

## Country: Egypt

Years: 1945-1951

Leader: Farouk

Ideology: Rightist

Description: CHISOLS identifies leader's party as none. Perspective monde identifies leader party as independent. Lentz does not identify leader's party but notes "He encouraged the formation of anti-Wafd parties" (Lentz 1999). Reich (1990) notes that "Farouk had no one to check his excesses... The people and the politicians adored him; only later did they realize that they had spoiled him." Reich also notes that early in his career he was "competing with the Wafd for power. Nahhas [leader of the Wafd] tried to cut his allowance... Young Egypt (a right-wing nationalist group often called the 'Green Shirts') backed the king, while the Wafd had its 'blue shirts'" later however "Farouk appointed a strongman government in 1949 to clean out the revolutionaries. The Muslim Brothers and Young Egypt were purged, but not too effectively, for Farouk still feared the Wafd even more." Joes (1978) notes of the distributional nature of Farouk's Egypt that "In the Egypt of those days (the Farouk era) a desperately poor and ignorant peasantry was ruled by a cosmopolitan elite headed by a corrupt monarch." Bein (2020) noted that the Egyptian's supported the "Free officers execut[ing]... the coup... with the exception of the ruling class- the monarchy, the large landowners, the local urban business class." Bein continues "In the last years of the monarchy, wealth and political power were concentrated in the hands of twelve thousand large landowning families who comprised less than 0.5 percent of the rural population and owned about 35 percent of the arable land. At the bottom of the agrarian class structure, 60 percent of all rural households neither owned nor rented land and worked as wage laborers". McBride (1967) writes "By November [1951] left-wing elements were calling for a complete boycott of the British... Farouk made moves which confirmed his imperialist and capitalist outlook to the revolutionary element in Egypt."

Years: 1952-1953

Leader: Muhammad Naguib

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government's party as Liberation Rally (LR). Perspective monde identifies leader party as Liberation Rally. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Naguib's party affiliation as none in October 1952 and LR during 1953-1954. Party Facts (2020) indicates LR existence being from 1953-1957. Goldschmidt (2004) notes "during

the first year of the new Regime... In June 1953 the RCC formally ended the monarchy...[and] the RCC set up a new mass movement called the Liberation Rally.” DPI does not identify ideology. Waldner (nd) identifies LR as left, writing “The Liberation Rally called for the unconditional withdrawal of the British from the Suez Canal zone, self-determination for Sudan, the establishment of a socialist welfare state, panArabism, and the installation of a constitution guaranteeing civic liberties.” Beinin (2020) notes that “The Free Officers’ [the Junta which led the coup] program promised to eliminate “feudalism,” an imprecise term for the economic and political power of the large landowners. To accomplish this, they decreed a modest land reform... [and] By 1970, 15 percent of the arable land had been redistributed.” Beinin continues however that “the revolution had no coherent economic policy or political ideology. It had not been installed in power by a popular social movement or party; nor was it accountable to any such movement.”

Years: 1954-1969

Leader: Gamal Abdel Nasser

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government’s party as LR in 1955 and as NU between 1956-1961, noting “Nasser was also affiliated with the Liberation Rally... [but] Nasser frequently changed his political allegiance ... from LR to National Union in 1956 and from National Union to Arab Socialist Union in 1963.”. Perspective monde identifies leader party as Liberation Rally. DPI does not identify ideology. Waldner (nd) identifies LR as left, writing “The Liberation Rally called for the unconditional withdrawal of the British from the Suez Canal zone, self-determination for Sudan, the establishment of a socialist welfare state, panArabism, and the installation of a constitution guaranteeing civic liberties.” In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Left” (-3.24) in 1971. *The World Today* identifies NU as left: “Its aim is to set up a ‘co-operative, democratic, and socialist society.’ The vehicle chosen to bring about this ideal is a one-party, nation-wide organization known as the National Union.” Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. The Country Study of Egypt notes “The Gamal Abdul Nasser regime (1952-1970) inherited an underdeveloped economy with great inequalities... [and] undertook the task of economic restructuring. The process transformed the state into the dominant economic agent in the country and culminated in a new economic system labeled “Arab socialism” in the National Charter issued in 1962.” The Country Study continues, “The government implemented a land reform program that aimed at eliminating what it referred to as a “feudalist” stratification of landholding and instead distributed land to small peasants and the landless.” Metz (1990) notes that

“Because of the economic difficulties in the second half of the 1960s, which were exacerbated by the June 1967 War with Israel, the regime began to reconsider aspects of state controls and its attitude toward the private sector.” Shehata (2011) notes in the 1950s and 1960s, the Nasser regime, which was at once authoritarian and populist, forged a ruling bargain with labor and the middle class. All political parties were banned and all civil-society organizations, including trade unions, came under the direct control of the regime. In return, the state provided social and welfare services in the form of government employment; subsidies for food, energy, housing, and transportation; and free education and healthcare.” Bein (2020) notes “Gamal Abdel Nasser... [was] champion of Arab Socialism, and anti-imperialism.” but that “Nasser and the great majority of the Free Officers were resolutely anti-communist... most famously, Anwar al-Sadat, (and briefly Nasser himself) had been members of the Muslim Brotherhood before joining the Free Officers.” Bein continues however that “the revolution had no coherent economic policy or political ideology. It had not been installed in power by a popular social movement or party; nor was it accountable to any such movement. Nasser consolidated power in his hands by outmaneuvering his rivals in March 1954.”

Years: 1970-1980

Leader: Sadat

Ideology: Leftist

Description: CHISOLS identifies leader party as ASU. Perspective monde identifies leader party as Arab Socialist Union and the National Democratic Party. DPI does not identify ideology. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government's party as “Left” (-3.24) in 1971 and “Center-left” (-.819) in 1976 and 1979. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Metz (1990) notes that “Because of the economic difficulties in the second half of the 1960s... the regime began to reconsider aspects of state controls and its attitude toward the private sector. A pronounced shift in orientation, however, awaited Sadat's takeover at the end of 1970.” It continues that “A combination of economic problems, political considerations, and his own predilections led Sadat after the October 1973 War, to declare a new policy he dubbed *infitah* (opening or open door). The main ingredients of the policy were to relax existing government controls over the economy and bureaucratic procedures, to encourage the private sector, and to stimulate a large inflow of foreign funds.” Metz (1990) notes that “A pronounced shift in [Egyptian economic policy] orientation, however, awaited Sadat's takeover at the end of 1970. A combination of economic problems, political considerations, and his own predilections led Sadat after the October 1973 War, to declare a new policy he dubbed *infitah* (opening or open door). The main ingredients of the

policy were to relax existing government controls over the economy and bureaucratic procedures, to encourage the private sector, and to stimulate a large inflow of foreign funds.” Hinnebusch (1984) notes “When Anwar Sadat came to power... [he] concluded that Nasir's policies would no longer work and that a new course had urgently to be found... . Sadat's answer to the national and personal dilemmas he faced in 1971 was to veer "right." First, he began to cultivate, as his main base of support, the bourgeoisie... Second, in policy terms, he began a reversal of many of the works of Nasir: a solution to the Israeli occupation sought in American diplomacy and a peace settlement, and to the economic crisis in economic liberalization and opening (Infitah) to the capitalist West.” Tachau (1994) note “Upon coming to power after Nasser’s death in 1970, Sadat began a slow process of revising and sometimes even abandoning many of Nasser’s policies... In economic policy, Sadat moved uncertainly towards liberalism.” Beinin (2020) notes “Nasser and the great majority of the Free Officers were resolutely anti-communist... most famously, Anwar al-Sadat, (and briefly Nasser himself) had been members of the Muslim Brotherhood before joining the Free Officers.” Schlager et al. (2006) write “Socialist reforms remain highly debated. Many supported the dramatic turn toward privatization engineered by Nasser’s successor, Anwar Sadat (1970–81)... Anwar Sadat... set out to liberalize the economy.”

Years: 1981-2010

Leader: Mubarak

Ideology: Centrist

Description: CHISOLS identifies leader party as HDW (Hizb al-Dimuqratiyah al-Wataniyah / National Democratic Party NDP). Perspective monde identifies leader party as National Democratic Party. DPI does not identify ideology. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Center-left” (-.819) in 1979, “Center” (-.313) in 1984, “Center-right” (.814) in 1987, and “Center-right” (1.412) in 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as “center-right”. Al-Sholi (2019) notes that Mubarak was a proponent of state facilitated ISI which was pivoted away from after the 90s, “As pressure mounted on President Hosni Mubarak’s last gust of ISI in the 1990s, a turn to export-led orientation and a liberalized business environment became necessary.” Shehata (2011) mentions distributional changes in Mubarak’s Egypt, noting “Factory workers, landless peasants, government employees, and those who produce goods for the local market suffered most. They depended on government services and subsidies, as well as on market protections, and many saw their fortunes fall as a result of the economic liberalization. At the same time, a new Egyptian business elite emerged:

some people exploited the period of economic reform... Thus, there soon emerged a two-tiered society: the majority of the Egyptian population increasingly marginalized, while a small minority prospered like never before.” El-Ghobashy (2011) notes that “He [Mubarak] presided over the transformation of the economy from a command model with the state as primary owner to a neoliberal model with the state as a conduit for the transfer of public assets to cronies.” Schlager et al. (2006) write “Egypt today is a “socialist democratic” republic ruled by an authoritarian president, Hosni Mubarak, who has governed since 1981.”

Year: 2011

Leader: Tantawi

Ideology:

Description: Perspective monde does not identify leader party. The Telegraph notes “Sheikh Mohammed Sayyid Tantawi... was a moderate, sometimes progressive voice at the apex of Islamic scholarship during a period when such measured tones tended to be drowned out on the international scene by his more militant rivals.” They continue “Unwillingly but inevitably, Tantawi helped unite much of the opposition to Middle Eastern, pro-American dictatorships (such as the one he served) behind the conservative forces of the Muslim Brotherhood and their allies and offshoots. Moderate attitudes towards religion and society favored previously by liberals and nationalists came to be associated with him.” Finally it is noted that he was closely allied with the centrist Mubarak, “his loyalty to Hosni Mubarak, the autocratic Egyptian president, which seemed sometimes to verge on slavish, provoked criticism and contempt at home and abroad.” The Barcelona Center for International Affairs (2020) notes “Marshal Tantawi had a reputation as a reactionary militia professional, opposed to any liberalization, albeit without political ambitions.”

Year: 2012

Leader: Morsi

Ideology: Leftist

Description: Perspective monde identifies leader party as Freedom and Justice Party. CHISOLS identifies leader party as FJP. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader’s party as “Center-left” (-1.243) in 2011. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader’s party as having “Virtually no visible disagreement” in 2011. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as moderate right. The New Republic noted in a 2012 profile of Morsi that “Morsi was committed to whatever the [Muslim] Brotherhood dictated.. the Brotherhood’s stated doctrines... were committed to the economic stability that had allowed several of them to earn significant wealth... and so Morsi became a strong advocated for Egypt’s free-

market economy.” The New Republic continues with “Morsi’s pragmatic acceptance of a liberal economy wasn’t undergirded by liberal ideals... What tempered his approach to politics wasn’t the belief that all viewpoints were equally deserving of respect, but rather that there were constant impediments to implementing the one truly authoritative viewpoint.” Ortiz de Zárate (2012) writes “Mursi favored a mixed type, with a balanced distribution of powers between the Executive and the Parliament... The LJP's economic plan was not particularly original and was aimed at the general desire to reduce poverty, generate job opportunities for young people and improve minimum wages, but without questioning free market principles. It did emphasize correcting acute social imbalances through more distributive fiscal policies and more progressive taxation.”

Year: 2013

Leader: Mansour

Ideology:

Description: Perspective monde identifies leader party as independent. CHISOLS identifies leader party as none. In 2013, a CNN profile in Mansour notes “Profiles of him [Mansour] in local and international media have stuck to the basics.... Facts that hardly offer an insight into how Mansour will run the country... ‘he represents what the military needs, a fairly low-profile but respected technocrat’... he is viewed as an independent.” Egyptian military officers said of their choice to give Mansour interim rule that “He will establish a government that is strong and diverse” according to the same CNN report. Quartz noted at the time that “he is a career bureaucrat... an assistant delegate in the State Council, part of Egypt’s judiciary... [and later] was appointed to the Supreme Constitutional Court.” The article continues “In some sense, then, Mansour is a member of the old guard, having served most of his career under the rule of Egypt’s previous president, Hosni Mubarak... but even under Mubarak, the court maintained an independent bent... [which caused] The Mubarak government crack[ing] down on the court in the 2000s” meaning that “given the court’s history, he is probably seen as a relatively neutral arbiter- at least, as neutral as it gets in Egypt these days.”

Years: 2014-2020

Leader: al-Sisi

Ideology:

Description: Perspective monde (2020) identifies leader party as none. World Statesmen (2020) identifies leader party as none. CHISOLS identifies leader party as none. Aziz (2019) identifies al-Sisi as aligned with the Al-Nour party noting that “When Sisi announced the overthrow of Mohamed Morsi and the end of the

Muslim Brotherhood regime on July 3, 2013, religious rule was widely seen as having ended. But it had not. Sisi's real piety, ideas, and actions are quintessential Salafist... Sisi [then] invited [al-] Nur to stand by his side" this arrangement saw "Sisi provide Nur with protection... [and] leaders of al-Nur... supported Sisi's election in 2014 and 2018." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 8 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Party of Light (Al-Nour) as 4.0. Emam's (2019) profile of Sisi mentions that "he [Sisi] competed against Egypt's most prominent leftist politician, Hamdeen Sabahi, for the presidency."

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