



THEORETICAL-CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF RESEARCH ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE EGYPTIAN STATE

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Abstract: This article focuses on the relationship between the liberalization of the Egyptian economy and the restructuring of its foreign policy, focusing on the historically composed and evolving role of Egypt in the political, economic and comprehensive Arena.

Keywords: Egyptian state, national economy, political development, political-social, relations, geopolitical relations, diplomatic relations

Egypt is an integral part of the arabic world, as it is the largest Arabic-speaking country, as well as the ideological and political center that the entire arabic world has faced throughout modern history. It is also the center of Islamic Civilization. Its Al-Azhar University is the oldest Islamic religious institution in the entire Islamic world. Egypt is occasionally perceived as Mediterranean or Faroese regardless of the views of the upper-class segments of western Egypt. Without any doubt, Egypt sees itself as the leading light of the arabic world, as the Egyptian leaders used it as a huge asset to bear heavy burdens in the defense of arabic work and arabic-Islamism, and this is well recognized. That is why it is appreciated throughout the arabic world. This prestige did not go without affecting the prestige of the local governor-that is, Egypt was allowed to use arabic aid and Egypt had the ability to define a joint arabic policy, resulting in an increase in the country's strategic importance and prestige in world affairs.

Egyptian foreign policy has always faced a historical challenge to create a consistent balance, in addition to its versatility, in particular the Arabic, African and Islamic Mediterranean, as the present has always been marked by intellectual and political problems since the time of Egypt's founder, Muhammad Ali. At the beginning of the 20th century, the main interest in achieving the independence of the country in Egypt was, therefore, the independence movement and the struggle against the colony were decisive in making Egypt understand the world.

After Nasir came to power after the 1952 revolution, this problem of versatility was reversed in favor of pan - Arabicism over other individuals.¹

Egyptian foreign policy in the 1970s was characterized by anti-imperialism and ideas of non-alignment and growing dependence for economic reasons. Egypt had a long history of conquest, particularly European imperialism, which produced a sense of zealous anti-imperialism, and a strong national pride among Egyptians, especially during the Nazarene era. Egypt's national vision was to be independent from both the East and the west, and to be a powerfully prosperous state. However, as a developing country in conditions of poverty, it was not able to do so without the large amount of military assistance and economic assistance

¹ Calvert Peter, Revolution and International Politics, second edition (London, UK: Pinter, 1984);

of developed countries and great powers. Such dependence was a huge expense and a threat to national independence. It is possible to reduce the problem of dependence by diversifying the sources of assistance, the policies pursued by Nasser to achieve a balance between the East and the West, to obtain assistance from both sides.

Referring to the geopolitical place of the Arabic Republic of Egypt in the region, the development of arabic nationalism in the 60s gave Egypt a leading position in the arabic world. The defeat of the arabic armies in the sixty - seventh war and the normalization with Israel in the late 70s gradually freed Egypt from this role, to which end it retained only the general secretary and symbolic function of the Arabic League. Today, Egypt does not seem to be able to retain the means of influencing it in the arabic world due to differences in the arabic world, as it becomes increasingly susceptible to geopolitical divisions associated with changing world order. Pride and the emergence of New arabic forces in the Gulf. But Egypt has several geopolitical cards, which play wisely and can become key assets:

- in addition to Jordan, Egypt is the only official gateway to dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis, and therefore it is the main channel for resolving the secret conflict. Egypt is trying to maintain control over the Palestinian issue and is facing competition from other countries in the region, including Turkey and Qatar. This difficulty was evident in Israel's last war against the Gaza Strip.² The relationship between Egypt and Hamas, which President Sisi accused of destabilizing the Sinai and supporting the Muslim Brotherhood, was unacceptable. In this conflict, Turkey and Qatar saw an opportunity to exclude Egypt from peace talks, accusing it of joining with Israel against Hamas. Egypt finally appeared as an indispensable interlocutor in the diplomatic marathon that led to the truce.
- Egypt remains the largest demographic force in the arabic world. No other country in the region has more than half of Egypt's population. A large part of the Egyptians emigrated around the world. They represent the three million inhabitants between the Persian Gulf and North America. But many researchers do not want to talk about the Egyptian diaspora. If they meet certain criteria (dispersal, maintaining strong ties with the motherland and sending funds) necessary for this diaspora, it can meet other criteria, such as group Unity awareness, collective memory (inextricably linked with time and space) and a strong organizational system.

Egypt also maintained its military superiority in the region. It remains the first Army in the arabic world, and joint defense plans in this area cannot deny the contribution of this army. With an average annual budget of us \$ 5,450 million, 4,624 tanks, 370 combat aircraft, four submarines and eight frigates, the Egyptian army continues to research in all arabic defense projects.

Looking back on history, Egyptian foreign policy under the Nazarenes is a relatively well-studied area. Nevertheless, while most research focuses on Gamal Abdul Nasser's post-1955-56 politics and ideology, it is the period when he became a symbol of arabic nationalism and a recognized leader of the arabic world, while the previous period of formation includes 1952-55³. But this period was a very unlucky year for Abdul Nasir. The insecurities expressed

² www.policycenter.ma – publications. Geopolitics of Egypt.

³ Middle Eastern Studies, Vol.32, No1, January 1996, pp. 159-178
Published by Frank Cass, London



towards him largely overshadowed his early political career at a time when he was rising as the leader of the arabic world and looking for the right path in international relations. His unchanging appearance caused some retrospective errors among scholars regarding the positions of the Free Officers of 1952-55. During these years, two schools of thought emerged in dealing with Egyptian-Western relations. The first is that Abdul Nazareth is willing to cooperate with the West, but American and British policy has caused the deterioration of Egypt-West relations and subsequent changes in Egyptian foreign policy. The latter sees the emergence of Abdul Nasser's neutralist orientation as the culmination of an inevitable historical process. According to this interpretation, neutrality was a natural choice for Abdul Nasir during decolonization, whether it was a true expression of a generation under Western rule or a political tactic in an anti-Western campaign . The latter publications claim to be Abdul Nasir's carefully thought out policy from the beginning to counter Western influence. A close examination of recently published documents shows a more complex reality. The main assumption of this article is that Abdul Nasser was a product of the colonial era, and therefore, although he was inclined to neutrality, nevertheless, he was a pragmatic leader who was ready to quietly cooperate with the West. In fact, Abdul Nazareth was thinking about developing a specific type of neutrality adapted to the specific interests and circumstances of Egypt, which did not negate cooperation with the West in principle⁴.

The existence of an independent state body engaged in foreign affairs in the modern history of Egypt began in 1826 under Muhammad Ali, known as the founder of the modern Egyptian state. The body first received the name of the Office of foreign trade and the master of foreign affairs, and under Khedive Ismail, the first cabinet of ministers in Egypt, formed in 1878. The body's mission was limited to dealing with all things, including foreign commercial interests and foreign treaties, as a British protectorate until 1914, when Egypt was proclaimed. With the signing of the treaty with England in 1936, Egypt began a relatively independent foreign policy, a large part of which was devoted to the implementation of full national independence, solving national problems with the outside world, and participating in a number of issues.

In April 1945, Egypt effectively participated in the San Francisco conference and made a significant contribution of its own, thanks to which the United Nations (UN) was founded and modern norms of international law were established. The Egyptian parliament approved the UN Charter on 11 October 1948 without any conditions, with a majority of 94 votes against 2 providing the conditions. On a regional scale, Egypt, with six other arabic states, founded the league of Arabic states on March 22, 1945, to serve arabic states. One of the main reasons for this was the Coordination of interests between states and between them on political, social and cultural issues. The emergence of Egypt's modern foreign policy began with the July Revolution of 1952 with the free proposals movement led by Gamal Abdel - Nazareth. Having managed to overthrow the monarchy in Egypt, Nazareth, in his book "The Philosophy Of The Revolution", based on the famous "three circles" policy for Egypt's foreign movement, outlined the parameters of Egypt's new foreign policy: arabic circle, African circle and Islamic Circle. To counter the hardships of the time, especially of the West, Nazareth had to use the

⁴ Middle Eastern Studies, Vol.32, No1, January 1996, pp. 159-178
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policy of the three circles to create a wider strategic depth for Egypt. In the first round, in the arabic round, Nazareth promoted a project of arabic nationalism and unity based on a common heritage and deep belief in fate. Within Africa, Egypt supported African states for independence and contributed to the establishment of the organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa on 25 May 1963.

To avoid interfering with the east-west ideological confrontation during the Cold War, Egypt declared that Nazareth, Tito of Yugoslavia, Nehru of India, Sukarno of Indonesia and Nkrumah of Ghana had formed a Non-Aligned Movement in Bandung - Indonesia in 1955. The focus of Egyptian foreign policy of the 1950s and 1960s was to end colonialism, promote national liberation movements, as well as create new regional and subregional institutions. Egypt's national security at the time was traditionally identified in terms of Western hegemony and fear of domination, represented by various security schemes set in the Middle East, such as the Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower Doctrine. In addition, the establishment of the state of Israel with Western support increased the size of the additional threat. Another important security aspect for Egypt was the Nile River and its waters. This has always been expressed by the firm Egyptian position that the enemy force should not be allowed to control the head of the Nile river or disrupt its flow into Egypt. In addition, Egypt spurred Afro-Asian solidarity and strengthened its cultural ties with Islam.

During the Anvar Al-Sadat period (1970-1981), many changes in foreign policy can be traced mainly to the aftermath of his visit to Israel and the Egypt-Israel peace process. During Mubarak's reign, Egyptian foreign policy of the 1990s had to overcome the problems and uncertainties of the post-Cold War New World Order. This was manifested in the emergence of the Middle East concept as a major area of mutual cooperation and cooperation since the Persian Gulf War in 1991. The importance of Egypt-Europe relations and their evolution within the framework of the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation (Barcelona process) were recognized, and Egypt-NATO relations had been interpreted as part of the NATO-Mediterranean Dialogue. This was reflected in new organizational changes in the Egyptian foreign policy apparatus and in different approaches to issues such as the environment, human rights, civil society, scientific research, technology and international cooperation⁵.

Egypt sent its troops abroad in various situations where Egypt's vital interests were at risk or where a window of opportunity for the development and growth of these interests was opened, or sometimes combined both causes. However, the decision to send Egyptian troops out of the country was never easy, as such decisions caused public discussion and always led to problems such as support and rejection. Although neither Yemen nor Kuwait had a common border with Egypt, Egyptian troops were deployed to Yemen in 1962 and Iraq during the Desert Storm in 1991. In both cases, the decision was based on the conclusion that the threat to Egyptian national life was large. The Egyptian public was divided into two points in both cases of intervention: one at the very end of the Red Sea and outside the Gulf supported sending troops outside to protect Egyptian national security; the latter saw the intervention in Yemen as a damaging initiative that would pave the way for the defeat of the Egyptian armed forces by Israel in 1967, and Egypt's participation in the Desert Storm as a submission to American hegemony provoked arabic conflicts, of which only the United States and Israel benefited. In the 90s, Egypt also sent troops to several hot spots around the world, notably

⁵ First Emergency Force of the nations – UNEF 1, 1956



Bosnia in Europe and Somalia in Africa. In such cases, decisions to send troops overseas did not cause much controversy within Egypt due to its geographical remoteness and low intensity of conflict. Egypt's location in these areas opened a window of opportunity for Egypt to achieve political, economic and strategic gains. However, the closest point of view to Egyptian thought is that Egypt must have a greater or lesser role in rebuilding its region and the world during the transition period. It was during that period of the 90s that Egypt's active existence beyond its borders-the United States and other Western and arabic allies in the Persian Gulf, with NATO in Bosnia and under the UN flag in Somalia - that many Egyptian figures achieved very prominent positions as leaders of international political and economic organizations.

In addition to this, Egypt's large debts were cancelled and Egypt became a focus on the issue of international awards, financing and political support. It was during this period that Egypt collaborated with other global and regional powers in laying the groundwork for many important regional initiatives and multilateral agreements in the Mediterranean and Middle East. This period of the 90s changed qualitatively in the Egyptian Armed Forces, rising to the advanced levels of command, control and communication, along with the establishment of military institutions for the preservation of peace, the study of foreign languages and the training of personnel in the field of information. Even every technology has been radically modified. This situation certainly did not leave without its effect.

At the founding of the United Nations in 1945, the San Francisco conference had only four independent African states among the founders: Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa. However, the winds of change were blowing across the continent, and the colonial powers could not continue to rule over other nations forever, especially after the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of human rights. The first peacekeeping practice inherited by the UN after the 23 July 1952 revolution, the United Nations peace control organization (UNTSO), was established in Palestine in may1948.

Following a truce ordered by the Security Council at the end of the first arabic-Israeli war in which Egypt participated. The term "peace Protection" did not come into popular use until 1956, when the Suez crisis broke out between Egypt on the one hand and Israel, France and the United Kingdom on the other. The crisis was caused by Lester B., then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Canada and later Prime Minister of Canada. Pearson was encouraged to propose the deployment of international peace forces under the UN flag. Since that time, UN peacekeeping operations have evolved around the world, where Egypt has participated in a number of UN contingents in various parts of Africa and beyond.

Egypt, like most developing countries, believes in the UN and has well discussed the extent to which it plays an important role in ensuring justice, security and progress in the world. Egypt signed the "International Court of justice" statute on July 18, 1957, the international agreement to "end all forms of racial discrimination" in 1967, and approved the agreement to "eliminate all forms of discrimination against women" in September 1981. Egypt hosted the International Conference on population and development in September 1994 and the International Conference on Crime Prevention and dealing with offenders in may1995. Egypt played a constructive role. Is the legal system of international maritime law, which establishes the powers of coastal states in relation to nearby maritime territories, and also participated in the work of the committee for the peaceful use of the seabed. Botrous Botrous - Gali, former UN secretary-general and former Egyptian Foreign Minister and leader of the



UN organization from 1992-1996, and the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the IAEA and former Egyptian Dr. Muhammad al-Baradei in 2005.

Egypt closely monitors the current debate on the expansion of the Security Council at the United Nations. Egypt's position in this regard is regulated by the Declaration of the 1997 African summit in Harari, which asks for two permanent and five non-permanent seats for Africa. In this regard, during the first sessions of the United Nations General Assembly in 2000 and 2004, Egypt declared that it was qualified to assume the responsibility of its permanent membership in the Council. Egypt's action depends on Egypt's regional role, its United Nations budget, and the organization's contribution to peacekeeping operations, as well as its role in African, Arabic, and Islamic circles. This would be the guarantee that Egypt would join the permanent membership of the Council in the expanded Council of representatives of all cultures and civilizations.

In an October 1998 interview with Amr Moussa, who became Egypt's foreign minister, he was asked if Egypt was able to re-establish its position as the undisputed leading power in the region in the 1960s. His response showed that Egypt's regional role in the 1990s could not be judged by the 1960s criteria⁶. Because the facts and difficulties were different. He then argued that Egypt's regional role should not consist in will coercion, but in mutual cooperation, partnership and establishment of common interests with other states. These new criteria for assessing the success or failure of Egyptian foreign policy in the 1990s and beyond are based on its realistic view of the region and the world as well as its ability to exploit opportunities and solve problems. According to some analysts, radicalism, which characterized Egyptian foreign policy in the Fifties and sixties, is the product of ideologies that are distorted towards the world and influenced by extreme nationalist currents and authoritarian leadership that seeks to seize power in domestic and arabic states.

Over the past decade, Egypt has managed to formulate a foreign policy that matches its perception of reality on the basis that it best serves its national interests not by isolation or striving for conflict, but by integration into the world order. Egypt is one of the few African states with authority in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and therefore has the ability to resist protectionist policies. It is with this conviction that Egypt is leading its foreign policy to play a positive role on a regional and global scale.

Economically, Egypt seeks to increase its competitiveness. The 2006 Egyptian National Competitiveness Council's recently published "Egyptian Competitiveness Report "(ECR) shows significant improvements in Egypt's competitiveness ranking, reflecting the impact of significant economic reforms underway in Egypt. It rose from 81st to 50th in the Global Competitiveness Index. In fact, on the basis of reforms carried out by lowering the inflation rate, liberalizing the exchange rate, lowering taxes and tariffs, simplifying the procedures for starting entrepreneurial activities and increasing property registration, financial opportunities, Stock development, new conditions were created to stimulate domestic and foreign investment. Reduced the market and paperbacks associated with exports and imports. With its geographical location on a global scale, its location at the heart of the arabic and Islamic world, its heritage at the foundation of the international system, its number of inhabitants, its peaceful international relations based on mutual respect between countries

⁶ Egypt's foreign policy in global change FES briefing document 11 | September 2006, p. 10

and cultures, Egypt also plays a key role in spreading current polarization and misconceptions that are shaping the global scene⁷.



⁷ Maj.Gen. Dr. Mohamed Kadry Said, Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Cairo, Egypt.
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