



Brandeis University

Crown Center  
for Middle East Studies

Mailstop 010  
Waltham, Massachusetts  
02454-9110

781-736-5320  
781-736-5324 Fax  
www.brandeis.edu/crown

# Middle East Brief

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*Postdoctoral Researcher*  
**Jonathan L. Snow, PhD**

## Deciphering Abdel Fattah el-Sisi: President of Egypt's Third Republic

Abdel Monem Said Aly

On June 8, 2014, Field Marshall Abdel Fattah el-Sisi was sworn in as Egypt's seventh president. His triumph in the presidential elections held in May was not a surprise, given the broad public support he received for his role in the removal of the Muslim Brotherhood regime on June 30, 2013; and the fact that the Brotherhood was declared illegal and had been banned from participating in the electoral process. This Brief will attempt to decipher the meaning of Sisi's ascent to Egypt's presidency by describing the various ways in which he is regarded by different constituencies; by elaborating his vision for Egypt's future; by evaluating his liabilities and shortcomings as he confronts the monumental challenges facing his country; and by assessing his initial steps in office and their possible implications.

Egypt's First Republic was established in June 1953 by the Free Officers who toppled King Farouk in July 1952; its Second Republic was marked by the ascendance of Mohamed Morsi to Egypt's presidency on June 30, 2012, in the aftermath of the January 2011 revolution. Morsi's election, preceded by the Muslim Brotherhood's victory in the January 2012 parliamentary elections, led to the writing of a new constitution—a document based on Islamic tenets.<sup>1</sup> A year later, another wave of mass demonstrations led the Egyptian military to remove Morsi and install Adly Mansour as temporary president for an interim period, which in turn saw the writing of the January 2014 Constitution and the holding of the May presidential elections. With the parliamentary elections

scheduled to be held later this year, these developments will together constitute the launching of Egypt's Third Republic.

Most commentary in the West has already concluded that President Sisi is bound to fail—and Egypt's path to democracy and economic prosperity is seen as closed. Indeed, by now the monumental challenges Egypt faces are almost self-evident.<sup>2</sup> On the eve of the presidential elections, Jon B. Alterman summarized the situation thus: "As Egypt faces presidential elections this weekend, the future looks less bright and less new than any would have predicted three years ago. The military is clearly back, the economy is in shambles, and political space is constricting."<sup>3</sup> To Alterman's depiction one should add the security crisis emanating from waves of terror and violence in Egypt's major urban areas, and especially in the Sinai Peninsula.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, given the magnitude of these problems and challenges, some Western experts urged Sisi to refrain from running for the presidency in the first place. With Egypt's political, economic, and security crises running so deep, and given the very high expectations that Sisi created during the elections campaign, some warn that the Egyptian masses, no longer subservient and no longer self-deterred by fear of arrest, may well turn against him as quickly as they declared him their savior.

Also not surprisingly, Sisi's military background propels many in the West to see his election as merely an extension of the Mubarak regime, which was tainted by the excessive use of the country's security organs to instill fear in the population and thereby control them. Notwithstanding Sisi's winning 96.91 percent of the vote, the low turnout in the elections (estimated at 47.3 percent of eligible voters) was viewed as an indication that Egyptians may have already begun to lose faith in him.

Dr. Abdel Monem Said Aly is Chairman of the Board, CEO, and Director of the Regional Center for Strategic Studies in Cairo. He is also the Chairman of Al-Masry Al-Youm, a leading Arabic language daily newspaper in Egypt, and a Senior Fellow at the Crown Center.

### Who is Abdel Fattah el-Sisi?

Since Sisi was an unknown figure until he became Minister of Defense on August 12, 2012, and was not much better known by the time of President Morsi's overthrow on July 3, 2013, guesses abound as to who he is and what he represents. Thus, he is at one and the same time adored as a national hero by many and scorned as a villain by others. The role of the 2014 Constitution, which stipulates a power-sharing arrangement between the president, the prime minister, and the parliament, is generally ignored in evaluations of Sisi, as many think it unlikely that it will serve as an important yardstick for judging whether government action or specific laws are legal and constitutional. Nor is sufficient attention being given to the likely public reaction in the event that Sisi underperforms. This is an important question, given the politicization and mobilization of Egypt's youth in the aftermath of the January 2011 revolution.

In the past months, four different images of President Sisi have emerged. The first, which gained salience soon after his appointment as minister of defense, emphasized his religiosity as well as that of his family.<sup>5</sup> The spot on his forehead, indicating his participation in daily prayers, and his wife's wearing of a hijab (headscarf) were viewed as indicating a devout Muslim family. At the time, the revolutionaries, the youth, and the liberals who made up the core of the January 2011 revolution suspected that they were signs that the Muslim Brotherhood had infiltrated the Egyptian army. Rumors then spread that Sisi was part of a

*The opinions and findings expressed in this Brief belong to the author exclusively and do not reflect those of the Crown Center or Brandeis University.*

“sleeping cell” for the Brotherhood that was plotting to take over the military, the intelligence services, and the Interior Ministry.

The second image of Sisi is that of a professional soldier committed to restoring Egypt’s armed forces who became embroiled in Egypt’s domestic struggles during and since the January 2011 revolution. This image was reinforced by Sisi’s military career—particularly his quick rise from brigade commander to Chief of Staff of an infantry division, then to Chief of Staff of the Northern Military Zone, and then to the post of Director of Military Intelligence. In this last capacity he became the youngest member of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF), which assumed power in Egypt following Mubarak’s overthrow. And soon thereafter, he was appointed the Armed Forces’ Chief of the General Staff. During much of 2012 and 2013, Sisi was not seen, except among soldiers and armored vehicles.

The third image of Sisi that has evolved over time is that of another Nasser in the making—an image conjured by some of his critics but, even more frequently, by Nasserists expressing their dreams and nostalgia. The latter even went so far as to compare Sisi’s skin color and dark and piercing eyes to those of Nasser. A litany of songs, photos, T-shirts and even chocolates carrying Sisi’s name appeared—a phenomenon not seen since Nasser’s days.<sup>6</sup> Sisi’s speeches, with their Egyptian patriotic tenor and Arab nationalist flavor, certainly fit the bill, at least according to the Nasserists. Ironically, the only leader who challenged Sisi in the presidential election—Hamdeen Sabahi—is a Nasserite.

Sisi’s fourth image evolved since mid-2013 as the Muslim Brotherhood became increasingly seen as bent on transforming Egypt into a version of the Iranian theocracy in all but name, using violence and a stealthy consolidation of their control over all state institutions. Now many appealed to Sisi, then Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, to step in to rescue his country from this fate. Consequently, in the aftermath of Morsi’s overthrow, Sisi was seen by many Egyptians as a savior, while others—primarily supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood—saw him in retrospect as having conspired during 2012–13 to prepare the coup that toppled Morsi.

During the race for Egypt’s presidency, Sisi’s image as a savior also assumed a Churchillian dimension as he began to urge Egyptians to work hard to achieve their country’s objectives. If Egypt was to live up to its ambition to be the “mother of the world,” (*umm al-dunya*, a phrase used to refer to Egypt) he argued, the country would have to meet the standards of such a world. He did not promise miracles,

but instead spoke of the work that must be done and of the sweat and toil and selflessness that would be required.<sup>7</sup> Yet Sisi’s opponents saw this as the beginning of a turn to the Right, as he placed the responsibility for the country’s problems on the shoulders of Egypt’s common people, not its corrupt and rich elite.

## Sisi’s Cognitive Map

The key to Sisi’s “cognitive map” is the word “development.” Indeed, for him, all political issues are subject to the economic meaning and content of this concept. As his final paper when he studied at the U.S. Army War College makes clear, his approach to democratization is sequential: Egypt, like other Islamic countries, must first stabilize and adopt the requisite institutions and values—a process that he assumed would take two decades if Egypt were to attain Western standards.<sup>8</sup>

To address Egypt’s immediate challenges, Sisi seems to have formulated a few themes that, as of this writing, have yet to be translated into a detailed action plan.<sup>9</sup>

### *Putting people back to work*

This goal entails a number of intermediate objectives, beginning with a call for patriotism, which will, it is hoped, propel Egyptians to work harder in order to catch up with the rest of the world. Second, and presumably relatedly, ending the demonstrations, strikes, and sit-ins that have paralyzed the country’s productive capacity during the past three years. Third, an insistence that work is the only appropriate response to unemployment that had increased to 13.4 percent of the country’s working force by the end of 2013.<sup>10</sup>

The high unemployment rate is only one measure of the Egyptian economy’s decline since the January 2011 revolution, however. Another is the surge of the budget deficit in FY13 to a historic 13.7 percent, driving up the gross public sector debt to 94 percent of GDP, as compared with 79 percent in FY10.<sup>11</sup> Reducing the high unemployment rate will in turn require that thousands of factories and services be restored to production after having been disrupted during the past three years. Finally, Egypt’s bureaucracy must be restructured to make it more production-friendly. This would also require a drastic reduction in the bureaucracy’s size: By 2012, the number of public employees in government, public sector companies, defense, security, and the justice system had reached almost six million.<sup>12</sup>

## *Investments*

Sisi seems optimistic about investment opportunities in Egypt despite the many ailments of the country's economy, including its increasing budget deficit, growing public debt, currency instability, diminishing foreign currency reserves, lack of foreign direct investments, and energy shortages. His optimism is based on five potential sources of investments. First, during the three decades that preceded the January 2011 revolution, and especially during the last of those three decades, Egypt developed a sizeable business class. Egypt's average annual growth rate during these three decades was 4.5 percent, quite respectable among Third World countries. Population growth declined from 1.9 percent in 2003 to roughly 1.8 percent in 2009. The country's per capita income measured in PPP constant 2005 dollars more than doubled from \$2,500 in 1980 to \$5,500 in 2010.<sup>13</sup> This not only made Egypt an important emerging market; it also allowed for a business class to emerge and develop. Sisi is counting on this private sector to establish an Egyptian Development Fund that will help the country's economy rebound and expand.

A second potential source of investments is expatriate Egyptians, estimated to number eight million, who provided Egypt with remittances totaling \$18.4 billion in 2012, up from \$13.1 billion in 2011.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, Egyptians abroad could become a source not only of capital but—of no less importance—of expertise and project initiatives.

A third potential source of increased investment is the integration of the informal sector of the Egyptian economy into the formal economy. Conservative estimates are that Egypt's informal sector amounts to up to 35 percent of its economy. Although by itself this would not add much capital to the economy, it will make it more efficient.<sup>15</sup>

Arab states constitute a fourth potential source of investments. Since June 30, 2013, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait have provided Egypt with considerable economic assistance. Thus, between July and December of 2013, these countries transferred to Egypt \$10.5 billion (\$6 billion to support Central Bank of Egypt reserves, \$1 billion as a grant, and \$3.5 billion in energy products).<sup>16</sup> Given a promise by the UAE to provide an additional \$4.9 billion, such Arab assistance will reach \$12 billion in 2014.<sup>17</sup> Yet Sisi is looking beyond such grants and conceiving of an Arab Marshall Plan for Egypt, hoping that much-needed investments will be forthcoming on account of the successful track record of previous Arab investments in Egypt's real estate, banking, insurance, transportation, and communication sectors.

A fifth potential source of foreign investment is the global financial market, which provided Egypt with more than

\$40 billion of foreign direct investment in the years preceding the January 2011 revolution. Attracting such investments, however, would require that Egypt be able to present itself once again as secure and friendly to foreign investment.

## *Changing Egypt's Map*

Since the three Suez Canal cities (Port Said, Ismailia, and Suez) were established during the second half of the nineteenth century, Egypt's administrative structure has not changed significantly. The country's territory was divided into twenty-seven provinces that are tied to the central government in Cairo, the most populated of these provinces being located along the Nile River. Yet only 6 to 7 percent of the land of Egypt—amounting to little more than 1 million square kilometers—is inhabited.

Sisi seeks to change this by transforming Egypt from a river state to a river and sea state. He proposes to achieve such a transformation by taking the following measures. First, expanding the number of provinces from twenty-seven to thirty-three. Second, extending the provinces of Upper Egypt eastward, all the way to the Red Sea, as well as westward, toward the Western desert; this would allow greater room for agriculture and urbanization. Cairo itself is to be extended to include the seashore of the Gulf of Suez. In addition, the three Suez Canal cities are to be extended into the Sinai, thus inhabiting both the eastern and western sides of the Canal. Third, the country's current high degree of centralization is to be replaced by autonomous self-government, allowing each of the provinces to manage its own affairs, including raising funds, promoting investments, and providing services.<sup>18</sup>

The logic behind changing Egypt's map is, again, developmental. The country's increasing poverty is primarily regional. In the past two decades, poverty in Egypt—defined as a daily income below two dollars a day—has exhibited a rapid decline, only to be followed by a speedy increase. Thus, in 1990 the poor constituted 24.3 percent of the population, declining to 19.8 percent in 1995 and 16.7 percent in 2000, its lowest point in the 1990-2013 period. By 2004, however, poverty had jumped to 20.2 percent; in 2009 it reached 21.6 percent; and in 2013 it is estimated to have been about 26.3 percent—similar to its level before the 1990s. Yet Egypt's poor are not evenly distributed: 66.1 percent of the poor reside in Upper Egypt. Changing Egypt's map is therefore designed to provide its less endowed regions with greater opportunity to develop.<sup>19</sup>

## *A Republic of Laws*

Sisi's priority is Egypt's economic development. His emphasis on the need to make Egypt a "republic of laws" is therefore predicated on the assumption that this is

necessary in order to accelerate that developmental process. Within this framework, a legislative revolution is needed to make Egyptian laws consistent and compatible with the principles of its Constitution that protect political and socioeconomic rights as well as human rights. Moreover, respect for human rights and international human rights conventions is required if Egypt is to conform to the expectations associated with a new, modern country. Reforming the judiciary is essential in order to eliminate obstacles hurting investments, and women's rights are essential for making women partners in the country's economic development. And the security system—which carries the weight of fighting terrorism—must be modernized and refashioned to accord with the country's proposed administrative revolution.

### *Egyptian and Arab Regional Security*

Sisi's statements regarding Egypt's foreign policy did not extend far beyond alluding to the classic three circles portrayed by Nasser in his *Philosophy of the Revolution* back in the 1950s: the Arab, the African, and the Islamic. Yet he did mention a number of ideas that require further elaboration. First, in addition to the usual linkage made between Egyptian and Arab national security, Sisi placed particular emphasis on the connection between Egyptian and Gulf security, to the point of equating the two. Thus, in one interview he stated specifically that he would be willing to commit Egyptian military forces to the defense of the Gulf.<sup>20</sup>

Second, in discussing Egypt's roots in Africa, Sisi paid special attention to the flow of the Nile River to Egypt and promised to establish a special Egyptian commission to handle the management of this issue. Third, he identified Sudan and Libya as providing Egypt with strategic and economic depth. Finally, Sisi called for the transformation of the Arab League into an integrated regional organization. He did leave open, however, whether or not the proposed integrated regional framework might include non-Arab states.<sup>21</sup>

### *Peace with Israel*

While Sisi continued to adhere to his predecessors' commitments to respect the 1979 peace treaty with Israel and to seek a resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict based on a two-state paradigm allowing for independent Palestinian statehood, he added two new dimensions to Egyptian-Israeli relations: the goal of establishing a regional security system that would guarantee the security of the borders of all of the region's states; and an acknowledgment that the scope of Egypt's peace with Israel has increased considerably, opening up the possibility of further understandings based on common

interests. As an example, Sisi noted Egypt's increased military deployments in areas B and C of the Sinai Peninsula (as designated in the security protocol of the 1979 Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty) in response to the threat of terrorism there.<sup>22</sup>

## **Sisi's Liabilities and Shortcomings**

Although Sisi has articulated very ambitious goals, he has so far fallen short in explaining how he proposes to achieve them. Thus, while according to his own calculations, Egypt would need some \$500 billion—that is, twice its \$270 billion GDP—to fund his development program, he failed to identify where such a gigantic sum could be found. Moreover, though his landslide election strongly suggests that he succeeded in building trust and that this may allow him to mobilize financial resources, Sisi did not elaborate regarding what economic policies he has in mind to address the problems that dragged down Egypt's economy in the past. Nor did his agenda detail how Egypt would handle its bloated bureaucracy and other public sector ills, inefficient subsidies, the energy crisis, and the declining value of its currency.

Of no less importance, any breakthrough in the Egyptian economy will require the restoration of security and calm in order for tourism to resume, and for its balance of payments to recover. Although terrorism and violence in Egypt have shown a declining trend, their levels are still too high for a sense of security and stability to be restored.

These shortcomings are part of a broader flaw in Sisi's approach to Egypt's political realities: namely, an imbalance between his economic agenda and the security and political dimensions of his program. Although Sisi's position regarding the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamic affiliates attracted overwhelming support in the recent presidential elections, it is necessary for him to articulate a political and security approach that will enable Egypt to live peacefully with its immediate past. Sisi recognizes that Egyptians have become more politicized than at any other time in their modern history and that they will consequently demand effective responses to the problems they face. It is now up to him to draw on the assets, resources, and expertise available to him as president and build a team that will be able to help him tackle these daunting challenges.

Another major liability from which Sisi suffers—largely a product of his rapid ascent into politics—is his absence of political backing: He has no party and is not tied to any civic association. Though in the presidential elections he was supported by a broad coalition ranging from the

Liberal Wafd to the Attagamu and the Nasserite parties (at the expense of the leftist candidate Hamdeen Sabahi), what united these different constituencies to support him was not a positive program but rather fear of and opposition to the Muslim Brotherhood. Indeed, none of these parties and groups expressed support for the specific approaches and policies that Sisi suggested during the run-up to the elections. More likely than not, this coalition will increasingly fragment as Egypt comes closer to the next parliamentary elections.

In the absence of political backing, Sisi seems to rely on the support of the Egyptian “people” to implement his program. This is a problematic base of support, however, because it is extremely vulnerable to populism, and to the temptation to appeal to religion in the face of economic hardships. This danger already became apparent on the eve of the presidential elections; by that time, while Sisi continued to enjoy support at a level sufficient for a decisive victory, the infatuation that his discourse gained him in the immediate post-June 2013 period had already begun to fade. And his remaining, if still considerable, support may well evaporate if he fails to resolve the economic crisis and Egyptians do not see an end to the hardships they currently experience.

A final liability concerns Sisi’s personality, which may lead him to confuse stardom with leadership of a country. Sisi’s track record as a soldier reflects impressive professional commanding capabilities. But he has spent almost his entire life in the army, and there is a huge difference between army life and civilian politics.

Much of the adoration Sisi has so far enjoyed is related to Egyptians’ respect for their armed forces—and three years of revolutions, violence, and terror have only increased Egyptians’ embrace of the army in the hope of regaining stability, safety, and security. Yet it is not to army rule that Egyptians aspired when they went to the streets in January 2011. Then, they envisioned a modern, civic, and democratic state.

The current imbalances in the country, however, may tempt Sisi to try to make the army his own personal party. In turn, such an attempt might only exacerbate the tension between Sisi’s aspirations and the country’s unforgiving political realities, as well as that between the military and the country’s civic associations. Whether or not Sisi will be able to avoid or resolve these potential tensions it is too early to tell.

## Early Indications

The first few weeks of the Sisi presidency were heavy on symbolism but light on substance. Sisi did show a readiness to depart from many Egyptian norms. Thus, he insisted that the swearing-in of his cabinet would be held at 7:00 a.m., signaling that he would push the government bureaucracy to begin working two hours earlier than is presently the norm and reflecting his emphasis on the need for drastic changes in the bureaucracy’s work ethic. His announcement that he will cut his salary by half and dedicate half of his wealth to a new special fund for development was intended to convey that everyone, and particularly the more fortunate among Egyptians, must make sacrifices for the general welfare. And his visit to the hospital bed of the young woman who was sexually abused during a rally celebrating his election—and the apology he conveyed to her in the name of the entire nation—was viewed as a willingness to address what Egyptians until then had refused to acknowledge.

At least as significant, Sisi’s rejection of the first budget proposed to him as president—on account of the huge deficit it contained—was an important message that he is determined to deal with the country’s economic ills.<sup>23</sup> No less important was his government’s decision on July 6 to drastically reduce fuel subsidies.<sup>24</sup> And in foreign affairs, his meeting in Cairo International Airport with King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia and his decision that his first visit abroad as president would be to attend the African Summit in Equatorial Guinea signaled what his foreign policy priorities, at least in the near term, will be. On the latter occasion, Sisi scored his first substantive achievement when he returned Egypt to the ranks of the African Union Summit and reached a seven-points agreement with Ethiopia’s Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn to form a Bilateral Joint Commission to resolve the dispute regarding the sources of the Nile river.<sup>25</sup>

Admittedly, however, Sisi’s actions in his early days in office did not match the substance and spirit of the huge promises he made during his presidential campaign. The new cabinet he swore in, led by Ibrahim Mehleb as prime minister, was almost identical to the one that preceded the elections. The average age of the thirty-four cabinet ministers is 59; only four of the ministers are in their 40s.<sup>26</sup> More important, the new cabinet’s structure does not reflect any of Sisi’s campaign promises: The expected creation of a new Ministry for the Development of the Sinai, for example, did not materialize. Even more important, Sisi has yet to reveal who will be the members of his inner circle of advisers and, more to the point, whether they will be independent-minded, deep-thinking

individuals who will serve as essential “reality checks” or subservient apparatchiks who will confine themselves to expressing their adoration and to implementing his commands. Whether Sisi’s reluctance to name the members of his future inner circle in his early days in office reflects that he is still searching for such talent or that he intends to rely on existing heads of institutions in the executive branch is unclear.

The gap between symbolism and concrete accomplishments in Sisi’s first weeks in office may be attributed to a number of factors. First, despite a general improvement in safety and security, confrontation is still raging throughout the country, requiring some degree of caution. The lack of an elected legislative body also curtails Sisi’s room for change, given that many of his bold initiatives will require legislation. It is probably for this reason that he hastened the parliamentary elections, now scheduled to begin on July 18, 2014. Another possibility is that Sisi is still considering how to deal with a number of Egyptian institutions that have grown in influence over the years, particularly the judiciary.

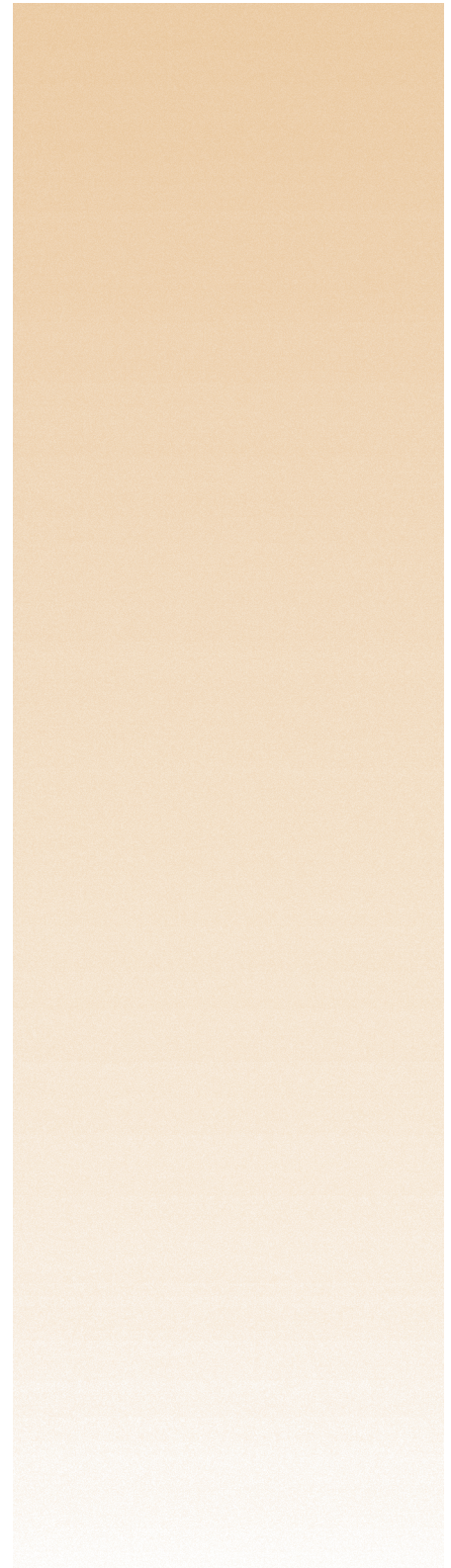
What is already clear, however, is that Sisi is not eager to add to the uncertainties he already faces by confronting these institutions in his early days as president. Thus, he has so far refrained from expressing his views regarding the verdicts and sentences announced by Egyptian courts in recent months—from the mass death sentencing of Muslim Brotherhood supporters to the jail terms received by journalists associated with the Al Jazeera network, although recently he expressed his wish that in the latter case, the journalists had been deported and not tried.<sup>27</sup> Sisi’s reluctance to address these decisions reflects the conflicting pressures to which he is subject: on the one hand, domestic pressures to exercise a heavy hand against the Muslim Brotherhood and those who may foment further instability in the country; on the other, the imperative to take steps to restore Egypt’s international standing. But as the imposition of these verdicts and sentences attracted broad and sharp international condemnation, Sisi’s reluctance to address this issue makes it unlikely that Egypt will be able to attract massive non-Arab foreign investments any time soon—and such investments are necessary if Egypt is to achieve his developmental goals. In that regard, the new president of Egypt’s Third Republic is following in the footsteps of previous Egyptian presidents who faced, and avoided confronting, similar situations before him.

## Endnotes

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- 2 Steven A. Cook has written extensively on the subject: “Do Not Run, al-Sisi . . . Do Not Run,” *From the Potomac to the Euphrates* (Council on Foreign Relations, January 14, 2014)\*; “Contingency Planning Memorandum: Egypt’s Solvency Crisis,” *Contingency Planning Memorandum*, no. 20 (Council on Foreign Relations, April 2014)\*; “Egypt and the Gulf: When a Free Lunch Is Not Free,” *From the Potomac to the Euphrates* (Council on Foreign Relations, May 13, 2014)\*; “Be Afraid, Very Afraid: Egypt’s Economic Nightmare,” *From the Potomac to the Euphrates* (Council on Foreign Relations, April 10, 2014).\*
- 3 Jon B. Alterman, “A Partnership for Egypt,” *Middle East Notes & Comment* (Center for Strategic & International Studies, May 21, 2014).\*
- 4 For details of terror and violence in Egypt, see Emily Dyer and Oren Kessler, “Terror in the Sinai” (Henry Jackson Society, 2014); “Al-Qaeda’s Expansion in Egypt: Implications for U.S. Homeland Security: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence of the House Committee on Homeland Security,” 113<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2d Sess. February 11, 2014 (Serial No. 113–52) (Statement of Thomas Joscelyn and Prepared Statement of Thomas Joscelyn, pp. 9–21)\*; Violence Indicator, Terrorist Operations Indicator from June 30, 2013, to February 28, 2014, Egyptian Studies Program, Regional Center for Strategic Studies in Cairo, March 2014.
- 5 See Khalil al-Anani, “Unpacking Sisi’s Religiosity,” *Mada Masr*, June 17, 2014.\*
- 6 Gamal Abdel Nasser was a Colonel in the Egyptian Army who headed the Free Officers organization and the Revolutionary Command Council that freed Egypt from British occupation and the monarchy and took anti-imperialist and Arab Nationalist stands. Nasser was President of Egypt from 1956 until his death in 1970.
- 7 See transcript of the television interview part II from May 19, 2014 at <http://m.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/448934> [in Arabic].\*
- 8 Brigadier General Abdelfattah Said ElSisi, “Democracy in the Middle East” (USAWC Strategy Research Project, U.S. Army War Project, Carlisle Barracks, PA, March 15, 2006).\*
- 9 See transcript of the television interview from May 18, 2014 at <http://m.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/448350> [in Arabic].\*
- 10 These numbers are provided by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, Arab Republic of Egypt, available [in Arabic].\*
- 11 Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Finance, “Mid-Year Economic and Fiscal Review: H1- FY14,” February 2014, p. 6.
- 12 Arab Republic of Egypt, Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, “Egypt in Figures 2013,” pp. 40-41.

- 13 Andrey V. Korotayev and Julia V. Zinkina, "Egyptian Revolution: A Demographic Structural Analysis," *Entelequia. Revista Interdisciplinar*, no. 13 (Spring 2011), pp. 139–169.\* This study is based on [World Bank Development Indicators](#), 2011.\*
- 14 "Egypt in Figures 2013," p. 86.
- 15 Sisi has consulted on this issue with the Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto, the World Bank specialist on the subject. [Stephen Kalin](#), "Sisi's Economic Vision for Egypt: Back to the Future," *Reuters*, May 22, 2014.\*
- 16 "Mid-Year Economic and Fiscal Review: H1- FY14," p. 8.
- 17 Steven A. Cook, "Egypt and the Gulf: When a Free Lunch Is Not Free."
- 18 [Youm7.com](#), May 20, 2014 [in Arabic].\*
- 19 "Indicators for Research on Income, Expenditure, and Consumption for 2012/2013" (Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, Cairo, Egypt, November 2013), pp. 72–75.
- 20 [Interview on CBC-TV with Lamis Al Hadidi and Ibrahim Issa](#), May 6, 2014.\*
- 21 [Interview on Sky News](#), May 12, 2014 available at [Al-Masry Al-Youm \[in Arabic\]](#).\*
- 22 [Interview on CBC-TV with Lamis Al Hadidi and Ibrahim Issa](#), May 6, 2014.
- 23 Sisi's speech at the graduation ceremony of Egypt's War College, June 24, 2014.\*
- 24 "Sisi defends Egypt's fuel subsidies reduction," *Al-Jazeera*, July 7, 2014.\*
- 25 "Joint Statement by the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia," Egypt Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 28, 2014.\*
- 26 "Ahmad Mubarak, "Hard Challenges: The Second Mehleb Cabinet," Regional Center for Strategic Studies in Cairo, June 23, 2014.
- 27 "Egypt's Sisi wishes Al Jazeera journalists had been deported, not tried—newspaper," *Reuters*, July 7, 2014.\*

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