

# ELITE

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MEETING  
PROF. DR. HOREYA  
MEGAHED

EXPERIENCED  
ACADEMIC &  
PARLIAMENTARIAN



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# ELITE

*FEPS, where elites are made..*  
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Designed by Ramy Magdy Ahmed in October 2018



**Welcoming our students  
 back in two weeks !**

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## A rich and exceptional interview with Prof. Dr. Horeya Tawfik Megahed

**Cairo : Ramy Magdy, Nadeen Hesham, Rana Doss and Aliyaa Assem**

To our good fortune, Prof. Dr. Horeya Megahed, Professor of political Science and political thought welcomed ELITE team and offered us a rich interview on diverse topics of genuine importance to our readers. And below is the fruit of this beneficial encounter.

1. How did your relationship begin with the Faculty of Economics and Political Science and your teaching career?

My relationship with the Faculty of Economics and Political Science began before it was established; I studied at its precursor in the political science department of the Faculty of Commerce, Cairo University and I got my bachelor's degree in June 1957. I was top of my class and as such, Dr Ahmed Rashid and I were the first teaching assistants appointed to the department. In mid-1960, as the Faculty of Economics and Political Science was established to include the political science departments of the Faculties of Commerce and Law, I moved as part of my department to this nascent Faculty and became one of its founders. The number of the teaching staff was limited at the time; it consisted of five members: Prof Dr Ahmed Sweilam El-Amry, Dr Boutros Ghaly, Dr Khairy Issa, Dr Ibrahim Sakr, and Dr Fathallah Al-Khatib. Later, Dr Abdel Malek Ouda, Dr Hamed Rabee, and Dr Ezzeldin Fouda joined. From the start, I worked closely with my mentor Prof Dr

Boutros Ghaly who supervised my master's thesis on "Somalia in the International Surrounding". This was the beginning of our academic interest in Africa and I was the first political science specialist to teach in this field.

Immediately after finishing my master's degree, I received a scholarship affiliated with Alexandria University from the Egyptian Department of Mission to study political thought and theory in the United States. I didn't want to leave my Faculty but I was told I could rejoin it after I come back. Therefore, I travelled in January of 1960. My experience in the US studying under some of the most seasoned professors of political science greatly affected my scientific formation and my thematic, academic and personal orientation. During my studies, I always made sure to combine theory and application as well as to continue in the line of my beloved African studies. I opted for Africa as a case study to the extent that my PhD required me to go on a six-month field research in West Africa, particularly Mali, which was a first for an Egyptian researcher at the time. It was also an excellent experience that tied me closer to Africa.





After my return and appointment as a lecturer in the political science department of the Faculty of Commerce at Alexandria University in February 1966, I sought to go back to my original scientific home, the Faculty of Economics and Political Science. With the repercussions of the 1967 War, the Egyptian government assigned me and many of my colleagues from different specializations who had studied abroad to teach at the American University in Cairo as a result of foreign professors leaving the country, which was an important step in my career. I then returned to the Faculty of Economics and Political Science where I would spend the rest of my academic career except for a six-year period from 1973 to 1979 when I served as head of the Department of Public Administration at King Abdul Aziz University in Saudi Arabia. This department included political science at the time before the latter was made its own department. This was an opportunity to create a renaissance in this kind of studies in the Kingdom and it left a mark on a whole generation of political science pioneers. During my time there, I also contributed to the introduction of the credit hours system. Throughout my career, I was keen on combining theory and application; and at the same time, I didn't neglect either political thought or African systems with respect to instruction and research. Moreover, I introduced a course on women and politics to keep up with academic developments in political science; this was around 10 years ago, marking a first time that a course of this kind was introduced to Egyptian universities.

In my long career, I have published six books and tens of research papers; I have supervised around 50 theses in political thought, political theory and African studies; and I still supervise around eight students. I have proudly produced generations of graduates who occupy positions at the Faculty, Cairo University, and various Egyptian and Arab universities. In addition, I have co-supervised the theses of a great number of Arab students.

At the Faculty, I took on several responsibilities: in November 1985, I founded and became the first director of the Center for Political Research and Studies. And I was the first woman to head the political science department, a position I held for two terms from 1986 to 1992.

Furthermore, at the University level, I received the University

Appreciation Award in Social Sciences in 2013. I have been serving as coordinator of the Chair ISESCO/ The Union of Universities in the Islamic World since October 2014. And I have prepared two international conferences, one of which is published in a book and the other is in press.

Finally, on the Supreme Council of Universities, I served as rapporteur of the Committee on Promoting Professors and Assistant Professors in Political Science for the 2016-2019 session and I am serving the current session 2019-2022 as well. During my tenure, more than 70 faculty members in public and non-public universities have been promoted. In addition, I participated in the promotion committees of several Arab universities in Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

I'm grateful for God's continued generosity that has enabled me to work at the Faculty that has become my life partner and even past it at the University and the Supreme Council of Universities.

2. As a pioneer of political science in Egypt and the Arab world in terms of teaching it and obtaining different degrees in it, in your opinion, how does the specialization of political science shape the personality of its students?

I believe that political science plays a great role in shaping the character of its students. This is because it teaches them the objective bases upon which politics is practiced, internally and externally, which nurtures their accumulated knowledge on how the world around them works, giving them the confidence and competence to deal with it. Furthermore, political science indirectly develops citizenship and loyalty to one's country by teaching students about the nature of their political system and its interests and international relations.

In addition, students can broaden their horizons after studying the different systems with their pros and cons, which helps them to overcome narrow points of view. Therefore, political science is a mind-opening field that produces a continuous eye on internal and external variables, an ability to analyze situations and the skill of interacting with national and international institutions.

Since political science is about studying authority, many of its students develop attitudes of elegance and distinction and often behave in the manner of future ambassadors or officials in charge. And these students earn the ability to interact – on scientific rather than random bases – with a politicized world where political authority plays a pivotal role in all dimensions.

3. To whom Prof. Horeya Tawfik is grateful at the personal and academic level?

I am grateful to many people who have left obvious marks on my personality and career. On top of the list are my late parents who raised me well, provided a good life for me and brought me up on a set of values and principles that have accompanied me my entire life. They encouraged me to complete my studies in Egypt as well as abroad despite my young age. And they are the reason I was the first girl to finish her university education in my extended family who didn't believe in such a concept at the time. My husband Dr Atef Al-Sayed also supplied me with love, kindness and support for my efforts to prove myself; instead of an obstacle, he was an aid in my career that required a lot of sacrifice, especially with the increased burden of my parliamentary work and its international aspect in particular, which coincided with my chairing of the political science department and voluntarily continuing teaching. My children Alaa and Ola have brightened my life, given me a push and become my supporters at the end of the path.

On the academic level, I cannot forget my mentor Dr. Boutros Ghaly who largely influenced my scientific formation at the start of my academic career and taught me how to be academically objective and behaviorally balanced and disciplined as a professor. I studied several courses with him and he was a model supervisor for my master's thesis, in addition to guiding me towards the African orientation.

Similarly, I cannot forget my PhD supervisor at Indiana University, Professor Gus Liebenow, who influenced my academic orientation and was a role model professionally and personally.

I am also grateful to a number of world-renowned professors who taught me multiple skills and contributed to my scientific formation; these include Professor Wolin of political thought, Ernest Haas of international relations, David Apter of African systems and Riggs of development.

4. You have a rich parliamentary career, both through membership of the People's Assembly and your participation through several positions in the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Tell us about this experience, how did it contribute to your path and how did you add it?

I was surprised to learn that I had been selected as one of the ten members of the People's Assembly (House of Representatives)



appointed by the president. I had not sought such position and I did not have the political affiliations or connections that many others had. Yet, I was hoping to get to practice politics, especially parliamentary work, in order to find out what actually happens on the ground after I had spent years studying and teaching political science. I believed that combining politics and political science would bring about balance; and the experience turned out to be truly rich and enabled me to contribute as well as benefit. Although it lasted for only five years from December 1990 to December 1995, the experience heavily affected me.

From the start, I took this mission seriously as a national duty; and I like to give everything its due effort and dedication. I regularly attended the sessions and participated in the work of the general and special committees (external affairs and education). I will not go into much detail about my contribution; a glance at the transcripts will reveal how I was keen on discussion, presenting urgent reports and briefings for the government as well as replying to government statements. And I'd like to mention here that at every possible occasion, I raised the issue of university teaching staff and the need to improve their working conditions and salaries following the line of the judiciary. Moreover, I acted as if I was an elected member when I diligently worked to solve the problems of the people who contacted me. One particular advantage of parliament was the easy access to officials minus the bureaucratic hurdles.

Concerning my work with the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), I had been assigned to the Egyptian Parliamentary Delegation since I joined the Assembly with my background as a political science professor acting as a useful qualification. Ordinary sessions took place every six months for a duration of a week or longer in a different country every session. I occupied several positions in the IPU, most notably a member of the Executive Committee, which is the highest decision-making body within the Union, vice president of the Political Committee, and member of the Cyprus and Middle East Committees. During my last session with the IPU in Valletta, Malta, I headed the Political Committee and the Committee for Political Drafting. This greatly helped me refine my linguistic skills.



I sought to make use of my seat on the Executive Committee for the maximum possible benefit of my country and the Arab states. And I managed to make a significant mark by introducing Arabic as an official language and including Egypt in the Cyprus and Middle East Committees. I was also behind the suggestion to invite France as a member in order to balance the United Kingdom. Furthermore, membership of this privileged committee allowed me to meet multiple leaders and heads of states including the King of Sweden, Kim Il-Sung, Benazir Bhutto and the former Cypriot president. I knew the current president of Cyprus as well, who was then the president of the Cypriot parliament and he invited me on an official visit to his country.

I was known as the “Dynamo of the IPU”; I played a role in the fierce electoral battle for the IPU presidency that ended with a win for Prof Dr Fathy Suroor – Egyptian Speaker of Parliament at the time – despite all the pressures and schemes against him that sought to elect his opponent, the Western-backed Latin American candidate. I had headed more than one delegation to several countries in Latin America, Malaysia and Japan to campaign for Dr Suroor who enjoyed the warm support of Arab and African delegations. And I’d like to point out the importance of personal connection with everyone.

Moreover, I participated in the founding conference of the Muslim Women Parliamentarians chaired by Benazir Bhutto in Islamabad, the founding conference of the Euro-Mediterranean Committee in Málaga, Spain. And I was a member of the Egyptian delegation to the World Conference on Women in Beijing where I gave the speech of the Arab delegations.

To sum up, my parliamentary experience was excellent for me; I managed to employ my political science expertise in the practice of politics on the ground; I was energized and enthusiastic to represent my country Egypt and to spread my word – not just among my students as I had used to – but also among politicians of national and international ilk. My political science background gave me confidence and a broad horizon in dealing with the

issues on the table. And my parliamentary experience that surpassed the national level was the perfect opportunity for me to nurture my long-held keenness on combining theory and application as it gave me diversity, a link to reality and a testing ground for theories. Nevertheless, this experience did not undermine my objectivity as a political science professor.

5. Islamic Political Thought is an important interest in your academic career, which enabled you to give lectures on this subject at the International Institute of Islamic Thought in Washington. How do you judge the current status amid tensions of extremism and Islamophobia ?

The misconception of Islam is mainly due to a misunderstanding of religion that results from cutting out certain parts, ignoring context and a lack of reference to the original sources of the Quran and Sunna, in addition to relying on unqualified persons to issue religious statements that lack solid bases and are simply personal opinions elevated by some to the status of religious foundations. This intellectual ossification that looks only on the surface level of texts has been further fostered by what is called political Islam and the appropriation of religion for purely political purposes.

Corruption of thought is highly dangerous. I recall here a quote: “if you can’t beat your enemy’s weapon, corrupt his thought and it will kill him.” Many Muslims have abused Islam – perhaps unintentionally – and opened the door for its enemies to abuse it until the mental image of Islam became distorted and what is called Islamophobia emerged. This is because the behavior of extremists and terrorists is confused with Islam and its humane and moderate teachings. There is a dire need for applying the primary teaching of Islam that manifested in the first word of the Quran: “read.” Therefore, we need to reason and work our minds rationally since Islam is built on the premise of reason leading to belief, unlike other religions whose premises prioritize belief over reason. And we will do this within the framework of the reform and renewal that started at the time of Prophet Muhammad who encouraged it in his sayings.



In this regard, socialization and the roles played by institutions such as families, educational, religious and political organizations in addition to the media and sports become clearly important. And the efforts of all these institutions are needed to convey the true picture of Islam and its followers, especially in such a wide virtual space where a distorted and abusive portrait of Islam has continuously been painted by certain media outlets.

The cornerstone of such process of presenting a correct picture of Islam is reforming the religious discourse, which has become a necessity to keep up with local, regional and international challenges, provided that this reform would be based on a solid foundation by credible and knowledgeable scholars while holding on to traditions and the Islamic framework of moderation and universality.

5. Prof. Dr. Horeya has a special interest in women's issues where you were a representative of Egypt and a member of the Board of Directors of the International Women's Union In addition to your academic interest in women's issues, how do you assess the current status of women in Egypt and the Arab world in terms of its most pressing challenges and opportunities?

In recent years and as part of the conflict between tradition and modernity, the Arab World has witnessed many transformations to the conditions of women, especially after women played an active role in the region's uprisings, which generated hope for the improvement of women's conditions. It is necessary to stress, however, that the status of women differs from one country in the region to another, which in turn affects the actions taken to empower them. For instance, such actions can lately be more visible in the Gulf than in the Maghreb countries. Egypt has also been taking systematic steps in this area for many years, which is considered pioneering and more rooted. The general orientation is towards strengthening the role of women and their participation in society and politics. Hence, Egypt and the Arab states have set as target the UN's 2030 developmental agenda, which was released on 24 April 2019 to empower women in all domains – politics is our particular concern. In this light, Egypt's 2030 vision represents a roadmap and a strong push to the state's efforts towards women. In addition, an observatory for Egyptian women has been created to monitor the status of women and empowerment actions.

The problem is the permanent underlying conflict between forces of tradition and those of modernity. However, the steps taken towards women in the most conservative countries such as Saudi Arabia reveal the inevitability of change that is necessitated by international requirements before domestic ones.

There have been multiple legislations and decisions that have yielded unprecedented gains for women in all fields. In terms of politics – our concern here – these gains are reflected in Egypt in the appointment of a woman as national security advisor to the president and the presence of eight female ministers in the cabinet, including in a number of high-profile or “sovereign” ministries for the first time, in addition to appointing female governors, mayors (omda) and notaries or marriage officials. The number of women in parliament has also increased to reach around 15% for the first time after it used to float around 2%.

Concerning Saudi Arabia, the majority of observers focus on breakthroughs for women such as the decision to allow women to drive in June 2018, before which the Kingdom had been the only country in the world with such restriction on women. Other decisions include allowing gender mixing in stadiums and entertainment areas as well as appointing 90 women to the Shura Council and the first female ambassador to the US. Nevertheless, more obvious developments took place in other Gulf countries where women held the presidency of the legislative body in Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates, marking three cases in the region alongside Syria. On the other hand, in the Maghreb region, particularly in Tunisia and Algeria, women's active participation in uprisings did not yield the anticipated political participation.

Despite all these efforts, the participation of Arab women in top decision-making bodies remains comparatively low; no Arab woman has been president or prime minister so far unlike some Asian and African counterparts, including some in Muslim countries. Furthermore, Arab states have humble scores in terms of the percentage of female ministers in the cabinet; their international ranking is as follows: Mauritania at 37 with a percentage of 31.8%; the UAE at 48 with 29%; Egypt at 73 with 24.2%, followed by Tunisia, Sudan, Qatar, Oman, Morocco and Lebanon, which comes at 177 with 3.4%; finally, Iraq and Saudi Arabia come last with no representation for women in the cabinet.



Parliamentary representation for women fares better than its ministerial counterpart, although only three Arab states have reached the global percentage of 25%. These are Tunisia at 35.9% - the highest in the Arab World - followed by South Sudan at 28.5% and Sudan at 28%. Internationally, these countries come at the 29th, 57th and 58th spots, respectively. Egypt, on the other hand, occupies a low position at 157 and Yemen is at 190 on this list of 193 states.

In Egypt, the latest constitutional amendment in 2019 increased the percentage of women in parliament to 25%, according to article 102, for the first time in the country's history. The 2014 constitution had accorded the same percentage on the municipal rather than the national level. Therefore, the movement of change continues in Egypt and the Arab World. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that empowerment is not about quotas or legislation; rather, it is about the effective role that women can play as citizens, prove themselves in society and change the negative stereotypes about their gender.

Women face a number of difficult hurdles, especially in parliamentary work. Prime among them is the stereotypical image that views politics as a sole domain for men, confining women to household duties, as well as the lack of support from political parties that prefer not to field female candidates and from the mass media at certain times. In addition to social obstacles such as the feminization of poverty, unemployment, the need for more educational and training opportunities, and to help women overcome the household burdens that they shoulder, especially in poorer areas, which deprives them of the opportunity to participate in politics. We can't forget that the breadwinner woman plays a big role in society at 35%. Therefore, women should collaborate with women-oriented NGOs and work to overcome their own inclination to suffice by voting at times of elections while otherwise remaining politically dormant.

An important point to highlight is that despite attempts to characterize patriarchal societies as exclusive to the Arab World, this phenomenon is present globally in different forms and degrees. In fact, women in Arab and Muslim countries enjoy several benefits that strengthen their identity and independence. For instance, women keep their family name after marriage; they have independent financial capacities including the right of inheritance; they have equal opportunities in education and its tuition policies - in which Egypt is an example - and equal job compensation with men. This is the opposite case to Western women who still strive for equal pay, which is a core demand for feminist movements in countries such as the US where the pay gap between men and women can reach around 20%. Other countries such as India give free education to males only. Switzerland, a conservative country, sees that gender equality ends at the preparatory stage where girls are directed towards vocational education based on the view that confines women to the 3Cs: children, cooking and church. This has led to low percentages of female faculty members in Swiss universities

compared to other European countries, which are in turn low when compared to a country like Egypt where some colleges - such as ours - have an overwhelming majority of women in the different areas.

I'd like to mention that I have participated in tens of conferences for women, starting from the Third World Conference in Nairobi in 1985 - which I attended as member of the Egyptian delegation to non-governmental organizations - to the previously mentioned conference in Beijing, in addition to multiple conferences and seminars held by the International Alliance of Women (IAW) - the oldest alliance of women in the world - since I joined it in 1998.

In conclusion, the challenges and obstacles face by women are plenty but they are being tackled with large efforts. And if the movement wants to continue, it needs to adjust to society in order for the change to be absorbed.

7. Finally, what advice does our professor offer for our students?

My advice to our students is first of all, to recognize their worth and their Faculty's worth. And to be confident in their distinction since they are not just ordinary students; they are the top students of the General Secondary Certificate who study at a renowned Faculty.

Most importantly, our students should always maintain a critical look at what they study and make the most use of their professors' knowledge. They should also be aware that knowledge does not end in a textbook or in the classroom; self-learning is thus important to continuously improve oneself. Our students must develop their skills and seek summer trainings in order to prepare themselves for the job market in a way that gives them an edge over others. In addition, maintaining a hobby is useful in reducing stress.

I conclude with the following piece of advice for our students: to hold on to moral values as part of their personalities whether in university or practical life, while always bearing in mind their Faculty's motto: Commitment. Excellence. Distinction.







**\*Prof. Dr. Nadia Mostafa**  
 Professor of Political Science

## EXAMPLES OF RACISM IN THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Translated by Farah Fayez

Racism, as concept, culture, or policy, is no longer confined to describing the relation between white and black across time and space. The historical American model (since the discovery of the Americas, the white man's colonization, the enslavement of Africans, and annihilation of indigenous communities) is far from being the only model showing the phenomenon of discrimination in the contemporary international sphere.

Other models have appeared throughout the nineteenth century -- the century of European colonization- then the twentieth century -- the century of World Wars, the Cold War, and the war on terrorism-. All these models don't just highlight that racism is another façade of Western supremacist practices but also portray its inevitable ties to the duplicity of standards and international hypocrisy.

The following models will elaborate more on this point;

### **1st: the model of European Colonialism, its motivations and policies**

Economic, political, or ideological motivations haven't been able to hide the multi-faceted racist practices - politically, economically, culturally, and socially- against Asian, Black, and Brown communities of all ethnicities and religions.

The Neo-colonial school in literature, arts, academia, politics, and civil society have shed a light upon these practices and their impact on the colonized societies as well as unveiling the status of international hypocrisy and double standards between the public and practiced slogans and policies of freedom, democracy, equality, and prosperity in the colonizers' countries and their false imitations that are devoid of their meaning in the colonized areas.

### **2nd: the Israeli and Zionist Model:**

"Palestine is a land without a people" is a historic and cultural lie that the Zionists have perpetuated to cover and manipulate another lie that "the Jewish people have no land"; then there were the terroristic settlement policies aimed at kicking out the Palestinians from their land to be stolen by Jewish groups that have abandoned their home – in the East and the West- claiming to escape from the modern European anti-Semitism.

And if the General Assembly has produced an illustrious resolution in 1975 equating between Zionism and racism, it has later revoked it in 1991 in light of different international, regional, and Arab power struggles. In return, the international civil society produced a statement describing Israel as racist in the Durban Review Conference of 2009 despite all Netanyahu's trials across his reign of two decades to market for the ideal of the modern progressive democratic Israel in the United Nations and other international organizations. However, international condemnations of Israeli racist practices didn't stop such as the ESCWA (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for West Asia) resolution announced by Dr. Rima Khalaf in the United Nations Human Rights Council in 2017 declaring Israeli practices as racist.

### **3rd: The post cold war Rise of the European far-right extremism:**

The first models of this type of racism emerged in the Balkan in the form of Serbian massacres of the Croatians and the Slovaks which became even more vicious with the Bosnian Muslims (1991-1995) and the Albanians of Kosovo (1998-1999)



And as economic and social crises succeeded, on the one hand, and liberal representative democracies crises arose on the other hand, the far-right extremist adopted racist forms and rhetoric and ascended politically all over European countries, especially in France, Austria, and Germany. The flow of increased illegal and unorganized immigration across the last two decades (2000-2020) due to bloody conflicts that erupted in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Africa first then in the Arab region in 2011 have catalyzed the appearance of these racist groups and call attention to them.

**4th: the racism of the Eastern Major Powers:**

Racism isn't monopolized by the Western Major Powers since the Renaissance and the era of geographic discoveries and colonization; it also appears in the Eastern Major Powers. Despite China, Japan, and South Eastern Asia being an arena for Western privileges and armies to practice many types of racism under the guise of national interest, the renaissance and rebuilding of Japanese and Chinese power has far from avoided the same practices during the Chinese occupation of Japan and the Communist Party's reign and regaining of power.

The history of Tsarist Russia doesn't fall far from the racist tree as the concept of "Russification" was nothing but ethno-racism and "Sovietization" was an ideological form of racism against the multi-ethnic multiple-faith societies that Tsarist Russia annexed and were subjected to the iron fist of communism under the Soviet Union. The racist practices against the Muslim minorities in China and Myanmar continue as living examples of religious and national discrimination.

**5th: Racism in our Arab and Islamic nations:**

The disease of racism has plagued, or has been full revealed, in the Arab region during the past couple of decades and manifested in multiple forms that were previously unwitnessed in its cultural heritage until three centuries ago when racism reared its ugly head in eras of weakness and disintegration. Thus, inner conflicts and external interventions formed patterns of classist discrimination (between the rich and the poor), political discrimination (between autocrats and opposition), religious discrimination (between Muslims and Christians), sectarian discrimination (between Sunni and Shi'a), and nationalistic discrimination (between Arabs, Kurds, Turks, Persian...). The Different became more than just an Other that we must manage our relations with, cohabit with, and accept despite differences; it became a threat or a burden that people were encouraged publicly to hate and to call to eradicate which benefits political, ideological, and economic interests at the cost of the security and cohesion of societies that have always managed their differences.

Finally, if the American people's protests after the murder of George Floyd have renewed the Civil Rights struggle against "historical" racism in the United States and if it was echoed in other regions of the world, then it has just coincided with a new form of the discrimination in the international system that was exposed by the Coronavirus pandemic and whose dimensions are still being revealed. Then, what will be emerge after Coronavirus in the international system's ethical structure and discriminatory cases and its models that run rampant across the globe in the name of race, ideology, wealth, science, or politics...

All thanks to God...



# Are we really racists?

Cairo: Carolin Sherief, Mariam Hefny, Fareeda Khalifa, Haniaa Bahaa, Nourhan Osama and Aliyaa Assem

The issue of racism is one of the huge problems between people that many countries suffer from different proportions. Among the past years racism was a disease that blowouts among the human race, and at the roots if this disease lies under untrue believes and attitudes, and it underscores the loftiness of one race over another, or one social class over another and because of the appearance of racism since ages and it didn't skip any age until our current age, despite all the progress and sophistication which we live in now.

This is what elite team encouraged and decided to poll the opinion of Cairo University students at different colleges through the Zoom program and taking into account the variation of ages and in the ratio of males and females, trying to reach to different opinions and point of views from different Faculties like: Economics and Political Science, Engineering, Physical Therapy, Pharmacy, and Faculties of Arts and Commerce. This report will shed up the light around the concept of racism, its types and extent of its spread in Egypt.

In the beginning, we asked them about the definition of racism from their point of view? There was agreement that racism is the distinction between humans based on color, religion, gender, and contempt for a specific group of society, to believe that difference may pose a danger to the society, or like the misconception that Dark-skinned people are less intelligent because they have these congenital qualities.

After we presented the concept of racism, the most important question arises, what is the difference between racism and bullying? All students showed agreement that bullying is hurting by saying or intentioned actions because of the look, weight, or even style of clothing. As for racism, it is prejudice against a group in society, such as racism in United States or racism against Jews and Arabs in some places in Germany .In addition some have the opinion that bullying can be changed as it is not firmly rooted

in the concept and belief of a bully, unlike racism. In general, it can be said that bullying falls under the umbrella of racism, and bullying is not required to be against minorities, as it may be against an individual for his appearance. When we asked whether anyone was subjected to racism before, the answer was no, but many of them were bullied.

Regarding racism in Egypt, we went first to ask them if there is racism against women in Egypt? And in what form? We noticed that the majority tended to consent that there is racism against women, which is represented in discrimination between man and women by some social classes in the Egyptian society where they give the man rights in making faults and not to be charged on what he has done although women have to be charged in every action she take even that won't harm the society by any means. In addition to the permanent criticism culture on women, putting them in certain frames and the regular comparison by men and all eyes on every women's action.





Also others have opposed to some of the provisions that exist in Egyptian law, where they believe that it is an image of racism against women such as the law of marital infidelity and as a result of all these believes the women position has affected and rooted the idea that the woman was created just to complete the man and her rights and freedom to express her opinion were affected even if she was subjected to bad practices such as harassment or underage marriage

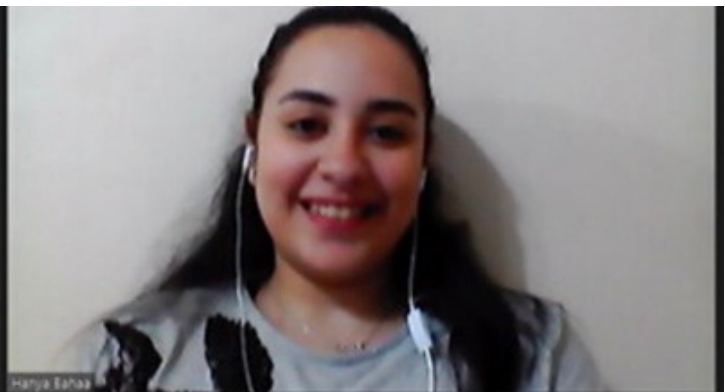
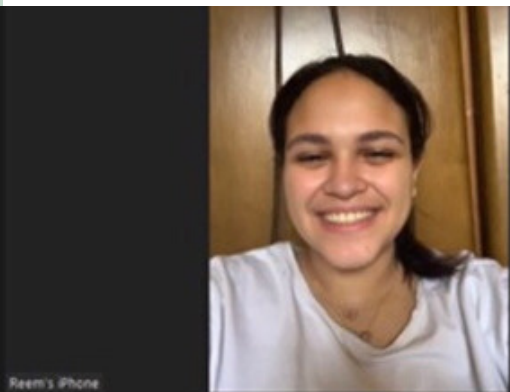


And we asked is there racism against people with dark skin or no? The answer was all yes there is, mentioning some forms of racism that has been practiced against them such as giving nicknames in the form of a joke of dark skin like “chocolate” “shekabalah” “Bakar” and others, which offends them, giving the feeling that they are different from the rest and are not affiliated, and this is certainly not true. Also some saw that who is dark skinned should not be described as beautiful like some see it is not appropriate to marry girls with dark skin and also racism that is practiced in Egypt against foreigners as the Sudanese. One of the students in faculty of commerce (Georgia) recounted a situation in front of her in the metro, saying that there was a Sudanese (dark-skinned) woman sitting next to an Egyptian young woman with her son, and the Egyptian young woman was abusing her son in order to fulfill his homework, saying "If you didn't finish your homework the ghost will transform you like that women", pointing to the Sudanese (dark-skinned) woman.



As for the last question, is there a religious racism in Egypt? And in what form it is existing? The answer was the fluctuation of opinions between consent and refusal. The supported party explained that there is a racism in religion, whether it is between Muslims and each other, according to the sects or between any other religions. One student pointed out a simple example as an evidence that there is religious racism that the ratio numbers of church in Egypt is small to the ratio of mosques and Jewish temples are almost non-existent despite the fact that all divine religions, As well as beaches and hotels that prevent women wearing hijab from entering on, claiming that they are not appropriate for the venue. While opponents felt that of course the world is not rosy, however there is a harmony between us in Egypt, for example we all have Christian friends, and we always celebrate religious holidays together and congratulations. Therefore, it is the minority who are subjected to religious racism in Egypt.

After asking questions and passing answers, we find that racial discrimination comes from the human mind, and therefore the ideal solution for it is to address the mental delusions that caused the spread of this issue and work to raise intellectual awareness about it and about its harms on the psyche of those who harm and the society as a whole. The truth is that there is only one human race, we are one people inhabiting one planet, which makes us like a human family linked to a common destiny and mortgaged to "be as one breath."





## A two-year partnership: The UNICEF Representative in Egypt thanks the Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science - Cairo University

**Cairo : Ramy Magdy, Hania Bahaa and Farah islam**

Expressing his great pleasure and honor for working together all over the two years, Mr. Bruno Maes the representative of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in Egypt has presented a recognition mail to Dr. Mahmoud ALSaid, the Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science - Cairo and this was due to the partnership between the organization and the faculty of Economics. Mr. Maes considered this work as one of his fruitful work in Egypt, which is about to end. Mr. Maes took the advantage to express his gratitude to the dean and the college teamwork.

“When I joined the UNICEF Egyptian Country in 2015 our collaboration was very project-based, yet already central to UNICEF’s work. Through our joint Memorandum of Understanding, signed in 2018, we have finally sealed a partnership that focusing on knowledge creation and dissemination, as well as on capacity building,” written by Mr. Maes in his mail sent to Dr. ALSaid.

The Representative of UNICEF added confidently that all the credits of the progress and success that happened during the last two years goes to the partnership between the team of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science and the UNICEF organization in Egypt, and to the team role in producing knowledge and applying it in many of lectures and done annual conference.

Mr. Maes cleared that he is self-assured by all efforts done across all members in faculty of economics and by employing their skills to inspire the current and the future generation from students, researchers, and professors, making them sincere and diligent researchers in child and adolescents issues, and contributing in shaping the public policy and build up a public debate regarding these issues.

“With the crisis upon us now, we are incredibly proud to have activated one specific call the impact COVID 19 has had on children and youth and to have made our current facility on behavioral change possible showing great flexibility and ability to adapt to change.” Added Mr. Maes “the centrality of capacity building to knowledge generation and evidence policymaking was usually my main concern”.

The representative of UNICEF concluded his mail, stressing his confidence that the organization's cooperation with the Faculty of Economics and deepening the partnership by encouraging bachelor's and master's students to research in the issues of children and adolescents would be an additional step for forming a new generation of researchers who can formulate and support upright policies for children and youth in Egypt.

Cairo, June 17, 2020



**JUNE 30 AFTER 7 YEARS**  
**OMAR ALAA**

Seven years have passed since the outbreak of the June 30 uprising, and It is so important to review the results of this critical period in the Egyptian history, the grassroots movement that erupted because of the fear of monopolization the power by specific political faction in Egypt , in addition to the deterioration of the services sector Especially in electricity and fuel, this uprising regards as an extension of 25th January revolution and a continuation of its claims for " bread - freedom - social justice.

Since 30th of June, Egypt witnessed various challenges that it did not witness throughout its modern history, especially on the security or economic level, on security issues, we witnessed an evolution of the power of terrorist groups, the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) had been established summer of 2014, subsequently, Ansar Beit Al-Maqdis - Supporters of Jerusalem-, which is a terrorist group based in Sinai, Pledged allegiance to ISIS, then renaming itself to ISIS-Sinai Province, that created a new challenge for Egyptian Army, to beat these terrorist groups and to eradicate its influence, and after six years of confrontation between the ISIS in Sinai and the Egyptian army, we can say that armed forces diminished the influence of terrorist groups in Sinai, through repeated strikes, and several battles, but there is still a long way to go forreturnthe stability in Sinai.

Besides terrorism, Egypt faced challenges threatening our national security, such the Renaissance Dam, which will affect our water allocation and endanger millions of agricultural acres (unit of land area) in Egypt, Also, in the Mediterranean Sea, Cairo protects our rights in the exclusive economic zone, in the midst of conflicts over the east Mediterranean among coastal countries

Regionally, the middle east and Arab region is suffering from instability since the outbreak of Arab spring in 2011, in many scenarios, the revolution led to civil war and collapsing of the country, so through last nine years Egypt sought to preserve of the state and its institutions, and to protect the borders, in this troubled region, and it has remained one of the greatest challenges for Egypt until now.

The challenges were not only include security challenges, but also economical side, After the uprising of 30 June, we observed the intertwining of the economic issues with politics, in the subsequent period of 30 June, the most prominent challenge was return the confidence of international community in the Egyptian economy, the government tried to achieve that by several tools, like international conferences, releasing megaprojects in infrastructure such the New Suez Canal, and the administrative capital, which was aimed both political and economic goals.

Egypt succeeded in this phase by getting the confidence of the international community in the Egyptian economy, and in restoring the political image by giving back our membership in African union, the membership which is suspended after 30 June, then a new economic challenge arose when the political leadership realized that international confidence and political stability isn't enough to achieve development, and the comprehensive development requires reforming the structure of the Egyptian economy, the reform began on the autumn of 2016,



when the Central Bank of Egypt liberalize the exchange rate, coinciding with the International Monetary Fund program, which was a supporter for Egyptian decisions.

The reforms affected the low-income people, and had led to increasing rates of inflation, -later the inflation rate went down-, so in the sake of reducing the impact of economic reform on low-income people, the ministry of social solidarity released a social security program called Solidarity and Dignity to protect these fragile class from the effects of reform, despite these efforts many citizens complaint of increase of prices.

After those reforms the Egyptian economy has improved, particularly in the aspect of growth rate, unemployment rate, fixing the exchange rate mechanism, up to now Egypt is continuing the journey by implementing many promising projects in the infrastructure, building new cities, and it's too early to end the journey.

As mentioned before, the deterioration of the public services, (especially the electricity and fuel sectors), is one of the reasons for the anger of the masses on the 30th of June, therefore over the

past seven years, Egyptian government tried to evolve the public services especially the mentioned sectors, and succeeded in this regard, now Egypt aspires to be a regional energy center, also, Egypt has developed the housing sector throughout these seven years, particularly in eliminating slums, but on the other hand, some sectors hasn't gotten the enough requirement for evolution, for instance health sector, also in the education sector, we have an unfinished experiment under examination.

Administratively, Egypt has sought to raise the efficiency of the public sector, by issuing the civil service law, Governance of the administrative apparatus, but these efforts have not interpreted into tangible effects, that is because of the gridlock of the public sector, which we inherited from 1960s era.

Despite the varied efforts in economic level to achieve development, but something is missing in this Journey, if we try to deconstruct the claims of revolution, we will realize that revolution has deviated from its path, values like "justice and freedom" which are demands and claims in both 25th January and 30th June, are undiscussable, and no serious intention to enable those values, many obstacles we faced to build a fully democratic state, such as the weakness of political participation and the political parties in Egypt, all of that without any advance except a little bit of empowering some subgroups in Egypt, such as youth, women, and Copts, So if we want to build a real democracy, issues like human rights and liberties must be reviewed in upcoming future.





## Feminist Ecology and the Economic Vulnerability of Women during the Corona Crisis (3)

\*Dina Ibrahim Hassan, FEPS Assistant Lecturer of Political Science

Feminist political ecology stands on the same prevalent definition of political ecology as an analytical approach. It focuses on power relations that stimulate the differentiation and inequality experienced by individuals, whether in the process of resource distribution and their ability to access them at the local, regional and global levels. Therefore, feminist political ecology - through its initial phase of women, environment, and development approach (WED), to the formation of the current approach - looks at the intersectional analysis of power relations that perpetuate inequality and discrimination on women in allocating and obtaining resources, as well as It seeks to study the negative effects of environmental changes and ecological crises on the conditions of women, which become more vulnerable compared to men.

This analysis is conducted through analyzing gender with other categories, such as class, race and ethnicity. The important shift in the evolution of feminist political ecology is the study of social inequality and environmental justice. It tries not to focus on studying the characteristics of marginalized groups, whether on the basis of gender or race, etc., but on studying the characteristics of ecological changes, environmental crises and natural disasters that make women more vulnerable on the economic, political, and social levels. This is the most recent development in the logic of feminist political ecology after focusing on women as the main subject of analysis. It looked at the association of women with nature and environment as part of the prevailing and prior perception of gender roles that make caring tasks their natural roles. However, they become the most affected victims in times of disasters and environmental crises.

### **- The economic repercussions of the Corona crisis on women:**

The Corona crisis reveals the vulnerable economic situation of women and the inequality of the economic systems in which women work. This deprives women from development returns and makes

them unequally burden the losses in times of crisis compared to men. The Corona crisis reveals the deteriorating conditions of domestic workers, especially those who belong to the sponsorship system (Kafala). In Beirut, the crisis escalated recently after large numbers of women were demobilized for different reasons. Some are dismissed for fear of infection, some for inability to pay their wages. However, some women escape due to their exposure to abuse and domestic violence. This does not reveal the impact of the Corona crisis on the conditions of women as much as it reveals the gaps in the economic system in which they work that deprives them of economic and social protection in normal circumstances, as well as in times of crisis.

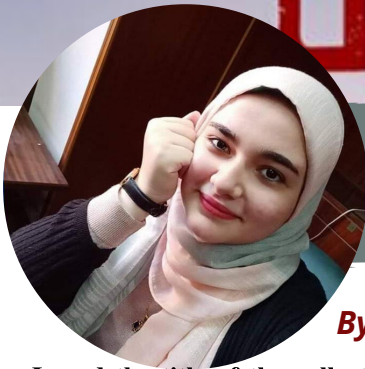
Second, corona crisis contributed in raising the awareness regarding the domestic work of women in the private sphere. This work is represented in caring work such as cooking, hygiene and health care. The prevailing perception of society views these roles as social duties given that women by nature are caregivers as they were life givers. This perception ignores the true economic value of domestic work that shares in the gross domestic product. Moreover, the housework of rural women - according to a field study conducted by the author of this article in 2019 - is a major source of family income and may be the only one in the poorest families.

It is important to take into account all these observations when talking about the circumstances of the Corona crisis, which increased the burden of women as well as the cost of care that may make them more vulnerable to the infection. Moreover, a large segment of women lost their jobs which made them vulnerable at the economic and social levels. Now, the question is how we can provide social and economic protection for women in times of ecological crises and natural disasters??

To be continued in the next issue ...



# مجموعة قصص معتذرة ما زلت انتظرك



## "Waiting for you"!

Reviewing the stories collection

"Excuse me, I will remain waiting for you"

for Rana Mustapha and Noran Hossam

By: Engy Khaled , FEPS Teaching Assistant of Political Science

When I read the title of the collection, I was amazed with the word "Excuse me"! It gives the impression that the one saying it "refrains from what he is doing and ignores all the reality's assumptions, calculations, measures and bans. And then he raises his hand rejecting all of that yelling that he will neglect everything and remain waiting. That is despite the fact that this waiting will contradict all the postulates". However, I can say that this impression was precisely realized in each story of the collection. Each character remains waiting although there is no evidence that this waiting will end soon or will ever end. In addition, despite the diversity of the stories, the writers kept the line of "waiting" and bounded it with its suitable concepts such as "cruelty of waiting, pain of waiting, longing of waiting, beauty of waiting, excitement of waiting and fear of waiting". From that, the book deserved its name, "Excuse me, I will remain waiting for you".

I was captured by the diversity of the characters. First, there is the loving woman who waits for her lingering love. Then there is the nurse or the doctor who waits for mercy and peace in her country which is fated to know nothing but blood, death and martyrdom. Then, there is the unfair oppressor who returns now and then to speak to "Omar" about his situations. Then there is the retired Mathematics professor who waits for someone to tell his wife how he loves her. Then there is the ballerina who waits for her father's blessings to her future road. Then there is the aging lover who adores a woman that resembles him in age and he waits for her

agreement to live together till their upcoming death. Then there is the "undertaker" who becomes fascinated by death and waiting for it eagerly. Then there is the soldier who waits to know the reasons for fighting and whom he fights and whether all fighting is obligatory. Then there is the lover who waits for his selfish beloved to feel with him till he got disappointed. In addition to all those, there is the woman believer who sends messages to Allah in search for replies to her sentimental questions. She longs to understand Allah and to reach his face. And there is the woman who waits for the alteration of the unjust societal look to her gender. Also, there is the wife who waits for a salvation to rescue her from her husband's sadism. Her husband sees her nothing but a soulless body that he consumes to the maximum. Moreover, there is the loving woman whose heart waits for a misery to happen to her beloved who sits to her and asks her to tell him what disturbs her. And there is the aging woman who got abandoned by all the people she loved especially her son. She waits for death which the crow comes to promise her with it. I do not think I have confined all the characters. I am telling what I remember only.

Impressively, each story is cut, torn and has an open end. In each of them, there is a fatty group of questions and inquiries whereas the answers are few. Yes, in each story, the hero/heroine is in an eddy from which he cannot get out. This eddy can be embodied in a deserted love or a contradicting societal look to his/her beliefs and postulates, or fear of death or fear of departure, or unclear future.

Furthermore, the dark drama appears in all the stories. I cannot determine which story hurt me more. But, for instance, I was hurt by the story of the retired Mathematics professor who has sacrificed with everything in favor of his science before he reaches the age of retirement. He, then, was let down by his numbers. So, he moves to the words to express his anger and regret about his wife who left before she knows how he loved her. Also, I was touched by the story of the believer woman who is accused by others that she is unbeliever because she wonders about the religion. This is as if the question is forbidden. The story declares how those people forget that Islam is built upon reading, "Read in the name of your God who has created" (Surat El-Alaq Aya 1). The Islamic religion seeks to stimulate the human mind with questions. This mind is made to think. By thinking, Allah has distinguished us.

The reader of the collection will immediately notice the writers' tendency to the Feminist school. This is obvious in at least three stories. The first discusses the issue of "body" and how it can sometimes be abused in the marital relationship in a painful and self-destructing way. In the second story, a part of the Feminist movement history is recited in rapid scenes through which the girl talks to her society and asks it when it shall give the girls their full rights and change its look towards them.

Finally, the third story is about a divorced woman. This divorced woman sees that divorce is not in need for great reasons (like affair for example) to happen. Misunderstanding and the divergence in the husband and wife's opinions are enough in her point of view to cause divorce. In the same story, this woman is assuring herself that she will not be ruined by the societal look or by her parents rage upon her. In general, the female voice is louder than the male voice in this collection. The political dimensions are present in the collection fiercely either explicitly or through signs and projections.

Interestingly, the writers have mixed these political dimensions with the humane and romantic dimensions. In fact, choosing the characters, topics and projections was inspiring. For example, I see that "deity conversation" is an interesting topic. It stresses upon the fact which we should not escape from: "No one possesses the complete truth" and "the necessity of tolerance". The religion cannot be monopolized by anyone even the religious men. Also, I was astonished by the topic of the "fascination by death" in the undertaker story. This man has his own philosophy.

He considers death as a close friend whom he longs to meet. The religion cannot be monopolized by anyone even the religious men. Also, I was astonished by the topic of the "fascination by death" in the undertaker story. This man has his own philosophy. He considers death as a close friend whom he longs to meet. In this part, I can say: "Some times, when we cannot be fascinated by life, death becomes the only alternative for fascination". Yes, if this man had found what fascinated him in life, he would not have been fascinated by death. Also, I liked "the oppressor conversation with Omar" in the dictator's story. In this story, whenever the oppressor commits a fault, he goes to talk to "Omar" taken that "Omar Ibn El-Khattab" is the icon of justice in the Islamic culture. This story emphasizes an important fact: "when the sinner sins and when the oppressor wronged, they can realize –themselves– their sins and their injustices".

I did not have the chance to know which of the two writers has written this story or that story. Beautifully, I was not distracted during reading. Their writing styles have mixed as if they were molten in one crucible. How I was overwhelmed by their smooth ability to describe the complicated feelings throughout the collection. May be I can only criticize the "dense potion of misery" in the stories. But then I return to see this potion as an unintended mistake in which they fell because of the sad reality. Yes, we are living in a sad reality that impresses the novel fiction of the writers to write about it. When I reached the end of the collection, I stopped filled with sadness. But I was recovered by the fact that none of the stories –I read– has reached its existential end. What finished was the paper. But the stories will continue as they simply represent our selves. And our lives are still going on. At the end of the comment, I really wish for the two writers to make their ways to the literature vast world. That is because they are certainly qualified for that.





## GET OUT OF YOUR CELL

BY: HOSSAM AHMED

In family gatherings in the past, there was a thing of happiness, an atmosphere of joy and a feeling of comfort and safety, so here is your uncle calling you to ask you about your situation and your level of education, and here your grandmother manipulated and joked with you and exchanged chats with you, and parents and uncles wrapped up exchanging the parties of the conversation, and in the yard of the house children play, laugh and loud voices Until you reach the sky, and this state of happiness, joy and laughter continues until the dawn of a new day.

Really, I felt psychological relief while writing this situation So, what about those who lived these days! Second: the era of technology. As for now, in the era of technological progress and the emergence of many social media such as (WhatsApp, Messenger, Facebook, Emo, Telegram) and although you can talk to the one you love at any time, you still miss it, you are still eager to look from his eyes and make you feel happy, The touch makes you feel safe, for a bosom that removes the worries of the world from you "I hate online chats. Let's meet up." A sentence I read in a book, yes let me see your face, let me feel the warmth of your breath!

I have become my congratulations and condolences through the Internet If you say "Congratulations." I did not feel it, I did not see your facial expressions, I could not determine what you were complimenting me or are you really happy for my happiness, and you share my sorrows if you are worried and depressed because I do not know that We find that each of us behind his phone screen does not know the state of the other

The world is now experiencing great development in technology, as it has contributed effectively to making the big world seem like a small village, and this was achieved thanks to the technology provided to people by means and ways to enhance and facilitate communication between them, so these methods diversified from stretching from the fixed phone and mobile phone, to reach To the Internet and its associated ability for people to communicate with each other across different continents and countries in a matter of seconds. Technology contributes greatly to the access to and acquisition of information, and thus its development, which is a reason for the existence of a huge scientific and knowledge revolution that has the effect of facilitating human life by increasing inventions in various practical fields But despite the importance of technology in our daily lives, it has largely helped the existence of a social divergence between family members, not only the family but the community at large, and technology has made communication between family and friends very little, which leads to the individual's feeling of isolation, introverted and autism.

The emergence and spread of the Internet in such a large size. Here is a comparison between two different age: Pre-technology era, the age of technology and clarify the impact of both of them on human life. First: the pre-technology era: Life is the thing that we have in order to achieve our dreams and celebrate our successes, but life without technology had distinctive features, these features eliminated many of them, the emergence of technology that affected all areas of life "education, health, marketing and various fields of work affected by the emergence of the digital age and the development of technology and artificial intelligence"



**BY: NOURHAN OSAMA**

# Her Super-ness

A woman is usually amazing in her strength if it appears, being able without fuss to do what is difficult for the mind to realize, but the heart realizes it broadly, the sweetness of its eyes is enough to sweeten water, and the imagination was often unable to reach that, whatever it flies or flutter, Or lost his way purely by chance, able to stabilize the feet of the one she loves, not by the act of gravity and not by heavy shoes, but by a heart that is filled with love, in her hand there is a mine with which her senses are sagged by it, in any time she wants, and it confronts fear with surprising bravery, and remove darkness with a hand of light,

The history was recorded with their hands and lighted, Ihiyahhotep, the men pulled aside in front of her, she did not respond to the Surrounding of death to her, despite its taken of her husband and her children individually and pairs, Ahedeltamimi, she wasn't inhabited by the horror of what she saw, It was not smashed by a gun directed to her face, and those hateful faces and thirsty looks of shedding Blood, she lived in the shadow of an illusion that she has made for her to live, that her country is free, and Jaffa is not Tel Aviv, and she fought for it,

Ghazala Bint Ammar, the daughter of the Oras mountains thus was nicknamed, raided the occupation in defense of her honor and the honor of the daughters of her country, as if they are a fort that she protected from indignity, She did not leave anything or else that she could took it as a weapon even the dung of the animals, Until she was killed by a bullet that crossed into her chest cage, it killed her source of

strength, women and their history are not shortened among lines, but are inscribed in volumes decorated by details, and this will not suffice either, nor are mothers less than them, their struggle at home, and their fight between working inside And outside, their conflict to prepare the fried for this and boiled for this, and their care for those who need care, such as the ship in the sea stands floundering by the waves, and fills the holes in the wall with her hand, and strives to keep the rudder in its direction, and this make her have more strength and resistance, helps all people around it, Hold the slings well, and wraps the ropes around her hand. This is the rope of the children and this is the rope of work and that rope of the husband and the house.

The spar is about to be removed from From the heavy weight of what it holds. so she tie it by the other hand, and stay in her place patiently, she refused to be removed from it, we wished that we had power, we charged ourselves from inside that we have what others do not possess, to get out from us what proves it, clear evidence and light proof on the truth of what believe, the faith of those who are around us also, helps in getting unexpected output out from us, even if we do not believe in our powers, the belief of the girls of Algeria in Ghazala, made her build a tunnel for her ideas, especially for them, tunes that never, madness never catches women - Regardless of the defenders and the opponents against that she has a splendid innate intelligence, but only time will remain her first dilemma and their last battle.



## OUR CONGRATULATIONS !

**Cairo : Habiba Atef**

**The Faculty of Economics and Political science has always encouraged working for our society. Therefore, it is an honour for the Faculty of Economics and Political science to sincerely congratulate two members of its family; Prof. Doctor Gouda AbdelKhalek, Emeritus Professor, Department of Economics and former Minister of Social Solidarity, on receiving the Nile Award in Social Sciences.**

**We also extend our heartfelt congratulations to Dr. Ayman Amin El-Sayed El-Bagoury, lecturer in the Department of Public Administration, for obtaining the State Incentive Award in Social Sciences (Branch of Management Sciences) for his work on a theoretical vision for "Developing the local administration system in Egypt". We wish them further success and development.**



## Supply & Demand in Medical Goods Market

A Survey by Jozeph Basta



In a survey I did at the start of In June 2020, at more than 32 pharmacies in Alexandria, I had had several reactions from pharmacists, civilians and the government from the start of the quarantine period. To conclude what has happened from January until now, I asked the pharmacists several questions regarding the prices of essential medical goods for the fight against the new virus known mediatically under the name of "COVID -19 Like masks, gloves, and alcohol, and their conclusions about price volatility in the previous period.

As for the period before the quarantine, the prices of these goods were stable and really very low, a normal mask sold at 0.75 Egyptian pounds, the 100 ml bottle of alcohol was sold at a price range of 10 to 15 pounds depending on the concentration and the presence or absence of an airbrush and according to the manufacturing company, and the box of 100 latex masks sold at a price range of 50 to 75 pounds depending on the manufacturing company and the presence or the absence of a powder or gel.

At the start of the quarantine, people bought a large quantity of these goods because they were afraid of their disappearance, so this sudden increase in aggregate demand caused the market. medical had a shortage in the supply of these goods for a few days

which prompted some people to change their activities to gain from this pandemic, therefore illegal production lines and without government supervision that produce very high quality products bass were born instantly to help the market find a balance and to have the greatest possible gain from this pandemic rather in the manufacture of masks and alcohol. During the peak of this imbalance each pharmacy sold these goods each at a price,

but we can say that the price of a normal mask reached 8 pounds, 100 ml liquor was priced at 25 to 40 pounds, and the glove box was priced at 200 to 350 pounds. Now we have 2 prices for each good of these goods a price declared by the Prime Minister and a current price with which we sell these goods in pharmacies. For the market price, we can say that the price of a mask is 5 pounds, the price of a bottle of alcohol is between 15 and 25 pounds according to the criteria already clarified, and the box of gloves is 200 pounds . According to the Prime Minister, the masks should be sold at 2 pounds, the bottle of alcohol at 15 pounds and the box of gloves at 200 pounds.



## Will hunger or war erode us? Or will Ethiopia have another opinion!

BY: MIRNA OSSAMA

"No irrigation, production of electricity or any measure on the Nile and its branches or on the lakes which come from Sudan or from the countries under British administration which aims to reduce the quantity of water reaching Egypt, to modify its arrival date or to reduce its level so as to harm the interests of Egypt should not be undertaken without prior agreement with the Egyptian government " thus stipulated the agreement to divide the Nile waters that was held in 1929. Hence, the conflicts, disputes and negotiations between the upstream and downstream countries did not stop. Going through the era of Sadat who commented: "If Ethiopia takes steps to interfere with our right to the waters of the Nile, there will be no alternative but using force. The violation of the nation's rights to water is a violation of its life and the decision to resort to war in such a context is inevitable in the international community. Until today which, after all these years, has not solved the Nile affair but rather made it more complicated. This question, which has always covered many political and economic reasons, and not only for these reasons, but also a factor of selfishness and transcendence interfered between countries, which has now appeared very clearly in the conflict between Egypt and Ethiopia; the Renaissance dam.

Ethiopia has successively tried to build a dam since the 1970s, but Egypt intercepted its successive projects, until the day when a new agreement began to stipulate the violation of the 1929 agreement rules, which would lead to a reduction in Egypt's share in the waters of the Nile, which Egypt, Sudan and the Congo refused to sign, but, after the signing of 6 countries out of 10 in the Nile basin countries, in April 2011, Ethiopia surprised the world and implemented its project which sowed panic among the Egyptian people in view of their successive governments. As it is well known about Ethiopia; its economy which was still facing many structural problems, and that its agriculture did not meet the Ethiopian population's needs, as it is vulnerable to drought from one time to another although it is among the countries of upstream, that's why Ethiopia built the Renaissance dam. It had many motives which are summarized in promoting the state economy and realizing its economic independence; since it aspires to produce a large electrical energy to be able to sell it to many countries via electricity transmission lines, in addition to protect a small number of villages and their inhabitants against the effects of the devastating flood if the level of the Nile rises from the usual, and others.



But on the side of the downstream countries, including Egypt, this project was a detection device for the tragic future of drought and poor standard of living, unemployment, deterioration of the economy, and even what is worse; the eradication of the Egyptian entity if conditions worsen mercilessly, as there can be no assurance that Ethiopia will supply Egypt and Sudan with sufficient water during the reservoir's filling years or during those of droughts, in addition to the absence of the principle of justice in the water supply from the very beginning. Besides the burden of protecting the Renaissance dam that will be imposed on Egypt, not by other countries but by itself; not only to protect any other country, but rather to protect Egypt and Sudan in particular, because if the dam is struck and collapsed, water will flow in the direction of Egypt and Sudan, what could cause the collapse of the high dam that will not withstand the tremendous water pressure to which it will be exposed. Thus, Egyptian lands, especially Upper Egypt and the Delta will be eliminated.

As a result to this tremendous danger, Egypt was forced to resort to many peaceful negotiations, international intervention, and asylum for other countries to resolve the existing disputes between them and Ethiopia, and finally, resorting to presenting a complaint to the Security Council. Despite all of this, Ethiopia did not acquiesce nor give in to all of these pressures, but instead insisted on starting filling the dam these days, after rejecting Egypt's request not to begin to fill the dam without its consent to avoid drought. The dispute between them related to the filling period of the dam, because Egypt wanted the dam to be filled in a period of at least ten years, taking into account the years of drought, but Ethiopia did not want it to exceed three years. This would make Egypt lose about 50% of its total annual water budget in addition to 67% of its agricultural land, and the unemployment rate will reach at least 34%. After countless attempts, Ethiopia gave up the period it was insisting on and decided to extend the period of filling

the dam, in order to vary between four to seven years, which is of course better, but will always be at the expense of Egypt as it will lose 22% of its annual water budget in addition to 30% of its agricultural land and unemployment rates will rise to an additional 20%. Egypt would not resort to many countries in order to resolve this conflict, except with the infringement of Ethiopia of the laws stipulated in the agreement signed between it, Egypt and Sudan in 2015 that they called it "the declaration of principles on the Ethiopian Renaissance dam". This agreement, whose terms stipulated cooperation between them, mutual understanding and benefits for all. It also provides that each of the three countries must avoid harming the other two countries. If one of them is injured, the responsible country will be legally bound to take all measures to mitigate this damage, to prevent it or to compensate it in any way. In addition to the right of each State to obtain water in an equitable and appropriate manner, taking into account all the factors which may influence it and finally, and in accordance with the clause stipulating good will, disputes must be resolved by the negotiations between the countries taking into account the mentioned clauses,

and if the negotiations between the three countries fail, they have the right to request mediation or to refer the matter to a body that governs them, such as the Security Council, to which President Sissi resorted after the failure of all these negotiations. Ethiopia has not only rejected these negotiations, but has also broken all the agreed rules moving towards achieving its gain, since it believes it has the right to dispose of the waters of the Nile as she only wants because it comes from her land and she doesn't care that 90% of the water sources in Egypt are guaranteed by the Nile alone. This loop continued until Ethiopia finally agreed, in a five-hours video conference between the heads of the Nile Basin States, not to start filling the dam until the three countries agreed.





However, are there parties that help to incite and support them against the Egyptian entity, or do they take this hostile position on their own? In fact, we cannot be sure of anything related to this point, but, in the light of all this intransigence emitted by Ethiopia, several comments have recently appeared on social media, praising the role of Israel in the further construction of the Renaissance dam and the stubbornness of Ethiopia, not only that but also some sources have written about the Israeli role, such as "Sada El-Balad" and "CNN" in Arabic and others. Until then, the Israeli incursion on the African continent was announced not only by supporting Ethiopia but also by its support for the Congo and Rwanda through the Afro-Israeli cooperation that the latter claims to reach, targeting Sudan from South, Kenya and Eritrea, through numerous economic, cultural and other projects.

It targeted Egypt, as has been said, and blackmailed it so that Israel could achieve its political goals and be able to put pressure on Egypt so that the latter would yield to it. Accusations against Israel include not only providing Ethiopia with the technology to complete the dam, but also installing air defense systems around the dam to protect it, which Israel denied in an attempt to defend itself. The Israeli Embassy in Egypt has defended the accusations against its country through numerous tweets on Twitter, explaining that it does not want to spoil its relations with Egypt and that it has no contribution "in any way "at these events, apart from hoping that the problem between Ethiopia and Egypt will be resolved quickly, which the Egyptian people did not believe, especially because the Israeli visits to Ethiopia

coincided with certain Ethiopian decision-making concerning the Renaissance dam, which did not seem to the Egyptian people a logical coincidence. In the light of the end of all peaceful solutions which have lasted nine years without success, the talks have recently taken a different path, which is the use of military intervention; the war ; that the two sides encountered in a different way, which shows the negotiating tendencies of the two sides, peace versus war. On the one hand, we find The Egyptian President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi, who, despite the difficult situations and the intensity that the negotiations have started to tend lately, remains a man of peace, still adheres to the laws agreed in "The Declaration of Principles" and always goes from one peaceful solution to another, leaving war as the last solution he can have recourse to. On the other hand, we find Ethiopian Prime Minister Abi Ahmed who, despite being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, the latter did not appear in his speech in which he threatened to resort to war to build the dam, saying :

"Some speak of the use of force on the part of Egypt, we must confirm that there is no force which can prevent Ethiopia from building the dam" affirming "If there is a need to make war, we can mobilize millions. If some people deter a missile, others can use the bombs."

But after all these negotiations, is there anything that can save us? Will this year surprise us with more suspense? And what is more important than all this and that, will hunger or war erode us, or will Ethiopia have another opinion?