

**EGYPT TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY; THE DEMOCRACY
CONSOLIDATION OF MOHAMMAD MORSI**

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS



Written by:

Erdhieta Ghaisani Puteri

20120510127

**INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA**

2016

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Erdhieta Ghaisani Puteri
20120510127

International Relations Department, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Email: Erdhieta.ghaisani.2012@fisipol.umy.ac.id

ABSTRACT

Democracy had been an issue in Egypt ever since 1952 revolution. The 2010 Arab Spring, however, had woken up Egyptian towards the democracy which led to the 2011 democracy revolution which was also known as the day of rage. The 2011 revolution became a momentum for Egyptian transition to democracy to enter a new phase. The fall of President Husni Mubarak's authoritarian regime was cheerfully celebrated by the people of Egypt. Following the event, the Supreme Council of Armed Forces took control over Egypt transition to democracy. Under SCAF, the parliamentary and presidential election was held and it resulted on the elevation of Mohammad Morsi as the fifth of Egypt and the first president from the civilian. However, a year after Mohammad Morsi was chosen by Egyptian people as the 2012 new president of Egypt, Mohammad Morsi being ousted by the military. Thus, this paper is aimed to analyze process of Egypt's democracy transition under the regime of Mohammad Morsi by using two theories as the tools of analysis. The first theory is theory of Transition to Democracy which was brought by Samuel P. Huntington, and the second theory is the Democracy Consolidation initiated by Larry Diamond.

Keyword:

Democracy Consolidation, Mohammad Morsi, Muslim Brotherhood, Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF), Egypt Military, Egypt Armed Forces (EAF).

Introduction

Back in 2010, a momentum in Tunisia led to a region phenomenon called as Arab Spring; a series of democratic revolution faced by Arabic countries as in the Middle East. Along with the success of Tunisia in overthrowing its non democratic regimes, Egypt began to start its revolution in January 2011 with the purpose of overthrowing the regime of Husni Mubarak which had been in power for almost thirty years (Salem, 2013).

Husni Mubarak himself was elevated into presidency in 1981, following the assassination of Egypt's previous president Anwar Sadat that done by the Islamist militants at the military parade in Cairo (Knell, 2013). For his entire period in office, he kept the country under emergency law, gave the state sweeping powers of arrest and curbing basic freedoms. (Naggar, 2010)

There are four main phases of Egypt's democratic revolution as it began from the Tahrir revolution that occurred in January until February 2011, and then followed by the military rule in March 2011 until January 2012. In February 2012 until August 2012, Egypt faced an unclear transition, which finally could be solved by Reassertion of Presidential Dominance in August 2012. (Sofer, 2013)

The first phase began on January 25th when Egyptian celebrated a national holiday as the commemoration of the Egyptian police forces. This day was the beginning of what people called as "*The day of Anger*" or "*The day of Rage*" whereas thousands of people were marching in downtown Cairo heading to the office of the ruling National Democratic Party, the office of the foreign ministry, and also to the State's television. In the same day, protests also broke out in other cities as in the Mediterranean city of Alexandria, The Nile Delta cities of Mansura and Tahta, and also The Southern city of Aswan and Assiot. (Al-Jazeera, 2011)

This protest continued for several days, and got even bigger with the break out of the protests in Suez, Ismailia, Northern Sinai area of Sheikh Zoweid, and Nile Delta Town of Toukh, North Cairo. Later on, Mohammad El Baradei; a former head of UN Nuclear Watchdog, joined the mass protesters in Cairo and lead the actions by giving motivational speech. (Al-Jazeera, 2011)

On the middle of the night, between January 28th and January 29th 2011, Husni Mubarak announced his dismissal of the cabinet. However, he still refused to step down from the office. Thus, his announcement did not and could not dissolve the mass protesters who stayed overnight in Tahrir Square or in English means as *Liberation Square*; even though there were many of them being arrested. They kept demanding President Husni Mubarak to step down from the office until finally on February 11th 2011, Vice President Omar Suleiman announced that President Husni Mubarak would step down from his office and handed the power to the military or army forces. The mass protesters then left the Tahrir Square on February 14th after they made sure that the announcement was not only a deception. (Al-Jazeera, 2011)

There were at least a thousand people death and seven thousands more having injured all over the country since the revolution day firstly started. (IRIN, 2013)

Following the event, the second phase began when The Supreme Council of Army Forces (SCAF) exercised executive authority directly and via an interim cabinet. Mubarak's former Prime Minister, Ahmed Shafik, was tapped to lead the cabinet. (Childress, 2013)

After the shifting of power from Mubarak to SCAF, Egypt faced an unclear transition under the ruling of SCAF. The SCAF oversaw a March 2011 referendum that approved amendments to Egypt's constitution, and also issued new laws on the formation of political parties and the conduct of parliamentary elections. The amended constitution laid out a transitional framework in which the elected People's Assembly and Shura Council, in conjunction with the SCAF, were to select members for a 100-person Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution subject to a referendum. Legislative elections then held in late 2011 and early 2012 granted significant majorities to Islamist political parties, including the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party. (Sharp, 2012)

Later on, The Muslim Brotherhood then took power in Egypt through a series of popular elections. On June 30th 2012, with the support of the Muslim Brotherhood, Mohammad Morsi, the leader of the Freedom and Justice Party, and the first democratically elected president of Egypt came into power with 51.7% voice and declared Egypt as a democratic country. Mohammad Morsi then became Egypt's fifth president and the first from outside the military. It was marked as the end of the four phase political revolution of Egypt (Weaver, 2012).

Mohammad Morsi as the new elected president then tried to re-structure the governmental position and construct democratic regimes to be implemented into the Egypt's constitution. Few policy had been issued by Mohammad Morsi in order to support the construction and consolidation of the democratic regimes. However, the policy issued by Mohammad Morsi had create a controversial respond that led to his removal by the military on June 2013. Thus, this paper will try to analyze on the factors that led to his removal according to the thory of Transition to Democracy by Samuel P. Huntington and Democracy Consolidation by Larry Diamond.

Purpose of Research

This paper aims at examining the democratic transition of Egypt under the regime of President Mohammad. By understanding the consolidation process of Mohammad Morsi with the Egyptian Military who had been in the governmental power for six decades, and the civil society consolidation of Mohammad Morsi, this paper will try to answer on what factors led to the fall of President Mohammad Morsi's regime.

Range of Research

This paper is focusing on the era post Husni Mubarak when Mohammad Morsi started running the governmental system until Mohammad Morsi being ousted by the Military. This paper will highlits on the consolidation process by Mohammad Morsi, and stratergy on political matters taken by Mohammad Morsi to to control the power of Egyptian military

Theoretical Framework

1. Theories of Transition to Democracy Samuel P. Huntington

To understand the issue and to answer the research question, the theoretical framework is necessary. The theoretical framework consists of theories and concepts that are used as tools to analyze the issue. This final thesis is trying to analyze the phenomenon by using the "Democratic Transitions" theories carried out by Samuel P. Huntington.

Samuel P. Huntington employed the notion of democratization to refer to the process of transition from authoritarian rule to multiparty constitutional democracy.

However, the process and the dynamics of the democratization progress in the 20's century is different compared to the previous waves as the first wave and the third wave.

To understand the causal of the democratic transitions, Samuel P. Huntington in his book titled "the Third Wave" had explain such factors that lead to the democratization wave in the modern era as;

- 1) The deepening legitimacy problems of authoritarian governments unable to cope with military defeat and economic failure;
- 2) The burgeoning economies of many countries, which have raised living standards, levels of education, and urbanization, while also raising civic expectations and the ability to express them;
- 3) The changes in religious institutions which have made them more prone to oppose governmental authoritarianism than defend the status quo;
- 4) The push to promote human rights and democracy by external actors such as non-governmental organizations and the European Community; and
- 5) The "snowballing" or demonstration effects, enhanced by new international communications, of democratization in other countries.

While in order to categorize the process of the Democratic transitions, Huntington examines the processes by which the transitions from nondemocratic to democratic regimes took system. He distinguishes four general types of transitions:

- 1) Transformations (as in Spain, India, Hungary, and Brazil) where the elites in power took the lead in bringing about democracy;
- 2) Replacements (as in East Germany, Portugal, Romania, and Argentina) where opposition groups took the lead in bringing about democracy;
- 3) Transplacements (as in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bolivia, and Nicaragua) where democratization occurred from joint action by government and opposition groups; and
- 4) Interventions (as in Grenada and Panama) where democratic institutions were imposed by an outside power.

Overall, according to Samuel P. Huntington in his book "The Third Wave" democratization in a simple way requires three conditions as 1) the fall of the authoritarian regimes, 2) the constructions of the democratic regimes, 3) the ongoing political (democratic) consolidation. When the democratic regime had been well constructed and the consolidation process had been reached to success, then the democratization process is finished. (Huntngton, 1991)

In defining the democratic country itself, Samuel P. Huntington stated a democratic country is a country with the political system as:

"to the extent that its most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote ."

This definition also implies that citizens enjoy the civil liberties (ie speech, assembly, etc) needed to facilitate this electoral process. While in describing what democracy is not, Huntington stated that;

“We all know that military coups, censorship, rigged election, coercion and harassment of the opposition, jailing of political opponents, and prohibition of political meetings are incompatible with democracy”

In the case of Egypt, the democratization process should as well passed those three main conditions in order to complete the transformation process. In the early of 2011, Egypt had gone through and passed the first process which marked by the fall of the authoritarian regimes of President Husni Mubarak who had been in power for thirty years. The fall of the authoritarian regimes had lead Egypt to the second stage where Egypt need to create the new democratic system to rule its country.

A year after the fall of Husni Mubarak, Egypt under the SCAF held an election to elect the new president of Egypt that eventually elevated Mohammad Morsi into the presidential chair. Mohammad Morsi then promised to construct and build a new democracy system of Egypt. This event is markes as the installment of the democratic regime in Egypt. However, to avoid the reverse of democracy, the democrac consolidation is needed. The democracy consolidatiion may run hand in hand with the democracy construction.

2. Theory of Democratic Consolidation by Larry Diamond

During the process to create a stable democratic country, the democratic consolidation is needed in order to avoid the reverse of the democracy, the democracy erosion, and the downfall of the democracy in order to maintain the democracy system in a country and establish a democratic sytem that can be accepted by the society.

Consolidation can be define as the process of uniting or the unification of two or more actors by dissolution of existing ones and creation of a single new cooperation.

According to Larry Diamond “Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation” that is also quoted in the Huntington’s book “The Third wave” there are four approaches in running the consolidation process 1) elite consolidation, 2) institutional consolidation, 3) political culture consolidation, and 4) civil society consolidation (Diamonds, 1999).

The elite consolidation is an approach that focuses on the individual interaction between the politicians and state officials. The individual within the government is required to have the same ideology, perspectives, visions and missions in order to create the consensus that can be accepted by the people (Diamonds, 1999).

While in the institutional consolidation according to Larry Diamonds, there are three main targets to approach as the state executive institutions (the presidency, the government system, the bureaucracy and the military), representative institutions (parliament, political parties and elections); and the judiciary and the legal system (Diamonds, 1999).

The term ‘political culture’ refers to historically-based, widely-shared beliefs, feelings, and values about the nature of political systems, which can serve as a link

between citizens and government (Percy, 2015). It means that the political culture consolidation is an approach that focus on the democratic political culture such as tolerance, egalitarian, compromising, accommodating, and equality as well as voice and press freedom.

In the political culture, there are two focus as first, the political culture that takes place between people-society, and second political culture that takes place between people-people and government (Diamonds, 1999).

The last is the civil society consolidation. This consolidation is an approach that is done by the government and political parties in order to accommodate the participations of politic from the society, and creating the good response from society toward the government (Diamonds, 1999).

Under the leadership of Mohammad Morsi, Egypt experienced a period of transition from Hosni Mubarak's authoritarian rule to democracy. Within the process to achieve the democratic system, Egypt under Mohammad Morsi had been through some consolidation processes which eventually lead to the phenomenon whereas Mohammad Morsi being ousted by the military.

Morsi is Egypt's first civilian president. Ever since the Free Officers Revolution of 1952, Egypt has been ruled by a succession of military leaders, including Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar Sadat, and Hosni Mubarak. Consequently, political and economic authority has since rested in the hands of the military. In order to establish and maintain a functional and representational democracy in this period of post-revolution transition, this hierarchy of power must be reversed: civilian leadership must be able to control the intentions and actions of the military.

Thus, this paper is addressed to examine on the executive institutional consolidation by Mohammad Morsi. The institution that will be examine is the military as a institution that hold an important matters in Egyptian politic since its existence in the governmental position from 1952 coup of Egypt by the military.

Beside military, the civil society is the important matter within the country. The power of society can either support or le to the downfall of a regime. Thus, the civil military consolidation is also being examined in order to answer the research question.

Discussion

A. Egypt at a Crossroad

According to the theory of Democratic Transition brought by Samuel P. Huntington, there are several causal in the creation of the revolution that lead to the fall of the authoritarian regime. The first causal factor mentioned was the deepening legitimacy problems of authoritarian governments unable to cope with military defeat and economic failure. It applied in the case of Egypt, when President Husni Mubarak who was in power for almost 30 years starting in 1981 and put Egypt under the *State of Emergency*¹ faced an economic problem brought up by Egyptian previous leader;

¹ A term used for a governmental declaration which usually suspends a few normal functions of the executive, legislative and judicial powers during periods of civil unrest, or following a declaration of war or situation of international or internal armed conflict

Anwal al-Sadat. The open door policy brought by Sadat had driven the private sector became small and weak. In order to solve the problem, Husni Mubarak applied a “5 Years Plan²” policy. However, this policy could not solve the economic issue and led to the economic catastrophe. (Nagarajan, 2013)

The second causal factor mentioned was the rising economic, education, civic expectations and the ability to express them from other countries applying the democracy. As in the twenty centuries, the number of countries rising the economic outside the Middle East is increasing. With the help of technology in twenty century, the Egyptian were able to see the growth of others economic in the democratic states as also promoted by the United States. This had become a hope of Egyptian in order to repair the economy within the country.

The other causal factor mentioned by Samuel P. Huntington that fits with the case of Egypt was the push to promote the human rights and democracy by external actor. Egypt under Mubarak, was limiting freedom of the press. Moreover, there were rumor saying that Mubarak would eventually be replaced by his son Gamal, transforming Egypt’s supposedly electoral government into a de facto monarchy (Perkins, 2012).

Social media had helped and provided a space for activists to talk, organize and call for the democratization. Their chats and discussions on these issues created wide awareness of democratic values in society and helped overcome the fear of security forces. In this context, some researchers as Christopher Dickey and Babak Dehghanpisheh highlighted that the actual instigators of the revolt in Egypt were “a band of young techies who used their mass-communication skills to mobilize thousands of people from almost every stratum of Egyptian society in an uprising against Mubarak's reign (Abushouk, 2016).

The last factor mentioned in the book of third wave by Samuel P. Huntington was the snowballing phenomena. In 2010, the democratic revolution broke out in Tunisia. Tunisia had succeed in overthrowing its authoritarian government. This phenomenon however, indirectly gave hope to the Egyptian people in order to overthrow its president who had been in power for 30 years. Looking into that, the snowballing effect also gave contribution as the causal of the democratic revolution in Egypt (Lawrence, 2011).

Those factors are leading to the phenomena occurred on January 25th, whereas Egypt at that day were celebrating a “National Police Day,” the people of Egyptian decided to use this day to their advantage and hold a march in which they would chant creative, anti-police, anti-Mubarak messages (Gaber, 2014).

The Egypt democracy transition itself can be categorized in the transformation process since there was a bargaining position between the government and the people. The government, by the demand of the people agreed to establish the new democratic regime, and President Husni Mubarak was proposing to diminish his cabinet though he still expecting to stay in the office but refused by the people.

Following the fall of the previous authoritarian regime and in order for realizing the hope of the Egyptian toward the new democratic regime, a parliamentary election to the People's Assembly of Egypt was held from 28 November 2011 to 11

² An investment allocation plan initiated at the end of the February 12, 1982 in the economic conference

January 2012, after which the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) dissolved the parliament of Egypt.

Egyptians voted in three phases over a month and half period to elect the 498 members of the People's Assembly. Ten further members were appointed by the ruling military. Under the country's system, two-thirds of the seats are allocated to party list candidates, while the remaining third are voted for directly (Anonymous, Egypt's Islamist parties win elections to parliament, 2012).

The parliamentary election brought Islamic power which also followed by the winning of Mohammad Morsi who was brought by Freedom and Justice Party to the presidential chair. Under Mohammad Morsi, Egypt officially declared as a democratic country.

B. Military in Transitional Egypt under The Regime of Mohammad Morsi

The military became one of the most important factors in Egyptian politics after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1952. Between the Free Officers Revolution of 1952 and the toppling of Hosni Mubarak in February 2011, Egypt was ruled by four presidents, all originating from the military; Mohammad Naguib, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar al-Sadat, and Hosni Mubarak. It was interrupted with the 2011 revolution, when President Mubarak was forced to step down by the military in response to the revolution, and the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces ruled until it held a presidential election which resulted in Mohammad Morsi taking office. On 3 July 2013, responding to million people in the streets, the head of the Armed Forces then-General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi announced the removal of Morsi.

It began when the free officer movement in 1952 overthrew the monarchical regime of King Farouk. The officers republic was then originally emerged at the time of the overthrow of the monarchy by the Egyptian Armed Forces (EAF) in 1952, and especially after the confirmation of Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser as president by public referendum in 1956.

The officers organised themselves into the Revolutionary Command Council, which ruled Egypt as a junta until 1954, when a new Constitution was introduced, and a cabinet-style government was formed. The Revolutionary Council was dissolved by the former President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who then formed the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces in December 1954, as a statutory government body, which consist of 21 senior-most military officers from the Army, Navy, Air Force and Air Defence Forces, with himself as the Chairman of the body. The SCAF was mandated to decide policy on all matters it deemed falling under the purview of "National Security" (MacFarlane, 2012).

During the mass uprising itself, military played such an important role as a mediator between the civil society and the government. The military choose to be neutral and did not use violence to face the mass protesters. The society, on the other hand were welcoming the appearance of the military during the mass uprisings. Having the trust from the society, the military take control over the Egypt government during the transition. SCAF dismantled the old regime of President Husni Mubarak by pulling down the old actors (Sharp, Egypt in Transition, 2013).

Beside that, SCAF also establish a 2011 interim constitution in order to govern and directing the democracy transitions of Egypt and was supported by the majority. On the end of 2011 to the beginning of 2012, the SCAF held a parliamentary election in

three phases, and followed by two rows of presidential election which won by Mohammad Morsi (Sharp, Egypt in Transition, 2013).

The relations between the Egypt military, especially SCAF and Mohammad Morsi was categorized as complicated. Understand with the power of the SCAF, Mohammad Morsi tried to eliminate the old actor such Tantawi and replaced by Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi. However, this strategy had create a disappointment for the military who have loyalty with Tantawi.

Moreover, in order to prevent over military custodianship, the new president, Mohammad Morsi, and Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood were seeking a way to limit the power of SCAF which had been rested in the government for decades. Thus, Mohammad Morsi announce the 22 November decree which gave him legal immunity.

Those policy and strategies take by Mohammad Morsi however did not meet to his expectations. The policy initiated by Mohammad Morsi had threated the position of the army within the government which indirectly led to his dismissal on the middle of 2013.

C. Civil-Society in Transitional Egypt under The Regime of Mohammad Morsi

The end of Husni Mubarak era had given hope to the Egyptian people for the new constitutional democratic system. With the elected of new president through the justice election, the Egyptian hopes that President Morsi could accomodate the society demand of the stable democratic regime. On the other hand, the legacy of Husni Mubarak's authoritarian regime left big economic problems to the Egyptian which had to be faced by the next government as in here, the Morsi government. The corruption, weak private sector, and low GDP had been the main issue in the economic problem. The Egyptian people demand the Morsi governmental to find a solution regarding the issue of economic and also to find a solution in avoiding the future authoritarian rule. Responding to the demand of the society, Mohammad Morsi made a promise in his winning speech to create a stable constitutional democratic country.

However, Egypt under Mohammad Morsi was not as good as had been expected by people. Soon after he was being elevated as the new presidents, the voice of pros and contras was hollowing within the Egyptian. The popularity of Mohammad Morsi began to decreased since the establishment of the constitutional. With the victory by small margin, Morsi created a premature constitution instead. His 2012 premature amandments, and 22 November Decree had rised negative responds from the society. It created a minority dilemma; whereas the minority felt unheard by Mohammad Morsi regime. Under Morsi's rule, Egyptian society has become polarized between Islamists and non-Islamists. Much is at stake concerning the draft Constitution itself. Morsi and his supporters have emphasized that the new Constitution is necessary in order to seal the transition from decades of military-backed rule, while opponents have stated that it is heavily influenced by Islamists and that it ignores the rights of Egypt's minorities and women (Sabry, 2012).

On the other hand, the economic problem as the legacy of the previous regime had not yet could be solved by Mohammad Morsi. In contrast, under Mohammad Morsi, the economic condition worsen.

Conclusion

Transition to democracy is not a simple thing. According to Samuel P. Huntington, there are at least three phase which state has to experience. The transition itself need to be occurred in a coherent, functioning state. Looking at the case of Egypt, the 2011 revolution had drag Egypt to the first phase of transition to democracy caused by the deepening legitimacy problems of authoritarian governments unable to cope with economic failure, the rising economic of other countries applying the democratic system, the push to promote the human rights from external actors, and the snowballing effect. Egypt with the transformations process of democracy had succeed in overthrow the authoritarian regime and create a new democratic regime.

The construction of the democracy was marked by the installment of the election process and reparation of the previous constitution. However, in keeping a country under a stable democratic regime, the political consolidation is needed. In the case of Egypt, the Morsi government had faced several problems in running the consolidation process as the institutional consolidation and the civil society consolidation.

The Egypt's military who had been long in power, hold quite important matters during the transition. Even during the transition of power, the military was holding the power within the government. However, Mohammad Morsi tried to eliminate the function of military directly instead of trying to approach the military like the strategy of the previous leader; since the military subjective role is high in Egypt whereas; it need to be careful to control them.

While the problem in civil-society consolidation lies when Mohammad Morsi who was supported by the people at his first month, become losing the popularity because of the 2012 constitution which did not accommodate the demand from the society and limiting the rights of the minorities. It could be seen by the protest done by the society, and the absent of vote in the referendum process.

Thus, in the third phase Mohammad Morsi failed to do consolidation with the military which has quite big influence to the people, Even though Mohammad Morsi tried to replace some military figure within the government, still Morsi could not approach the military so that there were no agreement between Mohammad Morsi and the Egyptian military who had been in major power for six decades. Moreover, Morsi government also failed to accommodate the civil society demand since the 2012 constitution is believed by people as undemocratic constitution because of its tendency to the sharia country. Besides that, Mohammad Morsi forget about the economic problem happened in Egypt, instead he was focusing on the creation of the new Islamic regime.

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