

Prof. Jason Brownlee  
 Batts 3.146  
 Office Hours: Fridays 2:00pm – 5:00pm  
 or by appointment: brownlee@austin.utexas.edu

Spring 2012  
 GOV 365N, #38797  
 Classroom: MEZ BO 0.306  
 TTh 8:00am – 9:30am

### **Egyptian Politics and Society**

In spring 2011, Egypt was described in American media as the “anchor” of US policy in the Middle East, a “strategic cornerstone,” and “the most important Arab country.” This course helps explain how Egypt came to occupy such a prominent place. We will address a number of major questions from political science as they pertain to Egypt: from state-building under Muhammad Ali in the early 19th century to the January 25 Revolution that toppled Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in 2011. Students will be asked to read carefully and participate actively. Class discussions and assignments will require comprehending and critiquing the assigned material.

#### **Texts**

There is no required book for purchase. All readings will be posted for printing from Blackboard or the web. I reserve the option of adding or amending the list of readings below.

#### **Course Objectives**

After successfully completing this course students will be able to:

- Speak knowledgeably about contemporary developments in Egypt.
- Read scholarly materials carefully and critically.

#### **Grading policy**

20% = participation (0-10 pts. for each half of the semester)

20% = ten current events synopses (each of the ten is worth 0-2 pts.).

60% = three exams (each of three is worth 0-20 pts.) (2/16, 3/29, 5/3)

From the total of the above items, final letter grades will be determined on the following scale:

90-100 = A    80-89 = B    70-79 = C    60-69 = D    0-59 = F

#### **Course Accessibility**

Students with disabilities may request appropriate academic accommodations from the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities, 471-6259, <http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/> Students with disabilities should also have a representative from the Office of the Dean of Students contact me as early as possible in the semester, ideally before the third class meeting. All accommodations must be coordinated through this office.

### **Use of laptops and handheld devices *may* be prohibited during class**

Cell phones should be powered off and stowed during class. If I deem that laptops are being used for web-browsing rather than note-taking, I reserve the option to forbid laptop use.

### **Active Class Participation**

In addition to attending all or nearly all class sessions, students should come to class ready to be called upon and provide the best answers they can reach from the readings and lecture. Participation for each half of the semester will be graded as follows: A = 10/10; B = 9/10; C = 8/10. Students who play an active and respectful role in advancing discussion and show a careful understanding of the readings will receive an A in participation. Students who answer appropriately when called upon and periodically contribute without prompting will receive a B in participation. Students who appear unprepared for class or do not meaningfully advance seminar discussions will receive lower grades in participation.

### **Weekly Media Synopsis**

Each Monday by noon students will submit to Blackboard a one-page (200-300 word) synopsis of the prior week's events in Egypt. These papers should be written double-spaced in a font size equivalent to Times New Roman 12 or Arial 11. I will provide additional instructions in class about the format and sources for these papers.

Synopses will be graded on a tripartite scale of full credit (2 pts), partial credit (1 pt.), and no credit (0 pts.). Full credit papers are those that cover the relevant material clearly and succinctly, and which reflect an active attention to current events concerning Egypt.

### **Exams**

This class has three exams (and no final). Although each exam focuses on the material covered in the preceding section of the course they are cumulative in the sense that questions may also address earlier material. The exams will be based on the readings and lectures. The format will be a combination of matching, short answer, and multiple choice.

### **A Note on Absences**

After the first two weeks I will not take attendance. You do not need to notify me before or after missing a class. You are, however, responsible for learning about what was covered *from your classmates*, rather than asking me: "What did I miss?"

## **COURSE SCHEDULE**

### **Part I. Domestic Politics.**

#### **Week 1, January 17, 19 – Recent events in Egypt**

Themes: Democracy and Authoritarianism

Lecture 1: Why study Egypt?

Lecture 2: A primer on contemporary Egypt

#### Readings

Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Karl, "What Democracy Is ...And Is Not," *Journal of Democracy* 2(3), Summer 1991, 75-88.

Jason Brownlee, "The Decline of Pluralism in Mubarak's Egypt," *Journal of Democracy* 13(4), October 2002, 6-14.

Tarek Masoud, "The Road To (and From) Liberation Square," *Journal of Democracy* 22(3), July 2011, 20-34.

#### **Week 2, January 24, 26 – Overview of Modern Egyptian History**

Theme: State-building

Lecture 3: Egypt 1805-1952 – The Muhammad Ali dynasty

Lecture 4: Egypt 1952-2011 – The Free Officers Regime

#### Readings

Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime. In *Bringing the State Back In*, Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (eds.) (New York: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 169–91.

Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot, *A Short History of Modern Egypt* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 2004), 54-81.

#### **Week 3, January 31, February 2 – Evolution of the Egyptian Army**

Theme: The military in politics

Lecture 5: Military professionalism

Lecture 6: The Egyptian armed forces at war and peace

### Readings

Paul Brooker, *Non-Democratic Regimes: Theory, Government, & Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 59-80, "The Emergence of Military Dictatorships."

Imad Harb, "The Egyptian Military in Politics: Disengagement or Accommodation?" *Middle East Journal*, 57:2 (Spring 2003), 269-290.

Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 51-95. [Read half for Week 3. We will discuss this reading in Week 4.]

### **Week 4, February 7, 9 – Dissent and Insurrection in Egypt**

Theme: Moderate and maximalist opposition

Lecture 5: Opposition parties in elections

Lecture 6: Revolts and insurgency

### Readings

Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37(3), August 2005, 371-395.

Jason Brownlee, "Unrequited Moderation: Credible Commitments and State Repression in Egypt," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 45(4), Winter 2010, 468-489.

### **Week 5, February 14, 16 (exam 1)**

Review. No new readings.

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## **Part II. International Relations**

**Week 6, February 21, 23** – Overview of post-World War II Middle East international relations.

Theme: Interests and power

Lecture 7: The British Withdrawal

Lecture 8: US Interests and Egyptian Interests

### Readings

Michael C. Hudson, "To Play the Hegemon: Fifty Years of US Policy toward the Middle East," *Middle East Journal* 50:3 (Summer 1996), 329-343.

Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, "Regional Leadership: Balancing off Costs and Dividends in the Foreign Policy of Egypt," in Bahgat Korany and Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, eds., *The Foreign Policies of Arab States: The Challenge of Globalization* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2008), 167-194.

**Week 7, February 28, March 1** – **Nasser's foreign policy: Why did he turn to the Soviet Union?**

Theme: Bargaining

Lecture 9: The beauty of non-alignment

Lecture 10: The necessity of Soviet patronage

### Readings

Miles Copeland, *The Game of Nations* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969), 18-33, 132-169.

Ian S. Lustick, "The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political 'Backwardness' in Historical Perspective," *International Organization* 51(4) (Autumn 1997), pp. 653–670, 675-83 (skip section on Saddam Hussein).

**Week 8, March 6, 8** – **Sadat's foreign policy: Why did he get to close the United States?**

Theme: Regime types, war, and peace

Lecture 11: The October 1973 War

Lecture 12: The Camp David Summit (1978) and the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty (1979)

Readings

Patrick Seale, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1988), pp. 185-225.

Jason Brownlee, "Peace before Freedom," *Political Science Quarterly* 126(4), (Winter 2011-2012), 641-668.

**Spring Break**

**Week 9, March 20, 22 – Preventing Democracy in Mubarak's Egypt**

Theme: Transnational security networks

Lecture 13: Cairo and Washington at the end of the Cold War

Lecture 14: The "War on Terrorism"

Readings

Hermann Frederick Eilts, "The United States and Egypt," in William Quandt, ed., *The Middle East: Ten Years after Camp David* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1988), 111-149.

Jason Brownlee, "The Succession Question," in *Democracy Prevention: The Politics of the U.S.-Egyptian Alliance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2012).

**Week 10, March 27, 29 (exam 2)**

Review. No new readings.

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### **Part III. The Arab Uprisings of 2011**

#### **Week 11, April 3, 5 – Activism in the late Mubarak Era**

Theme: Structure and agency under nondemocratic regimes

*No Class on April 3*

Lecture 15 (April 5): Opposition without opportunity

#### Readings

David Faris, "Revolutions Without Revolutionaries? Network Theory, Facebook, and the Egyptian Blogosphere," *Arab Media and Society* (September 2008), 1-11.

Rabab El-Mahdi, "Labour protests in Egypt: causes and meanings," *Review of African Political Economy*, 38(129), (September 2011), 387-402.

#### **Week 12, April 10, 12 – The January 25 Revolution**

Theme: Revolutions and durable authoritarianism

Lecture 16 (April 10): Was it a revolution?

April 12 – In-class video, *Frontline: Revolution in Cairo* (2011).

#### Readings

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 3-33.

Eva Bellin, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 36:2 (January 2004), 139–157.

Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Praxis of the Egyptian Revolution," *Middle East Report* 258, <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer258/praxis-egyptian-revolution>

#### **Week 13, April 17, 19 – Egypt and Tunisia Compared**

Theme: Elections and constitutional design

Lecture 17: The Jasmine Revolution

Lecture 18: Voting after Autocracy

### Readings

Peter J. Schraeder and Hamadi Redissi. "Ben Ali's Fall." *Journal of Democracy* 22:3 (July 2011), 5–19.

John M. Carey and Andrew Reynolds. "The Impact of Election Systems." *Journal of Democracy* 22(4) (October 2011), 36–47.

Other readings will be announced.

### **Week 14, April 24, 26 – Authoritarianism after Mubarak**

Theme: Democratization in the twenty-first century

Lecture 19: US relations with the SCAF

Lecture 20: The persistence of the security state

### Readings

Eva Bellin, "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring," *Comparative Politics* 44(2), (January 2012), 128-149.

Jason Brownlee, "The Transnational Challenge to Arab Freedom," *Current History*, November 2011, 317-323.

Other readings will be announced.

### **Week 15, May 1, May 3 (exam 3)**

Review. No new readings.

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## Suggestions for Close Reading

This class is based on close reading of the assigned texts and informed discussions in class. Students should expect to spend an average of 4-8 hours on homework per week. Accordingly, class meetings cover less than half of the time commitment needed for satisfactory performance: students may spend as much time working outside of class as they do in it.

Close reading entails reflecting on the text as you are reading, and evaluating the author's argument. Here are a few suggestions:

- Look for the author's argument and the evidence she uses to support it: What is the main claim she makes? With whom is she disagreeing? Then consider your reactions to the author's work: Does this make sense to you? Why or why not? What are the weaknesses of the argument?
- Read with pencil in hand. Jot down thoughts you want to raise in class. Write your reactions to the text in the margins. Above all, think about what you are reading; if you find yourself turning pages numbly, stop, take a pause, and then refocus on the author's chain of thought.
- Plan your readings to be spaced out in reasonable increments. Thoughtful reading takes time and energy. It is more pleasant and more productive to read over several days than to try and compress all the reading into a couple of nights.
- Don't use a highlighter. Writing comments (e.g., "good counterpoint to Huntington") helps a reader engage with the text, whereas highlighting encourages passivity and torpor.
- Keep track of the parts of the text where you had questions, objections, or fierce agreement with the author's points. Note page numbers on a separate sheet of paper. You may also want to use post-it flags for quick reference to key passages.
- When you are done reading, check to see that you can summarize the author's argument in a few sentences. You may want to take 5 minutes and write down this summary, particularly if you are reading several texts in a short period.
- Remember that the goal of close reading is not just to have turned pages, but to be able to say something about the material and evaluate it.

## Class Discussion

Class meetings are an opportunity to analyze the readings and the information given in lectures. My expectations are that all students will come to class having done a close reading of the assigned texts. All student should be ready to answer queries about the text, including "What is \_\_\_\_\_'s argument and what do you think of it?" Proper preparation will enable the class to have an informed discussion. An informed discussion entails the following:

- Active listening to whomever the instructor has recognized to speak. Like close reading, active listening requires reflection on what is being said. This means jotting down your reactions to the lecture or discussion and raising questions for your fellow classmates. It also means not talking while others are speaking.
- Responding, as best as you are able, to questions asked by the instructor. The material we will be reading is sometimes very difficult and complex. Because it is open to interpretation from many viewpoints, in most cases there will not a single correct answer. Nonetheless, it is incumbent upon all students to attempt to respond to questions in class by drawing upon the readings done outside of class.
- Letting the instructor know when a point is not clear. When you have a question, you are probably not the only one. By asking the instructor to clarify an issue from the readings or lectures, you are helping us all to learn more.
- Making your own points and arguments. You may recall what you said in class, much longer than you will remember what the instructor said. By sharing your reactions and thoughts with me and your classmates, you will take much more from this course than if you sat quietly.
- Respect your fellow students and the instructor. A rich discussion requires that many people participate. The instructor will actively moderate discussion in class so that all are given a chance to express their opinions. Those who have many points to share should listen closely to their colleagues and respect the instructor's judgment in facilitating a full conversation.

## OTHER COURSE POLICIES

### Late Assignments

Hard copies of assignments should be submitted at the beginning of class on the due date. Emailed papers will not be accepted. Late response papers will not be accepted. Extensions will only be granted in the event of an extreme and verifiable medical or family emergency (to be determined by the Office of the Dean of Students).

### Scholastic Dishonesty

“Scholastic dishonesty... includes but is not limited to, cheating, plagiarism, collusion, falsifying academic records, and any act designed to give unfair academic advantage to the student (such as, but not limited to, submission of essentially the same written assignment for two courses without prior permission of the instructor, providing false or misleading information in an effort to receive a postponement or an extension on a test, quiz, or other assignment), or the attempt to commit such an act” (Section 11-802 (b), *Institutional Rules on Student Services and Activities*).

More information about what constitutes scholastic dishonesty can be found at: <http://registrar.utexas.edu/catalogs/gi09-10/ch01/index.html> . Any student that violates this policy will fail this course and have the details of the violation reported to Student Judicial Services.

**Grade Appeals**

Any complaints about grades must be initiated by your written explanation of why the decisions behind the assignment of your grade should be revisited. You will have three class days after an assignment has been handed back to submit this written explanation.

Performance in other classes taken here at the university is not germane to any grading decision made in this class. For example, if receiving a D in this class places you on academic probation, this does not constitute a viable justification for requesting the regarding of an assignment.

**Eating in Class**

Eating, chewing gum, and chewing tobacco are not permitted in class. A closed-lid beverage is permitted, provided that its consumption does not disrupt teaching and discussion.

**Changes to the syllabus**

This syllabus is subject to revision at my discretion. Any changes will be announced in class.