

Political history of modern Egypt

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Abstract

Under the Ottoman Empire, Egypt was granted some autonomy because as long as taxes were paid, the Ottomans were content to let the Egyptians administer them. Nevertheless, the 17th and 18th centuries were ones of economic decline for Egypt.

In 1798, the French army led by Napoleon Bonaparte landed in Egypt and defeated the Egyptians on land at the battle of the Pyramids, but he was utterly defeated at sea by the British navy, which made him abandon his army and leave Egypt. Subsequently, British and Ottoman forces defeated the French army and forced them to surrender.

In particular after the last quarter of 19 century, in Egypt began colonizing activities by Western European countries, while the reaction to such events occurred within “the Egyptian national movement.”

With its history of five thousand years, Egypt is considered as the first modern state of the Arab world. Ottoman military representative Mehmet Ali Pasha takes a special place through his contribution to this process. He is seen as a statesman who carried important reforms, which can be compared even with the ones of Tanzimat. He managed to build Egypt as an independent state from the Ottoman Empire, standing on its own power.

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Gamal Abdel Nasser was the one who established the Republic of Egypt and ended the monarchy rule in Egypt following the Egyptian revolution in 1952. Egypt was ruled autocratically by three presidents over the following six decades, by Nasser from 1954 until his death in 1970, by Anwar Sadat from 1971 until his assassination 1981, and by Hosni Mubarak from 1981 until his resignation in the face of the 2011 Egyptian revolution.

Key Words: Egypt, Ottoman Empire, modern state, Mehmet Ali Pasha, Egyptian revolution

1. Egypt and Political History

Middle East countries, which today continue to exist as separate states, were part of the Ottoman Empire until the First World War. But the administration that the Ottoman Empire built in Egypt showed major changes from the central administration. A structure was established in Egypt, where local leaders were empowered by ceasing properties through force and taking taxes from incomes of these properties, and in this way they continued to maintain their power (Winter, 2001, p. 128).

In particular after the last quarter of 19th century, in Egypt began colonizing activities by Western European countries, while the reaction to such events occurred within "the Egyptian national movement."

The European influence in Egypt, which began with Napoleon Bonaparte's campaign in the years 1798-1801 (Djurant, 2001, p. 404) and the reforms undertaken by Mehmet Ali Pasha, who is regarded as the founder of Egypt, opened the path to many changes that were about to happen later.

After the occupation of Egypt by the British in 1882, the civic groups that seek change tried to reflect their efforts with the concept of "Islamic Union and the Islamic Resurrection" (Qevagebi 2007, p. 49). With the spread of European view, they sought to create a political movement against the increase of mentioned view and lifestyle. Scholars such Jamaledin Afghani called for unity against what they called "British sortie" (Abduh, 1993, p.14). They started emphasizing of seeking reform in religion and strong governance, thus assuming an important role in shaping the concept of "Arab nationalism." Thanks to the unity among minorities, Egypt had an administration and consolidated prosperity compared with other Arab countries because Egypt was homogeneous in terms of population. Ibn

Khaldun, in his sociological works emphasized this aspect by stressing that in a society like that of Egypt, where there are no tribes of different divisions, it is not necessary for the state to rely on the power of the tribes to stand strong. Therefore, he believes it is easier to establish the state and transfer into urban life (Ibn Khaldun, 2004, p. 121).

Passing under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, this did not stop Memluk Movement in Egypt. Namely, although Egypt was under Ottoman administration and the land of Egypt belonged to Sultan Osman, the real direction was given to Memluk Beks. They, as local leaders, had taken over responsibility for the use of land, tax collection and payment of vassalage to the Sultan. But, on the other hand, they had continued maintenance of political power. Memluks Beks in this period were part of many revolts against the Sultan or different power rivalries (Husain, 2010, p 679).

Egypt was not facing any other foreign occupation since the time of Yavuz Sultan Selim until 1798. However, since that date, the territories of the Ottoman Empire started to be under the military, cultural, economic and political influence of English and French imperialism. Indeed, one of the most important reasons of Napoleon's campaign in Egypt was to prevent the British passage to India through the Red Sea (Winter, 2001, p. 42). Napoleon's campaign in Egypt, which can be considered as the beginning of the "French colonial movement" must be seen as the first example of French influence in the fields of politics and culture in the territories they

During the Egyptian campaign, Napoleon had attempted to communicate directly with the people by his publishing his speech as booklets in Arabic. Napoleon who took care to start the speech with "In the name of God" or 'Kelime-i Tawhid', had often stressed that this was the way to win the hearts of the Egyptians. In these booklets, he also levelled criticism against the Memluks, trying thus to legitimize the French occupation. In 1801, the Ottoman and British forces put an end to the French occupation of Egypt. Thus, in Egypt will start the period of the reign of Mehmet Ali Pasha, who went there in the first half of 19th century, accompanied by the Ottoman fleet, and managed to become one of the most influential people in the history of Egypt. Mehmet Ali Pasha was given the title "Vali of Egypt" by Sultan Osman in 1805, and in this way, Egypt was separated from the administrative center of the Ottoman Empire. (Ozer, 2007, p. 78).

2. Monarchy Period

With its history of five thousand years, Egypt is considered as the first modern state of the Arab world. Ottoman military representative Mehmet Ali Pasha takes a special place through his contribution to this process. He is seen as a statesman who carried important reforms, which can be compared even with the ones of Tanzimat. He managed to build Egypt as an independent state from the Ottoman Empire, standing on its own power (Ozer, 2007, p. 96-102).

The big change that Egypt underwent in the 19th century cannot be explained only by the influence of Mehmet Ali Pasha, because this period for Egypt is filled with many different dimensions and implications. However, under its foundation lie reforms and successes achieved by Mehmet Ali Pasha, especially in the military field. In the early years of his rule, Mehmet Ali Pasha was carefully keeping inseparable ties with the Ottoman Empire, and thus, he achieved great successes in the name of Sultan Osman. But the fact that since 1830s, Egypt of Mehmet Ali Pasha was no longer an internal affair of the Ottoman Empire, brought the rivalry of the "Great Powers" in the case of Egypt. Thus, Mehmet Ali Pasha begun to deepen his power over the years 1831-1840 by looking for more privileges for his sons by the Ottoman Empire. In the 19th century, when Mehmet Ali Pasha arrived in Egypt prevailed "Property System" and the lands were sown and harvested by the villagers. In this period, about four-fifths of the Arab population who constituted the majority of the Egyptian population were peasants, who worked in the field of agriculture. Despite improvements and corrections of legal terms, the application of the "Private Property System" started in the half of 19th century (Gurbal, 2012, p. 24-27).

Mehmet Ali Pasha, who was not of Arab origin, can be regarded as a statesman with cosmopolitan views. Despite the lack of a stream that could represent this nationalism, it is known that the first approaches of nationalism in the Arab world began to be shaped in Egypt.

After the death of Mehmet Ali Pasha, Abbas Pasha (1848-1854), Said Pasha (1854-1863) and Ismail Pasha (1863-1879) were appointed as Wali (leader) of Egypt. From this period begins the process of debt of Egypt that began with the arrival in office of Mehmet Ali Pasha's son, Said Pasha (1854-1863), who came to this post after Abbas Pasha, and who became

known especially for his new policies that were applied in 1861 (Emin, 2012, p. 17).

In 1882, Colonel Ahmet Arabi rose in revolt with his soldiers. Arabi Pasha Movement was also supported by the reformist wing of Arab intellectuals in Egypt and by the army officers. The Movement was also supported by the dismissed workers who lost their jobs due to weakening of economy, increase of taxes and undertaking of preventive measures. As a result of the creation of nationalist consciousness in Egypt and the organization on 9 September 1881, the gathered protesters in Abidin square, stressed that they want the national parliament to convene and remove the Minister of War Rifkin Pasha, who although was of Turkish origin, he was doing injustice in favour of foreign officers who worked in the Egyptian army. As a result of these events, the "Egypt issue" can be regarded as a problematic case dealt by Ottoman Empire in the last decades. In this context, on 24 October 1885, an agreement was concluded between the Ottoman Empire and England in regards to the administration of Egypt. Before discussing the issue of relocation, England had gained the right to equal determination with the Ottoman Empire regarding the adjustments to be made in Egypt (Cole, 2001, p. 154).

The First World War that started while these changes were taking place in Egypt, may be regarded as a turning point for the development of the "Egyptian National Movement." But, the onset of the First World War in 1914 and the entry into the war of the Ottoman Empire alongside Germany, made England to initially declare curfew in Egypt on 2 November 1914, and after it openly declared of planning to put Egypt under own management, it proclaimed a "Protectorate" on 18-19 November of the same year. The Protectorate did not bring many changes in political terms, it only legalized the regime that continued for almost 30 years (Mitchell, 2013, p.55). In such circumstances, Egypt was officially detached from the Ottoman Empire, and during the World War I, Egypt was used as a crossing area of allied troops from Asia to Europe and as a base for Gallipoli and Palestinian fronts. In 1922, Britain declared it had ended its protectorate in Egypt by recognizing the independence of this country. But, the 1922 agreement shows that this Britain's declaration was not reflected in practice, because it continued its management indirectly because this agreement allowed Britain to have the right of control and coordination of the government establishment process in Egypt, and it also continued to control the Suez Canal.

In this context will start a power struggle between King Farouk, who stood based on monarchical structure in Egypt and Wafd party, which enjoyed wide support of the people and of Britain. Coming to power of King Farouk was initially welcomed by Wafd party and "Muslim Brotherhood", which spread rapidly. Until that period, the language spoken in the royal palace was Turkish, but with the ascendancy of King Farouk in 1936, the spoken language was Arabic. During this period between the two world wars, especially in the 30ies, a demographic growth in the population of cities is marked, but on the other hand, the living standards were declined. Capital landowners had secured the development of Egyptian industry and central bank; the network of primary and secondary schools expanded rapidly and established an "elite class with qualified professions" coming out of the University of Cairo. This elite class set on the side of the nationalist opposition, which emerged against the British rule, and in cooperation with other social strata, presented their platform for government support of new industries.

In 1936 was signed the "English-Egyptian agreement", which was considered as the biggest obstacle to the independence of Egypt. With this agreement, Egypt won the right of a "Member State" in the Commonwealth of Nations, while the institution called "British High Commissioner" that Britain held Egypt under its supervision for a long time, will now be named as "British Embassy." In World War II, Egypt was one of the important centres of wars, and cities like Cairo and Alexandria were full of soldiers, spies, political prisoners and various functionaries. Thus, on 4 February 1942, Britain's ambassador to Egypt, Sir Miles Lampson went accompanied with armoured vehicles to the royal palace of King Farouk, and through an ultimatum, he asked the King to replace Prime Minister Ali Mahir Pasha with Nahas Pasha.

In this period, with pro German declaration of other parties in the country, England trusted only to Wafd party, and hence requested Nahas Pasha to become prime minister. But the raiding of the palace and ensuring King's decision under threat of arms was described by Abdul Nasser as a "national disgrace" and will therefore be crucial in the change of power in 1952. This will end the period of monarchy in Egypt (Nasir, 1996, p. 46).

3. Period of Jamal Abdul Nasser

Similar as the Soviet Union, the United States as well initially had difficulties in their position towards the "Free Officers" who came into power through a coup in 1952, because such abrupt change that happened in Egypt surprised both sides. Thus, the Soviet Union regarded the free government officers as "a movement associated with the USA," while People's Republic of China saw it as an "anti-revolutionary dictatorship." In such an environment, Nasser's ruling in Egypt held in pragmatic position the relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. On the other hand, due to colonizing experiences, Arab populists were frustrated against Westerners. Another cause of resistance against Westerners was the creation of the Israeli state and the appearance of the Palestinian-Israeli problem (Said, 2002, p. 123).

The Soviet Union supported Egypt's stance against England during the years 1953-1954 and in January 1954, the Egyptian Minister of Defence paid a long visit to the Soviet Union. Following these contacts, the Soviet Union used for the first time the right of veto at the Security Council of the United Nations regarding the use of Suez Canal by Israel. In this regard, the Soviet Union continued to support the regime in Egypt and the relations continued to grow until 1955.

The year of 1955 is considered as significant by the fact that in this period, the Egyptian foreign policy has begun to accelerate. During the Cold War, the formation of the Baghdad Pact accelerated the polarization in the Arab world, consisting in important developments in the axis of the West wing. Egypt did not attend the Baghdad Pact because it believed it would neutralize the Arab Defence Agreement, signed in 1950. By accusing Iraq of collaboration, Egypt supported movements for change of the regime in this country (Alkaid, 2008, p. 36).

Baghdad Pact can be regarded as the event that brought Jamal Abdul Nasser close with the Soviet Union. Iraq, defying Egypt's commitments to "Arab Protection System" took part in the Baghdad Pact, along with Pakistan and Turkey, while Israel attacked military positions in Gaza on 28 February by killing 38 people. The third important event of 1955 was Bandung Conference in April the same year, where Nasser had participated (Said, 2002, p. 106).

The United States and England responded to the denial of Baghdad Pact by Nasser and thus they withdrew financial support for the planned power

plant that was planned to be built in Aswan. In response, Nasser's administration decided to "nationalize" the Suez Canal in July 1956. These mutual reactions were followed by trade boycott imposed by Britain and France (Ridvan, 1986, p. 63).

The attack conducted by Israel on 28 February 1955 in Gaza Strip, which was under the supervision of the Egyptian military, forced Nasser's administration to buy weapons from the United States. But, the mere fact that the existence and security of Israel was a key point of the US foreign policy, made the US Senate to extend the procedures for the purchase of weapons by Nasser and for this reason, his administration decided to buy the weapons from Czechoslovakia on 27 September 1955.

The negotiations for the purchase of weapons by the Soviet Union had started in 1953 and until the time when they were purchased, Egypt held parallel talks with America, but then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles conditioned Egypt to attend the West Axis in order to buy the weapons.

The year of 1958 can be considered as the year when the Russian-Egyptian relations suffered rise and fall because in this year, Syria and Egypt had decided to unify forming thus the United Arab State, and Nasser's influence over the Arabs had thus grown. On 14 July, a *coup de etat* happened in Iraq bringing to power General Qasim Abdulkerim, and putting into surface Iraq's possible entry in this Union (Shadi, 2005, p. 23).

In April 1958, Nasser had his first visit to the Soviet Union where he was received by the then Soviet president Nikita Hrushçev for 18 days. Thus, the Soviet Union tried through Egypt to increase influence in the Middle East, and therefore the good relations with Nasser were important. In October 1958, the Chief of General Staff of Egypt Abdul Hakim Amir visited Moscow. In this period, Nasser's administration begun to seek debts because the money had gone abroad, incomes were needed for investment. Initially, it was thought that the funds for all the projects can be provided by the US and the United Nations. Nasser was even chosen as "Man of the Year" by Times magazine in 1956. But the developments at that time enabled the Arab and Egyptian administrations to give more weight to socialist practices in order to declare independence and develop economic models (Fauzi, 1990, p.33).

Good relations with the United States began to break down with assuming the role of a leader in the Arab world by Nasser. In April 1954, the US decided to sell weapons to Iraq by intensifying thus its strategy on this country. In this context, America instead of connecting with a

nationalist leader like Nasser, it preferred to entrust the traditional elected ones in Iraqi's administration.

Egypt's preferences and position began to shape when Nasser started to develop good relations with the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement Countries like Jawaharlal Nehru and Josip Broz Tito. The period when the Movement appeared and Nasser's intention to benefit from joining this Movement can be considered as an important development for Egypt's internal politics, as well as its access to Third World countries. From that point, Egypt's independent and impartial position and Nasser's importance in the international relations will increase especially in the late 60's. After 1959, Egypt began to pursue a more active policy in African politics by supporting their wars and as a result, some twenty African countries declared independence in 1961 (Hejkel, 2003, p. 18).

A series of preparatory meetings and conferences regarding the Non-Aligned Movement Countries took place in Egypt. Cairo Conference in 1957-1958 was organized in the capacity of Bandung Conference preparations, which opened at the University of Cairo on 26 December 1957. Number two of the regime, Anwar Sadat was also involved in the organization of Cairo Conference, to which Nasser's administration dedicated a special significance. Unlike Bandung conference, the one in Cairo was attended not only by representatives of states, but also by representatives of opposition political movements in different countries.

In 1967, Egypt gradually withdrew its positions in Yemen after the defeat in the armed Israeli-Arab conflict. Thus, Nasser's influence in the region was falling down, while regimes like those of Saudi Arabia and Jordan have begun to shine. Along with the defeat, the closure of Suez Canal would result in a huge loss of revenue for Egypt, and as option was discussed even refining of Egypt's petroleum in Aden. In continuation of these events, Egypt entered a phase of re-definition of relations with all Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia. But, the US ceased the economic aid and grain export to Egypt, which prompted Egypt to ally with the Soviet Union. In conclusion, during all his ruling Nasser did not only deal with foreign policy, but was also involved in internal political problems in the country apart from the problems of "Arab nationalism" and "Arab Union." After his death from a heart attack in 1970, his post was taken over by Anwar Sadat (Hamood, 2000, p. 5).

4. Period of Anwar Sadat

When Jamal Abdul Nasser died on 28 September 1970, he left behind a crisis in the system, people who were morally degraded, a divided social structure, while the most important thing was who would inherit his power. Uncertainties regarding country's administration caused divisions among the people, and in order to avoid possible disturbances, compliant to the constitution, Nasser's deputy was supposed to be appointed. Hence, his deputy Anwar Sadat took over the president's chair, and his position was approved by the people in the referendum held on 15 October 1970 (Sadat, 1979, p. 286).

Although he did not participate effectively during Nasser's administration, Anwar Sadat was the person who was mostly seen next to Abdul Nasser. During the first heart attack that Nasser suffered in 1969, Sadat headed "the Presidency of the Arab Socialists League " and after his recovery, he was appointed a vice chairman of the Arab Summit held in Rabat.

Anwar Sadat approved everything what Nasser did and thus he was nicknamed as "Yes President." However, despite this nickname, Sadat is seen as a person who exerted pressure to achieve what he wanted. This feature made him take over the post of the head of state despite all objections (Emin, 2007, p. 101).

It can be assumed that opposition's support to Sadat's presidential position was because he looked like a "weak man" because through his behaviour, the opposition thought he would not behave as "the only man." Thus, the opposition thought it could realize its plans, and this was the reason why they backed his candidacy. The clash between the Free Officers and the elite representatives surrounding Sadat were more due to fears that power could be accumulated only in the hand of one man, as it happened in the period of Abdul Nasser. This because both groups tried to avoid the fact that all the power was accumulated in Sadat's hand, and wanted this power to be shared among them.

During this process, Anwar Sadat received some critical decisions regarding foreign policy, extending the ceasefire agreement with Israel until February 1971, which ended in September 1970, and was signed in 1967 during the period of Abdul Nasser under the pretext that the country was not yet able to fight. The point that most opposition rejected Anwar Sadat's approaches was his view that peace agreement between Egypt and Israel can be signed. On 4 February 1971, in his address to the parliament,

Sadat stated that if Israel would withdraw from Sinai Peninsula, the Suez Canal could be reopened, and that a peace agreement could be signed with Israel, and efforts could be made to also improve relations with the United States. His speech was strongly opposed by the opposition. Such approach rejected by the opposition, and supported by the United States, is also important for the fact that he was the first president of an Arab state who stated that a peace treaty can be signed with Israel (Sadat, 1978, p. 143).

Another element when opposition's reactions against Sadat reached the peak was the question of an alliance between Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. While in Egypt prevailed the opinion that the alliance with Syria could last only three years, ending in 1971, and by seeing the economic and political situation in the country, began the preparations for an agreement between the three countries. On 17 April 1971, the delegations of the three countries gathered in Benghazi in the presence of heads of states and despite the stances of the opposition, Anwar Sadat along with other presidents signed the Plan for proclamation of Federation of Arab Republics. In order for the plan to apply, it should be first published in several state bodies, and for this reason Sadat filed a request to the Executive Council of the Arab Socialist League, but his request was rejected. Such rejection implied a rejection by the highest state body. After the rejection by the League of Arab Socialists, Sadat asked that the plan is discussed in the Central Committee, but in this case, the discussions about the plan did not end. Thus, in order to ensure acceptance of his plan, Sadat tried to make some changes, and the most important one was that the undertaken decisions are not empowered with majority vote of the presidents, but by a unanimous vote. After making this change and his discussion at the Central Committee, the Plan was unanimously accepted on 19 April 1971.

Anwar Sadat waited for a convenient moment to eliminate the opposition in order to overcome the difficult situation, and believing that he enjoyed the necessary support in the domestic politics, he tried to make some moves in foreign policy. At the meeting with the ambassador of the Soviet Union, he stressed that the country cannot afford another battle for power and for this reason, he had decided to dismiss Ali Sabri, who was thought of enjoying the support of the Soviet Union. Hence, he asked the Soviet Union not to perceive such move as a personal act or as an insult.

Anwar Sadat told the ambassador that after the dismissal of Ali Sabri, he would show careful for maintaining good relations with the Soviet Union.

In his speech on the occasion of 1st of May, Sadat noted that Ali Sabri and his associates thought they inherited power from Abdul Nasser, which they found as unacceptable, and accused Ali Sabri and his followers. On 2nd May 1971, Sadat discharged Ali Sabri of all duties, and as a next step, he changed all representatives to the League of Arab Socialists. Thus, he managed to eliminate the opposition and ensure the power he held until his death. Sadat originally named the first day after such elimination- 15 May, as Audit Day and then renamed it as the Audit Revolutionary Day making it a national holiday.

5. Period of Hosni Mubarak

After the death of Anwar Sadat resulting from an assassination attempt in 1980 (Hamood, 1985, p. 9), Hosni Mubarak will take over the office. Mubarak, who had undertaken to lead the country that was under siege, thought that not only politically, but also economically there was a need to make changes and reforms. Since these changes could harm the social structure, Mubarak believed that liberal methods should be applied in the economic and political life of Egypt. This period that coincided with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and democratic movements in the world, in Egypt as well consisted with political movement and demands for the release of many prisoners from prison. In terms of human rights, Hosni Mubarak's period consisted in expansion of several rights compared to previous regimes. In this context, Mubarak submitted few measures for non-restriction of the right of media and requested reduction of controls in this area, but the democratization process did not reach the appropriate level (Emin, 2011, p. 39).

Mubarak's period, which can be characterized as a period where state pressure on the population continued with all its strength, is regarded as his inconsistency with the world that was changing and with the new global equilibrium, and therefore no radical steps were taken to meet the demands for freedom of the people. Mubarak himself gave more importance to the growth of his political power. In terms of foreign policy, the period of Mubarak continued the positive policy line in favour of Israel and the United States, launched during Anwar Sadat's period, trying to improve people's negative image regarding this issue (Qamil, 2012, p. 267).

In the time context, Egypt is seen by the US as an actor which put under control radical elements in the region, particularly Iran, and for this reason,

it was a country with most donated military aid after Israel. This situation, which in the case of Egypt could be considered a privilege, did not continue in the period of Mubarak, and diplomatic crises experienced in different cases, were a reason for the Egyptian-American strategic partnership to suffer damage in certain cases.

In this regard, the US President George Bush, concerned on Mubarak's administration practices, in his address at the opening of Davos Forum in 2008, said that there will be a freezing between the two countries after Mubarak's reaction to US policies. Thus, the two billion dollar aid that the US donated to Egypt since 1979, will shrink into 1.3 billion starting in 2009 (Hejqel, 2012, p. 268).

On the other hand, Mubarak's administration despite the reactions in the country, in 2005 elections had undertaken some legal regulations and made several steps to improve the existing ones. In this period, Hosni Mubarak, given the rights recognized in Article 189 of the constitution, proposed constitutional amendment that presidential elections are held by secret vote, and more than one candidate to take part in the elections. The process of presidential elections with more than one candidate was applied in Egypt after the amendment of point 76 of the constitution in 2005.

By this time, Egypt was led by a system where the parliament nominated the presidential candidate and presented him to the people. But the change of point 76 of the constitution made it possible that more than one candidate could run in the presidential elections. This process was very important, but it brought obstacles in the process of selection of candidates. For example, the existing law provided that the candidate who will participate in the 2011 elections should take at least 5% of the vote by the parliament. Also, the current system also provided some other criteria which resulted to be prohibitive for candidates who wanted to run as independent candidates. For example, they were required to receive the support of 65 MPs from the Parliament and from 25 representative of Shura Parliament, as well as to ensure geographical representation and to also receive the support of 10 of 14 members of the Council of Mayors.

Such legal regulations show that although "democratic reforms" for the presidential elections were introduced by Mubarak since 2005, in fact, these reforms bore difficulties for other presidential candidates. The improvements of the legal aspect were initially welcomed by the US and later by many other European countries. For example, the then High Representative of the European Union Javier Solana speaking about the

reforms undertaken by Hosni Mubarak, stressed that they should be considered as an anticipation of the democratization process in the Middle East (Siraxhudin, 2016, p. 388).

But the Egyptian people were not thinking like Mubarak and the US. People thought that Mubarak made these steps only to strengthen his own power. Also, Mubarak by noting that the "Muslim Brotherhood" was an illegal structure came out against their candidacy proposal for president. Thus, he tried to make it difficult the running for presidential elections of a person enjoying international importance as Mohamed ElBaradei or other potential candidates.

During such situation, ten candidates besides Mubarak ran for the presidential elections held in Egypt on 7 September 2005. The election results were announced on 9 September and Mubarak won 88.7% of the votes of Egyptians, and was declared president for another six years. In the 1999 presidential elections, he won 93% of votes. Only 23% of the 31 million voters took part in the presidential elections of 2005 and thus, they were considered as elections that did not reflect the democratic results. This figure shows that rules and democratic reform set only by Mubarak were not evaluated the same by people.

After the 2005 presidential elections, the elections for 454 Members of Parliament were also held in Egypt. The parliamentary elections, held in three phases, ended in December and were held in a more democratic environment than the presidential ones, concluding with the victory of the party in power. Legally prohibited, the "Muslim Brotherhood" came out in elections with independent candidates winning 88 MP seats in the Parliament. Until this time, for about 30 years of his leadership, Hosni Mubarak did not allow any possibility to the radical political movements. Mubarak ruled the country with constantly declared state of emergency and thus managed to keep the people away from the government. He strengthened the intelligence service and other security elements to avoid any potential coup, and in this context, in 2011 he did not appoint a vice president, which was a constitutional commitment. Such a step taken by Mubarak brought to mind the possibility of appointment to the post of his son Jamal Mubarak, which caused discontent in the state's bureaucratic structure. Also, his application of policies in favour of the security of Israel, his pro-Israeli approach and failure to develop a national policy on the Palestine issue made the Egyptian people to turn against him.

In the economic context, despite the failure in the political field, Egypt has managed to increase per capita income in 2005-2010 during Mubarak's ruling, becoming thus the 26th most developed country in the world. But, this growth in the national economy also brought other problems. The rich had become richer, and the poor had become poorer, exceeding thus more than half of Egypt's population below the poverty line.

Hosni Mubarak's period was a period that brought serious problems for Egypt, because, as during the period of Anwar Sadat, in Mubarak's ruling as well, the application of liberal politics consisted in obtaining debts from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, by making Egypt thus a dependent country.

The state management by Hosni Mubarak had banned the establishment of political parties with religious character, who through elements of the state of emergency managed to hold under pressure the religious movements, which caused concern among the people. This lack of communication and the division between the people and their leadership increased day by day, and began to directly affect the social life. Thus, in January 2011, the protests started as a result of the aforementioned circumstances, and people thought they could express their opinions only by coming out in the streets. In order to face these protests, Omar Suleiman was brought to the post of vice president, while Mubarak stated he would participate in the upcoming presidential elections.

Mubarak, who realized he could no longer resist the pressure, since the first day of the protest started to use the words that he "wanted to die in Egypt" but the ban of opposition parties and youth movements was no longer possible. Thus, on 11 February 2011, Mubarak announced his resignation from office. People filed lawsuits in court against him for violations of human rights, the bad administration of the country, the oppression of people and the murder of 800 persons during 30 years of Mubarak's government. This included also his son Jamal Mubarak and Interior Minister Habib el-Adly, who were also requested to be tried. In this context, 84-year-old Hosni Mubarak, who tried to resist the protests launched since January 2011, was found guilty of all charges starting from the "Egyptian revolution" onwards, being sentenced to life imprisonment (Shehib, 2011, p. 123).

6. Conclusion

Egypt's modern history is widely considered to begin in 1798, when Napoleon Bonaparte showed up with a large army as part of the French Revolutionary Wars. Egypt had at this point spent 350 years as a province of the Ottoman Empire, ruled in a complicated arrangement.

The French were eventually forced to withdraw by a coalition of British and Ottoman forces in 1801. However, in 1805, an Albanian officer in the Ottoman Army named Mehmet Ali Pasha became governor. Based on what the French had done, Mehmet Ali began modernizing Egypt, creating a European-style bureaucracy, establishing a military based on Western lines, building a navy, constructing arsenals for the manufacture of modern weapons, building schools, and adopting a new cash crop-cotton for Egyptian farmers to raise and sell to Europe, and particularly Britain. From this point on, Egypt was more or less independent from the Sultan.

Over time, Egypt was two steps forward and one step back as far as its independence from Constantinople was concerned, with the European powers constantly trying to meddle in the country's domestic affairs. Unfortunately for Egypt, the rulers after Mehmet Ali had neither his modernizing spirit, nor his military prowess, or his political skills, and quickly fell prey to the schemes of the Europeans, of which the most significant was the Suez Canal.

In 1936 was signed the "English-Egyptian agreement", which was considered as the biggest obstacle to the independence of Egypt. With this agreement, Egypt won the right of a "Member State" in the Commonwealth of Nations, while the institution called "British High Commissioner" that Britain held Egypt under its supervision for a long time, will now be named as "British Embassy."

The Soviet Union supported Egypt's stance against England during the years 1953-1954 and in January 1954, the Egyptian Minister of Defence paid a long visit to the Soviet Union. Following these contacts, the Soviet Union used for the first time the right of veto at the Security Council of the United Nations regarding the use of Suez Canal by Israel. In this regard, the Soviet Union continued to support the regime in Egypt and the relations continued to grow until 1955.

Nasser introduced a socialist regime and moved Egypt closer to the Soviet Union. Under him, education and healthcare improved but it was a repressive regime and the economy stagnated. However, Egypt was

defeated by Israel in the Six Days War of 1967 and Nasser died in 1970. He was replaced by Anwar Sadat who reversed the discredited socialist policies and encouraged foreign investment. In 1978, Sadat made peace with Israel by the Camp David Agreement. However he was assassinated by extremists in 1981 and was replaced by Hosni Mubarak.

In 2011, after demonstrations in Egypt, Hosni Mubarak was forced to resign and a new chapter in the history of Egypt began.

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