

The Arab Spring and the Egypt-United States of America's Relations in Post-Revolution Era

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ABSTRACT

Egypt has experienced drastic changes in government recently. Studying these changes can lead to more understanding of the revolutions caused by the Arab Spring in other countries and can also explain the hegemonic conduct of the United States. This qualitative study was conducted through 1) reviewing scholarly published documents and other relevant official news resources that were published on the relationship between Egypt and the United States after the 2011 revolution, and 2) interviewing 12 key informants (ethnic, academic, and administrative elites). Qualitative content analysis was the main approach to data analysis. The results with a focus on both Obama's administration and Trump's administration revealed that Egypt and the United States relations were affected due to Egypt's anti-western agenda. Later, the United States' main strategies in maintaining its hegemony in Egypt were discussed. Among these factors, 1) the United States' aid policy, 2) the United States' tolerance policy, 3) aborting FJP, 4) imposing the western culture, and 4) the United States' support of street protests can be mentioned. Areas for further research are discussed at the end of the study.

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received: 19 March 2020

Accepted: 23 August 2020

Published: 26 March 2021

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47836/pjssh.29.1.32>

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Keywords: Arab Spring, Egypt-The United States Relations, hegemony, Post-Revolution Era, Power Transition Theory

INTRODUCTION

The movement 'Arab Spring' refers to a series of revolutions in South West Asia and North African countries since 2010 (Zubaida, 2015). As a result of Arab spring, rulers in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen have been shot down of power. The civil uprising has erupted in Bahrain and Syria. Massive protests have spread in Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, and Sudan, and minor protests have happened in Lebanon, Mauritania, Oman, and Saudi Arabia. Egypt also experienced the Arab Spring in 2011. As a result, Egypt's relations with the United States has been affected.

Historically, Egypt and the United States have had military and economic relations; due to the significance of Egypt's geopolitical position in the region. Egypt's geopolitical location can provide the United States national security interests (Shannon & Cummins, 2014). However, Egypt has not always been the United States' ally, although the main hegemon in Egypt in 1950s was the United States. Egyptian president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, showed tendencies to form relationships with the Soviet Union (Weinbaum, 1985). However, he was not very successful in this regard. One of the reasons was that his rule was succeeded by Anwar El Saddat, who contrary to Nasser, was not interested in building a relationship with the Soviet Union and was more open to building relationships with the United States. Another reason was the United States that attempted to moderate Egypt's behavior through its aid policy (Burns, 1985). During this era, Egypt and the United States also had

several confrontations among which Egypt's first arms purchases from the Soviet Bloc in 1955 (during Cold War), nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egyptian government in 1956, and American Marines' landing in Lebanon in 1958, can be highlighted (Skaggs, 2015).

Most of the economic and military relationships between Egypt and the United States can be traced back in the 1970s, after signing the Camp David Treaty with Israel. As a result of this treaty, the United States provided Egypt with assistance. Indeed, Egypt, as a power in the region, has attempted to work as the provider of stability, an issue which was marked by the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in 1979 (Rabinovich, 2009).

As stated by Sharp (2014), the relationship between Egypt and the United States has not always been smooth and without challenge. The United States was for stepping down Hosni Mubarak, former Egypt's president, in 2011. The reason, as stated by the government of the United States, was a violation of human rights by Hosni Mubarak. Therefore, Obama's administration suspended and later recast relations with Egypt.

Indeed, the Egyptian revolution in 2011 can be marked as the beginning of a new era in Egypt-United States relationships. Although after the United States established relationships with Egypt in 1952 and until the last autocrat (President Mubarak) held power in 2011, the two countries maintained relatively good relationships, these bilateral relationships were turmoil tremendously

by the one-year presidency of the Muslim Brotherhood's Muhammad Morsi, from June 2012 to July 2013, and were changed afterward. As can be understood from the background of the bilateral relationships between the two countries, at the end of the Mubarak era and at the beginning of the Egyptian revolution in 2011 (Morsi's presidency), the relationship between these two countries was tense when Morsi called for a cessation of relationships with the United States (Housden, 2013).

Statement of the Problem

Although some pieces of news and academic articles have attempted to cover the effect of the Egyptian revolution in 2011 on Egypt's relationship with the United States, there is a need for a comprehensive study that considers all aspects of this multifarious phenomenon. Research in this area should come to an understanding on why Egypt-United States' relationship was affected by the Arab Spring rather than a descriptive account of what has happened between the two countries. However, this issue is, to a considerable extent, understudied. Also, other studies that have investigated the Arab Spring in Egypt are more interested in the series of events that have happened, rather than the United States hegemony. This is the first reason that the researchers considers conducting this study significant.

Undoubtedly, the advent of the Arab Spring in Egypt has resulted in new developments. Many of these developments, such as the transition of secular political power to an Islamic religious one, or Egypt's

closeness with Iran, has sure affected Egypt-United States relationships. Such developments can be understood by not only studying the published documents with regard to Egypt's developments after 2011, but also by listening to the administrative, academic, and ethnic elites who have had an active role in either making these decisions or interpreting the events. However, previous studies have mostly dealt with published data and have ignored the primary data. This is the second reason the researcher believes the Egypt-United States relationships after the 2011 revolution should be subject to a comprehensive study from different perspectives.

Research Objective

To evaluate the effect of the Arab Spring on Egypt-United States relationship in the post-revolution era.

Research Question

Q1: How have the political developments in Egypt after the Egyptian revolution in 2011 (Known as Arab spring) affected Egypt's political relations with the United States?

Significance of the Study

Exploring how the United States has attempted to maintain its hegemony in Egypt can lead to frameworks in understanding how international revolutions in other countries are affected by the revolution caused by the Arab Spring. Also, it is significant to know what factors have played a role in the hegemony of the United States

in Egypt and how the recent developments affected these factors, and eventually, the United States' hegemony in Egypt. Egypt has had a shift in trends after the 2011 revolution in terms of international relationships. Barack Obama was not for supporting Egypt, and the two countries' long-lasting relations were affected. It is important to know if this change, along with other developments afterward, has affected the United States' hegemony in Egypt.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Framework

The underlying theory in analyzing the Egypt-United States' relations was that of Power Transition theory by Organski (1958),

as this study considers domestic variables as well as international variables as causes of conflict over hegemony. Indeed, the two main aspects that can have an effect on the United States' hegemony in Egypt are the domestic aspect (related to the developments in Egypt) and the international aspect (Foreign Policy). Studying these aspects of the study would give the readership a picture of the United States' hegemony in Egypt without military intervention. From this perspective, studying the United States' attempt to maintain its hegemony in Egypt reveals the significance of Egypt as a geopolitical country in the region. Figure 1 visualizes how Power Transition Theory was used in this study.

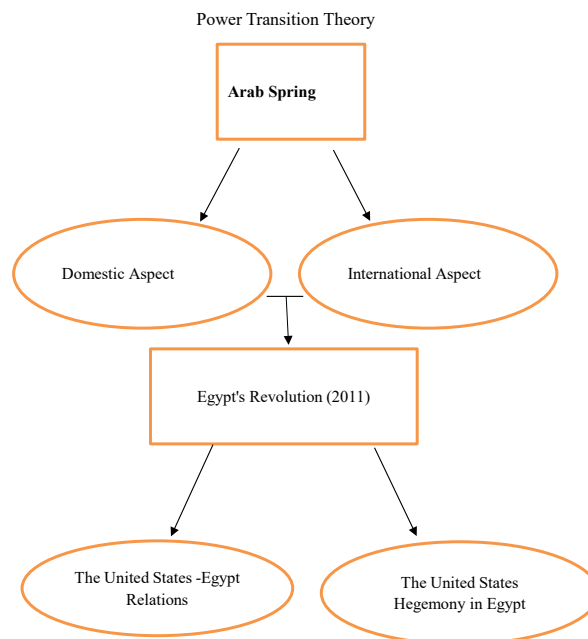


Figure 1. Theoretical framework of the study

The Power Transition theory is a theory through which one can seek how the transition of power has affected the relationship between nations (Flint & Taylor, 2007). Organski and Kugler (1981) referred to the imbalance of power and explained that the aggressors in conflicts were the dissatisfied small groups or strong powers. This indicates that the theory is a suitable one to be used in this study, as not only was power transition in Egypt the focus of the study, but also the aggression of Egyptians had resulted in a revolution. In order to operationalize the Power Transition theory in this study, the researcher searched for the themes extracted from the published documents and the informants' speech. However, in line with the premises of this theory, the themes were only sought in two categories of domestic and international variables. These two concepts are the most fundamental concepts in the Power Transition theory. In addition, the researchers' focus was on how these variables had changed the relationship between the United States and Egypt.

“Why Egypt”

Egypt is a country with a long history. It is known to be a part of the Ottoman Empire from 1517. Although the country is known to have 6000 years of civilization, it has borne ups and downs, which are mostly due to its being a focus of attention by international hegemony. Civilization is a strong one so much that its footprints can be seen in other parts of the world. This is, as

stated by Llobera (2003), a common feature of old civilizations.

Historical sights provide rich sources of income for world hegemony. Just as old pieces of art from these lands can be sold to generate income, these sights can be used as touristy lands to generate revenue for both the local government and the contractors. Both of these cases were observed in Egypt. As reported by Al-Shalchi (2010), from 2002 until 2010, over 5000 stolen artifacts were returned to Egypt, which shows the high rate of stealing antiques from Egypt. Although this can be considered as a non-political intervention of the United States in Egypt affairs, it can also show the United States' interest in the wealth of Egypt (Al-Shalchi, 2010).

Another feature that makes the history of Egypt unique is that Egypt is a divine land. The advent of Islam to Egypt can be traced back in the 7th century (Wilson, 2013). Later on, Islam grew in Egypt and became the dominant religion of the country. According to Lev (1991), in the late 10th century, the Fatimids chose Egypt as their center and Cairo as their capital. This resulted in Egypt becoming a trade center between two bodies of water (Indian Ocean and Mediterranean). This trade line was stretched to other important countries such as China. The Fatimids contributed to Egypt's architecture and also build hospitals and universities.

Another significant feature of Egypt is its geography. The country has a geopolitical position. It is connected to the Mediterranean

and Europe. It is also connected to Asia and Africa through two provinces, i.e., North Sinai and South. Moreover, Egypt is situated on the lands around the Red Sea. The privilege of domination over the Suez Canal and also domination over a large part of the Mediterranean has given this country a special position. Mearsheimer (2014) asserted that such features were significant in providing the security of Israel and made Egypt a unique land to the United States; thus, hegemony in Egypt is of high significance to America.

The Arab Spring

Arab Spring, sometimes referred to as Arab Winter or Arab Uprising, was sparked by a street vendor named Bouazizi who burned himself from self-immolation (Ashley, 2011). Arab Spring is considered to be among the largest transformation since the Arab world and even outside the Arab countries after decolonization (Agdemir, 2016). The effect of protests was strong to the extent that, in many cases, the protests were successful. For example, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, the ruler of Tunisia, fled to Saudi Arabia after the protests in Tunisia. The nation's belief in the movement had even caused minor protests in countries such as Mauritania and Oman (Sunil, 2011).

The factors that have caused the Arab Spring have been of prime significance to scholars and political scientists; therefore, the series of events that have happened in different countries have been keenly observed. To political scientists, revolutions can have a variety of reasons, among which

social, political, and economic factors can be highlighted. On the other hand, demographic changes and social media can reinforce the process. Although such factors usually result in revolutions, one question has remained unanswered, i.e., why have protests been successful in one country, though a failure in another?

Previous Studies

Scholars such as Vidino (2013) did not look at the United States' role in Egypt's revolution in a pre-planned agenda. They considered it a failure in maintaining hegemony in a country that was already an ally to them. Although the previously mentioned studies state that the United States had a plan to maintain its hegemony in Egypt. Segal (2016) gave an example of the United States' failure in this regard and referred to the bilateral relationships between Egypt and Iran. He stated that the Iranian revolution of 1979 had deteriorated the relationships between Egypt and Iran. He related this problem to the Camp David treaty between Egypt and Israel. However, the author stated that in recent years (after 2011), the trust between Iran and Egypt was improved.

Some studies have also mentioned the consequences (developments) of the Egyptian revolution in 2011. For example, Sader (2012) explained that America's hegemony in Egypt was negatively affected by the selection of the Muslim Brotherhood as the ruling party in Egypt. By the advent of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Islam is considered to be in its place both in Egypt

and in the Arab World. He related this to the chain of revolutions in the Arab Spring. Sader (2012) believed the dominance of Islam in contrast with Western ideology. As a result, Islam was used as a weapon against hegemony in revolutions in the Arab Spring.

Salem (2018), who studied the Nasserist ruling class state in Egypt, noted that this group was different from the rest of the country and did not resemble dependency. To Salem, however, the status quo of Egypt in the post-colonized era should be subject to more research as he called Egypt a dependent country and prone to maintaining hegemony. Indeed, other scholars such as Jadallah (2014) also noted that the United States might be looking to complete its perfect hegemony in the era of Mubarak in Egypt. As a result, post-revolution Egypt should be subject to more research. Contrary to such as the in-depth need to study America's hegemony in Egypt in the post-revolution era, research has mostly dealt with the developments in Egypt rather than following the footprints of America in Egypt's political, social and economic decisions.

METHOD

Design of the Study

This study has a qualitative design, as only soft data was collected throughout the study. Content analysis (CA) was used as the main analytical approach to seeking answers to the research questions. Content analysis is used widely in the field, as it matches the nature of qualitative research, especially when the data is in the form of documents that require

a precise and systematic analysis. Babbie (2007) also acknowledged that CA was a suitable approach for conducting research in political sciences.

As CA is a flexible approach to data analysis, the researcher made use of Hsieh and Shannon (2005) approach to CA to structure the study. In Hsieh and Shannon tradition, the successful content analysis consists of 8 main stages, i.e., 1) preparation of data, 2) defining the units or themes of analysis, 3) developing categories and coding scheme, 4) pre-testing the coding scheme on a sample, 5) coding all the text, 6) assessing the consistency of coding employed 7) drawing inferences on the basis of coding or themes, and 8) presentation of results.

Procedure

In order to implement the steps mentioned by Hsieh and Shannon (2005) in this study, the researcher made a list of scientific databases which published articles and books on political sciences, then, the researcher conducted comprehensive research and downloaded the articles which seemed to be relevant to this study (preparation of data). Based on the topics of the published materials and previously studied areas, the main themes for the analysis were extracted (defining the units or themes of analysis). In the next step, these themes were coded, and the main categories were extracted (developing categories and coding schemes). As all categories extracted from the themes were not relevant to the study. Thus, the researchers studied some

categories and omitted the irrelevant ones. Next, the remaining themes were coded in relationship with each other.

The acquired data was checked from various sources to make sure there is consistency in views about the events (assessing the consistency of coding employed). This could help the researcher gain more information by comparing various points of views and results from various sources (drawing inferences on the basis of coding or themes). Finally, the data was interpreted and presented (presentation of results). This procedure was adopted for both the data collected from previously published academic articles, books, a quotation from political elites in the US and Egypt. In addition, the same procedure was adopted to analyze the qualitative data collected through interviews.

Primary data in this study was provided through interviews with ethnic, academic, and administrative elite, which were involved with studying, interpreting, and making decisions about the political issues in Egypt with regard to the Arab Spring,

Egypt’s revolution in Egypt, and Egypt-United States relationships. The reason for selecting these categories is that they had already been selected by scholars in the field who had investigated similar topics, e.g., Khorshidi (2013).

Key Informants

Purposive sampling can explain this selection of the informants for this study. As the researchers selected the informants who were informed of the series of events in the Egyptian revolution in 2011. Rubin and Babbie (1997) explained that purposive sampling occurred when the participants in a study were already involved in the mainstream of the study. The researchers also attempted to interview key informants who came from various walks of life. In addition, this type of sampling is considered to be non-random. Although in random sampling, all informants in a context have the chance to be part of a study, in this study and through non-random sampling, only 12 informants could take part in the study.

Table 1
Demographics of the participants

Code	Type of key informant	Position/ Job	Ethnicity	Field of study	Age	Gender
E1	Ethnic Elite	University Professor	Egyptian	Political Sciences	52	Male
E2	Ethnic Elite	Journalist	Egyptian	Journalism with regard to Politics	43	Male

Table 1 (Continued)

Code	Type of key informant	Position/Job	Ethnicity	Field of study	Age	Gender
E3	Ethnic Elite	PhD student	Egyptian	Political sciences	37	Female
E4	Ethnic Elite	Social activist	Egyptian	Women and Children rights	39	Female
A1	Academic Elite	University Lecturer	American	Political Sciences	41	Male
A2	Academic Elite	University Lecturer	American	Political sciences	62	Male
S1	Social elite	Social Activist	American	Cultural Heritage	33	Male
A3	Academic Elite	Journalist	Iranian	Media and Political Relationships	49	Male
A4	Academic Elite	University Senior Lecturer	German	Political Sciences	37	Female
A5	Academic Elite	University lecturer	Iranian	Political Sciences	41	Male
AD1	Administrative Elite	-	-	-	-	-
AD2	Administrative Elite	-	-	-	-	-

The data from the administrative elite could not be shown, as a limited number of people work as administrative elite, and it would be possible to unveil their identity by knowing their demographic data.

Semi-Structured Interviews

The researchers presented the interviewees with the research question in this study. This could also confirm the content validity of the interview questions, as the interview questions were directly extracted from the

content of this study. The semi-structured interviews in this study were conducted through email.

RESULTS

How have the political developments in Egypt after the Egyptian revolution in 2011 (Known as Arab spring) affected Egypt's political relations with the United States? To answer the research question, the opinions of the key informants are discussed prior to the analysis of the published documents.

This is indeed one of the limitations of this study. Although the researchers aimed at conducting face-to-face interviews; due to the presence of the key informants in various contexts including Egypt, it was not possible.

The Ethnic Elite

The first research question was asked from 4 ethnics (Egyptian) elites who were one university professor, one journalist, 1 Ph.D student, and a social activist. The most frequent theme expressed by three key informants was the anti-Western agenda of the current political party, which held power in Egypt and its effect on Egypt- the United States relationships.

A1: The demand of many people in Egypt at the time of street protests was for the country to stand on its own feet and end its dependency on the west.

The researchers asked the key informants to clarify whether or not they thought the new political party (i.e., Muslim brotherhood) had fulfilled the need of the public protests. In simple words, if the public's demand was cutting relationships with the West and the United States, did this happen after all.

The key informants' reply to this issue revealed that this issue had been taken for granted after some time.

A1: Many revolutions are like this. Politician listen to the public but things return to what they were after some time. If Egypt does not have good relationships with the US, why is it

receiving aids from the US?

It was concluded that the ethnic elite believed that there had not been much change in the relationship with the US after the Egyptian revolution in 2011.

Another issue mentioned by the ethnic elite was an economic partnership between America and Egypt. Also, most key informants believed that the relationship between Egypt and the US had been limited after the revolution, A4 key informant noted that such changes stemmed from the ruling party in the US as well.

A4: We cannot say that Egypt- United States relationships should have been cut. Obama's policy is different from that of Trump. Recently Trump is trying to build up the relationships with the United States to avoid Egypt's partnership with US enemies.

In general, the ethnic elite accepted that major changes had occurred in the relationship between Egypt and the US, but they also accepted that the relationships were getting stronger as time passed.

The Academic Elite

The five academic elites (1 German, 1 Iranian, and 3 American) who took part in this study also made reference to the people's demand for independence of Egypt, but they mostly focused on the interplay of power in Egypt. These academicians had already conducted research on Egypt's revolution. To academic scholars, the core of the relationship between Egypt and the

United States was the role of Egypt in the region. They believed that the United States was attempting to build up this relationship to maintain its power in the Arab world.

E5: Egypt has been the voice of America in the Arab league. After the revolution, America lost Egypt and invested on Saudi Arabia.

E4: Undoubtedly, Israel has played an effective rule for America, and America would attempt to keep its allies to strengthen Israel. But one thing is for sure, Muslim Brotherhood is not as obedient as. Say for example Anwar Al Sadat and America has a long journey to maintain its hegemony.

Apparently, the Academic elite believed that the United States -Egypt relationships had been affected by the new developments, i.e., the advent of an Islamic party to power, loss of the United States interests, and power in the Arab World. The respondents explained that the United States had lost its power in Egypt compared to its pre-revolution status. They also explained that the United States sought its interests rather than the benefit of the Egyptians.

Administrative Elite

The administrative elite believed that the relationship between Egypt and the United States had changed to the extent that Egypt was a dependent country.

AD1: We are independent now. If the US gives Egypt financial aids does not

mean were are dependent. We make our own decisions. The new ruling party has a religious agenda, not a western one.

AD2: Egypt is standing on its feet. We still have many issues. Egypt needs experience, not because it is under the power of any country, but because it is practicing independency.

It can be stated that the key informants, in general, believed that Egypt was more independent from the United States than the pre-revolution era (before 2011). Thus, the new developments had affected the United States' hegemony in the United States and the United States -Egypt relationships. Among the most frequent themes mentioned by the key informants were 1) the advent of an Islamic party, 2) closing down American-related businesses in Egypt, and 3) less control over Egypt in the Arab League. In addition, the key informants (academic elites) believed that external factors also affect America's relationships with Egypt. The most important external factor was the transition of power from Democrats to the Republicans in the United States, which had different points of view about the relationships with Egypt.

Published Documents

The following themes (Figure 2) were extracted as a result of analyzing the published documents.

DISCUSSION

One of the most significant themes extracted

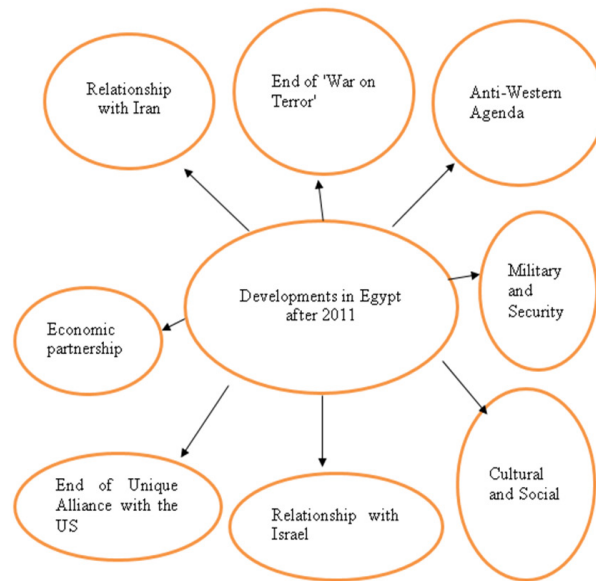


Figure 2. Developments in Egypt in Post-revolution era (designed by the researcher)

from the analysis of the published documents on Egypt-United States' relationship and the effect of the Egyptian revolution in 2011 on this relationship was the end of a unique alliance between these two countries. This theme is among the most frequently repeated themes mentioned by various scholars (i.e., Adams et al., 2017; Bassiouni, 2016; Scobey, 2009; Sharp, 2014). With regard to the significance of alliance between world hegemony and regional powers, Smelser and Baltes (2001) stated that alliance between world hegemony and countries with regional importance played a significant role in maintaining hegemony power in various regions in the world. Morton (2007) stated that Gramsci, who had invented the concept of hegemony, believed that at the early stages of spreading hegemonic

power, the world powers attempted to gain public consent. Later, and as they had laid the foundation for their power, they attempted to begin a partnership with the targeted country and to consider it as an ally. This issue can be observed in the case of Egypt, as Obama's administration frequently supported the public uprising to win public consent (Al-Zawahiri, 2011). Ali and Stuart (2014) also pointed out to this issue and explained that the analysis of the United States' behavior in Egypt after three years from the revolution showed that the United States did not care who should rule the country after Mubarak. To them, their national interest had priority over values. Thus, the end of a unique alliance with Egypt was costly for the United States, as they had to face changes in their foreign

policy with Egypt (Al-Zawahiri, 2011).

However, America's policy in developing its hegemonic power has been different in various locations (Adams et al., 2017) leading to modernity in some places and colonialism in other places, the United States' approach to Egypt has been friendlier (Sharp, 2014). Indeed, one of the major political developments in Egypt, which affected the relationship between the United States of America and Egypt, is the end of a unique alliance these two countries had for many years.

As stated by Scobey (2009), Egypt was not among the United States allies in NATO; however, it became the second receiver of aid from the United States after Israel. Before 2009, Egypt had received \$ 30 billion aid from the United States, and following this date, the aid was raised to \$250 billion. Egypt also received various forms of military help from the US. In addition, Egypt's Old Russian air force was renewed by America's help, and the country was granted \$1.3 Billion to aid its military purposes (Scobey, 2009). Therefore, there were unique ties between the two countries before the 2011 revolution. However, the Egyptian policy was changed from some aspects. In the first place, the anti-western agenda of the Muslim Brotherhood considered Egypt to be capable of handling its issue without the need from any external sources (Bassiouni, 2016). This eventually led to new Egypt turning its back to America and its allies, such as Israel, by becoming less friendly to them after about 40 years and welcoming mutual relationships with

countries that had open hostility with the United States such as Iran. As a result of this change in policy, a number of economic, security, and military partnerships between America and Egypt were stopped, which in turn weakened America's hegemony in Egypt. This issue also affected the benefits of the United States in Egypt and caused a reduction in the United States' power in Egypt. Telhami (1992) explained that since the Camp David Treaty, the United States had been leading in the region due to its power. Thus, the reduction of America's power in Egypt can result in the United States' losing its leadership in its foreign policy with Egypt, as absence of a hegemon in a geopolitical region can lead to presence of another hegemon (Carmody & Owusu, 2007).

Other sources also acknowledged that the 2011 revolution in Egypt affected America's hegemony. For example, Wolkov (2015) stated that the 2011 revolution in Egypt was a costly one for America. Not only the inexperienced politicians who had gained power had uncertain foreign policies, but also they caused instability in the relationships with America. He believed that after 2011 and until 2014, the relationship between America and Egypt had had many ups and downs for the US.

Muslim Brotherhood's anti-western ideology could also be observed from the movement by members of the Muslim Brotherhood in America. Norman (2016) stated that the Muslim Brotherhood was incriminated several times by members of the United States parliament, but

the party exonerated its members from being accused of involvement in terrorist activities. An example of this issue is the Holy Land Foundation trial in 2007. Muslim Brotherhood's members were accused of training the use of weapons and guns, and espionage against the United States government.

As mentioned earlier, Obama's administration was uncertain about the new political party, which would have gained power after 2011 in Egypt. On the other hand, Obama's administration was under pressure by many quarters to ease the process of dropping Mubarak. Hamid (2012) noted that Egypt- United States relationships were never as low as they were at the time of the Egyptian revolution in 2011. Indeed, due to political pressures, the United States asked its citizens to leave Egypt. This led the United States' government to a dilemma. Although Mubarak was not as faithful as Sadat to America, it was always loyal to Camp Davide Treaty of 1979. Mubarak was also power against the sentiments of the Arabs (Cooper, 2011). As the Muslim Brotherhood was among the candidate of elections, the United States was not sure about the future of Israel. On the other hand, the new Egyptian government could be willing to build relationships with Iran, an issue which was not favored by America; therefore, for some time, America adopted a new policy.

Probably, most concerns of post-revolution events in Egypt were for Israel, as the United States is a close ally to Israel, and hostility between Muslim brotherhood

and the United States could affect Israel's security. Indeed, a shift was felt between the foreign policy of FJP and later Muslim brotherhood towards Israel after the 2011 revolution in Egypt. In the past, Egypt was the first Arab country to Sign Camp David agreement with Israel which resulted in functional relationships between the two countries.

In line with the interest of Mubarak and his constitution, political activities were considered to be against the law. In most cases, the opposition leaders were imprisoned and tortured so much that Morsi was also imprisoned many times. Tadros (2012) posited that all presidential elections had known results prior to being conducted, and the parliamentary elections had fake results. As a result, oppositions and political parties did not have the chance to experience a political life. This had effects on their talks in, media, political decisions, and political doctrine after the 2011 revolution.

Prior to the Camp David treaty, the relationship between Iran and Egypt was smooth. In 1939, Youssef Zulficar Pasha was assigned as an Egyptian ambassador in Iran. In addition, Muhammad Reza Shah, the former Iranian King before the 1978 revolution of Iran, married an Egyptian princess (Al Sherbini, 2013).

Although the relationship between Iran and Egypt was turmoiled by the Egyptian revolution of 1952 and the advent of General Nasser, Anwar Al Sadat adopted a different policy and began mutual and open relationships with Iran after the death of General Nasser in 1970. After the

1973 war between Egypt and Israel, Iran assumed a leading role in cleaning up and reactivating the blocked Suez Canal with heavy investment. Iran also facilitated the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Sinai Peninsula by promising to substitute with free Iranian oil the loss of the oil to the Israelis if they withdrew from the Egyptian oil wells in Western Sinai. All these added more to the personal friendship between Sadat and the Shah of Iran.

Previously it was mentioned that the peace treaty signed between Egypt and Israel was one of the greatest milestones for the United States in establishing its hegemony in the region. Egypt's cooperation with America was a mutual one. Egypt received great sums of money in return for supporting Israel in the region. Between 1979 and 2003, Egypt had acquired a total of \$ 19 billion to develop its military, placing Egypt as the second greatest non-NATO receiver of America's donation. As a result, Egypt was placed as a major military ally to the United States after Israel.

Huntington (1993) explained that the type of clashes between countries varied. While some could be military or economical, others could be cultural and based on civilization. To him, when Islam was involved in the war, the type of clash was cultural. By changing the culture of Islamic states, there will be more room to grow the economy. In line with this idea, Luttwak (1990) asserted that the logic of cultural war lay in its economic benefits.

CONCLUSION

Having conducted a comprehensive analysis of academic documents, and ethnic, academic, and administrative elites, it was understood that the recent developments in Egypt had affected the United States hegemony in Egypt. Among these factors, 1) End of Unique Alliance with the United States, 2) Egypt's cold relationships with Israel, 3) Egypt's reestablishment of relationships with Iran, 4) Suspension of war on terror, 6) the United States' new policy, 7) Egypt's anti-western agenda, 8) military and security factors, and 9) cultural and social factors can be highlighted.

Recommendations for Further Research

In this study, some variables were introduced as factors that could affect the United States' hegemony in Egypt. These issues were listed under the new developments. Some of these developments are still understudied and require more research. As a result, the researchers felt limited when looking for published documents in these areas. For example, more research is required to find out how the economic partnership between the United States and Egypt was affected as a result of 2011's revolution. In the same vein, more research is required to understand the approaches the United States uses to maintain its hegemony in Egypt. One of the variables which needs attention in this regard is 'culture.'

As a result of Egypt's revolution, many changes have occurred in this country; however, this study only dealt

with the hegemony of the United States in Egypt. Some issues are very significant to determine. For example, it is obvious that with changing Egypt's government, the deep structure of the country cannot be changed. It is important to know how this issue has affected the success of the new Egypt. In addition, such information can be used to project the future of other revolutions.

Egypt has traditionally been an ally to the Soviet Union; however, the United States began to spread its hegemonic power in Egypt as early as 1952. As the relationship between Egypt and the United States was weakened during the early years of revolution in Egypt, i.e., between January 2012 and March 2013, other hegemony such as Russia, attempted to have a negative influence on the United States -Egypt relationship. This issue is understudied and requires more attention.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I (Hossein Taghdar) would like to extend my sincere thanks to my supervisor, Professor Dr. Zaid Ahmad, who gave me this chance to start a new way in my academic life, giving me the freedom to find my own path and words of wisdom when I needed it. It was a great honor to work with the advice of such a knowledgeable and intuitive supervisor. Also, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Loghman Ansarian for the continuous support of my research and the study, for his patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Abdolreza Alami for his

advice on research matters, without which I could not complete my project.

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