“THE A-TEAM”
AUTHORS AND EDITOR OF THIS BOOKLET
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001</td>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003</td>
<td>Our Revolution Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005</td>
<td>Photos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## SECTION 2: WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>006</td>
<td>Paper by Ahmed Ezz-Eldin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>007</td>
<td>Paper by Aida M. Yehia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>009</td>
<td>Paper by Dalia Abbas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>011</td>
<td>Paper by Dina Salah elDin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>013</td>
<td>Paper by Hany Hanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>015</td>
<td>Paper by Ihab M. el-Sokary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>016</td>
<td>Paper by Mohamed E. el-Gindy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>018</td>
<td>Paper by Ramadan A. Moussa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>019</td>
<td>Paper by Salma A. Gaber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>021</td>
<td>Paper by Sarah M. el-Massery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>022</td>
<td>Paper by Sean D. Graham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>024</td>
<td>Paper by Yasminah el-Sayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>025</td>
<td>Photos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## SECTION 3: HOW I EXPERIENCED THE REVOLUTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>026</td>
<td>Paper by Ahmed Ezz-Eldin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>027</td>
<td>Paper by Aida M. Yehia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>028</td>
<td>Paper by Dalia Abbas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>029</td>
<td>Paper by Dina Salah elDin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>030</td>
<td>Paper by Hany Hanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>032</td>
<td>Paper by Ihab M. el-Sokary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>034</td>
<td>Paper by Mohamed E. el-Gindy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>036</td>
<td>Paper by Ramadan A. Moussa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>037</td>
<td>Paper by Salma A. Gaber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>038</td>
<td>Paper by Sarah M. el-Massery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>040</td>
<td>Paper by Sean D. Graham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>043</td>
<td>Paper by Yasminah el-Sayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>045</td>
<td>Photos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION 4: THE CHANGES I WANT TO SEE IN EGYPT IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

046 Paper by Ahmed Ezz-Eldin
047 Paper by Aida M. Yehia
049 Paper by Dalia Abbas
050 Paper by Dina Salah elDin
051 Paper by Hany Hanna
052 Paper by Ihab M. el-Sokary
053 Paper by Mohamed E. el-Gindy
059 Paper by Ramadan A. Moussa
061 Paper by Salma A. Gaber
062 Paper by Sarah M. el-Massery
063 Paper by Sean D. Graham
065 Paper by Yasminah el-Sayed
067 Photos

SECTION 5: CURRICULA VITAE OF AUTHORS AND EDITOR

068 CV of Ahmed Ezz-Eldin
070 CV of Aida M. Yehia
072 CV of Dalia Abbas
074 CV of Dina Salah elDin
076 Bio of Hany M. Hanna
077 CV of Ihab M. el-Sokary
079 Bio of Jerry W. Leach
080 CV of Mohamed E. el-Gindy
082 CV of Ramadan A. Moussa
084 CV of Salma A. Gaber
086 CV of Sarah M. el-Massery
089 CV of Sean D. Graham
091 CV of Yasminah el-Sayed
092 Photos

PHOTO CREDITS

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The student assistants of the American Studies Center team and I were on a field trip to Rice University in Houston and Washington, D.C, my home, when the Egyptian uprisings began. The earlier events in Tunisia had lead to excited discussion about whether or not the Tunisian Revolution would succeed and whether or not there might be other large-scale protests in the Arab world. Facebook brought invitations to the students to join a big rally planned with sardonic irony on National Police Day, January 25th.

We were seeing the White House, meeting at Sen. Jeff Merkley’s office on Capitol Hill, and watching the State of the Union address when everything started in Cairo. At first, the reaction of the students was low-key and divided – just another demonstration which will soon fizzle or be suppressed as many had before. Three days later when we landed in Cairo, opinion on the delegation had changed because an ever expanding crowd of tens of thousands had turned out and stayed in Tahrir Square, buildings were on fire, the police were firing live ammunition, National Democratic Party headquarters and many police stations were on fire, and the protestors had rallied around the central, previously unthinkable theme “Mubarak Must Go.” Now it was clear something major was afoot.

We all went home to different parts of Cairo during the curfew. The essays here describe the different paths we all followed through the 18 days before Mubarak resigned. After the delayed opening of AUC, we got together at the center to discuss what was happening. We decided to scrap our previous plans for the semester – field trips, discussions, film series, speeches, and a conference on global warming – and concentrate entirely on the revolution. It was “the” topic on everyone’s minds. We all felt that we were living through a watershed event in Egyptian history, something many Egyptians wanted to happen but had come to believe would never happen.

This student-authored publication became the first part of our new plan. The 12 assistants working with the center would write three personal essays each on three main topics: 1) what I think were the causes of the Revolution, 2) how I experienced the revolution, and 3) the changes I want to see in Egypt over the next 10 years. One unusual feature of the essays was that three of the students were in study abroad programs in Osaka, Boston, and Chicago during the revolution. Hence we got long-range views plus write-ups of local experiences from where they were. Our goal was to put out the collected essays in print and on the web during the semester. We assumed the work would help clarify our thinking and perhaps find help the writers find their personal roles in the still evolving revolution. We all agreed that we would meet for follow-up discussions, possibly even a successor publication, as the years went by after AUC. I agreed to return to Cairo from Washington to be a part of this process.

Our definition of “revolution” involved three criteria: a) a large-scale uprising of the people, b) a changeover in some or all of the top power-holders in society, and 3) major changes in the way power is structured and distributed in society. As part of our initiative, we held discussions on coup d’états, rebellions, civil wars, and major political system changes brought about by voting. We also discussed the American, French, Russian, Turkish, Chinese, and Iranian revolutions as well. We had a discussion session with AUC President Lisa
Anderson on the uprisings in Libya and Egypt, countries on which she is has academic expertise. Those discussions also included what happened at AUC during the revolution and the project “University on the Square” which she organized to record what happened to AUCians during the events. Finally, we held a videoconference on the revolution with American students from Drew University in New Jersey, students who had studied under the Egyptian democracy champion Dr. Saad Eddin Ibrahim, a former AUC faculty member who had been driven out of the country by the Mubarak regime.

Our plan for the semester evolved beyond this booklet. We organized an inter-university conference on the theme “Is the Arab World Going Democratic?” This involved university students from AUC, Cairo, Ain Shams, Helwan, Menoufiya, Al-Azhar, and the British University in Egypt as well as Arab students in Cairo from Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. That event filled a room for a day at Tahrir Square. Its sessions are now on YouTube and its proceedings will come out on the web and in print right after this booklet is finished.

The students and I attended events in the Tahrir Dialogue series put on by Amb. Nabil Fahmy and the new AUC School of Global Affairs and Public Policy. These open-floor public discussions were intended advance Egyptian thinking on the issues of the revolution. We focused particularly on the events on political parties, including the new Freedom and Justice Party formed by the Muslim Brotherhood; the new openness for the media; and the issue of corruption and accountability.

As it turned out, the semester became a major period of publications for us. There were:

“Seeing Ourselves as Other See Us,” a printed and web-published booklet on our year’s exchange program with Rice University
“How We See the Revolution,” also printed and on the web
“Is the Arab World Going Democratic?” five sessions on YouTube, a printed version, and web-based conference record
“The A-Team in Washington,” a record of our January 2011 field trip
“Activities of the American Studies Center 2006-2011,” a desktop publication
“Student Articles from the American Studies Center,” also a desktop booklet
“What is America?” a desktop book of lectures, handouts, and documents from my course
“Big Global Issues We All Face,” a similar book on my other course.

The revolution initiative also evolved into a personal project for me, a book on the Egyptian revolution documenting the changes that it brings and the kind of society that emerges from it in the future. Several of the students from the revolution project have joined me as research assistants for the book.

As a teaching and learning process, it doesn’t get any better than this revolution project. The enthusiasm for it was far above anything else we had undertaken since I became the director. We all are pleased with what we have accomplished to date and plan to keep the initiative going for at least ten more years.
REVOLUTION IN TAHRIR SQUARE

Photo by Sean Graham

A REVOLUTION BY AND FOR EVERYBODY
WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION?

AHMED EZZ EL DIN MOHAMED

Egypt’s unexpected revolution changed the course of history along the Nile. Although the circumstances had been deteriorating for the last ten years, thoughtful observers generally agreed that the Egyptian people had not reached the point where they would rise up. Many books, speeches, and movies articulated deep frustrations in society but rejected the idea that the Egyptian people had reached the breaking point, yet the unexpected happened on the 25th of January, 2011.

Many thinkers tried to explain the causes of the change in economic terms. The high rates of poverty and unemployment played a significant role in initiating the movement. Most of the movement leaders were educated youth and university graduates who spent long years in education and were faced at the end by long-term unemployment and hard economic conditions. With the continuous economic pressures on them, they found the revolution a convenient solution.

Although economic factors seem to be the clearest cause, there are some other causes that go deeper into Egyptian society. The feeling that the dignity of the Egyptians had been lost and that they were without value was one of the main factors in the change. This can be represented by the conflict between the protestors and the security forces. Those forces humiliated the citizens for years, abusing their authority and achieving personal gains from their positions. Many cases of torture, like Khaled Said’s death in Alexandria, said to Egyptians that their blood meant nothing, that their country regarded them as cheap and expendable.

The lack of a national project to unite the Egyptian youth made them a source of unstable, undirected energy. Since the war in 1973, Egyptians had not had any national targets to achieve. The youth felt that they had great energy that was not being put to use. Everyday sexual harassment is an example of undirected energy and it is notable that no such cases were reported during protests. The January 25 Revolution gave Egyptian youth a path and purpose in which to direct their energies.

The Tunisian Revolution provided a source for inspiration of the Egyptian youth: if they did the same, they might well bring down the Egyptian regime. Tunisia gave Egyptians a vivid example of change that succeeded. It showed Egyptians how to lead a successful revolution.

One factor that binds all of these factors together was the technology represented by social media networks. Social media websites like Facebook, Twitter, and others were the main tools used to organize the revolution. The government was not aware of the ability of the youth to organize themselves and to stay ahead of government attempts to stop them. The regime was surprised that the restrictions and pressures they put on a whole generation led to a smarter generation who brought about their downfall.

Egypt decided to speak its mind after years and years of silence. Corruption, unemployment, poverty, hopelessness, the Tunisian inspiration, and new internet tools led to the rise of a new generation that believes now it can really change society for the better.
WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION?

AIDA M. YEHIA

The Egyptian 2011 Revolution came 59 years after the Free Officers’ coup d’état in 1952. That is really the start of the underlying conditions behind the 2011 revolution. There followed a long period of stagnation that drove people to throw a stone in standing water in order to make waves. This stagnation period has produced political, economic, and social repercussions which finally drove Egyptians to the breaking point and resulted in this revolution.

Political Factors

The principal cause of the 2011 events is the extreme authoritarian atmosphere in which many of Egyptians have been lived for so long. They have protested against it repeatedly but in vain. Authoritarianism is very salient in all aspects of Egyptians lives, for example:

A) a lack of open, free, and fair elections at the parliamentary and the presidential levels. Egyptian elections always had only one result, returning the National Democratic Party (NDP) to power in the parliament and the presidency.

B) the repeated subjecting of opposition figures to detention for long periods of time. They were arrested, released, and then rearrested when it was close to election time. Any person showing public discontent with the regime was subject to detention and imprisonment without legal recourse. Official newspapers after former president Mubarak stepped down published that there were more than 20,000 political prisoners in different Egyptian prisons of whom 2,000 were labeled “politically dangerous”. Something of this magnitude is hard to find around the world today and may be only practiced in Arab states.

C) the frequent censorship of the media, increasingly heavy-handed over the last ten years. When TV talk-shows aired on satellite channels and opposition newspapers criticized the regime and voiced concerns about government’s policies, they were subject to imprisonment and removal by government ministers. Some of the TV anchors who showed their sympathies with the opposition were stopped from appearing on their shows, replaced by others, or had their shows cancelled. This increased the frustration, even the fury, of many Egyptians who saw in these shows and papers a beacon of hope for change.

D) the continuing State of Emergency Law kept in force since Sadat’s assassination. Maintaining it has been justified by the fighting of terrorism and drugs. The widespread drug addiction among Egyptian youth and at the different class levels proves that the government has not been focusing on those issues primarily. Terrorist attacks have continued throughout the last 30 years showing that the anti-terrorist effort has been either half-hearted or incompetent. The real purpose of the emergency law was to keep the regime in power at all costs.

Economic Factors

The second most important cause of the 25th of January revolution is the pervasive sense of corruption and the lack of transparency, a condition deeply resented by most Egyptians. People saw these conditions as a chronic disease in all social classes and wanted to get rid of it. As corrupt practices produced more and more frustrations, people finally decided to stand up against it. Getting rid of it was among the first demands Egyptians called for when the protests started.
The third most important cause has been the overall economic situation. Egypt has made slow progress shifting from a socialist to liberal (mixed) economy. Government promises for more economic improvement were never really felt by many Egyptians. The economy suffered from high inflation rates and high prices for essential commodities even those that were subsidized. The high unemployment rates kept almost nine million people out work, the majority of whom were from 18-30. In the January 25th revolution, the unemployed youth called for their right to a job, seeing the main reason for lack of work as greater and greater corruption. They also felt that the culture of “inside connections” (wasta) deprived them of jobs. Most jobs went, they felt, to people the regime or company trusted rather than to people of merit. Moreover, many sectors suffer from unequal distribution of wage and salary income, such as people of high rank with 10,000 Egyptian pounds as monthly incomes while lower-ranked employees made less than 800 pounds.

Low productivity in both industrial and agricultural sectors has also led to importing many products from abroad. This has increased Egypt’s foreign debt having as one effect increases in the cost bread, something Egyptians are very sensitive to and have gone on strike for many times.

Social Factors

Several social problem helped lead to the outburst of the Egyptian revolution in January 2011. Key amongst them was higher and higher crime rates, resulting largely from the ever-increasing number of people unemployed.

Another social and cultural problem underlying the revolution has been the inability of many young people to get married, largely because of the very high costs of marriage. This of course stems from high unemployment and very low start-of-career salaries. Along with more and more people moving to cities, lower marriage rates have led to higher harassment rates in public, upsetting many women.

Conclusion

Anger and frustration have been building for 30 years and even go back to the start of military-led governments in 1952. Many have not shown their anger, but it has been building up under the surface over that long period. It finally surfaced in a collective outpouring of deep, accumulated dissatisfaction in the 25th January revolution this year.
WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION?

DALIA ABBAS

The Egyptian revolution of January 2011 was an exciting, incredible series of quickly spiraling events. It was the result of bottled up anger, held in until it could not any longer be contained. This bottled-up anger can be boiled down to three major reasons: unemployment, suppression of opposition and media, and prevalence of nepotism.

First of all, unemployment has been a chronic problem not only in Egypt but in many other Middle Eastern countries. What is unique about the Egyptian case is there exists a very educated middle class but not enough jobs to absorb young graduates. As a result, many graduates with advanced degrees are forced to work in jobs that are unsuitable for their educational level. Poverty is another big issue that is a result of unemployment. A 2005 census estimates around 20% of the Egyptian population lives below the poverty line, although many unofficial sources estimate it at 40%. It is thus understandable that there was an increased dissatisfaction over living standards due to lack of jobs.

Second, the suppression of media and opposition parties has effectively shut out the voices of the people. A prime example of this suppression is the parliamentary elections held in November 2010. Then not one member of the leading opposition, the Muslim Brotherhood, won a seat even though they had held 88 seats before. Virtually all places went to members of the ruling party, the National Democratic Party. Despite the regime’s adamancy that elections were fair, it is widely understood that they were rigged. Other forms of oppression, such as the jailing of political prisoners, are considered legal under the long-standing emergency law. It makes legal imprisonment without trial...
among many other repressive measures. In real emergencies, this might make sense; however, Egypt has been under emergency law since the Sadat assassination in 1981. The law is now kept in force for the despotic, oppressive regime to keep itself power.

Increasing nepotism and corruption also led to the call to oust the head of the regime, Hosni Mubarak. He was widely rumored to be grooming his son, Gamal, for taking over the presidency. This was widely disapproved by the populace. The prevalence of nepotism made many young Egyptians feel discouraged about going into fields such as political science or law, claiming that entry to them only came through personal connections (wasta). The idea that one can attain a good job only through personal connections has become so embedded in Egyptian society that the thought of getting a job without it seemed like an alien idea.

From my personal observations, I have noticed that after the January 25 revolution many more people are speaking about politics, believing they may now have a chance to participate in the creating a democracy in Egypt. With all that said, I believe the reasons of the revolution will become more readily apparent in hindsight. These are, of course, the main reasons as they appeared to me, but it should be mentioned that there were myriad other motivations mentioned for the uprising, motivations that will show themselves as time progresses.

“PLEASE BROTHER DEMONSTRATORS, DON’T CALL THE PRESIDENT A DONKEY. IT’S AN INSULT TO DONKEYS. A POLITE DAMIETTAN.”
WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION?

DINA SALAH ELDIN

We are living in momentous times. We are seeing, I believe, a return to the belief in the capacity and the confidence of ordinary people to shape their own destinies. And it all began in a corner of the world where very few people thought it would.

Who would have thought that this would happen? Nobody. Nobody involved in the Egyptian labor movement, nobody involved in the human rights movement, nobody involved in the women’s movement, nobody involved in any effort to change Egyptian society would have said on January 24th that Mubarak only had 19 days to go. But between what no one was expecting, and what has been happening on the ground for years, there is a lot to be explained.

There is no doubt that the self-immolation of a young semi-employed Tunisian sparked the downfall of Tunisia’s dictator and electrified Egypt. What happened in Tunisia by its very success helped people to overcome their fears. Under dictators, people don’t go out and chant slogans without facing dire consequences. This year millions of Egyptians fought for 18 days against their own tyrant, braving the police, troops, water cannon, teargas, rubber bullets, and live ammunition.

Many people involved in media, academia, and policy-making circles are trying to understand the causes that led to the Egyptian Revolution. Standard theories include poverty, low wages, high prices, unemployment, decades of political and social suppression, unprecedented levels of corruption, and many more. Those reasons are all correct. However, one explanation often neglected is the rise of social movements: Egyptian protestors organized themselves as a social movement rather than a political party opposing the regime.

The story was different in the last months of the Mubarak regime because the framework in which the “enemy” was organized was entirely different. The regime went to ‘war’ in unfamiliar surroundings and was forced to developed new strategies to deal with the protestors. When it fought the Muslim Brotherhood previously, the rules were clear. The rival was an institutionalized body with clear-cut leadership, a set hierarchy, homogenous structure, a well-defined ideology, routine patterns of behavior, and marked boundaries of membership.

The same cannot be said of the new social movements that have given rise to the protests, including the Kefaya (Enough) Movement, founded in 2004 and the April 6 Youth Movement, founded in 2008, the Anti Riot-Police Movement, as well as the labor movement that gained much momentum in 2004. Dealing with such movements was a lot more complicated. The traditional tools of suppression employed by the regime started to lose their effectiveness.

The structure of these social movements is more network-type and flexible with hardly any leadership or even any identifiable facilities. Even the political identity of the supporters is heterogeneous and the political agenda very general. The social movements do not have clear aims. For the founders of the April 6 Youth Movement and Kefaya, this was a clever way to gain a wide range of support from different sections of Egyptian society. Indeed, for these very reasons, they succeeded in transforming themselves into a mass movement.

Of course, the role of social media cannot be denied even though it shouldn't be considered the main cause behind the revolution. Through social media, Egyptians put themselves in the shoes of the young man Khaled Said who was brutally killed by the police, a fact which was magnified tens of thousands times by Facebook.
Hossam El Hamalawy, one of Egypt’s top bloggers and activists, summarizes it all:

_The uprising that started on 25 January 2011 was the result of a long process in which the wall of fear fell, bit by bit. The key to it all was that the actions on the ground were visually transmitted to the widest possible audience. Nothing aids the erosion of one's fear more than knowing there are others, somewhere else, who share the same desire for liberation and have started taking action._

REMEMBERING MARTYRS FROM THE “DAY OF RAGE”

“STAND FIRM FOR FREEDOM”
“OLD REGIME CRUSHED BY TANK”
WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION?

HANY M. HANNA

On January 25th, 2011, Egypt was to celebrate its National Police Day, a day of thanksgiving to the police officers and staff who defend the “safety” of the Egyptian population. On that same day, as a result of a public invitation on the social network Facebook, protests erupted throughout the country. The Egyptian Revolution is now called the “Revolution of the Youth”, the “25 January Revolution”, the “Rage Revolution,” or the "18-Day Revolution”.

Main Causes

*Emergency Law*: Law No. 162 of 1958 This law created a police controlled state that allowed ex-president Mubarak to crush all political opposition, suppress freedom of speech and expression, and deprive Egyptians of their constitutional rights.

*Police Brutality*: The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights has documented 567 cases of torture, including 167 deaths, by the police forces between 1993 and 2007. The most recent case was the death of Khaled Said on June 6, 2010 in Alexandria, in which for the first time, the police were facing criminal charges. This case was followed by that of Sayed Bilal.

*State Security*: Egyptians wanted to eliminate State Security (Amn El Dawla) which was they felt was destabilizing the country. Thousands of people and activists were killed, tortured and harassed, in the headquarters of detention and torture chambers, often without any trials. Before 2011, Egyptians took to the streets many times but were always met with brutal tactics of the security police forces under the orders of the old regime.

*Economy*: Despite high levels of national economic growth over the past few years, living conditions for the average Egyptian remained poor.

- Unemployment: of the youth who represent a 60% of the population, young educated who find difficulties in finding work.
- Poverty: 40% of Egyptians live on US$ 2 per day (2010).
- Egyptian exports of natural gas to Israel were unpopular politically and believed to have been negotiated corruptly in 2005 with.

*Opposition*: The intellectuals and opinion-leaders of the country increasingly turned against the regime, especially over the last decade.

- Public Figures: Mohamed El Baradei, Egyptian writers and Egyptian actors
- Political Movements: Youth for Justice and Freedom, Popular Democratic Movement for Change, National Association for Change.
- Opposition parties: El Ghad, El Karama, Wafd, and the Democratic Front
- Any form of opposition was regarded as a threat to national security. The Muslim Brotherhood, who gained substantial presence in the previous elections, did not secure a single seat in the 2010 elections. The main tactic in destroying the legitimacy of the opposition was to imprison the leaders, i.e. Ayman Nour of the Ghad Party.
Corruption: There was an explosion of corruption over the last decade.

- Major fraud in the Egyptian parliamentary elections in November 2010
- In the Government and the People’s Assembly run by Mubarak’s inner circle
- National Democratic Party (NDP) was made of powerful businessmen and the ruling politicians who constituted the new political and social elite of Egypt. They manipulated the constitution to legitimize their roles and to hold onto power. Corruption and cronyism ran high in the NDP, which became known as “the party of dictatorship.”

Online Activism: Many political and social activists formed groups and networks online in order to expose corruption, nepotism, and abuses of power.

- The “We Are All Khaled Said” Facebook group was formed after his death. Hundreds of thousands worldwide joined this group and played a major role in spreading and bringing attention to the growing unhappiness.
- The “April 6th Youth Movement” was founded in 2008 to support workers in El Mahalla El Kubra. It went on to be a major organizer of people during the 25 January Revolution.

Precipitating Events: With the inspiration of the Tunisian revolution and the “We Are All Khaled Said” Facebook page, the masses of Egyptian broke through the wall of fear of police brutality and expressed their anger and discontent with the current situation of their beloved country.

The Uprising: Protesters from all categories (age, gender, religion, social rank, education) joined the youth in the Egyptian revolution. A new spirit was born in the process. The strength and unity of the protesters surprised the world, the Mubarak regime, and even the people themselves.
WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION?

Ihab M. El Sokary

No one could have predicted that the 25th of January protest against the government and the deterioration in all aspects of Egyptian life would go on to unify the majority of the people and oust a 30-year-old dictatorial regime.

Personally, I couldn't actually believe that the protests against this aging and brutal regime would do anything significant. Like many others, I thought that, when it comes to facing the hordes of ruthless policemen on the streets, they would go back to their homes quietly, there to live in what they called “peace” which was nothing more than living in indignity while being abused by a corrupt regime. Thank God I was wrong, as were many others. We all witnessed things we could not at first believe.

Most of the reasons that lead to this revolution were there for more than two decades at least. But they only turned into a revolution after several catalysts resulted in the eruption of a volcano of accumulating anger. First of all, there were several opposition groups over the past five years like Enough (Kefaya) and the 6th of April Movement - as well as a more powerful free internet and websites like Facebook to organize people. In addition, there was the Tunisian Revolution that ended a similar corrupt regime, giving Egyptians confidence they could cause change in the same way.

There are a lot of reasons and they are all interrelated. They can be summed up in four categories: oppression, misuse of power, Gamal Mubarak, and economic pressures. Egyptians lived in fear because of cruel security forces that tortured, killed, and jailed any active opposition and enjoyed huge authority over people. The country was treated as if it belonged to Mubarak, his family, and their entourage, as if it were an inheritance they could confer.

The benefits of economic growth were mostly felt by less than 20% of the population at the top. The scenario of having Gamal Mubarak “inherit” the presidency was also one significant reason that caused people's anger over the last five years. They were also angry with the new policies that he had brought to Egyptian society as those policies gave rise to a “government of businessmen.” Corruption was so deep that it became the norm within Egyptian society. Economic pressures that could be mainly summarized as vast numbers in poverty, ever-widening income gaps, and a high unemployment rate.

All these reasons resulted into a nationwide frustration that was suppressed for years and years. It took just a spark of confidence to ignite this smoldering force. That force was one of people suffering and only asking to be treated as human beings in their own country, wanting to live and work positively for building a better future for their kids.

Photo by Ihab el-Sokary

PATRIOTIC TANK COMMANDER IHAB
WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION?

MOHAMED E. EL-GINDY

The 2011 Egyptian revolution is the biggest change in modern Egyptian history. The revolution changed the authoritarian regime that held power for 30 years. It is created pride again in being Egyptian. The revolution already has many names such as the 25th of January Revolution, the Revolution of Rage, the Revolution of the Youth, the Lotus Revolution, the White Revolution, and the 18 Day Revolution. It has put Egypt politically, economically, and socially on a much better course. There are too many causes to be able to state them all. I will cite only the most important ones in this essay.

The first reason behind the political unrest is the presence in power of the former President Mubarak for more than 30 years. Mubarak’s 30 years was the longest period of any modern leader of Egypt and the third longest in Egypt’s entire 5000-year history after Ramses II and Mohamed Ali, modern Egypt’s nineteenth century founder.

The second reason is that Mubarak and his regime were allies of the west, especially the United States, and maintained America’s interests in the region, primarily the unpopular peace with Israel. This made people see Mubarak as more supportive of America and Israel than of the Egyptian people.

The third reason is that Mubarak and his National Democratic Party (NDP) maintained essentially one-party rule since 1981. They weakened, outlawed, and crushed their opposition, especially rival political parties. This one-man, one-party show ended up producing through electoral fraud a parliament with 99% of its members from the NDP and no opposition in the November 2010 elections.

The fourth reason is that the grooming of Gamal Mubarak to be his father’s successor increased public resistance to the regime. Gamal became the NDP Deputy Secretary General and the head of the party’s policy committee. This put him in position to shape all the nation’s policies. This increased public tension and gave rise to several new political groups who vigorously opposed the idea of “inheriting” the presidency.

The fifth reason is the presence of the 30-year-old emergency law under which police powers were extended, constitutional rights suspended, censorship legalized, and the government allowed to imprison individuals indefinitely and without reason. It also sharply limited political activity, such as street demonstrations, unapproved political organizations, and unregistered financial donations. In the last 10 years in particular, there was a massive increase in imprisonment of activists without trials, illegal hidden detention facilities, and the rejection of university, religious, and newspaper staff members because of their political views. Before and during the parliamentary elections of November 2010, the regime carried out media crackdowns, arrests, and candidate bans particularly of the Muslim Brotherhood, illegal detentions, and vote rigging in order to produce a nearly unanimous NDP victory. Human rights organizations estimate that between 5,000 and 10,000 people were in long-term detention without charge or trial in 2010.

The sixth reason was police brutality. The deployment of plainclothes police and security forces paid by the NDP was a hallmark of the Mubarak regime. The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights has documented 567 cases of torture, including 167 deaths, by police that occurred between 1993 and 2007. The most important one of these was on 6 June 2010 when multiple witnesses testified that Khaled Said was beaten to death by the police in Alexandria. Activists rallied around
a Facebook page called "We Are All Khaled Said" and succeeded in bringing nationwide attention to the case. Mohamed El Baradei, Nobel Prize-Winning former head of the International Atomic Energy Agency, led a rally in Alexandria against abuses by the police and visited Said's family to offer condolences. The State Security Service (SSS) has now been disbanded because of the hatred of it that emerged so vividly during the revolution. SSS officers and soldiers are now awaiting the trial of the torture and killing of Egyptians over many years.

The seventh reason is the economic challenges that Egyptians have faced and have lead many of them to protest. Egypt has a rapid increasing population that grew from 30,083,419 in 1966 to about 80m today. The vast majority of Egyptians live on about 5% of the land surface on the two sides of Nile River. In late 2010, about 40% of the population lived on the income equivalent of US$2 per day, with much of the population relying on government-subsidized goods.

Even more important cause is the large increase unemployed university graduates in Egypt. The Peterson Institute for International Economics states that Egypt has unemployment problem is driven by a demographic youth bulge. New people entering the labor force measure 4% a year. Unemployment for college graduates is almost 10 times higher than it is for elementary school leavers. Unemployed graduates were the driving force behind the 25th of January revolution. Their advantage was they knew how to use computers, Facebook, Twitter, and blogs to organize and communicate.

The Mubarak-led government from 2004 to 2008 aggressively pursued economic reforms to attract foreign investment and to facilitate GDP growth. The international economic downturn slowed Egypt's GDP growth to 4.5% in 2009 compared with 7% in previous years. Living conditions nevertheless remained stagnant for most people despite a boom in new wealth. This increased the distrust between the government and the people as the announced economic improvements were not reflected in the living standards of ordinary Egyptians.

The eighth reason is the growing magnitude of corruption in Egypt. It was especially high in the Ministry of Interior that was mainly responsible for the protection of Mubarak, his family, and his regime. This added financial gain to the Ministry of Interior making it one of the most powerful and corrupt of the ministries, enhancing its already extremely aggressive use of power.

There was also a massive increase in the powers of some of NDP members, especially its MPs. NDP magnate Ahmed Ezz has a virtual monopoly of the steel industry with 60% of nationwide market share. His wealth is estimated at 18 billion Egyptian pounds. The wealth of former Housing Minister Ahmed al-Maghraby is estimated at 11 billion pounds. For former Minister of Tourism Zuhair Garana, it is estimated at 13 billion pounds. For former Minister of Trade, Rashid Rashid, it is said to be 12 billion pounds. For Interior Minister Habib al-Adly, it is stated at 8 billion pounds. All of these individuals are now being tried for corruption. In 2010, Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index gave Egypt a score of 3.1. On the CPI, 10 means totally clean; 0 means totally corrupt.

The ninth reason is the Tunisian revolution. The Tunisian revolution was the spark that made the Egyptians thinks that changing Mubarak could happen in the same way that Ben Ali was brought down in Tunisia. No one can doubt that the Tunisian Revolution led to downfall of Mubarak.

The tenth reason is that, following the example of the self-immolation in Tunisia, on the 17th of January a man set himself ablaze in front of the Egyptian parliament in despair over his poor living conditions. Five more attempts at self-immolation followed shortly after that, showing how deep popular discontent was on the eve of the revolution.
WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION?

RAMADAN A. MOUSSA

The January 25th Revolution occurred for several reasons. The first was the success of Tunisians in toppling of the Ben Ali Regime. That inspired Egyptians and made them feel that getting rid of their own regime was possible.

The second was the failed policies and the weak performance of the government in the last ten years. The Egyptian cabinet failed in satisfying the people’s economic aspirations. University graduates spend around 15-17 years in education and then, when they graduate, they cannot find job opportunities. The unemployment rate is very high due to the poor quality of education and the lack of opportunities. If we look at the people who really made the revolution, we will find that most of them are university graduates. The poor people did not make this revolution. The upper and lower middle classes made the revolution in Egypt because they had worked hard for their educations and expected to have a good standard of living as a result. Despite that, their goals are not being realized.

Third, lack of freedom under an authoritarian regime was also a significant cause. The Mubarak Regime had faced a lot of international pressures to achieve democratic reforms. The Bush Administration connected the lack of democracy in the Middle East with the 9/11 attacks and pressed hard for reform. The Bush Administration targeted Egypt in that effort. Mubarak partially responded to American pressures. He made some democratic reforms in elections and 88 members of the Muslim Brotherhood became members in the parliament. Having tasted some freedom and democracy, Egyptians began looking forward to more and, ultimately, to real democracy in Egypt.

The fourth cause was the role of the police. The Ministry of Interior under Minister Habib El Adly was mainly to protect the regime, not the people. Moreover, policemen’s reputation became horrible with ordinary Egyptians. The police used very brutal tactics with almost everybody and torture became very common.

The fifth main cause was the great technological revolution that helped people in a couple of major ways. It gave people the chance to travel all over the world in front of their computers, exposing them to other cultures with successful democracies and better ways of life. It also provided them with access to information as well as the ability to communicate with each other at no effective cost. In this way, Egyptians were able to “see and compare” the current situation with other countries, allowing them to identify problems and their causes.

Technology also played a pivotal role in the igniting the revolution through the social media which gave tremendous capacity for organization and the creation of a public consensus. Social media networks such as Facebook and Twitter gave a platform for informed public opinion through the dissemination of videos and stories revealing the ugliness of the former regime. It also led people to utilize these tools to call for a collective uprising. It has not succeeded so but at least it inspired the world.
WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION?

SALMA A. GABER

Feelings of contempt, humiliation, and oppression towards a corrupt regime accumulated over the years and exploded on the 25th of January, starting the Egyptian revolution.

I came across the Pressure-State-Response module (PSR); a mechanism developed by the OECD to highlight the pressures exerted on the environment that lead to a certain type of governmental practice and ultimately a response by society. I have applied this model here to the Egyptian revolution to highlight the causes that led millions to stand in Tahrir Square for 18 days and call for change and democracy.

Pressures

Three main pressures make up the main causes of the Egyptian revolution. The first pressure is the degradation and corruption of the political life in Egypt. For many years now, no free elections took place and people resented the Mubarak regime and his thirty-year rule. People were also against his son Gamal who, based on his father’s actions, looked like he was being prepared to inherit the presidency. Also, many political parties had been reduced down to only one political party, the National Democratic Party, the others having been turned into mere shadows of parties. The Egyptian people were also against the emergency law, which allows the government to imprison individuals without evidence or reason. All these examples were seen by Egyptians the inequality, injustice, and authoritarianism of the Mubarak regime.

The second pressure comes from economic constraints that have affected the lives of the Egyptians negatively. These include: high prices, low wages, high unemployment rates, young people being unable to find jobs, and 40% of the population living under the poverty line. Society has also become more stratified with a tremendous increase in the gap between the rich and the poor. This pressure also contributed to the accumulation of anger towards the unjust regime.

The third pressure is the corruption of those in power, leading to unequal and unjust treatment. People came to see the police as a source of brutality rather than a source of protection. They were not seen as implementing the laws fairly but only doing anything if bribed. Severe penalties including the death penalty were directed by the powerful by those who dared criticize the abuse of power or the corruption of the regime.

State

These pressures have been building up for years, deepening the dissatisfaction felt by people towards the current system. They feared standing up to it and defying it, always hoping that something would come along to bring to an end. Resentment against the corrupt regime was expressed by the formulation of opposition groups such as Enough (Kefaya). Political movements such as the April 6th Youth movement supported strikes and has spread the word about political events through Facebook. Self-immolations also took place. A man set himself on fire in front of the Egyptian parliament to express his anger towards the government and his poor living conditions. An event which led to five other individuals doing the same. Facebook groups were also created in order for people to express their opinion about the regime and to organize strikes and protests. Newspaper articles and talk shows started discussing corruption in Egypt, while never stating Mubarak’s name for fear of the consequences.
A state of boiling by the population was a mirror image of the pressures exerted on the people by the regime. Gradually confidence and courage built up that expressing hatred towards the regime might lead to change. Fear of facing those in power never completely went away however.

Response

The success of the Tunisian Revolution, after weeks of demonstrations against the autocratic rule of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, gave hope to Egyptians that they could do the same. Before the Tunisian revolution, people were expressing their opinions with great fear. After Ben Ali fell, the Egyptian people received a signal that fighting for justice and ending corruption in their country was doable. Tunisia was a source of inspiration to Egypt that justice could be achieved, especially because both countries faced the same challenges of corruption and repression.

The response came with the Egyptian people standing day and night in Tahrir Square for 18 days to fight for their rights. They were determined to bring their corrupt regime to an end and would not give up until Mubarak resigned. They gained people power and let their voices be heard after years of silence. Hence, the pressures on them and their fears were transcended by the combined strength of the people, giving the Egyptian Revolution its first major success.
WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION?

SARAH MOHY EL DIN EL MASSERY

The causes were poverty, a poor education system, unemployment, unfair income distribution, excessive concentration of wealth in the hands of politicians and businessmen, violations of human rights, shutting down opposition voices, fraudulent parliamentary elections, and many more.

Reasons may vary but one word could summarize them all: corruption. Corruption has been creeping deeply into Egyptian society for almost 30 years till it has become part of our government and way of life. Corruption exists everywhere, but in Egypt it is multi-layered and legalized. You can find laws and legislative gaps that could allow anything to happen under the supervision of dishonest officials.

An example of that would be Fathi Serour, the previous speaker of the parliament, who used to get laws passed within days, even hours, to serve himself and his corrupt friends. The growing magnitude of corruption as society got richer left the Egyptian society in an unprecedented state of frustration. Before the revolution, every time one rode a bus or subway, one would encounter some Egyptian disparaging the system and its former president Mubarak, though the personal criticism was not always explicit.

Egyptian society has been indoctrinated to believe that any task related to the government or even personal life requires that citizens have to get around obstacles by illegal means in order to get anything done. It is worth noting that corruption is not a one-sided matter but two-sided in which individuals sometimes force an uncorrupted part of the system to be corrupt. The government’s role is more crucial in allowing or halting corruption since it is the only institution that can enforce the rule of law. If the rule of law were missing, the end result would be a totally corrupt environment undermining growth and fairness.

The former government has been able to cover up for the corruption by instilling fear in Egyptian society. The culture of fear was created very skillfully by the former government resulting in a stagnant society waiting to explode at any moment. After the Egyptians saw the courageous Tunisians revolting because of a single person, Bouazizi, who set himself on fire, they broke their silence and overcame their fear.

The causes of the revolution existed under the surface for a long time. The Tunisians provided the wake-up call for Egyptians to see that continuous protesting might really work. Frustration turned into intense determination as they finally saw some hope of freedom and a better future for the country they love.

Part of the story of the revolution is hard to explain. What made people hang on day and night for weeks? What gave them such determination even after over 800 were martyred? These are all difficult questions to answer. Revolutions are complex realities that reach deep inside people allowing them to do extraordinary things. The Egyptian revolution is no exception.

STARTING MUSICAL CHAIRS FOR DICTATORS
WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION?

SEAN D. GRAHAM

On January 25th, 2011, Egypt and her people followed a course of action resulting in the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak. His resignation was, of course, not the only effect of a popular uprising which had taken to the streets, razed police stations, scorched the headquarters of the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP), burned down the state-run Al Ahram newspaper, and lifted the spirits of millions of Egyptians and non-Egyptians alike.

In the month following these events, it has become clear that Egypt is undergoing a revolution not only in the way its government acts, but in the hearts and minds of its people. Before I go into the issue of causes, I want to make it clear that I am no expert and I am not even an Egyptian. What follows is the perspective of an American college graduate living in Egypt and working at The American University in Cairo.

For years Egyptians have been living under what many would consider to be a heavily oppressive government. The NDP, the ruling political party, has been in supreme control of the government since its creation in 1978 under President Anwar Sadat and has continued to stifle any form of truly democratic political opposition or dialogue.

Egypt has been in its current “state of emergency” since 1981 when Sadat was assassinated. The Emergency Law then implemented gave government the right suppress political expression, arrest individuals without warrant, and imprison citizens indefinitely all for the purpose maintaining peace and stability. Furthermore, excessive “fees” [read: bribes], unresponsive bureaucracy, extreme censorship, and abusive security have over the years become synonymous with the Egyptian regime. With widespread corruption, political stagnation, overwhelming and opaque bureaucratic processes, censorship and oxymoronic restrictions on free speech; it had become painfully clear that the government was not working for the people.

However, even with a government that lacks respect and deference for its people, a society does not immediately revolt. What added to the unsustainable ideology of the government was an inability to provide for its people. The education system in Egypt is a prime example of where the regime failed to perform its civic duty. The heavily centralized curriculum under the Ministry of Education has gotten a stranglehold on free thought and expression. There is barely any room for new ideas or approaches in the classroom. Added to that are aging and defunct facilities and poorly paid teachers. Though much of education is free, dilapidated classroom environments and huge classes force students to hire private tutors when their families can afford it. In light of poor pay, many teachers provide these tutoring services to make ends meet, creating even further disincentive for quality instruction in class.

Even if students stay in school to graduate from university, they do not do so with the proper skills to compete in a global marketplace. In truth, the curriculum provided by public education does not give many students the ability to find a job in Egypt. For example, it focuses on the wrong sectors of the economy. Many go to school and get a degree in medicine, law, or engineering which are of course all great career areas. However, the Egyptian economy is primarily built upon agriculture, tourism, business, and revenues from the Suez Canal.

Additionally, a large sector of society living below the poverty line, with many individuals unemployed, is combined with corruption in business practices that leads to domineering monopolies and an exploited citizenry. Hence many university educated professionals spend much of their time shuttling people around as taxi drivers.
the final component of the answer to the question of causes comes from Egypt’s exposure to the rest of the world. Throughout its history, Egypt has had individuals from around the world, living and even ruling in its capital city. Foreign cultures and different lifestyles are a part of the Egyptian experience. But recently, with the rise of information technologies, such as the internet, satellite television, and social media, this exposure to the world outside has grown exponentially. More and more individuals grow up learning about governments that are built upon the idea of popular sovereignty, the rule of law, and the concept of civic responsibility. Most young people today experience life outside the constraints of an authoritarian regime vicariously through Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and the Daily Beast.

And it is not only new songs and clothing styles these people learn about, but also that others feel the same way they do. They come to yearn for a way out of oppression and into a life of freedom. With explosive events such as the protests of 2009 in Iran and of the Tunisian Revolution in 2011, Egyptians began to not only desire a way out but to see that together they might be able to achieve it by standing up and fighting for their rights. The idea of non-violent protest, political defiance, and determined demonstration for common humanity emerged in Egyptian form. The combination of Egypt’s regime, its restless and jobless population, its new-age exposure to globalized society and to democratic ideals, was a perfect storm. It could not have been avoided. History would not have allowed it.
WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION?

YASMINAH EL SAYED

Before the January 25th revolution broke out in Egypt, most speculation assumed that any uprising in Egypt would be led by the poor and the hungry, but that is not what happened. Hunger and poverty were not the main causes of the revolution. The revolution was organized and led by young and educated people who had access to computers and the internet.

From my point of view, the main factors that led to revolution were internet access by young people, the success of the Jasmine revolution in Tunisia, the cumulative rage against the police and state security services, the untapped energy generated by the demographic youth bulge, and the love that many Egyptians had felt for their country.

The most important trigger of the Egyptian Revolution was the success of the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia. The Tunisian revolution, I think, was for Egypt, like the man who had set himself on fire for a better Tunisia. It meant that there was hope that dictators and regimes that seemed permanent could actually be overthrown.

Because many Egyptians take pride in Egypt’s geopolitical position and influence in the region, a kind of irritation of wounded pride emerged among Egyptians when following the Tunisian example. Nevertheless, they did. They learned from the Tunisian example and avoided certain mistakes while capitalizing on Tunisian successes.

Another main contributor to the Egyptian uprising was the swelling hatred and intense anger towards the police and state security apparatus in Egypt. Virtually every single Egyptian has been harassed at least once by the practices of the police state. Many people’s rights have been violated by the state security services using the excuse of the emergency law or even without any excuse at all.

The security apparatus took away people’s privacy and their basic rights like freedom of speech and expression, a leading cause of the intense anger. In addition to innumerable personal cases, the celebrated cases like that of Khaled Said’s death from police brutality in Alexandria accelerated the start of the revolution. The many violations of human rights and the use of torture against any opposition were all stored in the backs of people’s minds, finally bursting forth in the 2011 revolution.

The youth in Egypt have so much potential and energy that has been misallocated and abused due to the corrupt self-serving regime. There was so much love for Egypt and patriotism among young Egyptians who were waiting for any possible chance to feel proud of their nationality. You could see it most notably during football matches where you could get a glimpse of how much people loved their country and how much they wanted to do something for it but were not given the chance.

For many Egyptian young people, I believe that the revolution was an expression of their love for Egypt as well as a demonstration of their pent-up potential. Before the revolution we were ashamed of being Egyptians but felt helpless to change anything. The January 25 revolution restored our pride in our country and in ourselves.
BEFORE AND AFTER FACEBOOK PHOTOS
OF THE DEATH OF KHALED SAID,
ONE OF THE CAUSES OF THE TAHRIR UPRISINGS

MOBILES, FACEBOOK, TWITTER MADE UPRISINGS POSSIBLE
HOW I EXPERIENCED THE REVOLUTION

AHMED EZZ EL DIN MOHAMED

Two days after the revolution started, I had to fly to the United States for my semester abroad experience at the University of Chicago. However, the revolution made this experience unique and different. I was in Egypt during the first two days of the revolution. Most of the people, especially in my age, did not expect the movement to grow or to reach to its main goals. I doubted the success of the movement, but I believed that it could achieve something. The persistence of the Egyptians proved me wrong.

I was in the U.S. during the hot days of the revolution. Surprisingly, American students were very enthusiastic about what was happening in Egypt. They kept asking me about events and what led to this happening. I was happy to be a messenger for the revolution on the other side of the world. I expanded that role by participating in demonstrations in the U.S. to make the American public aware of what was going on.

Eventually, the revolution achieved its immediate targets and more Egyptian students arrived in the U.S. Together we put on many presentations and seminars about the revolution and the political situation in Egypt. Our main message was that “Democracy isn’t something that you visit the supermarket and buy. It is an experience and a path that nations should take. The challenges of this path would reveal the value of the target at the end”.

DEMONSTRATION ON THE CORNICHE IN ALEXANDRIA
HOW I EXPERIENCED THE REVOLUTION

AIDA M. YEHIA

Personally, I didn’t witness the first spark for the revolution since I was in Washington DC at the time it broke out. I knew from my Facebook that there would be a protest in Tahrir Square on the 25th of January but I could not join it as I was away. Even when contacting friends and family members back in Cairo, they said that it was not a major event at the outset. It was more like a youthful protest that would soon be over. The American press on other hand mentioned that there were around 15,000 protestors and that it was the largest uprising in Egypt since the “1977 Thieves Uprising” under President Sadat.

However when I arrived back in Cairo on the night of Friday the 28th, the ‘Friday of Anger’ as it has become known, the picture was totally different. Before stepping off the plane, the pilot announced that the “situation in Cairo is changing every minute and that there is a curfew from 6:00pm till 6:00am until further notice.” A further announcement indicated that all means of communication from internet to cellphone had been cut off. It was clear that the situation was extremely serious.

Driving around the streets of Heliopolis and seeing how quiet and empty they were in the early evening increased one’s sense of fear about what was happening. Later on that night, you could see the tanks from one’s window as they drove through the neighborhood streets. This was terrifying as I come from a generation that has never experienced living during the war or a state of curfew. The following days and weeks were even more alarming. There were many sleepless nights, gun shots were heard on a daily basis, and many thugs had been released or escaped from prisons and were said to be roaming the streets.

The media coverage created more anxieties for us as it had disturbing numbers for the dead and injured. The Egyptian state media was totally devoid of real news and almost nobody watched it. The other Arab satellite channels like Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya, and BBC Arabic had the lead in covering the events though there was a lot of repetition. The foreign media coverage was a little behind the Arab channels, possibly due to time zone differences. Many foreign reporters were being expelled from Tahrir Square while others were being denied entrance as many of the protestors felt skeptical about them.

The curfew made many people depressed, but still it increased the hope for all Egyptians for a better tomorrow. We all felt that the early fears for many nights. There was great uncertainty about whether the regime would be removed or whether the protestors would be crushed by the security forces. That was rewarded on Friday 11th of February.

However, the dust has not fully settled yet. There are many things still unfolding before this revolution proves to a real success. There is still hope that the transitional phase will be smooth and that it will be possible to move to democracy gradually without having a relapse into Egypt’s old authoritarian ways.
HOW I EXPERIENCED THE REVOLUTION

DALIA ABBAS

I heard about the planned protests through a Facebook invitation which said that Egypt would have a protest on January 25. I shrugged it off and forgot it. After all, even protests held at the American University in Cairo, supposedly the champion of free speech in the region, had been repressed in the past.

I was in Washington, D.C. in a cafeteria on Capitol Hill when I first got word that protests had started. I was watching a news program when news item scrolled across the bottom of the screen reading “Protests break out in Egypt.” I excitedly told my fellow Egyptian students anticipating a full news story, but nothing more came on the screen.

Later that night, I talked to my friends and family in Cairo. They informed me of a rumor that Gamal and Suzanne Mubarak, members of the first family, had fled to London. What exciting news! Yet many of the Egyptians with me weren’t excited, claiming that it would all be over soon. Little did we all know that it was just getting started.

We left Washington on the third day of protests. It didn’t look like they were going to stop anytime soon. In Frankfurt while waiting for our transfer flight, we noticed all the major newspapers covering the Egyptian protests on the front page. We excitedly took the papers and boarded the plane, not knowing what we would soon be in for.

A flight attendant came to a passenger near me and informed him that his company wanted him off the plane because the situation in Egypt had escalated. That scared me. As the plane took off, the pilot continued tried to keep the passengers calm saying that everything was under control in Cairo. News reports were of course saying otherwise. I wanted to be in Egypt so badly! On landing, I will never forget the pilot’s voice over the loudspeaker saying “There is a now curfew in Egypt.”

A curfew? I was bewildered! In my three years of living in Egypt, this had never happened! I was in for even more surprises when we landed. The feeling at the airport was strange. I tried to call my parents but cellphones were not working. When I got home, my family told me the internet and mobile phones had been cut off. The university was scheduled to resume its spring semester in two days. It was unclear if these events would affect the planned schedule.

For the next several days, I just watched events on TV and discussed them with my family. I didn’t directly participate until day 14. I begged my parents to let me go and they begrudgingly agreed. Along with my friends and neighbors, we made the journey to Tahrir Square.

Once we got there, I couldn’t believe how organized everything was. Before I entered the square, I was asked to show some form of identification and was screened to make sure I didn’t have any weapons. Once I actually got into the swing of things, I realized how safe the environment actually was. People were singing, dancing, and giving lectures. There were even some volunteers handing out food and water to those who had been camping out in the square. I held up some posters, chanted along with the protest leaders, and carried on the spirit of the protest on my Facebook page. I emailed friends outside of Egypt, telling them about the situation.

I went to Tahrir one more time during the protests and it was there on the Friday that Hosni Mubarak announced his resignation. I had the honor of participating in the clean-up initiatives in Tahrir the following day. The feeling during the clean-up was incredible. We could feel the new spirit of hope and excitement that was in the air. Most of all, we could feel the incredible solidarity. I finally felt that I had done something to contribute to my country’s history, a feeling that I will never forget.
HOW I EXPERIENCED THE REVOLUTION

DINA SALAH EL DIN

I have tried to conjure up words to make it sound less melodramatic, but no matter how I try, there’s no way around it. It’s true - I watched history being made from thousands of kilometers away. I was a passive viewer of newscasts, of Facebook updates, of Twitter campaigns, from my dorm room in Osaka, Japan while the landscape in Egypt was being changed beyond recognition.

I was across a few seas, a continent, and an ocean in the land of Shinto, shrines, and Sony stores, in the home of samurai, salarymen, and sushi. Even though I was 10,000 kilometers away from Tahrir Square, I still had those chills running down my spine. I could still hear the shouts and chants from Tahrir. I was in the Land of the Rising Sun, but the real dawn was actually in Tahrir.

After the revolution broke out, I was about to terminate my studies in Japan and go back to Egypt to take part in the Revolution, only to discover that the Japanese government had raised its travel warnings to Egypt and all the flights to Egypt were suspended. In a country that is the epitome of safety that came as no surprise.

I decided to resume pseudo-political activism from where I was using the world’s fastest internet to spread the word, repost and re-tweet, while Egypt was in an internet shutdown not caused by cables under the Mediterranean but by a government scared of its people.

Japan is a faraway island, and the only the only thing that Egypt means to many Japanese is the pyramids, the sphinx, and King Tut. After January 25th, and for the first time since coming to Japan in August 2010, I found the Japanese politically aware of what was going on there. I saw pictures of the millions of Egyptians in Tahrir on the front pages of the biggest Japanese papers. I saw newscasts on local TV covering the protests in Suez instead of the pandas in the Hokkaido zoo. I saw Japanese variety shows replaced by serious political analysis of the Egyptian Revolution.

I still feel very guilty for not having taken part in the revolution. And I will always feel hesitant in calling it “Our Revolution” since I don’t feel entitled to be included. I will always remember that while my Egyptians compatriots were being attacked by teargas, rubber bullets and live ammunition - and then cleaning up Tahrir Square the next morning with their weapons of choice, brooms, shovels and detergents - I was all the while a million miles away.

My only consolation is that it isn’t over yet. Egyptians have won a battle, but the war is far from being finished. To every Egyptian who missed it, everyone of us living abroad, I say you can still take part. If a true rebuilding stage is achieved, the homeland will be handing me, you, and all your friends an all-hands-on-deck summons. But only if…

Photo by Dina Salah Eldin

DINA ON STUDY ABROAD IN JAPAN
I participated in the Tahrir Square events from the first day, January 25, witnessing the unfolding events of the 18-day Revolution. To be honest, I am a non-political guy, but I lived in the heart of the events because my apartment is one block from the square. The revolution had a very human story behind it, a story of the people on the ground, the people who made it possible. The events that started the 18-day Revolution were a once-in-a-lifetime experience.

The first days were horrifying when the hundreds were wounded in the confrontations with the frightful state security police and needed medical attention. I helped at the little mosque near my house by providing the medical team with cotton, medicine, antiseptics, bandages, lemon, towels, and soap. I was shocked to learn that the police were arresting anyone who tried to bring in medical supplies to the wounded.

One of the amazing things I learned was that the best way to avoid the teargas fumes is to use wet tissues with Coca Cola and put them on your nose to be able to breathe. This was real magic as my apartment was continuously contaminated with the fumes. So not only Facebook and Twitter had played an important role in the revolution, Coca Cola became a survival tool.

After a long day in the streets, the exhausted people wanted shelter in our buildings, looking mainly for rest rooms. Very few asked for anything to drink or eat or even to make a phone call from a landline. My whole neighborhood was helped out according to their capabilities. They provided blankets, bedsheets, food, bread, water, and clothes. Everyone was sharing with love during these days of anger.

My presence at Tahrir taught me many things, the most important of which was to stop being afraid. It also taught me how to communicate with all types of people, regardless of their class, education, or gender.

I heard hundreds of comments from people, colleagues, and many close friends…

- From a coworker and I was surprised to hear her say.. “I never thought about getting married but now I will reconsider.. I will not be ashamed of Egypt in front of my kids.”
- “Yesterday I was in Tahrir….and everybody was nice.”
- “For the first time, I saw everybody smiling.”
- “All people were friendly.”
- “I was in the middle of Tahrir with my husband and no one harassed me.”
- “Now I am proud to tell the world I am Egyptian.”
- My sister on the phone from Canada told me “Wow, how lucky you are! You guys get to experience this revolution. I wish I was there with you!”
- My beloved niece, born in Canada, asked her parents to allow her to come to Egypt and learn Arabic. She will be in Egypt next fall.
- My best friend’s daughter who is a well-known movie star: “I learned to wake up in the morning with a different goal than just going to work. This experience taught me how to stay in the middle of my sisters, men and women, rich and poor, educated and illiterate.”
- My best friend, and a long-time activist, was crying as she was saying.. “I have lived to see the promised day, the day all the activists have worked for.”
Most importantly, I learned to listen to the others’ opinions and to accept their point of view, even if it is different from mine. Also, I learned a little about politics, that there is always hope for a better life. When people come together, they can overcome adversity.

There was also a lot of creativity. Egyptians are known for their amazing sense of humor even during the toughest circumstances. It is a way of life, to laugh at the mess they are in and hope of a better tomorrow. The best banners during any revolution were on display in the square. They brought smiles to everyone and hope for relief from the underlying pain and misery.

I was also very touched by Aida and Noah, two of the center’s assistants. Aida called me daily just to make sure that I was safe. Noah, who lives in Zamalek, told me “Hey Mister Hany, please come to Zamalek, I have a place for you just to be safe and to stay out of harm’s way. I have also lots of food.”. My floor colleagues at AUC called me “our correspondent in Midan el-Tahrir.”

I had tears in my eyes when the Vice-President Omar Soliman announced the resignation of Mubarak. I remembered the many previous times when the people unsuccessfully clashed with the dreadful state security police. There was the fear, the broken dignity, the corruption, and the torture. I witnessed the dawn of a new era for Egypt, the day when the fearless people stood as one hand, one voice.

This is not the end of Egypt’s story. We have a lot of hard work to do. We have to rebuild the country. We have to treasure the spirit that brought everybody together. And we have to remember the ones that gave their young lives for their people.

I am proud of our Egyptian youth. I am proud of being Egyptian.
HOW I EXPERIENCED THE REVOLUTION

IHAB M. EL SOKARY

My experience of the revolution was incomplete and different. I left Egypt for the first time in my life during the build-up to the revolution. On Facebook I got all these invitations to attend the 25th of January protests but I totally ignored them. The hype was huge after Tunisia’s successful revolution, but I was of the opinion that replicating what happened in a neighboring country wouldn’t be possible in Egypt’s case.

Being in the U.S at that time on a cross-cultural trip to Rice University in Houston and Washington DC, the other students and I debated about protests and speculated about the possible outcome. We talked things over with our U.S counterparts, with a major US diplomat, and with experts on the Middle East. We Egyptian students were split: some including me didn’t believe it would work and others were confident that it would at least spur some changes. The American students weren’t sure what was going on and wanted to know more about different views.

The highlight of this debate for me was our meeting with Ambassador Edward Djerejian, the Director of Baker Institute for Public Policy at Rice. He is an expert on the Middle East where he served as ambassador to Syria and Israel. He had an insider’s view of how dictatorial regimes in the region operate. When the question of the domino effect came up with him, the issue of whether or not Egypt would become next in ousting of a highly established dictator, he was listened intently to our opposing views and our expectations for the future. At the end of the discussion, after weighing up the different scenarios and the key players on the political scene in Egypt, he predicted that the Tunisian Revolution would not flow on to Egypt with similar results.

As called for on the 25th of January, the protests hit the streets of Cairo. We were in Washington at the time and the situation was not clear to us. Yet we were all sure that something significant had happened even though the details were not certain as the media carried conflicting reports and rumors were spreading. I was skeptical at that time and expected it would just be a one-day protest and people would opt to stay home safely. We then knew that social networking websites Twitter and Facebook were blocked in Egypt but that a call for a new wider scale protest on Friday 28th was spreading throughout Egypt. We took off for home knowing anything could be happening when we landed at Cairo International Airport. Before landing we were told through by flight crew that a curfew would be in effect as we arrived and that all mobile phones and internet services would be down. I felt really disturbed with the different interpretations of what that might mean. Chaos and the safety of my family were foremost in my mind.

In the airport, I was terribly worried because so people were sitting inside and couldn’t leave. For instance, I thought I would end up staying in the airport or with my friends’ parents. But once I saw my dad’s face, I was relieved. We drove out of the airport defying the very early moments of the curfew. My dad and the driver told me about the last several days, including the burning of a police station on the square where we live. The streets were dark. Army vehicles were blocking some streets. People waved for rides and we even picked one up on our way home.

We arrived home and next door the police station was still burning but people were entering it freely. We parked our car a long way away as we couldn’t risk parking it in the garage. We were told that several had been killed and injured, that the police have fled the station, and left they had left their arms behind. That was an experience that I will never forget.
During the ensuing days; the protestors occupied Tahrir Square. Though it was only two kilometers away from my home and a place that I had to walk to and from every day for the university bus, I decided not to go. I knew my family wouldn’t let me go and I preferred monitoring the situation on TV rather than being a part of it. Neighbor watch groups started forming to keep order and defend properties from attacks. Streets were blocked by cars that had been burned in the burning of the police station. Everyone, including some children, had some kind of weapon; from broomsticks to swords and guns. In addition, Molotov grenades were made ready. Communications between different groups were established to alert each other of any raids in an area. I participated in this by forming a glass-bottle-throwing position from my 2nd floor window, setting up barriers to block anything that might be hurled at me. I went in search of weapons and defenses on the roof and found barbed wire that we had never used. The situation became tricky because the watch groups were almost on the verge of fighting each other for some stupid reason.

Watching the media was a revelation. Some channels were making up stories in favor of the regime and against the protestors. A diversity of insight and facts were evident in the coverage. Seeing the US and major world powers undecided on their positions and in conflict with each other was eye-opening. Throughout most of those 18 days, I usually was on the side that was satisfied with every concession given by our former dictator and wanting things to stop there. From the beginning my expectations were not very high for any real change. I became conflicted within myself, hoping for stability and wanting the Tahrir views to keep winning. The protestors created their own legitimacy and were right to keeping refusing appeasement efforts from an outdated dictator wanting to stick to power even if he said the opposite. All trust in the regime finally collapsed, leading me to the view of that the whole regime should go.

In the end, I went to Tahrir to join the celebrations just after the resignation of the president. I lived that unforgettable moment and shared it with millions of Egyptians. I even went over to a tank to lead the chants of the people for a while. Sure, my feelings would have been totally different if I had been an active in the protests but still my feelings that night were unbelievable. They killed off my skepticism and conservatism and generated real hope for a better future of this country. When I returned home, I logged on to Facebook and got my friends to go clean up Tahrir Square as a way of beginning a new chapter of Egyptian history. We all want this new chapter to be better than the last one. Our people really deserve it, they really achieved through their sacrifice. On that cleaning day, I saw smiles, hope, and willingness to work for change that I am sure will drive this country to a bright future. I will do everything in my power to assure that - and I will never be ashamed to tell my sons and daughters about my relatively boring experiences during a brilliant revolution. I was lucky to see it.

Photo by http://www.mediafire.com/?7393vume6y6rs4w

NDP BUILDING BURNING
EGYPTIAN MUSEUM UNHARMED AT BOTTOM LEFT
HOW I EXPERIENCED THE REVOLUTION

MOHAMED E. EL-GINDY

It is challenging for me to talk about how I experienced the revolution. The things that happened can only really be felt and seen. They cannot be expressed well in writing.

I was in Washington DC when the revolution broke out. I knew from Facebook that there would be a protest in Tahrir Square on the 25th of January. To be honest, I underestimated the protestors thinking it would not lead to anything as had happened with earlier protests in the last six or seven years.

I knew about the uprising from the TV and newspapers in the US. When I called home, my parents and friends told me that it was an ordinary protest at Tahrir Square and that everything would be fine. They said it was only a demonstration like the many before it. But, by the 27th of January, as we were leaving Washington, I started to realize that these demonstrations are not like the ones before. They were more determined, tougher, more powerful, cleaner, and better organized.

What inspired me that it was a youth movement with no clear leaders and, more importantly, the protesters were not affiliated with any particular political group. The demonstrators were mainly young males and females, university students or graduates, well educated, and knowledgeable. They really seemed to know what they were doing.

We arrived in Cairo on the night of Friday the 28th, which now is called the ‘Friday of Anger’. Before landing, the pilot turned off the entertainment program and gave an announcement drawn from EuroNews. He said the “situation in Cairo is changing every minute and there was a curfew from 6:00pm till 6:00am until further notice”.

After landing, I found that there is no mobile phone service. I thought that my mobile needed repairs or maybe service was not working properly. I waited for my luggage to appear but it didn’t. I looked for my parents but couldn’t find them either. The airport workers told me there had been a cutoff of internet and cellphone service because of the demonstrations.

I went out to get a taxi, but because we were within the curfew hours, there were no taxis in the street. There seemed to be no way to go home except by walking or maybe finding someone who would drive me to a point near my house. I started walking in the streets with my long coat that I had been wearing in Washington. It was as if I was a stranger in a strange abandoned city. The streets were empty which made me afraid of what was happening in the country.

After walking for three hours, I finally reached home. I saw tanks in the streets for the first time in my life. I saw soldiers everywhere, which was odd and terrifying. I had never been in a curfew before and I was surprised at how it felt.

When I finally reached home, my parents and I became glued to the television news wanting to know everything that had happened. Many people were killed that day and the regime had been extremely brutal in dealing with the demonstrators. At that point, I realized that those who died had had a vision of a better society that they wanted to bring into being. I decided to join the protests the next morning without telling my parents because they would have rejected the idea, fearing for my safety.

I tried to sleep that night but couldn’t because of thinking about what was happening. When the alarm rang at 7:00, I dressed and went to Tahrir. I cannot express in words how civilized the people were when I mingled amongst them. They were of all ages and backgrounds yet respectful and open. I stayed with them talking about politics, arts, and music. We all had a lot of dreams and everyone
wanted to state theirs. When night came, I thought about returning home but decided not to. I slept there in Tahrir beside people that I did not know, sharing shelters and covers. We did not ask each other about religion or social status, only what was important for Egypt and what was going to happen.

The prisons were opened that night and the thieves and thugs threatened people in their homes. The first thing that came to my mind was my parents so I went back home to make sure that they are safe. And I decided to stay all day in Tahrir and go home at night to protect people there. At night I slept in the street near my house and took off for Tahrir early in the morning.

I would need hundreds of more pages to give all the details in the Tahrir experience. Experts will write about it but they probably won’t capture the spirit of it in their words. For me, it was like finally being a real human being, someone recently born and yet now fully alive. The revolution is engraved in my heart and in my mind. I will never forget what happened. I will keep remember those days until I die. I will pass down the story to my children and tell them how really proud I was of being with the demonstrators in those days.
HOW I EXPERIENCED THE REVOLUTION

RAMADAN A. MOUSSA

January 25th Revolution was the most painful, scary, and awful experience in my whole life. I was staying in Rehab, a suburb on the eastern outskirts of Cairo, when the revolution occurred. I felt bothered by what the “revolutionaries” were saying and doing. I agreed with them that the regime was not great and I was supported them in some of their demands, namely that the cabinet should resign and the president’s son should not seek the presidency in 2011.

During the Revolution through to the present day, the country has been unstable and personal insecurity has been high for most citizens. In the first days of the Revolution, many criminals were released and they escaped into the Cairo masses. There have been many robberies, beatings, and carjacking since then.

I joined the civil defense groups (neighborhood watch) in Rehab. Most men in Rehab participated in these activities. We used to stand in groups of between 10-25 members. Each one of us had a knife, gun, stick, or something we could use. We checked all cars entering Rehab to find out why people were coming in. One group questioned two men who would not state why they coming in or show their ID cards. When they refused to open the trunk of their car, they were dragged out and beaten. It turned out they were police in plainclothes and the trunk was full of weapons. They left quickly so we never found out why they had come to Rehab in the first place.

Joining these groups had two sides. The good side was the feeling that we had never had in Egypt before and I felt jealous of Americans because they do. I discovered during my scholarship summer abroad in Portland, Oregon people should be - and are - nice and friendly to strangers. People in Rehab became like brothers. You could stop any car anywhere in Rehab and ask him to take you anywhere and he would be pleased to help you. As the watch groups changed shifts, the new people brought food, dessert, and fruits to share with the others. People said they had lived in Rehab for many years and they could never get to know their neighbors. During the Revolution, most people in Rehab got to know each other and make friendships.

The bad side of these groups was the feeling of being scared that something wrong could happen to you or your friends or your family. People were terrified about their children and they did not allow their women to go outside the house for almost two weeks.

Concerning the political scene, I went to Tahrir twice to try to convince people to calm down. I was almost beaten up there. I was shocked how people became so narrow-minded and childish. They did not have any knowledge of economics or the political process. They were repeating words without knowing what they were saying. I was also shocked by Islamists there, who should be acting respectfully but were calling Mubarak names and insulting him in a really uncivilized way. I was very angry with the revolutionaries when the president finally stepped down. The economic losses that occurred on account of the revolution were huge and no one seemed to care.

I was against the revolution then and I still am. I am very concerned about our economy, our stability, and our people. I hope that I turn out to be wrong that the revolution and things turn out positively. However, with the effort by people refuse constitutional amendments and insist on a new whole constitution seems to be unpromising.
HOW I EXPERIENCED THE REVOLUTION

SALMA A. GABER

Before the revolution, I had always had negative thoughts about my future in Egypt and wished to live and raise my children elsewhere. These thoughts were driven by personal experiences such as my inability to walk in the streets of Cairo without being harassed, by the growing injustice and corruption in most political and economic spheres, and by my disagreement with current Egyptian customs such as the inequality between genders. After the resignation of ex-president Mubarak, my belief in my country’s future has grown as I learned that justice can be served, that equality can be fought for, and that dreams can come true.

I was not allowed to go to Tahrir Square and participate in the protests. However, I hoped very strongly that a better Egypt would come out of it. At first, I was pessimistic and thought that the revolution would fail, as I learned that Interior Minister Habib El Adly was using his power to spread fear in the hearts of protestors. I felt violated and was scared in my own house because of his orders for prisons to be opened and police forces to be withdrawn from the streets.

I was staying with my mom and uncle in a villa in Dokki in the middle of Cairo. Unlike the other buildings around us, we were the only ones living in the house. My uncle, who owned a gun, would stay up until 3 am and wake up at 6am to protect the house. Every time my mom and I heard gunshots, we would run to the window, scared that someone would break in and reach us.

I watched the news all the time and heard that the protestors had attacked police officers, that many ATM machines had been robbed, and that shops had been burned. When I called a friend who participated in the protests, he explained to me how the police officers were the ones who fired on civilians. Moreover, when I went to Mohandessin near Tahrir Square to see the damage the new talk shows claimed had happened, I realized that many of the events were exaggerated. ATM machines were broken and shops had been damaged but not to the extent that the media had claimed.

I felt proud of my country when I saw the March of the Millions and witnessed the civilian checkpoints in the streets. But I also felt heartbroken when I saw Egyptians fighting each other with camels and guns. The day Mubarak resigned, I was finally allowed to celebrate in Tahrir Square the happiness and victory with millions of Egyptians. Everyone kept waving Egyptian flags, singing the Egyptian anthem, and cheering for freedom and democracy. The organization in the square was fascinating. There was an area for the martyrs surrounded by candles, an area for artists who painted revolutionary portraits, and another for women who were all dancing together and chanting for Egypt. I felt proud to be an Egyptian. I witnessed history being made in front of my eyes by my own generation, bringing down a corrupt regime, and starting a new era of democracy.
HOW I EXPERIENCED THE REVOLUTION

SARAH MOHY EL DIN EL MASSERY

In the spring of 2011, I managed to travel to the United States for a semester abroad at Wellesley College outside of Boston. My happiness and excitement equaled my fears; fears about missing Egypt. I did not realize that I would be missing a whole revolution and a great historical moment for Egypt. Being in the US and watching my daily dose of news from home was probably the hardest experience I have ever been through in my life so far. The amount of depression, nervousness, and anxiety was unprecedented for me.

It all started with the shocking events of 25th of January right after I arrived. I watched on a computer screen hundreds of people protesting in Tahrir Square. My concerns were not grave because I did not expect the people to stand up to a confrontation with the police and the other security forces. When the number of people started to increase, I started feeling danger. Something was different this time; the people were determined. I saw organization, solidarity, persistence, and strength. I realized for the first time in my life that I was watching a mass revolt in Egypt and about Egypt. However, the astonishment was turned into panic when the internet and other means of communication were suspended; Egypt was isolated from the outside world. There was no news coverage except from Aljazeera and Al Arabiya, another Arabic news channel originating out of Saudi Arabia. This was a devastating experience since I was not be able to talk to my family for more than three days until I got them on a landline.

On January 28th we were all watching in anticipation as the number grew to over one million protestors. I watched in amazement. mainly because Egypt had been stagnant for a very long time. After the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia, analysts ruled out the possibility that Egypt would have similar protests. Nevertheless, that is what revolutions do. They burst suddenly out of nowhere with the aim of making radical changes.

On January 29th, Mubarak came out to calm the people and announce that Omar Soliman as his Vice-President, his first ever. However his speech was not only useless, but encouraged more people to protest the next day. At this point, my Egyptian friends and I were at the peak of desperation but on our way to Boston, we found a rally for Egypt. Our hearts just jumped joy. We ran for two hours trying to catch up with the rally. It had 400-500 Egyptians and a fair number of Americans. Finally when we made it, we were able to shout the same slogan Egyptians in Cairo shouted throughout the whole revolution: “The people demand the fall of the regime.”

The situation kept escalating till the shameful attack of horses and camels that took place on February 2nd which just horrified me. At that point the Egyptians and the Arabs on campus at Wellesley decided to do something with the sources available to us. While we kept an eye on the events, we planned for a panel to make Americans aware of what was happening in Egypt. We especially wanted to be heard by the American government which was supporting the Mubarak regime even after it started killing civilians during their non-violent protests. We told the students how isolated Egypt is from the world and how it is suffering from a corrupt regime. We could not give answers about what was going to happen because no one knew.

After Mubarak’s second speech, I started my own activism on Facebook because I did not want the people back home to give up because of his deceitful speech. Arguments, articles, and comments were exchanged to try to convince people to stop protesting largely to preserve our growth and out benefits. However, the youth did not give up. They were deeply frustrated and would not be dissuaded by these old arguments once again.
In the end, they were the winners. While reading the news of Mubarak stepping down in the last few minutes of my history class, I had to stop myself from crying out of joy in class. This moment was really breathtaking. I thought only one thing: we did it, we revolted, and we have regained our dignity. The day of victory was followed by celebration on the part of the Egyptians on campus. All my Arab and American friends congratulated me on the victory. All the next few days, we wrote “Egypt” in the snow. We took pride in being Egyptian like never before.

Photo by Sarah el-Masry

**SARAH SPEAKS ON THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION AT WELLESLEY COLLEGE WHILE ON STUDY ABROAD**

Photo by http://www.mediafire.com/?77393vume6y6rs4w

**OMAR MAKRAM SAYS: “MUBARAK MUST GO”**
How did I experience Egypt’s 21st century revolution? I flew into it, literally, arriving in Cairo on January 28, the so-called “Day of Rage.” I had just returned to Egypt from a trip to the U.S. with a group of Egyptian students from The American University in Cairo (AUC). We were visiting Rice University, my alma mater in Houston and touring Washington, D.C. as part of an exchange program. Before we left for the U.S. on the 18th of January, I had read somewhere that there was a new group on Facebook, created to help build support for what was to be the January 25th revolution. This was just days after the Tunisian president was forced out of office by a popular uprising that had taken to the streets and captured the attention of the world, particularly those living in the Middle East and North Africa region.

For weeks I had heard or participated in conversations with people in Cairo and friends and family from home about what the Tunisian revolt meant for Egypt, about whether or not there would be a domino effect. I heard many experts claim that, while Egypt and Tunisia were similar as they were both ruled by authoritarian governments, the situation in Egypt was not quite right for revolt. Not to say that these experts didn’t have all the proper qualifications and experience to support their arguments, nor that they were necessarily opposed to an Egyptian revolution, just that to most, a large-scale Egyptian uprising was unlikely.

It wasn’t just the experts though. People on the streets of Cairo as well as students and faculty from AUC all held somewhat shifty opinions, myself included. We all knew there was widespread poverty and that many of the educated populace were frustrated with the lack of jobs and unmet promises of prosperity and fulfillment. It was clear that what happened in Tunisia had triggered a revolutionary state-of-mind, and that through social media, people could actually advertise and organize for a cause.

But would the Egyptian people really be able to come together in a really large-scale protest against their government? Could they really do it in spite of the heavy-handed state security? How would the international community respond? Would they advocate for regional and global stability or throw their support behind the idea of popular sovereignty? Did Egypt even need a revolution or just a kick-start for immediate social and political reform? Skepticism and enthusiasm, fear and excitement, hope and despair were all common themes, but what was certain, was that Cairo was in for something big. The only question was what.

Safe within the confines of U.S. borders, my co-travelers and I continued to discuss what we thought would happen, weighing the costs and dangers of revolt against the rights and freedoms that could come out of it, basically reaching a consensus that “we don’t know, but it should be interesting.” In the days leading up to the 25th, we saw scenes of self-immolation and small-scale demonstrations, and continued to be updated through the news and friends. Finally, the news confirmed: thousands of people were in Tahrir demanding…well, it wasn’t clear exactly what…but they were there demanding something. We left Washington on the night of the 27th, knowing full well that we were flying into a country that was in the midst of dramatic change. But was it a revolution?

On our descent into Cairo, we learned that there was a curfew in effect from 6pm to 6am and that cellphone and internet service was cut. As we made our way through customs and immigration, we could see huge crowds of people waiting in the lobby and lining the windows of the entrance to the airport. Whether they were masses rushing to leave Egypt or greeting family members who were
flying in to join the fight was unclear, but regardless, I would describe it at best as a comfortable chaos.

I spent the night of the 28th at a friend’s house as tanks blocked all the roads to my apartment in Zamalek, an island adjacent to Tahrir Square. That night I was glued to the news, watching images of the burning headquarters of the National Democratic Party, of violent clashes between the police and protesters, of President Hosni Mubarak addressing the nation for the first time since the 25th of January.

On Saturday, January 29th, I went out and saw the burning NDP building with my own eyes. I continued on to Tahrir and was amazed by the peaceful nature of everything, especially in contrast to the violence of days past. Oddly enough, I never felt as if I was in danger. In the days and weeks that followed I watched as students and friends fled, but I still never felt the need to go. I watched the news and saw how the revolution was being portrayed internationally. I saw how Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions motivated countries to follow suit. Jordan’s government resigned, the Dalai Lama announced he was stepping down, protests broke out in Iraq, Bahrain, Yemen, Syria, and Wisconsin.

On some days I went out to Tahrir and joined in the demonstrations as an enthusiastic observer. My time away from Tahrir was spent in the dorms, watching news and movies, eating food and kicking back. Sure it was a revolution, but I was strangely at home with the entire course of events. I think that if I had to say why I felt so calm, it was because of the peaceful nature of the protests, the laid-back culture and sense of humor of the Egyptian people, and knowing that I had the full support and backing from AUC – an organization with the resources and know-how to protect and provide for us.
Arriving back in Cairo, my normal job had obviously changed. Instead of the regular morning routine on the New Cairo campus, we arranged briefings in the dorms to answer the questions of our concerned students, faculty, and staff. Instead of the morning bus ride out to the new campus we were scheduling evacuations to the airport. Instead of fielding calls to the President’s office, I was organizing calling emergency phone trees with my fellow presidential scholars through landlines – a technology we had up to that point taken for granted.

While working to evacuate most of the international students and many of the foreign faculty, we began planning for re-opening the university. While many people criticized us for trying to rush the issue, i.e. re-starting the semester before we even knew the status of the country, there was very little merit to not having a semester. Students’ graduation dates, scholarships and stipends, employee salaries, critical health and food services all depended on the university operating. I realized then, that a university - and AUC particularly - was not just a learning institution, but also the foundation of an entire community.

In the emergency management meetings, senior administrators and faculty from AUC discussed the topics they felt to be the most integral to operating the university. As an institution built on education, the status of academic programs was a top priority. We had to consider the faculty still in country, the feasibility of getting people to campus, the preparedness of instructors to teach, and the capacity of our support operations. The availability of student services, food, transportation, and security were also main points on the agenda. As the Tahrir Campus downtown was at the center of the demonstrations, we were constantly updated on the status of the campus facilities and the safety of the staff who endured weeks of on-going protest. Information technology, library operations, payroll and financial services, human resources, and communications were all regular points on the agenda.

With a tentative date set to re-open, it seemed AUCians began to coalesce into a community of responsible citizens, dedicated to turning this crisis into the opportunity it truly was. The spirit of the popular uprising had brought people together and solidified Egypt’s social contract. Our students and staff began organizing volunteer opportunities, spurring the creation of a volunteer services committee and the “Volunteer@AUC” initiative. As everyone around the world watched, history unfolded before our eyes. We organized a historical recording project to preserve the facts and feel of these events called “University on the Square: Documenting Egypt’s 21st Revolution.” International NGOs, corporations, and private individuals have similarly started or offered support of initiatives whose mission involves some form of social responsibility and civic engagement.

How did I experience the revolution? In truth, I am still experiencing it. Egypt is continuing to change every day, with new leadership, new political and social dynamics, and creative approaches to democratic expression emerging constantly. AUC is going through its own revolution, one which I have the pleasure of seeing firsthand and the privilege of taking part in. I would not dare to claim that this revolution is my own, but by being here, I am a part of it. What I’ve learned from these past three months, since the first major demonstrations started, is that regardless of nationality or affiliation, irrespective of background or future pursuits, we can all take part in a revolution wherever and whoever we are. The real revolution isn’t taking place in Tahrir Square, but in the mindset of global citizens around the world. We truly are living in a new era. Egypt just happens to be showing us the way.
HOW I EXPERIENCED THE REVOLUTION

YASMINAH EL SAYED

When the uprisings had started I was in the States. There was news about Egypt on international newspapers and TV. I remember that the first video I saw of the protests on YouTube sent chills down my spine and made me want to be in Egypt badly.

When I arrived to Cairo on Friday the 28th, I was told at the airport that there was a newly imposed curfew and that I won’t be able to go out on the streets after 6pm which was crazy because it was around 8pm at the time. I was not sure about what to do. I tried calling my parents but to my surprise the phone networks were down and I was later informed that there was no internet either. I had never thought that something like that would happen in Egypt. I had only seen stuff like that on the news in other countries but not in Egypt. I was excited because for this to happen it must have meant that those protests that started on Tuesday weren't just the one-day type that we had become used to over the past couple of years. It meant that what was happening was big enough and strong enough to force the authorities to take off the fake democracy mask and reveal their true colors.

On my drive back home I started to feel sad for the first time. If you've ever been to Cairo or heard from someone who's been there, you'd know that traffic in Cairo is one hell of a crazy experience. The streets are never empty, the lights are never off, and people are always there... whenever. So for me to see the streets so empty - no cars, no people - it really hurt. This was not what I'd expected, not the Cairo I knew.

Photo by Ihab el-Sokary

TAHRIR CLEAN-UP CREW
For two weeks my family and I literally camped in the living room. We spend most of our time in front of the TV screen watching Al-Jazeera's live coverage of the events in Tahrir Square. We didn’t leave home except once or twice to buy some essentials. I remember at that time that the least of my worries were the mobs and thugs who have been released by the corrupt National Democratic Party officials. The only thing that I was really worried about was that the regime might continue. I wanted the uprisings to continue till the downfall of Mubarak and the end of corruption in the country.

Watching the events on the TV screen became insufficient. I kept nagging and arguing with my father to let me participate in the protests but he would not. The funny thing was that, when he finally agreed to let me go, he said he'd have to check the square before taking me there. That was on the Wednesday when violence broke out as the corrupt officials sent thugs to attack the protesters. My dad came back right as the violence started. My mom called him on the phone asking him to come back, but I was yelling from the other end of the room to keep on protesting with the others.

That night when we were in our little living room camp watching what was going on in Tahrir, I could not believe that my dad was there amidst the fire and the attacks because of me. Only at that moment did I understand how my father felt about me going to Tahrir, but for me it was different. That was my generation out there making change. I felt that missing the chance to participate in these protests would be something I would regret for the rest of my life. I resorted to tweeting and calling up my friends to engage in political discussions which was the only way I could express myself at the time.

Photo by Ihab el-Sokary

YASMINAH AND IHAB CLEAN UP TAHRIR SQUARE
“AMERICA WILL NOT RULE US ANYMORE”
THE CHANGES I WANT TO SEE IN EGYPT IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

AHMED EZZ EL DIN MOHAMED

The revolution paved the path for changes in the governmental system in Egypt. As one of the Egyptian youth, I have many dreams regarding the future of Egypt. I hope to see a new constitution that respects the authority of the people and allows for equality and justice. People will feel more loyal to their country when they know that their rights are respected and protected.

I wish to see an economic miracle that will put Egypt on the top of the developing nations. Having a significant economic influence will help Egypt to play a bigger role in international politics. By achieving this goal, our standard of living will be higher, and we will gain more respect on the international level.

I hope one day people from all over the world will come to Egypt to study in its distinguished universities. Education and scientific research should be on the top of our agenda and we should stop the brain drain and support economic development. A more educated people will be able to value democracy and know their rights and duties much better.

In general, I want to see real democracy in Egypt that opens the door for achieving economic miracle based on education, scientific research, and protecting the rights of the Egyptian people.

Photo by http://www.mediafire.com/?7393vume6fy6rs4w

FEELING PROUD OF EGYPT
THE CHANGES I WANT TO SEE IN EGYPT IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

AIDA M. YEHIA

Governmental Changes

I would like to see many changes in the structure of the Egyptian government in order to preserve the revolution and to ensure a transition to democracy. First, there should be a well-established constitution that should be respected by everybody. It does not have to be too detailed nor very short. It has to be clear and firm in terms of the government and society relationship.

Second, there should be separation of powers between the three main authorities of the country. This separation would guarantee more transparency and lower chances for corruption. Ending corruption was one of the main goals of the revolution. This is based on the fact that there will be checks and balances between the three branches on each other. Also, the separation of power would restore to the judicial branch its authority, pride, and independence. This was greatly damaged under the past regime and people lost their faith in the power of judges. The separation of powers would help consolidate the rule of law and keep any one branch from becoming too powerful.

Third, whether Egypt shall adopt a presidential or parliamentary system, the term for the future president or prime minister should be determined in the constitution and subject to renewal only once. This diminishes the chances for higher corruption and saves democracy from falling back into authoritarianism. As the famous journalist Mohamed Hassanien Heikal once said, “this will save Egyptians from creating another pharaoh to rule them”.

I further hope that this defined term for the presidency, with renewal only once, will be implemented for Members of Parliament (MP).

AIDA ON DEMOCRACY

This would save many Egyptians from abuses of power by MPs as well. It would promote an alternation of power between parties and provide new energy to government.

Also, parliamentary immunity granted to MPs as soon as they get into parliament should be cancelled. Such immunity leads MPs to abuse their powers, become corrupt, and stay in office too long in order to protect themselves. Term limits for MPs would also lower the chances of keeping parliamentary seats in one family as if they were inherited property.

In addition, I look forward for more supervisory bodies to monitor the various institutions in the country. I hope there would be more questions for government ministers and MPs to answer. I hope that speeches given by the future president or prime minister will be taken seriously, well written, be inspirational, and be given more frequently. I look forward to those speeches being published and circulated to the youth and for quotes from them to be used for many years to come.

I hope also that civil society organizations will be given a chance to improve society and to work hand-in-hand with the government rather than being regarded as its enemy and being crushed by it.
Civil society should target the sectors which the government can’t reach well and focus the government’s attention on marginalized groups.

![TENT CITY AT TAHRIR SQUARE](https://www.mediafire.com/?7393vume6y6rs4w)

TENT CITY AT TAHRIR SQUARE

Social Changes

I hope Egyptian society will become more unified under its flag than by its religious affiliations. If so, society would be more integrated, open, and less prone to conflict.

I hope we can wipe out illiteracy and give citizens a much better awareness of their rights. I hope Egyptians will become more active and volunteer more frequently in causes for the betterment of society. Egyptians should learn to be more organized in their thoughts. When queuing, they should be better mannered and more ethical. They should never again be passive when their rights are being taken away. If active and assertive, they would easily stop any attempts to take away their liberties.

I personally hope that the crime rate and violence in the society decreases. I hope there would be no more reports of crimes like rape, murder, or robbery because people are poor. This has been a commonly used justification in our media before increasing stigmatization and fear in society. Reporting crime without blaming everything on the poor would bring a stronger sense of security and safety.

I hope Egyptians will not be silent anymore but believe in themselves and their capabilities.
THE CHANGES I WANT TO SEE IN EGYPT IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

Dalia Abbas

This revolution in the making has already produced tremendous positive changes for Egypt and its people. They have discovered a newfound pride in their nationality and heritage as well as a new sense of commitment to the country and its government. With that said, there is a lot of work that needs to be done and a lot that we hope to see come out of this unexpected event.

First of all, what I’d like to see come out of this most is free and fair elections. I don’t only mean free in the sense that voting will be transparent and just, but that elections, both parliamentary and presidential, will allow for a wide range of candidates to compete and present their political agendas, without fear of being persecuted for their positions.

Secondly, Egypt needs to become a place that is not only pleasant for tourists and for rich families but for all Egyptians alike. This can only happen if Egypt works on building a strong system that provides more employment opportunities and establishes selection systems that are more based on merit and less based on nepotism. There also needs to be consequences for going against the rule of law. Bribes need to be harshly condemned and citizens need to be taught values that will uphold the new constitution.

Thirdly, there needs to be a new, updated constitution that is accessible to its populace and suitable for a new and different style of government. The current constitution gives too much power to the executive branch of government. If Egypt expects to emerge as a democracy, it is absolutely essential that the new constitution create a balance of powers between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The new constitution should also provide additional rights to its citizens, such as free internet nationwide, unemployment benefits, and incentives to work hard and get educated.

Lastly and perhaps most importantly, I’d like to see the new government make serious educational reforms. The state of education in Egypt is very low and needs a government committed to seeing it prosper, not just for the rich elite classes of society, but for everyone. Ordinary Egyptians need to have trust in their public school education system, which can only be done if curriculums are updated, teachers are paid well, and students given incentives to work harder.

Photo by Ahmed Seddik

CBS NEWS INTERVIEWS DALIA AND HER SISTER AYA
THE CHANGES I WANT TO SEE IN EGYPT IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

DINA SALAH EL DIN

Some aspects surrounding the January 25th Egyptian Revolution remain a subject of debate, however, one thing is not debatable: the landscape in Egypt has changed dramatically.

Hundreds, sometimes even thousands, still gather on Fridays, now more than just a day-off, to deliver strong public messages. Many others remain indoors, pondering the right legal steps to create a new political party. Indoors or in Tahrir, both agree that the revolution is still not finished. Everyone is willing to finish the “mission”. That’s the Egypt I would like to see.

It is hard to know what Egypt will look like in 10 years, hard to detect what directions the political and social forces will take us. I watched in awe from Japan the photos and videos of hundreds of Egyptians standing in queues before the ballot boxes for March 19th constitutional referendum on new amendments. I saw amazingly positive spirits among those standing in line, knowing that this time finally, their opinions will matter. That’s the Egypt I would like to see.

Needless to say, Egypt is now experiencing what many call the “side effects” of the revolution. That is quite understandable. After 30 years of oppression, it becomes natural for forces that have been in the shadows to become more forceful, for example the Salafis. Less personal security is also to be expected as the role of the police in society is transition and likely to be refocused, even diminished because of the revolution. In ten years time, however, I am almost sure that such unrest will be a memory from the past and the seeds planted in Tahrir will have yielded a democratic, stable Egypt.

I think the problems Egypt has been facing, the ones that caused the revolution, were due basically to a monopoly of power: Corruption, control over all three branches of government, poor education, misuse of public money, lack of transparency, police brutality, suppressing the opposition, and the list goes on and on. All these factors came together and complemented each in the tight inner circle of controls that authoritarian regimes create for themselves. These tight inner controls on all power can now be demolished. However, Egyptians will need to stay alert to those who get power from now on because power corrupts those who hold it. That’s the Egypt I would like to see.

Egypt planted the seeds of democracy in Tahrir but they still need to come to terms with the complexity of such a system. “Liberal socialist, non-religious conservative, secular believers” are new terms we will need to get acquainted with as we move from being non-state actors to be state actors in our own country.

Empowering a healthy, long-lasting and independent civil society is to control the state in the near future. Now we need to establish independent entities that come out of the young, leaderless revolution we have just had and carry the ideals forward into mature and popular form. With many obstacles still to face, including perhaps newly elected parties and new leaders, political awareness and activism among the people surely means that everything is possible. But the challenges will be really tough. Egypt continually remaking itself in the light of new ideals is the Egypt I would like to see.
A very important question came to my mind after the main Tahrir events were over: “and now what?” Egyptians needed a revolution to change the 30-year-old corrupt regime. They might also need another revolution to change the people that changed the regime. Breaking the barrier of fear was the first sign of a fundamental change in the Egyptian mind and soul.

Egyptians cannot continue to live with the negative attitudes that developed and carried on for generations under the dictators, attitudes that basically corrupted their minds and souls with fear, deprived them of their rights, constantly humiliated them, and separated them into suspicious social categories.

The seeds of change were planted in Tahrir Square during the 18-day Revolution. I have witnessed the events and shared the desire of millions of people, led by the youth of Egypt, for a brighter tomorrow.

In Tahrir Square, we were Egyptians regardless of age, religion, gender, social rank, or political orientation. There were fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, grandparents, political figures, activists, rich people, poor people, farmers, Ph.D.’s, workers, and illiterates... a unified nation.

Now, everyone has a responsibility to carry on, work on our own, making a positive contribution for the new Egypt we hope is being born. Egyptians, I mean all “individuals”, those who lead and who do the everyday work of society, will have to turn a new page. No real change will occur in Egypt before we change ourselves.

Every Egyptian needs now to change the negative attitudes acquired under the old regime and to try hard for a better way of life. This starts with changes in values and attitudes in every home, every street, every school, every workplace, every government department.

To be able to teach our children, we have to master ourselves the basic values which build a home, a society, a government and a nation. To enjoy democracy and freedom, we have to practice those values and apply them in our daily lives. That starts with instilling fundamental principles like self-respect and respect of others, for their way of life, and for their opinions. It starts with recognizing that freedom does not mean either chaos or the law of the jungle. It starts with being able to differ in our opinions without foul language, anger, or fear. It starts with allowing constructive criticism, not spreading unfounded rumors, and learning to cooperate with each other.

A famous quote comes to my mind, though I cannot remember exact words “If we do not change the way we do things, we will keep on getting the same results. If we want different results, we need to change our way of doing things.”

Finally, saying please, thank you, sorry, or “I made a mistake” is not a sign of weakness, but a sign of inner strength.
THE CHANGES I WANT TO SEE IN EGYPT IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

Ihab M. El Sokary

As every other Egyptian who has been inspired by this great revolution, I dream of a better future for this country. I visualize Egypt in 2020 as a peaceful country that is reaping the benefits of the 2011 people’s revolution which opened the doors to a new era with a new mentality.

In this new era, Egyptians will hopefully enjoy a free democratic society based on pluralism, freedom of speech, and equality. The economy will be booming and diversifying into heavy industries, nanotechnology, and renewable energies. New 100% Egyptian innovations will be finding their way to the global marketplace.

The education system will have been improved significantly and scientific research will be given enormous attention and resources. Egypt will have regained its role as the leading Arab and African nation. It will then use its ties with its Arab neighbors to form an effective and practical union to replace the Arab League. Simultaneously Egypt will have successfully managed to secure its needs for fresh water and food through cooperation with Sudan in growing crops and in maximizing the efficient use of the Nile waters.

These are my dreams. They might not be impossible, but they are far from the reality of today. As a country coming out of a revolution, many uncertainties lie in the future and no one can predict what tomorrow will really hold. Doubts are already rising regarding the transitional process that we are now in. Is it taking us towards the Egypt in my vision of 2020 or will the future produce yet another authoritarian regime with different faces?

The decisive factor will be the people, the ones who created the revolution and the spirit of Tahrir Square and those who have come to share those ideals with them. A huge responsibility lies on their shoulders to maintain the momentum of the revolution and to keep Egypt a free country. That will best be done by seeking to spread the spirit of the Tahrir Square throughout the entire nation. The internal and external pressures are huge. Yet I believe that the Egyptian people will be wise enough to keep their country on the right track. Over and over again, we need to choose people with fresh ideas and fresh energy who are committed to the Tahrir spirit to lead the country in this crucial watershed period.

“RESPECT THE BLOOD OF THE MARTYRS”
“ANALYSE THE UNDERLINED: GO! GO!”
“I DON’T LIKE THE PM’S CANDIES. I LIKE FREEDOM FILLED WITH DEMOCRACY.”
THE CHANGES I WANT TO SEE IN EGYPT IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

MOHAMED E. EL-GINDY

After the 25th of January revolution, Egyptians from all different sects and backgrounds had a lot of dreams and expectations for the New Egypt. These ideas were mostly isolated thoughts going different directions. There was no comprehensive vision of what Egypt should be like in 2020 or 2050. Sharing my vision of a better Egypt is a magnificent chance to express my ideas about that future. I want this essay to be the basic foundation for my comprehensive integrated vision for Egypt in the coming years.

A comprehensive vision for any country includes ten important main topics: the internal politics of the state, the economy, education and scientific research, health, housing and urbanization, culture policy, journalism and mass communication policies, environmental policies, sport, and national security and foreign policy. Due to limited space, I will focus in this paper only on internal politics, education and scientific research, health, housing and urbanization, environment policies, and the foreign policy and national security.

Changes for a New Constitution

Concerning politics and the state, my goal is to share what I want to see happen in a better future, not to write down what the Egyptian Revolution has changed so far. My future changes include:

• An entirely new constitution based on the principles of liberal democracy.
• Confirmation of the rule of law. Clear declaration that no one is above the law.
• Confirmation that all citizens are equal in rights and duties, that they are equal before the law, and that there will be equitable application of the law for all citizens without exception.
• Abolition of all previous exceptional laws and constitutional clauses restricting freedoms.
• Confirmation the rights and duties of citizens, including political, economic, social and cultural rights, including:
  - Freedom of belief and religious practice
  - Freedom of expression and circulation of information, literary and artistic creativity and scientific research
  - Freedom to form parties, unions, NGOs, and associations, including the right to join such organizations and the right to strike
  - Freedom to demonstrate and strike peacefully within the limits of public order and morality
  - Right to personal safety and bodily integrity
  - Prohibition of detention and the restricting of the freedom of citizens without a warrant from the judiciary
  - Commitment to all international agreements on human rights
  - Confirmation of non-discrimination among citizens on grounds of beliefs, gender, or any other criterion
  - Establishing of the rights of older persons
  - Establishing of the rights of persons with disabilities
  - Establishing of the right to work for all citizens
Establishing of the right to lifetime healthcare
Rescinding of all previous legislation that detracted from these rights and freedoms.

• Candidates for the Egyptian presidency to be required have to choose a vice-president as his running mate. Public to vote on the president and his vice-president together.

• The dissolution of the Shoura Council, the consultative body of government, often said to be the “upper house.”

• A new House of Representatives that would have all legislative powers such as passing new laws, the national budget, accepting or rejecting projects proposed by the executive, conducting oversight over all government actions.

• All members of the new House of Representatives to be elected.

• Parliamentary immunity only to apply to what members of the House say for the record on the floor of the House. No activities outside the House to be covered by immunity.

• An impartial legislative commission to be established outside the House, consisting only of individuals who are not members of the House. That body is to certify that a person is competent to be a legislator. It will audit the affairs of members on an annual basis, with the power to refer them to the Justice Ministry for trial if need be. That body will investigate any charge of corruption or abuse of power against members.

• Creation of a legislative research and information service to allow all legislators at any level to access to all data and facts concerning any issue that is before them

• National representatives will be allowed a small number of staff members in order to help them carry out their duties

• Confirmation of the independence of the judiciary.

• Supreme Judicial Council to have authority over all things related to judges from the appointment, promotion, transfer, assignment, discipline.

• Complete separation of the judicial budget from the Ministry of Justice. Determination by the Supreme Judicial Council of all judicial expenditures without interference from the executive branch.

• Formation of a Supreme Constitutional Court from among the heads of all judicial bodies

• Attorney General to be chosen by the Supreme Judicial Council

• Abolition of all exceptional courts so that a trial before a judge is available to all citizens with constitutional guarantees of justice and fairness.

• Prohibition of the trial of civilians before military courts.

• The prohibition of assignments of judges to ministries and bodies in the executive or legislative branches.

• Confirmation of free enterprise and market mechanisms as the basis for the organization of the national economy.

• The government to have the role of developing social and economic policies protecting citizens against poverty, ensuring an equitable distribution of national income, regulating the economy without undue interference with the market, and a national strategy for overall development and sustained economic growth

• Adoption of "decentralization" as one of the key elements of the new democratic political system
• Giving of new expanded powers to governorates and local communities. Election of councils at the governorate and local levels. Election of governors and mayors at the governorate and local levels.

• Full legislative authority for elected councils. Authority by elected councils over the local executive authorities.

• Guarantees for free and fair elections. Confirmation of the rights of citizens to express their will freely through the ballot box without interference.

• Creating a national electoral commission completely independent of the executive branch and the presidency to handle all elections, referenda, and public opinion polls. Commission to certify that each individual member of the House has been elected freely and fairly

• Establishing the principle of merit as the basis for the selection and promotion of civil servants. Mandating of continual training and developing of the skills of civil servants

• Greatly expanded transparency in the work of government with everything being subject to supervision, oversight, and auditing - helping to root out bribery, corruption, and favoritism from government work

• Ending the ownership of the press and the media by the state and requiring 100% transparency of all media in terms of their financing

• Creating an independent regulatory body for the journalistic community, one which operates without external interference. Establishment by that body of a nationwide code of ethics for all journalists to follow. Giving that body the power to remove violating journalists from that profession

• Establishing the principle that civil society organizations are a benefit to society, can complement the work of government, and are acceptable expressions of the right of free speech and the right of associations, NGOs, professional associations.

• Creating a simple, inexpensive method for registering civil society organizations.

• Establishing that these organizations are independent of government, which should not directly or directly try to control them.

• Calling for a national spirit of volunteerism in building a new society in the country.

• Requiring complete transparency and total disclosure in all monetary practices of public authorities.

• Requiring public authorities to keep the public fully informed of its actions on a frequent basis. Requiring that citizen discussion be allowed before certain proposals in front of the government is acted on.

• Prohibition of the use of violence and torture by police and security services.

• Independent watchdog entities to be set up to monitor this and all other abuses by police and security services. Violators and perpetrators to be held accountable by trial and imprisonment if necessary and by preventing them being re-employed in policing functions

Reforms in Education

• Require a top-to-bottom reform of the national education system as a top national priority.

• Make critical thinking, creative thinking, and problem solving the goal of all teaching at all levels. Make it clear that rote learning has no place in a modern curriculum.
• Make the drawing of connections between classroom knowledge and real world problems essential throughout all education.

• Establish the concept of "lifelong learning" as a key feature of all education. Create new opportunities for such learning beyond the normal school years.

• Establish the teaching and learning of the sciences as central to all education.

• Require that a much higher percentage of the national budget to be devoted to education.

• Consult parents, students, and graduates continually throughout the reform process.

MOHAMED ON DEMOCRATIZING THE ARAB WORLD

Changes in Healthcare and Population

• Establish that healthcare is the shared responsibility of the state and the people.

• Establish social health insurance as the basis for comprehensive healthcare delivery.

• Raise substantially the efficiency and the performance level of medical service providers.

• Create life-long professional development training programs in the health field.

• Raise hygiene standards as a top priority throughout the healthcare system.

• Review of the current subsidies on medicines in relation to the profitability requirements of production companies.

• Expand national population and family planning programs in order to bring Egypt down within 10 years to the 2.1 replacement rate, which leads to a population of stable size

Changes in Housing and Urbanization

• Conduct a comprehensive review of housing issues nationwide.

• Make structural soundness, sustainability, energy efficiency standards for all new buildings.

• Set green conversion standards for current buildings.

• Make building maintenance a much higher priority.
• Create for citizens a sense that, as the owners of the country, they own its public property such as buildings, streets, buses, parks, hospitals, metros, sidewalks, and more.

• Make a clean environment and safe streets both a right and a duty of citizens.

• Take public opinion into account through public hearings when designing and building new roads, buildings, suburbs, highways, roundabouts, streets, lighting, and the like.

Environmental Changes

There are three components of overall sustainable development: economic growth, social development, and environmental protection. We need to start taking into account short-term and long-term environmental concerns in all urban and national planning. We should:

• Give the Minister of State for Environmental Affairs greater authority and a larger budget in order to address our many environmental problems.

• Establish the national goal of converting the country from fossil fuels to renewable energies by 2030.

• Require that all new power plants use renewable energies such as solar, wind, tidal, or geothermal power.

• Convert the government’s fleet of cars, trucks, and buses over to natural gas by 2014.

• Establish a national desalination policy with a view to building up the country’s supply of fresh water.

• Require a feasibility study in order to plan for the protection of the Nile Delta against sea level rises in the future.

• Establish a major environmental authority with the power to make major environmental assessments and to close facilities of any type when they cause significant environmental damage.

• Make major environmental assessments before each large-scale project under taken by the government of the private sector. Such projects include TOSHKA, the South Gulf of Suez, new ports, new airports new highways, and new satellite cities.

• Establish a system of pollution monitoring that would allow the government to know pollution levels on a 24-hour a day basis. Air and water pollution alerts could be issued for the public in the case of major pollution problems.

• Provide regulatory incentives and disincentives to encourage investors and builders to use cleaner production methods and to prevent pollution in advance whenever possible.

• Start the national process, through regulatory and tax incentives and disincentives, of converting all vehicles in the country to renewable energy vehicles, lowering their emissions and ending the need to use oil-based fuels.

• Make eliminating the air pollution of all Egyptian cities, especially Cairo, a high priority project.

• Firmly apply Environmental Law 4 of 1994 as well as the Law on Nile Waters.

• Put in place safeguards against the use of sewage water in the growing of food crops.

• Review the safety of all drinking water nationwide, correcting immediately all deficiencies.

• Review the national practices under the Law of the Sea Treaty as well as national laws concerning on security against oil spills for all coastlines, ports, protected marine areas.
• Establish recycling systems for solid wastes nationwide and encourage citizens through incentives to participate.
• Conduct environmental assessments especially on water sources before new landfills are created.
• Establish hazardous waste disposal systems nationwide with significant penalties for violators.

National Security and Foreign Policy

National security is vital to the cohesion of society and the stability of the state. It too must flow out of the new constitution and popular sovereignty.

• Establish that a strong economy is vital to a strong national defense.
• Establish in the new constitution the principle of civilian control of the military as required in all democratic states.
• Establish that peace in the Middle East in a major national goal and that this means supporting the idea the concept of a nuclear-free zone provided Israel can be brought to join the effort.
• Make the achievement of a viable Palestinian state a major goal of Egyptian foreign policy.
• Provide support to the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank, primarily through opening the border with Gaza.
• Seek to integrate Israel into closer regional cooperation with its neighboring countries.
• Build closer cooperation with Nile Basin countries.
• Establish access to Nile water as a matter of vital national interest to Egypt.
• Establish de facto relations and give support as requested to the Transitional National Council in Benghazi.
• Seek to make Egypt again the leading country in the Arab world.
• Seek to establish an Arab Free Trade Zone.
• Seek to build a more effective, cohesive Arab League as an essential instrument in trade, development projects, education, economic growth, and military action if needed.
• Give much greater attention to the African continent as a whole and in the Horn of Africa in particular. Help solve the problems of Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia so as to prevent those problems from flowing into Egypt, principally in the form of refugees.
• Be more active nationally as partners in building Mediterranean cooperation.
• Be an active voice in countering rising Sunni and Shiite divisions in Islamic countries.

Photo by http://www.mediafire.com/77393vume6y6rs4w

I DON’T WANT TO BE BRIBED. THIS IS MY KFC MEAL.
THE CHANGES I WANT TO SEE IN EGYPT IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

RAMADAN A. MOUSSA

Egyptians believed that January 25th Revolution would be a turning point in Egypt’s modern history, making the country prosperous, democratic, and developed. This is a dream all of us have for Egypt. Nonetheless, many people, including me, have a different point of view about the revolution. I agree that President Mubarak’s performance was not the best in the last 10 years, but the revolution is not the best solution for our problems at the moment. Some will claim that it is too early now to evaluate the revolution’s outcomes. However, the current circumstances indicate that the future of Egypt is not very promising.

The first question we should ask ourselves if we really needed a revolution now. In order to answer this question, we should look at how Egypt was before the revolution. Economically, the country had achieved high economic growth that reached 5-7% per year. Foreign investment was high. More jobs were being created and jobs were relatively easy to find. Still there were serious problems and the unemployment rate was high. But undeniable progress was occurring.

First, if we look at Egypt’s economic history, we will find that, during 1980s, a new international economic trend started to emerge led by America’s Reagan and Britain’s Thatcher. This trend was called “neo-liberalism”. The main features are to go back to Adam Smith’s economic ideas of laissez-faire economy. The policy measures used were privatization of public assets, opening up to foreign investment, streamlining public services, eliminating trade regulations, leaving prices to market forces, and building larger private sectors larger nation building roles and to which governments would be much friendlier.

President Sadat implemented some of these policies that came to be called his “open-door” policy. Mubarak, at the beginning of his rule, was cautious in implementing such policies. But at the beginning of 1990s, certain circumstances forced him to adopt such policies. The first incident was the collapse of the USSR and American hegemony of the world affairs. America became the leading power of the entire globe and its economic policies were the guide for all nations. Not only that, the US led the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995.

The WTO and the IMF, both of whom adopted neo-liberal policies, were pressuring all countries to adopt these policies. Many countries, including Egypt, responded to these pressures and implemented such policies. Egypt started to implement the neo-liberal structural adjustment policies in 1990s. It was part of a deal Egypt made with the US. This deal involved Egypt joining the war to liberate Kuwait with 15,000 troops and implementing neo-liberal policies domestically. In return for which the United States would cancel half of the Egypt’s foreign debt.

Unfortunately, these neo-liberal policies proved to be devastating to all countries that adopted them, especially in the developing world. One can go into this further by examining the experiences of the Latin American and Eastern-European countries.

In Egypt, like other countries that adopted neo-liberal policies, there were both negative and positive outcomes. The positive effects were achieving high economic growth, higher foreign investment rates, and higher levels of foreign trade.

The negative influences were unfortunately devastating. The gap between the rich and poor increased dramatically, many people lost their jobs because of privatization, national industries collapsed because they could not compete with cheaper better quality imported goods, and inflation rates went up. Egyptians suffered from these policies. Mubarak was forced to adopt these policies due to international pressures. In fact, any country which wanted integrate in the world economy had to apply such policies even though none of them what the real consequences of such policies would be.
Many people would claim that that Mubarak regime was undemocratic and oppressive. I partially agree with this view. Mubarak was undemocratically elected several times. The police were very harsh with people. Parliament elections were not totally fair.

Nonetheless, the freedoms enjoyed under Mubarak were unprecedented compared to any time before him. Ask people who lived under Nasser’s or Sadat’s regimes and they will tell you how much tougher things were then. Under Mubarak, people could freely criticize the government. The Muslim Brothers won 88 seats in the parliamentary elections in 2005. There were some democratic reforms under Mubarak, but they were slow in coming.

I used to think that democratic reforms should be much faster, but I truly believe that democracy and freedom will be devastating for Egypt now. The current situation in Egypt proves my point. Many would disagree with me but I really believe that Egypt is not ready for full democracy now. I believe in democracy, but I believe that people need to be ready for it and that it needs to well implemented to be beneficial for society. Democracy brought Hitler and Bush Junior. Democracy is not always the solution.

During Mubarak regime, there was more social equality. It has not been perfect, but it was much better than during Sadat’s and Nasser’s regimes. Certain groups in society used to be excluded from particular governmental sectors as the police, military, judiciary, and foreign service, but now they open to all classes. I have a friend whose dad is plumber and he applied for the Egyptian Foreign Service in competition with two other friends of mine. Of the two competitors, the first is the son of a minister and the other is the son of a very prominent ambassador. The plumber’s son was accepted because he was more qualified while the two others were not.

So did we really need a revolution now? These facts are very important for me in answering this question. Egypt’s illiteracy rate is about 40%. How can you expect a society with such illiteracy rates to know the meaning of democracy? Many Egyptians believe that Egypt is the richest country in the world in terms of economic resources, which is of course totally untrue. We do have a lot of economic corruption, but if we get rid of it corruption, we will not magically be like Sweden.

Before the revolution, there was some economic progress occurring, but now immediately after the revolution our economic growth is -7%. Some claim that sooner or later our economy will boom. What is going to make that happen? And more importantly, when will it occur? Now we are losing foreign investment; many are losing their jobs; our stock market is collapsing; our currency is losing value: and our business sector is treading water waiting to see what will happen.

One of the circumstances we enjoyed under Mubarak was security and stability. But now we have a rising crime rate and unprecedented clashes between Muslims and Christians which are terrifying. And most importantly, our real fundamentalists, the Salafis, are taking over the country. Can we really expect democracy and freedom under the Salafis?

Factional demands are destroying the economy. People thought that after Mubarak went, economic prosperity would occur the next day. People’s expectations of the revolution will be one of the most prominent reasons behind that curb any progress in Egypt. Egyptians expect too much from the revolution, and they will inevitably be disappointed.

What will Egypt look like in 10 years? Our situation is not very promising. From my point of view, 25th of January Revolution is the worst thing that has occurred in recent Egyptian history. I truly hope that I am wrong, but I cannot find anything to makes me feel the opposite.
THE CHANGES I WANT TO SEE IN EGYPT IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

SALMA A. GABER

My father has described the period before the revolution as the “era of mutual contempt” in which the government did not respect its people and the people did not respect their government. We were living in the age of injustice and inequality and we have continuously blamed the government for this problem. However, we, the people, are to blame too as we grew to accept and adapt to corruption and the abuse of power. The changes that I want to see in Egypt over the next ten years require that the government and the people share a national vision and a relationship based on respect and justice.

Numerous changes are needed for Egypt to have a government that is free of corruption and that works for the welfare of the society. Firstly, members in the Egyptian government should not have hidden agendas that satisfy their personal advancement rather than the needs of the people. They should work first and foremost to accomplish the goals of part of the government they belong to.

Secondly, free and fair elections should take place. At a lecture in Cairo University, my father, a professor in the faculty of engineering, proposed the idea that a mechanism be created to protect the rights of the voter. For instance, information presented by candidates running for a specific position should be examined and the results of the examination should be communicated to voters. For years, people did not bother voting because they knew that their votes would not count. Now, however, after the revolution, they should be confident that they have a voice that will create change.

Thirdly, I see Egypt as a secular country where there is a clear separation between religion and the state. Religion should not be used to inspire and control the youth. For instance, in March many people used religion to persuade young and older voters that they should agree to the constitutional amendments. This should not have happened.

Fourthly, Egypt’s educational and healthcare systems have to be significantly improved. Unemployment rates need to be brought down by creating new jobs with fair wages.

Finally, an era of openness and enlightenment should be encouraged rather than forbidden. The free speech that our current constitution gives us should finally become a living reality. People should be able to criticize their government and express their opinions on all issues openly and without fear.

The people must play a major role in shaping the future of Egypt. A change in attitude and behavior towards to the law is needed. The government should pass and enforce just laws based on popular consent. People should in turn accept and comply with these laws, not trying to manipulate or bribe their way around them.

People should view the Egypt as if it were their own property, something they need to improve and protect. They should not accept corruption or injustice passively and they should always fight for their rights. They should respect their government and in turn be respected by it. They should always remember that millions gathered and hundreds died in Tahrir Square to end a corrupt regime - and not let their sacrifices be in vain. We are at just the start of a long trip that will a new spirit, a lot of hard work, continuous commitment, and respect for each other.
THE CHANGES I WANT TO SEE IN EGYPT IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

SARAH MOHY EL DIN EL MASSERY

Having a revolution in Egypt is like a dream come true. It is a historical watershed event that all Egyptians have been yearning for. It sprang up almost spontaneously as a youth movement. Not much was planned ahead and day-by-day it kept focused on its goals while reacting as needed to government actions. Plans for an post-revolution phase did not exist in any concrete way.

When it was going on, the only question occupying me was the question of corruption. I saw it as the main reason people revolted. Will we see an end to such corruption in the institutions of state and society in the post-revolution phase? Certainly after Mubarak stepped down, a wave of hope and positive energy seized young Egyptian men and women who were determined as never before to make Egypt a better society in the future. Now the question is how to translate that hope into a concrete new reality, one that substantially reduces or eliminates corruption.

I disagreed with the national voting on the March 19 constitutional amendments as I wanted to go for a new constitution instead. To me, a new constitution is the right starting point for making the new beginning. There is, of course, already without a new constitution more openness in politics, more room for politically active youth to voice their ideas, and a less repressive political environment. There is a much greater openness in terms of freedom of expression, especially for the printed press, which will be a major element in reforming our system in the future.

Reforms of the security and police systems are underway now and should be implemented at a faster pace, helping people recover the sense of safety and security they lost during the revolution. The police now I believe have new instructions about how to relate to the public and to violators. They of course have been somewhat chastened by the revolution as well. They need to be repositioned on the streets and in the neighborhoods. That will have a big impact on the productivity of the nation and on the sense of safety that everyone needs.

We all now aspire to a multi-dimensional reform process that happens simultaneously on both state and societal levels. We want to see a corruption-free government that enforces the rule of law without favoritism or exceptions for the people in power. This is an essential part of governance to ensure justice and equality among the populace. We need to completely abolish bribery and nepotism as they were pillars of the previous regime for almost 30 years. Corruption must be uprooted.

We want there to be much more transparency by the new government and the future president. The mutual fear and mutual disrespect between government and society needs is to be eliminated. We want to see an educational system that helps build critical minds. The new government has to make education as the number one reform top priority. Without educational reform, there will be no real or lasting progress.

We also want to have a unified law and equal procedures for building houses of worship for both Christians and Muslims, something that will defuse one of the main causes of sectarian conflict. In addition, improving the infrastructure of the country and much better urban planning should be important priorities for our new leaders. We also need ourselves to take responsibility for protecting public and private property and not sabotaging and ruining it the way we have. Furthermore, we all need to adopt the behaviors we witnessed during the revolution about throwing away garbage.

People need to demand and practice their civil and political rights so they cannot be so easily taken away as they were in recent decades. They need to conserve the sense of solidarity and patriotism because it will help mobilize people and move the wheel of change. The responsibilities on the shoulders of the Egyptians are even heavier now than they were before. If we want to have a quality government, we need to be a quality society as its foundation.
THE CHANGES I WANT TO SEE IN EGYPT IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

SEAN D. GRAHAM

On February 12, 2011, the day after Mubarak stepped down from his 30-year reign as President, I posted the following status update to my Facebook account:

Cairo has gone from general frustration, to determined demonstration, and finally, jubilant celebration. Egypt has given new breath to the power of non-violent protest and has shown the world the next generation of leaders is ready to take action.

“Egypt, O Mother of the World”

This captures the essence of what I’ve seen Egypt go through and what I hope this revolution will bring. Egyptians are currently presented with an amazing opportunity to redefine what the world thinks of when we imagine the Middle East, the Arab world, and Muslim countries around the globe. Of course, I don’t claim that those three categories are synonymous. They are, in truth, three distinct styles of classification which may overlap, but do not constitute a single culture nor region. However, unfortunate as it may be, for many in the “West” these are seen as similar, if not the same. That said, what happens in Egypt will set the tone for how the international community at large perceives and responds to the drastic changes occurring here and elsewhere.

The uprisings currently occurring in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria, and Jordan, and the effects they are having on surrounding countries, have somewhat similar causes and face similar challenges. In Egypt in particular, the economy has suffered a great deal due to the loss of tourism and foreign investment. The Egyptian pound has and will continue to depreciate compared to other “hard” currencies. While critical investments may be made in education reform or strengthening the job market, the effects of such efforts will experience a significant time delay simply as a result of their nature and generational development. Population growth and abject poverty cannot be addressed overnight – a factor which could potentially present a potent challenge to the current peace and relative stability.

Poverty, lack of immediate short-term support mechanisms for the lowest classes of society, and built-up expectations of retribution and reparation do present the danger of a sort of “poor revolt” – the frustrations of which could be aimed at elites and foreigners. The threat of political and sectarian violence, of a polarized and vengeful populace cannot be ignored. Neither can the risk of organized crime and new forms of corruption.

However, I’m an optimist. True, there are serious dangers, potential pitfalls, and critical challenges ahead, but from what I’ve seen, the Egyptian people are resilient, innovative, and most importantly, funny. I honestly believe the Egyptian sense of humor, and the general happiness of Egypt’s people will be its saving grace. Humor, in all its forms, allows us to discuss controversial topics, pick a side, criticize others, and put a new spin on something, in a weird, sometimes offensive, spirit of camaraderie. Throughout the revolution, humor was abundant in the signs and banner of protesters, the chants of people in the streets, and even the text messages sent out from the Supreme Council of Armed Forces once they assumed control of the country. One of my favorites was a warning from the Armed Forces that said, “Honor the curfew and leave the streets, or we’ll bring Mubarak back!”

It is my hope that Egypt will continue to lead the way in demonstrating to the world the power of non-violent protest. For the first time in its history, Egyptians participated in a fair national vote on something, in this case the March 19 constitutional amendments. I hope that Egypt will continue to attract all generations of citizens to political participation and activism. With the new forms of
“people power” and civic engagement popping up around Egypt, I’d like to see a continuing trend of young leaders emerging in business, politics, and society at large.

An open, diverse, and honest media would do wonders to help facilitate continued progress and dynamic political and cultural debate. With a stronger presence of international NGOs and corporations helping to support the advancement of education and the creation of new high-skilled jobs, Egypt can become a bustling economic powerhouse. Hopefully, the people will work to strengthen the diversity, collegiality, and equality between religious groups, not only amongst Copts and Muslims, but also by attracting people from Eastern religions such as Buddhism and Hinduism.

A more explicit cultural recognition of the equality of men and women and more widespread participation of women in authority and leadership roles can help to level the playing field in Muslim countries around the world by providing a progressive example of the value of empowering women. Improved medical facilities together with health and prevention education could do wonders to reduce the rates of cancer and other diseases, drug abuse, and population growth. If leveraged properly and with increased governmental, corporate, and international support, the renewed sense of social and civic responsibility could spread like wildfire.

Of course, some would call unchecked optimism simple foolishness. The changes that need to happen for Egypt to become a truly free and dynamic society will not be easy. Much work needs to be done and the people themselves cannot expect it to happen all on its own. Any attempts at development and reform must be targeted. The road ahead is not clear and we must expect stumbling, both treacherous and benign. Egypt is clearly in crisis – a word which when translated into Chinese means both danger and opportunity. The dangers cannot be ignored and the opportunity can very well slip by, but in light of the rapid and progressive changes that have taken place so far, I am hopeful Egypt will move forward more than backwards. They say success is what happens when opportunity meets preparedness. Let’s hope Egypt and her people are prepared for the opportunities now present.
Over the next 10 years there are so many changes that I want to see happening in Egypt. I hope we can have finally fix our transportation and traffic problems. I hope we can implement Farouk Al Baz’s project for the Development Passage in the south and west so the population can start shifting away from Cairo and the Delta and so we can make much better use of our whole land surface. I want to see Egyptians rise to better living standards so everyone can meet their basic needs without such a struggle.

Our young people need to be more ambitious and engaged so they can see their ideas go into action. I want to see Egyptians become more tolerant and respectful of each other. I hope we can start caring more about the environment, especially about littering and recycling. The structure of our roads too should be changed so people can cycle or walk more easily. We should also make much better use of solar energy as we are a natural solar power country.

Hopefully, the illiteracy rate in Egypt in 10 years will have fallen drastically. Our education system should much more focused on quality of education, enabling us to develop creativity, critical thinking, and ambition in young Egyptians. Egyptian universities should put much more emphasis on research that really makes a difference for the country.

Our media should be freer and our state television should become like the BBC, publicly funded and truly serving the public, not the government’s interest. Censoring and self-censoring of and by journalists should stop so the media can report openly and objectively without fear.
In the political arena, I want Egypt to develop a democratic political system. We should have presidents with term limits who step down willingly when their terms are up. In 10 years, our parliament should be truly representative of the people and working to ensure their rights, not undermine them. I also wish to see Egypt’s foreign relations improved with neighboring African and Arab nations, primarily by restoring our soft power.

In 10 years, we will hopefully be a law-abiding country and with law being held in high regard by the people. We will also need better work ethics, better job training, better understanding of why our work is important, and fairer wages and salaries. If so, I can see a huge cause of bribery and corruption in the country coming to an end.

To wrap up, I hope that in 10 years time Egypt can be like Malaysia today. We would have our own solid industrial base and export-led economy that contributes greatly to a growing GDP and a rising standard of living.

Photo by http://www.mediafire.com/?7393vume6y6rs4w

HOSNI IS MY FATHER AND I WANT TO BE AN ORPHAN
OBAMA: YOU NEED TO SAY GOODBYE TO THE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE.
MUBARAK: WHY? WHERE ARE THEY GOING??!!!
AHMED EZZ-EL-DIN MOHAMED
pepo_digital@yahoo.com

EDUCATION
The American University in Cairo (AUC)
Bachelor of Arts, Economics
Expected to graduate: 2012
GPA: 3.9

Semester Study Abroad Spring 2011
University of Chicago

El Thaghr Experimental Language school
Egyptian General Secondary Certificate.
June 2008

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENTS
Awarded the LEAD scholarship at the American University in Cairo.
One of the top ten students in the Egyptian General Secondary Certificate in the math sector.

WORK EXPERIENCE
Trainee, Bank Audi, July 2010.
Received a training on different banking operations and dealing with customers.

Researcher, Better World non-governmental organization, Spring 2010- Present.
Research the main causes of the unemployment problem in Egypt.
Setting guide lines for job listing project to decrease the unemployment in Egypt.

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES
Participant, Cross-cultural conference, American University in Cairo and Rice University, June 2010.
Discussed stereotypes between Egypt and the United States and suggested solutions to overcome them.
Wrote a report about a visit to the American Embassy.

Student Senator, AUC student senate, Spring 2010- Present.
Representative of 150 students of the economics department.
Discussing the problems of students’ organizations and suggesting solutions.

AUC Ambassador, office of Marketing at AUC, Fall 2009- Present.
Representing the university in the major important events.
Conducting tours for visitors and VIPs on campus.

Public Relations Committee member, Real Life project, AUC, Fall 2009.
Publicizing for the project among the students.
Communicating with the professors to persuade them with the effectiveness of the project.

Public Relations and Technical Committees member, Alexandria International Festival, Summer 2009- Fall 2009.
Contacting different cultural centers in Egypt to market the festival.
Promoting for the events using the online media.
Managing the database for the volunteers.
Activities Committee member, **World Environment Day**, Bibliotheca of Alexandria, Summer 2009.
Conducting experiments for students for different ages to increase environmental awareness.
Presenting the dangers of the pollution on our daily lives.

Logistics Committee member, **Eratosthenes Festival**, Bibliotheca of Alexandria, Summer 2009.
Organizing the event and providing the participants with the necessary material.

Participant, **Cairo Model United Nations**, AUC, Spring 2009.
Discussed many global issues like migration and management of crises.
Came up with suggested solutions for the problems.

Fundraising Committee member, **Students Award Ceremony**, AUC, Spring 2009.
Contacted different companies to market our project.
Interviewed sales manager of one of the companies for sponsorship negotiations.

Fundraising Committee member, **Annual LEAD Conference**, AUC, Spring 2009.
Contacted different companies for sponsorship.
Formed database of potential sponsors.

Team Leader, **three IEARN project**, IEARN organization, 2003-2005.
Managing a team of seven students to work on three different projects.
Contacted different schools inside and outside Egypt to share the projects.
Representing the team in First IEARN Egyptian Youth Summit.

Participant, **IICD learning Circles project**, 2004.
Sharing different solutions to global problems through online networks with different students from all over the world.

Logistics Committee member, **Bridge Regional Conference**, IEARN, 2003.
Organizing the conference and preparing the required material for the participants.

**Trainings**
- Leadership Paradox, Dr. Phill Johnson, Global Next training company.
- Communication skills, Archer training company.
- Presentation Skills, Mr. Adel Beshara.
- Team Building, Aspire experiential training company.
- Protocol, Ambassador Hosny El Aguizy.

**Language and Computer Skills**
- Fluency in written and spoken Arabic and English.
- Proficient user of MS office applications: Word, Excel and Power Point.
- Excellent Internet research skills.

**Awards**
- Second place winner in Global Youth cultural contest, **Youth for change project**, 2010.
AIDA YEHIA SALAH EL DIN
aidy@aucegypt.edu
ayehia@bue.edu.eg

EDUCATION

January 2010: Diploma in Political Science
The American University in Cairo (AUC)
Major: Political Science
GPA: 3.5

June 2005: Bachelor of Arts
The American University in Cairo (AUC)
Major: Political Science
Minor: Economics and American Studies
Specialization: International Relations (IR)
GPA: 3.36


WORK EXPERIENCE

September 2007- Currently: Full-time Teaching Assistant at the British University in Egypt (BUE) at the Political Science department.

March 2007- September 2007: Part-time Teaching Assistant at the British University in Egypt (BUE) at the Political Science department.
- Teaches introduction to Political Science for seven Tutorials
- Helps students in any inquiries and clarifies any ambiguity
- Gives students regular quizzes.
- Invigilates over students during exams
- Assists the Professor in marking and grading Mid-terms, Research Essays and Final Exams.
- Calculates the finals grades for the students.

October 2006- March 2007: Part-time Research Assistant in the American Studies Research Centre at the American University in Cairo (AUC)
- Researched over the misconceptions between Egyptians and Americans and vise versa
- Surveyed over choosing a Conference topic held in 2007 organized by the Center. This Survey resulted in this topic: “The strength and weaknesses of Democracy in the Middle East”
- Looked for the American Research Centers around the Middle East and Arab region.
- Attended a Conference in Alexandria Bibliotheca over the USA (Feb.07)
- Attended a Debate at Menofyia University; Faculty of Arts, English Section, over the “Misconceptions between Americans and Egyptians and vise versa” (April 07).

EXTRA CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES:

July 2-8, 2006: Participated in a summer short course, titled as International Refugees and Human Rights Law, organized by the Forced Migration Refugee Studies (FMRS) at AUC.

March 2006: Delegate of the United States of America, General Assembly First (GA 1st), Cairo Model United Nations, AUC.
- Worked on two resolutions to enforce the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in Asia.
- Researched methods to disarm Non-state actors’ militias in the Middle East.

- Jan. 16 - 21, 2006: Joined a Winter short course, titled as “Cultures of Exile” organized by the Forced Migration Refugee Studies (FMRS) at AUC.
May 2005: Presenter English and Comparative Literature Conference over
- Reforming Egypt: Challenges and Opportunities, AUC.
- Presented a paper over Political Awareness among Egyptian Educated Women.
- Acted as a Moderator for the same conference.
- Advertised for the conference around AUC campuses through Flyer distribution and direct
  contacts with different professors and students.

Oct. 2004: Member Organizing Committee, American Studies Center for Research, AUC
(Volunteer Work)
- Contacted guests of the conference and collected their biographies.
- Decorated and set-up the Oriental Hall for the conference.
- Acted as a moderator for the conference sessions.

March 2004: Delegate of Germany, Commission on Human Rights (CHR), Cairo International
Model United Nations (CIMUN), AUC
- Sponsored two resolutions to end the discrimination against both ethnic minorities and women.

March 2003: Delegate of Algeria, CHR, CIMUN,AUC
- Researched the conflicts between Algeria and its neighboring countries and the means to solve them.
- Sponsored a resolution to end the Sudanese conflict.

CAREER-RELATED WORK
- Surveyed over the Political Awareness of Egyptian Women around AUC campus 2005.
- Traced the causes for Egyptian Financial Crisis since 1950s till 1990s.
- Explored/Researched the marriage customs in Siwa Oasis.
- Investigated the status of the Egyptian Women in the Zabaleen Community.
- Researched over the UN Sanctions system; case study: Iraq
- Reviewed several books among them: "The Lexus and Olive Tree" by Thomas Friedman,
  "Political Islam" by Nazih Ayubi etc…
- Reported on the causes of the collapse of Saddam Hussein's regime.
- Analyzed the USA Foreign policy in Iraq.

HONORS AND AWARDS
- Spring 2004: Student Union Award Recipient

SKILLS
Computer Skills
- Proficient user of MS Office application:
  - Word, Excel, Power Point and Publisher
- Excellent Internet research skills

Languages
- Fluency in written and spoken Arabic (Native Language)
- Fluency in written and spoken English
- Good knowledge of written and spoken German
- Took the first level in an Italian course

PERSONAL INFORMATION
Date of Birth: 17th of July, 1983
Nationality: Egyptian
Marital Status: Single
EDUCATION

2009-Present
The American University In Cairo, Cairo Egypt
Bachelors Of Arts In Political Science Honors and History
Rising Sophomore Grade Point Average 3.94

2007-2009
Cairo Modern School, Cairo Egypt
High School Diploma

WORK EXPERIENCE

January 2010-Present Day
American Studies Center, AUC
Student Assistant
Attended and had a hand in assisting activities related to the American Studies Center aimed at promoting understanding of the Western world. Events include documentary screenings, Fulbright lectures, and conferences with delegations from the United States.

June 2010-July 2010
AUC Junior Summer Program
Supervisor
Served as a camp counselor to a group of 10-20 children for three sessions at the AUC. Helped plan activities, manage and organize children and give ideas to help further the program more efficiently.

June 2009-Present Day
AMIDEAST
Test Center Observer
As a test center observer, I am required to pick up exams from the AMIDEAST and then proceed to the allocated Test Center. I then conduct a test center observation, noting any deficiencies and making sure test center rules are observed.

June 2009-August 2009
Cairo Modern School
General Knowledge Summer School Teacher
As a summer school teacher, I was required to create a curriculum encompassing etiquette and general knowledge for early elementary level students and teach it to them three times a week. Other duties included planning fun day activities and collaborating with other summer school teachers.
CLUBS/ORGANIZATIONS

June 2009-Present Day
  AUC First Year Experience Program
    Campus Tour Head
    As the Campus Tour head I was required to interview potential applicants for my committee, meet with accepted members on a weekly basis, and plan for upcoming orientation tours for freshmen and international students for the 2010-2011 Fall orientation. Currently producing a ‘campus tour video’ the first of its kind, this is due to launch during the first week of orientation.

January 2010-March 2010
  Cairo International Model United Nations
    Delegate of Brazil Economic and Social Council
    Attended information sessions on Model United Nation procedures, with a specific concentration on duties of the ECSOC council. Researched Brazil’s foreign policy and represented Brazil in conference along with a partner.

September 2009-Present Day
  Help Club
    Member in Awareness Campaign
    Was a member in Help Club, a community service club at the AUC. Worked in the Public Awareness committee, helped launch the Pay it forward campaign and continue to actively participate in Help Club activities.

LANGUAGES/ SPECIAL SKILLS

Native language English
Fluent in speaking Arabic, currently taking classes to improve writing and reading skills.
DINA SALAH ELDIN

dina.s@aucegypt.edu

EDUCATION

**Bachelor of Arts**, The American University in Cairo (AUC), expected graduation spring 2012.
- Major: Journalism and Political Science.
- Minor: Rhetoric and Composition; Genre Writing
  - Coursework: Multimedia Writing, Creative Writing, Comparative Politics, Introduction to Sociology, Introduction to Film, History of the Modern Middle East. GPA: 3.83


**Thanaweyya Amma**, Ramses College for Girls (ex. American College for Girls), Cairo, Egypt, 2008

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

**Student Assistant**, Prince Alwaleed American Studies Center, AUC (Spring 2009 - present)

**Japan Correspondent**, AUC Times, (Fall 2010 - present)

**Writer and Editor**, Writers for a Third World Nation, AUC, Fall 2009 – present
- Produce pieces of prose, fiction and poetry to be published at the end of the semester.
- Work closely with an editing committee to select submissions the deserve publishing.
- Edit manuscripts of selected works.

**Member**, The Student Union Services Committee, AUC, Fall 2008 – Spring 2009
- Assisted in creating the SU Market.
- Planned a fund raising plan for the SU Market.
- Designed flyers and banners for numerous events on AUC campus.

**Delegate**, Cairo International Model United Nations (CIMUN), AUC, Spring 2009
- Efficiently participated in a council of 30 delegates where rules of diplomatic conduct, resolution writing and negotiation skills were used.
- Analyzed the several aspects contributing to the phenomenon of illegal labor migration.
- Prepared a comprehensive country profile of Poland as the leader of the East-European Bloc of the European Union.
- Developed a study of various UN conflict management measures in Africa.

**Participant**, International Student Leadership Conference, AUC, Fall 2009
- Discussed the importance of leadership and its impact on organizations.
- Received training on time management and presentation techniques.
- Participated in social events and campaigns.
Delegate, Cairo International Model United Nations, AUC, Spring 2010

- Discussed the roles and goals of the Economic and Social Council.
- Addressed problems related to water scarcity and economic growth and development.

Student Orientation Leader, AUC, Spring 2010

- Carried the task of orienting international students arriving to AUC
- Conducted campus tours.
- Participated in office work, helping new students in acquiring their IDs and bus passes.

Tutor, AUC English Literacy Program, Spring 2010

- Volunteered to teach workers on campus the basics of the English language.
- Collaborated with two other tutors to improve the quality of our teaching methods.

WORK EXPERIENCE

Junior Piano Instructor, Cairo Music Center, Summer 2009

- Efficiently trained beginners on the basics of piano performance.
- Conducted sessions discussing the basics of music theory.
- Prepared candidates for the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music preparatory examinations.

SKILLS

- Excellent knowledge of both spoken and written English, French and Arabic.
- Intermediate level in spoken and written Japanese.
- Proficient in MS Office applications. Excellent knowledge of the Internet.
SELECTED EXPERIENCE
Consolidates and follows-up all periodical financial aspects of the Center's operations. Financial: Annual expense budget of LE 1,062,404. Coordinates and implements the Center's operations with the University's different offices and departments, and externally, with local and international institutions, organizations, public figures, conference participants and media. In academic year 2007-2008 hosted more than 500 hundred distinguished visiting professors and public figures.
Masters the ability to successfully organize and effectively communicate the Center's requirements and deadlines, and arranges the necessary logistics for the Center's scheduled conferences, lectures, meetings and activities. Specific expertise in the following areas:

• Information System Management
• Conferences and Presentations Organization
• Economic Development Projects

Information System Management

• Monitors the Center's portion of the AUC website
• Commands SAP accounting software
• Manages WebCT software that support courses taught by the Center.
• Troubleshoots computer, printer, photocopier, camera and electricity problems
• Develops and maintains the Center's mailing list
• Designs all posters and flyers

Conferences and Presentations Organization

• Identify goals
• Develop a plan
• Budget preparation and forecasts
• Hall Reservation and Layout
• Accommodation
• Catering
• Travel arrangements
• Transportation logistics

Planning considerations (Roles and responsibilities)

• Prepares timelines, identifies tasks and assigns responsibilities
• Identifies target audiences
• Secures appropriate mailing distribution
• Develops conference program
• Assesses speakers commitments
• Coordinates conference venues, catering, audio-visual equipment setup, travel arrangements and accommodation
• Prepares detailed function sheets for all service providers
• Controls disbursements and payments
• Manages security arrangements

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS
Prince Alwaleed American Studies Center, The American university in Cairo May 04 to present
The Arab Network for NGOs, Cairo Oct. 95 - Jan. 03
Center of Arab Women for Training & Research, Tunis Jul. 93 - Aug. 95
American Research Center in Cairo Oct. 92 - May 93
The Population Council, Cairo Feb. 84 - Oct. 92

EDUCATION
B. Sc. Electrical Engineering in Telecommunication & Electronics Faculty of Engineering and Technology, Helwan University 1983
High School Diploma, Collège des Frères de la Salle, Daher 1978

LANGUAGES
Fluent in Arabic, French, English, Greek
EDUCATION

Bachelor of Arts, American University in Cairo (AUC)

- Major: Business Administration
- Specialization: Undecided
- Minor: International Relations
- Expected graduation date: Spring 2013
- Current GPA: 3.77

Thanaweya Amma: Al Waha Language School, Cairo, Egypt (2209)

WORK EXPERIENCE

Spring 2009 – present: Student Research Assistant, Prince Al Waleed American Studies Center, AUC

- Prepared reports on the center activities that I have participated in.
- Participated in round table discussions with American students in Cairo on Arab American relationships that included meetings with high profile figures (Summer 2010)
- Participated in a 10 day cultural trip to U.S. (Texas and Washington D.C.) living with American students on their campus, meetings with a former ambassador, professors and directors in big organizations (Winter 2011)

EXTRA CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Co-founder and logistics head in green Hands club (Fall 2010)

- Delivered and managed booths in the club’s campaigns leading a team of 6 students.
- Communicated with Office of student development for reservations and regulating club activities
- Contacted local authorities to get approvals for off campus club activities
- Supported other committees activities with providing supplies and assistance to their activities
- Proposed Plan for club restructure that was approved for the spring semester

Campus Tour Guide for international students in FYE orientation program (2010-2011)

- Lead detailed Campus tours for international students around AUC campus
- Helped international students in finishing their orientation check-list
- Took a one day team-work training with Aspire training agency

Research and development committee member, Glow; community service club (2009-2010)

- Brainstormed ideas with a team for a documentary film that was shown on Glow event
- Participated in 'Glow future leaders' training camp for 4 days with focus on leadership skills, communication skills and handling responsibilities. As well as fundraising trainings

Logistics Committee member, Volunteers in Action' VIA' (2009-2010)

- Actively participated in the organization of VIA annual concert that featured Omar Khairat, delivering many tasks under pressure on the day of the event.
- Brought the bus transportation provider for VIA children day in spring 2010
CONFERENCES

Delegate, in the council of constitutional amendments, Model Arab League (2010)

COMPUTER AND LINGUISTIC SKILLS

• Excellent command of written and Spoken Arabic and English
• Know some French and Spanish
• Good command of Microsoft office programs(Excel, Word)

PERSONAL DATA

Date of birth: 13/11/1992
Place of birth: Cairo, Egypt
Nationality: Egyptian
Interests: Reading, sports, meeting new people, improving skills and learning new things
JERRY W. LEACH
Professor and Director,
American Studies Center

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS
Previously served as National President of the World Affairs Councils of America; Peace Corps Regional Director for Eastern Europe, the Soviet Republics, Middle East, Asia, and the Pacific; NSC Director of International Economic Affairs at the White House; Deputy Director, Office of Strategic Technology Affairs, State Department; Consular Officer, US Embassy, London; Assistant Lecturer at Cambridge University; Instructor at the University of Papua New Guinea; and Peace Corps Volunteer in Turkey.

AREAS OF CONCENTRATION
• Globalization, Environment, Middle East, Turkey, America.

EDUCATION
• Ph.D. Cambridge University.
• M.A. Cambridge University.
• M.A. University of California at Berkeley.
• B.A. magna cum laude, Emory University.
• Certificate, Kennedy School Senior Executive Programs, Harvard.
• Certificate, Diplomatic Training Programs, US Foreign Service Institute.

MAJOR WORKS
• Presidential Directive on Control of Dual-Use Technology. White House.
• Executive Agreement with India on Supercomputers. State Department.
• Executive Agreement with India on Strategic Technology Transfer. State Department.
• International Supercomputer Safeguard Regime. State Department.
• The Kula: New Perspectives on Massim Exchange (edited with Sir Edmund Leach), Cambridge Press.
• Trobriand Cricket: an ingenious response to colonialism (documentary). PNG Government.
• "Structure and Message in Trobriand Cricket" University of California Media Center.
• "The Strategy of Turkish Boys' Verbal Dueling Rhymes" with Alan Dundes and Bora Özkök in Directions in Sociolinguistics, Holt Rinehart Winston.
• "The Emergence of Private Farming in Russia" Journal of Post-Communism.

HONORS
• Emory Medal for Distinguished Public Service (with wife Marianne).
• Commendations from Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush (Sr.).
• Commendations from National Security Advisors Colin Powell and Brent Scowcroft.
• Superior Honor Award, State Department.
• Blue Ribbon, American Film Festival.
• Georges Sadoul Prize for Best Foreign Documentary, France.
• Woodrow Wilson Fellowship.
• Rhodes Scholarship Nomination from Alabama.
• Phi Beta Kappa.
• ODK National Leadership Society.

Contact information
Email
jerry.leach@yahoo.com

2147 Colts Neck Court
Reston, Virginia
USA 20191
Phone
(703) 537-8531
EDUCATION

**Bachelor of Arts**, in Mass Communication with specialization in Integrated Marketing Communication, School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, The American University in Cairo, Class of Fall 2010, Egypt. **G.P.A: 3.76**

**Bachelor of Arts**, in Political Science with double specialization in: International Relations and Middle East Politics, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, The American University in Cairo (AUC), Class of Fall 2010, Egypt. **G.P.A: 3.78**

**Cumulative G.P.A for double majors: 3.65 with “Magna Cum Laude” (High Honors)**

**American High School Diploma**, St. Fatima Language School (Nasr City), Cairo, Egypt. 2006. **G.P.A 3.68 (93%)**

AWARDS AND CERTIFICATES

- Graduate Assistantship award at the American Studies and Research Center for the period from February 13th to May 31, 2011, School of Public Affairs and Public Policy, The American University in Cairo, February 2011

- Award of excellence for the best creative idea for the Mass communication graduation project for Fall 2010-2011 from J. Walter Thompson International Advertising Agency (JWT), December 2010

- The School of Global Affairs and Public Policy award for outstanding academic achievement. December 2010

- Recognized on the Dean’s Honor list for academic excellence, AUC, December 2009 to December 2010

- Best marketing plan presentation certificate in application for developing the best marketing plan presentation in “Principles of Marketing Course”. Department of Management, School of Business, Economics and Communication, AUC, Summer 2009

- Certificates of Recognition from St. Fatima Language School for organizational skills and for the outstanding efforts and willingness to help, December 2005 and November 2005

- “1st” Rank in the Ministry of Education tournament in journalism, Summer 2003

WORK EXPERIENCE

**Marketing and Sales Coordinator**, American Chamber of Commerce, May 2011- up-to-date


- Assist in the outreach of the Center’s activities, and assist in the preparation of the center’s conferences, Fulbright lecture series, Fate of our Earth II documentary series, and Web search

**Intern**, Aspect for Advertising and Media House Agency, Giza, Egypt, August 2010-December 2010

- Handled Al Borg and CompuMe Accounts as an “Account Executive”.
- Constructed and developed marketing communication strategies for Al-Borg laboratory, CompueMe
**Student Assistant**, Prince Alwaleed American Studies Center, The American University in Cairo, May 2008-December 2010

- Identified and devised channels to promote the center services events, activities and resources to AUC students.
- Member in AUC delegation, AUC-RIC cross cultural dialogue program in Cairo and Huston, June and January 2011. http://www.aucegypt.edu/GAPP/casar/Pages/AUC-RICE.aspx
- Organized, two international delegations visits (Harvard university and Rice University)
- Participated, in four international conferences (Rice University Public Diplomacy and Global Policymaking Colloquium (June 2010), Harvard Delegation conference at AUC (Spring 2010), Global Cross Rods video conference (November 2009), The Dialogue session with the International Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Commission (Fall 2009).

**Assistant Manager**, Al-Azhar Petrol Filling Station, Exxon Mobil Egypt, Cairo, Egypt, (Summer 2005, Summer 2006, Summer 2007)

- Operated, managed, and administered gas filling station finances, human resources, civil and environmental threats, and governmental relations.

**MARKETING SKILLS**

- Constructed a full marketing plan for Teemey’s cereal bar, Fall 2010
- The group leader and an active group member in the formation of a full social awareness campaign under the name of “Dissconnet To Connect”, Graduation project, Fall 2010
- Constructed and developed a communication plan and strategy for Al Borg Laboratory, Fall 2010
- Constructed consumer and buyer behavior plan for Porto Marina resort, Summer 2010
- Constructed a marketing plan for Fiat Bravo Car, Fall 2010

**PUBLICATIONS**


**EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES**

**Founder and President**, The Egyptian Youth Association for Civic Engagement and Development (EYAD) Group (Under Construction), February 2009- Present

**Member High Board, Volunteers for Cooperation and Exchange Group**, (VCE) British School, November 2005- October 2008

- Promoted VCE outside image (brainstormed the public relations strategies and managed the advertising campaigns for the VCE)
- Moderated the Financial resources committee, Donation committee, and the Human Resources committee.
- Organized and coordinated most of the VCE events such as (Orphans day, Ramadan Iftar, winter blankets, etc)
- Participated, in three International Exchange programs “Does it Matter” in Sweden (Winter 2009), and “Does it Matter 2 Human Rights” in Denmark (Summer 2007), and “Norfolk Exchange Program” in the United Kingdom (Summer 2005).

**SKILLS**

- Proficient user of Ms office application and Mac and Excellent Internet Research skills
- Successfully completed the International Computer Driving License (ICDL) Preparation (4.5 IU), B, AUC
- Fluency in written, spoken, and understanding Arabic (Native Language) and English
RAMADAN A. MOUSSA
ramadans@aucegypt.edu

Education

2010 Dual Masters in Public Policy and Administration (MPPA); and International Relations (MA). American University in Cairo, AUC Expected graduation date: December 2011. GPA 4.0

2009 BA in Political Science, Dec 2009. Areas of concentration include International Relations, International Law, Political Economy, Middle East Politics and Economics. AUC.

2008 Portland State University, USA. Study abroad one semester

2004 High school Diploma: 97% or 3.9 GPA – equivalent

Work Experience

Jan 10 - Present Teaching Assistant & Assistant to the Chair of the Department, Public Policy and Administration Department, AUC

Oct 09-Jan 10 Project Management Consultant, AMIDEAST

Jan 09-Jan 10 Program Assistant, Prince Alwaleed American Studies Center, AUC

Summer 09 Program Assistant Interns, Amideast

2008 Research Assistant, Prince Alwaleed American Studies Center, AUC

2008 Volunteer, Obama's Presidential Campaign, Oregon, USA

2008 Student Leader, AUC Gerhart Center for Civic Engagement

2007 Student Assistant, Prince Alwaleed American Studies Center, AUC

2006-07 Student Coordinator, AUC Office of Student Development

2004-05 Resident Assistant, AUC Zamalek Dormitory

Conferences/Events Organization

2008 Conference organizer for “Major Problems that Face Arab Universities,” AUC Office of Admissions


2008 Board member for AUC international conference on “The Arab-American relationship after Bush”
2007 President of AUC international conference on “Arab-American Youth Dialogue” about US foreign policy in the Middle East

2007 Curriculum committee member for Namaa Summer School on sustainable development and civic engagement

2007 Conference organizer for "Are Islam and Democracy Compatible?" jointly sponsored by AUC and American University in Washington

2006 Conference organizer for "The Future of Entrepreneurship in Egyptian Society" sponsored by AUC and the Ministry of Education

Extracurricular Activities

2001-Present Youth Leader, Aswan Sports Club

2007 Graduate, Namaa Summer School on sustainable development

2007 Senator and Representative, Student Legislature, AUC Political Science Department

2006-07 President, AUC Model Egyptian Parliament

2006 Executive Coordinator, AUC Model Egyptian Parliament

2005 Chair of the Public Relations Committee, Model Egyptian Parliament

2004-05 Member, AUC Model Egyptian Parliament

2003 President, Student Union. Aswan Governorate

Community Service

2004-Present English and Computer Teacher, Boys Orphanage. Aswan, five summers

2000-Present Community Development Volunteer, NGO Developing Rural Society in Egypt. Aswan, nine summers

2007 English Teacher and Staff Member, AUC community service organization STAR caring for refugees in Egypt

2004 High school tutor, Volunteers in Action. Part-time, one year

Computer and Language Skills
- MS-Word, Excel, PowerPoint, Outlook, IE, Safari, Firefox, web search skills: Excellent
- Academic Research: Excellent
- Arabic: Native speaker. Excellent writing and speaking skills
- English: Very good speaking and writing skills
- French: Beginner
- Translation skills: 23 conference sessions, articles and documentaries
SALMA A. GABER
salmagaber@aucegypt.edu

EDUCATION

2008-2012 Bachelor in Business Administration, planned graduation in 2012.
American University In Cairo

2006 to 2008 International Baccalaureate
Cairo American College

2004 to 2008 American Diploma
Cairo American College

AWARDS

Spring 2010 Recognized on the Dean’s list for academic excellence, American University in Cairo.
Winter 2009
Spring 2009
Winter 2008

2008 Received the English Award at Cairo American College

2006 to 2008 Community Service Program at Cairo American College for disabled children

2006 Received the Arabic Award at Cairo American College

WORK EXPERIENCE


2006-07. Secretary of 11th grade, Cairo American College
Responsibilities include: organizing events and fundraising. 2006-07.

Experience gained: related to secretarial assistant support. 2004.

ACTIVITIES AND INTERESTS

Member in Roteract Club. 2009
Member of Handball Team in Gezira Club. 1999-2005

SPORTS

Handball and Basketball.

TRAVELING

France, Scotland, England, Canada, U.S.A., Austria, Italy, Spain, Syria, Lebanon, United Arab Emirates, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Switzerland, Belgium.

LANGUAGES

Arabic (native)
English (fluent)

PERSONAL DATA

Citizenship: Egyptian
Date of birth: 26 October 1989
EDUCATION

Bachelor of Arts, the American University of Cairo, Cairo, Egypt 2008-2012
- **Major:** Honors in Political Science
- **Specialization:** International Relations
- **First Minor:** History
- **Second Minor:** Business Administration
- **Current GPA:** 3.8

Wellesley College, Spring 2011
- Course work: Political Science, History and Music

Thanaweya Amma, Gamal Abd El Nasr, Zagazig, Al Sharkia, Egypt, 2006-2008
- **Score:** 98.5 % Literature section
- **Rank:** the ninth rank out of the top ten students of the Egyptian Thanaweya Amma.

INTERNSHIP EXPERIENCE

Arab Bank, intern, June 13th till June 25th, Summer 2009
- Assisted the whole staff (Customer Service and Tellers) in filing and finishing paper work
- Handled and supervised the archiving of the branch
- Revised the records for credit cards and checks
- Promoted for online banking services and other services through telemarketing

Ebony and Ivory co. interior furnishing, intern, June- August 16th, Summer 2009
- Assisted the staff in their international communications with Canada through writing correspondences
- Took minutes of their negotiation meetings such as meetings with Etisalat and EFG. Hermes
- Revised the company’s offers and proposals in terms of writing

Nahdet El Mahrousa (NGO), intern, October and November, Fall2009
- Accumulated the different contacts of NM and arranged them in a computerized data base
- Established a new database of their members
- Contacted about seventy five members and collected updates about their membership status
- Conducted research and gathered statistics about Egypt
- Researched the Egyptian professors in the IV league for partnerships and consultancy for the NGO

VOLUNTEER and EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Participant and Presenter, Takaful Conference, Columbia University Middle East Research Center, Jordon, Spring 2011
- Wrote a 25 page content analysis paper with a colleague about News coverage of Arab Philanthropic activities
- Presented the paper with my colleague as the only undergraduates at the conference

Member, Wellesley Arab Women Association, Spring 2011
- Prepared and gave lectures about Egypt’s 2011 revolution
- Drafted flyers for awareness week about the Uprisings in the Middle East
Chair, Academic Research Committee, 6th Leadership for Education and Development Annual Conference, December-February 20th, Winter and Spring 2010
- Led a team of forty members to conduct research about solid waste management in Egypt
- Organized a training for my team about how to present the research findings
- Organized the research findings and compiled them together
- Revised and edited the final research outcome
- Developed a presentation for the day of the conference
- Assisted in organizing the roundtables of the conference
- Presented the research outcome on the conference day and moderated the Q and A session

AUC Ambassador, AUC Ambassador Program, Fall 2009- present
- Gave a short tour to Queen Rania on her visit to AUC new campus
- Gave tours to AUC visitors, students and staff
- Escort ambassadors and VIPs on their visit to AUC on occasions and events
- Welcome people in the different events; lectures and commencements

Delegate, Cairo International Model Arab League, Fall 2009
- Attended different sessions about topics such as: national security, terrorism, political systems in Iran and Lebanon, Turkey and the Middle East…etc
- Learned about resolution writing, debating and negotiating

Team leader, AIESEC an international student organization for leadership skills and exchange abroad for community service and internships, Spring 2008- Spring 2010
- Participated in weekly sessions for developing and improving presentation skills.
- Attended a conference with this organization called Train the Trainer (TtT) about how to plan and give training sessions.
- Contributed in organizing a national conference called NPM (National Planning Meeting) in the summer of 2009.
- Planned for learning events, prepared learning circles, made surveys for AIESEC AUC

Member, Resala Association in Cairo (charity-civil community), Summer 2009
- Led team of 10-15 girls in examining second hand cloths and prepared food bags for poor families

Member, Alashnik Ya Baladi (AYB), an organization for sustainable development and charity, Fall 2008.
- Taught English language to Primary four in Ain El Sera

Member, Public Relations Committee, 5th Leadership for Education and Development Annual Conference, Spring 2009
- Contacted participants in the conference as well as different figures
- Facilitated a session about planning for a campaign to prevent sexual harassment as it was the conference’s topic
- Selected to be MC (Master of Ceremony) on the first day of the conference

LEAD student, Leadership for Education and Development a scholarship program at the American University in Cairo, Fall 2008 - Present
- Participated in sessions and trainings offered by my scholarship program
• Participated in training by Aspire (An experiential training that was focused on improving leadership skills through sessions, challenges and team games)
• Led a team of ten of my LEAD colleague to research and develop a plan about Marsa Matrouh governorate

SKILLS
• **Computer:** knowledgeable of using MS office applications.
• **Language:** Fluent in writing and speaking Arabic and English and has tendency to learn new languages
• **Research:** Internet research skills and academic research

HOBBIES AND INTERESTS
• Traveling, listening to music and drawing.
• Writing and reading (Arabic and English)
• Watching documentaries

TRAVEL EXPERIENCE
• Germany, France, Saudi Arabia, USA, and Jordan

PERSONAL INFORMATION
• Date of Birth: February 1992
• Place of Birth: Bereda, Saudi Arabia
• Nationality: Egyptian
SEAN D. GRAHAM
seandgraham@gmail.com

Professional Experience

Sept. 2010 - Present The American University in Cairo Cairo, Egypt
Presidential Scholar, Office of the President

• General duties include drafting and editing official correspondence; liaising with external committees for the President as well as with university offices, faculty, and staff; preparing for the annual board meeting; greeting high-level officials and visitors; and taking minutes of regular presidential meetings with senior administrators and the University Cabinet.
• Assist with the overall coordination of the Presidential Scholars Program including organizing scholar activities, maintaining scholar alumni network, interviewing and selecting applicants, and producing the annual newsletter sent to all former Presidential Scholars.
• Oversaw the creation of a volunteer services committee to coordinate service programs made available through university departments, research centers, and student organizations.
• Assisted in the evacuation of students and faculty during the Egyptian protests in early February 2011 by organizing calling-trees and scheduling airport shuttles.
• Manage the coordination, website development, collaboration, and collection efforts for the historical archiving project, “University on the Square: Documenting Egypt’s 21st Century Revolution.” Curated an exhibition of materials.

Adjunct Assistant, Prince Alwaleed American Studies Center

• Assist in the coordination of events and contribute to research and publications produced by the Center on a regular basis.
• Accompanied and advised a delegation of Egyptian students on a visit to Houston, TX and Washington, D.C. in January 2011 as part of a survey of American educational, cultural, business, and governmental institutions.

May 2008 - Sept. 2010 James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy Houston, TX
Student Executive Director of Public Diplomacy and Global Policymaking in the 21st Century

• Spearheaded the creation of a student diplomacy initiative that allows for students to travel internationally, exchange research with other students, and hold conferences on conflict resolution.
• Drafted and edited proposals and official correspondence; conducted policy research and presented reports; liaised with university offices, faculty, and staff; managed intern activities and responsibilities; organized meetings with the advisory committee; drafted budget proposals; assisted with development and fundraising approaches; and coordinated the efforts of a team consisting of students, professors, researchers, and administrators.
• Led a delegation of Rice University students to The American University in Cairo for a weeklong dialogue in June 2010.

Research Assistant in Technology, Science and Public Policy Program

• Created computer programs which utilize large datasets to model and predict terrorist behavior.
• Managed server infrastructure and wiki-based websites research, and graduate and undergraduate courses.
• Briefed intelligence, defense, and diplomatic officials on research conducted by colleagues and myself.

Research Intern

• Researched background and historical information in the areas of space, defense, homeland security, WMDs, and intelligence.
• Developed a wiki-based website platform that gives researchers and experts access to an online audience while collecting ad-revenue.
Aug. 2007 - Dec. 2007 SpiderSmart Learning Centers Sugar Land, TX
**Math Counselor**
- Organized materials and lesson plans for students in grades 1-12.
- Managed classrooms and instructed students on their assignments and tests.

Aug. 2005 - Aug. 2007 Willy’s Pub Houston, TX
**Bartender**
- Provided customer service to patrons, maintained inventory and bar conditions, and acted as security for events.

**Education**
Aug. 2005 - May 2010 Rice University Houston, TX
**B.A. in Cognitive Sciences and Psychology**
- Conducted studies in interdisciplinary curriculum which included psychology, philosophy, computer science, neuroscience and linguistics.
- Pursued additional coursework in Arabic, business, leadership, sociology, public policy, and political science.
- Conducted supervised research in modeling law enforcement centralized data centers in Texas. President’s Honor Roll, Fall 2009 & Spring 2010

**Volunteer Experience**
Sep. 2008 – May 2009 Rice University Houston, TX
**Co-Chair of Cancer Prevention Study 3**
- Coordinated participant enrollment in long-term study which examines lifestyle, environmental, and genetic factors in cancer.
- Developed promotional strategy for event; managed and trained volunteers; handled equipment needs.

**Papers and Presentations**

**Awards, Honors and Scholarships**
- Jesse Jones Leadership Center Summer in Washington, D.C. Policy Research Internship Program, June – August 2009
- Battalion Commander, Flour Bluff High School, Naval Junior Reserve Officers Training Corps, May 2004 – May 2005
- Stephen Decatur Award from the Surface Navy Association, 2004
- Certificates of Commendation from Mayor Lloyd Neal of Corpus Christi, TX, 2002 – 2003

**Professional Skills**
- Software Applications: MySQL, XAMPP, MediaWiki, OpenOffice, Microsoft Office, Dreamweaver, PGP, SSH, Python, LaTex
- Operating Systems: Linux, Mac OS X, Windows
- Foreign Languages: Novice Spanish, Intermediate-Low Arabic
EDUCATION

Bachelor of Arts, the American University in Cairo
Major: Journalism and Mass Communication
Expected to graduate: Spring 2012
GPA: 3.98

IGCSE, Futures American School, June 2008

HONORS AND AWARDS

Women Leadership Scholarship, US Department of State - summer 10
Best HR member, Glow, AUC - spring 2010
Dean’s List of Honor, AUC - fall 09, spring 09, fall 10, spring 10
Chosen to present at the Undergraduate History Conference - fall 09
AUC Academic Scholarship - fall 09

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Founder and President, Green Hands, AUC, summer 2010 - present
Plan and organize the club’s constitution and projects
Discuss and assign tasks to the high board
Analyze and resolve administrative issues

Volunteer, Jubilee Café, University of Kansas, summer 2010
Prepared and served breakfast for homeless people
Organized a fundraiser to collect money for funding Jubilee café

Human Resources Committee Member, Glow, AUC, spring 2010
Assess the members’ weaknesses and potential strengths and how to utilize them.
Develop monthly newsletters with motivational content for the members.

Writer and Reporter, Dimensions Newspaper, AUC, fall 2009 - present
Conduct weekly reports and interviews on diverse issues
Critically analyze the different articles and reports in the newspaper

PR Committee Member, Volunteers in Action, AUC, summer 2009 – present
Research and negotiate with the potential sponsors and donors.
Organize 2 annual fun days for orphaned children
Coordinate media coverage for Omar Khairat’s annual charity concert

LANGUAGE AND COMPUTER SKILLS

Fluent in Arabic, English, and French and a beginner in Japanese.
Excellent Internet research skills
Proficient user of MS Office applications and Adobe Photoshop
REVOLUTIONARY HEAD GEAR
Wael Ghoneim

Creator of the “We Are All Khaled Said” Facebook Group

One of the few identifiable leaders of the Tahrir Uprising