Domestic Factors and Leaders in Foreign Policy Making: The Cases of Nasser and Morsi

Dış Politika Yapımında Liderler ve Yerel Etkenler: Nasır ve Mursi Örnekleri

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Abstract

It has been a general assumption that leaders have played a vital role in the making of Egypt's foreign policy. This article tries to detail this assumption and illustrates that individual formulation and implementation of foreign policies following the Free Officers' coup d'etat of 1952 and the Egyptian revolution of 2011 cannot be sufficiently clarified in the absence of domestic level explanations. What is found in this study is that various domestic factors paved the way for Nasser to increase his effectiveness on Egypt's foreign policy, whereas they created a compelling environment for Morsi in which he had a lesser influence on its foreign policy during his short tenure.

Keywords: Egypt, Nasser, Morsi, Foreign Policy, Domestic Level of Analysis.

Öz

Liderlerin Mısır'ın dış politikasının oluşturulmasında çok önemli oyuncular olduğu genel bir varsayımdır. Bu makale bu varsayımı detaylandırmaya çalışmakta ve 1952 Hür Subaylar Darbesi ve 2011 Mısır devriminden sonra dış politikaların bireysel olarak formüle edilmesi ve uygulanmasının yerel düzeydeki açıklamaların yokluğunda açıklığa

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kavuşturulamayacağını göstermektedir. Bu çalışmada, çeşitli yerel faktörlerin Nasır'ın Mısır'ın dış politikası üzerindeki etkinliğini artırmasına zemin hazırladığı, Mursi için ise zorlayıcı bir ortam oluşturarak kısa görev süresince dış politika üzerinde daha az etkili olmasına sebep olduğu bulundu.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Mısır, Nasır, Mursi, Dış Politika, Yerel Analiz Seviyesi.*

Introduction

It has been a general assumption that Egypt's political leaders have played crucial roles in foreign policy.[1] An in-depth analysis of individual determinants can be necessary but not sufficient to identify the degree to which those leaders can effectively shape foreign affairs. A holistic way of evaluating their effectiveness necessitates a review of both psycho-idiosyncratic dynamics and Egypt's domestic milieu.[2] In this sense, the intended output of this research is to draw attention to the need to touch upon the significance of the latter and associate various factors at the domestic level with the effectiveness of specifically two leaders, Gamal Abdel-Nasser and Mohamed Morsi, in the process of making foreign policy decisions.

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[1] Mohammad El-Sayed Selim, "The Operational Code Belief System and Foreign Policy Decision-Making: The Case of Gamal Abdel-Nasser" (Carleton University, 1979); Shaheen Ayubi, *Nasser and Sadat: Decision Making and Foreign Policy (1970-1972)* (University Press of America, 1994); Ibrahim A Karawan, "Sadat and the Egyptian–Israeli Peace Revisited," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26, No. 02 (May 23, 1994): 256–57; Tianshe CHEN, "Four Points toward the Understanding of Egypt's Foreign Relations," *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)* 5, No. 1 (March 17, 2011): 256–57, https://doi.org/10.1080/19370679.2011.12023175; Nael Mohamed Shama, *Egyptian Foreign Policy from Mubarak to Morsi: Against the National Interests* (London: Routledge, 2014), 50–113.

[2] Margaret Sprout and Harold Sprout, *Man-Milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956); Margaret Sprout and Harold Sprout, "Environment Factors in the Study of International Politics," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 1 (1957): 309-328.

The reason for analyzing them comparatively is the following: although both came to power after the downfall of longstanding political regimes and were expected to reformulate Egypt's foreign policy in line with their own points of view, Nasser seemed to be an effective actor and could bring about a radical change in Egyptian foreign policy, whereas Morsi could not become so influential and thus relatively failed to determine Egypt's foreign policy orientation. At first glance, although it seems to be misleading to compare Nasser's long presidential term length with Morsi's one year in power, this article tries to examine the following research question: does domestic dynamics help explain the differences in the effectiveness of both political leaders on Egypt's foreign policy?

It is found out that, instead of concentrating on Egypt's foreign political history linearly, all possible enabling and constraining domestic independent variables in addition to individual determinants should be taken into account to deliberate on the differences between the cases of Nasser and Morsi.

A Theoretical Framework

As Hudson considers "human decision-makers [as ones] acting singly or in groups,"[3] this study focuses on the domestic level of analysis incorporating internal organizational variables while examining the effectiveness of leaders on foreign policy.

In this context, domestic organizations structurally can be divided into two: the ones that are inside and the ones that are outside the decision-making structure. The former includes formal state organizations such as the parliament and the military, while the latter consists of the pressure groups associated with various economic or religious interests within the society.

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[3] Valerie M. Hudson, "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1, No. 1 (2005): 1.

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According to Halperin, organizations inside the decision-making structure are politically motivated to practice their value system in the foreign policy area.[4] Particularly, organizations, which have a significant share of the governmental budget, great operational capabilities, and large scope of expertise, are more likely to influence their national leader's policy decisions.[5] According to Allison and Zelikow, for leaders, "deference to specialized expertise can … mean a surrender of effective control"[6] of organizations in producing national security strategies. In addition, as Ripsman claims, organizations can have bargaining powers against leaders by providing "a sufficient payoff to policy makers if they construct policies in the desired function, or to impose sufficient penalties if they do not."[7] Regarding payoffs, domestic organizations can guide and control their members' voting behavior in favor of political leaders in democratic countries, while their undemocratic fellows can engage in all ways in order to preserve and back their national leaders' position. As for penalties, forms of de-selection, such as an electoral defeat in democratic countries and a military coup or an organized revolt in non-democratic countries, lessen leaders' dominance at the bargaining table.[8]

Beyond their ability to influence leaders' policy decisions by keeping leaders in power or removing them from office, domestic organizations

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[4] Morton Halperin, Priscilla Clapp, and Arnold Kanter, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*, 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2006), 25–27.

[5] Valerie M. Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*, 2nd ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Pub, 2014), 89; Halperin, Clapp, and Kanter, Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy, 26.

[6] Graham T. Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1999), 150.

[7] Norrin M. Ripsman, "Neoclassical Realism and Domestic Interest Groups," in *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, ed. Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 181.

[8] Ibid., 180–83.

can also shape a leader's effectiveness on foreign policy through their veto power which can obstruct the leader's agenda. In democratic states, legislatures and judiciaries have veto power and can put obstacles to the materialization of leaders' preferences in foreign policy. In non-democratic countries, after an executive decision, kingmakers and powerful political actors (such as business-minded elites, military, and influential bureaucratic organizations) can maneuver to delay or limit its implementation and thus constrain the effectiveness of leaders on foreign policy. Therefore, political leaders can be influential in foreign policy-making to the degree that they can circumvent the organizational context or extends their own values to domestic organizations' preferences to reach a consensus.[9]

Also, if organizations are motivated to put their values into action, they may ignore "[political] executing orders or requests for information issued by policymakers."[10] In other words, these organizations may not hesitate to report distorted information to leaders to influence final foreign policy preferences in line with organizational values.[11] Therefore, it can be said that to the degree that leaders can detect incomplete information from organizations, they are able to render their foreign policy judgments free from organizational interest-oriented biases.

The groups outside the decision-making structure are pressure groups, which can be religious and economic, and they try to influence leaders' foreign policy agenda. Although it is difficult to determine their impact, Karbo and Ray argue that while religious organizations may attempt to influence leaders' foreign policy according to divine principles; economic

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[9] Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis,* 303–4; Ripsman, "Neoclassical Realism and Domestic Interest Groups," 184–85; Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*, 142–43.

[10] Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*, 93.

[11] Halperin, Clapp, and Kanter, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*, 49–50.

interest groups (such as labor unions and businessmen associations) may try to shape leaders' agenda by bringing the view of their constituents.[12]

Here, it should be noted that, according to Dawisha, "this influence would usually vary according to the nature of the political system."[13] As there are no dominant and authoritarian leaders but a strong civil public sphere in democratic regimes, various interests, pressures, and demands of domestic pressure groups may make leaders electorally accountable and therefore less committed to their ideas in foreign policy. The requirement of domestic political acceptability within non-authoritarian regimes may overwhelm leaders' bounded autonomy and influence their foreign policy behaviors.[14]

It is generally assumed that leaders in non-democratic countries act without constraint under their profound autonomies, as "insulation from societal elites and institutions directly shields the leader from their policy demands."[15] However, these leaders also may be plagued by "diffusion of power across intensely competitive actors in a highly fragmented setting."[16] They may need to consult with economic and religious interest groups to make a foreign policy decision because often they do not have complete legitimacy to rule due to flawed democratic elections. Particularly, the leaders whose hold on power is weak should take the demands of pressure groups if they desire to remain in power. Otherwise low autonomy of leaders in authoritarian regimes may encourage non-satisfied domestic

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[12] Juliet Kaarbo and James Ray, *Global Politics*, 10th ed. (Boston, MA: Cengage Learning, 2011), 157–59.

[13] A. I. Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy* (New York: Halsted Press, 1976), 91.

[14] Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*, 144–46; Kaarbo and Ray, Global Politics, 156.

[15] Ripsman, "Neoclassical Realism and Domestic Interest Groups," 190.

[16] Joe D. Hagan, *Political Opposition and Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 47, cited in Kaarbo and Ray, 2011, 156.

groups to support a military coup, a change in government, and even a revolution.[17]

Nasser's Foreign Policy: The Domestic Context

This section attempts to assess the influence of domestic group/organizational variables on Nasser's effectiveness in the process of making foreign policy decisions. Domestic groups both outside and inside the formal decision-making structure should be considered to evaluate all kinds of impacts on Nasser's foreign policies. While the ones outside the structure were pressure groups, such as the bourgeoisie, the working classes, the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), the Ulema of Al-Azhar, the ones inside the structure were subordinate institutions such as the military, cabinet, foreign ministry, political parties, and national assembly. Although it is generally hard to argue that Nasser was under the strong influence of such groups during his presidency, there were rare periods during which group variables were crucial for Nasser's decision-making process.

After the coup of 1952, a group decision-making process emerged under the Revolutionary Command Council.[18] Both General Nagib and Colonel Nasser were dominant within the council, but they did not have complete autonomy in formulating policies.[19] Nasser had to consolidate his power by eliminating his political adversaries.[20] In this sense, under the pretext of the alleged attempt of the Brotherhood against Nasser's life, Nasser's junta could eliminate General Nagib from the political arena by

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[17] Ryan K. Beasley et al., eds., *Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective: Domestic and International Influences on State Behavior* (California: CQ Press, 2013), 17.

[18] Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy*, 98.

[19] Ahmed S. Hashim, "The Egyptian Military, Part Two: From Mubarak Onward," *Middle East Policy* 18, No. 4 (2011): 67.

[20] Panayiotis J. Vatikiotis, "Nasser and His Generation" (London: Croom Helm, 1978), 139–51.

implicating him.[21] Instead of Nagib and his followers, he appointed his sympathizers, such as the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mahmoud Fawzi, to his cabinet in order to get the opportunity for making independent foreign policy decisions.[22] After shaping the cabinet, Nasser abolished the political parties operated in Egypt before the coup and weakened the foreign ministry and the national assembly[23] in order to utilize his full autonomy to implement his policy agenda, which is to protect Egypt from "corruption, social-economic injustices, and foreign domination."[24]

The years following 1961 saw the further consolidation of Nasser's regime. Ansari argues that the Syrian secession from the UAR in 1961 led Nasser to feel insecure about the economic power of Egypt's landowners and bourgeoisie class because he accused their Syrian counterparts of engaging in activities leading up to the Syrian secession.[25] According to Beattie, taking lessons from the secession, Nasser pursued to restrict the influence of Egyptian landowners over the foreign policy decisions by making land reforms and sequestering their properties.[26] Rather than the bourgeoisie class, the working class was supposed to be the main support base for Nasser's policies.[27] In this sense, the regime provided new privileges for workers, such as a rise in wages and a fall in working hours,[28]

[21] Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy*, 100.

[22] James Jankowski, *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism, and the United Arab Republic* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), 67–68.

[23] Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy*, 117–18.

[24] Ibid., 119.

[25] Hamied Ansari, *Egypt: The Stalled Society* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 86–89; Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement*, 1949-1993 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 30.

[26] Kirk J. Beattie, *Egypt During The Nasser Years: Ideology, Politics, And Civil Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 158–59.

[27] Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy*, 101.

[28] Ibid., 93

and consolidated them as a group on the side of the Nasserite leadership. On that relationship, Dawisha argues that "the more workers were made to identify their interests with the regime's, the less their effectiveness as a pressure group became."[29]

In addition to Nasser's socialist reforms, Nasser also sought to utilize Islam as an instrument to serve his policies. In this respect, he rendered Al-Azhar sheikhs obedient to his political leadership by placing the institution under his close supervision with a new law in 1961.[30] The control of Al-Azhar reflected credit on the foreign policy in that its strong influence over the Egyptian Muslim public facilitated Nasser's ability to implement his agenda. For example, by presenting Nasser's socialist and revolutionist policies as crucial elements in Islam, the Ulema described the reactionaries, such as Saudi Arabia, as the followers of the devil.[31] Moreover, Nasser tried to constrain the MB, which diverged from the regime's secularist ideology. Through two waves of brutal repression in 1954 and 1965, Nasser attempted to remove the Brotherhood, which lays overemphasis on Islam, to be able to formulate and implement his foreign policies without constraints.[32]

As seen, Nasser pursued not to allow "any real measure of power sharing"[33] with both domestic groups inside and outside the formal decision-making structure. It was guaranteed with the Egyptian constitutions of 1956, 1958, and 1963, which were designed to give Nasser a highly personalized and independent decision-making power. Vatikiotis

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[29] Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy*, 94.

[30] Tamir Moustafa, "Conflict And Cooperation Between The State And Religious Institutions In Contemporary Egypt," *International Journal Middle East Studies* 32, No. 1 (February 2000): 5–7.

[31] Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy*, 90.

[32] Ibid., 91

[33] Ibid., 119

argues that "the President [was] not constitutionally responsible to any institutional checks upon his authority."[34]

However, according to Dawisha, "the army was the only institutional group which had succeeded in attaining a measure of independence from Nasser's immediate control."[35] Nasser's perception of the Egyptian military played a very critical role in that situation: being impressed with the armed forces while he was a young army officer, he considered the military as "the backbone of the regime and its primary potential rival."[36] In this sense, he was oversensitive towards the military's needs and demands. He took great care to ensure that the financial budget allocated to the military was satisfying for the corporate and personal economic interests of the officer corps.[37] In addition, he tried to provide the Egyptian army with various modern arms to keep up his regime against regional and international threats.[38] However, these steps, which Nasser initiated to make the Egyptian military more effective against enemies,[39] developed its competence to exercise its veto power and challenge his leadership. Exploiting the concessions and capabilities of the military organization, Abd al-Hakim Amer, commanding general of the Egyptian military organization, "thought [that] the military could have both political power and military effectiveness."[40] Such a look for extra turf rather than focusing

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[34] Panayiotis J. Vatikiotis, "Foreign Policy of Egypt," in *Foreign Policy in World Politics*, ed. Roy C. Macridis, 2nd ed. (London: Prentice-Hall, 1962), 341.

[35] A. I. Dawisha, "Perceptions, Decisions and Consequences in Foreign Policy: The Egyptian Intervention in the Yemen," *Political Studies* 25, No. 2 (1977): 207.

[36] Ibid., 207

[37] Guy Laron, *The Six Day War: The Breaking of the Middle East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 68.

[38] Ahmed S. Hashim, "The Egyptian Military, Part One: From the Ottomans Through Sadat," *Middle East Policy* 18, No. 3 (September 2011): 70.

[39] Hashim, "The Egyptian Military, Part One: From the Ottomans Through Sadat", 70.

[40] Ibid., 70

on only military actions[41] meant that Nasser's foreign policy decisions would be under the influence of Amer's values: that is, the value of power-sharing and of confronting Israel.[42]

As for power-sharing, Amer sought to gain a separate power base by "establishing a loyal constituency in the officer corps."[43] He developed "an extensive patronage network using the military's power and resources"[44] in that he privileged his officers[45] and accelerated promotions.[46] While he was gaining his powerful bases within the army, his direct relationship with Nasser was not going well. The Syrian secession from the UAR catalyzed the power competition between Nasser and Amer. Although Nasser had tasked Amer with the administration of Syrian affairs in 1958, Amer had preferred to increase tensions in Syria rather than implementing appeasement policies.[47] The resultant dissolution of the UAR, as Heikal and Sadat argue, revealed an apparent crisis of power-sharing.[48] In other words, according to Hashim, by the 1960s, "the military became a state within a state and the autonomous military was a competing power center."[49]

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[41] Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy*, 116.

[42] Risa A. Brooks, *Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 79.

[43] Ibid., 73

[44] Beattie, *Egypt During The Nasser Years: Ideology, Politics, And Civil Society*, 126.

[45] Richard B. Parker, *The Politics of Miscalculation in the Middle East* (Indiana University Press, 1993), 84.

[46] Eliezer Be'eri, *Army Officers in Arab Politics and Society* (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1969), 322–23.

[47] Brooks, *Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment*, 77.

[48] Anwar Sadat, *In Search of Identity: An Autobiography* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 157; Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy*, 116.

[49] Hashim, "The Egyptian Military, Part One: From the Ottomans Through Sadat," 70.

For example, during the Yemen War, Nasser's loss of authority over the military led him to continue reluctantly to be at the war.[50] While Nasser was in favor of "gradual disengagement through political conciliation, […] [Egypt's] defense chiefs sought an escalation of the war effort until a prestigious military victory could be achieved."[51] Notably, Amer pursued to actualize his personal and organizational interests as David M. Witty argues that: "Field Marshal Amer used the war in Yemen to consolidate his control of the armed forces, increase the military's influence in Egyptian society, and establish a power base separate from Nasser. Yemen became Amer's fiefdom."[52]

Concerning his value of taking an aggressive attitude against Israel, organizational prejudices of Amer led him to deviate from Nasser over security goals and military strategies. According to Brooks, Amer, who was thinking with the established norms of the Egyptian military organization, was very critical of dishonor and uncertainty. To prevent dishonor and uncertainty and keep organizational prestige, Amer ignored diplomatic grounds, and he was favorably disposed towards preemptive strikes.[53] For instance, to restore Egypt's militarily descending reputation after the inconclusive Yemen War and lead "the army to a glorious victory,"[54] Amer and the Egyptian military corps pursued an offensive military operation against Israel during the crisis in 1967. However, Nasser's strategy was to

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[50] Dawisha, "Perceptions, Decisions and Consequences in Foreign Policy: The Egyptian Intervention in the Yemen," 207.

[51] Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy*, 116.

[52] David M. Witty, "A Regular Army in Counterinsurgency Operations: Egypt in North Yemen, 1962- 1967," *The Journal of Military History* 65, No. 2 (April 2001): 417, https://doi.org/10.2307/2677166.

[53] Brooks, *Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment*, 78–79.

[54] Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 57.

avoid any offensive action.[55] So, the value of engaging in a confrontation with Israel seems to have played a substantial role in the divergence of preferences between Nasser and the military organization.

In addition, both military values of power-sharing in the conduct of foreign affairs and of confronting Israel manifested themselves in the imperfect information flow from the military organization to President Nasser.[56] At first glance, it seems as if Nasser, as a charismatic leader of the coup of 1952, had all access to reliable information coming from different state organizations about foreign affairs during his presidency. However, although he might have had them in the earlier periods of his leadership, once the military controlled intelligence services over time, some information was not shared with Nasser as it exactly had been.[57] Therefore, James argues that it was possible that "since Nasser had limited access to the armed forces, Amer was able to deceive him with regard to Egypt's relative strength."[58]

For instance, during the developments in the 1967 crisis, since Amer tended to confront Israel, he manipulated the information his close confidant Shams Badran obtained from his negotiations with the Soviet authorities who warned Cairo about the risks involved in its provocative actions against Israel.[59] Amer did not convey the Soviet warning to Nasser and allowed him to believe that the relative strength of the Egyptian army could deal with Israel with its one-third strength[60] and that "the Soviets

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[55] Ibid., 66, 92–97.

[56] Abdel Magid Farid, *Nasser: The Final Years* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1994), 72.

[57] Brooks, *Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment,* 80–82; Beattie, *Egypt During The Nasser Years: Ideology, Politics, And Civil Society*, 126–27.

[58] Laura James, "Nasser and His Enemies : Foreign Policy Decision Making in Egypt on the Eve of the Six-Day War," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 9, No. 2 (2005): 27.

[59] Anthony Nutting, *Nasser* (London: Constable, 1972), 407.

[60] Parker, *The Politics of Miscalculation in the Middle East*, 79; Laura M. James, "Nasser at War: Arab Images of the Enemy," *Nasser at War: Arab Images of the Enemy*, 2006, 174;

would intervene directly and decisively … if there was a risk of Arab defeat."[61] Although it was not the only reason, Nasser's vulnerability to the distorted information (about military strength and the possibility of Soviet assistance) given by the army leader Abd al-Hakim Amer seems to have led him to risk a highly devastating war against Israel.

However, the devastating defeat of Egypt in 1967 against Israel within six days has changed domestic dynamics. Nasser's resignation was not allowed by the Egyptian masses, which imposed a significant burden on him to revise the military organization to "restore … public respect for the armed forces."[62] He dismissed Amer and some other generals in that direction, but Amer continued to have bargaining and penalty power against Nasser, for Nasser had not yet dominated the army altogether. Amer and his followers among the military, "which had grown accustomed to its independence,"[63] attempted to conduct a military coup on June 11 of 1967 to bring down Nasser, who was accused of being responsible for wrong decisions leading to the defeat against Israel. Although Amer's coup failed and he was arrested and put into prison at the end, such a military coup attempt was a proof of a potential penalty that the military organization could impose over Nasser's foreign policy decisions.[64]

Consequently, it can be argued that Nasser could take most domestic groups under his control to a great level, but he was not so free and authoritative under the military establishment.

James, "Nasser and His Enemies : Foreign Policy Decision Making in Egypt on the Eve of the Six-Day War," 27.

[61] Brooks, *Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment*, 81.

[62] Nutting, *Nasser*, 428.

[63] Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy*, 117.

[64] Robert Stephens, *Nasser: A Political Biography* (London: Allen Lane: Penguin Press, 1971), 512–13.

Morsi's Foreign Policy: The Domestic Context

This section tries to find out variables in the domestic context during Morsi's period and to evaluate their impact on his effectiveness on Egypt's foreign policy.

Domestic organizations both inside and outside the formal decision-making structure should be considered detailedly as the 2011 revolution following Mubarak's dictatorship seemed to empower them to express themselves openly over their government's policy choices. In this respect, through the domestic level of analysis, on the one hand, the military and the intelligence service (the deep state), on the other hand, business groups, Salafists, Copts, and secularists will be analyzed in terms of their impacts on Morsi's decisions.

After the fall of Mubarak, the military came to the fore due to its capacity to govern the state and its traditional role as the guardian of the revolutionary ideals since the Egyptian armed forces overthrew the monarchy in 1952 and introduced itself as the founder of Egypt's democratic transition. The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) took power to rule Egypt until a new presidential election. It sustained the military's essential role in the defense and security policy by issuing the June 17 constitutional decree. The decree gave the military leadership rights to control its budget totally and to make ultimate decisions whether to engage in a war.[65] In other words, the SCAF aimed at "protecting its vision of the national interest and preserve its institutional privileges."[66]

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[65] Ernesto Londoño and Leila Fadel, "Egypt's Military Issues Decree Giving Armed Forces Vast Powers, but Few to President," *The Washington Post*, June 17, 2012, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/2012/06/17/ gJQAHHy0iV_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.f5cee8933873.

[66] International Crisis Group, "Lost in Transition: The World According To Egypt's SCAF," *Middle East Report*, No. April (2012): 18; see also Peter Mandaville, "America's Egypt Quandary," *Foreign Policy*, June 26, 2012, http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/06/26/americas-egypt-quandary/.

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Given the military's ambition for its institutional continuity in Egypt's foreign policy and for the flow of foreign military assistance to itself, it was not surprising that Egypt under the SCAF administration kept its diplomatic channels with foreign powers, such as Israel and the US, and refrained from revolutionary foreign policies.[67]

Ottoway argues that after Morsi came to power, he showed himself not as a status-quo oriented leader by not missing the opportunity of consolidating his strength when the military and the General Intelligence Service (GIS) lost their prestige over the militant attack in Sinai on August 5 of 2012 that resulted in the deaths of 16 Egyptian soldiers.[68] Morsi could turn the attack into his political advantages in that Murad Muwafi, the head of the GIS, confessed that his organization had information about the attack before it took place and shared the details with Field Marshal Hussein Tantawi, the Minister of Defense and the general commander of the SCAF.[69] Following this admission, the failure to prevent the attack and the deaths annoyed the public and opened the way for Morsi to consolidate his power. Firstly, Morsi reshuffled the SCAF and the GIS by removing Muwafi from his position and sending Field Marshal Tantawi to retirement. While reshaping the general command, he seemed to appoint second-tier generals who were to be loyal to the presidency to higher military positions.[70] Within this context, Morsi rewarded Abdel Fattah El-Sisi with the position of Tantawi by promoting him to two

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[67] Philippe Droz-Vincent, "A Post-Revolutionary Egyptian Foreign Policy?... Not Yet," *Istituto Affari Internazionali(IAI)*, June 2012, 2; Joshua Haber and Helia. Ighani, "A Delicate Balancing Act: Egyptian Foreign Policy after the Revolution," IMES Capstone Paper Series, 2013, 27–28.

[68] David B. Ottoway, *The Arab World Upended: Revolution and Its Aftermath in Tunisia and Egypt* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2017), 165.

[69] Dina Rashed, "What Morsi Could Learn from Anwar Sadat," *Foreign Policy*, August 14, 2012, http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/08/14/what-morsi-could-learn-from-anwar-sadat/.

[70] Ibid.

ranks.[71] El-Sisi was serving as the military intelligence chief under Morsi's rule, and "it [was] not normal for the Minister of Defense to come from military intelligence"[72] because the top rank of field marshal has been traditionally necessary to be a defense minister.[73] Notably, by elevating Sisi to the highest military position, Morsi expected that his untraditional appointment would serve his Islamist agenda because El-Sisi was said to be sympathetic to the Brotherhood and to be a devout Muslim, and his wife was said to wear the full *niqab*.[74] Secondly, Morsi canceled the SCAF's June 17 constitutional decree that had blocked civil control over the military and the defense and national security policies and took back his presidential powers.[75] Particularly on foreign affairs, President Morsi seemed to aim to give himself a full authority. In November 2012, he made a new constitutional declaration that granted him with considerable leverage in formulating foreign policies, as seen in article 141 and 145: "The President of the Republic shall exercise presidential authority via the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister's deputies and ministers, except those authorities related to defense, national security and foreign policy

[71] Rana Khazbak, "Morsy Grooms a New Rank of Officers, Experts Say - Egypt Independent," *Egypt Independent*, August 13, 2012, http://www.egyptindependent.com/morsy-grooms-new-rank-officers-experts-say/.

[72] Peter Hessler, "Big Brothers: Where Is the Muslim Brotherhood Leading Egypt?," *The New Yorker*, January 14, 2013, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/01/14/big-brothers.

[73] Zeinab El Gundy, "Meet General El-Sisi, Egypt's Defence Minister," *English Al-Ahram,* August 13, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/0/50305/Egypt/0/Meet-General-ElSisi,-Egypts-defence-minister.aspx.

[74] Ian Black, "General Abdel Fattah El-Sisi: Top Brass Ready to Defend the People," *The Guardian*, July 2, 2013, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/02/general-abdel-fattah-sisi-profile.

[75] Steven A. Cook, "Morsi Makes His Move: What the Power Grab Means for Cairo -- And Washington," *Foreign Affairs*, August 13, 2012, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/egypt/2012-08-13/morsi-makes-his-move.

… The President of the Republic shall represent the State in foreign relations."[76]

However, while doing these, Morsi "carefully avoided anything that might offend military sensibilities"[77] and privileges[78] because he had to balance the threat posed by the secular and revolutionary groups by seeking an alliance with the military's top brass. As Nael Shama asserts that "in Egypt's fractured and divided political system, there has been no more powerful and reliable partner than the army."[79] Within this context, while reshuffling the military, Morsi awarded Tantawi the State Medal to appreciate his service to national interests and gave him Egypt's most prestigious honor: the Order of the Nile.[80] Morsi also decorated other outgoing high-ranking officers with medals and appointed some of them to some key positions at civilian institutions such as the Suez Canal Company and the Arab Organization for Industrialization.[81] Morsi's payoff and appeasement policy towards the military went so far as to grant its officers charged with violations of legal human rights an immunity from prosecution. For instance, for the case of the Maspero massacre ended

[76] Nariman Youssef, "Egypt's Draft Constitution Translated," *Egypt Independent*, November 30, 2012, http://www.egyptindependent.com/egypt-s-draft-constitution-translated/.

[77] Hazem Kandil, *Inside the Brotherhood* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 138.

[78] Brecht De Smet, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Egypt," *Science & Society* 78, No. 1 (January 2014): 33; Shama, *Egyptian Foreign Policy from Mubarak to Morsi: Against the National Interests*, 225–26.

[79] Shama, *Egyptian Foreign Policy from Mubarak to Morsi: Against the National Interests,* 225.

[80] Henry Shull and Ingy Hassieb, "Egypt's Morsi Decorates Generals He Dismissed," *The Washington Post,* August 14, 2012, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/egypts-dismissed-generals-decorated/2012/08/14/ d30b9c24-e637-11e1-9739-eef99c5fb285_story.html?utm_term=.66566c387709.

[81] Ahmed Aboulenein, "Morsy Assumes Power: Sacks Tantawi and Anan, Reverses Constitutional Decree and Reshuffles SCAF," *Daily News Egypt,* August 12, 2012, https://dailynewsegypt.com/2012/08/12/morsy-assumes-power-sacks-tantawi-and-anan-reverses-constitutional-decree-and-reshuffles-scaf/.

with the deaths of 28 civil people, Morsi did not show a tendency to bring military officers responsible for the deaths to court.[82] Concerning organizational autonomy and interests, on December 26 of 2012, Morsi signed a new constitution that "shielded the defense budget from parliamentary oversight and asserted that the Minister of Defense was chosen from the ranks of the Armed Forces"[83] via articles 195 and 197.[84]

Moreover, refraining from any penalty that the military could impose and seeking its partnership forced Morsi not to alienate it. Not ignoring its national security decisions and organizational interests, Morsi could not touch upon radically on Egypt-US relations and continued to adhere to the Camp David Accords, a milestone for Egypt's national security and the military's considerable share of the US assistance to Egypt since 1978.[85] Therefore, Morsi could not take radical actions damaging the relations with and Israel and maintained the status quo in Gaza by not openly aligning Egypt with Hamas.[86]

As seen, on the one hand, Morsi's reshuffling action against the SCAF aimed to "preempt any moves against his decisions," to "thwart the plans of the counter revolution,"[87] and thus to consolidate his power; on the other

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[82] Shama, *Egyptian Foreign Policy from Mubarak to Morsi: Against the National Interests,* 226.

[83] De Smet, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Egypt," 33.

[84] Youssef, "Egypt's Draft Constitution Translated."

[85] Bisan Kassab, "SCAF Foreign Policy: Stuck in the Mubarak Mindset," *English Al-Akhbar,* February 24, 2012, https://english.al-akhbar.com/node/4521; Housam Darwisheh, "Regime Survival Strategies and the Conduct of Foreign Policy in Egypt," IDE ME Review 2 (2015): 43–64.

[86] Haber and Ighani, "A Delicate Balancing Act: Egyptian Foreign Policy after the Revolution"; Stefanie Felsberger, "The Future of Egyptian Foreign Policy – To What Extent Will Egypt's Foreign Policy Change under President Morsi?," *AIES Fokus* 4 (2012).

[87] "Egypt's Morsi May Have Consulted Military on Sunday Surprise," *English Al-Ahram*, August 12, 2012, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/0/50247/Egypt/0/Egypts-Morsi-may-have-consulted-military-on-Sunday.aspx.

hand, in the non-democratic nature of the Egyptian political system, it can be argued that his deference, payoff, and appeasement policy towards the military made it an institution continues to be the preeminent actor in formulating foreign policies.

As for business interest groups, the focus should be on the military's engagement in Egypt's business activities. Historically, the Egyptian army has dominated a highly prestigious civilian commercial position with its retired officers and generals since Nasser's rule despite Sadat's efforts to demilitarize Egypt. Particularly, with the rule of Mubarak, retired senior officer corps were increasingly employed in state-owned economic enterprises such as gas, oil, electricity, food, and land transport companies.[88] To keep the loyalty of the military and its retired generals to himself, Mubarak offered them high salaries and extra incomes in exchange for loyalty to him and allowed them to penetrate almost all state-owned business companies.[89] Following the departure of Mubarak from office, the military tried to keep its privileges and drew red lines at its particular economic sources. For instance, military officers have been interested in managing the Suez Canal and projects to develop it because it has hitherto provided the military with an enormous amount of revenue and is capable of bringing in millions of dollars. In a word, the military has a red line regarding the Canal as an important cash cow. However, as Robert Springborg argues, Morsi was not going to leave the economic sovereignty of the Canal to the military.[90] Indeed, his government tried to surpass the

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[88] Zeinab Abul-Magd, "The Egyptian Republic of Retired Generals," *Foreign Policy*, May 8, 2012, http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/05/08/the-egyptian-republic-of-retired-generals/.

[89] Yezid Sayigh, "Above the State: The Officers' Republic in Egypt," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* (Washington, D.C., August 2012).

[90] Abigail Hauslohner, "Egypt's Military Expands Its Control of the Country's Economy," *The Washington Post*, March 16, 2014, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/egyptian-military-expands-its-economic-control/2014/03/16/39508b52-a554-11e3-b865-38b254d92063_story.html?utm_term=.c462afa08cc6.

officers by negotiating with Qatar, the Brotherhood's ideologically close wealthy and investor-state, "over development of the canal zone in a way that didn't directly involve the military."[91] On the contrary, Morsi's Suez Canal attempts backfired as the Egyptian media spread rumors that Morsi was selling the Canal to a foreign country, Qatar.[92] Indeed, when El-Sisi staged a coup, Morsi, as a democratically elected national leader, was seriously charged with jeopardizing Egypt's national security through developing Suez Canal projects without consulting the military.[93]

Concerning Salafists, Morsi tried to maintain an alliance with them as well as the military. However, some developments harmed their partnership and thus Morsi's effectiveness on foreign policy. For instance, Morsi's aim to revive the relations between Iran and Egypt after three decades was blocked by Egyptian Salafists who, as hardcore Islamists, oppose the normalization process with a Shia state. The Salafist al-Nour Party backed by Saudi Arabia objected to the rapprochement with Iran because revolutionary Shite doctrinal agenda might increase sectarian and societal tension and Shia influence in the Sunni Arab societies.[94] In this respect, Salafi groups and Al-Azhar grand leader Ahmed al-Tayeb possibly pressed by them protested Iranian President Ahmedinejad's visit to Egypt in February 2013,[95] charging him with the "spread of Shiism in Sunni lands" and warning him to "respect Bahrain as a brotherly Arab nation,

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[91] Hauslohner.

[92] Ahmed Tharwat, "Why Morsi Fell in Egypt," *Star Tribune,* July 11, 2013, http://www.startribune.com/why-morsi-fell-in-egypt/214989141/.

[93] Ottoway, *The Arab World Upended: Revolution and Its Aftermath in Tunisia and Egypt,* 175.

[94] Haber and Ighani, "A Delicate Balancing Act: Egyptian Foreign Policy after the Revolution," 28-29,44.

[95] "Ahmadinejad's Historic Egypt Visit Prompts Salafist Concerns," *English Al-Ahram,* February 5, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/0/64084/Egypt/0/Ahmadinejads-historic-Egypt-visit-prompts-Salafist.aspx.

and not interfere in the affairs of Gulf States."[96] Following the discontent of Egypt's Salafi population with Morsi's policy of detente with Iran, Morsi's government decided to suspend its decision to promote mutual tourism between Cairo and Tehran.[97] Thus, Morsi's opening with Iran, as well as Hamas and Qatar, could not be a revolutionary but a balanced foreign policy under the pressure of Salafi activists.

Regarding oppositional civil forces, it should be mentioned about Coptic Christians and Egyptian secularists, who were not welcoming Morsi's policies. Initially, Morsi tried to appease these groups by making promises of representing all kinds of Egyptian groups and giving them some important positions within his government. However, this commitment did not realize considerably due to both groups' reluctance to participate in his Islamist-dominated government and Morsi's backtracking.[98] Once the government's Islamist agenda appeared, Morsi's relations with Copts and secularists seemed to come to the point of no return. He pushed a constitutional draft in November 2012 through the Constituent Assembly where all secular and Christian members were not available. The draft was based on the project that Islamic law would be "the guiding principle and fundamental law of the land."[99] The second article of the constitution clearly declared that "Islam is the religion of the state and Arabic its official language [and] principles of Islamic Sharia

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[96] "Al-Azhar Imam Tells Ahmadinejad Not to Interfere in Gulf," *English Al-Ahram,* February 5, 2013, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/2/8/64128/World/Region/AlAzhar-Imam-tells-Ahmadinejad-not-to-interfere-in.aspx.

[97] "Egypt Suspends Tourism from Iran," *Ma'an News Agency*, April 9, 2013, http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=583618.

[98] Ottoway, *The Arab World Upended: Revolution and Its Aftermath in Tunisia and Egypt*, 166-67; Paul Sedra, "The Copts Under Morsi: Leave Them to the Church," *Middle East Institute,* May 1, 2013, http://www.mei.edu/content/copts-under-morsi-leave-them-church.

[99] Ottoway, *The Arab World Upended: Revolution and Its Aftermath in Tunisia and Egypt,* 169.

are the principal source of legislation."[100] In applying Islamic law, views of Al-Azhar's Ulema and traditional Sunni doctrines would be taken as a basis as stated in its article 4 and 219. Undoubtedly, there were some elements of the draft to sign Egypt as a civil state. Article 3 stated that "the canon principles of Egyptian Christians and Jews are the main source of legislation for their personal status laws, religious affairs, and the selection of their spiritual leaders."[101] In addition, from Article 43 to Article 57, the draft guaranteed freedoms concerning religion, publication, expression, media, private and public meetings, and unions.[102] However, these articles associated with a civil state seemed not to be convincing enough for both secularists and Copts because it can be argued that all articles were subject to the Sharia-based Sunni interpretation and thus were not considered as adequate to protect their rights, freedoms, and identities. As Anthony Shenoda explored, Copts, constituting 10 percent of Egypt's population, have a desire to be a visible community that is taken seriously in the politics of Egypt and not to "blend into a generic Egyptianness, which they perceive as always inflected by Islam."[103]

Therefore, the National Salvation Front, an alliance of non-Islamic secular parties, and Copts reacted against Morsi's proposed constitution by organizing street demonstrations and called him to defer the referendum on the draft constitution and to revise it.[104] Morsi's insistence on conducting the referendum ended with the approval of the constitution

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[100] Youssef, "Egypt's Draft Constitution Translated".

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Anthony Shenoda, "Reflections on the (In)Visibility of Copts in Egypt," *Jadaliyya*, May 19, 2011, http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/24007/Reflections-on-the-InVisibility-of-Copts-in-Egypt.

[104] Edmund Blair and Marwa Awad, "Rivals Clash as Mursi's Deputy Seeks End to Egypt Crisis," *Reuters*, December 5, 2012, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-politics/egypts-mursi-leaves-palace-as-police-battle-protesters-idUSBRE8B30GP20121205; Mariz

by a majority vote in December 2012. However, emerging oppositional crowds in streets to call for the amendment of the new constitution started to damage Morsi's legitimacy and position within the alliance dynamics of Egypt's political scene. The rise of "Al-Midan versus Al-Parlaman (the Square versus the Parliament) confrontation"[105] and accordingly increasing violent demonstrations across Egypt led the military to revise its softened stance on Morsi's government. General Sisi openly warned Morsi against nation-wide tensions, which might threaten "the collapse of the state" and "stability of the homeland."[106] He took up a strict position by telling Morsi in a meeting in February 2013 that "your project has ended, and the repulsion you have created among Egyptians is unparalleled by any former regimes."[107]

The military's nascent alliance with secularists and Copts against Morsi started to appear through not only its statements but also its subtle stance behind the Tamarod petition campaign, which was launched in late April 2013 to collect signatures to remove Morsi from power and to call for a new election.[108] Once the military gave way to the Tamarod campaign, it can be argued that the Coptic Church and the National Salvation Front gave much legitimacy to the military rather than Morsi in forging national consensus and addressing all kinds of groups' concerns.

Tadros, "Copts Under Mursi: Defiance in the Face of Denial," *Middle East Research and Information Project* 43 (2013), https://www.merip.org/mer/mer267/copts-under-mursi.

[105] Shama, *Egyptian Foreign Policy from Mubarak to Morsi: Against the National Interests,* 233.

[106] David D. Kirkpatrick, "Chaos in Egypt Stirs Warning of a Collapse," *The New York Times,* January 29, 2013, https://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/30/world/middleeast/egypt-protest-updates.html.

[107] Ottoway, *The Arab World Upended: Revolution and Its Aftermath in Tunisia and Egypt,* 175.

[108] Asma Alsharif and Yasmine Saleh, "Special Report: The Real Force behind Egypt's 'Revolution of the State,'" *Reuters,* October 10, 2013, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-interior-specialreport/special-report-the-real-force-behind-egypts-revolution-of-the-state-idUSBRE99908D20131010.

Although the Maspero massacre, which was a harsh military attack on unarmed Coptic Christians in the wake of Mubarak's fall, alienated Copts from the military; Morsi's failure to stop rising sectarian attacks on Copts and churches and his alleged Islamist anti-Christian agenda excluding the wishes of Christians for a new constitution and unity government[109] led them to turn to a pro-military stance with the belief that "only exit from the Brothers' theo-authoritarian rule is a coup."[110] Thus, the military won favor in civil activists' eyes and utilized it as a bargaining power against Morsi while putting a coup plan into action.

As a result, Morsi's deference and appeasement policies towards the security establishment holding veto power, the economic red lines of military-linked businesses, Salafists' anti-Shiite opinions, and the fundamental divergence of secularists and Copts' political perceptions from Morsi's Islamist values created a formidable domestic opposition to Morsi government. They minimized Morsi's chances of imposing a fundamental change in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy.

Conclusion

In this article, with the domestic level of analysis, group/organizational factors are analyzed to show their positive and negative contributions to the impact of Nasser and Morsi on Egypt's foreign policy.

Regarding Nasser, he sought to get full autonomy in formulating policies by eliminating his political adversaries such as General Nagib, abolishing political parties operated in Egypt before the coup of 1952, and rendering the foreign ministry and national assembly ineffective. In addition, he aimed to get further control over Egypt by restricting the

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[109] Anne R. Pierce, "US 'Partnership' with the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and Its Effect on Civil Society and Human Rights", *Global Society* 51, No. 1 (2014): 68–86.

[110] Tadros, "Copts Under Mursi: Defiance in the Face of Denial."

influence of Egyptian landowners over foreign policies. He pursued to make land reforms and thus turn the working class into the main support base for his policies. Together with his socialist moves, Nasser sought to render the Ulema of Al-Azhar obedient to his political leadership. He utilized the Ulema to legitimate his foreign policy in the Muslim Arab world. At the same time, he tried to remove the Muslim Brotherhood, which lays overemphasis on Islam, to be able to formulate and implement his foreign policy without Islamic constraints.

While Nasser gained dominance over the groups mentioned above, however, the military stood out as the only institutional group that successfully had a measure of independence from Nasser's control. Exploiting Nasser's obsession with the military and its demands, the military under Amer's rule sought to gain an autonomous power base within Egypt. Once the preferences of Amer diverged from Nasser, Nasser's freedom in the foreign policy decision-making process was constrained, as it could be seen in the Yemen War and the Six-Day War. In the Yemen War, Amer did not refrain from guiding the military independent of Nasser's direct interference to achieve his personal and organizational interests. Similarly, in the Six-Day War, the military and military-controlled intelligence services gave imperfect and manipulated information to Nasser. Therefore, it can be said that there was no considerable influence the domestic groups had on Nasser's foreign policy decisions except in some periods when Nasser was vulnerable to the military organization as a competing power center.

Concerning Morsi, although he was in power for a short period, some critical group/organizational factors seemed to block Morsi's attempts to reshape Egypt's foreign policy. As mentioned above, Morsi had to take the military, the intelligence service, business interest groups, Salafists, Copts, and secularists into account to increase his impact on Egypt's foreign policy. On the one hand, initially, he was decisive in consolidating

his power, as seen in his daring reshuffle of the SCAF and the GIS and in his constitutional declaration in November 2012 that aimed to block military control over foreign policy. On the other hand, Morsi deliberately eschewed anything that might challenge organizational privileges and offend military sensibilities by awarding outgoing high-ranking officers with prestigious medals and key civil positions and by signing a new constitution on December 26, 2012, which gave the military full budget authority for national defense and stipulated that the Defense Minister would be chosen from the military officers. No doubt, Morsi's such appeasement policies towards the Armed forces were necessary for Egypt's divided political system to balance the threat posed by the secular and revolutionary groups. However, seeking an alliance with the military forced Morsi not to cross the military's foreign policy redlines, as seen in his maintenance of the Camp David treaty and the status quo in Gaza.

As for military-linked business interest groups, it can be said that Morsi needed to surpass them by making new commercial initiatives with foreign funds, as seen in the Canal's development projects. However, military officers in charge of state-owned companies did not desire to lose the military's established economic sovereignty in Egypt. Therefore, they did not allow Morsi to finalize economic attempts with the accusations of selling the Canal to a foreign country and jeopardizing Egypt's national security.

Concerning Salafists, they considered Iran as an actor aiming to increase sectarian tension and Shia influence in the Sunni lands and objected to Morsi's policy of détente with Iran strictly. Therefore, Salafi discontent seemed to play a critical role in forcing Morsi to suspend some of his normalization policies with Iran. Regarding Copts and secularists, they fundamentally diverged from Morsi's Islamist values. Although he attempted to give them some crucial positions within his government and turn Egypt into a civil state protecting their rights, freedoms, and

identities through the draft constitution in November 2012, Copts and secularists were not convinced because the constitution was based on the Sunni-interpreted Sharia. Therefore, they reacted against Morsi's proposed constitution by organizing demonstrations to damage Morsi's alliance with the military. Upon nation-wide tensions and the Tamarod campaign, the military considered Morsi as a leader failing to forge national consensus and staged a coup and directly finished Morsi's impact on policies.

Lastly, considering both leaders, it can be asserted that Nasser had a more significant impact than Morsi on Egypt's foreign policy. This difference is not only because of what Nasser accomplished individually but also because of the domestic environment that paved the way for Nasser to be a great man. On the other hand, Morsi's lesser influence on the foreign policy was not only because of what he could not prove his individual supremacy in his short tenure but also because of domestic factors that created a compelling environment for himself.

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