

## **History 412:** **Political and Economic History of Egypt in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

### **The American University in Cairo** **Department of History**

Instructor: Joshua Stacher

Schedule: T, 4-6:25 pm, Spring 2007

Location: SS124

Office Hours: T, 12-2pm (or by appointment) - Room SS339

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This course is an introduction to 20<sup>th</sup> Century Egyptian history. It examines important themes that shaped contemporary Egyptian political, social, and economic development. Specific topics to be explored include the emergence of Egypt's state system, colonialism and imperialism, Egyptian and Pan-Arab nationalism and identities, gender, state institutions, authoritarianism, political Islamism, and socio-economic development.

This course is intended to provide students with a basis for further inquiry into historical theory and to familiarize students with different analytical approaches and major issues of state formation in Egypt. As a consequence, the course is based on theoretical issues and themes.

Central topics that we will address are:

- 1) Emergence of Egyptian nationalism and the varieties of Egyptian nationalism
- 2) Prelude to the 1919 Revolution
- 3) The Liberal Era – How liberal was it?
  - a. Intellectual issues: Suppression of Taha Hussein's book
  - b. Emergence of the Muslim Brotherhood and Young Egypt
  - c. Continued occupation and dismissal of all Wafd governments
  - d. The unresolved agrarian question
  - e. Global context of Depression, Fascism, and Communism
- 4) Gender
- 5) Social and Economic History
- 6) WWII and the Social-Political Stalemate: Why the Army?
- 7) 1952-1967: Egypt's Revolution from Above
  - a. Populist Authoritarian politics
  - b. State-led economic development
- 8) 1967: Demise of Arab nationalism and rethinking the state's economic orientation
- 9) 1970-2006: Post-populist development and mistaking stagnation for stability
  - a. Realignment towards the US
  - b. Altering the institutions of state
  - c. Economic Booms and Busts: Neo-liberal economic development

### **Requirements**

This is a seminar course that meets once a week. During seminars, the instructor will introduce the topic for the week and indicate how it relates to the overall course objectives. The remainder of each class will be more interactive and require active and informed participation from the students. As such, it is imperative that students read the set texts closely to prepare for focused discussion. As a consequence, you are required to:

- 1) Come prepared to class having read the assignments carefully and ready to discuss them. Everyone will lead (or co-lead) a class discussion (at least once) in during the semester.

- 2) You are required to write TWO review essays (7-10 pages, word-processed and double spaced) out of nine central topics we review. Please use the reading provided below to complete these essays. Please note that these review essays are not serial reviews of the works under discussion but are intended as opportunities for you to critically engage with the ideas presented in the texts. Reviews should be textually focused.
- 3) You are required to complete a take-home final exam based on questions the instructor will provide. The finals should be 10-12 pages (word-processed and double spaced) and based on the course's reading, class discussion, and outside material found in the library.

**Evaluation & Assessment:**

This course's assessment will be distributed accordingly:

- 1) Class Attendance and Participation: 15%
- 2) Two Review Essays at 30% each (60% Total)
- 3) Take-Home Final Exam: 25%

**Dates to remember:**

- 1) Two Review Essays: Up to you but one is due by **Week SIX (13 MARCH)** and the other is due by **Week ELEVEN (24 April)**.
- 2) Take-Home Essay Final Examination: The instructor will provide questions and the exam is due on the class's final meeting (**22 MAY**).

The review essays and final exam will be assessed according to the following criteria:

- \*Relevance to question;
- \* Sound ordering and structuring of material;
- \* Quality and clarity of written expression;
- \* Effective use of evidence;
- \* Demonstration of sound understanding of topic;
- \* Identification of major themes and arguments.
- \* Critical evaluation and judgment;
- \*Range of sources used;
- \*insight and originality.

A note on **Plagiarism:**

The act of taking (and/or appropriating) another person's idea/s without academically citing it as well as copying verbatim, or cutting and pasting another person's existing written work is plagiarism. In short, it is intellectual theft. All work submitted for assessment **MUST** be the product solely of the student concerned. Any breach of this principle is an act of academic fraud and will be treated as a serious offense. The core of fraud is to deceive and that deception can be practiced in several ways:

- A. Plagiarism. By this is meant the unacknowledged citing of published works, or of theses or dissertations submitted by a second person for a degree;
- B. Copying. The use of material from a source, which cannot be acknowledged;
- C. Falsification. The presentation of a set of data created by the student and presented as a result of work reported to have been carried out by the student.

The discovery of any instance of plagiarism will be referred to the university administration and result in an automatic failure of the project in question (*at least*). If you are uncertain about the definition of plagiarism, please ask the instructor before submitting work for this course. I view this offense to be extremely serious and will treat all incidents without exception or negotiation.

### **Attendance & Participation:**

As with all academic seminars, it is expected that students attend and participate in sessions. This will not only indicate that students have done their assigned work/readings, but will prove useful in allowing participants to sharpen their analytical and speaking skills.

As a consequence, attendance is of utmost importance. If a student misses THREE seminars, the instructor will give a formal written warning. If a student misses FOUR seminars (including illness), his/her grade will drop by one grade classification. FIVE or more or more absences will lead to failure in the attendance and participation section of the course. **There are no exceptions to this rule.**

### **Books and Readings:**

#### **1) Core Text:**

The following textbook provides a common basis for information and concepts for the course. It is available in the bookstore and/or is on reserve in the library.

\*\*\* Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Short History of Modern Egypt* (Main Text)

#### **2) Other mandatory and optional readings:**

Some of these selections can be purchased from the bookstore. Otherwise you will need to rely on the library reserve and photocopies if you choose not to invest in the texts. Either way, it is the student's responsibility to obtain a copy.

\*\*Nagiub Mahfouz

1) *Midaq Alley*

2) *Miramar*

\*Qasim Amin, *The Liberation of Women*.

\*Hoda Shaarawi, *Harem Years*.

\* Joel Beinin and Zachary Lockman, *Workers on the Nile: Nationalism, Communism, Islam, and the Egyptian Working Class, 1882-1954*.

\* Joel Beinin, *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East*.

\* Taha Hussein, *The Future of Culture in Egypt*.

### **Course Schedule**

#### **WEEK 1: 6 February 2007**

#### **Introduction of the Syllabus and Approaches to the Study of Egypt and an Overview of the Modern Period (1804-1892)**

Topics:

- 1) Framework of Analysis
- 2) Historical Developments and Context

Seminar: Framework of Analysis, Introduction

The instructor leads a discussion of issues and alternative approaches; sign up for seminar topics.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Compare the Nationalism described by Hourani and al-Sayyid Marsot.
- 2) How Ottoman was 19<sup>th</sup> Century Egypt?

Readings:

Al-Sayyid Marsot, pgs. 54-68.

Albert Hourani, "The Ottoman Background of the Modern Middle East," in *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*, pgs. 1-18.

Joel Beinin, *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East* pgs. 5-6, 44-70.

Optional:

William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, pgs. 108-14, 130-45.

### **WEEK 2: 13 February 2007**

#### **1892-1907: The Emergence of Egyptian Nationalism and the Varieties of Egyptian Nationalism**

Topics:

- 1) Imperialism and the Nationalist Movement
- 2) Nationalism and Ideology in the Middle East

Seminar: The affect of Western imperialism and modernization on Egyptian Nationalism

Seminar questions:

- 1) Discuss how the proliferation of ideologies in Egypt was stimulated by the challenges of imperialism and modernization and assess the solutions that they proposed.
- 2) What are the special challenges that Egypt faced?

Readings:

Al-Sayyid Marsot, pgs 69-74.

Beinin & Lockman, *Workers on the Nile*, pgs. 3-22.

Optional:

Hoda Shaarawi, *Harem Years*.

### **WEEK 3: 20 February 2007**

#### **The Elite and their relationship to the Nation (1907-1919)**

Topics:

- 1) Prelude to the 1919 revolution and the liberal era
- 2) Social and economic imbalance in Egypt

Seminar:

Seminar questions:

- 1) Did the type of regime (monarchy) affect class?
- 2) Did political parties count?
- 3) Did institutions matter or only personal relations?
- 4) Is there any participation?
- 5) Does class matter or are small groups the only politically relevant units?

Readings:

Al-Sayyid Masrot, pgs. 75-81.

Robert Tignor, "The Egyptian Revolution of 1919: New Directions in the Egyptian Economy," *Middle Eastern Studies* 12 (October 1976): pgs. 41-67.

Optional:

Husayn Haykal, *Zaynab*.

Israel Gershoni, Y. Hakan Erdem, and Ursula Wokock (eds), *Histories of the Modern Middle East: New Directions*, Chapter on "Egyptian Nationalist historiography as Orientalist" by Gabriel Piterberg.

### **WEEKS 4 & 5: 27 February and 6 March 2007**

#### **The Liberal Era (1924-1939) – How Liberal was it?**

Topics:

- 1) Intellectual Suppression of Taha Hussein's book
- 2) Emergence of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and Young Egypt
- 3) Continued occupation and dismissal of all Wafd governments

- 4) Unresolved agrarian question
- 5) Global context: Depression, Fascism, and Communism

Seminar: Assess the political climate of Egypt during the liberal era.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) What were the factors that influenced the emergence of the MB?
- 2) The King's dilemma and inability to resolve growing political, economic and social discontent between the palace, the Wafd and the British.

Readings:

Al-Sayyid Marsot, pgs. 82-97.

Hasan al-Banna, "Between Yesterday and Today" in Charles Wendell (ed. and trans.) *Five Tracts of Hasan al-Banna*, pgs. 13-39.

Richard Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, sections on "social composition of the MB," pgs. 12-34 (recommended pgs. 1-34, and 163-184).

Optional:

Taha Hussein, *The Future of Culture in Egypt*.

### **WEEK 6: 13 March 2007**

#### **Gender**

Topic:

- 1) The Status of Women in pre-1952 Egypt

Readings:

Leila Ahmed, "Discourse of the Veil," in *Women and Gender in Islam*, pgs. 144-168.

Qasim Amin, *The Liberation of Women*.

**\*\*Please note that the first Review Essay is due today\*\***

### **WEEKS 7 & 8: 20-27 March 2007**

#### **Social and Economic History**

Topic: Pre-Revolutionary Social Movements and Economic Development

Readings:

Joel Beinin, "Egypt: Economy and Society, 1923-1952," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt vol. 2*, pgs. 309-333.

Robert Tignor, "Dependency Theory and Egyptian Capitalism, 1920 to 1950," *African Economic History*, no. 9 (1980) pgs. 101-118.

Robert Vitalis, "On the Theory and Practice of Compradors: The Role of 'Abbud Pasha in the Egyptian Political Economy," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 22 (no.3, August 1990): pgs. 291-315.

Roger Owen, "The Ideology of Economic Nationalism in its Egyptian Context: 1919-1939," in Marwan Buheiry (ed) *Intellectual Life in the Arab East, 1890 1939*, pgs. 1-9.

Optional:

Kikri al-Khuli, chapter in Beinin (ed.) *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East*, pgs. 71-113.

Robert Tignor, "The Economic Activities of Foreigners in Egypt, 1920-1950: From Millet to Haute Bourgeoisie," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980): pgs. 416-449.

### **WEEK 9: 10 April 2007**

#### **WWII and the Political-Social Stalemate**

Topic: Why the Army?

Readings:

Al-Sayyid Marsot, pgs. 98-106.

Mitchell, *The Society of Muslim Brothers*, section on the “Jeep Trial,” pgs. 65-79.

Optional:

Nagiub Mahfouz, *Midaq Alley*.

**WEEK 10: 17 April 2007**

**1952 – 1967: Revolution from Above**

Topic:

- 1) Populist Authoritarian Origins and Development
- 2) State-led Economic Growth
- 3) Failed United Arab Republic (UAR) Experiment, 1958-1961.

Seminar: The Origins, Structures, and Evolution of Politics in Populist Authoritarian States

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Is the apparent transition of weak unstable regimes into strong durable ones under these leaders a reality or illusion?
- 2) Examine the strategies of power sharing in authoritarian states under leaders such as Nasser in Egypt.

Readings:

Cleveland, *History of the Modern Middle East*, pgs. 183-89, 293-313.

Joel Beinin, *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East* pgs. 114-141.

Optional:

Raymond Baker, *Egypt's Uncertain Revolution*, sections on Nasser, pgs 17-114.

Mahmoud Abdel-Fadil, *The Political Economy of Nasserism*.

**WEEK 11: 24 April 2007**

**1967 and Nasser's Egypt**

Topic:

- 1) Society in Nasser's Egypt at the time of the 1967 war
- 2) The War and the Death of Arab Nationalism

Readings:

Al-Sayyid Marsot, pgs. 115-131.

Nagiub Mahfouz, *Miramar*.

**\*\*Please note that the second Review Essay is due today\*\***

**WEEKS 12-13: 8 and 15 May 2007**

**1970 and Beyond: Economic Liberalization and Post-Populist Authoritarian Development**

Topics:

- 1) Post-populist authoritarianism
- 2) Changing the character of political institutions (particularly the ruling party and the military)
- 3) Economic liberalization and superpower realignment
- 4) Changing the social contract
- 5) Workers dissent in the face of neo-liberal economic austerity
- 6) The affect of economic liberalization on Politics

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Explain Egypt's post-populist evolution of the populist authoritarian state.
- 2) Why does Egypt's post-populist state appear more durable and stable than its populist predecessor?

Readings :

Al-Sayyid Marsot, pgs 132-147.

Raymond Baker, *Egypt's Uncertain Revolution*, pgs 132-169.

Raymond Hinnebusch, *Egyptian Politics under Sadat*, sections on depoliticization of ruling party and the military, pgs. 40-77 & 100-131.

John Waterbury, "The Twilight of the State Bourgeoisie?" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (February 1991): pgs. 1-17.

Optional:

Raymond Hinnebusch, "Liberalization without Democratization in 'Post-Populist' Authoritarian States," in *Citizenship and the State in the Middle East: Approaches and Applications*, ed. by Butenschon, Davis and Hassassian, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000: pgs. 123-145.

Nazih Ayubi, "Etatism vs. Privatization: The Case of the Public Sector in Egypt," in Tim Niblock and Rodney Wilson, eds. *The Political Economy of the Middle East: The Role of the State*.

Tim Niblock & Emma Murphy, *Economic and Political Liberalization in the Middle East* – particularly David Pool, "The Links between Economic and Political Liberalization," pgs. 40-54.

**WEEK 14: 22 May 2007**

**Change and Continuity: Concluding remarks on Egyptian history in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

Readings:

Eberhard Kienle, "More than a Response to Islamism: The Political Deliberation of Egypt in the 1990s," *Middle East Journal* 52:2 Spring 1998: pgs. 219-236.

Nazih Ayubi, *Overstating the Arab State*, chapter 10.

Optional:

Marsha Pripstein Posusney, *Labor and the State in Egypt*.

**\*\*\*Final Exams Due\*\*\***