Prof. Jason Brownlee Batts 3.146 Office Hours: MTW 4:00pm – 5:00pm

or by appointment: brownlee@austin.utexas.edu

Summer 2011 GOV F365N, #85277 MES F323K, #86899 Classroom: PAR 301 MTWThF 2:30pm – 3:45pm

Teaching Assistant Andrew Rottas Batts 1.118

Office Hours: TWTh 1:30pm - 2:30pm

or by appointment: andrew.rottas@mail.utexas.edu

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. Our analysis will move chronologically from state-building under Muhammad Ali in the early 19th century to the January 25, 2011 Revolution that toppled long-ruling Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak. Students will be asked to read carefully and write clearly. Class discussions and assignments will require comprehending and critiquing the assigned material.

Texts

The following book is available for purchase from the University Co-op:

• Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot, A History of Egypt: From the Arab Conquest to the Present (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Other readings will be posted for printing from Blackboard.

Course Objectives

After successfully completing this course students will be able to:

- Speak knowledgably about contemporary developments in Egypt.
- Read scholarly materials carefully and critically.
- Write succinct and clear answers to response questions.

Grading policy

20% = best four of five response papers (each worth 5%); (due 6/7, 6/14, 6/21, 6/28, 7/5)

40% = best two of three exams (each worth 20%) (6/9, 6/23, 7/7)

20% = attendance (20%), 1pt/day with a maximum of 20 pts

20% = present one side of one debate (10%), participate in audience of second debate (10%) (6/17, 7/1)

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

Any students with disabilities should 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 prohibited during class

Cell phones, laptops, and other electronic devices must be powered off and stowed during class. Students are expected to take notes by hand during lecture and discussion.

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. Credit for attendance presumes appropriate and respectful behavior toward instructors and classmates.

The Quiz Option

In the unlikely event that it appears the class has not completed the readings, I reserve the option of assigning unannounced quizzes that will constitute 10-20% of the final grade.

Weekly Response Papers

Each Tuesday at the beginning of class students will turn in (by hard copy) a 600-700 word paper responding to a question about recent material covered in class and readings. The questions are provided below, after the course calendar. Papers should be written double-spaced in a font size equivalent to Times New Roman 12 or Arial 11. Pages should be numbered.

Response papers will be graded on a tripartite scale of full credit (5 pts), partial credit (3 pts), and no credit (0 pts.). Full credit papers are those that speak directly, clearly, and succinctly to the question posed. The author has used concrete language, omitted needless words, and cited the readings using parenthetic citations (author year: page). No bibliography or list of sources is required.

After grading each set of response papers, the professor and teaching assistant will provide general suggestions and feedback, to the class as a whole, on how the papers could be improved. Students who want individual advice on improving their writing of response papers should schedule an appointment with the teaching assistant.

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.

Course Calendar

JUNE 2	JUNE 3, Day 1
Syllabus	Mohammed Ali's
	Egypt, 1805-
Video:	1922
Revolution in	
Egypt	
No readings	Al-Sayid Marsot,
	preface, pp. 65-
	97

JUNE 6, Day 2	JUNE 7, Day 3	JUNE 8, Day 4	JUNE 9, Day 5	JUNE 10, Day 6
The Liberal Experiment, 1922-1952	Gamal Abdel Nasser's Rule, 1952-1970 Response paper #1 due	Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak, 1970-2011	Exam 1	From the October War to the Jerusalem Visit, 1973-1977
Al-Sayid Marsot, pp. 98-126	Al-Sayid Marsot, pp. 127-155	Al-Sayid Marsot, pp. 156-177	No new readings	Seale

JUNE 13, Day 7	JUNE 14, Day 8	JUNE 15, Day 9	JUNE 16,Day 10	JUNE 17, Day 11
Neoliberal economic reform	Camp David and the Peace	The Carter Doctrine, US aid,	US-Egyptian relations under	In-class debate 1 Resolved: It is in
and the price riots, 1974-1977	Treaty, 1978- 1979	and Egypt's Changing Role in US Strategy	Mubarak	Egypt's national interest to stop receiving all US
	Response paper #2 due			aid
Waterbury, Stork	Quandt	Brown, Klare, El- Sayed, Naggar	Springborg, Freeman, Kadry Said, Sharp	No new readings

JUNE 20,Day 12	JUNE 21,Day 13	JUNE 22,Day 14	JUNE 23,Day 15	JUNE 24, Day 16
Egypt in the	Groundswell,	Obama and	Exam 2	Growing
Freedom	2006-2008	Mubarak, 2009		Opposition, 2010
Agenda and the				
War on Terror	Response paper			
	#3 due			
Bush, El-	Telhami	J. Scott	No new readings	El-Amrani
Ghobashy, Grey,		Carpenter and		
Bergen and		responses		
Tiedemann				

JUNE 27, Day 17	JUNE 28,Day 18	JUNE 29,Day 19	JUNE 30,Day 20	JULY 1, Day 21
The January 25 th	The SCAF's	Foreign Policy:	Accountability:	In-class debate 2
Revolution	Referendum	Overtures to Iran	Mubarak and	Resolved: Egypt
		and the Opening	sons on trial?	should put the
	Response paper	of Rafah		Camp David
	#4 due			treaty up for a
				popular
				referendum
Springborg,	Stacher, Sallam	Hinnebusch,		No new readings
Goldberg,		Sharp, Susser,		
"Revolution		Kestenbaum		
against neolib,"				
ICG, EI-				
Ghobashy				

JULY 5, Day 22	JULY 6, Day 23	JULY 7, Day 24
Topics and readings to be determined	Closing discussion	Exam 3
Response paper #5 due		

Response paper topics

#1 How did Egyptians pursue democracy during the monarchy of Mohammed Ali's family? (due 6/7)

#2 In your view, what were the most significant changes Sadat made to the Egyptian government's regional and domestic role? (6/14)

#3 What would have been the most effective use of American aid to Egypt to prompt Mubarak to lead the Middle East in democratic reform? (6/21)

#4 Do you consider the January 25th Revolution an actual revolution? Is it more of a revolution than the July 1952 Revolution? (6/28)

#5 In what ways is Egypt in July 2011 more democratic and free than it was one hundred years prior? (7/5)

Readings

June 3 (Day 1) - Al-Sayid Marsot, A History of Egypt, preface, pp. 65-97

June 6 (Day 2) - Al-Sayid Marsot, pp. 98-126

June 7 (Day 3) - **Al-Sayid Marsot**, pp. 127-155

June 8 (Day 4) - **Al-Sayid Marsot**, pp. 156-177

June 9 (Day 5) - no new readings, Exam 1

June 10 (Day 6) – **Patrick Seale**, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1988), pp. 185-225.

June 13 (Day 7) – **John Waterbury**, *Egypt: Burdens of the Past, Options for the Future* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), pp. 201-215; **Joe Stork**, "Bailing out Sadat," *MERIP Reports* 56 (April 1977), pp. 8-11.

June 14 (Day 8) – **William B. Quandt**, *Camp David: Peacemaking and Politics* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institute Press, 1986), pp. 206-258.

June 15 (Day 9) - **Harold Brown**, "What the Carter Doctrine Means to Me," *MERIP Reports No.* 90 (September 1980), pp. 20-23; **Michael Klare**, *American Arms Supermarket* (Austin, TX: University of Texas at Austin Press, 1984), pp. 127-147; **Mustafa Kamel El-Sayed**, "What have we done with US aid?" *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, June 21-27, 2001, **Ahmed Sayed El-Naggar**, "U.S. Aid to Egypt: The Current Situation and Future Prospects," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Web Commentary*, June 2009.

June 16 (Day 10) – **Robert Springborg**, "The President and the Field Marshal: Civil-Military Relations in Egypt Today," *Middle East Report* (July-August 1987), pp. 4-11, 14-16, 42; **Chas W. Freeman, Jr.** "U.S.-Egyptian Defense Relations," in Phoebe Marr, ed., *Egypt at the Crossroads: Domestic Stability and Regional Role* (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 1999), 203-220; **Mohamed Kadry Said**, "Assessing the United States-Egyptian Military and Security Relations," *Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies*, February 9, 2004 http://acpss.ahram.org.eg/eng/ahram/2004/7/5/STUD8.HTM; **Jeremy Sharp**, *Egypt: Background and U.S Relations* (Washington: Congressional Research Service, September 2, 2009), pp. 30-39.

June 17 (Day 11) – no new readings, Debate 1

June 20 (Day 12) – **George W. Bush**, "Remarks By The President at the 20th Anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy," Washington, D.C., November 6, 2003. http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/11/20031106-2.html; **Stephen Grey**, *Ghost Plane: The True Story of the C.I.A. Torture Program* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006), pp. 26-44;136-152; **Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann**, "Disappearing Act: Rendition by the Numbers," *Mother Jones*, March 3, 2008; **Mona El-Ghobashy**, "Egypt Looks ahead to portentous year," *Middle East Report Online*, February 2, 2005.

June 21 (Day 13) – **Shibley Telhami**, "America in Arab Eyes," *Survival* (spring 2007), pp. 107-122; **Michele Dunne, Amr Hamzawy, and Nathan J. Brown**, "Egypt—Don't Give Up on Democracy Promotion," Carnegie Endowment Policy Brief no. 52 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment, June 2007), pp. 1-7.

June 22 (Day 14) – **J. Scott Carpenter**, "Ditching Democracy in Egypt?" May 29, 2009 blog post and responses; watch and read **Barack Obama**, "The President's Speech in Cairo: A New Beginning," June 4, 2009, http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/NewBeginning

June 23 (Day 15) – no new readings, Exam 2

June 24 (Day 16) – **Solidarity Center**, *Justice for All: The Struggle for Worker Rights in Egypt* (Washington, DC: Solidarity Center, 2010), pp. 1-25; **Issandr El Amrani**, "Confronting Egypt's Dangerous Decline," *Project on Middle East Democracy Policy Brief*, January 6, 2011, http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/policy-brief-series elamrani.pdf

June 27 (Day 17) – **Robert Springborg**, "Game over: The chance for democracy in Egypt is lost," *Foreign Policy: The Middle East Channel* (blog), February 2, 2011, http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/02/02/game_over_the_chance_for_democracy_in_egypt_is_lost; **Ellis Goldberg**, "Mubarakism without Mubarak: Why Egypt's military will not embrace democracy," *Foreign Affairs.com*, February 11, 2011, http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67416/ellis-goldberg/mubarakism-without-mubarak?page=show; **Mona El-Ghobashy**, "The Praxis of the Egyptian Revolution," *Middle East Report* 258, http://www.merip.org/mer/mer258/praxis-egyptian-revolution; **International Crisis Group**, "Popular Protest in the Middle East and North Africa (I): Egypt Victorious?" *Middle East/North Africa Report No. 101*, February 24, 2011.

June 28 (Day 18) – **Joshua Stacher**, "Egypt without Mubarak," *Middle East Research and Information Project*, April 7, 2011, http://www.merip.org/mero/mero040711; **Hesham Sallam**, "Reflects on Egypt after March 19," *Jadaliyya* (blog), May 31, 2011, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/1728/reflections-on-egypt-after-march-19

June 29 (Day 19) – **Raymond A. Hinnebusch**, "Children of the Elite: Political Attitudes of the Westernized Bourgeoisie in Contemporary Egypt," *Middle East Journal* (August 1982), pp. 535-561 (skim); **Jeremy M. Sharp**, *Egypt in Transition* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, March 29, 2011), pp. 1-9; **Leslie Susser**, "Cairo Conundrum," *Jerusalem Report*, June 6, 2011, pp.4-7; **Sam Kestenbaum**, "After the Revolution Tough Realities," *Jerusalem Report*, June 6, 2011, pp. 8-9, 11.

June 30 (Day 20) - readings TBD

July 1 (Day 21) – no new readings, Debate 2

July 5 (Day 22) - readings TBD

July 6 (Day 23) - readings TBD

July 7 (Day 24) – no new readings, Exam 3

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 1-3 hours on homework per night. Accordingly, class meetings cover less than half of the time commitment needed for satisfactory performance: students will 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:

- <u>Look for the author's argument and the evidence</u> 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.
- <u>Plan your readings</u> 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.
- <u>Don't use a highlighter.</u> 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 <u>summarize the author's argument</u> 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 <u>asking the instructor to clarify an issue</u> 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 guietly.
- 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://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/sjs/acint_student.php . 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.