Country: Egypt

Years: 1946-1947

Head of government: Mahmoudan-Nukrashi Pasha

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Tucker and Roberts (2008) identifies Pasha’s party as Saadist Institutional Party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as Saadist Institutional Party.

Year: 1948

Head of government: Ibrahim Abdel Hashi Pasha

Ideology: Centrist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. Tucker and Roberts (2008) identifies Pasha’s party as Saadist Institutional Party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as Saadist Institutional Party. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as centrist.

Year: 1949

Head of government: Hussein Sirri Pasha

Ideology: Centrist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Tucker and Roberts (2008)identifies Pasha as without party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as none. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as centrist. Stadiem (1991) notes that Farouk was pressed to have a Wafd or Wafd-coalition government replace Hussein Sirri Pasha’s government instead of the existing coalition. Moreover, Stadiem notes Sirri and Farouk were incredible close saying, “Sirri was well regarded, but his reputation as the "king's man."

Years: 1950-1951

Head of government: Mustafaan-Nahhas Pasha

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as Al-Wafd party. Reid (1982) identifies Pasha’s party as Wafd. Perspective monde does not identify leader ideology. Hinnebusch (1984) notes that “Although perhaps appropriate for the purpose of nationalist mobilization, the program of the Wafd was ambivalent and vague owing to its nature as an all- embracing independence movement which combined leadership by the Westernized bourgeoisie with a cross-class mass base… The Wafd's political formula was, in a context of rule by imperialism and monarchy, radical democratic-liberal political rights, universal suffrage, popular sovereignty. Hinnebusch (1984) continues “its [the Wafd’s] egalitarianism did not extend much beyond the political sphere…. Although at times Zaghlul's rhetoric took on an antiestablishment tone, the Wafd's leaders-lawyers and proprietors-never ques- tioned the sanctity of private property or envisioned a social revolution. Rather, they sought the creation of an Egyptian national capitalism. The Wafd advocated the encouragement and protection of national industry.” Hinnebusch (1984) identifies Wafd as right saying “These changes [during the Sadat years] set the stage for the resurrection of the Wafd. The liberalization and growing conservatism of the political climate seemed to favor a liberal-right ideology and the party experiment provided the opportunity to translate support for such a course into political organization”. Diab (2014) writes “Moreover, for their own historical reasons, both the secular and Islamist movements have striven to rid Egypt of foreign influence, whether it was Ottoman, British, Soviet or American. This took off in earnest with another revolution almost a century ago, led by Egyptian centrist and rightist liberals, mainly al-Wafd. Not long after, Hassan al-Banna set up the Muslim Brotherhood, also to counteract British influence, but shunning al-Wafd’s secular liberalism in favour of conservative Islam. For leftists, the benchmark for secular, pan-Arabist independence was, at least ostensibly, set by Gamal Abdel-Nasser, who spearheaded the 1952 revolution/military coup.”

Years: 1952-1953

Head of government: 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.” Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective monde does not identifies leader ideology.

Years: 1954-1961

Head of government: 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. Perspective monde identifies leader party as Liberation Rally (LR). World Statesmen (2020) identifies party as National Union “NU” beginning in 1957 and Arab Socialist Union “ASU” beginning in 1962. Party Facts (2020) indicates National Union (NU) existed from 1957-1962. 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.” *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. Perspective monde does not identify leader ideology. 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 states 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.”

Years: 1962-1964

Head of government: Ali Sabri

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as Arab Socialist Union. *Economic and Political Weekly* identifies Sabri’s party as ASU. Rulers (2020) notes “Sabri… served as secretary-general of the Arab Socialist Union.” In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Left” (-3.24) in 1971. Tachau (1994) identifies ASU as left, saying “The ideological nature of the ASU meant that the party went beyond merely supporting the regime to cementing its commitment to equity, public ownership, and Arab nationalism.” Perspective monde does not identify leader ideology. 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 states 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.”

Year: 1965

Head of government: Zakaria Mohieddin

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as Arab Socialist Union. Tucker and Roberts (2008) identifies Mohieddin’s party as ASU. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Left” (-3.24) in 1971. Tachau (1994) identifies ASU as left, saying “The ideological nature of the ASU meant that the party went beyond merely supporting the regime to cementing its commitment to equity, public ownership, and Arab nationalism.” 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 states 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.”

Year: 1966

Head of government: Muhammad Sedki Sulayman

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as Arab Socialist Union. Tucker and Roberts (2008) identifies Sulayman’s party as ASU. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Left” (-3.24) in 1971. Tachau (1994) identifies ASU as left, saying “The ideological nature of the ASU meant that the party went beyond merely supporting the regime to cementing its commitment to equity, public ownership, and Arab nationalism.” 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 states 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.”

Years: 1967-1969

Head of government: Gamal Abdel Nasser

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as Arab Socialist Union during the indicated period, 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 Arab Socialist Union. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Left” (-3.24) in 1971. Tachau (1994) identifies ASU as left, saying “The ideological nature of the ASU meant that the party went beyond merely supporting the regime to cementing its commitment to equity, public ownership, and Arab nationalism.” 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 states 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.”

Years: 1970-1971

Head of government: Mahmoud Fawzi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as Arab Socialist Union. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Left” (-3.24) in 1971. *MERIP Report* identifies Fawzi’s party as ASU. Tachau (1994) identifies ASU as left, saying “The ideological nature of the ASU meant that the party went beyond merely supporting the regime to cementing its commitment to equity, public ownership, and Arab nationalism.”

Years: 1972-1973

Head of government: Aziz Sedki

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as Arab Socialist Union. Tucker and Roberts (2008) identifies Sedki’s party as ASU. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Left” (-3.24) in 1971. Tachau (1994) identifies ASU as left, saying “The ideological nature of the ASU meant that the party went beyond merely supporting the regime to cementing its commitment to equity, public ownership, and Arab nationalism.”

Year: 1974

Head of government: Abdelaziz Muhammad Hejazi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as Arab Socialist Union. Tucker and Roberts (2008) identifies Hejazi’s party as ASU. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Left” (-3.24) in 1971. Tachau (1994) identifies ASU as left, saying “The ideological nature of the ASU meant that the party went beyond merely supporting the regime to cementing its commitment to equity, public ownership, and Arab nationalism.”

Years: 1975-1977

Head of government: Mamdouh Muhammad Salem

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as Arab Socialist Union (ASU). In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Left” (-3.24) in 1971. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Salem’s party as Arab Socialist Union from 1975-1977. Tachau (1994) identifies ASU as left, saying “The ideological nature of the ASU meant that the party went beyond merely supporting the regime to cementing its commitment to equity, public ownership, and Arab nationalism.”

Years: 1978-1980

Head of government: Mustafa Khalil

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as National Democratic Party. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as center right. *MERIP Reports* identifies Khalil’s party as National Democratic Party (NDP). In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Center-left” (-.819) in 1979. Tachau (1994) identifies NDP as left noting “With [ASU] party unity breaking down… Mahjub allowed various platforms to form within the party in 1975. These platforms represented the left, center, right and Nasserist wings of the party [the ASU]… The center platform, which eventually evolved into the National Democratic Party, won the 1976 election.”

Year: 1981

Head of government: Muhammad Hosni Mubarak

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government party as HDW (Hizb al-Dimuqratiyah al-Wataniyah / National Democratic Party NDP). Perspective monde identifies leader party as National Democratic Party. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as center right. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Center-left” (-.819) in 1979. Tachau (1994) identifies NDP as centrist noting “With [ASU] party unity breaking down… Mahjub allowed various platforms to form within the party in 1975. These platforms represented the left, center, right and Nasserist wings of the party [the ASU]… The center platform, which eventually evolved into the National Democratic Party, won the 1976 election.” Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. 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.”

Years: 1982-1983

Head of government: Ahmad Fuad Mohieddin

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as National Democratic Party. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Center-left” (-.819) in 1979. Tachau (1994) identifies NDP as left noting “With [ASU] party unity breaking down… Mahjub allowed various platforms to form within the party in 1975. These platforms represented the left, center, right and Nasserist wings of the party [the ASU]… The center platform, which eventually evolved into the National Democratic Party, won the 1976 election.” Rulers (2020) notes “Mohiedden [was] a moderate social democrat”. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as center right.

Year: 1984

Head of government: Kamal Hassan Ali

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as National Democratic Party. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as center right. Tucker and Roberts (2008) identifies Ali’s party as Hizb al Dimuqratiyah al Wataniyah (NDP). In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Center” (-.313) in 1984. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Virtually no visible disagreement” in 1984. Tachau (1994) identifies NDP as left noting “With [ASU] party unity breaking down… Mahjub allowed various platforms to form within the party in 1975. These platforms represented the left, center, right and Nasserist wings of the party [the ASU]… The center platform, which eventually evolved into the National Democratic Party, won the 1976 election.”

Year: 1985

Head of government: Ali Mahmoud Lutfi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as National Democratic Party. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as center right. Tucker and Roberts (2008) identifies Ali’s party as Hizb al Dimuqratiyah al Wataniyah (NDP). In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Center” (-.313) in 1984. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Virtually no visible disagreement” in 1984. Tachau (1994) identifies NDP as left noting “With [ASU] party unity breaking down… Mahjub allowed various platforms to form within the party in 1975. These platforms represented the left, center, right and Nasserist wings of the party [the ASU]… The center platform, which eventually evolved into the National Democratic Party, won the 1976 election.”

Years: 1986-1995

Head of government: Atef Muhammad Naguib Sedki

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as National Democratic Party. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as center right. Tucker and Roberts (2008) identifies Ali’s party as Hizb al Dimuqratiyah al Wataniyah (NDP). In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Center” (-.313) in 1984 and “Center-right” (.814) in 1987 and   
“Center-right” (1.412) in 1990, and 1995. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Virtually no visible disagreement” in 1984 and 1987, “Negligible visible disagreement” in 1990 and back to “Virtually no visible disagreement” in 1995. Tachau (1994) identifies NDP as left noting “With [ASU] party unity breaking down… Mahjub allowed various platforms to form within the party in 1975. These platforms represented the left, center, right and Nasserist wings of the party [the ASU]… The center platform, which eventually evolved into the National Democratic Party, won the 1976 election.” Rulers notes that Sedki “resisted implementation of economic reforms approved by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.”

Years: 1996-1998

Head of government: Kamal Ganzouri

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies leader party as National Democratic Party. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as center right. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Tucker and Roberts (2008) identifies Ali’s party as Hizb al Dimuqratiyah al Wataniyah (NDP). In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Center-right” (1.412) in 1995. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Virtually no visible disagreement” in 1995. Tachau (1994) identifies NDP as left noting “With [ASU] party unity breaking down… Mahjub allowed various platforms to form within the party in 1975. These platforms represented the left, center, right and Nasserist wings of the party [the ASU]… The center platform, which eventually evolved into the National Democratic Party, won the 1976 election.”

Years: 1999-2003

Head of government: Atef Ebeid

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as National Democratic Party. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as center right. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Center-right” (1.412) in 1995 and 2000. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Virtually no visible disagreement” in 1995 and “Negligible visible disagreement” in 2000. Tucker and Roberts (2008) identifies Ali’s party as Hizb al Dimuqratiyah al Wataniyah (NDP). Tachau (1994) identifies NDP as left noting “With [ASU] party unity breaking down… Mahjub allowed various platforms to form within the party in 1975. These platforms represented the left, center, right and Nasserist wings of the party [the ASU]… The center platform, which eventually evolved into the National Democratic Party, won the 1976 election.”

Years: 2004-2010

Head of government: Ahmed Nazif

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as National Democratic Party. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as center right. Tucker and Roberts (2008) identifies Ali’s party as Hizb al Dimuqratiyah al Wataniyah (NDP). In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Center-right” (1.412) in 2000, 2005 and 2010. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Negligible visible disagreement” in 2000, 2005 and “Virtually no visible disagreement” in 2010. Tachau (1994) identifies NDP as left noting “With [ASU] party unity breaking down… Mahjub allowed various platforms to form within the party in 1975. These platforms represented the left, center, right and Nasserist wings of the party [the ASU]… The center platform, which eventually evolved into the National Democratic Party, won the 1976 election.”

Years: 2011

Head of government: Kamal Ganzouri

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as independent. Tucker and Roberts (2008) identifies Ali’s party as Hizb al Dimuqratiyah al Wataniyah (NDP). In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Center-right” (1.412) in 2010. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Virtually no visible disagreement” in 2010. Tachau (1994) identifies NDP as left noting “With [ASU] party unity breaking down… Mahjub allowed various platforms to form within the party in 1975. These platforms represented the left, center, right and Nasserist wings of the party [the ASU]… The center platform, which eventually evolved into the National Democratic Party, won the 1976 election.”

Years: 2012

Head of government: Hisham Qandil

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies leader party as independent.

Years: 2013

Head of government: Hazem el-Beblawi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. World Statesmen (2020) identifies party affiliation as none. Dailynewsegypt.com indentifies El-Beblawi’s party as Egyptian Social Democratic Party prior to 2013 saying “El-Beblawi and Deputy Prime Minister Ziad Bahaa El-Din have both frozen their memberships in the Egyptian Social Democratic Party.” BBC.com identifies al-Beblawi’s party as Egyptian Social Democrat Party: “He formed the Egyptian Social Democrat Party after the revolution.” Shehata (2011) writes of the Egyptian Social Democratic Party: “It emphasizes both free market economics and social justice as part of a free and democratic system… [where] social and economic rights are also key components of the party’s programme, including the right to housing, education, health and a minimum wage.” In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s party as “Center-left” (-.537) in 2011. BBC.com notes that “Mr. Beblawi is known for his liberal views on the economy and supports a free market system in Egypt.” Ahram online notes “Egyptian Social Democratic Party was founded in the wake of Egypt's January 25 Revolution… [by] groups include[ing] individuals, who prior to the revolution were involved in an unsuccessful attempt to form a center-left party” It continues “The party emphasizes the need to support labor within a free market system. Founding member Farid Zahran once said: “I cannot have a social democratic party without having a businessman and a union representative side by side.”… [and] Members insist that the party is neither strictly liberal nor leftist. Instead, many supporters contend that the Egyptian Social Democratic Party represents the combination of reform-minded leftists and market-oriented liberals.”

Years: 2014

Head of government: Ibrahim Mahlab

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. World Statesmen (2020) identifies party affiliation as none. Beinin (2015) writes that “What is certain is that the government of Prime Minister Ibrahim Mahlab, a former member of the National Democratic Party’s Policies Committee, the political apparatus of Mubarak *fils* and leading neoliberal promoter, Gamal Mubarak… proved even less friendly to labour than its predecessor.” Beinin continues noting that “Most of the ministers in el-Beblawi’s government retained their posts; only those identified as liberals were removed. Kamal Abu Eita was replaced as Minister of Manpower and Migration by Nahid al-‘Ashri, who… during the Mubarak era… oversaw the privatization of Ghazl Shibin, Tanta Flax and Oils and other firms,” additionally, at the time of her appointment “many workers and leftists… criticized al-‘Ashri’s appointment saying, ‘She’s the worst person who could possibly be chosen to fill the post of Minister of Manpower’.” In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government’s former party as “Center-right” (1.412) in 2010.

Years: 2015-2017

Head of government: Sherif Ismail

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. Perspective monde identifies leader party as independent. *Egypt: Labour Laws and Regulations Handbook (Volume 1: Strategic Information and Basic Laws* identifies Ismail as independent. World Statesmen identifies Ismail’s party as non-party. Ahram.org notes that Ismail at the time of his appointment to Prime Minister was “a career engineering technocrat with no history of membership in political parties.”

Years: 2018-2020

Head of government: Mostafa Madbouly

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as none. Perspective Monde identifies head of government’s party as independent. Perspective monde (2020) identifies head of government’s party as none. World Statesmen (2020) identifies head of government’s party as none.

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