The Old is Dying and the New is Not Yet Born.

The 2011 Egyptian Revolution: Labour, Capital, Time

Sara Mamdouh Ibrahim Salem

International Institute of Social Studies
Erasmus University Rotterdam

1. Egypt's integration into the global capitalist system set the conditions for the 2011 revolution and its aftermath. (This thesis.)

2. Different ruling classes have created different levels of hegemony in Egypt since independence, and the 2011 revolution was the result of a crisis that had its roots both within the ruling class and various segments of the subaltern class. (This thesis.)

3. The ruling class that came to power in the mid-1990s were unable to create hegemony or a historic bloc. (This thesis.)

4. The resistance of subaltern classes was one of the driving forces of the failure of the ruling class that emerged in the 1990s to create hegemony and a historic bloc. (This thesis.)

5. There was no historic bloc or hegemony in place in 2011, and this explains the timing of the 2011 revolution. (This thesis.)

6. Exploring elite configurations allows us to understand broader political and economic changes in the Egyptian context.

7. The neoliberal reforms that were initiated by Anwar el Sadat’s ruling class in the early 1970s and deepened by the following ruling class are a key factor in explaining the failure of the ruling class to establish a historic bloc in the mid-1990s.

8. The democratization and transition literatures are largely incapable of explaining the events of 2010 and 2011 across the Middle East and North Africa.

9. Neoliberal reforms are the cause of, not the solution for, many of Egypt's current economic problems.

10. Gramsci’s theory of hegemony is useful in analysing political and economic change in our contemporary period.

11. Marxist analysis continues to be an important theoretical field for understanding political and economic events across the Middle East and North Africa.