

The Palestinian Issue in Egyptian Foreign Policy; Mubarak and Sisi's Approaches to the Occupied Territories

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ABSTRACT

The issue of Palestine is one of the most challenging issues in Egypt's foreign policy, the importance of which has varied depending on domestic and foreign factors in its foreign policy. In general, Egypt's foreign policy behavior in the Palestinian-Israeli issue, on the one hand, is due to changes in the external environment, especially the role of the United States and Israel, and on the other hand influenced by internal factors such as the role of leaders and how they perceive their national role. And the role of domestic groups has been Islamist. Using a descriptive-analytical approach, the study seeks to answer the question of what was the most important factor in shaping Egypt's foreign policy toward Palestine after the Camp David Accords, and specifically with Hosni Mubarak. The paper argues that Egypt's economic and military dependence on the United States, on the one hand, and Egypt's strategic position in ensuring Israel's security, on the other, led to the creation of foreign factors in shaping Egypt's foreign policy after the Camp David Accords. The issue of Palestine should be highlighted.

Keywords: *Foreign policy, Palestine issue, Environmental Factors, continuity, Model of foreign policy, International System*

INTRODUCTION

Since the formation of Israel in 1948, the issue of Palestine and its relationship with Israel has been one of the most important challenges in Egypt's foreign policy, as it has provoked the reaction of Islamist groups inside the country and Egypt's interaction with Islamic countries. In analyzing Egypt's foreign policy approach to the Palestinian issue, the Camp David Accords (1978) are referred to as a turning point, because they are both in the direction of Egypt's foreign policy towards the Palestinian-Israeli issue and His position in the Islamic world has been influential. The conclusion of the Camp David Accords and the subsequent recognition of Israel by Egypt came at a time when the country had previously played a key role in the political and cultural front of the Pan-Arabism movement for three decades. The leadership of the Arab states played a role in realizing the rights of the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories. Let the quagmire change direction, and on the other hand, this pact caused the isolation of Egypt in the Islamic world for a while. In general, in Egypt's foreign policy on the Palestinian issue after the Camp David Accords, important causes and factors have played a role that can be divided into "internal and external

data" or "internal (environmental and environmental variables)" following James Rosenau. Domestic institutions include the personalities of political leaders, as well as their perceptions of their national role, society and government variables, and the "environmental environment" of the international system and its major global and regional actors. In other words, Egypt's foreign policy on the Palestinian issue can be analyzed based on the results of environmental and internal factors.

The present article uses descriptive-analytical methods to answer the question of what is the position of the Palestinian issue. Has Egypt been involved in foreign policy? The hypothesis of this research is that despite the role of domestic factors such as Islamist support for the rights of Palestinians and the definition of political leaders in their national role as supporters of Palestine, economic and military dependence plays a role. The creation of environmental factors, including the United States, in Egypt's foreign policy toward Palestine has been marginalized and the issue of Palestinian rights has been marginalized. James Rosenau and its application in Egyptian foreign policy are described, then the position of the Palestinian issue in Egypt's foreign policy is analyzed and evaluated has been reviewed.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

One of the most important factors in the analysis of foreign policy in the analysis of James Rosenau's connection is the level of analysis in this field of study. Many theorists emphasize the micro level (individuals) and others emphasize the macro level (international system). In general, in relation to the level of foreign policy analysis, it can be said that so far there have been three approaches, each of which has emphasized a specific level of analysis.

The macro approach refers to the whole international system. Theorists of this approach emphasize general concepts and assumptions. Ignoring the role of micro-factors such as personalities and the state in shaping foreign policy, these theorists focus largely on the structural composition of power. Researchers take a generally homogenous approach, while forgetting the differences between actors. As a result of this assumption, the similarity of the actors, the role of value systems and the internal dynamics of the actors in the behavior of their foreign policy is secondary and insignificant. At the micro level, variables such as psychological factors, the effects of small and large groups, culture, social discourse, and domestic politics are examined, but the two-level connection approach seeks to use both micro and macro analysis levels to analyze policy. It is foreign. Among the authors of this approach is James Rosenau. Rosenau wrote a paper entitled: The Preview of Foreign Policy in 1966, which provided the basis for connecting the two levels of analysis. He later presented his model of foreign policy continuity in 1971, which was a kind of detailed explanation of the theory. James Rosenau uses foreign policy in three senses: foreign policy as orientation, foreign policy as planning and commitment, and foreign policy as orientation behavior are the main guiding actions. In this sense, foreign policy in general refers to Trends have a focus on government behavior in international affairs. Foreign policy as a project refers to strategies and decisions that directly focus on specific goals. Foreign policy in this sense is the translation and interpretation of orientations in situations. It is different, and ultimately foreign policy as a behavior refers to the objective interactional behavior of states and their positions in the international system, which is in line with the orientations and plans (Rosenau, 1976: 7).

According to Rosenau, the foreign behavior of countries is influenced by five factors:

Individual Variable

Individual variable means the exclusive characteristics of decision makers that include all aspects of the decision maker. This variable includes all aspects of decision-making, ie, one's previous values, talents, and experiences, which distinguish foreign policy options or behavior from other decision-makers. Rosenau argues that individual traits are more prevalent in underdeveloped, newly independent, and small countries that lack organized roles and bureaucratic symbols, and in fact societies where leaders are less influenced by public opinion and influential groups; Amin's rule in Uganda during the 1970s is a clear example of his personal domination and personal characteristics of a newly independent, small, politically and economically independent country. However, given this variable, Rosenau believes that decisions taken by one person is different from another person's decisions in the same situation because of their different abilities and spirits (Neak et al, 1994: 116).

Role

This variable means that government officials, regardless of the individual and monopolistic characteristics mentioned in the individual variable, respond to an issue by relying on their position in the government. The individual's position in the government structure and the duties, responsibilities, and loyalty that are expected of him based on this position affect his perceptions of the world and his decisions in foreign policy. In general, the role can be defined as: the idea that a state, the government or a person thinks that he should act according to it. The role is called behavioral characteristics that are due to the responsibilities of an actor's policy and any person who fills such a position is expected to behave similarly. We can the role is to consider the interaction between the individual and the political system and the expectations that the system has of the individual. Although the role may limit the scope of the individual, such a role is perceived and played based on personality traits.

Government Variable

Government variables refer to the structural aspects of government. The complex structure of a state, the relationships of intergovernmental organizations, and ultimately, the experts and specialists within an organization, formulate and present proposals and general lines of decision-making in foreign policy, and no decision-maker

can. Regardless of these considerations, this factor and variable is more pronounced, especially in the broad bureaucratic systems of Western governments. This variable refers to the type of decision-making system in a country and the impact of this method and mechanism on organizations that have guided and planned standards that lead to decision-making or policy-making.

Social Variable

Refers to those non-governmental aspects of a society that affect external behavior. The main value orientations of a society, the level of national unity, the level of industrialization, groups, associations and non-governmental organizations, are the variables that participate in determining the content of the ideals and foreign policies of a country. The social variable basically includes all the non-governmental aspects of a society that is involved in the decision-making process of foreign policy, which includes the values and ideologies of a national society, influential and pressure groups, and so on. Traditional and modern have contradictions, so that in modern societies there are defined parties and organizations that influence both domestic and foreign policy and have goals and programs in this regard, so that they can through Parliament, public opinion, etc. affect the decision-making process.

Systemic Variable

Includes the human and non-human aspects of the external environment of a society or any action that takes place abroad and conditions and influences the decisions of foreign policy decision makers (Rosenau, 1971: 108). The system is essentially the same as the regional and global system, which includes various polarizations, deterrence and balance systems, or the balance of terror. Today, in explaining independent variables, governments are divided into large and small powers in terms of type of power. He believes that large and small powers are also economically advanced or backward.

In addition, he divides the type of society into two categories, open and closed, and believes that culture is either permeable or impenetrable. In Rosenau's view, not all of the above variables have the same explanatory power in different states, therefore. The conditions and requirements of different types of governments, the role of these variables are also different. In other words, in different countries, the influence of each of the four domestic factors and the international environment in the formation and implementation

of foreign policy is different. Rosenau considers three variables to be involved in the division of states: 1. Size; 2- The level of development and 3- the level of political accountability.

In his opinion, the influence of each of the above factors depends on five factors. One: the power of the actor to divide countries into big and small. Two: The economic situation of the actor that separates developed countries from underdeveloped ones; Three: the open and closed nature of social structure; Four: permeability or non-permeability of cultural structure and five: different subject areas (Rosenau, 1971: 11).

In Rosenau's view, no matter how much we move from large, developed powers with an open political structure to small ones with a closed political space, the role of institutionalized social factors in determining foreign policy has diminished, and vice versa. And the environment is growing. Based on what has been said, Rosenau believes that in analyzing foreign policy, both national and international factors should be taken into account.

THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE IN EGYPTIAN FOREIGN POLICY

In examining Egypt's foreign policy on the Palestinian issue, we see two different periods in general. The turning point in these two periods is the Camp David Accords, signed in 1978 by Israel and Egypt. 1948, until the signing of the Camp David Accords. During this period, Egypt's foreign policy is based on a hostile approach to Israel. 1973 saw a change in the more realistic approach to Egypt's foreign policy toward the issue of Palestine and Israel, which eventually led to the signing of the Camp David Accords and the recognition of Israel by Egypt. With the signing of the Camp David Accords by Egypt, Israel not only did not feel threatened by Egypt, but because of the link between the United States and Egypt, Egypt became a stable and secure actor for Israel. In fact, the deal prompted Egypt to withdraw from the Arab-Israeli conflict, which played a pivotal role in the conflict. And smoothed stability in the Middle East (Quandt, 2003: 157).

Following the assassination of Anwar Sadat in 1981 and the inauguration of Hosni Mubarak, Egypt's foreign policy on the Palestinian-Israeli issue entered a new phase. Mubarak remained committed to Camp David's peace treaty during his reign, which lasted from 1981 to 2010. Despite this commitment, relations between the two countries have always been tense. In

general, Egypt's foreign policy toward Palestine and Israel during the Mubarak era can be divided into three periods: the Cold War, the Cold War, the Cold War, and the Cold War. After the signing of the Camp David Accords, relations between Egypt and Israel have been peaceful, but this peace has never led to an understanding. That is why many experts have likened this kind of peace to cold peace. Mubarak's commitment not to return to the war against Israel is well illustrated both in his remarks and in the conduct of Egypt's foreign policy during this period. During this time, the Sinai Peninsula became civilized. All of this indicates a cold peace between the two sides (Aran & Giant, 2014: 562). In general, the Cold War between Egypt and Israel has been influenced by several factors, the most important of which are Israel's military superiority, the role of the United States and its political isolation in the Arab world. He referred to it as the period between the Cold War and the Strategic Peace. In other words, the relations between the two countries were in a situation that could not be analyzed on the basis of the Cold War situation of the 1980s, nor in the strategic peace situation.

During this period, on the one hand, there are signs that the continuation of foreign policy in the 1980s, which was based on the Cold War, on the other hand, there are serious changes in Egypt's approach to Israel, so that relations between the two sides It has gone beyond a cold peace and is moving towards more peaceful relations. But this peace does not mean lasting peace. Egypt's foreign policy during this period was influenced by various factors such as a common enmity with Iran, a role in leadership and negotiation management. Arab-Israeli peace, as well as the role of the United States, was close to Israel and Egypt. The 9/11 attacks marked a new milestone in Egypt's foreign policy toward the Palestinian issue, known as strategic peace, in the sense that Egypt Unlike in the 1990s, it plays a more active role in resolving the Palestinian issue. During this period, Egyptian-Israeli relations became very close under the influence of the United States. In the political dimension, the relations between Egypt and A. Israel has expanded more than ever. In addition, Egypt's approach to the 33-day Israeli war against the Lebanese Hezbollah, which they say is terrorism, formed in 2006 with US support, speaks volumes. This is one of the most important events of the presidency. It was after 9/11 that Egypt became somewhat closer to Israel with its stance. Egypt and several other

Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, etc., have blamed Hezbollah for justifying the war and justified Israel's aggression, but the most important direction of Egypt's foreign policy towards Palestine is to emphasize the role of the United States. He saw the 22-day war in Gaza at the 2008 Annapolis Conference. At the conference, the United States and the government of Urmart called for Egypt's security and intelligence cooperation with Israel in order to destroy the Palestinian resistance led by Hamas. Cairo was subjected to political and financial pressure from Washington. Israel and the United States sought to regulate Egypt's approach to the Palestinian issue in the interests of Israel's security and political priorities, but did nothing (Odonnel, 2008: 30).

FACTORS INFLUENCING EGYPT'S FOREIGN POLICY ON THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE

According to Rosenau's five variables, Egypt's foreign policy on the Palestinian-Israeli issue is influenced by a variety of factors and resources, which can be summarized below the five variables of the Rosenau connection model.

Individual Variable

Prior to the Camp David Accords, due to the wave of Arab nationalism in Egypt, the role of Jamal Abdel Nasser's leadership was, above all, the determinant of Egypt's foreign policy on the Palestinian issue. The international community has continued its fight against Israel and the great powers. This can be seen in the various Arab-Israeli wars. For example, Jamal Abdel Nasser on the eve of the 1967 Six-Day War, despite his awareness. Instead of continuing to rebuild itself in Egypt instead of continuing its path of reform in Egypt, it noted its potential to strengthen its military and readiness to confront Israel, as it did on May 8, 1967. "Palestinians have the right to attack Israel because they want to get back the rights they were usurped. If the Palestinian liberation war becomes a mass war in the Middle East, we are ready to fight".

Egypt's foreign policy under Sadat until the end of the 1973 war was influenced by his personality variable. During this period, Sadat, like his predecessor Nasser, continued Egypt's anti-Israel policies in the form of Nasser's nationalism. The 1956, 1958, and 1964 constitutions played a key role in foreign policy decision-making. He often made his own decisions and did not deal appropriately with those who disagreed with him. Sadat often made

decisions that he did not make. It was unexpected. This is also well seen in the country's foreign policy toward Israel. For example, at the time of the start of the Yom Kippur War, only his office adviser knew of the decision to attack Israel. He played an important role in Egypt's foreign relations, especially in Egypt-Israel relations. According to Efraim Duok, the former Israeli ambassador to Cairo, there is no doubt that Sadat is the main builder of peace.

During Hosni Mubarak's time, his person was the most important decision-maker in foreign policy. During his tenure, despite the importance of the National Security Council, he rarely met with its members

Instead, Mohammad Morsi, although the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, placed severe restrictions on the president-elect, but foreign policy decisions were made entirely in the office of the president. And other institutions did not play much of a role in foreign policy decision-making. However, Mohammad Morsi's character suffered from dilemmas that affected Egypt's foreign policy. This made him unable to make decisions on the dilemmas. Morsi's most important dilemma could be seen in the Palestinian issue. For him, it was not yet clear whether Palestine would be Egypt's first issue. And he had a diplomatic relationship with that country. Morsi's friendship with Israel did not end there. Morsi did not know what to do with the problem of Israel. On the one hand, he reacted strongly to the deaths of the Sinai desert. Contrary to Camp David's contract, he was in the military there, violating the agreement and violating Anwar Sadat's family, the same person who signed Camp David's contract with Israel.

On the one hand, he criticized Israel's policies at the Non-Aligned Movement summit. On the other hand, he wrote a letter to Perez calling himself a loyal friend of his. General Al-Sisi was thought to be the best choice for the Egyptian people. General Al-Sisi's character is said to be one of the four nationalists who is overly optimistic about the Americans' solution to Egypt's problems. "Steve Grass, a retired U.S. Army colonel who has been in charge of educating al-Sisi at the University of Reuters, says al-Sisi has been wearing Islamic glasses all over the world. On the other hand, he opposes Islam, which is claimed by the Muslim Brotherhood. That is why some people, without considering his submission to the United States, make him look like Jamal Abdel Nasser. "Al-Sisi tried to be trained to become a high-ranking

commander," he said. He has Islamic leanings but has a good reputation among his colleagues in the US military. with the rise to power of the military under the leadership of General al-Sisi, the most important determinant of Egypt's foreign policy is General al-Sisi. Where leaders determine foreign policy.

Leaders Change National Role

One of the most important variables influencing Egypt's foreign policy is the role of leaders. This concept means the actor's perception of his position in front of another. 602). each of the Egyptian leaders offered a specific definition of their role in the light of the situation in the international system. Egypt's isolation from the Arab world and the loss of a central position among these countries led Hosni Mubarak to return to his former role in Egypt. Believing in Egypt's leadership and leadership in the Arab world, Mubarak has repeatedly stated that "Egypt will remain the leader's government in the region, whether others like it or not," but Mubarak's definition of the role of Arab leadership plays a role in Nasser's role in uniting Arabs. And the leadership of Pan-Arab was different. This means that while Mubarak did not deny Egypt's active role in the Arab world, he did not pursue an intervening role in dictating and interfering in the affairs of other countries. In a speech to the United States, Hosni Mubarak repeatedly reaffirmed his commitment to the Palestinian cause. In a 1989 speech, he reaffirmed his commitment to Palestine: "We are helping the Palestinian cause more than anyone else in the region." Mubarak has repeatedly stated that Israel must accept the principle of land for peace and the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people. Israel's continued occupation of Palestinian and Arab lands in the West Bank and Gaza alone cannot give rise to legitimacy due to the passage of time. This is based on a misconception of the illusion of distorting Israel's developmental reality.

Mohamed Morsi also called the Palestinian issue the number one issue in the Arab world and said that the Arabs should not allow the current peace process to continue without content. It is an axis for Egypt and this country does not accept any aggression against the Palestinian people..... We cannot accept the aggression against the Palestinian people and we support them and provide them with whatever they need in terms of food and medicine. We cannot turn a blind eye to the oppression of the Palestinian people, their security is our

security, their blood is our blood and their honor is our honor. "In a speech to the United Nations, Morsi called the issue of Palestine and the establishment of a Palestinian state one of the most important issues in the world, and said," The world must make every effort to address this issue. It should be resolved on the basis of justice and with respect for them and the rights of the Palestinians. "Shameless self-promotion for Ballistic Products and a great bargain on a neat little knife for you." Israelis need to know that this aggression is unacceptable and will only lead to instability in the region, and immediately called for an emergency meeting of the foreign ministers of the Arab League countries," Israel said in response to the November 2012 attack on Gaza. An emergency meeting of the UN Security Council will be convened. He also called on his ambassador to Cairo to protest Israel. Morsi, like Hosni Mubarak, considers himself a defender of Palestinian rights. Different from the rest, his predecessors, despite some partisan policies toward Israel, have always considered themselves supporters of Palestine.

However, due to international political considerations, they could not have taken a hostile stance against Israel. In Egypt, in the face of the Palestinian issue, one can clearly see his biased and even hostile stance towards Palestine. In their assessment of the security of the Israeli regime in the shadow of the new Egyptian president's rise to power, Matt and senior Israeli experts refer to Abdel Fattah al-Sisi as an ally of the Zionist regime and consider his presence very appropriate to achieve his goals. Al-Sisi's foreign policy, in line with this perception, sees its role as supporting Israel. The deputy head of the Zionist regime's Center for Internal Security Studies said in a statement about the new Egypt: He is one of the Muslim Brotherhood who looked at Israel through the eyes of the enemy, "he said." Sisi also sees peace as Israel looks at it. "This will make it difficult to smuggle weapons from the Sinai Desert to the Gaza Strip and will greatly help security cooperation with Israel." One year after taking office, Sisi sees relations with Israel as well as strengthening ties with it as one of the most important sources of political, diplomatic and international support for his regime.

Community Variable

Society variables refer to those non-governmental aspects of a society that affect external behavior. The main value assessments of a society, including groups, associations and non-

governmental organizations, are variables that contribute to determining the content of a country's foreign ideals and policies. One of the most important internal factors influencing Egypt's foreign policy since the inauguration of Hosni Mubarak has been the presence of Islamist groups in the country. The issue of Palestine has always been one of the concerns of Islamist groups and foreign policy, especially after the signing of the Camp David Accords. Egypt has also been somewhat influenced by these currents. The most important political currents of Egyptian Islamism in the 1970s were the Muslim Brotherhood Movement, the Muslim Community or the Takfir and Al-Hijra Organization, the Islamic Liberation Organization, and the Islamic Writing System. But the most important influential current in Egypt's foreign policy has been the Muslim Brotherhood. Since its formation in the 1920s, it has always taken a critical approach to the country's domestic politics, as well as to serious critics of Egypt's relations with the United States. Although Hosni Mubarak was able to curb Islamist movements such as al-Jama'at al-Islami and Jihad during his reign, he did not always take a pro-Israel stance in his foreign policy on the Palestinian issue. Part of the reason for Mubarak's caution was the presence of Islamist opponents in Egypt, who believed that his proximity to Israel would provoke internal Islamist protests. Hassani Mubarak sought to emphasize Egypt's historical responsibility for the Palestinians and their fate. They acquitted Anwar Sadater of separatism from the Arabs, saying Egypt was committed to supporting all the fruits of peace. Mubarak repeatedly said that Israel must uphold the principle of peace and justice. Accept the fate of the Palestinian people. Mohamed Morsi, an Islamist, praised the rights of Palestinians and the restoration of Egypt's decades-long leadership in the Arab world against Israel and its popularity among the domestic community, including Islamists, at the 108th meeting of EU foreign ministers. "Cairo will be a full-fledged host from now on. The Palestinian issue is the first issue for the Arab nation, and the Arab nation will not perish without a just solution. The Arab solution must be found," said Arab, who arrived in September 2013. "Let's get justice for the Palestinian cause and the formation of a Palestinian state. It is no longer acceptable to ignore the Palestinian issue."

Government Variable

The type of political system has a direct effect on the speed of decision-making as well as the

orientation of foreign policy. Egypt's political system should be considered as one of its quasi-authoritarian political systems. It is possible that its political nature lies between two distinct and non-aligned classes, meaning that one end leads to democracy and the other to authoritarianism. The main and most important assumptions are that of the political system. Since 1981, during the succession of Hosni Mubarak to replace Anwar Sadat, Egypt has fluctuated between the two political spectrums of authoritarianism and democracy. To move towards the opening of the political space. Therefore, in addition to the freedom to operate independent newspapers, a number of political parties were allowed to operate, and the largest existing political opposition in Egypt during this period, namely A. Khan al-Muslimin allowed him to engage in political activity within the framework of other parties. But two decades were enough for Egypt's political system to show a completely different reality in establishing democracy, meaning that Egypt could no longer be considered a democracy. In general, since Egypt is among the dictatorial regimes in the division of political systems, political participation in this country was widely restricted, although some aspects of official political participation. It was like the presidential election and the parliamentary election, but it was largely limited to one presidential candidate and one political person. Election turnout has traditionally been low, and actors in the political system have been widely skeptical. Egypt's system of authoritarianism has led to foreign policy decisions being made without regard to the demands of public opinion and domestic groups and parties, while many Egyptians have called for an end to the Camp David Accords, according to opinion polls. And the interests of the Palestinians have not been taken into account. The dictatorship in Egypt has prevented any attention to be paid to the demands of the people and public opinion.

Systemic (Environmental) Variable

In addition to the four domestic factors, Egypt's foreign policy has also been subject to environmental variables. After Egypt's successive defeats in the Arab-Israeli wars, the country realized in 1973 that it could pursue foreign policy without regard to international sanctions. It is impossible, therefore, that Anwar Sadat, given the realities of the international system, tried to significantly change his approach to the issue of Palestine and Israel. It is being seriously threatened. Accordingly, it has pursued a policy of interest in attracting foreign investment. It

sought to establish deep ties with the United States in the field of foreign policy by accepting the Camp David Accords, and has adhered to this treaty ever since. As well as military dependence, they have played a role in Egypt's foreign policy on the Palestinian issue. We address the following three factors:

Strategic Position

Egypt has a special geopolitical and geostrategic position, which has played an important role in the Middle East. Egypt is located at the intersection of the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe. Egypt's unique position is due not only to the fact that the three continents intersect along its borders, but also to the country's long shores with the Mediterranean and Red Seas. It is of particular importance. Egypt has also acted as a bridge for the transfer of civilizations and cultures to distant lands. One of the factors of Egypt's geopolitical importance is the control of the Sinai Peninsula, which has a very important strategic position. It is 120 km long from the Mediterranean Sea, 160 km west of the Suez Canal, 240 km southwest of the Gulf of Suez, 150 km east and southeast of the Gulf of Aqaba. The Sinai Desert is 30% off the coast of Egypt. It is the only link between Asia and Africa (Laub, 2013). The region's proximity to Israel has doubled the island's importance. The Sinai Peninsula is one of the areas that has always been of interest to Israel in order to separate it from Egypt in any way possible. The Zionist regime is under attack. The first time was in 1956, but with the UN resolution, the Zionist military withdrew, and the second time was in 1967, when the region was occupied by the Zionist regime until April 25, 1982, when the Zionist regime retained its forces on the Taba border. It withdrew from the Sinai Peninsula, but was recaptured from Israel in 1989 by a decision of the International Court of Justice in The Hague. The importance of the Sinai Desert in delivering aid across the Rafah border to the Gaza Strip and Palestine is particularly evident during the Zionist regime's war against the Palestinians. Geographically, Egypt, with a population of about 83 million, is the largest Arab country and predicts The country's population will reach 140 million by 2050, so it will play a significant role in producing the soft power and leadership of the Arab world, although it may not be able to take over the leadership of the Arab world as it once did. Like the center of the Arab League, having Al-Azhar University as its oldest Islamic university reflects the country's soft power

resources in the Arab world (M.sharp, 2015: 15). On this basis, the United States, realizing this, seeks to influence the priorities and preferences of Egypt's foreign policy in a variety of ways. The following are the most important channels of US influence on Egypt's foreign policy. Egypt's military dependence on the United States and its role in political developments is one of the most important channels for understanding Egypt's political behavior. Since the rise to power in 1952, the military has ruled the country. Nasser (1970-1953), Anwar Sadat (1981-1970), Hosni Mubarak (1981-1981), all of whom were high-ranking officers and military officials. All the presidents except Mohammad Morsi began their lives as free agents when the monarchy was overthrown in 1952. And the words of the army and the police have been the basis of this country's politics. Examining the role and position of the Egyptian army in the eyes of the United States after the Camp David Accords, the fact that the majority of Egyptian ammunition depots include US-made weapons; Many Egyptian officers have been trained in US military academies and have pursued policies such as maintaining a peace treaty with Israel and fighting terrorism in the Sinai Desert. In the Camp David Accords signed between Egypt and Israel, the United States separately in a memorandum of understanding, he made some commitments to the two countries. These commitments were in the area of military and economic assistance, which the United States pledged to provide to the two countries each year. "Under the terms of the peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, the United States is ready to enter into a major extensive security relationship with Egypt, including the sale of military services and equipment and financial security," the letter said in a letter to Egypt. (Satloff and Clawson, 1998) It was on this basis that the United States provided a large amount of military aid to Egypt. United States, after signing the treaty gradually, it resumed military aid to the country to help restore peace in the region, replacing the former Soviet Union with military aid to Egypt. And America became dependent. This dependency can be understood both at the hardware level and at the software level. Egypt's military action in support of pro-Western countries can be assessed in this regard. Over the past two to three decades, Egypt has participated in joint military exercises with the United States to maintain and expand military ties with the West. The country has supported the US operation on various occasions by sending troops to Iran.

Opposition to Libyan military operations in Sudan sent troops to Somalia in 1990 to defend Syria against the Iraqi invasion, Somalia in 1992 and to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1994 to restore peace. In many of these interventions, Egyptian forces have been a key element of Arab or Islamic participation with the United States and the West (Satloff and Clawson, 1998). For example, in the Operation Storm Sahara, which took place in February 1991 to repel Iraqi occupation forces from Kuwait, an Egyptian infantry division of about 30,000 troops took part. In this case, the logistical support of the Shiites is mentioned. As in the "Desert Storm" and "Super Sahara" operations, the fighter jets of the occupied states flew about 200,000 sorties flying from Egypt to the Persian Gulf. During the October 1997 crisis in Iraq, Egypt allowed the US Washington Fleet to cross the Suez Canal. On the other hand, military ties with the United States, which are the result of Camp David's peace, have made great strides in the past decades in developing the US military industry. Allied with Egypt in the production of such tanks, the ability to produce a type of ballistic missile with a range of 800 to 1000 km in the 1980s, is one of the most important achievements of the signing of the peace treaty. As noted, such military aid was rewarded with the signing of a peace treaty with Israel. Since the increase, reduction or cessation of aid was subject to the view of the US Congress, which pays special attention to Israel's real or unrealistic security needs, Egypt is free to use this assistance to the extent that it poses a threat to Israel's security. So, as Abdul Halim Mahjoub, an expert on military and strategic issues, puts it: "US military assistance and cooperation with Egypt will never reach a level where it can challenge Israel's military superiority." Egypt and other Arab countries will not allow the development of a new and efficient military strategy. The failure of Egypt's efforts to acquire ballistic missiles (in cooperation with Argentina and Iraq in mid-1988) as a result of US pressure is a clear example of this. Second, after the Camp David Accords, Egypt became significantly more militarily dependent on the West and the United States. This dependence is understandable both at hardware and software levels. Apart from the fact that the majority of Egyptian ammunition depots include US-made weapons, many Egyptian officers have been trained in US military academies and policies such as contract maintenance. They have pursued peace with Israel and the fight against terrorism in the Sinai

Desert. Third, US military aid to Egypt has led to the development of Egypt's defense and military industries. Egypt has been pursuing the development of its domestic defense industry over the past two decades in line with the strategy of balance and deterrence. To this end, it has cooperated with various countries such as the United States, Britain, France, Germany and several other countries. Some military projects that have been in the interests of the United States have been successful, in contrast to projects that have been opposed by the United States and have failed to do so. The advanced AIM is in the 200-unit plant on the outskirts of Cairo. The US has managed to produce 530 of these tanks with the help of the United States. Egypt to be produced. Attempts to acquire ballistic missiles have failed as a result of US opposition. For example, following US policy pressures, Egypt is trying to acquire ballistic missiles (through cooperation with Iraq and Argentina in the Middle Ages). 1988), Nakam Mand. However, the cancellation of the missile project dealt a heavy blow to the development of Egypt's missile program.

Economic Dependence

Another channel of influence for the United States on Egypt's foreign policy has been the economic sphere. The United States, as the main sponsor of the Zionist regime, has been able to influence the country's economy in various ways in recent decades. The entry of the United States into the Egyptian economy began when Anwar Sadat pursued the policy of Eftafah in 1974 in the field of economics. During this period, the Egyptian economy was in an unfavorable situation. The government's interference in the economy, Egypt's foreign debt crisis, and most importantly, the flight of foreign investors from the poor state of the Egyptian economy were among the country's economic problems, such as the need for economic reform and a change in old policies. Thus, the Open Doors Policy was adopted in 1974 to reduce government oversight of the economy (Louis, El Mahdy and Handoussa, 2014: 52). Proponents of the Eftafah policy considered a special model for economic growth, which included a strategy for export-oriented manufacturing industry. They sought to achieve economic growth, relying on technology and foreign capital. Foreign and domestic private capital needs are met. To achieve this, the supporters of Eftafah had to change the degree of political power that had been created since the time of Nasser. Accordingly, the relationship with the United States played an

important role in improving the country's economic situation. That is why Egypt has expanded its economic ties with the United States, and US economic aid has played an important role in Egypt's behavior toward the Palestinian issue. The world's largest economy, the United States, knew that the promise of US economic aid to Egypt would, more than anything else, lead US political officials to compromise with Israel. During the Camp David Accords, the United States pledged \$ 2.1 billion in aid to Egypt annually. It provided Egypt with annual assistance to maintain peace in the region. Statistics show that since the Camp Contract Until 2000, David had \$ 38 billion in US military aid to Egypt and \$ 1.3 billion in annual US financial aid to Egypt. One of the most significant manifestations of US economic influence in the last decade can be seen in the Quiz economic project. He saw that he had a close connection with the issue of Palestine and Israel. The project has been one of the most important areas of joint economic cooperation between Egypt and Israel in the past decade.

Keys stands for "Qualifying Industrial Zones" and means "Quality Industrial Zones." Israel and the United States, which signed the Jordanian-Israeli peace agreement on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the signing of the peace agreement between Egypt and Israel in 2004 and have been implementing the agreement since February 2005. Manufacturer of clothing and textiles in a particular territory of Egypt can enter the US consumer market without paying customs duties or with a small amount of money if they use 8.11% of Israeli production agents.

The profits from Egypt's economic exchanges with the United States and Israel have allowed the country to take a moderate and peaceful stance toward Israel politically. In other words, Egypt's foreign policy in the Middle East in general and the Palestinian issue in particular were strongly influenced by the White House's approach. Egypt's position on Israel's wars with the Lebanese party and Israel's with Gaza well illustrates this. Gives. For example, with the start of the 33-day war in Lebanon, Musharraf became closer to Israel with the position it had taken. Egypt has blamed Hezbollah for the start of the war. Egypt's new role in the 22-day war, which Israel called a melted lead operation, has sparked new documents from WikiLeaks showing that Israel has been at the forefront of its war of conquest and that Egypt has been coordinated. Also at the Annapolis Conference and Bush's visit to the region in January 2008,

the United States and the Ulema government called on Egypt to continue its security and intelligence cooperation with Israel to destroy and destroy the Palestinian resistance led by Hamas. Egypt was subjected to political and financial pressure from Washington. Israel and the United States tried to regulate Egypt's approach to the Palestinian issue through Israel's security and political priorities, but did not give up. (Odonnel, 2008: 30). After the Islamists came to power under the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood, a movement that has always been a supporter of Palestinian rights against Israel, such US security concerns over the Palestinian-Israeli issue have become more serious. It was on this basis that the United States threatened to cut off its financial aid to Egypt if the Egyptian peace agreement with Israel was broken. Accordingly, Morsi took a more moderate position than expected. He criticized Israel and defended the rights of Palestinians, saying he was committed to the Camp David Accords.

For example, in an interview with Egypt's Al-Ahram newspaper in June 2013, he stressed his country's commitment to the regional structure and the peace agreement with Israel. "Egypt is a great country that respects agreements, but we monitor the situation and do not allow it," he said. In any case, any breach or breach of this agreement must be committed. "Although Mohammed Morsi's cautious foreign policy had allayed the concerns of the United States and Israel to some extent, the Islamist nature of the Muslim Brotherhood's government had always been cautious. On this basis, the return of the military to power could have been the best way to address their security concerns. The Muslim Brotherhood's inability to meet Egypt's economic demands led the United States and Israel to return to support Israel's military supporters. Revealed documents show that three days before the Egyptian coup, Abdul Fattah al-Sisi announced Israel's efforts to oust Mohammed Morsi from his presidency and called on Israel to monitor the Hamas movement. It's okay. It was then that the Zionist regime assured him that everything in Gaza was under heavy surveillance, and that Israel advised al-Sisi to destroy the tunnels. It was on this basis that the Egyptian army began destroying the Gaza tunnels just days before the Egyptian military coup. With the withdrawal of the Egyptian Islamist regime, Egypt's foreign policy toward Palestine and Israel has returned to pre-revolutionary levels, with Egypt once again shifting its foreign policy toward peace with Israel.

CONCLUSION

In general, the foreign policy of countries is formed under the influence of domestic and foreign factors. In the foreign policy of Egypt, this issue is well visible. In this section, based on the continuity model of James Rosena, he sought to explain Egypt's foreign policy on the Palestinian issue, as Egypt is one of the developing countries and also because of its authoritarian structure, with the exception of the Morsi government. Its political system has prevailed. The two internal variables of the individual (in the form of the national role of leaders and to some extent Islamist currents) and the environment variable (American influence) have had the greatest impact on this foreign policy. The role of the United States has always been the most influential through economic, political, and military channels. Egypt's economic and military dependence on the United States has led it to pursue foreign policy. The regional level, especially the issue of Palestine and Israel, should be subject to US policies.

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