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**Foreign Political Relations of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the USA during 70s and
90s of the 20th Century**

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A b s t r a c t

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Research topic: the topic of the research was the foreign political relations of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the United States of America during 1970s through 1990s.

The research does not only cover the relations between Egypt and the USA. It also deals with the relations of Egypt with the USSR, Israel, other Arab countries, as well as internal and foreign policies of all the three presidents of Egypt. Arab-Israeli conflict and the course of peace processes are also discussed in it.

Importance of the dissertation: the topic of this dissertation is the issue of key significance, particularly in the history of Egypt, as well as the USA and the Middle East.

Together with the relations between these two countries oriental politics of other countries related to them and their goals have also been studied and analyzed.

The paper focuses upon all Arab-Israeli wars going on in Middle East and particularly upon the war in October 1973, as well as the role of USA and the Soviet Union in the resolution of the mentioned conflict. The analysis of foreign policy of the second Egyptian president, Anwar Al-Sadat, who prepared the basis for the "departure" of the Soviet Union from one of the most strategic countries - Egypt. As a result peace was established between Israel and Egypt and Egypt restored its territorial integrity.

The thesis captures the peace process whose launch was triggered by the accords signed at Camp David following the American initiative.

The study of a number of foreign sources made it possible to analyze and evaluate the history of Egypt, relations between the Soviet Union and the USA, Egypt and Israel, the processes going on in the Middle East in general from a totally new perspective.

Aim of the research: the aim of this research is to discuss objectively the relations between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the USA in 1970s through 1990s and give an accurate answer to the question: why did Egypt change its foreign political course in the beginning of 1970 and what caused the departure of Egypt from the Soviet sphere of influence and its replacement by the USA.

Scholarly novelty of the paper: the paper for the first time in Oriental Studies in Georgia introduces the complex research of foreign political relations of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the USA, full and objective review of foreign and domestic political situation of contemporary Egypt.

In order to study the issue under research properly, Arabic historical sources, particularly the ones published in the Arab Republic of Egypt as well as various other sources, researches and memoirs published in the West and Russia have been studied.

The analysis of foreign sources and literature gave us an opportunity to shed light upon many previously unknown facts. Thus for example it has been finally established that regular Soviet military forces participated in the so-called "War of Attrition" military operations with the purpose to protect air and land borders of Egypt.

It has also been made clear that the peace between Egypt and Israel was made possible only through the help from the USA. The reason which induced Sadat change the policies of his predecessor has been identified. The relations between the superpowers reached a critical point in October 1973, when the world was on the verge of a nuclear war.

The paper is also innovative in that it discloses and analyzes new material which makes it possible to take a different look at the Oriental interests of political leaders of the USA, the Soviet Union, Egypt, Israel. These materials have been preserved for thirty years as "highly confidential" in the national archives of the USA. Their analysis sheds light upon the relations between Egypt and America, the Soviet Union and the USA; this will help Georgian orientologists and political scientists analyze more profoundly the events going on in the Middle East.

The issues connected with puzzling death of Gamal Abdel Nasser as well as the murder of Anwar Al-Sadat has been captured.

The analysis of foreign historical sources elucidated the role and contribution of USA in the establishment of peace between Egypt and Israel, as well as unknown objectives and biographical details of the USA, Soviet, Arab and Israeli political leaders.

Chronological framework of the thesis: the paper captures 1950s and the beginning of the 21st century and step by step analyzes the activities of all the three presidents of Egypt, their domestic and foreign political goals, politics of the USA, the Soviet Union, Israel and their relations with Egypt. Arab-Israeli armed conflicts starting from the creation of the State of Israel, as well as their relations up to the end of the 20th Century and the course of peace operations have also been extensively covered.

Practical value of the thesis: the thesis shall make a major contribution to the study of foreign policy of the USA and the Soviet Union, individual issues of the history of the Middle East, particularly Arab East and Israel while at the same time it will allow students get acquainted with new historical sources and literature.

Approbation of the thesis: the dissertation was approved by the scientific board of Ivane Javakhishvili State University of Tbilisi, History Department (March 15, 2000, protocol No 5).

The dissertation was prepared at the Chair of Modern and Contemporary History of Asian and African Countries, Ivane Javakhishvili State University of Tbilisi. The thesis was discussed at the joint meeting of the members of the Chair (November 17, 2005, protocol No 4).

Publications: four publications were dedicated to basic findings of the dissertation paper (see the list of publications).

Contents of the dissertation: the thesis consists of introduction, literature review, five chapters, conclusion and a list of references.

The importance of the topic, its novelty are demonstrated in the **Introduction**. The reliability of sources, their data, scholarly importance of the paper and its practical value are also established.

Literature review:

Sources, monographs, articles in Arabic as well as in European languages, material from Oriental, Western and Russian periodicals as well as information and data published by various research and analytical centers on internet have been used in the dissertation; the information published on mass media websites in Arabic and European languages was of invaluable help.

Particular mention should be made of the papers by a well-known Egyptian publicist, journalist, public and political figure, Mohammed Hasanain Haikal, which are not well known in oriental studies in Georgia and have not been extensively used. These papers acquire additional importance if we consider the fact that Haikal occupied several key positions in Egyptian government and he not only had close connections with the last two presidents of Egypt, but was the eye-witness and participant of all the major political events that took place in Egypt during the period under research. Among his works particular attention should be paid to a three-volume book concerning secret negotiations and agreements between Arab countries and Israel. The book chronologically captures the end of the 19th century and 1990s. Second and third volumes: "Book Two - in the Blazes of Peace and War and Book three - Illusions of Peace - Oslo - before and after it. Secret Negotiations between Arabs and Israelis" was of particular interest for the purposes of this paper. Also important is the book "October of 73. Arms and Politics", which fully covers the last major conflict between Egypt and Israel, and the role of the USA and the Soviet Union in it. The book is also interesting in that the author uses unique documentary material containing the transcripts of conversations of the leaders and military officials of Egypt, Israel, the USA and the USSR, negotiations between them, secret agreements, etc.

A book written by the famous Egyptian political figure, former Director General of the UN Butros Butros Ghali "Egypt's Road to Jerusalem" also makes a valuable contribution towards the study of the history of relations between USA and Egypt. The book describes in detail Sadat's political goals and the results of his historic visit to Jerusalem, which served as a foundation for future peace talks between Egypt and Israel.

Memoirs of the politicians who had close relationships with Egyptian officials and particularly with last two presidents: Anwar Al-Sadat and Hosni Mubarak have also been used in the course of writing the dissertation. Particularly important among them is the four-volume book by the Egyptian publicist and journalist Mahmud Fawzi "Governors of Egypt", which contains interesting information about all the leaders of Egypt governing the country in the 20th century. It should also be noted that these publications were recognized as the best journalistic publications in Egypt in 1985, 1987, 1989 and in 1993 they were translated in to French.

A book by the famous Egyptian public figure Musa Sabri "Sadat, Historical Truth" is quite interesting as well; it gives the reasons of the murder of Sadat and evaluates his policies.

Invaluable contribution to the study of this topic has been made by a book written by the former Egyptian diplomat, Asmat Abdel Majid "Time of Successes and Failures", concerning Arab world and international diplomacy. Out of the books written by other Arab authors "Memories about Sadat" and "The Truth about Sadat, who passed ahead of his Time" by Abdallah Imam, "Psychoanalysis of Sadat" by Samir Abdu, "Egypt under Sadat's Rule" by D. Abdel Hamid Ramadan, "Sadat, the secret operation of murder" by Usef Hilali, "My dialogues with Sadat" by Ahmad Baha Ad-Din, "The Sadat that I knew" by Abdel Sitar Tawila and "Final Days of Sadat" by Adil Hamuda, etc.

As for the latest piece of contemporary history of Egypt (the rule of Muhammad Hosni Mubarak), the following works by Arab public figures have to be mentioned: a collection by various authors "Mubarak and the Arab World", "My Friend President" by Ahmad Shaibi and "Conversations with the President" by Makram Muhammad Ahmad. The first book tells us about the contribution of Hosni Mubarak to the return of the Republic of Egypt to the League of Arab States, while the rest of the books describe important stages in his political career.

Very important for the dissertation was the study of material covering everyday political events going on in Egypt, particularly, various informational material regularly arriving in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia from Arab countries, particularly recent editions of the bulletin of Foreign Affairs Ministry of Egypt – "Al-Diplomasy", containing the information about foreign political goals of contemporary Egypt.

Apart from this journal articles published in Arab periodicals have also been used, for example newspaper "Al-Gomhuria" published by the publishing house "El-Tahir", internet magazine "Al-Ahram Weekly" published by Cairo analytical center "Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies". Interesting pieces of information have been found in the editions of international Egyptian political journal "Al-Siyassa Al-Dawlia".

Information and materials obtained from other Arab informational media of Arab and European countries, such as "Al-Quds Al-Arabi" of Great Britain, "Asharq Al-Awsat" of Saudi Arabia, "Arab News", etc.

Apart from Arab mass media, photo and video materials of the National Television of Egypt, as well as official website of famous Qatar TV channel "Al-Jazeera" were of great help in the process of writing the paper.

Most of these materials and data were obtained during the study tours in the Arab Republic of Egypt in 1997-98 and during regular internship periods in Egypt in 2002-2003 and 2005.

Out of the works by Western political scientists a book written by an American scholar and political figure William B. Quandt is of great importance "The United States and Egypt.

A Brookings Institution Book. The American University in Cairo Press"; it covers the relations between USA and Egypt in 1980s and 1990s. His second work, "The Middle East. Ten Years after Camp David. The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C" is also remarkable.

An interesting research was carried out by another American researcher William Berns "Economic Aid and American Policy toward Egypt, 1955-1981. State University of New York Press", and by John Waterbury "The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat. The Political Economy of Two Regimes. Princeton University Press". Apart from these works, a book written by Arthur Goldsmith Jr. "Modern Egypt. Westview Press, Colorado & Hutchinson, London" and a book written by Joseph Nye Jr. "Understanding International Conflicts. Harvard University" have been used as well.

The works focusing upon the issues concerning Egypt, Israel and Palestine have drawn our attention, particularly the following ones: Amos Perlmutter "The Life and Times of Menachem Begin. Garden City, New York"; Aurel Braun "The Middle East in Global Strategy. Westview Press, Colorado & Mansell Publishing Limited, London"; Ze'ev Schiff "A History of the Israel Army, 1874 to the Present. London"; Ariel Sharon & David Chanoff "Warrior. The Autobiography of Ariel Sharon. A Touchstone Book. New York, London"; Yehuda Lukacs "Documents on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1967-1983. Cambridge University Press"; Raymond William Baker "Sadat and After. Harvard University Press"; Yehuda Lukacs and Abdalla M. Battah "The Arab-Israeli Conflict. Westview Press, London"; Don Peretz "The Middle East Today. New York, London"; Hirsh Goodman, W.Seth Carus "The Future Battlefield and the Arab-Israeli Conflict. Transaction Publishers, U.S.A. and U.K."; Roger Owen "State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East"; Michael G.Roskin and Nicholas O.Berry "The New World of International Relations, Prentice Hall Inc., Simon&Schuster"; James A. Bill and Robert Springborg "Politics in the Middle East. Longman, New York, Madrid"; J.Baylis and S. Smith "The Globalization of World Politics. An Introduction to International Relations. Second Edition. OXFORD University Press".

Memoirs and notes of US presidents - Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan have also been employed while working on the thesis.

The material developed by American and European research institutes and strategic centers depicting the relations of contemporary Egypt with the USA have been very helpful as well. Particularly the following articles: "The Washington Institute for Near East Policy", "The Middle East Quarterly", "Policy Review", "Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)", "Congressional Research Service. The Library of Congress (CRS)", "The Centre for Defense & International Security Studies (CDISS)", "The Washington Quarterly", "EIR International", "THE STRATFOR", "The Foreign Affairs", "The American Foreign Policy Council", "Foreign Policy in Focus (FPIF)", "The Center for Defense Information (CDI)", "The Centre for Defense & International Security Studies (CDISS)", "FOREIGN POLICY", "THE GLOBAL SECURITY", "Federation of American Scientists". Also political journals and newspapers "THE WALL STREET JOURNAL", "TIME", "The New York Times", "The Washington Post", "The Christian Science Monitor", "Newsweek", "In The National Interest", "The Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)". The following research analytical centers on Israel and Middle East helped greatly: "Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies Tel Aviv University", "MAOF Analytical Group", "Jewish Virtual Library"; newspaper "The Jerusalem Post", etc.

Out of European English-language analytical journals the following were of great help: "The Economist", "The Financial Times", "The Times", "Daily Telegraph", "The International Herald Tribune", "Guardian Unlimited" and the webpage of British BBC Channel.

Apart from this the material of French research centers and periodicals, particularly "Le Monde Diplomatique", "Le Figaro", "L'Express", have been used.

Material from the following German journals and newspapers has been also used: "Süddeutsche Zeitung", "Die Welt", "Die Spiegel" and the articles Publisher on the website of the famous German news channel "DEUTSCHE WELLE"; also Italian journals "Corriere della Sera", "La Stampa".

In order to obtain accurate statistical and other important data materials from the websites of USA Central Intelligence Agency and Foreign Intelligence Department of Russian Federation, as well as from the US State Department periodical "Washington Profile" have been used.

The material retained in the US National Security Archives were very important for the study of 1973 events; they have been used for the first time in Oriental historiography in Georgia. They are about the US policy in the Middle East during this period, involves secret negotiations between the parties of the conflict, letters, shorthand notes, secret agreements between the leaders of Egypt, Israel, the USA and the Soviet Union. These materials became public two years ago and were published on the official website of National Security, edited by William Burr "The October War and US Policy, US National Security Archive". It mentions that the researchers and analysts familiar with the details of the October War, such as Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, William P. Quandt, and Kenneth W. Stein, studied these materials together with others, investigated key issues and events, the goals of Egypt and Syria, mistakes made by American and Israeli intelligence agencies, the role of Moscow and Washington in initiating and terminating the conflict, and the efforts taken by key political figures - Kissinger and Sadat.

The books and publications by the famous American publicist and public figure Henry Kissinger, who played an important role in strengthening the relations between Egypt and the USA and conducting Egypt-Israeli negotiations have been used.

Of particular importance for the research were resolutions and other documents adopted by the UN Security Council, which were regulating the tense situation in the Middle East during years. These documents are published on the official UN website. Apart from this, publications on the websites of other international organizations, for example NATO were also helpful.

The causes of the conflict between Egypt and Israel have been studied, agreements and treaties between them have been analyzed, available from websites of foreign ministries of these countries.

Besides, a lot of valuable information was available on the official websites of US Department of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Offices of Great Britain, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation, President of Egypt, Prime-Minister and Parliament (Knesset) of Israel.

The contribution of Russian oriental historians to the study of the history of Egypt has been valuable as well. A series of works by the famous Russian orientalist Evgeni Primakov cover oriental policies of the Soviet Union, meetings of its leaders with the presidents of USA and Egypt; particularly important is his book "The Story of One Agreement (USA politics in the Middle East in 1970s and beginning of 1980s)".

A book written by A. Kniazev "Egypt after Nasser, 1970-1981" and his article "Creation of New Ruling Party in Egypt (1971-1978). Arab States: History and Contemporarity" also contained important information for the purposes of the research; a work by A. Osipov "USA and Arab Countries. 1970s and the Beginning of 1980s", a monograph by A. Egorin "Egypt of Our Times", articles and monographs by B. Seiranjan, including "Hosni Mubarak. Beginning of Political Career" contained the pieces of information which were of invaluable help for writing the dissertation.

Studies and memoirs of those political figures who had direct relations with the Middle East politics of the Soviet Union and its relations with Arab countries were of particular

importance. Such was for example the memoirs of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union A. Gromyko "Memories. Part Two".

Russian periodicals contain interesting material as well, studies, articles of contemporary Russian analytical centers, published in scholarly journals and mass media.

Articles and studies published in the prominent journal "Asia and Africa Today", "Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn"(International Affairs) and "Novoe Vremya" are worth mentioning, since they helped develop and idea of the contemporary politics of Russia in the Middle East.

The studies by Russian scholars and scholar from other post-soviet countries published on the website of the Russian analytical political center - "The Institute for the Study of Israel and the Middle East" were of foremost importance, since they contain information on the Russian public opinion towards Arab countries and Israel, on the policies of Russia and the West during the research period.

Helpful information was available on the websites of other strategic research centers, such as "Global Affairs" and "Agentura" as well as information obtained from Russian mass media sources; particularly analytical articles published in the bulletin of Russian information agency ITAR-TASS - "Compass".

Several other journals and newspapers are also worth mentioning: "Kommersant", "Vremya Novostei", "Nezavisimaya Gazeta", "Izvestia", as well as "Inosmi" and "Inopressa".

Collections of studies published by the Chair of Modern and Contemporary History of Asian and African Countries of State University of Tbilisi were very helpful in researching the political situation of the Middle East and relations between USA and the Soviet Union, particularly "Sharm al-Shaikh and Summits of Camp David Negotiations" by Zaza Menteshashvili in Foreign Policy and Diplomacy I (State University of Tbilisi, 2004); his second article "Peculiarities of Political Development of Israel" published in Near and Middle East I (State University of Tbilisi, 2005); an article by Albert Menteshahvili "Sunni Fundamentalism and Extremism in Contemporary Mashriq" and "Muslim Extremists and Christian Copts in Contemporary Egypt" by Leila Kiknadze published in History of Asian and African Countries I.

A study carried out by Albert Menteshashvili "Prominent Politicians and Diplomats of the 20th Century" (State University of Tbilisi, 2005) covering the life and public activities of three Egyptian president and Boutros Boutros-Ghali who was originally from Egypt, was of great interest.

Valuable contribution of the publications by the Center for Foreign Policy Research and Analysis by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the information and material regularly provided by the Embassy of Georgia in Arab Republic of Egypt has to be underscored.

Besides, conversations with the faculty of the Chair and with other persons interested in the foreign policy of Egypt, as well as political scientists were very productive and beneficial.

Chapter one: Foreign political course of the Arab Republic of Egypt in 1960s and 1970s

The first chapter - "Foreign political course of the Arab Republic of Egypt in 1960s and 1970s" consists of two subchapters: a) foreign policy of President Nasser; b) coming of Anwar Sadat to power and changes in foreign political course.

The first subchapter "Foreign policy of president Nasser" covers the arrival of the organization of "free officers" in power as a result of a military coup, activities of a great Egyptian public figure Gamal Abdel Nasser and the steps taken by him towards social-economic and political development of the country, resulting in the transformation of Egypt into an influential country of the East. Gamal Abdel Nasser, as one of the initiators of the

movement of impartial countries, gained general appreciation among the leaders of Socialist countries and particularly the Soviet Union. The first subchapter also discusses the results of close cooperation between the Soviet Union and Egypt in political, military, economic and other fields, which contributed to the reduction of US influence in Arab East. A new Arab-Israeli conflict started to escalate under such conditions. In particular it was the third so-called "six day" Arab-Israeli war as a result of which Israel acquired 60 thousand sq. km Arab territories including Egyptian Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip, Palestine territory under the control of Jordan on the West Bank of r. Jordan and the bordering region of Syria - Golan Heights. The first chapter covers: reasons for starting this conflict; policy of Arab countries towards Israel; diplomatic conflict between the USA and the USSR for winning influence over Middle East; complication of social and political situation resulting from the introduction of social reforms in Egypt by president Nasser.

The second subchapter "coming of Anwar Sadat to power and changes in foreign political course" is dedicated to analyzing the political career of the second President of Egypt Anwar Al-Sadat and most importantly changes made to domestic and foreign policy of Egypt, sharp change of the course taken by Nasser. Right after being appointed at the position of the vice-president, Sadat managed to create solid backing for himself among high-ranking officials, so that after Nasser's death he had strong support from Egyptian public in the struggle for power. However Sadat did not shift his political preferences from the Soviet Union to the USA right away. He had two reasons for this: the USSR was the only supplier of armament, and the ground was not yet well-prepared for peace agreements with Israel.

Chapter two: strategies of USA and the Soviet Union in the Middle East conflict of 1973

The second chapter of the thesis - "Strategies of USA and the Soviet Union in the Middle East conflict of 1973" consists of three subchapters: a) clash of interests of the USA and the USSR in the Middle East in the 1960s and beginning of 1970s; b) attempts of superpowers to terminate the conflict; c) results of the war.

The first subchapter reviews the war in October 1973 in general; this was the fourth war between Arabs and Israelis. This conflict is known among Arab historians as "Ramadan" (it took place during Ramadan month of Islamic moon calendar), as "October War" among Soviet (Russian) historians and as the "Day of Atonement" ("Yom Kippur") (it also coincided with the Jewish religious holiday - the Day of Atonement).

The 1973 war differed from other Middle East conflicts in its scale in the first place. Apart from Egypt, which was the major member of anti-Israel Arab coalition, the Arab Republic of Syria, Jordan, Algeria, Iraq, Kuwait, Morocco, Tunisia, Sudan and Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, North Korea, Cuba, Palestine Liberation Organization, not to mention the main sponsors of the conflict, USA and the USSR who did not directly participate in the conflict; however their involvement determined the main results of the war.

The second and third subchapters of this chapter reveal that the key initiator of the Day of Atonement war was President Anwar Sadat, who decided to reinforce the stronghold of Egypt in the Middle East, to demonstrate the military-political power to Israel and to return the territories captured by Israel, restore the status of Egypt as a strong country worldwide. Sadat felt that the war with Israel would be perceived by the people of Arab countries as a fair struggle to reinstate the interests of Arab interests.

The discussion of the conflict sheds light upon the extent of information the parties possessed before starting the war. The leaders of Israel felt that the war in 1967 was not the last one and they had to expect an attack from Arab countries, and therefore they were intensively preparing for war. Syria and Egypt managed to restore the wasted military

potential after the war with the help from the Soviet Union. The military assistance provided to Egypt under Operation "Caucasus" in the "War of Attrition" against Israel; the war in October 1973 was the continuation of this war. In short both parties were well prepared for 1973.

Egypt managed to form the strongest coalition throughout the whole history of its wars with Israel. At the first stage of the war when the initiative was in the hands of Arabs and Israel found itself in difficult situation, America started to supply it with armament. At the same time the Soviet Union started to provide armament for Arab countries. Under such conditions adapt decided to cease fire after having realized that it was not fighting with Israel, but with America, and Egypt could not afford a war with the USA. The successful attack started by Arabs was halted and Israel took the lead, resulting in besieging III army of Egypt.

Under these conditions the USSR immediately demanded removing the siege while oil-exporting countries introduced embargo on oil supply to the countries supporting the USA and Israel. Thus the intervention of superpowers into the conflict grew into a harsh confrontation between the USA and the USSR, being quite frequent during the course of the Cold War. The world was on the verge of the third world war, as during 1962 Caribbean Crisis. Major confrontation and large-scale conflict could be avoided only due to diplomatic efforts of both countries (USA exercised pressure upon Israel).

Military actions were terminated, but from the military point of view this was an unordinary war. Egypt, which was stronger in this respect, chose defense strategy. However, even the return of insignificant part of the captured territory was very important for Sadat (the strategy was limited to crossing the Suez Channel), since this would considerably improve his positions during the next diplomatic talks with Israel. Sadat's main goal was to demonstrate strength to USA and Israel, and not to win the war, in order to induce them make important concessions. Sadat was very well aware of the fact that it would be impossible to defeat Israel until it was backed by the USA. He realized that the key to the solution of political crises lay in the hands of the USA and not the USSR. As a result the war in 1973 shifted the exiting strategic balance of powers in the Middle East in favor of the USA. If we analyze the results of the war from the point of view of the influence upon domestic political situation in Egypt, we shall find out that Sadat managed to strengthen his support in the country compared to competitors form opposition, while on the international arena Egypt managed to maintained relations with USA.

Chapter three: Pro-American Policy of Sadat and its Results

The third chapter of the thesis - "Pro-American Policy of Sadat and its Results" consists of three subchapters: a) open door policy and social-political situation in Egypt; b) Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the process of Camp David negotiations; c) the importance of the agreement and the reaction of Arab countries.

The first subchapter describes the process which contributed to the conversion of Egypt from an ally of the USSR in the Middle East to the major partner of USA. Sadat started talking about "rectifying the faults of the past" in his speeches. He took steps towards developing market economy. The government adopted a program - "October working document", which determined basic directions of the country's development and the basic principle of which was "Open Door" (Infitah) policy.

Sadat was trying to cover his regime under democratic façade, but the power was entirely in the hands of the president, who fully relied upon army for support.

The second part "Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the process of Camp David negotiations" deals with one more important issue of the thesis.

In spite of the support from the USA, Sadat was still facing a number of problems. Egypt got lands to the east of Suez Channel, but the rest of Sinai was still occupied by Israeli troops. Since the peace between Egypt and Israel was not completely established so far, there still existed the danger of conflict revival and foreign companies did not rush to make investments. Under such domestic and foreign political circumstances Sadat started looking for a way out. He realized that only war or the return of Sinai could help him. This induced him start negotiations with Israel.

Secretary General of the United States Henry Kissinger at that time declared: Arabs can get armament from Russia, but they can get back their territories only with our help. In the beginning of 1974 the first round of Kissinger's "Shuttle Diplomacy" started, which resulted in signing two agreements between Israel and Egypt on the distancing the troops. In short, a common platform was being created giving an opportunity to Sadat and Israeli Prime-minister Menachem Begin to move the Middle East process away from a standstill. Against a background of establishing permanent contacts between Egypt and Israel Sadat took a historical step and visited Jerusalem on November 19, 1977, where he stated readiness for making a peace treaty with Israel. The parties started intensive negotiations with the purpose to solve the Middle East problem and settle relations.

In order to help the parties overcome difficulties president of the USA initiated negotiations between President Anwar Sadat and Prime-minister Menachem Begin, which started at Camp David on September 17, 1978. Two documents were signed in the course of negotiations: "A Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel" and "A Framework for Peace in the Middle East". Camp David Accords led towards the "Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty" signed on March 26, 1979 in the White House. After 30 years of confrontation and five wars Israel and Egypt signed a historical agreement restoring Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. A month later talks about the so-called "urgent status" issues started; in particular these concerned autonomy of Palestine, electoral rules to the self-government bodies of West Bank and Gaza Strip. The parties agreed to form a commission for holding elections on the occupied territories. However the negotiations were accompanied with complications, namely Israel insisted on Jerusalem remaining its indispensable part. The status of Golan Heights and the West Bank was not decided either. Discussion of these key issues was postponed for future.

The peace agreement between Israel and Egypt had a great resonance among political circles of the Middle East as well as worldwide. This was the first Arab-Israeli agreement on the bases of "Peace Framework". Retreat of Egypt from the common Arab position on the restoration of occupied territories and the rights of Palestinians, which was proved by Egypt itself several times, seriously complicated the situation Arab countries were in, since they were left without the support of a strong Arab state. Egypt, which was leading the movement of unification of Arab world, found itself in complete isolation. It was expelled from the League of Arab States and other collective organizations.

Taking into account the fact that Arab-Israeli conflict zone was the most sensitive to regional international cooperation, the importance of any attempt of establishing peace in the region becomes very clear. It is not important what reasons induced Anwar Sadat be the first of Arab leaders to destroy the wall of distrust between Arabs and Israelis and to start negotiations for peaceful resolution of the conflict.

By the end of 1970s the strategic balance of powers shifted in favor of the USA, resulting in weakening the positions of the Soviet Union, "departure" of the USSR from Egypt. The Soviet Union performed the function of an observer and a critic. However cannot be claimed that it completely left the region, since it was still cooperating with Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and other states.

Chapter four: Religious Extremism in Egypt and the Murder of Anwar Sadat

The fourth chapter - "Religious Extremism in Egypt and the murder of Anwar Sadat" consists of two subchapters: a) Islamic fundamentalism in Egypt during Sadat's rule and b) the murder of Anwar Sadat.

The restoration of lost territories to Egypt was perceived by some Egyptians as a "humiliating agreement" with the foe and as personal insult. The failure to settle the Palestine problem and the establishment of separatist peace encouraged radical negative attitude in Egyptian public, particularly among fundamentalists. After curbing the protests of people dissatisfied with economic reforms, a new public upheaval started, this time of political character.

Radical Islamic movements started actions against Sadat. After signing the agreement Muslim extremism towards Copts also increased and they were declared major enemies of Egypt together with Jews and communists.

By spring 1981 one of the illegal Islamic movements sentenced Sadat to death for the actions taken against Islam, Egyptian people and Arab nation. The fate of Anwar Sadat who was proclaimed an enemy in the USSR as well as in Arab countries was tragic - he was murdered at a military parade in 1981 by the members of a radical grouping "Jamia Al-Islamia".

Certain issues connected with Sadat's murder are still quite ambiguous. It is still unknown who was standing behind the terrorist group. Never before during the history of Egypt was a murder so well planned. A number of questions and versions related to this issue arose. Many researchers worldwide still consider American, Soviet, Iranian, Arab and other versions of the murder. But it may be assumed that the Soviet Union had most valid reasons for eliminating Sadat, since he shifted his preferences for the West. However it is quite possible that Arab leaders also participated in this murder (with the help from the USSR).

Fundamentalists could not change anything in principle with their extremism and could not establish an extensive opposition against the existing regime. However changes were introduced to the political course of Egypt after Sadat's murder, led by the new president Hosni Mubarak.

Chapter five: Arrival of Hosni Mubarak to Power and USA Policy in the Middle East

The fifth chapter - "Arrival of Hosni Mubarak to Power and USA Policy in the Middle East" consists of two subchapters: a) the policy of President Hosni Mubarak in the end of 1980s and beginning of 1990s and b) contemporary foreign political relations between the USA and Egypt. It covers the events that took place in Egypt on the verge of 1980s and 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium.

When Vice-president Mubarak arrived to power, Egypt was in a very difficult condition from political as well as economic and social point of view. Sadat's death caused essential changes in the political course of Egypt. Therefore major emphasis was made upon the revival of economy. During 80s and 90s of the last century Egypt rapidly started moving away from the state-controlled economic policy towards economic liberalization.

Retaining the "Muslim image" was very important, the so-called "dosed" democratization of public emphasized by Egyptian authorities contributed to domestic political stabilization.

Currently it is unclear who will replace Mubarak at this position. He has been in the office after Sadat's murder and the post of vice-president has been practically cancelled throughout this period.

Victory of Mubarak in the first alternative elections held in Egypt in 2005 proved that the current regime is not going to concede to anyone.

The last subchapter of the dissertation - contemporary foreign political relations between the USA and Egypt deals with USA-Egypt relations and participation of Egypt in the peace process.

When talking about Egyptian politics, economy, etc. the role of the country's strategic partner - USA should always be considered. However these relations are quite different nowadays and are based much more on bilateral cooperation than they were during Sadat's rule, who unconditionally accepted the US policies.

Mubarak's foreign political brought the isolation of Egypt from other Arab states to an end in the first place. He maintained stricter relations with Israel and restored friendly relations with the USSR. However it was clear from the very beginning that the course chosen by Sadat - strategic partnership with USA would persist. Egypt receives annual financial aid of 2 billion USD from America. Such financial inflows are a way of salvage for Egypt and prevent its economy from sinking. Although Egypt received Sinai Peninsula and the US aid after Camp David Accords, but it was followed by economic and military pressure from Washington as well. This is that side of Camp David Accords coin, which exercises pressure upon the prestige of Egypt.

The Arab Republic of Egypt is an influential and leading state of the East. It actively participates in the settlement of all important conflicts of the region, particularly Palestine-Israel conflict, which currently is the major issue of concern in the foreign policy of Egypt. A constructivist, well-designed and delicate approach of Egypt towards regional problems have a positive impact upon peaceful settlement of Arab-Israeli conflict.

Therefore Mubarak is perceived as an influential political figure on international arena. The events that took place in the Middle East recently have once again proved this opinion. The leading country of Arab world is ready to accept any constructivist proposal contributing to the peaceful settlement of Israeli-Palestine conflict. According to Mubarak "peace is a strategic choice for everyone".

Although peace was not established in the region in the beginning of the 21st century; however Egypt and Israel managed to become key states of the region.

Conclusion:

Egypt is traditionally perceived as a leader of Arab world, which is conditioned by its unique geographic location in the first place. "The country of Pharaohs" situated on the intersection of two continents is a linking ring of Asian and African cultures. Apart from this Egypt differs from other countries of the region by the high level of development, strong military potential and demographic resources.

The first president of Egypt Gamal Abdel Nasser became a recognized leader of Pan-Arabism, but the death of Nasser was followed by essential changes in social-economic and foreign political course of the country.

The second president of the country Anwar Al-Sadat had to face a very serious problem - after withdrawing from the sphere of Soviet influence it did not have to become a submissive supporter of the West. To achieve this goal Sadat had to demonstrate military power of Egypt in a military confrontation with Israel (this was also necessary for increasing popular support of the President which would make it easier for him to deviate from the course taken by Nasser).

In the fourth Arab-Israeli war the Egyptian army, with the help of the USSR and other Arab states managed to demonstrate its strength. Since the defeat of Israel was not in Sadat's interests (this would deter his rapprochement with the USA and the West), he hampered the

performing a successful military operation against Israel. Having won a moral and political victory over Israel he terminated his relations with the Soviet Union, which was a necessary condition for maintaining relations with the West.

Cardinal changes in domestic and foreign policy that took place during Nasser's rule (relations with the USA, establishing peace with Israel and ignoring common Arab interests) were a strong strike against the prestige of Egypt in the Arab world, in the eyes of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, and particularly the Soviet Union. This caused the full isolation of Egypt from the Arab world, rapid deterioration of social-political situation of the country and contributed to evolving Islamist fundamentalism and Sadat's murder.

Positive effects of the implementation of peace settlement policy has already been recognized by Arab countries. Camp David Accords gave start to a profound historical process, which was not followed by another plan for conflict settlement. The principle used for the peace treaty "peace in exchange for territory" still represents the main component of the Middle East conflict settlement.

Upon arrival to power the new President Hosni Mubarak maintained basic trends in the country's foreign policy. However he developed a new domestic political strategy for reviving the country's economy.

On the international political arena he considers the return of Egypt to the League of Arab States and active cooperation with Arab countries as the task of prime importance. Mubarak is also supporting the principles of Camp David Accords and the Peace Treaty with Israel. Currently Egypt is the basic strategic ally of USA in the Arab East. At the same time taking into account the common Arab interests of Egypt the relations are assuming a "cold peace" nature. Close relationships with the USA, connections with Yasser Arafat, peace treaty with Israel helped Egypt play the role of a mediator in Arab-Israeli conflict.

Therefore it is not surprising that the "Epoch of Mubarak" is still continuing in Egypt. As demonstrated by 25-year rule of this prominent political figure, his major achievements are the ever-growing authority of the country, improving economic and military-political conditions which in its turn guarantees the maintenance of peace and stability in the Middle East. Taking into account the complexity of problems in the region, the presence of such political experience in place is quite a strong argument. Egypt's constructivist and moderate foreign policy still enjoys high esteem of the world public.

Main theses of the dissertation have been published in the following publications:

1. The President of Egypt Hosni Mubarak's Main Strategies in the State Governance, Perspective XXI (IV), Tbilisi 2002, p. 132-135
2. The Role of Egypt in the Process of the Middle East Conflict Settlement, Perspective XXI (V), Tbilisi 2003, p. 96-99
3. On the Main Strategies of USA and the Soviet Union during 1973 Middle East Conflict, The East and the Caucasus, No 3, Tbilisi, 2005, p. 223-228
4. About the Main Modifications of the Foreign Policy of Egypt in the Seventies of the 20th Century, Perspective XXI, Tbilisi, 2005 (to be published)