Non-development oriented Foreign policy Case study experience of Egypt

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Abstract

Egypt is one of the largest countries in the Middle East and North Africa with population over 82 million people, which has a young population with an average age of 24 years. The unemployment rate in 2009, 2010 increased, from 9.4 and 7.9 respectively percent to 4.13 percent in 2014. Egypt’s most important sources of income which plays an important role in the country’s foreign exchange earnings and would be independent of the government. Including: Egypt’s revenues through Suez Canal in 2013 to $ 7 billion, which has decreased to by $ 5.5 billion in 2014. Investing $8 billion and 400 million to dig a canal across the Suez under the army supervision is a new action of government to increase income in the next four years totaling 13 and a half billion dollars. Tourism’s share in gross domestic product is estimated 11 per cent per year, the equivalent of $10 billion before the coup in 2013. The share of income has fallen after the coup because of the violence and instability. According to the World Bank (2014), Egypt is in rating 6 with $20 billion annual revenue funds of immigrants in other countries. Egypt has received $2 billion annually behalf America, since the signing of the David peace Camp. Foreign aid to Egypt reaches $10 billion this year. Persian Gulf states have greater proportion to send these aids due to oil revenues. Egypt energy portfolio Chart is as follows: Natural Gas: 53% Oil: 41% Hydro energy: 3% Coal: 2% Renewable energies: 1% (http://www.eia.gov). Egypt is in the Africa after Nigeria and Algeria. Egypt plays also a vital role in the transit of energy in the world. In Africa, Egypt has the third largest population after Nigeria and Ethiopia, and the second largest Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Product 272 billion and gross national product growth of 2.1% and inflation 9.5%, in purchasing power parity, in the current international prices after South Africa according to the latest statistics from the World Bank in 2013. (http://www.worldbank.org) Egypt’s annual production of oil is 1 million barrels its major contribution to domestic consumption.

This country also has the largest refining capacity in Africa with a capacity of 975,000 barrels. According to transparency International Organization, Egypt is in score 114 based on corruption and is placed in non-free status. This organization has announced other indicators such as freedom (5.5), civil liberties (5) and Political Rights (6) in 2014. (World economies forum.org) Egypt with the support of UNDP, social funds for development projects to an average of 285,000 jobs created over the past four years, 25% of these jobs for women, which is on course for potential entrepreneurs and small credits based on intensity. Approximately 20,000 trained youth and then in private sector employment in IT companies and call centers were supported. Ranking Egypt in terms of global competitiveness index among 148 countries in the basic needs is 118, 118 for Macroeconomic, 119 for Market Development, and 100 for Technological readiness, 104 for Government debt and 82 for Innovation Capacity. Egypt’s share of total world exports at the end of 2013 is 34% and 38% share of total world imports. international links play important role in determining the prospects of development, whether economic or political domain Egypt international connections, in the most important International Union, the Arab League, which is initiated by the Egyptian government, was founded in 1945. This presence does not provides the impetus to bring about reform, because the entire 22-nation are in Arab undemocratic League and follow government-oriented economic systems to varying degrees which the environment for economic development in the current global political economy is not provided. Egypt’s
international links with the international community does not provide motivation, because the international community and particularly the West and the United States fearing powerful anti-Western parties in the Egypt, insisting certain democratization of Egypt. In last years of the reign of Hosni Mubarak, the economy further deteriorating the institution; So that unemployment rose to 20 percent in 2010, the monthly income of Egyptian was 2950 pound and this means the loss of middle-class and joining poor people and this can be the reason of corruption and organized private decision. In the process of action and reaction of the international system, at present, one of the most important aspects of understanding of politics, both domestic and global scale, structure and economic benefits associated with it.

In general, if the political elite are governing weakly, they might lose to develop the capacity of their spatial locations in the dramatic developments in the international arena. The main question in this article: what were Egypt’s reasons for slow development and lack of proper status in the international community? And our hypothesis is this: the political system in Egypt, despite the engagement and solidarity with the international community and there are also many opportunities that this country has, until now, the ruling authority within the country through fear of falling, not interested in economic and political development, and hence, community of the Egyptian government has been oriented development and qualify suitable rank, not in the global rankings.

Introduction
The way humans were taking causes to improve the living conditions and a set of mechanisms and tools, in the act of moving toward the stairs. No doubt that human societies, want to move on the path of stable development and no doubt, that during the course and the placement, to the knowledge and experience they need each other. What makes difference is difference in that context to accept changes caused by development. Movement of agricultural society to an industrial society and industrialization is one of this steps which should be completed, because its resulting consequences, namely, reduce economic and social disparities and improving living conditions for mankind has been very clear. But today, a large number of countries cannot acquire the indicators of development yet. Except Western countries, that social and historical conditions of the nineteenth century would provide an appropriate basis for social, cultural, political and institutional development for them, countries of the South East Asia, with different social backgrounds of the West could have dramatic success in their field. As far as, in the World Bank report of 1993, eight of the economy, namely, Japan, four North East Asian economies include the Republic of Korea, Taiwan (China), the island city state of Singapore, Hong Kong and three economies of South East Asia, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia were identified as the Asian economies with high yield and the world’s highest growth rate between 1965 to 1990. Interesting point is that, in the late 1970s, neoclassical emphasized on the failure of the government and the costs of government intervention on the economic development and explained government in the minimum suitable level, but central role of government in the industrialization has been authenticated. Development-oriented government is not driving motor vessels, but use the outside cast power. The nature of government determines the type of intervention and different levels of success in project development. Due to the fact that developing countries are urged to speed up the process of development, using various policies and programs, capacity and mobilize the necessary resources at the national and international levels, in a way, they provide some infrastructure, they will be required; Including administrative structure, efficient, independent and professional and create mechanisms for policy information and receive feedback from the society and the international community, to the knowledge resources for appropriate and adaptive policy. In this paper, the pathology century Egypt’s foreign policy, which prevents the acquisition of items is needed to obtain a development-oriented government, we will investigate.
1. **Theoretical Framework**

With an overview of the available sources, three movements have been created in the political development studies. First flow is theory of classical formalism. This object tries to organize universal explanatory theory and sociology of ideas and thoughts inspired by the 19th century. It must be said; Induction economics and development-oriented perspective in political science played a crucial role. The most important cast in this object are Lipset, Dahl, Deutsch, Lerner, Shils, Almond, Coleman, pie, Verba, Vargansky. (Kadivar 72: 2007-28) The second flow of political development studies is to rebuild sociology (or politics) through farewell, with great theories and turning into formal samples, which are abstract, just trying to find common ground for all the political modernization process (Badie, 23: 1999). These casts include Huntington, Apter, Bendix, Rekan and Aezeneshtad. Finally, third flow tries to refer the history and find a comprehensive and unique explanation about political development of each society. (Ibid. 24).

Among the thinkers belonging to this current, Valershtein, Anderson, Barrington Moore, Tilly and Eskachiul can be named. Of these three theoretical current in the political development studies, the process itself against criticism becomes increasingly short, inspiring others not so much. Today, research is based on other two more times, ie, the use of samples of official recognition and use of historical analysis. These two current theories are noteworthy and show different aspects to achieve an overall understanding of political development. However, more recent theories developed in the context of development thinkers like Peter Evans and Adrian which, cause the special nature of the industrial and economic development in developing countries, because these countries cannot wait to get fit and have no structural context, the use of existing facilities expansion project to start. Such a goal cannot be achieved in a generation and needs to a coordinating entity with the ability to order some time to navigate the various departments involved in development projects in the specified path and not the other direction, planning and implementing programs. The only factor that can have such a powerful position on the national level is the state. But the question is what kind of state and what capabilities can play such a role? What type of government structure, it is suitable for such tasks? Chalmers Johnson considers a state in South East Asia, particularly Japan to enjoy such a structure and they used the terms of the developmental state. His state governments in the form of a program-oriented development - intellectual formation, which have tried the skills required to participate in the global competition to acquire and puts them in front of the government program and emphasis on economic self-sufficiency. Also, development-oriented governments not only to monitor on the processes and mechanisms of the market and provide a suitable platform for the private sector, but also, in addition to having a close and continuing relationship with the private sector, intervene in the market and their activities seriously using mechanisms, in line with its long-term goals. Peter Evans distinguished the two types of the historical ideal of each other, the concept of the predatory state rather than the state-oriented development. Evans believes the most important structural features of the predator, is that the government’s efforts to maximize the benefits to the individual and not the pursuit of collective goals. There is no relationship between state and society, the relationship between the individual and the organization with the public authorities, organization or mechanism for communication between voters and the state. In the predatory state administrative structures, personal relationships are a source of solidarity, but in the state-oriented development, features Webern bureaucratic structure such as strong meritocracy, besides bonuses and long-term job prospects, creates a sense of responsibility and organizational cohesion. The correlation causes to empower political group instead of short-term political interests and the objectives and priorities set out in the direction of long-term policy would be emphasized. This type of government is not the creation or represents the interests of any particular group or class, but rather, of course of its development, the government has been mobilizing. Hence, one of the most important structural features is that of being a struggle between political elites, to avoid economic issues and major economic characteristics are the consensus opinion on a specific policy. In fact, the structural requirements of a developmental state are a hegemonic consensus about development pattern, usually under medium and long-term development plans. After that, there is an efficient administrative structure to prevent shorten the life of the policy, the distance between the removal and installation of
officers and directors. Reviewing the literature on development shows the majority of empirical studies conducted by scholars of Iranian and non-Iranian in the particular category of development and underdevelopment and many of these works, in particular, political developments in Egypt have a special category. Since the political development is one of the multiple aspects of development. Therefore, in this study development-oriented confrontation with the government of Egypt and also, barriers to economic and political development in Egypt, with an emphasis on the country’s position in the international system, in the pathologic results of Egypt’s foreign policy, from the last half century to the present time is investigated.

2. A look at the history of the foreign policy of Egypt, Abdel Nasser era until now

Therefore investigation of Egypt’s foreign policy is in the interaction, or opposition with the America, in this respect, which in any case, the United States considers itself as leader and moderator world order and any dealings with this country, the kind of behavior, is considered with the international community.

3. Nasser and the confrontation with the international community

Jamal Abdul Nasser was a full-fledged anti-Americanism 15 years from 18 years of his rule. He was an officer and leader of the revolution and great efforts to establish good relations by the United States. But, when it came to the presidential administration turned to the enemy of America. The first tension between the US and Egypt was on the Suez Canal crisis, in which the United States to support Egypt, but this support was considered less valuable. Because it seemed to back off invaders, rather than the result of US support, has been derived from Soviet support. (Anti-Americanism in the Muslim world in 2009. s 98). The second important issue in order to blur the relationship was America’s desire to Israel and the full support of this regime. Increasing tension between the US and Egypt, the United States didn’t agree to armed Egyptian army by American weapons. Nasser also attempted to buy arms from the Soviet Union for the first time in 1955 by Yugoslavia, the Soviet arms reach. From the beginning, disagreements over the US economic aid to Egypt and Nasser’s ambitious project sponsored by the World Bank, to build a large dam, on the Nile River, Aswan there were in the area. All of these issues causing major damage relations between the two countries, and in the same time, trigger another process, in which Nasser was founder of the Arab resistance in the face of pressure from the United States, the West and Zionism. After that, he was as one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement. Such a move means away from the West and the East theoretically. But Nasser, established close relations with the Soviet Union and establishment of socialism in Arabic, in which one party, Soviet style, to take political guidance, procedures. (Muslim Brotherhood p. 140). This process culminated in the Six-Day War in June 1967. In the effect of this war, protecting the interests of any heart or Egyptian, Arab relations with the United States went from anti-Americanism, anti-Zionism was equivalent. However Nasser observer, on the initiative of the United States, to resolve issues in Egypt and the Arab territories occupied by Israel in 1967, was a pragmatic attitude. Anti-Americanism in this period, that bulk of which originated from the American practice was rather disappointing, in Egypt, took root deeply. Anti-Americanism became Nasserism ideology.

4. Sadat, the interaction with the international community

Nasser died, as a leader of the Liberation, before the release of Sinai. This time occurred in his successor, Anwar Sadat. He entered Al-kapour war and tends to America and, as he said, 99 percent of his cards spent for relations with the US will spend. Sadat empowered anti-Soviet struggle through a powerful struggle with Nasser supporters and abandoned them in May 1971. In addition, he asked Soviet troops training to leave Egypt in 1972. Sadat was known as a leader after the Egyptian army crossed the Suez Canal into the Sinai Peninsula. Sadat, with the full support of the American made two important steps. His first action is to reduce militarism and authoritarian character of the government, which was to implement the project, the creation of a multiparty system and democracy. The second project of Sadat was economic liberalization and the separation of the socialist economy and closer to the capitalist market. Basically, it can be said that the Americans were enrolled in the center of these developments and Sadat were encouraged to do so. Generally, Sadat enabled to remove Nasserist by the support of Americans and Westerners (The
Future in Muslim territory in 1345. Pp. 57 and 58). Rica, for the second time after 25 years, the notion of regime change in Egypt. Hence, for the second time, an American president stood up to support the policies of Egypt. Americans provided possibility of peace between Egypt and Israel, at the peak of the October War in 1973 by Kissinger initiated by active diplomacy and to the Camp David Accords, was terminated in 1978 and finally, the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai in 1982 and a cold peace, but stable, between Egypt and Israel were caused. American University was absence of anti-American, in the level of official and understandable manner, the opposition Islamists Nasserism and not and Americanism among ordinary people. Sadat, to eliminate Americanism takes three major actions. First, a treatment called Nasserism in Egypt. Second, fight Islamist groups and third, to establish mechanisms for the America’s idealism. Namely, to the creation of American universities, trade with the United States, the tourist exchange, buy weapons. But finally was assassinated due to the explicit support of the US by an Islamist group. This action can represent a residual anti-Americanism among the people.

5. Mubarak and interaction with the international community and revolution of Egypt

Mubarak was empowered when Egypt had nearest economic and military commitments with the US. Although Mubarak didn’t sign an official with the US politically binding treaty or agreement, but he followed Sadat profile and strengthened relations between the US at all levels. On the economic front, Egypt was second-largest recipient of US after Israel’s. But, the closest relations was in dimension military. In the Egypt, that military institution is the real power in the political system, it is important to understand this point. On dimension military, the performance of Mubarak has several features. Egypt army of American accumulated weapons and weapon systems and defense and Egypt Soviet style became American style. Major joint military exercises and training of military personnel took usually done in the United States. Thus, when there is a crisis in relations between the two countries, Egypt is seen in the America camp. Some believe that even if political tensions between the two countries, there is still a non-military commitments will break. But precisely because of such is a strategic commitment that the Egyptian government, faced with stress, and thus, paves the way for further tension, with the United States. Regime tries to prove that the national interests of the United States are not affiliated. Such a manner has been accepted as a measure to control anti-Americanism. (Military Strategy of the United States after the Sept. 11 West, 2003: 87 and 88).

6. Result

According to obtained collection, we must say that the Egyptian faced difficulties in international community. The most important factor in this cooling of relations was the US support from Israel. So that, after the defeat of Egypt of Israel in the Six-Day War, a sense of inferiority among the Egyptians came to Israel American support of Israel was caused, that Egyptians hatred towards Israelis were also found to be an American. With the advent of Sadat, the Americans were going to change Egyptian view with Sadat and to do this, do not hesitate of any activity. Assistance, financial, economic and military, to changes in government structure was used. But they could not practically remove the hatred scenes among the people and the masses and the assassination of Anwar Sadat in use and it can be a sign that American leaders. With the advent of Mubarak, he was faced with two problems. First, Egypt has a deep commitment and strategic alliances with United States, treaties and agreement that he was willing to continue and second issue concerns general thought against America. Mubarak wanted, on the one hand, led her own show and the other side, have also supported by the Americans. However, it is safe to say, that he failed in his policies and the policies of the wrong side of him, causing his removal from power. If we look to the Egyptian revolution, we can, for the claim that Zionism and anti-Americanism, and consequently, one of the causes of the revolution in Egypt. Of the anti-American slogans and Israel, which had been in Al-Tahir Square in Cairo, to capture Israeli Embassy, the Brotherhood’s rise to power, anti-American groups in Egypt is the booklet, can be outlined. The government formed after the overthrow of Mubarak and Morsi state establishing, he is trying to reach out to America, in order to not reduce the amount of economic assistance to Egypt and its army, Mubarak’s policies in this area should continue to harshly. The result was that the United States with its new partner in the region, and with the military coup, imprisoned President-elect and once again, the military affairs and the
presidential election of 2014 power were legitimate. Given the political behavior of Egypt, we find that Egypt, despite the country’s most prominent Middle East and Horn of Africa and the communication path between the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa and has unique geopolitical position, led the country in recent decades, foreign policy engagement with the international environment. Egypt’s foreign policy and interaction patterns, the system is relatively unstable, despite the reforms that Sadat and Mubarak have done for the opening of political and economic environment authoritarianism political system remained the dominant feature. The apparent leader of Egypt’s modernization policy, the public interest and a large part of the traditional, with its international approach, simply as funding, in particular, the United States, the continuation of authoritarian rule, no true believer in the use of these funds to promote the development of the country, in Egypt since Mubarak, along with the main actors in the international system and have provided the possibility of delays in the transfer of power to the leaders of Egypt. At the same time, foreign type of policy shall be grounds for the motion in the course of economic and political development to set internal processes, reforms should be coordinated. This policy is clearly not followed in Egypt. This country also international relations, in determining the prospects of its development, both in economic and political areas, should be considered. However, it’s important not to internal factors. For example, international connections in Egypt, at the International Union, the Arab League, which is initiated by the Egyptian government, was founded in 1945. This presence does not provide motivation for reform, because, all 22 member states of the Arab League, are undemocratic in varying degrees, the state-oriented economic system will follow the current environment for economic development in the global political economy do not provide. Egypt’s international links with the international community does not provide motivation, because the international community and in particular, the West and the US, afraid of power in Egypt anti-American groups, special insistence to the democratization of Egypt. This country, in 1979, signed the Camp David Accords and since that time was under America protection. First, Anwar Sadat and then Mubarak took the task of protecting the security of Israel. Accordingly, America aid to Egypt annually about $ 2 billion and providing armed forces. On the other hand, despite the West’s aid to Egypt, the people of this country do not take benefit from it. In the last years of the reign of Hosni Mubarak, the economy, further deteriorating the institution; so that, unemployment rose to 20 percent in 2010, the income of Egypt, the Egyptian pound fell in 2950, that this means the loss of middle-class and join to poor the reasons can be cited corruption and organized private decision. In the process of action and reaction of the international system, one of the most important aspects of understanding of politics, both domestic and global scale is structure and associated economic benefits. With reference to the theoretical framework, we find that the predatory state is introduced against the development-oriented government. Egyptian government follow the most important structural features of the predator, which attempts to maximize individual interests rather than the pursuit of collective goals and generally Egypt’s political system, in spite of the interaction and integration with the international community and many opportunities, so far, due to fears the country fall within the authority of the rulers, and therefore have no interest in economic and political development. Egyptian government is not count oriented development and if the political elite, the future of this country, a weak government, may, business development capacities and their positions on the dramatic developments lose in the international arena.
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