

By
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Moderator
of
Session 8
Impact on Society and Minorities

Conference
The Egyptian Revolution of 1919: The Birth of the Modern Nation.
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Don't Forget the Past
But
Be Forgiving, Loving
And
Learn Lessons from the Past

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I: A Poetry Introduction

Egypt and Britain
Despite Some Unhappy Past
You, Both
Remain
Great and Loved, As Always

Egypt
You are Always in My Sweet Dreams
Without You Only Sad Dreams
Egypt
You Are Always in My Thoughts
Without You Brains Cease to Work
Egypt
You Are Always at the Centre of My Life
Without You Only Blurred Life!!!
Egypt
I Never Left You, or Forget you, Never
How Can One Forget a Unique Beauty?
Egypt
I Never Had Any Substitute for You
But Joined Another Great Country Like You

Britain
You, too, Are Always A life in My Life
Without You I Might Not Be What I am Now
Britain
You, too, Are Always Central in My Brain
Without You, No Progress would be in Place

Britain
You, Also, Are Always in My Heart
Without You It Might Have had No Pulse
Britain
You Made Me What I Am Now
From a Packing Cellar Job, to A Bakery Job
To A Kitchen Cleaning Job, Then Very Enjoyable
Challenging PhD Career,
Without You I wonder What I Would Have Been?
Yes
Britain did Colonise Egypt for Almost 70 Years
So did Egypt Occupy many for 100's of Years
But

This Was in the Colonial and Ancient Past
What Matters is Now and The Future!!!
Both Countries
Are the Most Strategically Pivotal and Key to
World Peace and Stability,
And
Great Britain After Brexit and Great Egypt, open
To the World, at Large, should be their Future
Plan.
Great Egypt and Great Britain
Aren't I Lucky to belong to the Heart and Brain of
The World?
So, I Conclude, By Saying
For the Rest of My Life: You, Both, Will Remain
The Two Countries I will Continue to Adore!!

II: Introduction

II.1 Prelude

Today we are gathering to revisit an event that occurred 100 years ago. As it is a historical event, the normal practice would have been to focus the analysis in relation to the modern relevant time period.

However, when the analysis relates, primarily, to Egypt, one is bound to go back almost thousands of years. This unique Egyptian feature has its own pros and cons.

On one hand, the pros are related to the definitive other relevant related events, against which comparisons can be made.

On the other hand, the cons relate to the possibility of either undermining the value of the said event under consideration, or the opposite; i.e. over-valuing.

In short, the uniqueness of Egypt and her very special people always tends to make any analysis relating to either Egypt, in general, or her people, in particular, a very challenging task.

Hence, I have to start by making an admission and a related apology.

I, hereby, admit that the analysis in this session would only be focussed on two specific important subject-matters relating to the 1919 Revolution, and most likely in the context of the modern history of Egypt.

In this context, I am, in fact, confident that if time allows, analysis with reference to Egypt's ancient unmatched history should demonstrate a very interesting fact. That is:

‘the 1919 Revolution is most likely to stand
shoulder-to-shoulder with some of Egypt's
ancient miracles’.

Thus, to this extent, and given time limitations, Egypt's relevant analysis in this session is likely to resemble only any analysis for other countries, with relatively much shorter histories. However, the aim would be to form an integral part of the analysis of the previous seven sessions, and in particular sessions 2 and 6 that dealt with issues relating to the roles of minorities.

In fact, the two specific subjects of this session represent, the most pivotal and important characteristics of the 1919 Revolution, in many respects.

One subject relates to not only the role of minorities in the initiation, continuation, and success of the Revolution. But, above all else, most importantly, the emphasis would be in how their, the minorities, role launched the route towards modern Egypt.

In fact, it is not an exaggeration to say that without the 1919 Revolution, lacking the harmonious participation of all the constituents of the population, modern Egypt would have taken a much longer time to emerge, let alone to become a reality. One reason is that if harmony was not achieved amongst the Egyptian Muslims and the Egyptian Copts, civil war might not have been ruled out. Something that the 1919 Revolution prevented from happening.

II.2 First Talk: Copts and the 1919 Revolution

Copts and the 1919 Revolution: Egyptian Identities and Nationalisms

Mark Bebawi

Doctoral Student, Rice University

In the first talk of this session, Mr Mark Bebawi will be focusing, I presume, on the pertinent role played in the 1919 Revolution by the Egyptian Coptic minority in the success of the 1919 Revolution, and the impact it had on the Egyptian society. Also, some valuable brief contribution to the subject matter, by Mr Alex Necamuli, would be focusing on the role of the Egyptian Jewish community, at the time, in Egypt's popular nationalistic movements.

I am sure Mr Bebawi's talk would impress us all, revealing numerous facts and unique features of the 1919 Revolution, with particular focus on Egyptian Identities and Nationalism.

However, perhaps, he would permit me to present a few very pertinent quotations from the days of the 1919 Revolution, relating to the unity of Egyptian Copts and Muslims.

- During one of the relevant events at the time of the Revolution, Bishop Sergios said "If Egypt's independence is dependent on unity, and the Copts were an obstacle for achieving unity, I am

prepared to join hands with my Muslim brothers to destroy all Copts for the sake of Egypt's united word"

- When the Times Correspondent asked Bishop Sinot Hannah "Will the Copts regret Egypt securing Independence? His reply was unbelievable. He said "If the million Copts would represent an obstacle to Egypt's Independence, the Copts would be prepared to be totally sacrificed for the sake of Egypt achieving Independence", and
- Even, Lord Cromer admitted clearly, and unreservedly, that "The only difference between a Copt and a Muslim is that the former is an Egyptian who worships in a Coptic Church, while the latter is an Egyptian who worships in a Mohamed's Mosque".
- However, Lord Cromer's view was not shared by other Britains who participated in the Governance of Egypt. For Example, Major C.S. Jarvis, who was an imperialist and proud of it, took the view, and I quote "When the mob (i.e. Egyptian Muslims) gets the upper hand in Egypt, history proves there is only one result- looting and attacks on Christians (i.e. Copts) and foreigners". He questions the participation of the Copts in the 1919 Revolution as to whether it was "A matter of astuteness or stupidity?"

Turning attention to the role of the Egyptian Jewish minority in the 1919 Revolution, my very limited research proved to be very challenging. In short, I had great difficulty finding material of substance covering the said role. Hence, I look forward to the brief talk by Mr Alex Necamuli.

However, as I provided some background write-up to the talk on the Egyptian Coptic minority, perhaps Alex will permit me to do the same, though it is going to be in a very different content and style.

From the age five, in 1946, to the age of 15 in 1956, I spent every summer of the fifteen years, so did my late elder brother, as friends, even brothers, and members of groups that consisted of: Egyptian Muslims, Egyptian Copts, and, believe it or not, also, Egyptian Jews.

We used to play together, swim together, eat together, sail together, dance together, sing together, and, I confess, also falling in love together.

All this happened as we spent our summer together in a one Resort, where the Mediterranean and the Damietta Nile river intersects, named Ras El Bar, which means the “head of land”.

This Resort was a unique one, in many respects. The plan for the whole Resort was very impressive, in many ways, so was its management:

- it was designed from far left, to far right, from the sea to the river, with streets providing routes, length and width. It was very safe and efficient,
- the lighting was very impressive and decorative,
- markets for shopping and entertaining were very well planned and managed,
- most of the living villas, called Eshash, were divided in two parts, North and south, in two major districts, 2 and 3,
- the level of hygiene was amazing, with hardly any pollution,
- cars were not allowed, and had to be left at the entrance to the Resort, with trailed transportation, called Tat Taf, that took residents to their villas,
- all the roads were regularly cleaned more than twice a day, with a meticulous system to collect the rubbish.

Based on a leasehold property rights, the Resort was designed, primarily, by the Egyptian Jewish Community. Not only was the design unique, the management was efficient, the beauty was stunning. Above all else, the community objective behind it, all, was honourable, loving and caring; namely ensuring societal assimilations and homogeneity, as one Egyptian Citizens, irrespective of religions. Thus,

- Subleases were fairly granted, to Egyptian Jews, Egyptian Copts and Egyptian Muslims,
- The divided villas were shared, tenants or leaseholders, one side, say, a Jewish family, and the other side a Muslim or a Coptic family,

- Youth Clubs were not restricted to one religion, but to all,
- Mosques, Churches, and places of Jewish worship were given equal attention,
- Muslim, Coptic and Jewish events were celebrated in a friendly, in fact brotherly way,
- Many Sports teams which consisted of members from the three sections of the one Egyptian community,
- Families visited each other regularly and went to cinemas, restaurants and clubs together, and
- One personal note worth mentioning, being a reminder of happy personal days. My first girlfriend, Joyous, and my late brother's first girlfriend, Flora, were, both, Egyptian Jews. Our love was genuine, deep, consistent with tradition, and continued until they had to leave Egypt after 1956.
- In this personal connection, I recall us, as a one Group, regularly singing, while dancing at Le Foyer Club, in Ras El Bar. One loving song used to start by the Non-Jewish members of the group singing in Arabic "Fool W'Lib Flora B'Tehib", which translates to "Beans and Seeds Flora is in Love". In response, the Jewish members of the group would sing in Arabic "Fool W'Lib Hamada B'Yehib", which translates "Beans and Seeds Hamada (my late brother nick name) is in Love".

In short, the Egyptian Muslims, Copts, and Jews were one homogeneous friendly community, covering all ages without exception. One does not exaggerate in saying that up to 1956, Ras El Bar was regarded as an ideal example of a unique Resort of not only beauty and order, but, importantly in ensuring societal homogeneity. Without a doubt, one can, easily, say that many modern Resorts, in Europe in particular, were based on the Ras El Bar model. The Egyptian Jews, who had to leave Egypt in 1956 and afterward, helped in modernising numerous Mediterranean and other resorts.

II.3 Second Talk: The 1923 Constitution

The 1923 Constitution and the Future of Elementary Education in Egypt.

Dr Relli Shechter

**Academic Visitor, Middle East Centre, St. Antony College,
University of Cambridge**

While the first talk in this session 8 focussed on questions, such as Who, When and What in relation the “Copts and the 1919 Revolution in the context of Egyptian Identities and Nationalism”. Focus on the second talk focuses on one the greatest achievements of the 1919 Revolution; namely the 1923 Constitution. The talk goes further to address the Future of Elementary Education in Egypt.

Perhaps, Dr Relli Shechter would allow me to provide some introductory remarks only about the general part of his talk; namely the 1923 Revolution. In so doing, I am just showing some specific attention to this part, knowing that it would be replaced by an avalanche of impressive, interesting, valuable analysis by today’s highly respected speaker.

The Constitution of 1923 became a Constitution for Egypt for almost 29 years, from 1919 to 1952, that included a period of interruption and replacement. In 1930, a new constitution was put in place, that lasted for 5 years’ period (1930-1935), before being restored in 1935 and continued until the 1952 Coup d’état.

In relation to the end year, perhaps it is worth mentioning, at the outset, that the Coup d’état of 1952 marked the start of a long period of no meaningful constitutions. Only the adoption of quasi so-called “constitutions” that served the interests of diabolical dictators, particularly the Unique Dictator who, amongst many other disasters, achieved in 1967 the worst, in few hours, defeat in history!!

One question arises in the context of this Conference deals with the relationship between the Revolution of 1919 and the 1923 Constitution? In simple words, one could easily say that without the 1919 Revolution there would have been, most probably, no 1923 Constitution, or, perhaps no other constitution?

The story of the link between the two important events in Egypt’s in recent history, can be summarised in simple words.

“After the end of World War I, The Egyptian Revolution broke out in 1919 calling for not only Independence from the British Occupation. But, also, it highlighted and focused on Liberty and Democracy. The determination of the Egyptian people and their nationalistic leaders resulted in the British Government at the time ultimately recognising the Revolutionary demands. The 1922 Declaration recognised Egypt’s independent state, though with some reservation, and ended the Protectorate status of Egypt.

In an interesting article published in Arabic in the Quarterly magazine, Tabayyun, in May 2013, Alfi Ali Ghazi impressively explained, historically and analytically, not only the link between the Revolution of the 1919, on one hand, and the 1923 Constitution, on the other hand. He, also, dealt, in depth, with the role the Egyptian Copts, in both the Revolution and the Constitution.

Mr Ghazi’s summarized the trio-link as follows, I quote as translated to English, as follows:

“The 1923 Egyptian Constitution was the first democratic constitution in Egypt, the first pillar of the nascent parliamentary system, and an important step in the path toward political and constitutional consolidation- in short the 1923 Constitution ushered Egypt into a new historical era”.

In his article, Mr Ghazi analysed the 1923 Constitution “within the context of the formation of Egyptian nationalism following the 1919 Revolution, which replaced Islamism”. He reached a conclusion that “this process culminated in the 1919 revolution, which guaranteed equal rights to all Egyptians, regardless of their religion, gender and mother tongue, while simultaneously guaranteeing the freedom of belief and the free practice of religious rituals”.

“This process removed the religious notion of ‘minorities’ from the Egyptian political lexicon and replaced it with the notion of ‘political or economic minorities’.”

(For reading of the complete article, which I strongly recommend, visit, via Google, the following link:

<http://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/1923-egyptian>)

It might be worthwhile reciting some Articles from an unofficial Translation of the 1923 Constitution prepared by Joy Ghali on behalf of International IDEA (www.idea.int).

Quoting some Articles, hopefully, might serve two purposes, at least.

** One, it would demonstrate how impressive this 1923 Constitution is as compared by, even, the most up- to- date modern Constitutions? And,

** The second, it might, hopefully, encourage those who, in the Arab World, are, nowadays, very obsessively, preoccupied in making unheard of amendments to already pathetic, uniquely strange, so-called constitutions!!

Some Articles are presented below, under some headings of my choice:

First: Prelude: Interests of Egypt and Egyptians at Heart

“to pursue the good of our Nation, and pursue the path which we know will lead to its welfare and advancement and to deriving the enjoyments of free and civilised nations;”

“(this) cannot be properly attained unless in a constitutional system similar to most advanced constitutional systems in the world, under which our nation can happily and satisfactorily live and pursue the path of an absolutely free life, and which ensures active participation in running state affairs and overseeing the drafting and enforcement of laws, and brings a sense of comfort and assurance about our nation’s present and future , while maintaining the national qualities which constitute the great historical heritage thereof”

“to help our people’s rise to the highest of standards which the people is readily qualified and capable of meeting, which befit the ancient historical greatness of our people, and which enable our people to attain the appropriate status among peoples of civilized nations.”

Second: Equality: All Citizens Are Equal Before the Law

Article 3

“Egyptians shall be equal before the law in enjoying civil and political rights, and in public duties and mandates, with no discrimination among them therein on the grounds of origin, language or religion. Egyptians shall solely be appointed to public positions whether civil or military. No foreigners may be appointed in such positions other than in exceptional conditions stated by law.”

Third: Freedom and Citizens Rights

Article 4

Personal freedom shall be protected.

Article 12

Freedom of belief shall be absolute.

Article 13

The state shall safeguard the freedom of performing religious rites and beliefs as per traditions observed in Egyptian territories provided that such shall not breach public order or contradict morals.

Article 14

Freedom of opinion shall be ensured. Every person may express their thoughts in saying, writing, depiction or otherwise in consistency with the law.

Article 15

The press shall be free within the limits of the law. Censorship of newspapers shall be prohibited. Warning, suspension or cancellation of papers via administrative means shall also be prohibited unless necessary to protecting social order.

Article 16

The freedom to use any language in private or commercial dealings, in religious matters, in whatsoever type of newspapers and prints, or in public meetings shall not be restricted.

Article 20

Egyptians shall have the right to gather in calmness and serenity unarmed. No police personnel may attend their meetings when they need not inform of such. However, such provisions shall not apply to public gatherings which shall be subject to the provisions of the law, and shall not restrict or prevent any measure taken to safeguard social order.

Article 21

Egyptians have the right to form associations. Means of using such right shall be established by the law.

Article 22

Egyptian individuals may address public authorities about any emerging affairs by means of writings signed in their names. Only state authorities and legal personalities shall be entitled to address authorities collectively.

Fourth: Applications of the Law

Article 5

No person may be arrested or imprisoned unless per the provisions of the law.

Article 6

No crime or punishment shall be decided except in accordance with the law. No punishment may be imposed unless on actions committed after the promulgations of the relative law.

Article 7

No Egyptian shall be expelled from Egyptian territories, and no Egyptian should be prohibited from residing anywhere or be compelled to reside in a certain place unless in accordance with conditions set forth by the law.

Article 8

The home shall be inviolable. No home may be entered unless in conditions established by the law and by means stipulated therein.

Article 9

Property shall be inviolable. No property may be expropriated from any person unless for public interest in conditions set forth by the law and by means stipulated therein provided that such a person is fairly compensated.

Article 10

The punishment of public confiscations of assets shall be prohibited.

Fifth: Education: Ensures Prosperous Future

Article 17

Education shall be free except when it breaches public order or contradicts morals.

Article 18

Public education shall be regulated by law.

Article 19

Primary education shall be compulsory for Egyptian boys and girls, and shall be free in public schools.

The Parliament established by the 1923 Constitution was “an advanced step along the course of Egypt’s democracy and representation. However, in practice it was mixed with numerous negative aspects. Political life from 1923-1952 varied between tides of limited popular democracy and ebbs due to intervention by occupation forces and the palace, which led to the dissolution of parliament ten times. Moreover, a new constitution was issued in 1930 which lasted for five years. This was a setback to democratic life until the Constitution of 1923 was restored in 1935.”. Further, one can conclude that “the constitution conditions deteriorated due to internal and external reasons. This deterioration was reflected in a state of political and governmental instability to the extent that Egypt developed 40 cabinets in the period 1923- 1952 “, one hand.

(<https://en.m.wikipedia.org>)>wiki>Egypt)

On the other hand, turning to the subject of the Egyptian Copts, the 1919 Revolution, and the 1923 Constitution, considerable progress was achieved during that period. One example is the election to head the Parliament of a Copt, Weesa Wassif Pasha. He was elected to Parliament to represent a Constituency, near the Southern Town, Mineya. This Constituency did not have a single Egyptian Copt. That is why Wessa Pasha said “I represent in Parliament a Constituency, without any Copts, except one: myself”.

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**III: Concluding Thoughts:
What Does the Future Hold? I wonder!!!**

So far, in the previous sections, primarily, attention was focused on the past, with specific reference to the talks of the 8th session of this Conference. In this section, an attempt will be made to provide some preliminary thoughts relating to the present and the future. To this extent, the concluding remarks about the present in the future, will, provide predominantly provide some of my initial thoughts, that are based on papers I published in the past that addressed many of the issues dealt with in the paper.

This paper started by making an unreserved declaration of loyalty to both the countries, the one where I was born and grow up in, Egypt, and the one that made me what I am now, Britain. In what followed, important issues relating to three fundamental subjects were focused on.

These were:

- The historical and political relationship between Egypt and Britain,
- The Role of the Egyptian Copts, primarily, from 1919, to 1923, and the years that followed, and
- Constitutional issues, focusing on the 1923 Constitution

On the subject of the British-Egyptian relationship, similar to today's, in November 2006, a Conference was held in London, which was organised by The British Egyptian Society, and the School of Oriental and African Studies. It was a Forum on "50 Years since Suez, from Conflict to Collaboration". The contents were published later on in a book. In this Forum Conference, similar, again, to today, I moderated a session, and, in November 2008, I produced a paper, titled:

**"Egypt: A Pivotal State, Britain: A Great Power. USA: The Superpower; The Middle East and World Peace & Stability".
(British Egyptian Website)**

This paper was included in the published book, referred to above.

In this paper, after analysing the past relationship between Egypt and Britain, it ended up by advocating, in a strong, enthusiastic way, but an analytical, a future very special relationship between the two countries, in the context of the World Order at the time, in which the United States of America was, and remains, the world's Great Power.

In this context, in introducing the Opening Session of the Suez Conference, I suggested, for illustrative purposes, an "emotional" model, based on the anatomical organs of the human being and their functions:

- **Egypt was regarded as the “Heart of the World”,**
- **Britain was regarded as the “Brain of the World”,**
- **The USA was regarded as the “Muscle of the World”**

Out of my strong and deep love of my country of birth and growing up, in the above mentioned paper, I went further in defining the very special status of Egypt, by attributing it to some “sacred/Holy” reasons, to mention but a few, based on:

- **In Egypt, God chose her as the venue for speaking to Moses, for the first and last time,**
- **To Egypt, God chose for His Word and Sign, Jesus Christ, to visit and live, without such move to Egypt, probably Lord Jesus might have not been able to preach Christianity,**
- **From Egypt, God chose for Prophet Mohamed (PBUH) to marry one of Egypt’s Coptic women, and**
- **As Egypt is the most mentioned country in the three Holy Books.**

Along the same emotional lines, I attributed Britain’s greatness to many significant contributions to humanity, to recall but a few, for:

- **In it the “Industrial Revolution” began, and, henceforth, modern economic science, economic industrialisation and prosperity,**
- **To it, the world looked for wisdom and guidance for many centuries, and,**
- **From it Shakespeare, Austin, Dickens, and, even, Karl Marks, inspired generations, and, still do, to this day.**

Based on the above, I put forward a hypothesis that:

“This Heart of the world, Egypt, and, this Brain of the world, Britain, when in synchrony, peace and harmony prevail, and, vice versa when harmony is no longer prevailing.”

This hypothesis was put to test by, historically and analytically, reviewing a number of important events that occurred in 50 years, from the Suez Crises, and the specific, dual, and multiple, roles played by the three parties. Based upon the results of this analysis, and relying on the

updated theoretical definitions of: The Superpower, the USA, The Great Power, Britain, and The Pivotal State, Egypt,

“An Outline Framework in a Uni-multipolar World Power Strategy”

It starts with:

“Completing a Triangle of Special Relationships” between the three parties; namely the Superpower, the Great Power, and the Pivotal.”

To do so, two conditions needed to be satisfied:

- **The First Condition that must be satisfied is the need for Special Relationships between ALL the three parties; i.e. the necessity of completing triangular agreements. It not necessarily to have a one agreement between the three,**
- **The second Condition that there should exist a formal basis for the relationships between the three parties, which must go well beyond normal diplomatic embassy representation.**

Then, this should be followed by

:

The Completion of the Triangle in Action.

To do so, a third condition must be satisfied:

- **The third condition is that All the three key parties are to be involved in any situation requiring, by definition or formal agreement, their involvement until a decision is reached between them to proceed.**

Given the above, the question that remains relates to **“how the three key parties operate together, assuming that the above three conditions are satisfied?”** In this respect it is unwise to force a straight-jacket rigid form of implantation by any of the three key parties, given their differing circumstances.

A cooperative framework for the functioning of the triangular arrangement is proposed. It suggests adopting:

“A Uni-multipolar Consultative and Policy Structure”

It consists of the following:

- **The three parties establish an institutional structure between the three parties,**
- **A Permanent Policy Panel is to be established between Egypt, the Pivotal State, and Britain, the Great Power,**
- **Both Egypt and Britain are to cooperate, consult, be involved in relevant decisions with the USA,**
- **Two Committees to be created: one a “Europe Consultative Committee”, and the other a “Middle East Consultative Committee”,**
- **The former, the Europe one, will have four Permanent Members, Britain, Chair, France, Germany, Russia, and Israel. Egypt is an Observer, to be invited by the Permanent members, as required.**
- **The latter, the Middle East one, will have five Permanent Members, Egypt, Chair, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Syria, and Turkey. Britain as Observer, invited by Permanent members if required, and**
- **The system permits consultation with others, as deemed necessary and appropriate. For example, the Middle East Consultative Committee can liaise with, say, the Arab League. Similarly, Europe Consultative Committee should be allowed to Liaise with the European Union. Other consultations are not to be excluded with other regional and international organisations, such as the UN, for example.**

For more details, including the diagrammatical presentation, Annex I provide Part II, pages 27-33, of the Paper that covers the above analysis.

Turning now to the “Status and Role” of the Egyptian Copts, again, I published two papers, dealing with this very sensitive politically and societally matter.

One paper was published in 2010, with the title;

“Egypt’s Alliance of Hope, The Path to Enlightenment”

The other was published in May 2011, with the title:

“God’s Word, His Chosen Mary, and the Coptic’s Community Strategic Mission in New Egypt’s Charter of Hope.”

Both papers were delivered, as a Guest Speakers, at the Coptic British Medical Society Gala Dinners in 2010 and 2011.

(To have access to the two papers, visit, The British Egyptian Society website)

Despite the major improvement in the status of the Egyptian Copts starting from the 1919 to 1923, they faced significant deteriorations as time passed by, and as Egypt witnessed dramatic deterioration in Governance. Since the early 1950’s, the Coptic Community in Egypt has been subjected to increasing discrimination on religious grounds, which, sadly, degraded them, effectively, to the position of second-class citizens. In addition, to being subjected to discrimination on other ground. In an internet article, Tarek Heggy stated “...**not a single individual or entity in Egypt today, official or unofficial, can claim that the Copts have no problems or complaints**”.

One can quote many examples of discrimination and mal-treatment of the Egyptian Copts. Few examples of which are mentioned, as below:

- Since the 1952 Coup d’état, one can, easily, observe the dwindling of their participation in public life, such as allocation of non-sovereign ministerial positions only to the Copts. This deepens the feeling of marginalisation amongst them. In addition, there is the de facto implicit exclusion of the Copts from occupying certain key positions, whether in the public or the private sector. For example, one wonders why Egypt can’t have a Copt as a Prime Minister, as happened before the 1952 Coup d’état? Or to hold a sovereign type ministerial positions?
- There is no doubt that changes in the Education Strategy in its entirety, in Egypt is urgently needed. In particular, history and religious books used in Egyptian schools need to be urgently revised. Over the years, again since 1952, the former was subjected to changes that served certain political objectives. The later witnessed inclusion of extremist material, mostly imported, invisibly, to Egypt. The majority of such changes were at the expense of the Egyptian Coptic community.

- Also, in the absence of one law for construction of and restoration of all houses of worship, one of the Copts major complaints relates to the severe legislative and bureaucratic constraints imposed on the construction of new churches, or even in some cases carrying out some minor restoration work on existing churches.

Although, one has to admit that there have been changes, some of which are significant, discrimination against the Egyptian Copts remains, and needs to be addressed, as a matter of urgency.

Perhaps, one can end addressing, further, this subject by stating the following:

“Certainly the return to the historical cross and crescent slogan of the 1919 Revolution is urgently needed, and who best can pursue this ambitious and highly significant priority than; an Alliance of all sincere and deeply proud Egyptians?”

As to the last topic relating to the “Constitution”, I can only say a simple statement:

“I wish a return to the 1923 Constitution can be considered, seriously, and as a matter of urgency”. Compared with all the other constitutions since the 1952 coup d’état, the 1923 Constitution has no match”

Although, it is unlikely that this wish would be listened to or implemented, I shall remain optimistic.

Who Knows what the future holds?

Annex 1

Part II: An Outline Framework in a Uni-multipolar World Power Structure

Part II: An Outline Framework in a Uni-multipolar World Power Structure

1- Completing the Triangle of Special Relationships

Starting with the triangle of special relationship, Figure 1 in (A) shows an incomplete triangle with unequal distance: This aims to signify the existence of Special Relationships, in a formal form, between two key parties; namely the Superpower (US) and the Great Power (Britain), on one hand, and between the Superpower (US) and the regional Pivotal State (Egypt), on the other hand.

As to the unequal distances, it is meant to signify the closeness of the parties to each other, and, hence, the relative strength. Thus, it shows a closer relationship, in the case of figure 1 in (A), between the Superpower (US), and the Great Power (Britain), than between the Superpower (US) and the regional Pivotal State (Egypt).

While differing closeness may not represent an obstacle in developing a hypothesis regarding the effectiveness of an interactive relationship between the parties; in fact in some cases it may be an advantage; as an incomplete triangle is, certainly, an obstacle. In one sense, such absence may make it impossible for the parties to act interactively, and forcefully. In another sense, even if they try to do so, say on the basis of an informal or a case-by-case basis, the differing nature of the commitments may reduce the degree of effectiveness, and, hence, success. Thus:

• The First Condition that must be satisfied is the need for Special Relationships between All the parties; i.e. the necessity of completing the triangle.

There are different forms for completing the triangle. One way has been the type of occasional and informal consultations between Egypt and Britain at present, for example; namely informal in that it is not based on any form of formal agreement, and irregular in that consultation occurs irregularly when the need arises, and at the total discretion of either part, as shown in Figure (2) in (A). This discretionary, and informal nature of relationship does mean that the relationship exists and, paradoxically, does not exist. This leads to uncertainty regarding the likely effectiveness.

Figure (2) of (A) shows, in the right hand corner, another form of informal relationship. It represents some improvement over the first form, in that the irregularity is replaced by continuity. However, lack of

(A)
The Triangles of Special Relationships

Figure 1: The incomplete triangle

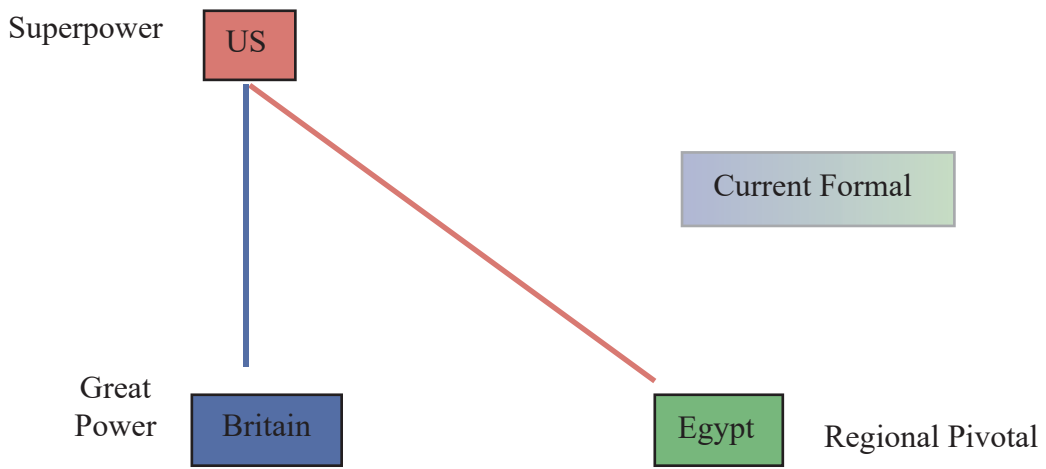


Figure 2: Forms of completing the triangle

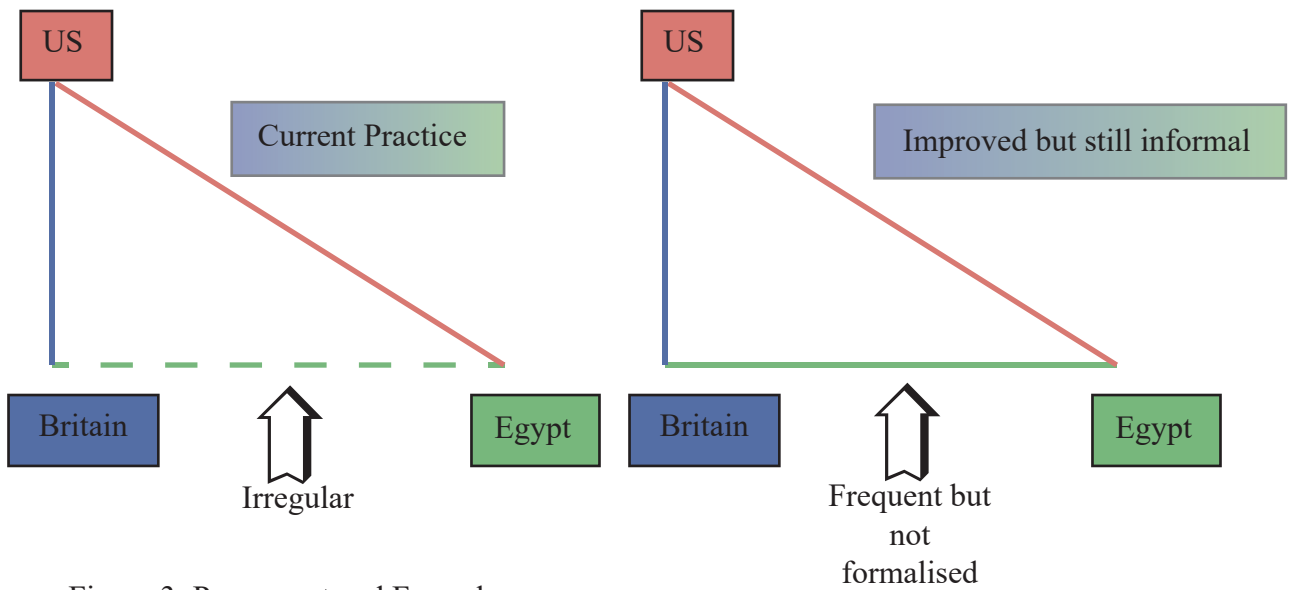
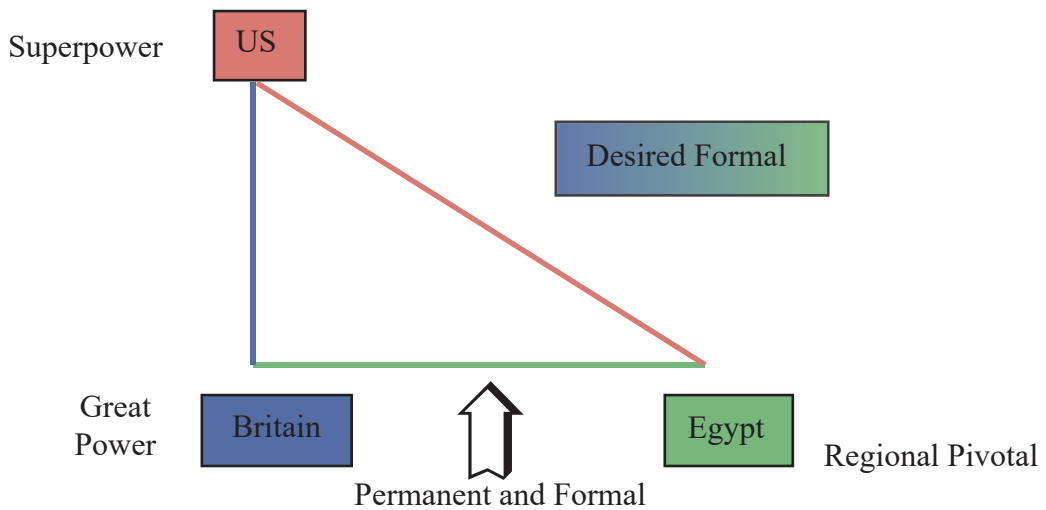


Figure 3: Permanent and Formal



(B)
Interacting With a Crisis

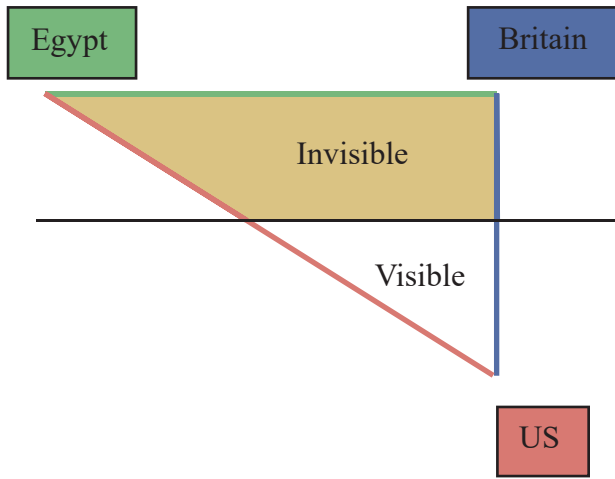


Figure 1:
One key player

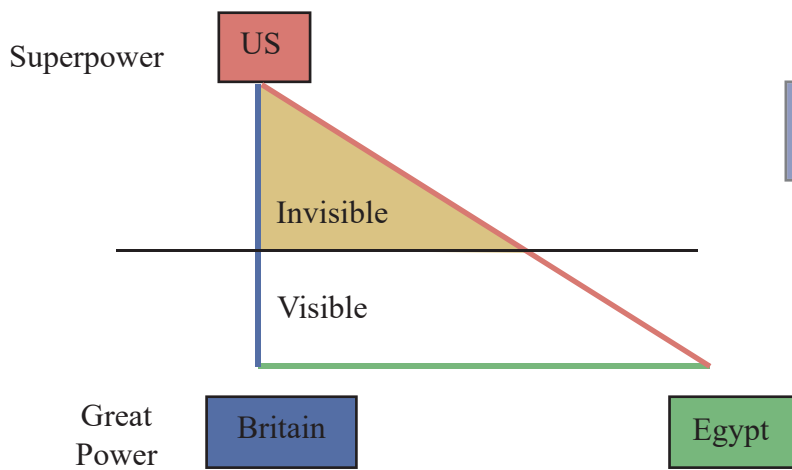


Figure 2:
Two key players

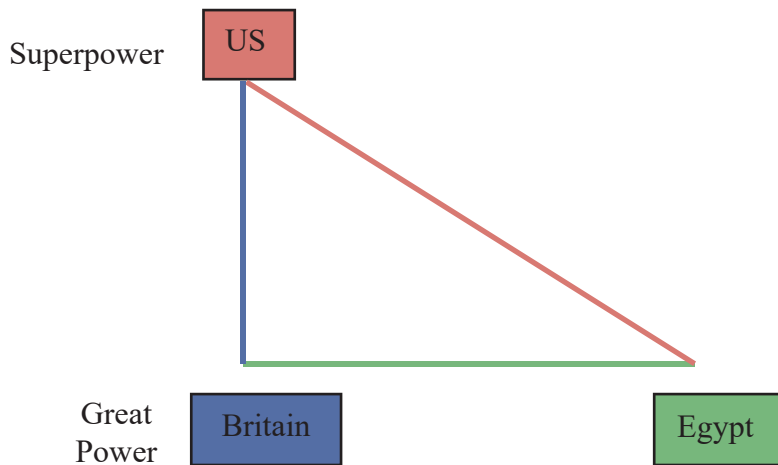


Figure 3:
Three key players

any formal basis though reducing the uncertainty it does not eliminate it altogether. This leads to:

- **The Second Condition that there should exist a formal basis for the relationship between the key parties, which must go beyond a normal diplomatic embassy representation.**

This could take different forms, representing also different levels of formal commitments. This may range from a simple Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to a semi-binding Agreement, to a binding agreement, and may go as far as a Treaty of Formal Alliance. Apart from the latter, stronger and more binding forms may relate to a specific subject matter or area, or may be of a general nature. It may also be of a limited period or of a continuing nature. Obviously, the formalization of the relationship may start, say, with an MOU, and gradually move towards a stronger and more binding form, as shown in Figure 3 (A). It should be noted, at this stage, that the triangular shape is not a necessary condition, as there may be more parties involved, of the same power characteristics, in some crises situations. Also irrespective of the exact shape, whatever form it may take, this does not mean the absence of other parties in any particular situation.

2-The Completed Triangle in Action

Turning attention to how the key parties may deal with any particular situation, or a crisis, alternative arrangements are shown in (B). Three alternative situations are presented. Figure 1 (B), is the case of a one key party player, which does not mean the non-involvement of the other parties, given the existence of a complete triangle, as per Figure 3 (A). What is meant by a one party player is that the three parties have consulted with each other, in accordance with their formal obligations, and decided that the most effective approach is one in which one key party acts visibly alone while the other parties remain involved but not in an explicit or visible way. This situation may occur in a case in which, say, Israel is involved, and it was judged to be more effective if only, say, the U.S. is left to deal with the matter, visibly, alone.

In other situations, it may be decided that the situation is left to two key parties alone to deal with, as shown in Figure 2 (B). Again this refers to visibility, and not to consultation, as discussed above. This resembles the situation in the Iraq /Kuwait Crisis of 1961, except for the fact that no formal relationships existed between the parties directly involved; namely Egypt and Britain. Also, there is no evidence that any more than standard diplomatic consultation took place between Britain and the US, despite of the existence of the Special Relationship, or between

Egypt and Britain or Egypt and the US. However, one should guard against attempting to draw general conclusions from this case of singular success. The special circumstances prevailing at the time, alone, make it risky for one to generalise.

Neither should one attempt to generalise regarding the advisability or otherwise of the two key players approach. This depends on the situation under consideration in terms of the magnitude of the problem, its likely ramifications, and the relative interests of the key parties. In all circumstances, no decision is to be taken on this issue; the number of key players; until in-depth consultation has taken place. This leads to:

• The third condition is that All the key parties are to be involved in any situation requiring, by definition or formal agreement, their involvement until a decision is reached between them to proceed differently.

In other words, the normal situation is as shown in Figure 3 (B)

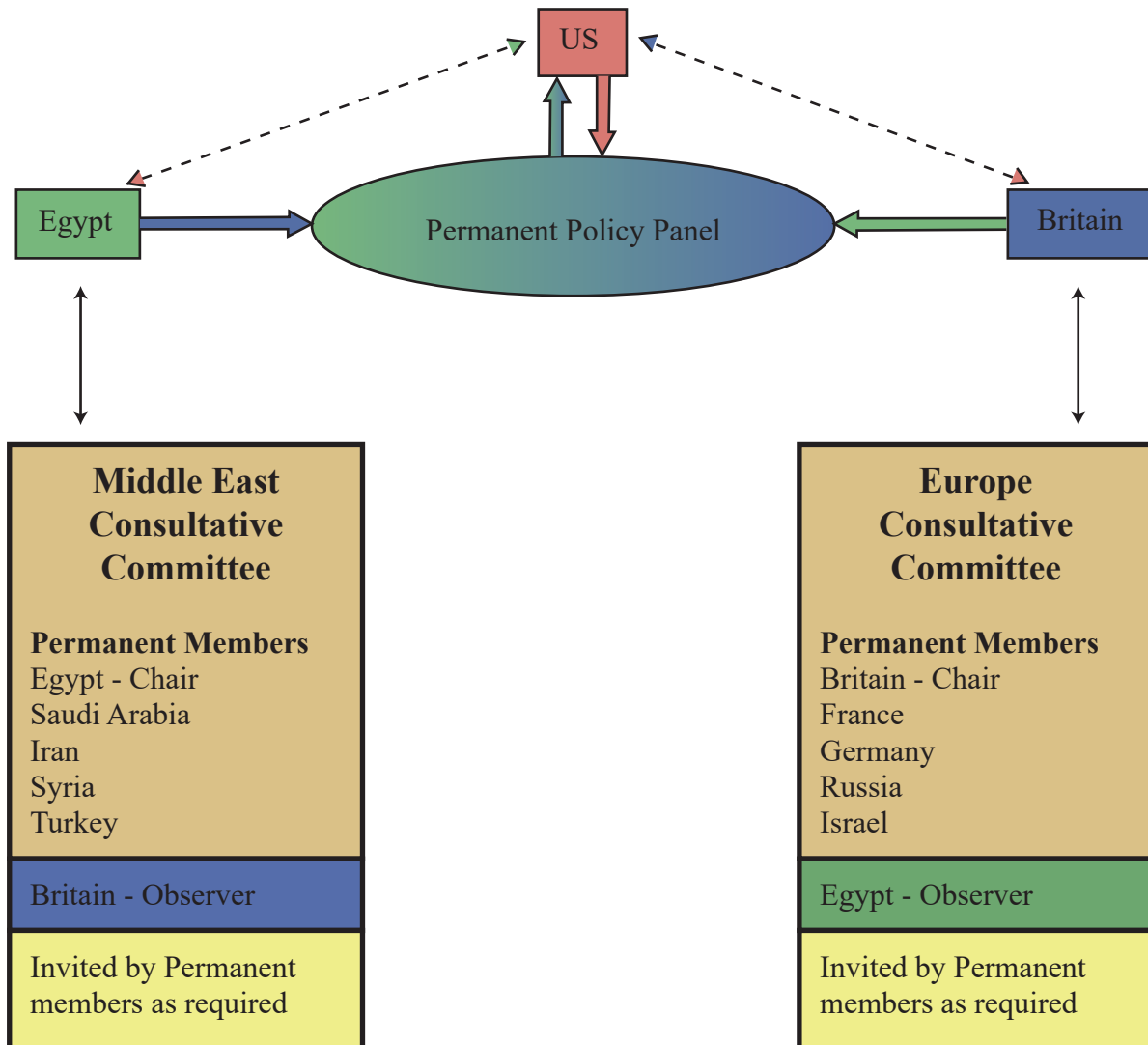
Last, but not least, the question that remains to be addressed relates to how the key parties operate together, on the basis that the above three conditions, at least, are satisfied. In this respect, it is unwise to try and propose a straight-jacket form of implementation of the key players approach, given the differing circumstances of the parties and their historical ties.

3-A Uni-multipolar Consultative and Policy Structure

Figure (C) presents an example of a Uni-multipolar Consultative and Policy structure, which may be appropriate for the Middle East, assuming three key players only; namely the U.S. as the Superpower, Britain as the Great Power, and Egypt as the regional Pivotal Power:

- Focussing on the upper part of the graph, the main feature is the establishment of a Permanent Policy Panel (PPP) between Britain and Egypt in which both countries are represented at the Under-Secretary level. As the title indicates, the purpose is to reach policies, rather than to consult only. It is also in the form of a Panel in order to ensure appropriate representation.
- This permanent Panel interacts with others, as appropriate. It interacts on policies with the US.- the double arrows - while consultative activities - dotted lines - continues, on the one hand,
- On the other hand, two committees are established: the Middle East Consultative Committee and Europe Consultative

(C)
Uni-Multipolar Consultative and Policy Structure



Committee. The main scope is consultative. However, both committees are permanent.

- Membership of the two committees is of three types: permanent, observer and invited. The permanent membership is reserved for Great Power, Britain, and the regional Pivotal, Egypt, chairing, respectively, the relevant committee.
- Other permanent members are other important players. As shown in the lower part of the graph. These consist in the Middle East Committee of: Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey, and Syria; and, in the case of the Europe Committee: France, Germany and Russia, in addition to Israel. The inclusion of Israel in this latter committee is to ensure that the views of Israel are taken into consideration, hoping that a change in the political situation can make it possible for Israel to be a member of the Middle East Committee.
- An observer status is reserved alternatively for Britain and Egypt. As to seats reserved for invited others, these are not meant to be permanent membership, but only at the invitation of the Chair, in consultation with other permanent members, and relate to specific situations. As indicated by the double arrows, consultative activities are interactive and two-ways.
- One can also assume consultation with others, again as appropriate. For instance, the Middle East Committee can liaise with, say, the Arab League, and, similarly, the other Committee liaising with the EU. One should not exclude consultation with international organisations, such as the U.N.

4 - Closure

Bernard Lewis (1997), in a very illuminating article on “The West and the Middle East” suggested a very hopeful prediction :

“ There have been other dominant civilizations in the past; there will no doubt be others in the future. Western civilizations incorporated many previous modernities – that is to say, it is enriched by the contributions and influences of other cultures which preceded it in leadership. It will itself bequeath a Western cultural legacy to other cultures yet to come ”

Maybe if the nation states of the world can deal with their problems in a cooperative and sincere manner, perhaps in a similar structure to the one proposed in this article, doom-day predictions, such as “ Clashes of Civilizations” and the like, can be replaced by a world system based on justice for all.

In fact, this is what our one and the same God wants us to uphold, as stated in the Qur'an:

“ You who have iman (faith)! Be upholders of Justice, bearing witness for Allah alone, even against yourselves or your parents and relatives whether they are rich or poor, Allah is well able to look after them. Do not follow your own desires and deviate from the truth. If you twist or turn away, Allah is aware of what you do.

Annex 2
Moderation Introduction
and Closure Remarks

Moderation Introduction

Excellences, Colleagues, Good Friends
Ladies and Gentleman

Today we are gathering to revisit an event that occurred 100 years ago. As it is a historical event, the normal practice would be to focus the analysis in relation to the modern relevant time period.

The uniqueness of Egypt's very long history always tends to make any analysis relating to Egypt, in general, or her people, in particular, very challenging.

However, the analysis in this session will focus on two specific important subject-matters, relating to the 1919 Revolution, and most likely in the context of modern history of Egypt.

In this context, I am confident that, if time allows, analysis with reference to Egypt's ancient unmatched history might demonstrate a very interesting fact, in the context of this Conference subject. It might be possible to reveal that:

“The 1919 Revolution is most likely to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with some of Egypt's ancient miracles.”

Thus, to this extent, and given time limitations, Egypt's relevant analysis in this session is likely to resemble any other analysis for other countries, with much shorter histories.

The aim for this session will be to form an integral part of the other sessions, and, in particular, sessions 2 and 6 that dealt with issues relating to this session.

In fact, I am not exaggerating to say that the specific subjects of this session represent the most significant characteristics of the 1919 Revolution.

In the first talk in this session, Mr Mark Bebawi will, I presume, be focussing, for 20 minutes, on the pertinent role played in the 1919 Revolution by the Egyptian Coptic minority in the success of the 1919 Revolution, and the impact it had on Identities and Nationalisms. Focusing on this subject, I am sure Mr Bebawi's talk will impress us all.

While the first talk will address questions such as Who, When, and What in relation to the Copts and the 1919 Revolution.

The second talk, for another 20 minutes, by Dr Relli Shechter, will be focusing on one of the greatest achievements of the 1919 Revolution; namely the 1923 Constitution, and its pertinent significance on the future of elementary education in Egypt.

I am sure Dr Shechter's talk will teach us a lot, and will impress us all.

In addition to the two talks, Mr Alec Nacumuli , a lecturer on the Jewish Community in Egypt will speak briefly, for 7 minutes, on the role of Jews in Egypt in the Independence movement.

Mr Alec Nacamuli will be invited to speak after Mr Bebawi and before Dr Shechter, followed by the discussion part of the session.

May I ask, please Mr Bebawi to start this session.

Mr Bebawi speaks.

May I ask, please, Dr Sheechter to address the second topic, of this session.

May I now invite, Mr Alec Nacumuli to speak, for 7 minutes addressing the role of the Egyptian Jews in the Independence movements.

I thank the speakers for their most valuable talks, and open the session for comments and questions from the floor, for 20 minutes.

Please raise your hand, and ask your question briefly, and mention the speaker to whom the question is, primarily, addressed. Thank You all.

Closure Remarks

Before announcing the formal closure of this session, I wish to start by thanking our speakers for their most lightening and impressive talks, from which, I am sure you agree with me that it was fascinating. Please share with me your appreciation.

Now, I wish to make some concluding remarks, as follows:

- For the Patriotic Egyptians & British I say:

“Do not Forget the Past
But
Be Forgiving and Loving
And
Learn Lessons from the Past

Remember

Egypt is the Beauty Queen
of All Queens

Britain is the Wisest Kingdom
Of All Kingdoms,

Both honourable people of Egypt and Britain
Don't Allow Politicians to Repeat the Mistakes of the Past.

- For the Alliance of Hope of Egyptian Muslims and Egyptian Copts, I say:

Despite some recent improvements, the Egyptian Copts are still suffering from serious discriminations and inequality. It is time to return to the Crescent and Cross Days of the 1919 Revolution, under the sole banner of “Egyptian Nationalism”, and no other Nationalism.

- As to Constitution;

I wish I can live the day to “Witness the Return of the 1923 Constitution”?

But, unfortunately, this is only a Dream which is unlikely to become a Reality!!

But Who Knows what the Future Holds?

- Last, but not Least, allow me to make an analytical statement:

The Days of Exogenous Imperialism; i.e. External Occupation, are, more or less, over and done with!!!

But, Sadly

The Challenge is now from what might be called: Endogenous Imperialism; i.e. Occupation from Within!!!

- A very sad example is the unfair occupation of the Israeli Army of the Sacred Land of the Muslims, Jewish and Christians,
- There are, also, other examples of Occupation Within?

Ahmed M. El-Mokadem

Born in Egypt in 1941 and moved to the UK in 1963, dual nationality, Egyptian/British for 40 years. Educated in Egypt (BA Econ., Cairo 1961), and UK (PhD Econ, Manchester University, 1968). More than 40 years academic, consultancy & business Career worldwide. Held academic positions at Cairo, Manchester, Stirling, Lancaster & Surrey Universities retiring from full time academia in 1988, when he became & remains a Visiting Reader. Published / supervised many books, articles & research projects in economics, econometrics, management, politics & system engineering. Contributed to the early economic thinking of Margaret Thatcher. One of the founders of the British - Egyptian Society, and had been its Vice-Chairman from inception until December 2008 and became its Patron and Founder since then. A founder and Co-Patron of the British Egyptian Public Affairs Committee - BEPAC, and a member of many other professional and charitable societies. Retired in 2004 to focus on writing, lecturing, public service & Social & charitable work. A keen collector of antiquarian books on Egypt.

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