
The Newsletter of

MESOC

Middle East Studies Center, American University in Cairo

November/December 2006

THIS MONTH'S FEATURE:

HUMAN RIGHTS IN EGYPT

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The views expressed here are those of their authors and not necessarily those of MESC, the editor, or the Middle East studies program.

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FROM THE DIRECTOR JOEL BEININ

I hope that everyone had a restful 'eid break and that we are all refreshed and ready to enter the second half of the fall semester with renewed energy and commitment.

The Middle East Studies Center was very active during and immediately after Ramadan, sponsoring an iftar for students at the center and a suhur for affiliated faculty at the home of the director. The center's seminar series on "The Political Culture and Political Economy of Modern Islamic Movements" continued with lectures by Monia Atia, a doctoral candidate at the University of Washington, on "Spaces of Solidarity: Islamic Philanthropy in Cairo" (co-sponsored with the John D. Gerhart Center for Philanthropy and Civic Engagement); Dr. Mariz Tadros, AUC Political Science Department, on "The Muslim Brotherhood - The Gender Agenda" (co-sponsored with the Cynthia Nelson Institute for Gender and Women's Studies and Dr. Dan Tschirgi; and the AUC Political Science Department, on "The Search for International Security after 9/11."

The Center also co-sponsored a photo exhibit by Deena Adeeb on "Sacred Spaces: Reconstructing

'Ashura and the City of Karbala," which was on display at the Falaki Gallery from November 12-28.

The Interdisciplinary Advisory Committee has approved a proposal for a comprehensive reform in the requirements for the M.A. degree in Middle East Studies, which was discussed extensively in the last newsletter. The proposal has been approved by School of Humanities and Social Sciences Academic Committee. I will now go to the Senate Academic Committee. Current students will not be obliged, although they are encouraged to fulfill the new requirements. If the reform is approved by the Senate, there will be no spring semester admissions after spring semester 2007 and the new requirements will apply to students entering the program in September 2007. Please look at the Information for M.A. Students page on the Center website.

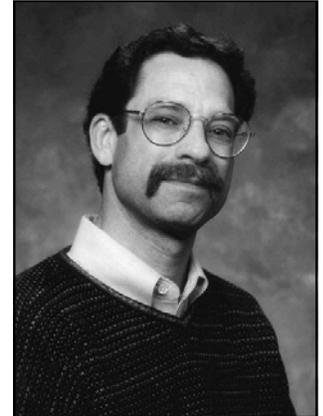
MESC students should consider several opportunities for study and enrichment during the short winter semester. First, there are intensive Arabic language courses available through the Arabic Language Institute. Those interested should contact Dr. Zeinab Taha, director of the ALI. Second, a student trip to Lebanon and Palestine is

being organized by Dr. Saad Eddin Ibrahim. It will take place shortly after Coptic Christmas (January 6). For information, contact Dr. Saad's student assistant, Maria Dayton at mariadayton@hotmail.com. Finally, from January 4-25 the Middle East Studies Center will once again be offering our interdisciplinary course on "The Nile" (MEST 430) coordinated by former center director and professor of political science, Dr. Bahgat Korany. For information contact the MESC program assistant, Ms. Rania Azer.

Best wishes to all,

Dr. Joel Beinin

Director of Middle East Studies



Dr. Joel Beinin is the new director of the Middle East Studies Center here at AUC. Before coming to AUC, he taught Middle East history at Stanford University since 1983.

THE CARAVAN DEBATE: A REVIEW COMPILED BY GARTH HALL

On November 5th, the following letter to the editor was printed in AUC's student newspaper, *The Caravan*:

Disturbing Change of Direction for the Middle East Center's Newsletter (MESC)

We are deeply disturbed by the Oct. 2006 issue of the Middle East Center (MESC) newsletter at AUC. The material it contains constitutes an unacceptable departure from what was published in it during the last six years. It runs counter to the prevailing political sentiment at AUC and in the Arab region. As such, it can only damage the reputation of the university. Therefore, either the newsletter ceases to be political or is run by an editorial board comprising at least members from the departments in which the students of the center take their courses.

The current issue purports to focus on Lebanon but instead focuses on Israel and forwards Israeli perspectives. It does not include a single article on Lebanon, yet carries one on the Israeli army. An editorial casts Hamas and Hezbollah as extremist organizations that Israel should speak to in spite of their extremism. Who is the extremist? Who is occupying whom? To top it all, one contributor devotes his article to showing that Israel's invasion of Lebanon is justified under international law.

Never mind that it is a baseless declaration taken from the shelf of Israeli propaganda. It is a spurious case to make for an apartheid state that has consistently flouted international law and UN resolutions. Nor should it be construed as a matter of free speech. It is a question of context and priorities. The newsletter completely ignores AUC's 33-day campaign of solidarity with the Lebanese and Palestinian people. The campaign has been launched by the students with the support of the president, provost, the John D. Gerhart Center, as well as members of the faculty. The campaign is an expression of the outrage felt by the AUC community at the death and destruction that Israel wreaked on Lebanon during the summer. The campaign and thoughts of the students involved in it should have been the centerpiece of the issue.

The Middle East Center is run by an Interdisciplinary Advisory Committee (IDAC) comprised of representatives of HUSS departments and of the economics department. The newsletter it issues can take one of two forms. One form is nonpolitical, concentrating on the activities of the center that help promote its standing or, if it must be political, it should be run by an editorial board recruited from the above departments. In either case, it would need first and foremost to portray the sense of the AUC community and the obligations of the university to the people of Egypt.

Galal Amin, economics professor
Abdallah Cole, anthropology professor
Sherif Elmusa, political science professor
Walid Kazziha, political science professor
Ferial Ghazoul, English and comparative literature professor
Barbara Harlow, English and comparative literature professor
Nelly Hanna, Arabic studies professor

Editor's note: the underlined emphasis is mine.

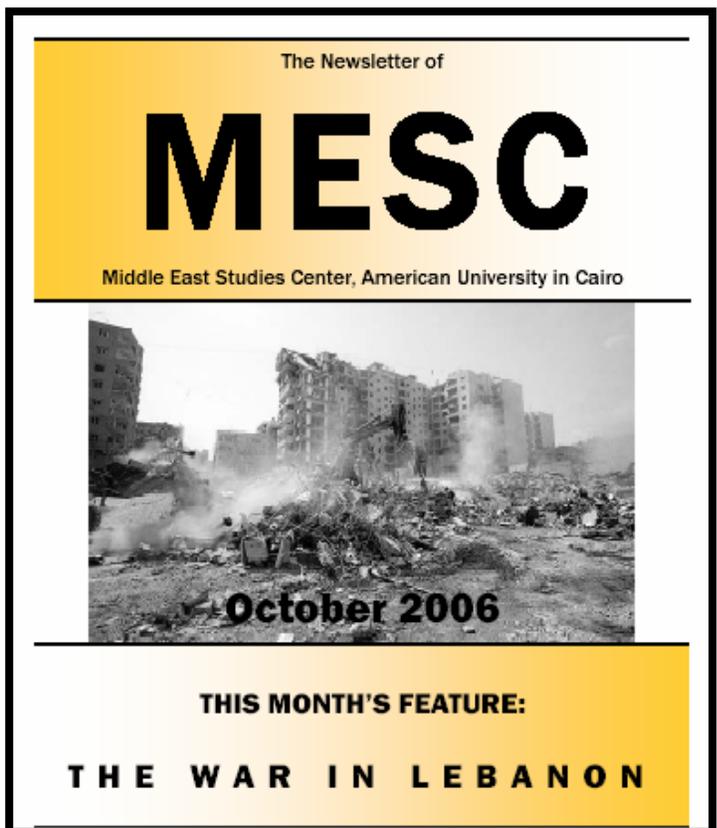
One factual error to be noted:

"The current issue purports to focus on Lebanon..."

This statement, which is the crux for one of the letter's main arguments, is incorrect.

The October newsletter "purports" to focus on the war in Lebanon, in which the Israeli military played a rather large role. This is why it includes articles touching on Lebanon, Hezbollah, Israel, and the Israeli military.

Below is a picture of the cover of the October MESC. As you can see, in large bold writing on the bottom—CAPS!—it reads: This Month's Feature—The War in Lebanon.



The October issue of MESC, which appears to focus on the war in Lebanon

On November 12th, these two letters to the editor were published in The Caravan in response:

Reply to the Professors

After reading the letter from the seven AUC professors in the Nov. 5 Caravan about the "unacceptable departure" of the MESC newsletter, I felt an overwhelming sense of shock and disgust at their immature, unresearched, unfounded and unacademic charges.

The main focus of this group of seven centered on the fact that the Oct. 2006 MESC newsletter, which was supposed to cover the 2006 war between Israel and Hezbollah forces in Lebanon in a way that reflected the prevailing viewpoints of the AUC and Egyptian communities, failed in this regard by spewing only Israeli propaganda and be "ignoring" AUC's "33-day campaign of solidarity with the Lebanese and Palestinian people." Targeted criticism was heaped in particular on the well-researched article of Ivan Rosales, which presented a certain background in his estimation for understanding Israel's actions in Lebanon this past summer.

The MESC newsletter invites submissions from AUC students and staff who espouse a range of academic and personal opinions concerning Middle East issues. This was evident in the Oct. 2006 issue's majority inclusion of arguably anti-Israeli articles or articles that questioned Israeli motives, in addition to Rosales's submission which, unlike the emotionally-charged opinion of the seven professors, supported itself with credible documentation and careful research.

The most blatant and utterly inexcusable fault of the seven professors is their assertion that their particular anti-Israeli viewpoints speak for the entirety of the AUC and Egyptian communities. To suggest that a majority opinion, which in Egypt is understandably anti-Israel in all cases involving Israel, should be the ONLY ideological expression allowed to be published in a cooperative academic newsletter effectively limits free scholarly research and articulation, and rigidly imposes a set opinion in a university where, at least in theory, a commitment to liberal education exists. Those who signed their name to last week's opinion editorial should take a closer look at their sweeping assertions, overly dramatic speech, and unfounded accusations and ponder whether such absurdities are damaging to their positions as well educated academics.

Marisa Jones
Middle East Studies Graduate Student

Clarification of MESC

With reference to the letter published in the Nov. 5 issue of the Caravan concerning the Oct. issue of the MESC newsletter, the contents of the newsletter do not represent a departure from the editorial management and content of previous newsletters. Under the current and previous director, the newsletter is prepared and edited by graduate students in the MESC program. The current editor was also the editor during the previous academic year.

Since the Feb. 2005 issue, the newsletter has included that is an a point/counterpoint (debate) style, written by MESC students. These debates have included: Should there be a one-state solution for Palestine? Should Iran be allowed to have nuclear weapons? Were the Danish cartoons appropriate under freedom of speech criteria? And, in May 2006 (the last issue prior to this one): Should Hamas renounce violence? These articles—and those in the Oct. issue—are intended to provoke debate and stimulate constructive discussion. I trust that we all agree that freedom of speech and openness to different opinions are fundamental to the university's mission and values.

Ann M. Lesch
Dean, School of Humanities and Social Sciences

And this is the AUC Mission statement to which Dr. Lesch refers, presented in its entirety (emphasis mine):

The mission of the American University in Cairo (AUC) is to provide high quality educational opportunities to students from all segments of Egyptian society as well as from other countries, and to contribute to Egypt's cultural and intellectual life. The university offers programs at the undergraduate, graduate and professional levels as well as an extensive continuing education program. The language of instruction is English.

The university advances the ideals of American liberal arts and professional education and of life-long learning. **As freedom of academic expression is fundamental to this effort, AUC encourages the free exchange of ideas** and promotes open and on-going interaction with scholarly institutions throughout Egypt and other parts of the world.

The pursuit of excellence is central to AUC's mission, and the university maintains high standards of academic achievement, professional behavior and ethical conduct. Toward this end it also provides a broad range of disciplines and learning opportunities and strives to contribute to the sum of human knowledge.

The university environment is designed to advance proficient use of the tools of learning as well as students' thinking capabilities, language and personal skills. Through its adult and continuing education programs, the university offers educational opportunities to enhance the professional and job skills of non-degree students.

AUC considers it essential to foster students' appreciation of their own culture and heritage and of their responsibilities to society. The university's aim of promoting international understanding is supported by means of scholarship, learned discourse, a multicultural campus environment, and a diversified publishing program.

To advance its mission, the university seeks to maintain a highly qualified faculty. Emphasis is placed on excellence in teaching as well as on research, creative work and faculty members' intellectual contributions to their disciplines. Outstanding administrative, professional and support staff, leading edge instructional technology and use of other resources are also central to the pursuit of the university's aims.

DESKILLING EGYPTIAN POLICE, PRIVATIZING TORTURE HOSSAM EL-HAMALAWY

Though current news is full of fresh examples of police mistreatment of suspects, like the cases of mass torture in the villages of Bani Mazar and Sarandu, I would like to go back to 1996, and share with readers the story of an Alexandrian named Mohamed Badr Eddin Gomaa. Gomaa went to Montazza police station in February 1996 to report his missing child, Gihad. Some months later, police stormed his house after finding a body they said was his daughter. Gomaa was accused of killing his own daughter and held for a month, during which his lawyers said he was subjected to torture and intimidation, his wife was threatened with rape and his ex-wife and daughter were also illegally detained. Eventually, Gomaa confessed to murdering his daughter. But the police officers faced a slight problem later—Gihad reappeared after the false confession. Gomaa was cleared of murder charges by court in 1998.

I am no detective and have not received the sophisticated training the Egyptian police officers get in their Abbasiya Police Academy, or Mubarak's Academy for Security in New Cairo. But when I covered this case I wondered

why the police had not conducted a DNA test to even confirm the identity of the body they believed to be Gihad's before they went on their torture binge.

The Gomaa case highlights something Egyptian rights activists have been warning about for some time: the Egyptian police's investigative skills are eroding rapidly due to wide dependence on torture.

"Why waste your time in investigations, when you can just extract a confession by a couple of slaps and electric shocks?" asked rights lawyer and member of the Egyptian Association Against Torture, Emad Mubarak, sardonically. "Police officers are not trained anymore in investigations. It starts at the academy, where they are told they are superior to anyone else in society, and whatever they do they'll get away with it."

Most of the victims of torture Emad has come across have been "criminal" suspects, or ordinary citizens caught in the net.

"Let's say there's a murder in some village," Emad said. "Police would simply go in, arrest all adults, men or women, and sometimes children. They torture the suspects, till someone confesses. It doesn't matter then if there is evidence or not.

The only thing that matters is a confession."

Gomaa of Alexandria is "no unique case, but it happened it acquired lots of publicity," Emad said. "We get loads like these each month."

Rights activists like Emad have been ringing alarm bells on what they described as the "privatization of torture" in Egypt. The widespread dependence on torture, carried out by police officers largely immune from prosecution, has meant a systematic pattern of abuse in law enforcement agencies; and this abuse may even be spreading beyond the areas the Egyptian regime wants. Torture has become so endemic that police officers do it as a "favor" sometimes.

In December 2002, I covered the trial of Police Lt. Colonel Arafa Hamza, who was found guilty of beating 19-year-old Ahmad Tamam to death in July 1999, but was handed only a one-year prison sentence. Tamam was neither a terror nor a criminal suspect. He was arrested after a disagreement with his neighbors who vowed revenge using their police connections. Three days later, his family received Ahmad's corpse from al-Umraniya police station. Medical reports proved he died due to torture.

"When everything is being privatized in Egypt, why not torture too?" said Ahmad Seif al-Islam, director of the Hisham Mubarak Law Center, who was Tamam's family lawyer. "The end result is a police force that is incompetent, with shallow investigative skills. Instead their strategy for policing becomes one similar to state-sponsored terror in poor neighborhoods and slums."

...the Egyptian police's investigative skills are eroding rapidly due to wide dependence on torture...

HUMAN RIGHTS IN EGYPT: A SEARCH FOR A PUBLIC ATTITUDE

MONA HEIKAL

Whenever I read the phrase of "human rights in Egypt," I automatically recall some scenes in my mind: soldiers were beating student demonstrators at Cairo University; soldiers were launching "raids" against street sellers, confiscating goods; a mother was beating her child because he left her hand and played; a school teacher was shouting at her students using "nasty" words. Added to that, university professors were threatening their students or were favoring some students over others.

Frankly speaking, I am ashamed to see such inhuman acts from the followers of the religion that highly respects and encourages humanity, humanization and privacy; even in sins (if someone commits a sin and no one knew about it, one should secretly regret it in front of God only). There is a story from early Islam about a drunk one who was seen in street unconscious. The Qadi punished him according to Shari'a, but told his baliffs not to pour out the bottles, after all the drunk had paid money in buying them and he was already punished, let him pour them out himself. This is how the sinful should be treated, so their hearts will not be filled with anger

against those acting in righteousness.

Hence, we can we imagine how deeply hurt inside are those who just tried to express their opinions. Journalists are beaten, dehumanized, put into custody, and detained! What for? Nothing but saying some words. They should be guaranteed the right as Egyptian citizens to express their views to the public and let the people be the judge. The same abuse is applied to judges, university professors, trade-unionists, and—amazingly—members of parliament.

Undoubtedly, the breaching of the human rights in Egypt has reached a severe level to the extent that it will not be easily recovered. The security machine is only one branch of the problem. We are currently witnessing unhealthy intra-relationships between the classes of the society. People now are practicing tyranny and oppression over each other to the level that a small employee in a small office is practicing the "Pharonic" style as far as she or he can.

Still, perhaps the origin of the problem returns back to the time when only "soldiers" (and whomsoever is attached to them) had all the rights, while the bulk of the society was deprived of their basic rights. Yet, any

who dare to open their mouths were buried in a hollow of forgetfulness and darkness.

Accordingly, Egyptian society is suffering from a wide rift. Hopefully, this rift is not too deep to be healed. There was a time when the representatives of the prosecutor practiced their rights of inspecting jails and prisons, but regrettably this was before the 1952 revolution. Who is going to inspect universities, public offices, businesses: public or private, schools, houses, or worship places? Who is going to inspect consciences?

Please do not misunderstand me. I know, it should not be left for God because God is already inspecting all of us. My point is, people should be raised from their childhood on how to preserve and defend their rights to live an honorable life. Nevertheless, a mechanism to watch human rights in Egypt should be established. And what is most needed—and perhaps the fastest way—is humanizing ourselves and being more keen to each other. It might sound platonic, but why not? Life is in need of some romantic hopes now and then.

...a mechanism to watch human rights in Egypt should be established. And what is most needed—and perhaps the fastest way—is humanizing ourselves...

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GARTH HALL

- January 2 Hundreds of the Sudanese refugees who were arrested on December 30 and detained in Cairo-area detention camps were released. Hundreds more (approximately 654) remained in detention and were scheduled to be deported to Sudan on January 6.
- January 5 The deportation of 654 Sudanese refugees slated for January 6 was postponed for one week so UNHCR could determine which Sudanese are legal refugees.
- January 5 Amnesty International called for an investigation into how 27 Sudanese refugees came to die during the December 30 police raid.
- January 11 164 of the 654 Sudanese refugees slated for deportation were not deported, but were instead released.
- January 17 The US declared that it intends to postpone free trade talks with Egypt due to the December 24, 2005 court sentencing of Ayman Nour to five years of prison for alleged election law violations.
- Egyptian officials declared that they no longer plan on deporting any of the Sudanese refugees still in detention.
- January 18 233 more of the Sudanese refugees slated for deportation were not deported, but were instead released. At this point, 183 of the original 654 Sudanese refugees slated for deportation remain detained.
- A mob of Muslim Egyptians attacked a mob of Coptic Christian Egyptians in the village of El Udaysaat, near Luxor. One Egyptian was killed and 12 were injured in the attack. The day before the attack, it had been discovered that the Coptic Egyptians were secretly using a guest house as a church.
- January 20 Egyptian State Security violently dispersed a group of Ghad supporters holding up "Free Ayman Nour" signs at the entrance of the Africa Cup stadium.
- January 26 The Philippine government reported that Filipina Veronica Bangit had returned to the Philippines two months after escaping from her Cairo employers and that she gave accounts of being abused during her employment there as a domestic servant.
- January 28 MB MPs walked out of Egypt's parliament to protest the expulsion of a fellow MP who had criticized the government for letting a French warship through the Suez Canal.
- January 28 A family court refused Hind El Hinnawy's request that the actor, Ahmed El Fishawy, be recognized as the father of El Hinnawy daughter. The court ruled that while the DNA test showed El Fishawy was the father, El Hinnawy could not produce proof that they he had agreed to a marriage, secret or otherwise.
- January 29 Egyptian officials declared that 143 of 183 Sudanese refugees remaining in detention were to be released.
- January 30 MB MPs called for a boycott against Denmark due to the Jyllands-Posten cartoons of Mohammad that appeared in that country.

This is a running timeline of Egyptian human rights abuses and events which documents breeches of freedom of speech, assembly, religion, etc, up to November 19th of this year. I'm going to post this list on wikipedia, and students who want to make corrections or additions should look for it there.

- February 3 The Al-Salaam ferry sank due to negligent maintenance, killing at least 1,014.
- February 3 Egyptian authorities detained U.K. lawmaker George Galloway overnight in an airport prison cell, allegedly for reasons of national security.
- February 12 Egypt's upper house of parliament approved a two-year postponement of municipal elections, putting them off from April 2006 to April 2008. The MB MPs protested this move, which extended the terms of 4,500 office-holders.
- February 12 Authorities banned the latest Arabic edition of the German magazine Der Spiegel, which contained Jyllands-Posten cartoons of Mohammad.
- February 13 Hundreds of family members of the victims of the Al-Salaam ferry disaster stormed the shipping company offices in Safaga. Riot police resorted to throwing tear gas in an attempt to restore order.
- February 13 Thousands of students demonstrated at Al-Azhar against the Jyllands-Posten cartoons.
- February 16 Hesham Bastawissi, Ahmed Mekky, and two other judges were taken in for police questioning.
- February 18 Three MB members were ordered to stand trial on charges of possessing weapons and provoking violence.
- February 18 Ayman Nour's lawyers filed an appeal and requested suspension of his sentence until this appeal had been ruled on.
- February 21 400 Cairo University students, mostly from the Kifaya or al-Ghad groups, shouted anti-Mubarak slogans and accused his regime of corruption and rigging last year's elections. The protest coincided with Secretary Rice's visit to Cairo.
- February 28 Authorities released three British Islamic fundamentalists after they spent nearly three years in prison for membership of a banned religious party.
- March 3 Police arrested seven MB student activists for holding a meeting, at which they were planning an anti-cartoon protest.
- March 3 Police arrested Rashad al-Bayoumi, a Cairo University professor and a member of the MB's 13-member Guidance Bureau.
- March 3 Egypt-based political website www.masreyat.org was shut down by state-owned internet company TE Data.
- March 5 Police arrested 12 MB members who were holding a meeting in Cairo's Zahraa el-Maadi district.
- March 6 Police arrested 5 MB members in Giza and Ismailiya on

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	charges of plotting to "revive the group's activities."		that they telling the press that they witnessed electoral fraud in the November-December parliamentary elections.
March 7	Authorities filed new charges against Ayman Nour, including beating a police officer with a stick on Election Day and calling Mubarak "ineffective" and "a loser" during a political rally last fall.	April 17	Police detained another Muslim Egyptian who entered a Cairo church with a knife, three days after the fatal Abdel-Rizziq knife attacks in Alexandria.
March 8	Police shut down the MB newspaper Afaq Arabiya (Arab Horizons) and arrested four MB members.	April 24	Three nearly simultaneous bombings in the Sinai resort town of Dahab kill 23.
March 16	A sit-in vigil was held in Cairo's Tahrir Square to demonstrate support of the Egyptian judges calling for electoral reforms.		At a sit-in in front of Judges' Club, police arrested 15 activists who were demonstrating in solidarity with Judges Mekky and Bastawissi.
March 17	Nearly 1,000 Egyptian judges held a half-hour silent protest to demonstrate for full judicial independence and against the government's order to interrogate of six of their colleagues who criticized recent elections.	April 24	At a sit-in in front of Judges Club, police beat Judge Mahmoud Mohammed Abdel Latif Hamza, hospitalizing him with minor injuries.
March 17	The head of Egypt's Coptic Orthodox Church strongly rejected a court order obliging the church to let followers remarry after obtaining a civil divorce	April 24	Police arrested blogger Ahmed Droubi.
March 22	Prime Minister Nazif announced that the emergency laws would soon be replaced by new anti-terrorism laws.	April 26	Police arrested Al-Jazeera's Cairo bureau chief, Egyptian Hussein Abdel Ghani. Police then detained Ghani in Dahab on charges of propagating false news for his coverage of the aftermath of the April 24 bomb attacks.
March 24	An Alexandria police officer allegedly killed Egyptian teenager Youssef Khamis Ibrahim by shooting him in the head.	April 26	Police violently broke up a pro-Judges demonstration taking place outside the Judges' Syndicate.
April 3	Several hundred Egyptians tried to break into Alexandria's El-Montazah police station to take revenge for the alleged slaying of teenager Youssef Khamis Ibrahim.	April 26	Two suicide bombers attacked security personnel and foreign peacekeepers in Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, but did not cause any injuries to their targets.
April 3	Authorities forced several Egyptian judges to cancel meetings they had scheduled with a delegation from the NGO Human Rights Watch.	April 27	Police detained dozens of demonstrators who were participating in pro-Judges demonstrations.
April 9	Egyptian authorities barred jailed opposition leader Ayman Nour from sending any more articles to his party's newspaper.	April 27	Police arrested blogger Malek Mostafa at a pro-Judges rally.
April 11	Egyptian authorities released 300 former members of the Gama'a al-Islamiya (Islamic Group) terrorist group. 650 others from this group had been released in the previous six weeks.	April 27	An Egyptian court released Al-Jazeera's Cairo bureau chief Hussein Abdel Ghani on bail and charged him with propagating lies for his reporting on the April 24 Dahab bombings.
April 14	Muslim Egyptian Mahmoud Salah-Eddin Abdel-Rizziq stabbed to death Coptic Christian Egyptian Nushi Atta Girgis and wounded fifteen others when he made consecutive attacks on three churches in Alexandria.	April 27	Over the past four days, police arrested over 51 pro-Judges demonstrators.
April 15	A mob of Muslim Egyptians attacked a funeral procession for Nushi Atta Girgis in the Sidi Bishr district of Alexandria. Egyptian police intervened, using tear gas to disperse the violence. 15 Egyptians were injured and 15 were arrested.	April 28	Police arrested Amir Salem and Ehab el Kholy, the two main lawyers for Ayman Nour, on charges of inciting the masses and insulting the president.
April 15	Police arrested five MB publishers for printing material that opposed the upcoming renewal of the emergency law.	April 30	Prime Minister Nazif called for a two-year extension of the Emergency Laws in light of the April 24 Dahab bombings. The Egyptian parliament approved the extension that same day, by a 287-91 vote.
April 16	Police arrested 43 students on suspicion that they were members of the MB.	May 2	Police broke up a Labor Day demo in downtown Cairo's Tahrir Square.
April 16	Mobs of Muslim Egyptians and Christian Egyptians continued to attack each other in Alexandria. Over course of the weekend, 2 were killed, 40 wounded, and over 100 arrested.	May 4	Police arrested 23 MB in response to the group's campaign against the Emergency Laws.
April 17	Authorities summoned Mahmud Mekky and Hisham Al Bastawissi to a disciplinary hearing for telling the press	May 6	40 activists being held at Tora Penitentiary launched a hunger strike in protest of being detained with criminal convicts.
		May 7	A South Cairo Court in Bab Al Khelk summoned Mahmud Mekky and Hisham Al Bastawissi to their court sessions.
		May 7	Police arrested blogger Alaa Seif al-Islam and ten other Egyptians demonstrating outside the South Cairo Court.
		May 10	Egyptian cleric Osama Mustafa Hassan Nasr, who allegedly was abducted from an Italian street by CIA officers

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	and turned over to Egypt in 2003, made allegations that he was beaten repeatedly in the early stages of his imprisonment, including while he was in U.S. custody.		
May 11	A High Court summoned Judges Mekky and Bastawisi to appear, but the two Judges refused to enter the court amid such a large presence of police.	June 3	An Egyptian court released Nael Abdel Hamid and Ihab Mahmoud (arrested April 24).
May 11	Outside the Judges Club, the police attacked and beat anyone who tried to demonstrate, clubbing men and women as well as at least half a dozen journalists trying to cover the events. Authorities arrested 255 demonstrators and journalists.	June 3	An Egyptian court ordered Ahmad Maher, Yasser Ismail, and Adel Fawzi to be detained for another 15 days.
May 17	The Minister of Interior issued an order banning any peaceful assemblies or demonstrations in front of the High Court Building.	June 4	Police arrested nine senior MB members.
May 18	A Supreme Judicial Council disciplinary tribunal exonerated Judge Mekky on charges that he had "disparaged the Supreme Judicial Council" and "talked to the press about political affairs." But on the same grounds, the court issued a rebuke and denied a promotion to Judge Bastawisi.	June 4	An Egyptian court released activists Asmaa Ali, Ahmad Abdel Gawad and Ahmad Abdel Ghaffar.
May 18	Police arrested over 300 pro-reform protesters and beat several others.	June 4	An Egyptian court ordered Alaa Seif al-Islam, Nada al-Qassas, and Rasha Azab to be detained for another 15 days.
May 18	A Cairo appeals court upheld the December 2005 conviction and 5-year prison sentence of Ayman Nour.	June 5	Police beat and sexually assaulted Seham Mamdouh Mahmoud at the Ain Shams police station. Allegedly, police detained her in a solitary cell for an hour, then repeatedly kicked her in the abdomen when she fought off an officer's attempt to grope her breasts and rape her. The police then released her the same night.
May 25	300 pro-reform judges staged a sit-in outside the High Court Building to demand the independence of Egypt's judiciary.	June 5	The Foreign Ministry demanded that the International Republican Institute, a U.S. NGO which promotes democracy, suspend its activities in the country.
May 25	Police arrested Karim el-Shaar and Mohamed el-Sharqawi at a pro-judges demonstration outside the Journalists' Syndicate. Police then tortured and sodomized Sharqawi at a Cairo police station.	June 6	An Egyptian court ordered Kamal Khalil, Ibrahim el-Sahari, Wael Khalil and 21 other activists to be detained for another 15 days. The three have been detained since April 26-27.
May 28	Prison medical authorities administered a medical exam on Mohamed el-Sharqawi but did not treat him for his injuries.	June 6	An Egyptian court ordered 164 MB activists to be detained for another 15 days. Most of the group of 164 were originally detained between May 11 and May 18.
May 28	The Azbakeya Misdemeanor Court sentenced Azbakeya police officers Amr Saudi and Yasser Al Tawel to three months in prison and a hundred pound fine for beating Hossam Al Saeed Mohamed Amer on October 8 2003.	June 7	An Egyptian court ordered Mohamed el-Sharqawi, Kareem el-Sha3er, and 50 MB members to be detained for another 15 days. Sharqawi had been detained since May 25, the 50 MB members since May 11.
May 29	A dozen Tora Penitentiary detainees launched a hunger strike to demonstrate against the torture of Mohamed el-Sharqawi.	June 7	The Egyptian Parliament postponed discussion of the judicial reforms bill.
May 30	Protestors demonstrated in front of the Doctors' Syndicate against the torture of Mohamed el-Sharqawi.	June 8	An Egyptian court released Ashraf Ibarhim from Tora Prison and Rasha Azab from Qanater Prison.
June 1	Protesters demonstrated in front of the Kasr el Nil police station to demonstrate against the torture of Mohamed el-Sharqawi.	June 12	Police shot rubber bullets and tear gas at a MB protest that was being held in support of prominent MB member Hassan al-Hayawan, who was on trial in the town of Zagazig. Police injured ten Egyptians and briefly detained 110 others.
June 1	Police detained, beat, and released activists Adel Mashad, Emad Mubarak and Ayman Ayad.	June 12	A Zagazig State Security Emergency Court acquitted MB member Hassan al-Hayawan of charges of illegal possession of weapons and belonging to an illegal organization.
June 1	Police beat LA Times correspondent Hossam el-Hamalawy.	June 12	Police detained MB member Hassan al-Hayawan immediately he was acquitted.
June 2	Police assaulted BBC correspondents Dina Samak and Dina Gameel while the two are reporting on a meeting of the General Assembly of the Journalists' Syndicate.	June 12	Mohamed el-Sharqawi wrote a letter documenting Tora Prison's neglect for his broken bones.
June 3	Police seized 2,000 pirated DVDs of "The DaVinci Code" and the Egyptian Coptic Christian church demanded the	June 13	Culture Minister Farouk Hosni moved to ban the film "The DaVinci Code."
		June 16	Egyptian Organization for Human Rights released a statement opposing Culture Minister Farouk Hosni's calls to ban the film "The DaVinci Code."
		June 17	An Egyptian court released activists Ahmad Maher, Adel

HUMAN RIGHTS IN EGYPT: A 2006 TIMELINE

	Fawzi Tawfeeq el-Gazzar, and Yasser Ismail Zakki.	July 9	Authorities referred 18 MB leaders for trial, among them leading politburo member Essam al-Eryan, along with hundreds of other MB members arrested during recent protests in support of judicial reform.
June 18	A self-professedly devout Egyptian woman in a museum destroyed three sculptures by Egyptian artist Hassan Heshmat. The attack followed a fatwa issued by the Grand Mufti of Cairo, Ali Gomaa, which banned all decorative statues of living beings.	July 9	Three hundred opposition journalists and supporters gathered in front of the Cairo Parliament Building to protest the proposed new press law.
June 19	Police arrested 31 MB members in the North Coast town of Marsa Matrouh on charges of holding illegal meetings.	July 10	Parliament passed the new press law, which includes huge fines for journalists who insult the president. Under the legislation, journalists found to be critical of government officials are liable to receive up to five years in prison or a fine of up to US \$5220, while editors can be fined up to US \$3480.
June 21	The Yacoubian Building opened amid criticism, acclaim, and calls for censorship.	July 10	An Administrative Court ruled in favor of blocking blogs that "threaten national security."
June 22	An Egyptian court released Alaa Seif al-Islam from Tora Prison. Alaa had been imprisoned since May 7.	July 11	Bishop Maximus held a widely-covered news conference.
June 22	An Egyptian court released Kefaya activists Kamal Khalil, Gamal Abdel Fattah, Wael Khalil, Ibrahim el-Sahary and 16 others from Tora prison.	July 13	Dr. Osama al-Ghazali Harb launched the liberal Democratic Front Party.
June 22	An Egyptian court ordered Karim el-Shaaer and Mohamed el-Sharqawi to be detained for another 15 days.	July 14	One thousand Egyptians demonstrated at al-Azhar Mosque against Israel and in support of Lebanon and Palestine.
June 23	An Egyptian court sentenced Al-Dustour chief editor Ibrahim Issa and reporter Sahar Zaki to a year's imprisonment for insulting the president. In April, the Al-Dustour newspaper reported on a lawsuit that accused Egyptian President Mubarak of misusing public money during the privatization of state-owned companies. The man who filed the lawsuit, Said Abdullah, was also given a year's jail. The three were also fined 10,000 Egyptian pounds.	July 15	One hundred and fifty Egyptians at the Press Syndicate demonstrated against the detention of Karim el-Shaaer, Mohamed el-Sharqawi, and numerous MB members.
June 23	Three hundred demonstrators at the Press Syndicate called for the release of protestors that were being detained with criminals at Tora Prison.	July 17	One hundred and fifty Egyptians at the Dar el Hekma Doctor's Syndicate demonstrated against Israel and in support of Lebanon and Palestine.
June 23	London-based Arab Press Freedom Watch condemned the Education Ministry's decision to fail secondary-school student Alia Farag Megahed for criticizing Mubarak and US President Bush in a final-exam paper.	July 20	An Egyptian court released Karim el-Shaaer and Mohamed el-Sharqawi from Tora Prison. Police had arrested them May 25.
June 30	Thousands of worshippers at the Al-Azhar Mosque protested against Israel's onslaught on the Gaza Strip.	July 21	Five thousand Egyptians at al-Azhar Mosque demonstrated against Israel and in support of Lebanon and Palestine. Police forced them to stay inside the mosque.
July 4	A group of Coptic Christians began legal proceedings to sue Bishop Maximus I for setting up an alternative orthodox church in Egypt	July 21	Three thousand Egyptians at various Alexandria mosques demonstrated against Israel and in support of Lebanon and Palestine.
July 5	112 MPs called for the censorship of the film "The Yacoubian Building."	July 26	One thousand Egyptians in Cairo's Tahrir Square demonstrated against Israel and in support of Lebanon and Palestine.
July 5	Police prevented pro-Gaza demonstrators from gathering downtown.	July 28	One thousand Egyptians at Giza's al-Istiqama mosque demonstrated against Israel and in support of Lebanon and Palestine.
July 5	An Egyptian court released 98 MB members.	July 28	One thousand Egyptians at al-Azhar Mosque demonstrated against Israel and in support of Lebanon and Palestine.
July 5	An Egyptian court ordered Karim el-Shaaer and Mohamed el-Sharqawi to be detained for another 15 days.	July 28	Five hundred Egyptians in the Delta city of Mansoura demonstrated against Israel and in support of Lebanon and Palestine.
July 8	Twenty-six Egyptian newspapers did not print in a show of protest against the proposed new press law.	July 29	Police arrested Mohamed Hegazi, Fathi Farid, & two other Kefaya activists in Port Said. The three were participating in a 50th anniversary march for the nationalization of the Suez Canal. Police released them the next day.
July 8	Three thousand demonstrated in Cairo's Tahrir Square against the proposed new press law.	July 30	One hundred MPs marched towards the US embassy, demanding the expulsion of the Israeli and US ambassa-
July 8	Police again prevented pro-Gaza demonstrators from gathering downtown. Police arrested 27 MB members.		

HUMAN RIGHTS IN EGYPT: A 2006 TIMELINE

	dors.	October 3	Professor Hassan Hanafi received several death threats after he compared the Koran with a supermarket and said that in both "you can find whatever you are looking for." Hanafi's remarks were made at a seminar organized by the Alexandria Library.
August 6	Ayman Nour was hospitalized for heart surgery.		
August 11	Thousands of Egyptians at Cairo's Al-Azhar mosque demonstrated against Israel and in support of Lebanon and Palestine. Security forces and plainclothes thugs clashed with the demonstrators, banning them from marching in the streets.	October 13	Police arrested eight MB in the Nile Delta governorate of Menoufiya on charges of belonging to an illegal organization and possessing anti-government pamphlets.
August 11	Police arrested Kefaya activist Ahmad Fayedd while breaking up an anti-Israel demonstration in the Fayyoun oasis town of Snoris.	October 23	An Egyptian court ordered MB members Essam Al-Eriyan and Mohamed Morsi to be detained for another 15 days.
August 13	Al Ahram reversed a previous move and unblocked employees' access to several blogs and independent political websites. The Labour Party website and several others remained blocked.	October 24	Mobs of young men roamed downtown Cairo, groping and trying to rape several women. These mobs continued to roam downtown over the rest of the Eid holiday weekend.
August 14	An Egyptian court released MB politburo members Essam al-Eryan and Mohammed Morsi, both of whom had been detained since April.	October 25	An Egyptian court released Hassan Abdallah, the coordinator of Sinai's Youth for Change organization. Hassan had been detained by State Security in Arish on September 7 and had been granted no access to lawyers or family visits during his detention.
August 16	State prosecution has the order to release MB members Essam al-Eryan and Mohammed Morsi overturned. An Egyptian court then ordered Essam and Morsi to be detained for another 15 days.	October 28	Police detained Mohamed Hassan, a Workers for Change activist, for three hours.
August 18	Police arrested 17 MB members in the Nile Delta town Menoufia on charges of holding a meeting aimed at reviving the banned group's activities.	October 29	Police beat student demonstrators at Ain Shams University campus in Abbassiya. Student union elections were increasing tensions between state-supported candidates, MB candidates, and others. These clashes at Ain Shams University between students, other students, police, and hired thugs, would continue for three days.
August 25	Police arrested 17 MB members, including MB secretary-general Mahmoud Ezzat and senior member Lasheen Abu Shanab.	October 31	A court in Cairo sentenced parliamentarian Talaat Al-Sadat to one year in prison for implicating the army in his uncle's assassination. Sadat was tried in front of a military court, which does not allow appeal.
August 26	Police arrested four MB in the Upper Egyptian governorate of Beni Suef.	October 31	Students at Helwan University protested after state authorities banned MB candidates from running.
September 7	70 detainees at a Damanhour prison held a hunger strike in protest of their 2004 imprisonment.	November 1	Thousands of MB and leftist students demonstrated at Cairo University campus in Giza, protesting the new ban against MB candidates in the student union elections.
September 9	Orbit TV show "Al Qahira Al Youm" hosted a discussion between Karama editor Abdel Halim Qandil and Rose Al Youssef editor Karam Gabr. Karama is a Nasserist newspaper and Rose Al Youssef is a pro-Gamal newspaper. The two began a shouting match and Qandil called the latter a state security informant while Gabr accused him of taking money from the Libyans.	November 6	Eight hundred detainees at Abu Zaabal prison staged a hunger strike in protest of mistreatment and lack of visitation rights.
September 10	The Entertainment Censorship Committee denied MB member Mukhtar Nouh a CD distribution license. MB member and former MP Nouh was planning on releasing his first CD with political songs.	November 6	Police arrested blogger Abdel Karim Nabil Suleiman.
September 12	A speech by Pope Benedict XVI at University of Regensburg in Germany set off protests in Cairo and across the Middle East.	November 8	An Egyptian court ordered Abdel Karim to be detained for another 15 days.
September 17	Egypt's public prosecutor charged 14 employees of the state's railway authority with negligence. One month previous, on August 21, a rail accident in Qalyub led to the deaths of 56 Egyptians.	November 9	One hundred protesters outside downtown Cairo's Journalists' Syndicate demonstrated against the failure of authorities to stop the October 23 and 24 sexual harassment gangs in Tahrir Square.
September 24	Authorities banned editions of French newspaper Le Figaro and German newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung because of articles deemed insulting to Islam.	November 13	Police arrested and released Mohamed el-Ashkar, a Giza Kifaya activist.
September 25	An Egyptian court released prominent MB member Mohamed Al-Hayawan, who has been detained since December 2005.	November 17	The MB called for Culture Minister Faruq Hosni to be sacked for his statement that the wearing of Islamic veils was a "regressive" trend.
		November 19	Police arrested blogger Rami Siyam in downtown Cairo. Siyam has been running his blog since May 2005 and usually he posts material critical to the government such as police torture and operation of political opponents.

LECTURE OF AMR HAMZAWY LENKA BENOVA

On October 11 the Gerhart Center for Philanthropy and Civic Engagement at AUC organized a lecture by Dr. Amr Hamzawy entitled "Social Activism in Transforming Politics, Egypt 2004-2006." Dr. Hamzawy is an Egyptian political scientist who previously taught at Cairo University and the Free University of Berlin. Currently at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, his research interests include the changing dynamics of political participation in the Arab world, the role of Islamist opposition groups in Arab politics, with special attention both to Egypt and the Gulf countries. He received his Ph.D. from the Free University of Berlin, M.A. from the Institute of Social Studies in the Hague; an M.A. from the University of Amsterdam; and a B.Sc. from Cairo University.

Summary

Dr. Hamzawy set out to examine the level and forms of social activism between years 2004-6 in Egypt and compare their characteristics to other situations of political transformation in the world (i.e. Latin America, Asia and Eastern Europe). He conceded that despite the increasing dynamism and entry of new actors into the political scene during the last two

years, the strength of authoritarian regimes remains high. After much reform rhetoric, only minor concessions in the process of opening up the governance process have been acceded to. At the same time, the Lebanon war of summer 2006 diminished the power of the democratization discourse and focused attention back to the resistance narrative, a narrative which is inherently undemocratic and carries a dehumanizing image of the "other".

Dr. Hamzawy then outlined the characteristics of the social activism environment in transitional situations. Firstly, he observed that activism takes on new and creative forms of engagement, including new actors (i.e. private mass media in Latin America or clergy involvement in political movements in socialist Eastern Europe) and new strategies of mobilization that go beyond politics. Secondly, he mentioned that traditionally taboo zones are transcended in public discourse, issues he calls "red zones". One example of such red zone could be the topic of military engagement in political life in Africa and corruption in governmental affairs in Latin America. Thirdly, a transitional environment can be perceived by divisions that appear within

the ruling establishment. Such "cracks" could be the separation between moderates and hard-lines, and a public awareness of such competing camps empowers citizens to participate in civil society. Fourthly, new patterns and actors within social activism appear and broach into areas of the discourse heretofore unexplored, transcend the previous solely ideological debates, but at the same time require a democratic framework for functioning. Lastly, Dr. Hamzawy remarked that transitional environments lead to a higher degree of citizen engagement through the new forms and contents of activism.

The above general outline of the character of transitional environments lead Dr. Hamzawy to providing concrete examples of Egypt between 2004-2006. In the case of transcending "red lines", he noted that the issue of presidency (constitutional right and possible succession in the family), as well as the role of the security apparatus are an example of topics never before discussed publicly. Actors on the socio-political scene were able to reach wider segments of population, in the case of Muslim Brotherhood, through re-designed rhetoric to fit the



Amr Hamzawy

(Picture courtesy of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace website)

...in case the Muslim Brotherhood achieved power due to the level of popular support, he was doubtful of the sincerity of their reform agenda...

democratization debate and in the case of Kifeya, by the use of innovative techniques (internet, text-messaging), deployed to reach wider participation in crucial events. Dr. Hamzawy observed a developing division within NDP ruling establishment, whereby a reform camp and a hard-line fraction developed. He also noted that such divisions may lead to a successful alliance between a reform branch of the regime with opposition forces, as was the case in Rumania and Argentina. Public debates in Egypt explored and criticized areas of presidential succession and constitutional reform, and achieved greater citizen engagement. However, this engagement increased in frequency of demonstrations and not necessarily in the number of people involved as well as often the display of public protest was tied to regional (e.g., HAMAS election victory in early 2006) and not domestic affairs; nonetheless, these events were tied to the discourse of democratization.

Two observations were made about the nature of political life in Egypt during this time. Firstly, the speaker pointed out that the secular and Islamist divisions were willing to transcend ideological divides used by the ruling regime to "divide and rule". Secondly, he perceived that the democratization narrative had become dominant, as a

result of which the regime lost control of public space for the expression of discontent. In all, he expressed his frustration that despite the vibrancy and dynamism of social activism in Egypt, it is proving a very inefficient mechanism for achieving concrete results (for instance, the failure of protests of judges to increase their level of independence from the executive power). The reasons for this are two-fold; the power structures' (i.e. security apparatus and patrimonial networks) grip on control is still very strong and the number of people that are participating in social activism has not yet achieved a significant level to create substantial pressure on the regime.

Therefore, the process of winning democratic concessions from the regime in power continue to be gradual and progressive, due to the three most likely scenarios that would follow the presidency of Hosni Mubarak. The alliance between Gamal Mubarak and the private sector, option number one, will present a homogenous albeit undemocratic front. A successor from the traditional sources of power, the security apparatus or the army, will also not be interested in advancing an agenda of political liberalization. Thirdly, in case the Muslim Brotherhood achieved power due to the level of popular support, he was

doubtful of the sincerity of their reform agenda and expressed a fear that despite their willingness to avoid confrontation, the Muslim Brotherhood may radicalize once in power. In response to an audience question, Dr. Hamzawy elaborated on his distrust of the Muslim Brotherhood by characterizing their internal organizational structure as totalitarian, non-transparent as well as noting that the level of populism visible during the Lebanon war in order to cater to their constituency was politically irresponsible and disconcerting.

The speaker concluded his lecture by conceding that the Egyptian ruling regime has put the democracy agenda on the back-burner due to immediate concerns with succession.

Dr. Hamzawy elaborated on his distrust of the Muslim Brotherhood by characterizing their internal organizational structure as totalitarian...

MAKING IRAQ'S OIL WORK FOR IRAQIS

RORY A. MCNAMARA

As politicians across the Atlantic and inside the Green Zone struggle to formulate a course of action in Iraq, much of their debate has centered around two notions: stabilizing Iraq through military strength, and legitimating the Iraqi government through political means. While these goals have obvious importance, actual strategies for achieving such success have been scant. Looking forward, Iraqi officials and their foreign advisors must focus on specific measures which can both promote security and bolster the Iraqi government.

An important and logical step in these directions is asserting Iraqi government control over national oil resources. Failure to do so thus far has contributed to a prolonged occupation, an unceasing insurgency, and a less than robust Iraqi government. In reformulating their joint strategies, the Iraqi government and its coalition partners would be well served by making a more sustained attempt at securing Iraq's oil production capacities. Furthermore, efforts should be made to ensure that the long in-the-works Iraqi oil law guarantees just and equitable distribution of oil revenues to all of Iraq's sectarian communities. In

other words, Iraq needs to make its oil work for Iraqis.

Resource Squandered

In the words of Iraqi Oil minister Hussein al-Shahristani, "[oil is] a resource that has been a curse for Iraqis – its revenues have often been abused and utilized by tyranny to persecute the Iraqi people." Indeed, both during the B'ath Party's reign and in the chaos that has ensued in Iraq since the U.S.-led invasion in 2003, average Iraqis have seen few of the benefits of oil revenue.

Since the nationalization of Iraq's oil industry in 1972 until the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime, the ruling B'ath Party and its mostly-Sunni constituency controlled oil revenues. These revenues were hardly distributed equally; the official B'ath Party grew to encompass 10 percent of the Iraqi population with countless others' loyalty insured through patronage and by incorporation into a large Sunni-dominated public sector funded by oil. Corruption was widespread, especially in the 1990s, with those in power lining their pockets with Oil for Food revenues. B'athists even reportedly established a 'rainy day' fund, into which they funneled five percent of oil revenues, for contingen-

cies such as their forced removal from power.

Oil has obvious political importance, today accounting for over 90 percent of Iraqi government receipts. Not surprisingly, much of the present-day animosity, insurgency, and sectarian strife are results of the friction caused by Iraq's various sects attempting to steer the post-Saddam state to their own benefit. The oil-rich south and north, largely inhabited by the resurgent Shi'i and Kurdish communities, seek a share of power more in line with their wealth of resources; the once dominant and oil-poor Sunnis of central Iraq fear being isolated from political power and national oil revenues.

More than just a resource which Iraq's feuding factions struggle to control, oil is also a major source of funding for the insurgency. In early 2006, Iraqi finance minister 'Ali Allawi publicly estimated that insurgents make off with between 40 and 50 percent of all national oil-smuggling profits. Allawi's estimate, when combined with Iraq Revenue Watch's estimate that oil-smuggling cost Iraq between \$2.5 billion and \$4 billion in 2005 alone, indicates a staggering source of funding for insurgents.

Oil has obvious political importance, today accounting for over 90 percent of Iraqi government receipts.

Even as oil production levels have recently flirted with the prewar level of 2.5 million barrels per day, oil is still a vastly underutilized resource for the Iraqi government. Corruption continues to divert revenues from government coffers and the oil infrastructure has been the target of repeated sabotage and attack. Oil pipelines and other infrastructure have languished under U.N. imposed sanctions and the B'ath Party's tendency to eschew foreign investment. Current infrastructure re-

mains below the standards of other oil producing countries and is inadequate for Iraq to pursue production proportionate to its status as the world's second-largest holder of proven reserves.

Fueling the Future

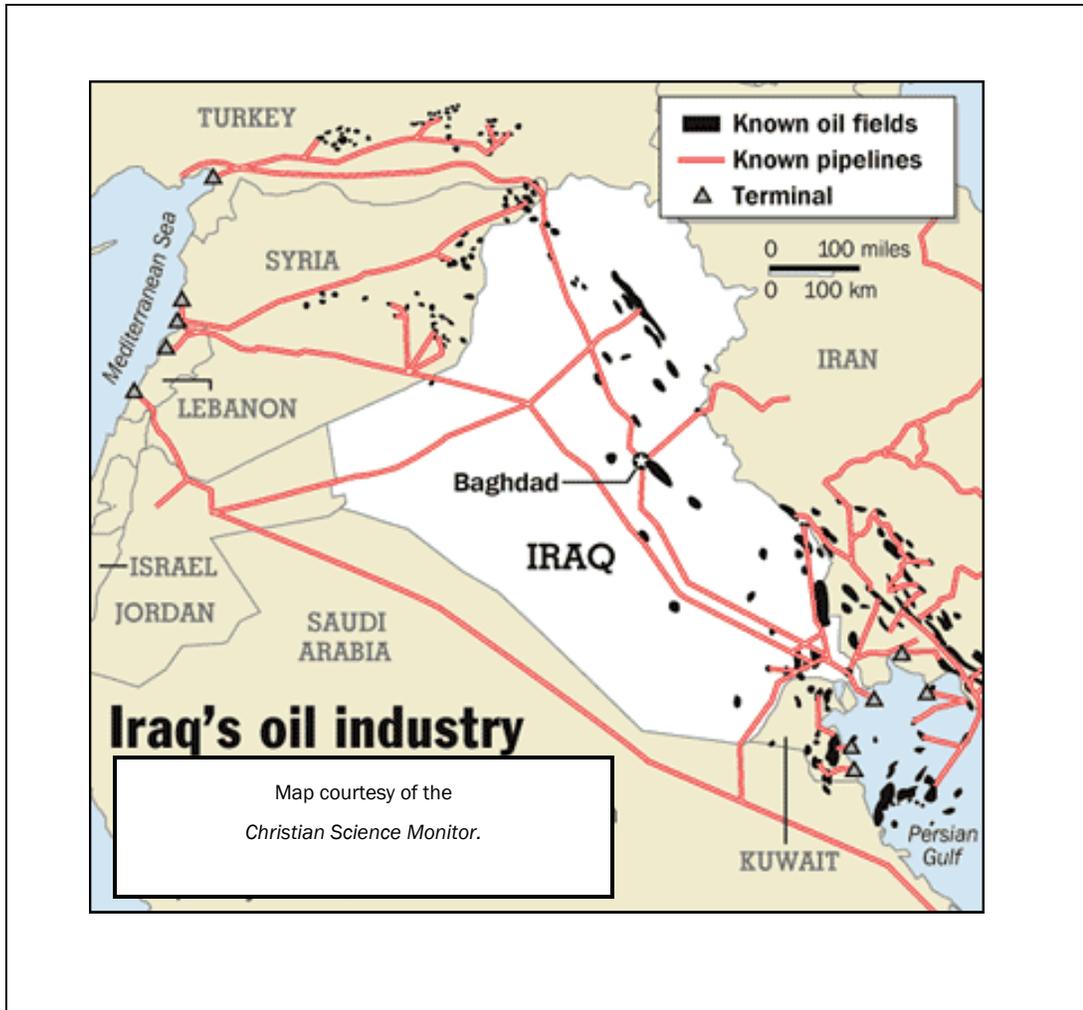
To reverse the current trend in under-utilization of oil resources, Iraq and its coalition allies need to focus on three primary concerns: 1) pas-

sage of a reasonable and practical national oil law, 2) improving and expanding infrastructure, and 3) an oil-specific security plan sufficient to allow for consistent oil exports.

First, the long-anticipated oil law is due for presentation before the Iraqi Parliament prior to the end of the year. The IMF has made the end of the year deadline a condition for future programs in Iraq, and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad made the law one of his six 'key-tasks'

to be completed by year's end. The law is expected to resolve contentious issues such as revenue sharing and the role of foreign companies in producing Iraq's oil. Though debate over the legislation will no doubt be heated, Iraqi and coalition politicians must be forthright in their calls for a just and equitable distribution of revenues and an agreement that encourages foreign investment in Iraq's production capacities without 'giving away' Iraqi resources.

Iraqi finance minister 'Ali Allawi publicly estimated that insurgents make off with between 40 and 50 percent of all national oil-smuggling profits...



Iraqi politicians admit that agreeing on a formula for sharing oil revenues will be a difficult task, but also that there must be agreement if there is to be any hope of a unified Iraq surviving its current tribulations. Another issue of contention among those concerned with the oil law is the probability it will allow foreign oil companies unprecedented access to Iraq's oil market. Particularly, the possibility of production sharing agreements (PSAs) which guarantee a share of revenues to companies in exchange for investment in production capacity and exploration has drawn the ire of some critics.

The inability of the Iraqi government, even with the considerable backing it has received from the U.S.-led coalition, to thus far harness potential oil revenues is indicative of its need for foreign investment. In August, the Oil Ministry unveiled ambitious plans for an upgrade and expansion of increasing oil infrastructure to include several new processing plants and a 'mega-refinery' alone capable of turning out 140,000 barrels per day (bpd). Iraqi Oil Minister al-Shahristani has repeatedly proclaimed the necessity for considerable multi-national foreign companies to participate in the future development of Iraq's oil resources. The oil law must allow for such foreign involvement, even in the form of PSAs, so

long as the terms are not exploitative or disadvantageous to Iraq in the long term.

A law that guarantees fair and proportionate sharing of revenues will give disenfranchised factions reason to lay down their arms and invest in Iraq's government rather than continue their path towards anarchy. Moreover, such a reduction in violence will deepen the public's faith in the government and will push the coalition forces one step closer to the door. This final step, the withdrawal of foreign forces – so long as Iraqi security and military forces are able to hold their own ground, will undercut rejectionist insurgents and tie the Iraqi government's image to its own merits rather than to unpopular foreigners.

For the time being, coalition troops must continue to serve as the backbone to Iraqi forces, but their mission needs to be refocused in regards to securing infrastructure. In the September/October 2005 issue of Foreign Affairs, Andrew F. Krepinevich argues for an 'oil-spot strategy' in Iraq, whereby U.S. forces focus on providing security for "certain key areas and then, over time, broadening the effort – hence the image of an expanding oil spot." The plan is appropriate for oil infrastructure and expansion of security will be accompanied by

proportionately expanding government revenues and legitimacy. In time, the expanding 'oil-spots' would allow for a substantial reduction of foreign troops stationed in Iraq.

Since the 2003 invasion, successive Iraqi governments have struggled to emerge from the long-shadow cast by their American backers. Critics of the war have repeatedly claimed that the United States will not leave Iraq until access to oil is ensured; this is largely true. Rather than some conspiracy to steal Iraqi oil, however, oil production is a prerequisite for withdrawal because, without oil revenues, the Iraqi government will not succeed.

For all the importance of oil for Iraq, events of the past three and a half years clearly indicate there are many other factors upon which success in Iraq is dependent. Oil has not financed the war as some government officials, prior to invasion, seemed to intimate it might. Anti-U.S. sentiment, sectarian division, and rejectionism continue to fuel widespread violence. It would be naive to imagine that all the ills that haunt Iraq would disappear if only for robust and equitably distributed oil revenues. But to succeed in Iraq, specific strategies such as this must be debated and implemented. Oil's potential for good, and its unfortunate history in Iraq, should make sound oil policy foremost among these strategies.

...oil production is a prerequisite for withdrawal because, without oil revenues, the Iraqi government will not succeed.

BOOK REVIEW

MATTHEW LEVITT'S *HAMAS: POLITICS, CHARITY, & TERRORISM* REVIEWED BY WILLIAM JON HUMMEL

Since its inception in 1987, Hamas was most well known for suicide bombings and attacks against Israel, and was viewed as a fringe group in Palestinian society, committed to violence and not democracy. That all changed in early 2006. Following the surprise Hamas victory in the Palestinian parliamentary elections, many people wanted to know more about Hamas, about its roots, its history, and its possible role in the future.

In his *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, Matthew Levitt sets out to answer these questions. But instead of providing answers, he merely glosses over them briefly. He spends most of the book speaking to how Hamas' political, charitable, and militant wings are interconnected. In fact, he determines, everything that Hamas does, including maintaining mosques, kindergarten playgroups, summer camps, hospitals, and orphanages are intimately involved in the group's terrorist activities. Levitt writes, "Hamas has successfully blurred the lines between political and charity activities and terrorism in large part

because many governments, experts, and academics continue to subscribe to the shallow argument that terrorist groups maintain distinct social, political, and militant wings." On the contrary, Levitt portrays everything Hamas does as part of an overarching apparatus of terror.

Throughout the book he continually repeats this assertion, beginning and ending each section of the book with this thesis. This perhaps is one of the book's greatest faults. Simply put, Levitt is not a writer. The book is repetitive and extremely dry. Many of the same anecdotes and statements are repeated throughout.

In fact, Levitt seems so intent on proving beyond a doubt that Hamas' charitable and terrorist elements are linked that he neglects to discuss anything else. Perhaps this makes sense, considering that the book was written during his tenure at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (widely seen as sympathetic to Israel) and that he now serves as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis at the United States Treasury Department. Much of his documentation is taken from declassified U.S. Treasury De-

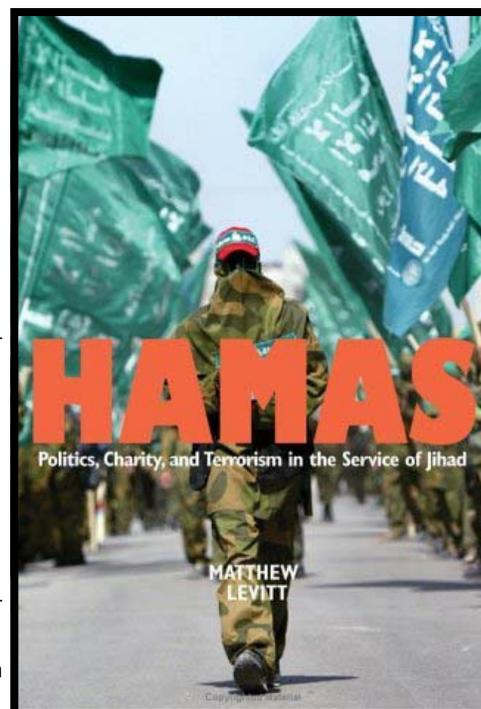
partment documents and congressional testimony.

Moreover, his insistence on proving the connection between charity and terrorism doesn't address why Hamas came to power in the first place. Besides a sentence on the opening page that attributes Hamas' success in the parliamentary elections to a protest vote against "the septuagenarian kleptocrats of Yasser Arafat's Fatah party," the question is hardly discussed. Nor does Levitt mention Israeli failures to deal with moderate Palestinian political figures. Amazingly, he also fails to mention the continued occupation of Palestine and need for a Palestinian state. In other words, he doesn't even discuss the number one reason Hamas is so popular among Palestinians: their continued resistance to a brutal Israeli occupation.

Levitt also neglects to mention Israeli support of Hamas in the mid-1980's,

undertaken to counter the rise of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Furthermore, Levitt fails to discuss the Islamic element of Hamas, most notably their desire to create an Islamic state in Palestine.

If you can get through its many failings, the book does contain interesting and informative information about Hamas' leading figures and financiers. It also provides detailed financial records and histories, giving the reader insight into how Hamas is financed. This, unfortunately, is the only redeeming aspect of the book.



ALUMNI UPDATES LENKA BENOVA

Nihal Faisal Kana'an

Jordan, BA 1990

Personal Update: Married to Sami Hidayah, Managing Director of an Advertising Agency in Amman, Jordan. Nihal has 2 daughters: Tala- 9 years old and Nadine- 4 years old.

Recent Professional Accomplishments: Worked with UN organizations, based in Amman, from 1992 till 2002 on development projects aiming at creating job opportunities, primarily, for women and the underprivileged. Since 2003 till now, working as a Project Coordinator and Project Manager with UN organizations implementing projects for and in Iraq, mainly in the Governance and Poverty Sectors.

Ghada Howaidy

Egypt, MA 1991

Current Job: Director of International Relations at the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology in Egypt.

Personal Updates: Lives in Mokattam with husband Dr. Mamdouh El Halawany and 3 year old daughter Alia.

Khalid W. Abdalla

Sudan, MA, 1997

Current Job: Works for Sheraton Middle East at Abu Dhabi Golf Club By Sheraton; a members' only stand-alone golfing resort in Abu Dhabi, has been working with them as the Credit Manager for the past 6 years, after working for the Armed Forces Officers Club & Hotel in Abu Dhabi for 3 years.

Alya'a Borhan

Egypt, MA 1998

Current Job: Working as a diplomat in the Egyptian Embassy in Oslo-Norway
Personal Updates: Married with one daughter who is 3 years old.

Recent professional accomplishments: Currently finishing a PhD thesis in Economics from Jawaharlal Nehru University- India.

Nelly El-Zayat

Egypt, MA, 2000

Current Job: Associate Director of Admissions, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar.

Personal Updates: Married to Alsherif Wahdan since May 2004. Alsherif is the Project Controls Engineer of The Pearl-Qatar, one of the largest construction developments in the world.

Chotika Suwanwatana

Thailand, BA 2005

Academic Update: Master of Studies student at Oxford University, Faculty of Oriental Studies, majoring in Modern Middle Eastern Studies. This term pursuing History of the Middle East 1860-1958.

Personal Update: Trying to decide whether to continue PhD at Oxford or go back to work as a diplomat for Thailand.

Ruth Marit Vatne

Norway, MA, 2005 Middle East Studies and Graduate Diploma, Political Science

Current Job: Works as a senior executive officer/secretary for the Bishop of Oslo, Church of Norway.

Personal Updates: Married Moody Shafeek from El Minya, Egypt, on 13 August 2005.

Recent professional accomplishments: It is quite interesting to work for this Bishop; he has lived and worked in the Middle East for a decade and is very much involved in religious dialogue and peace building. In May this year Ruth was able to travel with him and a few others to Palestine and Israel for a week, visiting religious and political leaders on every side of the

conflict. The perspectives that she gained living and studying in Cairo have come quite handy this past year, especially since cultural and religious tensions have increased even on our peaceful little spot on the planet.

Nattasuda Mettaprasert

Thailand, BA 2005

Academic Update: Currently doing a MA degree in Modern Middle Eastern Studies at Oxford University.

Rita J. Verma

United States, MA 2006

Professional Update: Starting a job with the United Nations in New York in November 2006 as a research associate for Central and South Asia.

NOVEMBER / DECEMBER 2006

MESC CALENDAR

SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21 Muhammad Habib <i>Deputy General Guide of the Muslim Brothers</i> 6:30PM, Oriental Hall Co-Sponsored with Political Science Department	22 Judge Bastawisi 7PM, Blue Room Sponsored by the HUSS Dean	23	24	25
26	27	28 Lecture: Medicine in Ancient Egypt <i>Sheldon Watts</i> Room 203, Rare Books Library 6 PM	29 The Politics of Energy: Oil, Gas and the Nuclear Question <i>Panel Discussion</i> Blue Room, Greek Campus 7:30 PM	30 World AIDS Day Blue Room 7-9PM	1	2
3	4 Mark Danner Middle East Studies Center Seminar 7PM, Blue Room	5 "Bush in Winter: Democracy, the Elections, and Bush's Iraq War" <i>Mark Danner</i> Public Lecture 5-7PM Oriental Hall, Main Campus	6	7 Al-Banat Doul (Those Girls) Film Screening Rare Books Library 4-6PM	8	9
10 Lecture: "Is Press Freedom a Necessity for Development?" Blue Room, Greek Campus 6-8PM	11 Naguib Mahfouz Prize Award 5PM, Location TBA	12	13	14 Last day of classes	15	16

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