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**The Influence of American Foreign Policy
on Egypt's Domestic Affairs**

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Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization**

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Dedication

GUEMARI ILYES, DEDICATE THIS WORK TO:

ALLAH MY CREATOR, MY SOURCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND INSPIRATION.

MY GREAT TEACHER PROPHET MUHAMMAD (PEACE BE UPON HIM).

MY DEAREST BELOVED WHO HAS MEANT AND CONTINUES TO MEAN SO
MUCH TO ME,

THE PERSON WHO HAD ALWAYS EXPRESSED THE VALUE OF LEARNING TO
ME; MY

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ANY ERRORS OR OMISSIONS WHICH REMAIN, HOWEVER, REST SOLELY ON
THE RESEARCHERS OWN.

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the influence of the American foreign policy On Egypt's domestic affairs. This research work aims to investigate the motives of American intervention, and to discover the role of U.S. foreign policy in the democratic changes in Arab Spring countries in general and in Egypt specially. Thus, the appropriate research method is the descriptive one in which we attempt to trace the main historical of the American foreign policy his tools in one hand. On the other hand, outcome of these policy are to impose dominance on Egypt because its importance on the Arab region level and the Islamic world. Also, it makes balance between Egypt and Israel for more security in the region through combt terrorism. The results obtained in this present work demonstrate that the American foreign policy in Egypt was for strategic interests and economic reasons. Besides, the results discovered that the United States had an important role in the Arab spring uprisings, using indirect means as the media, religious minorities, and civil society organizations. Moreover, democratic transitions in Egypt and Arab Spring countries resulted in the dissociation of the Arab world as well as the classification of citizens on a sectarian, ethnic, and religious basis. In the end, we suggest some recommendations for Egypt in an attempt to help him resolve their problems which can be treated through the political reform and combat economic corruption for improve separation between the religion and the state as well as getting rid of American and Western domination.

Key words: Arab Spring, US democracy, Egypt, Foreign Policy

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General Introduction

The winds of change that blew and swept over the region led to attempts at revolution in some countries, such as in Tunisia, Libya, Syria and Egypt pivot of study. Calls for 'social justice' , 'dignity' and 'freedom' resonated in the Arab Middle East in 2011 in which these uprising of Arab peoples as of early 2011 was not unexpected, at least by many Arab activists, if not by the Western powers.

The revolts were therefore not unexpected and many indicators pointed in their direction, for example the strike of the Tunisian miners (Gafsa), the Egyptian mass strikes of 2007–08, the growing resistance of small peasants to their accelerated expropriation by the rich peasants and the protest of the new middle class organisations such as Kefaya. we would also point to similar processes in Bahrain, which were savagely crushed by the army of Saudi Arabia, and in Yemen where al Qaida was 'introduced' in order to neutralise the 'menace' coming from the progressive forces, which were particularly strong in the South.

1. Statement of the Problem

The U.S. imposes itself as a leading power upon the world through Foreign Policy. It has long been concerned with promoting the international spread of The U.S. democracy all over the world especially in the developing countries and more precisely, in Arab world including Egypt. In this respect, U.S. it has been using many apparatus to implement his policy in Egypt under several pretexts, freedom, human rights, religious freedom, feminism in which The U.S. foreign policy the most prominent role in changing Egypt's domestic conditions in the period 2011-2013 to make it better.

2. The Aim of the Study

- Exploring the characteristics of American foreign policy, major players, tools and competing interests.
- Investigating the national events in Egypt.
- The reasons of the Egypt revolution.
- Investigating and assessing the involvement of U.S in Egypt events 2011-2013.

3-Research Questions

Was the US foreign policy the most prominent role in changing Egypt's domestic conditions in the period 2011-2013?

- Subsidiary questions

1- Was the financial aid granted by the United States changed the economical social situation in Egypt?

2- what are the Reasons of Collapse in Egypt 2011-2013 ?

3- what is the situation of the U.S towards revolution in Egypt 2011-2013?

4- Research Hypotheses

In this research work we hypothesize that the real reasons of American foreign policy about Egypt is in order to control, strategic, economic and protect Israel therefore total dominance .

5. Significance of the study

Egypt in the eyes of events, Because it has strategic location in world and region, Arab and Islamic, we are focus on it, on one hand, also the concern of this research is to highlight and demonstrate the real purpose behind the American foreign policy towards Egypt as well as demonstrating the role of U.S. foreign policy in Egypt's events. Moreover, if we considered that the result will provide students, teachers and others who have an interest in this topic with answers to their questions about the American role in Egypt's events between 2011-2013 on other hand.

6. Research Method

the study attempts to determine the influence of American foreign policy on Egypt 's domestic affairs in which the former is the independent variable while the latter is the dependent one. Theoretical side In chapter one in which we are adopted The descriptive method . This method will be useful in getting insight into the role of U.S. foreign policy on Egypt 's domestic affairs. Moreover, this method is also relevant in collecting data about subjects under-investigation through a profound observation of the written and official documents or other documents which can provide us with important information. Applied side in chapter two we are also adopted analytical method to explain some mysterious capture.

7. Research limitations

This study is concerned with investigating to what extent the American foreign policy affects on Egypt. In order to shed lights on the issue, we have examined the tools and goals of these policy during the years 2011-2013.

8. Research Structure

Our research is divided into two chapters. The first chapter aims to discuss foreign policy in general, and then we start by describing the USA foreign policy, the major players, the competing interests and the tools of these policy. The second chapter contains Egypt's domestic affairs and then Egypt events between 2011 - 2013. The reason and caused of this revolution , the role of U.S policy in the democratic changes in Egypt since 2011 to 2013. In addition to the American attitude towards Egypt.

CHAPTER ONE

American Foreign Policy

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Introduction

In this chapter we are going to study foreign policy in general and American foreign policy. And then, the major players of this policy in addition to other factors including in this matter like international organizations (UN-IFM-NATO) on one hand. On other hand, the competing interests of foreign policy, tools using in this one.

1.1.Introducing the foreign policy in General

- According to (Gadi & Mennai, 2018) "Foreign policy is a political term that means everything related to a country's foreign, diplomatic relations with other countries, whether neighboring or not. In most countries and nations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is concerned with regulating this policy ".

- "foreign policy is a broad term, covering many different spheres of policy and action. Its concerns include defense and national security, overseas trade and commerce, global stability and conflict, and the values and rules which govern relations between states" (Gadi & Mennai, 2018)

1.1.1.Introducing the American foreign policy

"Foreign policy is not remote, nor is it important only for diplomats or bureaucrats. Foreign policy can affect everyone" (Kaufman, 2017)

For understanding U.S. foreign policy through application. But, not on approach (Kaufman, 2017).

1.2.Historical background of American foreign policy

1.2.1.From Isolation policy To Internationalism Policy

During President George Washington's two terms as president, the United States adopted a policy of isolationism, because the country was too weak to become embroiled in the affairs of foreign countries. Isolationism or non-intervention was a tradition in America's foreign policy. Isolation and non-intervention were the national policy of the United States of for the first two

centuries of its existence. George Washington's farewell address is often cited as laying the foundation for a tradition of American non-interventionism : « The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relations. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendship or enmities. » (Renehan, 2007).

In his part Kaufman said the United states pursued two major approach as we have seen subjected to the theory and the apply at reality in its context

1.2.2. Monroe Doctrine

“James Monroe was elected the fifth president of the United States in 1816 and would go on to serve two terms (1817 to 1825). During his second term, Monroe introduced the Monroe Doctrine, which would become the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy well into the twentieth century” (Renehan, 2007, p. 07).

In December 2, 1823 Declaring that the Old World and New World had different systems and must stay distinguished spheres, Monroe made four basic points: (1) the United States would be neutral in conflicts between European powers; (2) the United States would have bilateral relations with existing colonies and dependencies in the Western Hemisphere; would be protected from foreign invasion from the colonial powers by the United States; and (4) any oppression of any country in the Western Hemisphere by European power would be considered as a declaration of war against the U.S. (Renehan, 2007, p. 14).

The United States' policy of non-intervention was preserved throughout most of nineteenth century. The significant foreign intervention by the United States was the Spanish-American war, which saw the United States occupy and control the Philippines.

In order to secure construction rights for the Panama Canal which begun in 1904, Roosevelt's administration had a prominent role in instigating the Panamanian revolution against Colombia. Non-Intervention between the World Wars With the beginning of WW1 in 1914, the United States declared neutrality and worked mediator peace. It insisted on its neutral rights, which included allowing private corporations and banks to sell or loan to either sides. There were almost no sales or loans to Germany, only Allies.

Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson insisted on neutrality, denouncing British and German transgression, especially those German violations where American civilians were killed. The German U-boat torpedoed the RMS Lusitania in 1915. It sank in 20 minutes, killing 128 American civilians and over 1,000 Britons. It was against the laws of war to sink any passenger ship without allowing the passengers to reach the life boats. American opinion turned against Germany as bloodthirsty threat to civilians. It also made suggestions to Mexico, in the Zimmermann Telegram, hoping to convert American military pay attention to south of the border. Following the recurrent sinking of American merchant ships in early 1917, Wilson asked Congress and obtained a declaration of war in April 1917. He neutralized the antiwar element by arguing this was a war with the main goal of ending aggressive militarism and indeed ending all wars. Since mid-1918, the American contribution has become significant. The United States officially entered WW2 against Germany, Japan, and Italy in December 1941, following the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. This time the U.S. was full-fledged member of the Allies of World War two? not just an 'associated' as in the first war. After the war and

devastation of its Asian rivals, the U.S found itself in a individually powerful position owing to its tremendous economic and military power (Renehan, 2007)

1.2.3.From Hegemony To Soft Power

Hegemony is political, economic and military predominance of one state over the others. The dominant state is known as hegemony. Ancient days domination of SPARTA and Othines over other Greek city states. 1660 to 1713 French hegemony in Europe.1860 to 1910 British hegemony in colonial period. U.S. hegemony has three different understandings: hegemony as hard power, hegemony as structural power and hegemony as soft power.

1.2.3.1. Hegemony As Hard Power

Absolute power: The U.S. has military capabilities that can reach any point on the planet accurately, lethally and in real time.

Relative power: No other powers remotely match U.S. spends more on its military capability than the next 12 powers combined but Iraq invasion revealed the weakness of U.S. military in policing occupied territory.

1.2.3. 2.Hegemony As Structural Power

U.S. dominates world economy, U.S. plays a vital role in providing global public goods. U.S. navy plays an important role to ensure freedom of navigation in international waters.

Internet is developed by U.S. military most of the global network of satellites are owned by the U.S. government. U.S. share in world economy is an enormous 28 %.

U.S. accounts for 15 % of world trade American firms in the top three list of every sector ; World bank, IMF and WTO are the products of American hegemony MBA started in U.S. Hence, U.S. is present in all parts of the world in all sector of the world economy and all areas of technology.

1.2.3.3. Hegemony as Soft Power

America dominates in the social political cultural and ideology spheres also thoughts,

dreams and life style of many people in different parts of the world are very much Americanized. This makes America a soft power because it has the ability to persuade rather than coerce. During cold war in the era of soft power. The U.S. won victory over the Soviet Union. For example, blue jeans were popular in that country. It shows that the U.S. was able to engineer a generational divide in Soviet Union on the basis of cultural product.

1.3. The Major Players in American Foreign Policy

The framework for making U.S. foreign policy placed by constitution in which made in the early years of this country (Kaufman, J, 2017). This particular document included approach in which limit the power of anyone branch and to maintain that the system of checks and balances would be balanced.

1.3.1. Executive and Legislative Branches

The Constitution establishes the three branches of American government: the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. The legislative branch makes laws, the executive branch enforces the laws, and the judicial branch interprets the laws (Djebali & Ghanbazi, 2018).

Headed respectively by president and Congress are the two parts of the government that have been given most of responsibility for making and for implementing foreign policy (Kaufman, 2017)

According to (Gadi & Mennai, 2018, p. 30) American constitution has authorized the legislative branch over foreign policy.

According to Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution, that Congress has the power to declare wars, keep armed forces, control international commerce ratify treaties and agreements, also sets the laws which frame the foreign agenda. Besides that, Congress is either involved in appointing some cabinet members, such as ambassadors and diplomats as well as "has the general legislative power and the power to appropriate funds, called —the power of the purse".

1.3.2. National Security Council (NSC)

National Security Council includes "the president and vice president, the secretaries of state and of defense, and advisers such as the director of the CIA and the Joint Chiefs of Staff" (Watts, 2010, p.201). In the last four decades, it was approved as "the assistance to the president for national security affairs" (McCormick, 2010, p.377), as well as it is considered as the chief formulator of the foreign policy. The council, appointed as the advisor to the president on military affairs, can take political or military action to settle the international disputes (Gadi & Mennai, 2018, p. 30).

1.3.3. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

The CIA's principal role is collecting, analyzing, assessing and distributing the foreign intelligence information to the President and senior U.S. government policymakers to boost in building decisions related to national and international safeguard. It collects information from newspapers, magazines articles, television broadcast or any available open sources about intelligence issues. Then, intelligence analysts scrutiny the collected information and write a report to responsible authority to formulate the U.S. policy towards countries (Gadi & Mennai, 2018, p. 30).

1.3.4.Non-Governmental Actors

Policymakers are always subjected to many factors in which have Many influence on decision makers Of which, interest groups, public opinion, mass media, and Think Tank in taking foreign policy decisions.

1.3.4.1.Interest Groups

They assemble for the sake of advocating for their various interests. Advocacy groups, including economic, public and ethnic groups, attempt to influence the public policy through an array of strategies. Hence, their concerns will be promoted in the foreign agenda.

They use Several ways including, framing the issue and shaping the terms of debate; offering information and analysis to elected representatives; and monitoring the policy process and reacting to it through disseminating additional information, letter writing campaigns, calling for supplementary hearings or opposing candidates during elections (Gadi & Mennai, 2018).

1.3.4.2.Media

As we know that the media has an important and significant role in influencing the decision-maker and the public on U.S. politics. It is directly affecting the foreign policy agendas. It attracts the attention of driving forces to an internal or external affair via televised hearings, television coverage or other electronic tools; Congress might react to an international crisis to end conflicts or reach harmony. In addition, (Meddileh, 2018). has discussed how the media serves the citizens and gives them the freedom to present their opinions in order to create a transparent system of government. He stated that: "In particular, a free media sector plays an essential role in guaranteeing the freedom of expression and freedom of information, both of which are necessary for facilitating the effective participation of citizens in democratic processes"(Meddileh, 2018, p. 12).

1.3.4.3.Think Tanks

One of the most dangerous tools that the decision maker has relied on throughout the history of American politics in terms of theorizing, and One of the main nongovernmental actors affecting foreign policy is the Think Tank. It is a research institute which provides studies and analysis that treat the political concerns; consequently, it has a say in the foreign affairs.

"Haas, a former Director of Policy and Planning of U.S. Department of State, writes that the Think Tanks "generate new thinking among U.S. decision-makers, provide experts to serve in the administration and Congress, give policy-makers a venue in which to build shared understanding on policy options, educate U.S. citizens about the world, and provide third-party mediation for parties in conflict"(Gadi & Mennai, 2018, p. 32).

1.3.4.4.Public Opinion

Since America is a democracy, it is given The voice of the people can have a significant impact on foreign policy decisions. As said Abraham Lincoln, "public opinion in this country is everything" (Gadi & Mennai, 2018).

U.S. intervention in Vietnam and ended the war. The pervasive concern is the ability of the government to silence the public. So, it has to bow to the public pressure when it takes some crucial decisions relating to domestic or foreign crisis. In short, public opinion is a driving force in conducting the American diplomacy (Gadi & Mennai, 2018, p. 32).

- Public opinion is then a tool to control the politicians that lead the country. On the one hand, this is important for the opposition as the latter is only potentially active in front of the government through this public opinion (Meddileh, 2018, p. 11).

1.4.1. Role of Economics

Between unilateralist or isolationist foreign policy in the early years of United States of America successive president made decisions to get involved with various parts of the world (Kaufman, 2017, p. 23).

This rule apply through ‘ ‘ Sphere of influence’ ’ in the western Himesphere, the Monroe doctrine qnd the Roosevelt Corollay and then by expanding that sphere to encompass more countries, such as Japan and China, in which U.S. lead economic and business interests. The focal point here the decision to expand U.S. involvement with different parts around the world was made for economic reasons. In some cases to protect business interests in Cuba before the Spanish American war. U.S. expansion into Japan in 1853 and China at the end of nineteenth century (Kaufman, J , 2017, 23). In this respect, the United States want to increase access to foreign capital and investement which drive of America’s relations with Britain. The bottom line is that economic motives and the need to

protect U.S. business after drive foreign policy decisions. The decisions were made by the president based on his or her perception of national interests.

1.4.2. Role of Domestic Politics and Factors

These factors increased through cold war when senator Joseph Mc Carthy and his "red scare". Conversely, the decision to pull out of Vietnam was accelerated by an American public that was withdrawing its support for the war and was also losing its faith in the government because of the breaking Watergate scandal.

As noted above, economic factors as well as lobbies and big business play major rule in influencing the direction of foreign policy decisions. Moreover, What Dwight Eisenhower called the military industrial complex. Hence, U.S. involvement in many parts of the world has often been tied directly to the need to protect economic and its business abroad as well as resources such as Oil (Kaufman, 2017).

1.5.1.American Foreign Policy and International Organizations

1.5.1.1. United Nations Organization (UN)

The United Nations Organization, known simply as the United Nations, is an intergovernmental organization and one of the largest and most famous international organizations of the twentieth century, founded in 1945 after World War II, and the Charter of the United Nations set the purpose of its establishment to maintain international peace

and security by taking effective collective measures To prevent and remove dangers ...
Wikipedia

Founded: October 24, 1945, San Francisco, California, United States Headquarters:

1.5.1.2.The World Bank and the International Monetary (WBG,IMF)

The World Bank Group (WBG) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were founded at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 and have two complementary messages. While the World Bank Group works with developing countries to reduce poverty and boost shared prosperity, the International Monetary Fund works to stabilize the international monetary system and monitor the movement of currencies in the world.

1.5.1.3 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or NATO for short, in French for short, is an international military organization established in 1949 on the basis of the North Atlantic Treaty that was signed in Washington on April 4, 1949. NATO constitutes a system of collective defense in which member states agree on mutual defense In response to any attack by outside parties. Wikipedia

Founded by: United States, United Kingdom, France, Italy, Norway, Canada, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal, Iceland, Luxembourg.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, however deep cracks opened in alliance's foundations when, against the backdrop of President George W. Bush's (2001–2009) “war on

terrorism,” the United States presented its vision of NATO as a global military alliance of democratic states. Eventually, in 2011, NATO . members recognized the political and military limitations of the alliance, and in their newest strategic concept compromised on a globally less ambitious and politically more regional alliance. NATO’s resilience in the face of external and internal change owes much to its self-perception as a community of values, to the flexibility of its military structures, and to the adaptability of its political functions as a tool of U.S. influence and leadership in Europe, on the one hand, and of European balance and self-assertion beyond the continent, on the other hand (Mcmahon & Zeiler, 2012).

1.6.1. The Competing Interests of U.S. Foreign Policy:

"The idea that neutrality might be an invalid or immoral stance was totally alien to the vast majority of Americans in the 1930s. However, between 1933, when Franklin Delano Roosevelt became president of the USA, and 1942-3, when it became clear that the Allies were going to win the Second World War, there was a transformation that made the USA a more active participant in international affairs, encouraged its realist tradition, and turned its leaders against neutrality. By 1942 US practice reflected the view that there was a diminishing space for neutral trade and neutrality itself in total war. The logic of both collective security, which placed responsibility on all to respond to aggression, and total war undermined neutrality. Soon Americans justified their assault on neutrality in the same moralistic manner that they had championed neutral rights to trade, though they also acted on the basis of realist perceptions of how their national” .

1.6.2.Economic Interests

America have been seeking after their national interest could best be promoted. This transformation had major implications for the use of economic sanctions and embargoes. The United States briefly faced what it believed to be another major rival for economic power. In the 1970s Japan's post-World War II recovery was so dynamic, and its mastery of the new transistor-based electronics so strong in the 1960s, that many business and economic Gun us in the 1970s envisioned a future world economy dominated by Japanese companies and wealth. I remember studies in the early 1980s that naïvely extrapolated Japan's rapid growth and high saving rates forward for several decades to argue that the United States would be the sure loser in the long-run competition with Japan. Starting with President Ronald Reagan, the U.S. foreign policy establishment went to work to counter Japan. It began accusing Japan of unfair trade practices, currency manipulation, unfair state aid to Japan's businesses, and other exaggerated or flat-out false claims of nefarious behavior. The United States began to impose new trade barriers and forced Japan to agree to "voluntary" export restraints to limit its booming exports to the United States. Then, in 1985, the United States struck harder, insisting that Japan massively revalue (strengthen) the yen in a manner that would leave Japan far less competitive with the United States.

Now comes China. American exceptionalists are beside themselves that China seems to have the audacity to poke its nose into the American Century. And China is doing this as a surprise entrant to the race, at least a surprise from a twentieth-century perspective, making its recent rise even more unnerving to exceptionalists. According to estimates from the IMF World Economic Outlook database, China's total output is now 24 percent larger than America's, and China's output per person is around 29 percent of America's, all measured at international prices (Jeffrey, 2018, p. 119).

1.6.3.Ideological Interests

The Truman doctrine's use showed to the world that capitalist America would fight to stop the growth of communism through containment. The world knew that American was fully opposed to communism and would use its might and power to defend democracy against communism, as can be seen through events such as the Berlin blockade, where American supported Berlin fully. The cold war arose due to ideological conflict (Kadi & moud, 2018, p. 07).

1.4.Security Interests

The purpose of U.S. foreign policy is not to be the mightiest or the most feared or the most powerful nation in the world. It's not to be the richest nation in the world. The purpose of U.S. foreign policy is to achieve national security in a manner that enables Americans to achieve happiness and to help the rest of the world do the same (Jeffrey, 2018, p. 174)

America's security and economic prosperity were dependent on close cooperation with allied and friendly countries, on their willingness to trade, and on their prosperity. This recognition of interdependence with allies and international prosperity added new dimensions to America's traditional conceptions of its own best interests and its security. Along with a new conception of US long-term security, Lend-Lease and post-war economic planning also taught Americans a great deal about their influence and economic strength and about the strategies and the economic tools available to them for pursuing .

1.7. Tools of U.S. Foreign Policy

Throughout history American foreign policy it uses many apparatus of which:

1.7.1.Diplomacy

American exceptionalism has led to America's growing rejection of cooperative solutions and diplomatic approaches to global challenges. For the past quarter-century, the United States has turned its back on almost all UN treaties, refusing to sign or ratify several important agreements reached by all or almost all other UN member states. We have gone from being the creator and inspirer of the United Nations to a rogue nation that rejects UN initiatives for the perverse reason that most other nations endorse them (Jeffrey, 2018, p. 137).

1.7.2.Foreign Aid

Within postwar American development policy and usaid's mandate, the geopolitical and the geoeconomic were thus bound together institutionally and ideologically, though only imperfectly in the practical sense. This, in turn, is the result of the messy complexities of political affiliation and the relations between state institutional and class- relevant forces and groups that helped direct and implement strategies and policies associated with or coming from USAID

This does not imply that policymakers and development practitioners sorted through the various discursive strands available to them to find post hoc justifications for policies determined by class position or political ideology. Rather, specific political, state, and hegemonic projects of development emerged from the active and reflexive production, reproduction, and use of geostrategic discourses by agents who worked from differential positions of power within a broader global political economy of development produced and reproduced through multiple overlapping processes of intervention, articulation, and contestation. In addition to being an influential political, economic, and social agent in its own right, with the ability to make and enact development strategy, USAID was and remains a site and a strategy for other actors to participate in or shape the geostrategic logic and path of U.S. development policy and action. As

briefly discussed in the previous chapter, I build my argument regarding the political economy of development and the institutionalization of state power (Essex, 2013, p. 26).

From the Marshall Plan to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 The agency, and American development assistance more generally, originated in the process of solidifying and expanding political, state, and hegemonic projects of development, driven by intersecting geoeconomic and geopolitical logics and strategies shaped by the early Cold War (Essex, 2013).

1.8.American Democracy Indirect Promotion in Arab spring

U.S. to achieve its goals, apply The Creative Chaos and Domino Theory. They were introduced and adopted by the American administration. These theories show the American indirect plan toward the Middle East and North Africa especially after the Arab Spring events.

1.8.1.Creative Chaos Theory:

The role of the creative chaos theory in the democratic transitions in the Arab world. According to him, the United States of America had introduced the term "Creative Chaos" by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on April 9, 2005, which preceded the emergence of the Arab Spring in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and others. The American President George W. Bush adopted this Policy towards the Arab region to complete his project "the Greater Middle East". Moreover, the theory of creative chaos as a term is considered as Jewish, satanic tools, and depends on sectarianism and division. The emergence of the theory the "creative chaos" is related to a long time, and was put forward by the Berne Project of Louis 1980 in order to divide the Middle East, in particular, the Arab region. This project was presented to the US Congress and was examined very carefully to be approved in 1983. Besides, it requires the division of the Arab homeland into small states on a sectarian basis which will be easy to control. The author

also points out that American plans toward the Middle East have led to general chaos in the region, where the revolution began at the hands of the poor, the marginalized and the disadvantaged class of the people (Meddileh, 2018, p. 27).

1.8.2.Domino Theory

Domino theory means that changes in one place will cause similar events in other areas close in proximity with one another. This theory is related to the foreign policy and political gains in American history under former president Dwight Eisenhower. Eisenhower's "falling domino principle" asserted that a change in one country's political institution would in turn transfer to neighboring countries. The promotion of democracy has continued through the lenses of the domino theory in Iraq by former president George W. Bush when he asserted that Iraq will be a role model for the other countries. In the case of the Arab Spring, domino theory explains how the uprisings influenced and affected each other based solely on a geographic relation (Meddileh, 2018, p. 27).

Conclusion

The theoretical framework was discussed in this chapter. It provided a short history of foreign policy, on one hand, Introducing the foreign policy in U.S. from isolation stage to intervene (Monroe doctrine) in addition to the major players of it, the role of executive branch included the president, National Security Council (NSC), The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) on other hand. Besides that, Non-Governmental Actors such as Media which have important role in directing decisions – making.

CHAPTER TWO

Egypt's Domestic affairs

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Introduction

In this chapter, we are going to study, on one hand, Egypt situations as an important country of many aspects, including its importance location, inhabitant, region, Arabic, Islamic. In addition to the reasons led to Economic, Social, political, Security collapse. On the other hand, who and how caused these collapse by using, the Media, Civil society, religion minorities.

2.1.Egypt's Importance for U.S.

Egypt is an indispensable partner for several reasons;

2.1.1.The Importance of a Strategic Location

Survey places Egypt as a key power in the geopolitical redesign of the Mediterranean The factors that contribute to Egypt's geopolitical power from U.S. perspective can be illustrated as follows: first, Egypt resides in a strategic position as a land bridge linking two continents together and a connection between two important waterways, the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Whereby, significant amount of oil, gas and 22% of the entire world's container traffic goes through the Suez Canal or through pipelines across Egypt. Egypt's strategic position makes it the main transit pathway of energy resources from the Persian Gulf to markets through the Suez Canal and the Sumed (Suez-Mediterranean) oil (COM, 2008). In addition, Egypt's 1979 peace treaty with Israel remains one of the most significant diplomatic achievements for the promotion of the Arab-Israeli peace (IEMed, 2013).

Second, Egypt is an opinion leader for much of the developing countries, notably Arab and African countries. Countries look up for Egypt's guidance and position in different international affairs to follow. In UN General Assembly meeting, Egypt's representative, historically, speaks in the name of the Arab group, or the African group, or the Non Aligned states (Khalifa & Bakr, 1978), which makes Egypt's position much more than a single country position. An example for

the regional influence of Egypt was when Egypt performed a leading role in criminalizing Iraq invasion to Kuwait in the 90's, such action opened the door for an international coalition to act and liberate Kuwait (Abo El-Gheit, 2012). Such a leading role makes Egypt's position in international affairs significant to U.S.

Third, Global Firepower in its Power Index report ranked Egypt as the strongest military power in the Arab world, especially after the destruction of Iraq, Syria, Libya and Yemen armed forces in the recent years. The Egyptian military is also one of the biggest military in the Mediterranean region. on Global firepower index, Egypt is ranked 13 while greater armies in Mediterranean like France is ranked 6, Turkey ranked 8 Israel ranked 11, and Italy is ranked 12. This rank is significant if it is compared with other regional powers like Iran which ranks 22. This indicates the significant strength of Egypt military that can contribute to Middle Eastern and Mediterranean stability and security. Egypt is an active partner for the U.S. on Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP) matters (COM, 2011f). Egypt also contributes to peace-keeping forces in Darfur (including a military field hospital) alongside UN/AU forces (COM, 2010). Getting Egypt on U.S. Side in regional conflicts will guarantee proper access to Egypt's military resources when needed, through Egypt being a part of the Common Security and Foreign Policy framework (CSFP) of the EU (COM, 2011f, 2013b, 2013b). Fourth, Egypt constitutes a major partner for combating terror 9/11. Terrorist attacks in U.S. exercises significant efforts in combating terrorism. Cooperation with the Egyptian government and military is crucial to facilitate those efforts and ensure better results. As indicate in 2008 ENP progress report, the Egyptian government is committed to the fight against terrorism and to cooperation with the U.S. on this issue (COM, 2009).

Additionally, the Egyptian governments have increased their cooperation against Islamic militants and instability in the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip.

2.1.2.The Importance of the Population

As the most populated the Middle East, As a low-middle income country and with a population of over 100 million, Egypt is considered an attractive market for the American products. Egypt progress report 2011 indicated that Egypt remained a key trading partner for the U.S in the region (COM, 2011f).

2.2.Reasons of Collapse in Egypt 2011-2013

The same causes sometimes produce the same effects.

Egyptian Revolution started on 25 January also known as Rage Revolution. It was the day set by several parties and people. The protest was against the ill-treatment, especially after the 29 emergence of several video recordings showing the violation of human rights by police officers. As a result, the police and central security dealt with this protest violently and used live bullets, and the beginning was in the province of Suez where more than 20 young people died (Al-Saleh, 2015). Besides, the violence of the police made the people of Suez walk in mass manifestations. These manifestations were quickly followed by the rest of the provinces and turned the demonstration from a protest against the suppression of the police to a protest against what was considered corruption under the rule of President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak (Al-Saleh, 2015). As a result, the Egyptian army went to the streets on the orders of President Mubarak to impose security. Especially, after the police broke up in front of demonstrators and the prisons' storming. The army refrained from targeting demonstrators. Demonstrations continued in Tahrir Square until President Hosni Mubarak announced his resignation on 11 February 2011 (Meddileh, 2018, p. 28).

2.2.1.Economic and Social Reasons

The manipulation with the wealth of the nation. - The spread of financial and administrative corruption and bribery inside the countries. - The deterioration of economic and living conditions. - The spread of high prices whereas the incomes of citizens are low. - The gap between rich and poor classes. - The increase of monopoly and exploitation by major influential traders. - Increase in fees and taxes to cover the expenses of senior nation servants. - The

destruction and the theft of citizen's property without accountability. - Taking possession of the lands and selling or renting it at the highest prices. - The increase in unemployment among young people. 31 - High prices for fuel, water, and electricity. - Lack of housing for most citizens in addition to the high rent. - The existence of crises in transportation, treatment, and education. - Poor living conditions and increasing rates of poverty.

2.2.2.Political Reasons

The tyranny in the governance and management of the country without respecting the will of the people. - Persecution and lack of respect for human rights. - Adopting the policy of discrimination in all its forms. - Weak social structure and the disappearance of national unity. - The dominance of the powerful people from the highest political and administrative positions in the state. - The absence of democracy and the prevention of the trade unions and political parties' formation. - The rigging of elections at all levels and forms. - No separation between the three powers "legislative, executive and judicial." - The absence of the role of the legislative and judicial authorities. - The absence of the supervisory role of the concerned institutions and subjecting them to the executive authority (Meddileh, 2018, p. 31).

2.2.3.Security Reasons

The increase of the security grip, repression, and the absence of human rights. - The absence of the rule of law and lack of respect for the application of local laws and regulations. - The increasing number of arbitrary arrests and kidnappings. - The torture of oppositionists to death and the deprivation of their simplest rights. - Preventing detainees to defend themselves or to hire lawyers to defend them. 32 - Imprisoning those who were arrested on political charges for a long time without prosecutes. - Increasing security control over the citizens and preventing freedom of expression. - The absence of security and political solutions in dealing with problems and crises. In short, we can say that all the above social, economic, political, and security reasons accumulated, as a result the people went into demonstrations to express their anger from the tyrannical systems from which they were suffering for a long period of time, starting by the Tunisian revolution which ended with the overthrowing of the Tunisian president and had a great influence on the Arab world (Meddileh, 2018, p. 32).

2.3.1.America's Role in Causing Chaos in Egypt 2011-2013:

According to Abdullah (2013), the US used strategic objectives towards the Arab region in order to implement its partition projects. The most important tools were: media, civil society organizations, and religious minorities. They were considered as effective means of American intervention in the region on the pretext of spreading democracy. Moreover, this is reflected in the so-called Arab Spring Revolution, which will According to the American plan lead to the fragmentation of the Arab region into small states, and the abolition of Arabic nationalism identity of these countries (Abdullah, 2013). So, we will address these three important tools that were used by the American policy to encourage the Arab Spring revolutions as the following (Meddileh, 2018, p. 32).

2.3.1.1. Media's Level:

The largest media and propaganda body today, at all, is the American media. For reasons related to the large economy of the United States of America, the huge budget of the American media, the important political role played by Washington, and the huge news market in both Washington and New York where the last one is considered as the center of the international political decisions of the United Nations Moreover, after the events of September 2001, the US media and advocacy organizations worked on a media campaign toward the Arab region. It described the Arab political systems as tyranny and backwardness. Therefore, for the sake of justice, the U.S. called for the liberation of those oppressed peoples from their corrupt regimes (Abdullah, 2013). Furthermore, there are many American institutions. The most prominent of these American media institutions are: the Washington Post Network, MSNBC Network, NBC Network, CNN Network, Fox News, and other institutions that have advocated the need for a war on terror in societies which are among the societies of fear, oppression, and tyranny, so there is a need for American intervention to preserve US national security and to rid those oppressed peoples from their tyranny systems. Thus, the role of these institutions is to give legal and moral legitimacy to the policy of American intervention in Arab affairs through the deployment of democracy and the eradication of terrorism (Abdullah, 2013). During the uprisings, these institutions have engaged in processes of misleading, lying and distorting facts, with emphasis on exaggerating what is happening in the Arab region on the one hand and encouraging the Arab peoples to demand their political rights and to change their authoritarian regimes on the other hand (Abdullah, 2013). The US government has also opposed any media organization standing in the way of their intentions or goals. Therefore, Richard Perle the adviser to the US Secretary of Defense, and the owner of Arab Region Retailing Project described the American informative

“Seymour Hersh” by a media terrorist, in the Fox News Channel of America for being a political opponent of President Bush Jr., especially his war on Iraq in 2003. So, American policymakers consider anyone stands against their national line (according to their vision), as a terrorist and does not want well to the United States of America (Meddileh, 2018, p. 33).

2.3.1.2.Civil Society’s Level:

Civil society organizations are one of the most important tools of US policy which have contributed effectively to the democratic changes in most Arab countries. Besides, they have been able to change some political systems in the Arab Spring countries radically, such as Egypt, Libya and Tunisia, Yemen, and others, where the revolution still continues in Syria (Abdullah, 2013). In addition, US organizations focus on the Middle East region, especially the Arab countries. Besides, changing the Arab regimes by military forces will be detrimental to the interests of the United States as well as it exhausts its military and economic forces. Therefore, the American policy see that the US civil society organizations are able to contribute to the change of some systems of the Arab countries, which need to be changed according to the American projects in the region through direct or indirect intervention, leading to the realization of US interests under the cover of democratic values promotion in the countries of the region (Abdullah, 2013). There are many American civil society organizations. The most famous ones are: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), International Republican Institute (IRI), Freedom House organization, and Organization of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) (Meddileh, 2018, p. 34).

2.3.1.3. Religion Minorities’ Level

The United States used the subject of religious minorities in the Arab region as a mean to reach strategic goals. The importance that religion occupies in the life of societies all over the world, and in Arab societies, in particular, pushed the United States to use this important aspect in order to manipulate with the Arab societies. This strategy depends on human classification on the basis of his religion, especially after the multiplicity of religious denominations to more than one denomination within a single religion. Communities can thus be categorized on a sectarian religious basis in order to deal with them easily as weak community units (Abedullah, 2013). 35 Moreover, the increase of ethnic communities has led to the increase of religious, sectarian and doctrinal minorities within the same religion. For example, the Islamic religion has become divided into different sects and doctrines. As a result, the Arab world is characterized by

religious minorities (Abdullah, 2013). Furthermore, the war against the Muslims began by striking them in their faith and Islamic law using doctrinal and sectarian conflicts to macerate them on the one hand, and to provoke civil wars on the other hand. So, the US administration aimed to fragment Arab society through the exploitation of these minorities to interfere in the affairs of the region. In addition, they agreed to invest these minorities as a mean to destabilize the Arab societies under the name of democracy, human rights, freedom, and religious liberty that the United States considers as one of its most important human tasks (Meddileh, 2018, p. 35).

2.4.1.The U.S Attitude Towards Egypt Revolution in 2011-2013:

The United States has dealt with the Arab revolution differently, though the sole objective is to overthrow the authoritarian regimes and replace them with new democratic regimes. The United States dealt with the revolutions of Tunisia and Egypt in a positive way because the peoples of these countries were able to pull out their tyrannical regimes. Whereas in the Libyan case, the American position differed very much, and the American intervention became clear. The United States headed a military alliance that included a number of countries to help the Libyan rebels get rid of Gaddafi (Douglas et al., 2014). In brief, we can say that the United States played an important role in the Arab Spring's revolutions, it used indirect strategies in order to promote democracy in the Middle East and North Africa. These strategies had a great impact on the Arab societies and encouraged them to overthrow their tyrannical systems. Thus, the plan was made by the United States and the implement was by the Arab youth .

Conclusion

In this chapter we have discussed many aspects. First, Egypt's importance, strategic in which is located between two continental included Sues-canal, population number, in one hand, the results of collapse which contributed in these problems socio-economic and security, on the other hand.

Second, we are going to discuss the role of America behind these events which included Media (mass media and social media). In addition to civic society and religious minorities. furthermore, the attitude of U.S. from this revolution and then the means which used.

General Conclusion

The influence of American foreign Policy on Egypt domestic's Affairs, in this respect, we have dealt about the mechanism used by U.S. against fragile country or so-called The Soft State. From perspective of dominance in all levels, strategic, political, economic and cultural. We have divided research into two chapter at first one background about American foreign policy from isolation to intervene and Monroe doctrine. In addition to major players of decision-making of these policy and then relationship between America and international organizations such as, united Nations (UN), North Atlantic Allied (NATO) and International Fund Monitory (IFM) to what extant subjected these organization to U.S. also the other tools used such as, Diplomacy, foreign aid and arms of sanctions all these means introduce under soft power. Moreover, American democracy indirect promotion in Arab world and then Arab Spring through theoretical used, Creative chaos theory and domino theory.

Second, chapter two we have dealt with Egypt's Domestic affairs. Included, the importance of Egypt about region and world (Arab and Islamic). Causes of these revolution and who caused it through events of 2011-2013 and who beneficiary of course The United States have used many means such as, Media, Civil society in addition religious minorities. And then, the attitude of U.S. towards Egypt about revolution of 2011-2013.

After hard power which used by The United States In Afghanistan in 2001 so-called 09/11 events and Iraq invasion in 2003 with new conservative George Bush. In which caused huge damage in souls and money with grand indebtedness. As a result, America turned his policy to soft power with coming of Barak Obama in 2009.

In which applied smart power. We find this in book written by Hilary Clinton ex-American state in Obama's government. Our finding in this research that America uses all means to achieve their goals as in our study Egypt. Some conservatives found The United States have surprised with Egypt's events But reality counterly. Because U.S. always with the victor (pragmatic interests). Our prove that The United states all the time with Sadat and then Hosni Mubarak in same time with democracy and human rights counter corruption with some formal aid.

The United States want soft state in Egypt, weak not collapsible, for Egypt is an key state in region in which geography location, numbered population (open market to U.S.), maritime path for gas and other resources secure to Israel, Camp David agreement, which give Israel superiority in region. Against terror which made by U.S. according to Hilary and Trump. This policy adopted by "Max Mardonit" professor of strategic research in American national security in which have said the goal is "charge electrically" in other words, make you enemy do your will.

If Egyptian people want exit from his sequence crisis, political, economic, social, have to depends on his self capability not on dissenter because the change coming from indorsors.

‘Bread! Freedom! Social justice!’ was the cry of enraged Egyptians as they protested at Tahrir Square in Cairo and in other cities, beginning on 25 January 2011. was the Arab Spring realized in Egypt ? subject is opened for more discussion on other perspective.

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ملخص

تبحث هذه الرسالة في تأثير السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية على الشؤون الداخلية لمصر، وتقصي دوافع التدخل الأمريكي، واكتشاف دور السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية في التغيرات الديمقراطية في دول الربيع العربي بشكل عام وفي مصر بشكل خاص، وبالتالي فإن منهج البحث المناسب هو الأسلوب الوصفي الذي نحاول فيه تتبع تاريخ السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية وأدواتها من جهة، ومن جهة أخرى توضيح سياسة الهيمنة على مصر لأهميتها على مستوى المنطقة العربية والعالم الإسلامي، من أجل تحقيق التوازن بين مصر وإسرائيل لمزيد من الأمن في المنطقة من خلال مكافحة الإرهاب. تظهر النتائج التي تم الحصول عليها من هذا العمل الحالي أن السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية في مصر كانت لمصالح استراتيجية وأسباب اقتصادية. إلى جانب ذلك، توصلت النتائج أن للولايات المتحدة دوراً مهماً في انتفاضات الربيع العربي، باستخدام وسائل غير مباشرة مثل وسائل الإعلام والأقليات الدينية ومنظمات المجتمع المدني. علاوة على ذلك، أدت التحولات الديمقراطية في مصر ودول الربيع العربي إلى تفكك العالم العربي وكذلك تصنيف المواطنين على أساس طائفي وعرقي وديني، في النهاية نقترح بعض التوصيات لمصر في محاولة لمساعدتها على حل مشاكلهم والتي يمكن معالجتها من خلال الإصلاح السياسي ومحاربة الفساد الاقتصادي لتحسين الفصل بين الدين والدولة وكذلك التخلص من الهيمنة الأمريكية والغربية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الربيع العربي، الديمقراطية الأمريكية، مصر، السياسة الخارجية