. *JSTOR*. Web. 15 Feb. 2017.

<sup>45</sup> Joya, Angela. 2011.

<sup>46</sup> Impact of Liberalization of Trade in Services: Banking, Telecommunications and Maritime Transport in Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey," Bilkent University (Turkey) Center for International Economics, and Cairo University, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, December 2005, 301.

Mubarak attempted to calm their fears by using the funds generated from Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to fill the pockets of loyal generals. By giving them something in return, Mubarak hoped for complete subordination to the office of the president<sup>47</sup>. Many viewed Mubarak's eagerness to attain the support of top generals as a safety mechanism for the succession of his son Gamal to the presidency. Since becoming president in 1981, Mubarak had refused to appoint a Vice-President or second in command, unlike his predecessors; even after narrowly escaping an assassination attempt on his life in June of 1995 in Ethiopia.

In the year 2000, Gamal took his first steps in the top echelons of politics when he became Assistant Secretary- General of the NDP: third in command to the chairperson<sup>48</sup> (Hosni Mubarak). The military establishment saw with increasing discomfort the rise of Gamal Mubarak as his father's heir apparent<sup>49</sup>.

More worrying for them was the events transpiring in Syria at the same time. Bashar Al Assad inherited power in a single-candidate election from his father Hafez Al-Assad when he died in the year 2000. Hafez was public about the succession of his son(s), unlike Mubarak. The Syrian parliament, shortly before Hafez died, enacted constitutional amendments that lowered the required presidential age from 40 to 34, the age of Bashar at the time<sup>50</sup>. Hafez made Bashar enlist in the military in 1999, and he quickly rose to Colonel ranking. This was a last-ditch

---

<sup>47</sup> Kurtzer, Daniel, and Mary Svenstrup. "Egypt's Entrenched Military." *The National Interest*. The National Interest, 10 Oct. 2010. Web. 10 Jan. 2017. <<http://nationalinterest.org/article/egypts-entrenched-military-7343>>.

<sup>48</sup> See *Figure 1 NDP Leadership Organizational Chart*, 2010 Heiss, Andrew. "The Failed Management Of A Dying Regime

<sup>49</sup> See Albrecht, Holger, and Dina Bishara. "Back on Horseback

<sup>50</sup> Brownlee, Jason. "The Heir Apparency of Gamal Mubarak." *The Arab Studies Journal* 15/16.2/1 (2007): 36-56. *JSTOR*. Web. 13 Feb. 2017.

attempt to garner support within the Syrian army after his long-serving military son Basil Assad abruptly perished in an automobile accident in 1994<sup>51</sup>.

The Egyptian Military and the public were not accepting to moves of Gamal's rise to attaining the presidency because Egyptians viewed this as a step back towards the familial rule. They joked that Egypt was returning to the days of the pharaohs except without the vast amounts of gold. Speculation of succession was avoided by Mubarak and the government until it became unavoidable in the last days of the government.

### **The Illusion of Political Competition**

The NDP under the influence of Gamal and what political scientists in Egypt referred to as the "new guard" (comprised of business elites and young, affluent members) of the party, introduced a constitutional amendment in Parliament that made it possible for the first time in Egypt's history to hold direct presidential elections slated for September 2005<sup>52</sup>. Democratic activist viewed this as a positive step for democratization. Political parties in Egypt had grown substantially over the years. Notable groups included April 6<sup>th</sup>, a youth-centered political party, and the Egyptian Movement for Changed known as *Kifaya*<sup>53</sup>, which translates to "Enough"<sup>54</sup>, a direct reference to the frustration with the long tenure of Mubarak. For the first time they could bring forward to the public discourse a wide range of topics from economic policy and societal issues, to police brutality.

---

<sup>51</sup> Brownlee, Jason. 2007.

<sup>52</sup> Brownlee, Jason. "A New Generation of Autocracy in Egypt." University of Austin (2007): 1-13. UOA, 2 Mar. 2007. Web. 22 Jan 2017

<sup>53</sup> Angrist, Michele Penner, Nathan J. Brown, Emad Shahin, and Joshua Stacher. Politics & Society in the Contemporary Middle East *Chapter Egypt Page 229*. 2nd ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2013. Print.

Mubarak announced his bid for re-election at the age of 77, and the opposition rallied around presidential candidate Ayman Noor of the Future Party, who became the first person in Egypt's history to challenge a sitting president. The elections were marred by accusations of police intimidation against opposition voters. Independent observers and press were prohibited from overseeing the elections. In the end, Mubarak won with 88.6% of the vote<sup>55</sup>. Opposition members questioned the legitimacy of the elections. Noor was subsequently arrested by security forces short after on charges of forging elections documents and was sent to prison for five years, where he was subjected to torture before being released on medical grounds in 2009.

Mubarak promised in his new presidential term to appoint a vice-president, further encourage political freedoms, and to address the economic poverty many faced. However, fears in the military and public of hereditary- succession grew when Mubarak refused to designate a vice-president<sup>56</sup>. Citizens encountered rising costs in July of 2006 as the government increased the prices of transportation, electricity, and communications, placing further pressures on workers' limited incomes<sup>57</sup>, coupled with a steady rise of inflation. Mubarak sought to counter any hint of instability by increasing the budget of the CSF and the interior ministry headed by despised Habib Al Hadley from \$583 million in 2002 to \$3.3 billion in 2008 compared to the army's budget that merely doubled<sup>58</sup>. The government ensured that opposition movements, demonstrations, and elections were carefully monitored and stifled. Egypt drifted deeper into a police state, rather than a military state.

---

<sup>55</sup> Heiss, Andrew. 2012.

<sup>56</sup> Frisch, Hillel. "The Egyptian Army and Egypt's 'Spring'." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36.2 (2013): 180-204. Web. 20 Jan. 2017.

<sup>57</sup> Joya, Angela. 2011.

<sup>58</sup> Frisch, Hillel. 2013.

## The End Of Mubarak

2011 was set to be Mubarak's final year as President. Elections were set for September 2011. Public opinion polls conducted, as Arafat reports, say Egyptians realized the NDP were actively promoting Gamal and selling his image to the public. In the years and months pre-dating the revolution, Gamal had been accompanying his father on many international visits, including to the United States. These were measures taken to prepare him for the presidency. However, the polls also indicated that not all Egyptians saw a Gamal presidency as a negative aspect. To some, the Mubarak family had been a pillar of stability and economic growth. Tourism industries boomed under him, and a middle-class began to slowly emerge. Arafat concedes, overcoming public opposition may have been possible, but overcoming his lack of military affiliation and persuading the generals to back him is an entirely different task.<sup>59</sup>

Leaked WikiLeaks cables signal that hypotheses might be true. In one these tapes, Defense Minister Hussein Tantawi can allegedly be heard strongly objecting to Gamal, due to his economic policies. Advising his deputies that Gamal would not only threaten their interests but the interests of Egypt as a whole<sup>60</sup>. Other senior military officials held that it would wipe out the glory of the July 1952 Revolution (the Free Officers' Revolution)<sup>61</sup>. A collision course between the army and the government looked unavoidable.

The last two years of the Mubarak government (2008–2010) witnessed an increase in the number of demonstrations, protests, sit-ins and strikes by workers<sup>62</sup>. The Military advised the

---

<sup>59</sup> 'Arafāt, 'Alā' al-Dīn, and 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Arafāt. *Hosni Mubarak And The Future Of Democracy In Egypt*. 1st ed. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Print.

<sup>60</sup> Frisch, Hillel. 2013.

<sup>61</sup> Blanga, Yehuda. "Turmoil in Egypt – 1968–2011: The Status of the Armed Forces in Citizen Uprisings in Egypt." *Contemporary Politics* 20.2 (2014): 365-383(Page 8). Web. 8 Mar. 2017.

<sup>62</sup> Joya, Angela. 2011.

government to implement more wage increases and subsidies to curb the growing poverty rate that neared 27% in 2010. Nearly 40% of the population by 2011 lived on under two dollars a day<sup>63</sup>. The social upheaval was brewing. It just needed a spark.

Signs of a pending revolt came in April of 2008 when workers of the textile industry staged a general strike in the city of Mahalla. The opposition movement called for labor unions across the country to join in. Doctors, engineers, and public workers vowed to stop working. The government and the CSF warned that they would “take necessary and resolute measures toward any attempt to demonstrate, impede traffic, hamper work in public facilities or to incite civil-disobedience this”<sup>64</sup>. Riot police arrested and beat workers, amidst a massive deployment of CSF stifled protests. The government succeeded in bottling up the anger temporarily, but citizens tolerance for the status quo grew shorter by the day.

### **Revolution 2011**

The trigger for revolt came in neighboring Tunisia on December 17<sup>th</sup>, 2010, when a street vendor named Mohammed Bouazizi set himself on fire in front of local government building, in Sidi Bouzid, a rural town in Tunisia<sup>65</sup>. Images of his self-immolation after being humiliated by security forces who destroyed his products and assaulted him were broadcast throughout the Arab world through social media, television, and newspapers. Protests engulfed Tunisia until they reached the capital of Tunis on December 27<sup>th</sup>. President Ben Ali, who had ruled the small

---

<sup>63</sup> SPIEGEL ONLINE, Germany. "The Arab Revolution: A Nile Insurgency And Uncertain Egyptian Future - SPIEGEL ONLINE - International". *SPIEGEL ONLINE*. N.p., 2017. Web. 11 Mar. 2017.

<sup>64</sup> Slackman, Michael. "Day of Angry Protest Stuns Egypt." *The New York Times*. NYT, 06 Apr. 2006. Web. 2 Feb. 2017. <[http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/06/world/africa/06iht-egypt.4.11708118.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/06/world/africa/06iht-egypt.4.11708118.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0)>.

<sup>65</sup> Gelvin, James L. *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford UP, 2012. Print.

Arab nation for 25 years, found his government crumbling without the support of the military. He fled to Saudi Arabia, leaving a caretaker government in charge.

Egyptians watched the events transpire in Tunisia and felt empowered to act. Like Mohammed Bouazizi was the Egyptian case of Khalid Said, whose bloodied tortured body was left outside a police station in Alexandria after being arrested at a café a night before in June 2010. Graphic images of his body circulated throughout Egyptian private media. Protests were held in Tahir Square, Alexandria, Luxor and the other main cities in July of 2010 denouncing police brutality<sup>66</sup>.

The April 6<sup>th</sup> movement in early January of 2011 named the initial protest against Mubarak “We are all Khaled Said”. Viral videos of young Egyptians vowing to partake in the protests quickly spread online. January 25<sup>th</sup> became a save-the-day event, which fell on National Police Day. Government officials downplayed the significance of the protests stating that “the youth just want to blow off some steam.” Mubarak was confident in the ability of the CSF to maintain order saying, “Egypt is not Tunisia.”

Tens of thousands of protesters flocked to protest meet ups across Egypt’s major cities. Security forces initially allowed protesters to enter public squares but quickly began attempting to disperse crowds with tear gas, concussion grenades, rubber bullets, and live ammunition. Injuries and fatalities mounted quickly. January 28<sup>th</sup> saw the fiercest of street battles between protesters and CSF; images of the carnage on the street stoked fears of a coming civil war.

When the protests intensified, Mubarak attempted to fulfill some overdue demands. He appointed the country's head of intelligence Omar Suleiman to the post of vice-president, and

---

<sup>66</sup> Shenker, Jack. "Mohamed Elbaradei Joins Egyptian Sit-In Over Police Death Case". *the Guardian*. N.p., 2017. Web. 29 Mar. 2017.



Ahmad Shafiq, a former chief of the air force, was selected prime minister in a cabinet reshuffle<sup>67</sup>. Mubarak attempted to appease the people by dissolving the primary leadership structure of the NDP. He remained party chairman but appointed Hossam Badrawy a centrist liberal as the secretary-general<sup>68</sup>. Ahmed Izz, the steel tycoon, resigned from the NDP as protesters burned portraits of his face in Tahir Square. Protesters targeted the NDP headquarters situated two blocks from the historic center of the protests in Cairo. The building was set ablaze by the demonstrators, after being ransacked.

### **Military Intervention**

With carnage on the streets, the military emerged openly on the political scene for the first time in years. Declaring that it supports a democratic transition according to the constitutional plan offered by the leaders of both sides. Demonstrators developed the narrative of military backing because that was what they wanted to believe. Egyptians viewed the military as the only non-elitist institution because it is made up of conscripted force. More importantly, they wanted the army to see itself as separate from the corrupt government. Hoping that by appealing to the moral stature of the military, they would make it difficult for the military generals to take a decisive stand for the government, despite the bias of senior officers who saw the president as a source of generous patronage<sup>77</sup>.

According to Springborg, during the days before Mubarak stepped down, the military was enjoying wide, popular support while other elements of the government absorbed popular anger, despite being subordinate to the military<sup>69</sup>. The military was able to exploit the

---

<sup>67</sup> "Mubarak Names His Deputy and New PM." *Al Jazeera English*. Al Jazeera News, 29 Jan. 2011. Web. 10 Feb. 2017. <<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/2011129155142145826.html>>.

<sup>68</sup> Heiss, Andrew. 2012.

<sup>69</sup> Ken Stier. —Egypt's Military- Industrial Complex. || Time Online. 9 Feb. 2011. Web. 11 Feb. 2012.

revolutionary sentiments of Egyptians to justify its withdrawal as the backer of the Mubarak's government. In playing with these feelings, the military aligned itself with the efforts of protesters to the extent that it could be seen as protecting the people against a now illegitimate government. As such, many of the protesters were undeterred by violence because they knew the military would step in to protect them.

Discussions about a post-Mubarak Egypt was in full-swing across the country, and the noose around the government neck grew by the day. Protesters overwhelmed the CSF, leading to a majority of officers defecting and withdrawing from the streets. Mubarak summoned the military deployment into the streets to restore order by enforcing a curfew in the main cities. On January 30<sup>th</sup> 2011, tanks, armored personnel carriers, and republican guards were stationed in Egypt's cities. Protesters cheered the military as liberators as they entered city centers and squares. Soldiers did nothing to hold back tens of thousands of demonstrators defying the curfew and even moved armored vehicles in front of a crowd to defend against attacks by remaining CSF members and hired thugs<sup>70</sup>.

The Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF), a military body consisting of 23 top generals from the branches of the armed forces met on February 10<sup>th</sup>, in the absence of the commander-in-chief and newly appointed Vice President Suleiman<sup>71</sup>. This was the third time in its history that they convened without the commander-in-chief, the previous times occurred in 1967, and 1973 both of which took place during wartime. They released a strong message after the meeting stating that the military would not fire nor disperse protesters. Adding that the

---

<sup>70</sup> Kirpatrick, David. "Egyptians Defiant as Military Does Little to Quash Protests." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 29 Jan. 2011. Web. 18 Mar. 2017. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/30/world/middleeast/30-egypt.html?pagewanted=all>>

<sup>71</sup> Frisch, Hillel. 2013.

people's demands were legitimate<sup>72</sup>. The SCAF in series of press communiqués added “honest people refused the corruption and demanded reforms, we warn against touching the security and safety of the nation and the people<sup>73</sup>. Both the public and the military shared the same objective, the removal of Mubarak, and an end to the government.

The Mubarak government perhaps sensing that without the CSF crushing protesters, and with the reluctance of the military to intervene on their behalf, that the end had come. Instead of having a humiliating public military coup, the government decided on portraying a dignified exit instead. Omar Suleiman on the night of February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011, read Mubarak's final public statement announcing his resignation, and announcing governing power would be given to the SCAF. Historically marking an end to the 30-year rule of Mubarak.

The actions of the military went widely unestimated in the media during the 2011 revolution for understandable reasons. Many credited the protesters' non-violent measures and social media usage as the root for the collapse of the government. Hirschkind argues “activist bloggers from across broad political spectrums were brought together online through a shared sense of what were the most pressing policy challenges Egyptians faced”<sup>74</sup>. The unification of rivals on social media indeed created an imminent threat to the government. This was made evident by the event on January 29<sup>th</sup>, 2011 when Egyptians lost all cell phone and internet service. The shutdown caused a 90 percent drop in data traffic to and from Egypt, crippling an important communications tool used by antigovernment protesters and their supporters to

---

<sup>72</sup> "Egypt Protests: Army Rules out the Use of Force." *BBC News*. British Broadcasting Channel, 31 Jan. 2011. Web. 10 Feb 2017. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12330169>>.

<sup>73</sup> "Statement From the Supreme Council of the Egyptian Armed Forces." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 10 Feb. 2011. Web. 10 Feb. 2017. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/11/world/middleeast/11egypt-military-statement.html>>

<sup>74</sup> Hirschkind, Charles. "From The Blogosphere To The Street: Social Media And Egyptian Revolution." *Oriente Moderno* Anno 91.Nr. 1, BETWEEN EVERYDAY LIFE AND POLITICAL REVOLUTION: THE SOCIAL WEB IN THE MIDDLE EAST (2011): 61-74. JSTOR. Web. 22 Feb 2017.

organize and to spread their message<sup>75</sup>. Despite the shutdown, protesters managed to gather in protest areas, due to networking structures of civil society.

Others like Albrecht and Bishara argue that the military was reluctant to intervene in the uprising but did so because they feared a larger crisis. They state “the military’s intervention here could be seen as an attempt to manage the unfolding crisis temporarily.... it was not clear that the army had ambitious plans to assume a more prominent role in politics”<sup>76</sup>. While the military craves order, it had shown in the past that the survival of the government was not mutually exclusive to stability. Showcased shortly after February 18<sup>th</sup> when Mubarak, Gamal, Alaa (Mubarak’s oldest son), Habib Al Hadley, Ahmed Izz, and other cronies of the government were immediately placed under arrest by the military. The military charged them with corruption, killing protesters, embezzlement, and betraying the public trust<sup>77</sup>.

### **Solidifying Gains: Post-Mubarak Transition**

Pro-democracy activists were elated with the military’s action during the 18-day uprising, and they looked for them to move the process forward. For the army, their interest was reestablishing control over the country. The belief in building a democratic political system remained low on the priority list. In the months after the 2011 revolution, Egypt did experience some small but significant moves towards democracy. The SCAF legalized political parties that were once banned. Instituted presidential terms limits, strengthened judicial oversight of

---

<sup>75</sup> Richtel, Matt. "Egypt Cuts Off Most Internet and Cell Service." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 28 Jan. 2011. Web. 26 Feb. 2017.

<sup>76</sup> See Albrecht, Holger, and Dina Bishara. "Back on Horseback: The Military and Political Transformation in Egypt."

<sup>77</sup> Shenker, Jack, and Adam Gabbatt. "Hosni Mubarak Detained over Corruption Allegations." *The Guardian*. 13 Apr. 2011. Web. 10 Mar. 2017. <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/13/hosni-mubarak-detained-corruption-allegations>>.

elections, and created a more transparent process for the registration of political parties<sup>78</sup>. These measures not only satisfied the demands of the revolutionaries but guaranteed the military that no powerful executive would emerge to face them. The diversity of the political parties also ensured that an NDP similar monopoly on power would be impossible to develop.

In March 2011, the SCAF declared a constitutional declaration that unilaterally amended 55 provisions of the 1971 constitution. The most significant amendments empowered the military's interest. It legally prohibited civilian oversight of the army's budget, mandated the military would elect a defense minister from its ranks rather than be appointed, declared that decisions of war rested solely with the SCAF, and affirmed not to take presidential opinions into considerations<sup>79</sup>.

The generals sought to maintain their economic and political status within a demanding population. The military feared that prolonged public governing of the country would lead to growing backlash against them. However, relinquishing power before securing their stake in Egypt's future was also counterproductive. Activists became discontent with the prolonged response of authorities in bringing accused killer cops to judicial proceedings. They held that remnants, called *Faloul* in Arabic, Mubarak officials within the security apparatus, remained in control. According to Norton "five million Egyptians worked for the government. This included a multitude of security forces that are dedicated to controlling political space, ferreting out dissent, and short-circuiting even innocuous challenges to the state.... the internal security

---

<sup>78</sup> Martini, Jeff. 2011

<sup>79</sup> Egyptian Armed Forces. Supreme Council Of The Armed Forces. *Constitutional Declaration*. Egy.gov. Egyptian Government, 1 Apr. 2011. Web. 10 Mar. 2017.  
<[http://www.cabinet.gov.eg/AboutEgypt/ConstitutionalDeclaration\\_e.pdf](http://www.cabinet.gov.eg/AboutEgypt/ConstitutionalDeclaration_e.pdf)>

apparatus was largely untouched by the ‘Revolution’<sup>80</sup>. In July of 2011, protesters took to the streets denouncing the military’s failure to address the deteriorating economic status adequately<sup>81</sup>.

In response, a clamp down on democratic activists from 2011- 2012 led to over 7,000 people, including bloggers, journalists, and protesters, being tried in closed military trials<sup>82</sup>. Reports of women being subjected to cruel and humiliating “virginity tests” drew widespread international condemnation against the SCAF<sup>83</sup>. The initial positive image the military gained during the revolution began to fade away as numerous, successive blunders and missteps highlighted its self-interested political and economic motives. The events weakened its popularity and called into question the sincerity of its role as the defender of the Egyptian state<sup>84</sup>.

The SCAF moved quickly to hold parliamentary elections, hoping to shift scrutiny to civilian leaders. Newly formed political parties scrambled to develop electoral networks across Egypt. Elections were slated for November 2011, and only Islamist parties like the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and their political offshoot the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) and the ultra-conservative Islamic Salafist Nour Party had pre-existing networks that assisted them in securing votes. Democratic and youth activists accused the military of agreeing to early elections as a part of a pact with Islamist groups. As upheaval grew, the Muslim Brotherhood actively reined in its

---

<sup>80</sup> Norton, Richard. "The Return of Egypt's Deep State." *Journal of Contemporary World Affairs* 112.758 (2013): 338-45. JSTOR [JSTOR]. Web. 16 Mar. 2017.

<sup>81</sup> Shenker, Jack. "Protests Spread in Egypt as Discontent with Military Rule Grows." *The Guardian*. Guardian, 10 July 2015. Web. 25 Feb. 2017.

<sup>82</sup> Martini, Jeff. 2011.

<sup>83</sup> I, A. "Amnesty International." *Egypt: A Year after 'virginity Tests', Women Victims of Army Violence Still Seek Justice*. Amnesty International Report, 12 Mar. 2012. Web. 25 Jan. 2017.

<sup>84</sup> Kurtzer, Daniel, and Mary Svenstrup. "Egypt's Entrenched Military." *The National Interest*. The National Interest, 10 Oct. 2010. Web. 10 Mar. 2017 <<http://nationalinterest.org/article/egypts-entrenched-military-7343>>.

young supporters. Discouraging them from participating in anti-SCAF protests in the months leading up to the parliamentary and presidential elections of 2012<sup>85</sup>.

Secular parties failed to establish support bases in the few short months after being legally established. Their failure to do so can be attributed to the oppressive atmosphere they operated in under Mubarak. While the MB and other Islamist groups were banned during the governments of Nasser, Sadat, and Mubarak, were able to form support through charities, Islamic schools, mosques, and free health clinics.

Islamist parties won in a landslide fashion claiming 358 out of 508 seats in parliament, giving them a majority of 66 out of 100 seats on the parliamentary constitutional committee tasked with drafting Egypt's post-revolution Constitution. Egyptians, especially the minority Coptic Christian community feared that Islamization of Egypt would lead to greater religious sectarianism. Many anticipated an Algerian civil war scenario, where in the 1990s, the military-ruled government of Colonel Chadli Bendjedid legalized political parties and an Islamist group similar to the MB called the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) became the prominent political adversary to the government. In Algeria, the military hoped "none of the new political parties would be able to amass sufficient support to challenge truly the military-backed National Liberation Front (FLN). However, it miscalculated, for Islamist parties were organizing themselves rapidly increasing their support bases".<sup>86</sup> The FIS was able to win parliamentary elections in 1990. Their victory caused the Algerian military to annul the election results, causing an armed rebellion that lasted from 1990-1998, killing a hundred thousand Algerians.

---

<sup>85</sup> "Anti-SCAF Egyptians Throng Tahrir Square". *Aljazeera.com*. Web. 11 Mar. 2017.

<sup>86</sup> Angrist, Michele Penner, and Yahia H. Zoubir. *Politics & Society in the Contemporary Middle East Chapter Algeria Page 189*. 2nd ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2013. Print.

Sensing similarities to Algeria, the SCAF in July of 2011 introduced constitutional provisions that gave them the legal basis to intervene in Egyptian politics under a broad array of circumstances, including to protect the secular nature of the state<sup>87</sup>. This was an early indication that showed the SCAF had limited trust with Islamist groups. Presidential elections were divided into two rounds slated for May and June of 2012, giving political parties barely enough time to prepare candidates for elections. The Egyptian military stated for the first time that it would not field a candidate for President, leaving the door open for a civilian president. The MB, the largest political bloc in parliament vowed not to field a candidate for president. Many saw this as political rhetoric at the time to allay fears of a power grab by Islamist forces.

Twenty-three candidates filed to run for president; each with diverse backgrounds and affiliations, giving Egyptians a real chance to choose a candidate that suited them. Not wanting their majority in parliament to be triumphed by the eventual executive, the MB reversed course and decided on fielding a presidential candidate with Mohamed Morsi.

The final round of elections pitted Morsi against Ahmad Shafiq the last Prime Minister under Mubarak in a highly-boycotted election round. Many Egyptians felt that choosing between an Islamist and a Mubarak crony did not represent the demands of the revolution for real change. Morsi picked up 51% of the vote with 13.2 million ballots, compared to Shafiq's 12.3 million votes at 49%<sup>88</sup>. The SCAF, before transitioning power to Morsi, ordered the dissolution of parliament on June 14<sup>th</sup> 2012, through the Supreme Constitutional Court. The court cited "misapplication of rules for independent candidates" during the election process as a significant

---

<sup>87</sup> Martini, Jeff. 2011.

<sup>88</sup> Agency, Political. "Celebration in Egypt as Morsi Declared Winner." - *Al Jazeera English*. Al Jazeera News, 12 June 2012. Web. 30 Jan. 2017.



violation of constitutional principles<sup>89</sup>. Islamist labeled the dissolution as a coup but stopped short of calling for demonstrations, as the committee tasked with writing the constitution was left untouched. The SCAF final decree on June 17<sup>th</sup>, 2012 removed significant foreign policy decision-making powers from the executive and removed national security duties from the president. The election of Morsi looked to be symbolic rather than substantial compared to the vast powers the SCAF wielded from the barracks.

Supporters of the democratic process argued that the Egyptian military should adopt the Turkish army model. As Sakallioglu describes in *The Anatomy of the Turkish Military* “The most crucial feature of the Turkish military's political autonomy, which in turn distinguishes it from armies elsewhere in the Third World, is its acceptance of the legitimacy of both democracy and civilian rule”<sup>90</sup>. While the Egyptian military recognizes “rule” whether it be democratic or autocratic it does so when its interests are aligned with that of the ruling government. The Turkish military more often finds their interests aligning with the government. For example, the Turkish military now favors the capitalist market economy system over the state-run economy, a vast difference from the Egyptian military’s protection of their economic system. Similarities between both armies rest on their belief in defending the nature of the secular state. In September of 2012 over 300 Turkish military members were put on trial accused of plotting a coup to prevent the Islamization of Turkish society from policies enacted by the Erdogan government. Turkey’s strict secularism was engraved into the Muslim-majority country by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, and they feared that that vision was slipping away<sup>91</sup>. This type of subordination and

---

<sup>89</sup> Kirpatrick, David. "Blow to Transition as Court Dissolves Egypt's Parliament." The New York Times. The New York Times, 14 June 2012. Web. 5 May 2015.

<sup>90</sup> Sakallioglu, Umit Cizre. "The Anatomy of the Turkish Military's Political Autonomy." *Comparative Politics* 29.2 (1997): 151. JSTOR. Web. 5 Mar 2017.

<sup>91</sup> Time, Magazine. "Turkey's Massive Military Trial Opens Old Wounds and New Anxieties | TIME.com." World 12 Sept. 2012. Web. 05 Feb 2017.

vulnerability of officers at the hands of the ruling government was a scenario the Egyptian military worked to avoid during the one-year rule of Morsi.

### **Morsi's Battle With The Military**

In jostling with the military for power, Morsi successfully sidelined the old guard of the SCAF. August 2012 saw the retirement of Mubarak-era officials, with defense minister Tantawi, army chief of staff Sami Anan and other senior generals forced into retirement<sup>92</sup>. Morsi signaled moves towards aggressively reclaiming the political power that the military had enjoyed since the fall of Hosni Mubarak.

In November of 2012, recognizing a legal decision ordering the dissolution of the committee writing the constitution by Egypt's High Court, Morsi issued a presidential decree, giving his decisions immunity from judicial oversight. He defended his actions by "portraying his order as an attempt to fulfill popular demands for justice and protect the transition to a constitutional democracy"<sup>93</sup>. Revolutionary groups decried the move as a betrayal of their claims. They quickly organized protests around the presidential palace, resulting in the deaths of ten people mostly anti-Morsi demonstrators. Human Rights Watch charged that Morsi's December 6<sup>th</sup> speech where referred protesters as "hired thugs", inflaming tensions, "Instead of condemning illegal detentions and abuse right outside the presidential palace, President Morsi spoke out against the victims"<sup>94</sup> the report concluded. The military decided to intervene as

---

<sup>92</sup> Fahim, Kareem. "In Upheaval for Egypt, Morsi Forces Out Military Chiefs." The New York Times. The New York Times, 12 Aug. 2012. Web. 7 Jan 2017.

<sup>93</sup> Kirpatrick, David. "Citing Deadlock, Egypt's Leader Seizes New Power and Plans Mubarak Retrial." The New York Times. The New York Times, 22 Nov. 2012. Web. 7 Feb 2017.

<sup>94</sup> "Egypt: Investigate Brotherhood's Abuse of Protesters." Human Rights Watch. HRW, 12 Dec. 2012. Web. 7 Mar 2017.

unrests grew, positioning themselves carefully between protesters and the palace, appearing reluctant to endorse or condemn the movement<sup>95</sup>.

Legal scholars argued the declaration was unprecedented, something the Mubarak government never attempted over the course of 30 years. Morsi's defiance gave him the upper-hand as the committee survived legal scrutiny. Islamists rushed to complete the constitution amid a boycott by the minority secular forces serving on the committee.

The political-Islam orientated constitution passed in a referendum held in December 2012. Secularist and human rights groups criticized the document as overreaching and imposing: referring to articles "regulating women's role as caregivers"<sup>96</sup>. The military's role in the new document was enhanced giving them the "authority to put civilians on trial in military courts, and the task of adopting strategies for establishing security, identifying security threats, and taking actions to address them"<sup>97</sup>. Also guaranteed in the constitution was an exemption from the ban on forced labor allowing for the continuation of the military's conscript labor system and secrecy for the military's institutional finances.

Maneuvering through political obstacles, Morsi sought to find common ground with the army in the economic sector. In late 2012, Morsi unilaterally declared an end to the privatization of public sector companies. In an attempt to save military factories set for sell-offs under economic restructuring plans. February 2013, an announcement posted on the FJP's official party website revealed that the MOMP had acquired the failed and highly indebted Al-Nasr

---

<sup>95</sup> Mohyeldin, Ayman. "Keeping Options Open: Egypt's Military Maintains Watchful Eye on Politics." NBC News. N.p., 16 Dec. 2012. Web. 7 Mar 2017

<sup>96</sup> Alami, Mona. "Egypt Constitution Will Be Bad News for Women, Activists Say." USA Today. Gannett, 13 Jan. 2013. Web. 7 Mar 2017.

<sup>97</sup> "Egypt's New Constitution: How It Differs from Old Version." VOA. Voice of America, 22 Dec. 2012. Web. 7 Mar 2017.

Automotive Manufacturing Company<sup>98</sup>. The manufacturing and assembly of passenger cars and other nonmilitary vehicles have always been central to the economic fortunes of Egypt's military, as the technologies, facilities, and equipment made available through the collaborative manufacturing of military vehicles can also be used in the production of civilian vehicles sold by the military on the domestic market.

The thaw between the two groups emerged when plans relating to the Suez Canal expansion project strained the relationship. Ever since its opening in 1869, the canal has been a focal point in Egyptian nationalism, something the military has abused to declare necessity to control for themselves. For many years the military envisioned turning the Suez Canal into a major logistics hub and center of heavy manufacturing. The military's economic planners made various gregarious proposals to establish solar, wind, and geothermal power stations in and around Suez to capitalize on the area's industrial manufacturing potential.

The military's companies would play key roles in constructing and providing equipment for such projects, as the MOMP have factories capable of manufacturing things like industrial plants, steel, and textiles. FJP officials announced plans in early 2013 to turn the canal into a global logistics hub; it seemed the political will and state support for such a project was finally available<sup>99</sup>.

Egyptian government consultant revealed that oversight of the expansion would be in the hands of a single chairman who would have the rank of deputy prime minister and report directly to Morsi, relegating the military to just one among many government bodies involved in the

---

<sup>98</sup> Egypt Plans To Reoperate The Legendary Nasr Car Production Company - Economy - Business - Ahram Online". *English.ahram.org.eg*. 2017. Web. 11 Jan. 2017.

<sup>99</sup> Patrick Werr, "Egypt Sees Revenue in Suez Canal Corridor Project," Reuters, October 10, 2012

effort. This move to marginalize the military's role in the largest infrastructure project in decades may have been critical to the FJP's ultimate loss of military support<sup>100</sup>.

On March 19, 2013, Morsi announced that India was to be Egypt's lead partner in the massive expansion. Two days later, Defense Minister Sisi and other military official quoted in newspapers said that the government's plans for the Suez expansion project would not move forward until the army approved the details. Sisi warned against any foreign involvement in the project that might cause future controversies, a direct challenge to Morsi and his negotiations with foreign nations<sup>101</sup>. The backlash Morsi faced with the Suez led him to attempt to replace Sisi. A plan that was ultimately abandoned in the face of opposition from within the military establishment<sup>102</sup>.

Morsi in his attempt to establish a political and economic foothold ignored the decaying state of Egypt's tourism and security. The country was plagued by daily electrical outages and a scarcity of gasoline supplies. Citizens complained about the lack of police presence and a rising crime rate. The CSF two years after being decimated by the revolution were still unable to restructure. Some attributed this vacuum under Morsi to the deep state. During the protests around the administrative palace officers openly refused orders to disperse demonstrators. They accused Morsi of attempting to politicize the interior ministry. Top-ranking officers trained with the mindset of arresting MB members found themselves receiving orders from the very people they once regularly arrested. Instead of focusing on resolving these issues, Morsi continued his

---

<sup>100</sup> See Werr

<sup>101</sup> "Sisi Warns Morsi and Qandil—There Will Be No Title Given to Land Near the Suez," *Misr El Gdida*, March 21, 2013. [Dailynewsegypt.com](http://Dailynewsegypt.com)

<sup>102</sup> Kandil, Hazem and Hazem Kandil. "LRB · Hazem Kandil · Deadlock In Cairo". *London Review of Books*. N.p., 2017. Web. 12 Feb. 2017.

campaign to solidify power by purging of thousands of judges he deemed to be sympathetic to secular leanings<sup>103</sup>.

Youth organizations of April 6<sup>th</sup> and the Kifaya movement began calling for early elections in April of 2012, citing Morsi's failure in adhering to the demands of the revolution. The "*tamarod*" movement known as "rebel" sought to gather 14 million signatures, one million more than the 13 million Morsi received in the presidential elections<sup>104</sup>. Recent revelations through audio-leaks suggest that the Egyptian intelligence played a funding role for tamarod. In one such recording, top Generals Kamel and Sobhy say, "we need two hundred thousand in tamarod's account...from mukhabarat (intelligence)"<sup>105</sup>. The authenticity of these types remains highly disputed. If the Egyptian military truly supported the tamarod movement, it would show that indeed they studied the Turkish army's policy regarding the Islamist-oriented rule, wherein 1997 the government of Necmettin Erbakan was forced to resign after the military moved to "nullify the supposed Islamization of Turkey and fortify the secular system"<sup>106</sup>. Although the definition of Islamization differs from Egypt to Turkey, the concept of a red line in regards to how far religion plays a role in government and society is key.

Egyptians watched with increasing discomfort the rise of Islamic rhetoric on television and radio stations. Hard-core Islamist preachers openly discussed their desires to see the pyramids and other ancient monuments destroyed<sup>107</sup>. Salafists urged Egyptian Muslims not to

---

<sup>103</sup> "Egypt's Morsi Faces Mounting Revolt Over Judges." VOA. Voice of America, 23 Apr. 2013. Web. 05 May 2015.

<sup>104</sup> Ateyya, Ahmed. "Rebel' Egyptian Movement Defies Morsi Through Petitions - Al-Monitor: The Pulse of the Middle East." Al-Monitor. N.p., 17 May 2013. Web. 7 May 2015.

<sup>105</sup> David. "Recordings Suggest Emirates and Egyptian Military Pushed Ousting of Morsi." The New York Times. The New York Times, 01 Mar. 2015. Web. 1 Mar 2017.

<sup>106</sup> KILINÇ, RAMAZAN. "Critical Junctures, Catalysts, And Democratic Consolidation In Turkey." Political Science Quarterly (Wiley-Blackwell) 129.2 (2014): 293-318. Web. 9 Mar 2017

<sup>107</sup> "Sphinx Destruction Urged By Egyptian Salafi With Taliban Connections." The Inquisitr News. N.p., 21 Nov. 2012. Web. 9 Mar 2017.

wish Coptic Christians holiday greetings. These viewpoints resonated very negatively with Egyptians, who for thousands of years viewed diversity and history as a foundation for Egyptian identity. Strong public anger erupted again when Morsi appointed a former terrorist of Gamaa al-Islamiyya as Governor of Luxor, the very city his organization terrorized in the 1990s<sup>108</sup>.

Morsi's short-rule seemed to be heading towards him altering the economic system that the military enjoyed. His foreign policy decisions were troubling for them. One example was his stance of opening the gates of "jihad" on the Syrian government. The speech delivered in Cairo's Olympic soccer stadium on June 15<sup>th</sup>, 2013 attended by former jihadists who were imprisoned under Mubarak, essentially committed Egypt to a brutal civil war. Promises of immunity for Egyptians who travel to fight the infidel Syrian military and its supporters alarmed the security establishment<sup>109</sup>, who feared battle-trained fighters would look to launch other campaigns against and from Egypt. This was substantiated just one day after the controversial speech when four Egyptian Shiite Muslims were brutally murdered in Cairo<sup>110</sup>.

June 30<sup>th</sup>, 2013 was chosen as the mass protest day against Morsi by the opposition. MB and other Islamist movements labeled those participating in demonstrations as "religious traitors" worthy of killing, giving the situation a possible religious undertone between moderates and conservatives. Tens of millions of people descended on Egypt's major cities demanding Morsi accept early presidential elections or resign.

---

<sup>108</sup> Brennan, Patrick. "Morsi Appoints Member of Terrorist Group Governor of Province They Terrorized." National Review Online. N.p., 17 June 2015. Web. 9 Mar 2017.

<sup>109</sup> "Morsi's New Tough Tone on Syria Raises Concerns of a Nod to Jihadi Fighters." CTVNews. Associated Press, 16 June 2013. Web. 7 Feb 2017.

<sup>110</sup> "Egypt Mob Attack Kills Four Shia Muslims near Cairo - BBC News." BBC News. N.P., 26 June 2013. Web. 9 Jan 2017.

Unlike the 2011 revolution, demonstrators did not face off against CSF members. In many instances, the police openly participated in the protests and joined in on anti-Morsi chants. Casualties and injuries from the anti-Morsi camp remained low as the days went on. The Egyptian military showed in the early few days of the protest the military's willingness to intervene once again. A 48-hour ultimatum was issued to Morsi, where he was threatened with intervention if he failed to compromise with demonstrators<sup>111</sup>.

Morsi in a speech refused to accept the core demands of the opposition and instead took on a defiant tone. With the prospect of a collision between two rival camps, the military moved in to remove Morsi from power. General Sisi surrounded by leaders of the opposition, the Coptic Pope, Sunni scholars, and youth parties announced that the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court Aldy Monsour would act as interim president until new elections. The military suspended the Islamist constitution by reinstating the 1971 constitution. Unlike 2011 revolution, the SCAF did not take over governing duties but instead handed power to a technocratic administration, but behind the scenes, the generals worked to destroy any opposition to the new status quo.

### **Military Dominance**

Security forces backed by the army moved swiftly to arrest Morsi and the top leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood. They aimed to take out at the backbone of support for ousted Morsi. Embarking on dramatic steps, including arresting the group's spiritual leader, Mohammed Badie, from a seaside villa and flew him by helicopter to detention in Cairo<sup>112</sup>. Khairat el-Shater, a successful Brotherhood businessman, was also arrested and had his assets frozen. The two were wanted for inciting the killing of protesters in front of the Brotherhood's headquarters in Cairo.

---

<sup>111</sup> "Egypt Army Issues Ultimatum." WSJ. Wall Street Journal, 2 July 2013. Web. 9 Jan 2017.

<sup>112</sup> "Egypt Arrests Muslim Brotherhood's Top Leader". *Aljazeera.com*. N.p., 2017. Web. 30 Mar. 2017.



Arrest warrants were issued for 300 top-ranking Brotherhood members. Egypt's public prosecutor ordered Morsi and 35 co-accused to stand trial on charges including conspiring with foreign organizations to commit terrorist acts in Egypt and divulging military secrets to a foreign state<sup>113</sup>.

Supporters of Morsi and those against the coup by military amassed in Rabia al-Adawiya Square in central Cairo to protest the events transpiring. On August 14, security forces crushed the sit-in in Rabia al-Adawiya Square. Videos and a report by Amnesty International said that the military used armored personnel carriers, bulldozers, ground forces, and snipers, attacked the makeshift protest encampment, where demonstrators, including women and children, had been camped out for over 45 days, and opened fire on the protesters, killing at least 817 and likely more than 1,000<sup>114</sup>.

The Rabia event altered the political discourse completely. In the months after the military-backed government banned street protests by applying jail time or heavy fines to the public demonstrations<sup>115</sup>. Journalists, academics, students, and civil society members were all subjected to arrest. The reality on the ground signaled that the peaceful nature of 2011 uprising was now a distant memory.

General Sisi's election to the Presidency with 97 percent of the vote in 2014 where the opposition was non-existent amid crackdowns and arrests gave the military an unchecked seat to rule Egypt once again. Today, 17 of Egypt's 27 provincial governors are military generals, and

---

<sup>113</sup> "Egypt's Morsi Charged With 'Terrorist Acts'". *Aljazeera.com*. 2017. Web. 16 Jan. 2017.

<sup>114</sup> "All According To Plan". *Human Rights Watch*. N.p., 2017. Web. 2 Apr. 2017.

<sup>115</sup> Kirkpatrick, David. "New Law In Egypt Effectively Bans Street Protests". *Nytimes.com*. N.p., 2017. Web. 3 Apr. 2017.

the remaining civilian governors share rule with 24 major generals serving as deputy governors, secretaries-general, and assistant secretaries-general<sup>116</sup>. A \$12 billion dollar from Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait, allowed Sisi to ignore economic policy temporarily. The much-needed economic assistance was a strong indication of support for Sisi and a way to shore up his legitimacy and viability.

Plans for the Suez Canal Corridor Development Project the one that led to the rupture between the Muslim Brotherhood and Sisi is now firmly in the hands of the military-dominated Suez Canal Authority and has even become more ambitious. The project involves the expansion of six Egyptian ports, the construction of a number of tunnels and industrial zones, and the dredging of a lateral canal to allow for two-way traffic. All being constructed by the Egyptian Armed Forces Engineering Authority.

#### Conclusion:

Six years after the 2011 revolution, Egypt's politics is once again dominated by the military. The Arab Spring gave hope that tech-savvy youths could alter the power dynamics of authoritarian governments in the region. In Egypt, youth-driven mass protests shook the foundation of the 30-year rule of Mubarak. They sacrificed their lives and limbs in pursuit of pro-democratic change. Their use of peaceful mass demonstrations certainly deserves recognition. Their role while significant was limited in bringing the end of the government. Analysts who focused solely on the role of the protesters failed to account for the resurgent

---

<sup>116</sup> Sayigh, Yezid. "Above The State: The Officers' Republic In Egypt". *Carnegie Middle East Center*. N.p., 2017. Web. 3 Apr. 2017.

return of the military to politics. This analysis presented how the military has kept its power intact despite challenges from various governments.

Nasser and the free officers first established the role of the army as a beacon of pan-Arabism whose destiny was to dominate the region. Military members filled prominent political positions. As they grew in numbers so did criticisms leveled against them. Blunders and failed policies nearly led to their collapse after the 1967 six-day war defeat. Sadat, in a reversal of his predecessor, attempted to sideline the military from politics, removing them from key decision-making posts. His build up to Yom Kippur War gave Sadat the ability to keep the military preoccupied. Their influence and demands were hard to ignore after the conclusion of hostilities with Israel. As neo-liberal reforms were increased with Egypt's Western alliance, so did violent social episodes. Once again, the government found itself dependent on the military for stability and protection.

Mubarak, after building up a vast network of business enterprises for the military, found himself in the crosshairs of the military. The rise of a business elite led by his son Gamal, not only threatened the military's economic empire but caused large portions of Egyptians to live in poverty. Mubarak failed to introduce democratic reforms. Instead, he focused on preserving the political monopoly of the NDP hoping to pave the path for Gamal to attain the presidency. When the 2011 revolution began, and Mubarak found himself without the brutal police state he had empowered, it became apparent that the military would not sacrifice their dwindling influence in politics by saving Mubarak. Instead, they let him fall, hoping that by leading the transition never again would they be at the whim of the president.

Morsi's presidential election victory was a test to post 2011 Egyptian politics. Understanding the control the military held in the post-transition phase, he attempted to seize the

power they enjoyed. Through a series of moves, it seemed he had the upper-hand against the army, but he did not realize that most Egyptians repudiated the ideology of social and political-Islam espoused by him and his allies. Instead, Egyptians looked to the military to defend the secularism and diversity of Egypt when mass protests erupted in June 2013. Today, the military's power is not rivaled by any institution. Democratic reforms are non-existent under the government of newly elected president and former general Abdel Fattah Al Sisi, the same person who led the overthrow of Morsi. A violent terrorist campaign against the military in the Sinai Peninsula by Islamic State affiliates has sidelined any discussion of political reforms before security can be reestablished.

## Bibliography

Abul-Magd, Zeinab. "The Egyptian Military in Politics and the Economy: Recent History and Current Transition Status." *Everyday Maneuvers: Military - Civilian Relations in Latin-America and the Middle Eas 2* (2012): 1-6. *JSTOR*. Web. 15 Mar. 2017.

Abul-Magd, Zeinab. "The Egyptian Military in Politics and the Economy: Recent History and Current Transition Status." *Everyday Maneuvers: Military - Civilian Relations in Latin-America and the Middle Eas 2* (2012): 1-6. *JSTOR*. Web. 15 Mar. 2017.

Agency, Political. "Celebration in Egypt as Morsi Declared Winner." - Al Jazeera English. Al Jazeera News, 12 June 2012. Web. 30 Apr. 2017.

Alami, Mona. "Egypt Constitution Will Be Bad News for Women, Activists Say." USA Today. Gannett, 13 Jan. 2013. Web. 7 Mar 2017.

Albrecht, Holger, and Dina Bishara. "Back on Horseback: The Military and Political Transformation in Egypt." *Middle East Law and Governance* 3 (2011): 13-23. Brill. Web. 15 Mar. 2017.

All According To Plan". *Human Rights Watch*. N.p., 2017. Web. 2 Apr. 2017.

Angrist, Michele Penner, and Yahia H. Zoubir. *Politics & Society in the Contemporary Middle East Chapter Algeria* Page 189. 2nd ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2013. Print.

Angrist, Michele Penner, Nathan J. Brown, Emad Shahin, and Joshua Stacher. *Politics & Society in the Contemporary Middle East Chapter Egypt* Page 218. 2nd ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2013. Print.

Angrist, Michele Penner, Nathan J. Brown, Emad Shahin, and Joshua Stacher. *Politics & Society in the Contemporary Middle East Chapter Egypt* Page 229. 2nd ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2013. Print.

Ateyya, Ahmed. "'Rebel' Egyptian Movement Defies Morsi Through Petitions - Al-Monitor: The Pulse of the Middle East." *Al-Monitor*. N.p., 17 May 2013. Web. 7 Mar 2017.

Blanga, Yehuda. "Turmoil in Egypt – 1968–2011: The Status of the Armed Forces in Citizen Uprisings in Egypt." *Contemporary Politics* 20.2 (2014): 365-383(Page 5). Web. 8 Mar. 2017.

Blanga, Yehuda. "Turmoil in Egypt – 1968–2011: The Status of the Armed Forces in Citizen Uprisings in Egypt." *Contemporary Politics* 20.2 (2014): 365-383(Page 8). Web. 8 Mar. 2017.

Brennan, Patrick. "Morsi Appoints Member of Terrorist Group Governor of Province They Terrorized." *National Review Online*. N.p., 17 June 2015. Web. 9 Mar 2017.

Brownlee, Jason. "A New Generation of Autocracy in Egypt." *University of Austin* (2007): 1-13. UOA, 2 Mar. 2007. Web. 22 Mar 2017

Brownlee, Jason. "The Heir Apparency of Gamal Mubarak." *The Arab Studies Journal* 15/16.2/1 (2007): 36-56. *JSTOR*. Web. 13 Feb. 2017

Cairo Clashes Leave 24 Dead After Coptic Church Protest - BBC News". *BBC News*. N.p., 2017. Web. 5 Apr. 2017.

David. "Recordings Suggest Emirates and Egyptian Military Pushed Ousting of Morsi." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 01 Mar. 2015. Web. 7 Mar 2017.

Egypt Army Issues Ultimatum. *WSJ. Wall Street Journal*, 2 July 2013. Web. 9 Mar 2017.

Egypt Arrests Muslim Brotherhood's Top Leader". *Aljazeera.com*. N.p., 2017. Web. 30 Mar. 2017.

Egypt Awards Suez Hub Project to Consortium of Army, Gulf Engineering Firm," Reuters, August 19, 2014, [www.reuters.com/article/2014/08/19/egypt-suezcanal-idUSL5N0QP28F20140819](http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/08/19/egypt-suezcanal-idUSL5N0QP28F20140819).

Egypt Mob Attack Kills Four Shia Muslims near Cairo - BBC News. BBC News. N.P., 26 June 2013. Web. 9 Mar 2017.

Egypt Plans To Reoperate The Legendary Nasr Car Production Company - Economy - Business - Ahram Online". *English.ahram.org.eg*. 2017. Web. 11 Jan. 2017.

Egypt Protests: Army Rules out the Use of Force." *BBC News*. British Broadcasting Channel, 31 Jan. 2011. Web. 10 Apr. 2015. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12330169>>.

Egypt to Get an I.M.F. Loan." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 17 May 1991. Web. 22 Mar 2017.

Egypt: Investigate Brotherhood's Abuse of Protesters." Human Rights Watch. HRW, 12 Dec. 2012. Web. 7 Mar 2017.

Egypt: Military Trials Usurp Justice System". *Human Rights Watch*. N.p., 2017. Web. 4 Apr. 2017.

Egypt's Morsi Faces Mounting Revolt Over Judges. VOA. Voice of America, 23 Apr. 2013. Web. 05 Mar 2017.

Egypt's New Constitution: How It Differs from Old Version. VOA. Voice of America, 22 Dec. 2012. Web. 7 Mar 2017.

Egyptian Armed Forces. Supreme Council Of The Armed Forces. *Constitutional Declaration*. *Egy.gov*. Egyptian Government, 1 Apr. 2011. Web. 10 Mar. 2017.

[http://www.cabinet.gov.eg/AboutEgypt/ConstitutionalDeclaration\\_e.pdf](http://www.cabinet.gov.eg/AboutEgypt/ConstitutionalDeclaration_e.pdf)

Fahim, Kareem. "In Upheaval for Egypt, Morsi Forces Out Military Chiefs." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 12 Aug. 2012. Web. 7 Mar 2017.

Farah, N., 2009. *Egypt's political economy: power relations in development*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Ferris, Jesse. *Nasser's Gamble: How Intervention in Yemen Caused the Six-Day War and the Decline of Egyptian Power*. Princeton: Princeton Page 32, 2013. Print.

Frisch, Hillel. "The Egyptian Army and Egypt's 'Spring.'" *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36.2 (2013): 180-204. Web. 20 Mar. 2017.

Gamal Abdel Nasser." *New World Encyclopedia*. World Encyclopedia, 25 May 2007. Web. 30 Mar. 2017. <[http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Gamal\\_Abdel\\_Nasser](http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Gamal_Abdel_Nasser)>.

Gelvin, James L. *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford UP, 2012. Print.

Heiss, Andrew. "The Failed Management Of A Dying Government: HOSNI MUBARAK, EGYPT'S NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND THE JANUARY 25 REVOLUTION." *Journal of Third World Studies* XXIX.1 (2012): 1-18. *JSTOR*. Web. 2 Mar. 2017.

Hicham Bou Nassif, "Wedded to Mubarak: The Second Careers and Financial Rewards

Hirschkind, Charles. "From The Blogosphere To The Street: Social Media And Egyptian Revolution." *Oriente Moderno* Anno 91.Nr. 1, BETWEEN EVERYDAY LIFE AND POLITICAL REVOLUTION: THE SOCIAL WEB IN THE MIDDLE EAST (2011): 61-74. *JSTOR*. Web. 22 Mar 2017

‘Arafāt, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Arafāt. *Hosni Mubarak And The Future Of Democracy In Egypt*. 1st ed. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Print.

The Impact of Liberalization of Trade in Services: Banking, Telecommunications and 1977: Egypt's Bread Intifada". *Libcom.org*. N.p., 2017. Web. 25 Mar. 2017.

Islam Atrees, "Canal Zone Project Entrusted to the SCA," *Daily News Egypt*, October 6, 2013.

Joshua Stacher, "Parties Over The Demise of Egypt's Opposition Parties

Karawan, Ibrahim A. "Politics and the Army in Egypt." *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 53 (2011): 43-50. *JSTOR*. Web. 15 Mar. 2017

Ken Stier. —Egypt's Military- Industrial Complex. *Time Online*. 9 Feb. 2011. Web. 11 Feb. 2012.

Kholaif, Dahlia. "The Egyptian Army's Economic Juggernaut." *Aljazeera.com*. N.p., 2017. Web. 30 Mar. 2017.

KILINÇ, RAMAZAN. "Critical Junctures, Catalysts, And Democratic Consolidation In Turkey." *Political Science Quarterly* (Wiley-Blackwell) 129.2 (2014): 293-318. Web. 9 Mar 2017

Kirkpatrick, David. "New Law In Egypt Effectively Bans Street Protests." *Nytimes.com*. N.p., 2017. Web. 3 Apr. 2017.

Kirpatrick, David. "Blow to Transition as Court Dissolves Egypt's Parliament." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 14 June 2012. Web. 5 Mar 2017.

Kirpatrick, David. "Citing Deadlock, Egypt's Leader Seizes New Power and Plans Mubarak Retrial." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 22 Nov. 2012. Web. 7 Mar 2017.

Kirpatrick, David. "Egyptians Defiant as Military Does Little to Quash Protests." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 29 Jan. 2011. Web. 18 Mar. 2017.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/30/world/middleeast/30-egypt.html?pagewanted=all>

Kurtzer, Daniel, and Mary Svenstrup. "Egypt's Entrenched Military." *The National Interest*. The National Interest, 10 Oct. 2010. Web. 10 Mar. 2017. <<http://nationalinterest.org/article/egypts-entrenched-military-7343>>.

Kurtzer, Daniel, and Mary Svenstrup. "Egypt's Entrenched Military." *The National Interest*. The National Interest, 10 Oct. 2010. Web. 10 Mar. 2017. <<http://nationalinterest.org/article/egypts-entrenched-military-7343>>.

Londono, Ernesto Londoño and, and Leila Fadel. "Egypt's Military Issues Decree Giving Armed Forces Vast Powers, but Few to President." *Washington Post*. The Washington Post, 17 June 2012. Web. 5 Mar 2017

Maritime Transport in Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey," Bilkent University (Turkey) Center for International Economics, and Cairo University, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, December 2005, 301.

Martini, Jeff. "Commanding Democracy in Egypt: The Military's Attempt to Manage the Future." *Foreign Affairs* 90.5 (2011): 127-37. *JSTOR*. Web. 7 Mar. 2017

Ministry Of Military Production - Special Weapons Agencies - Egypt". *Fas.org*. N.p., 2017. Web. 29 Mar. 2017. 2013)

Mohyeldin, Ayman. "Keeping Options Open: Egypt's Military Maintains Watchful Eye on Politics." *NBC News*. N.p., 16 Dec. 2012. Web. 7 May 2017

Morsi's New Tough Tone on Syria Raises Concerns of a Nod to Jihadi Fighters. *CTVNews*. Associated Press, 16 June 2013. Web. 7 May 2017.

Mubarak Names His Deputy and New PM." *Al Jazeera English*. Al Jazeera News, 29 Jan. 2011. Web. 10 Feb. 2017. <<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/2011129155142145826.html>>.



Mucha, Witold, and Ahmed Khalifa. "The Military In Egypt Peacemaker With Expiration Date?". *Journal of African Militaries* N/A.N/A (2017): 1-23. Print.

Nassef, Sharif. "Shifting Sands: Political Liberalization Of Egypt Since 1952 - Fair Observer". *Fair Observer*. N.p., 2017. Web. 21 Mar. 2017.

Norton, Richard. "The Return of Egypt's Deep State." *Journal of Contemporary World Affairs* 112.758 (2013): 338-45. JSTOR [JSTOR]. Web. 26 Mar. 2017

of Egypt's Military Elite, 1981–2011," *Middle East Journal* 67, no. 4 (Autumn

Patrick Kingsley, "A New New Cairo: Egypt Plans £30bn Purpose-Built Capital in Desert," *Guardian*, March 16, 2017, [www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/mar/16/new-cairo-egypt-plans-capital-city-desert](http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/mar/16/new-cairo-egypt-plans-capital-city-desert).

Patrick Werr, "Egypt Sees Revenue in Suez Canal Corridor Project," *Reuters*, October 10, 2012

Richtel, Matt. "Egypt Cuts Off Most Internet and Cell Service." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 28 Jan. 2011. Web. 28 Apr. 2017.

Sakallioglu, Umit Cizre. "The Anatomy of the Turkish Military's Political Autonomy." *Comparative Politics* 29.2 (1997): 151. JSTOR. Web. 5 Mar 2017.

Sayigh, Yezid. "Above The State: The Officers' Republic In Egypt." *Carnegie Middle East Center*. N.p., 2017. Web. 3 Apr. 2017.

Shenker, Jack, and Adam Gabbatt. "Hosni Mubarak Detained over Corruption Allegations." *The Guardian*. 13 Apr. 2011. Web. 10 Apr. 2017. <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/13/hosni-mubarak-detained-corruption-allegations>>.

Shenker, Jack. "Protests Spread in Egypt as Discontent with Military Rule Grows." *The Guardian*. *Guardian*, 10 July 2015. Web. 2 Apr. 2017.

Sisi Warns Morsi and Qandil—There Will Be No Title Given to Land Near the Suez," *Misr El Guide*, March 21, 2013. [Dailynewsegypt.com](http://Dailynewsegypt.com)

Slackman, Michael. "Day of Angry Protest Stuns Egypt." *The New York Times*. NYT, 06 Apr. 2006. Web. 2 Apr. 2017. <[http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/06/world/africa/06iht-egypt.4.11708118.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/06/world/africa/06iht-egypt.4.11708118.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0)>.

Sphinx Destruction Urged By Egyptian Salafi With Taliban Connections. *The Inquisitr News*. N.p., 21 Nov. 2012. Web. 9 Mar 2015.

SPIEGEL ONLINE, Germany. "The Arab Revolution: A Nile Insurgency And Uncertain Egyptian Future - SPIEGEL ONLINE - International." *SPIEGEL ONLINE*. N.p., 2017. Web. 11 Mar. 2017.

Springborg, Robert. "The President and the Field Marshal: Civil-Military Relations in Egypt Today." *MERIP Middle East Report* No. 147. Egypt's Critical Moment (1987): *JSTOR*. Web. 13 Mar. 2017.

Statement From the Supreme Council of the Egyptian Armed Forces." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 10 Feb. 2011. Web. 10 Apr. 2017.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/11/world/middleeast/11egypt-military-statement.html>

The World Bank, 2011b. Egypt data at a glance. Available from:

[http://devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/egy\\_aag.pdf](http://devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/egy_aag.pdf) [accessed March 2017].

Time, Magazine. "Turkey's Massive Military Trial Opens Old Wounds and New Anxieties | TIME.com." World 12 Sept. 2012. Web. 05 Feb 2017.