

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education & Scientific Research
MOHAMMED KHEIDER UNIVERSITY- BISKRA
Faculty of letters and Foreign Languages
Department of Foreign Languages
Division English Language

**The Impact of Globalization on the American
foreign policy towards Middle East after
9/11(George Bush and Barack Obama
Administrations)**

**A dissertation Submitted to the Department of Foreign Language
in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the Master degree in
English Language**

Option: Literature and civilization

Proposed by: Said Mostefa Supervised by: Mrs. Zerigui Naima

Board of Examiners

Mrs.Lamri Boutheina	president	University of Biskra
Mrs. Zerigui Naima	Supervisor	University of Biskra
Mrs. Hamed Halima	Examiner	University of Biskra
Mrs.Bougoufa Zeyneb	Examiner	University of Biskra

Academic year:

2018/2019

Dedication

to my dear and loving parents

to my beloved family

to my colleagues

Acknowledgments

A special and heartfelt note of gratitude must go to Mrs. Zerigui Naima who guided me with her outstanding intellectual knowledge and incredible patience and insight.

I would also like express my gratitude to every single person who in a way or another backed up me.

Abstract

This study examines the impact of globalization on US foreign policy towards the middle east after 9/11 during the two presidential terms of George W. Bush and Barack Obama to reveal their strategies of hard and soft power in achieving national interests. US foreign policy and its affects for the Middle east? We also asked several questions about globalization and its approaches in the implementation of foreign policy?. and how the american hegemony negatively affected the middle east? One of the most important hypotheses of the study is that the United States of America has hidden interests that it seeks to achieve through the spreading of democracy. The study aims to find out how successful the United States of America is in achieving the declared interests through the application of historical approaches, where we found that it failed. More then that, the United States of America prefer to deal with Pro-totalitarian regimes that are loyal to it then democratic regimes that do not serve its interests. Finely, it can be said that globalization has provided US foreign policy with considerable potentials to penetrate the regime and create geo strategic alliances to serve its interests despite criticism from within and outside the United States.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ME: The Middle East

UN: The United Nations

US: The United States

OAS: The Organization of the American States

NSS: National Security Strategy

OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting countries

MDW: Mass destruction weapons

GDP: Gross Domestic production

Table of contents

Dedication.....	II
Acknowledgments.....	III
Abstract.....	IV
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	V
Table of contents	VI
General Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: A Theoretical Overview on Globalization and American Foreign Policy	
Principles	
1.1. Introduction	7
1.2.A Theoretical Overview on Globalization and its Approaches.....	7
1.2.1.A Theoretical Overview on Globalization.....	7
1.2.1.1. Definition of Globalization	7
1.2.1.2. History of Globalization.....	10
1.2.1.3. Dimensions of Globalization.....	13
1.2.2. The Approaches of globalization	14
1.2.2.1 The Realistic Approach.....	14
1.2.2.2. The Liberal Approach	15
1.2.2.3. The Imperialist Approach.....	16
1.3. American Foreign Policy and its Principles.....	17
1.3.1 Politics and Values.....	17
1.3.2. The US as a New Democratic State	19
1.3.3. A Free Society and Equality Before Law	20
1.3.3.1. A Free Society	20

1.3.3.2. Equality Before Law	21
1.4. Conclusion.....	21
Chapter Two: US National Security Strategies towards the Middle East Before and After 11/9	
Events	
2.1. Introduction	24
2.2 American Foreign Policy Before 9/11	24
2.2.1 The Major Periods in the American Foreign Policy Before 9/11	24
2.2.2 American Foreign Policy Strategies Before 9/11 Attacks.....	30
2.2.3 The September 11 Attacks.....	33
2.2.4. The 9 /11 Attacks and the Bush Administration.....	34
2.3. American Foreign Policy Strategies After 9/11	37
2.3.1. The Bush Strategy	37
2.3.2. The Obama Strategy.....	42
2.3.3. the Trump Strategy.....	44
2.4 Conclusion	45
Chapter Three: Globalization and US initiatives of The Democratizing of The Middle East	
3.1. Introduction	48
3.2. The US International Institutions Means	48
3.2.1 The United Nations (UN)	48
3.2.2. The Organization of the American States (OAS) 1948.....	49
3.3. The impact of Political and Economic Globalization on US Policy in ME.....	50
3.3.1. The cause of Promoting Liberal Democracy.....	50
3.3.2. Spreading Economic Globalization "Imperial Capitalism".....	55
3.3.3. Evaluation of the American Initiatives of Democratizing the ME	57
3.4. Conclusion.....	58

General Conclusion60

Works Cited62

الملخص65

General Introduction

After the fall of the Soviet Union and the decline of socialism, we found that the concept of democracy was linked to liberalism to the extent that liberalism became synonymous with democracy. Here, in its demand of the leadership of the world, the United States raised the banner of democracy, freedom and human rights in the context of globalization and the building of the new international order, where there were the Axis Powers, on the one hand, and the Alliance on the other, claiming that they were both more free. In its way to spread democracy, the focus of America mainly was directed to the most backward region worldwide, which is the Middle East.

The Middle East has continued to garner the primary attention of the United States' foreign policy since World War II, and this research seeks to explore reasons for this phenomenon, which has received little research attention. The significance of the Middle East area has increased rapidly since WWII primarily due to economic, strategic, and political factors. Culturally, the region has numerous similarities with the West, dating back to the time of the Crusades in the Middle Ages and continuing through modern history with the efforts of the Western missionaries and their educational activities.

In its foreign policy towards the world in general and in the Middle East in particular, the United States has treated them as backward countries with dictator regimes. In this, America felt the urgent need to prompt democracy in the region on the basis that these regimes threaten international peace and security in general and the US national security in particular. Democratic Peace Dictatorship regimes are direct threat to democratic systems, because history proved the outbreak of wars between non-democratic countries and no wars between democratic countries. This was the ultimate valid justification for the democratization of the Middle East. Not only that, in reality there exists another reason behind the American interest in the Middle East. The land possesses vital resources including oil and waterways.

The United States foreign policy in the Middle East has its roots as early as the Barbary Wars in the first years of the U.S.'s existence, but it became much more expansive after World War II. The American policy during the Cold War tried to prevent the Soviet Union influence by supporting anti-communist regimes and backing Israel against Soviet-sponsored Arab countries. Since the attacks of 9/11, 2001, U.S. policy has included an emphasis on counter-terrorism.

The U.S. has diplomatic relations with all countries in the Middle East except for Iran, whose 1979 revolution brought to power a staunchly anti-American regime. Recent priorities of the U.S. government in the Middle East have included resolving the Arab–Israeli conflict and limiting the spread of weapons of mass destruction among regional states and to spread democracy.

Both Chapter One and two are interrelated in many ways. In chapter one, the focus mainly was on the notion ‘globalization’, as a crucial term in our study. In this chapter mainly, the term globalization was covered to understand clearly the presented phenomenon and to see to what extent globalization can be the cause behind the American foreign policy. Not only that, the first chapter helps to define the main approaches to American foreign policy and the main set of believes that American society and constitution are based on and that represent the fuel that America uses to justify its interference overseas.

Globalization also means that international actors in international relations are not only countries, but there are more effective ones, such as international organizations as World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization, as well as multinational corporations.

The second chapter, for instance, the focus was on the historical development of the American foreign policy and the major trends that she went and used from isolationism till globalization before and after 9/11. The emphasis also was put on how the American foreign

policy, after the attacks of 9/11 towards the Middle East, has changed from Bush the son's to Donald Trump's administrations.

In its foreign policy towards the world in general and to the Middle East in particular, the United States has treated them as backward countries with dictator regimes that should be civilized, thus the promotion of democracy in that region was vital on the basis that these regimes threaten international peace and security in general and US national security in particular. This is the justification for the democratization of the Middle East.

Statement of the problem

The American decision makers before taking any decision or designing any foreign policy, they take into considerations two main issues: the American security and interests. Whenever they decide to intervene overseas, it is not all the time for the sake of what they claim they want to do in the region, but based on what they have for themselves. In this respect, the American foreign policy fits its policies on what serves its interests and keeps safe its security first.

And as far as globalization is concerned; the motive behind spreading it was not civilizing the backward, rather to have open markets and to have access to natural and raw material sources in the Middle East. Thus, the region was of a geopolitical significance and the notice of this soft power was little or zero at all by Arabs back then. Globalization is deemed to be an indirect colonization that appears in two shapes, political and economic. The political globalization is the moral justification to the economic one and the economic globalization is the end that America tends to accomplish

Research Question

Given that Globalization seeks to model values and model systems, it provided the appropriate climate for US foreign policy after 9/11 to spread democratic values and open the Middle East markets to the flow of American goods and services.

In this context, the following problem can be raised:

What is the impact of Globalization on American foreign policy and its consequences on the Middle East after 9/11?

Secondary Questions

1. What is globalization?
2. What are the approaches of globalization to American foreign policy?
3. What is the impact of the American globalization on the Middle East after 9/11?

Hypotheses

- 1- the USA seeks to spread democracy while eradicating tyrannical regimes.
- 2- the USA has hidden strategic objectives and goals that it seeks to achieve under the name of democracy.

Aims of the research

- ❖ This study seeks to find the real goals behind the spread of democracy in the Middle East.
- ❖ The present study also seeks to know the real motivations behind its project of spreading democracy.
- ❖ In addition, this investigation tends to highlight the different means that American foreign policy used in its claim to spread democracy in the Middle East.
- ❖ Moreover, our study aims at highlighting the advantages and disadvantages of globalization on the Middle East.

Significance of the Research

The present study tends to shed light on the opportunities and services that globalization had provided to America. In the geopolitical context, globalization helped to open an access to America in the Middle East's region, thus it gave a controlling hand in the region. In addition, this study insists on why the Middle East is so important to America; although it is

an under developing region that is full of religious tensions. In the same vein, our study would give some clues on the future perspectives of the American foreign policy towards the Middle East. This study also will help to figure out the controversial issue on whether the American foreign policy in the Middle East is revolutionary or evolutionary.

Methodology of the research

The research will be based on the historical method. In that sense, it will rely on the critical and argumentative analysis of declassified primary sources. It will also examine relevant secondary sources: papers and articles dealing with our research topic. In that sense, the study will rely on studies made by historians and scholars on issues relating to intelligence, defense and foreign policy and its making behind the conventional political setting.

Chapter One:
**A Theoretical Overview on Globalization and American
Foreign Policy Principles**

1. Introduction

1.1 A Theoretical Overview on Globalization and its Approaches

1.2 American Foreign Policy and its Principles

1.3 Conclusion

1.1. Introduction

This chapter is an account on the concept of Globalization and American foreign policy and its main approaches and the set of principles is based on. The American foreign policy can be approached differently according to a set of principles that each approach depends on. The realistic approach is significantly different from the liberal or even the imperialist one. In addition, it highlights the set of spiritual ideals that shaped the American nation. Liberty, freedom, democracy and equality are values / ideals before law not only believed by all Americans; rather, they became the American identity itself. From that basis, the starting point to American foreign policy turns around these cherished values. Americans planned to promote their democratic ideals in the Middle East countries, which they thought, are under dictatorial regimes and not democratic. Such the project targeted the Middle East region in particular, in an attempt to democratize it (backward countries under the name of what came to be called 'globalization'.)

1.2.A Theoretical Overview on Globalization and its Approaches

Globalization has grown due to many theories and approaches so it started as economic phenomenon and is developed later to political, cultural and so on .as we will show through this chapter

1.2.1.A Theoretical Overview on Globalization

This introduction is an attempt to summaries key definitions and theories of globalization in order to clarify the theoretical perspective of globalization.

1.2.1.1. Definition of Globalization

Usman Riaz Mir, Syed Mahan Hassan, and Mubashir Majeed Qadir asserted in their article that globalization is the sort of phenomenon's that is dynamic and complex and also

multifaceted. In truth, it "[...] encompasses economic, social, political, technological and cultural dimension." (607). In their highlight, they insisted on the multidimensionality of Globalization as a phenomenon; it can be applied in politics, culture and even technology, thus the understanding of globalization is hard to attain and to grasp.

It is believed that the notion 'globalization' is of a recent occurrence. Its clear occurrence was in the second half of the twentieth century, however, it is dated back to millions of years ago (Mir and Hassan and Qadir 610). Scholte stated that the word 'globe' was first used in English language to refer to the description that was given to the planet, when the planet was discovered to be round. mean that: "It defines a process through which events, decisions and activities in one part of the world can come to have a significant consequence for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe."

From the illustrated two definitions, it is agreed that 'globalization' refers to a phenomenon that exceeds geographical borders and societies. It is a notion that gathers different people from different nationalities and races into a common ground. Both agreed that it is a process.

In Longman dictionary, globalization is defined as "a process of making something such as a business operate in a lot of different countries all around the world, or the result of this" (Onionskin Cyprian 1). Even Longman dictionary agrees on that globalization is a process that operates in different places and on multiple levels.

According to Mir, Hassan and Qadir, all of Cerny, Jones, and Ariocho, and Kozol-Wright have defined globalization as a process of an economical and financial integration. They went in narrowing the scope of globalization to economic and financial dimensions (611). Cerny, for instance, said: "Globalization is defined here as a set of economic and political structures and processes deriving from the changing character of the goods and assets that comprise the base of the international political economy - in particular, the increasing structural

differentiation of those goods and assets." (Mir and Hassan and Qadir 611). In this respect, globalization is deemed to be more an economic process that is controlled by the change of the goods' character.

Even according to Zuzana Brix ova and Dalia Teigen, and based on what Alonso-Gamo, Fedelino, and Horvitz focus, it refers to "the growing integration of economies and societies around the world. The economic dimensions include increases in the flows of trade in goods and services, of capital, and ideas, as well as mobility of individuals across the borders." (1). Based on the latter definition to globalization, globalization, in its wider context, encompasses trade, goods, services, mobilities, humans and even ideas. It is wider and more universal in all respects. Since globalization is multidimensional, it encompasses also society.

All of Thomas, and Wilkin and McCraw have emphasized the social aspect of globalization. Thomas's definition did not deviate from one fact which is that globalization is a process. And in this, he came into close terms with the aforementioned scholars and researchers. Yet he linked globalization more with social aspects when he said: "globalization refers broadly to the process whereby power is located in global social formations and expressed through global networks rather than through territorially-based states" (qtd. in Mir and Hassan and Qadir 611). In this vein, globalization is associated with power that is ultimately linked and related to global social formations; and thus, the expression of these social global formations is expressed globally in a broader sense, rather than limited to territorial geographical borders.

Accordingly, McGrew had a common ground with Thomas when he defined globalization as: 'a historical process which engenders a significant shift in the spatial reach of networks and systems of social relations to transcontinental or interregional patterns of human organization, activity and the exercise of power.' (qtd. in Mir and Hassan and Qadir 611-12). Historically speaking, globalization is a social historical process that easily exceeds

spatial borders and systems and even human organization; thus, it is an exercise of power by humans. This power is huge and immense, because this phenomenon is simply out of control, reach and containment in reality. On the other hand, Jameson spot the light on the cultural aspect of the concept 'globalization'. According to him, globalization is defined as follows:

"As a cultural process, globalization names the explosion of a plurality of mutually intersecting, individually syncretic, local differences; the emergence of new, hitherto suppressed identities; and the expansion of a world-wide media and technology culture with the promise of popular democratization." (612). Globalization works on many levels; first it is linked to plurality. Second of all, and this is very vital, it is via globalization that such cultural aspects and identities, spread and expanded under the name of globalization.

1.2.1.2. History of Globalization

It is believed and agreed by scholars and researchers that the timeline of globalization is post-second world war and on the minimum post-cold war. There exists a question that makes sense is that how a term such as 'globalization' has only emerged recently, only few decades ago? In the same vein, Tomlinson stated that globalization, as a complex phenomenon, can be traced back only to few decades, but if the one looks back to globalization, as a social and a political phenomenon, s/he may situate it before few decades .yet, globalization's process that comprised of social, cultural, and economical processes is traced back further in history (608). In this sense, globalization was not of a recent occurrence as it was believed by many researchers.

For Pieterse, traces of globalization were found back in time, which were and entrenched back to the evolutionary times. Spier believes that the first evolutionary traces of globalization appeared in cosmic industry. Bentley, in addition, added that in the study of "historical globalization" communities were culturally connected in a way or another since the first of

human existence and that communities have never been disconnected, rather there was cultural exchange among humans (608). The belief that globalization is a recent trend is a semantic issue. According to Pieterse, the term 'globalization' was not used. Yet, historians found traces of infrastructures in the past. This proves more how ancient the penion of globalization is in history.

Different historians diverged in their definitions of the different threshold emergence of globalization. The emergence of world economy is one of the thresholds for globalization. For Usman Riaz Mir, Syed Mahan Hassan, Mubashir Majeed Qadir, globalization emerged with the emergence of world economy, thus economy was the first entrance level of globalization (608).

Hobson dated back the emergence of world economy to 3500 BC. He believed that "although economic globalization starts emerging from 3500 BC but a huge expansion of global connections and trade occurred during post 600- period which is termed as oriental globalization encouraged by the revival of camel transport." (609). Hobson found evidence on that economic globalization started as early as post 600, but it was not known back than as 'economic globalization'.

On the hot debate on the history of globalization, Steger has summed up and divided the evolution of globalization's history based on five distinct historical periods. Each period is characterized by distinct various social, economic, cultural and technological factors (609). The following are the five historical period that Steger suggested.

A-Pre-historic period (10000 BC – 3500 BC)

Since the beginning of the human existence, there was a clear evidence on the existence of interaction between hunters around the world. However, the kind of interaction, which they had was limited to geographical borders, rare and even coincidental. Yet, things have changed when food cultivation became to be focused. Social interaction arose and changed than

before. Since that time, the globalization process developed, but with little success and immense. There was an evidence on the development of some elements of social interaction, such as agriculture, social warfare and bureaucracy. These elements definitely resulted in the development of societies worldwide. With the rise of agriculture, social interaction arose than before.

B - Pre-Modern Period (3500 BC – 1500 C)

Due to the invention of wheel in South Asia and writings in central China, Egypt and Mesopotamia, globalization changed radically during this period. With the invention of wheel, which encouraged huge infrastructural innovations, such as silk road) and animal-drawn cart, the transportation of goods as well as human resources to far places became easier and available. Even technological innovations appeared during this period amongst tapping of natural gas, hydraulic engine, paper printing, sophisticated metal. Not only that, trade expansion became noticeable and remarkable as well (609-610). All of these inventions featured globalization.

C - Early Modern Period (1500-1750)

The eighteenth century was a period that marked the spread of enlightenment and modernity and the liberation of thoughts. The advancement of the two concepts helped in speeding up the process of globalization. During these two centuries, the acceleration of globalization became clearer. Thanks to Islamic and Chinese innovations that Europe have benefited from. In this period, the spread of thoughts was the labelled the globalization of thoughts of liberation and freedom (610).

D- Modern period (1750-1970)

Globalization, in this period, witnessed a huge growth and acceleration. The more the political and economic influences were, the more this was clear in the rise of levels of networking and interaction in social, cultural and technological sectors (Mir, Hassan and

Qadir 610). Trade, also was influenced, because of "multinational banks, global pricing systems, railway system, mechanized ships and air transport. Furthermore, social interaction increased because of telegraph system that provides basis for telephones, mobile, internet and many other related inventions." (610). Globalization, in short, reached the sea, the air, and the earth.

E- Contemporary system (1970 onward)

This period is characterized by the absolute expansion of globalization via social network, internet, mobile phones, twitter and internet that connected people worldwide and turned the world into a small village. Thanks to technological advancement that globalization increased all over the world and in a short time (610). All the people around the world nowadays are familiar with the notion 'globalization'.

1.2.1.3. Dimensions of Globalization

Globalization is strongly linked to economy. Both Uppal Kumar De and Mararanjani Pal asserted in their article that is entitled "Dimensions of Globalization and Their Effect on Economic Growth and Human Development Index" that "The economic dimension captures the (a)actual flows: trade, foreign direct investment, portfolio management, income payment to foreign nationals and foreign capital employed (all expressed as percentage of GDP) and (b) restrictions on trade, foreign capital through physical and economic barriers, tariff rates, taxes. (3)". In short, economic globalization is the process that controls the path of trade, investments and the different economic processes. Kumar De and Pal said:

As far as social globalization is concerned, it is concerned with [construction] on the basis of information on (I) personal contacts (telephone traffic, transfers, international tourism, foreign population, international letters); (ii) information flows (internet, television and trade in newspapers)

and (iii) data on cultural proximity (measured by number of McDonald's Restaurants, Ikea and trade in books). (4)

Social globalization is linked to the personal contacts via technological sources, such as internet and mobile phones. While there exist other dimensions to globalization as political and human developmental dimensions, so the political globalization is strongly tied to how many existing foreign embassies in a country and to the number of memberships to different international organizations and participation to peace missions and treaties (Kumar De and Pal 4). Whereas, the human development index is related to other three indicators: the income indicator (GDP), education indicator, and health indicator, such as life expectancy at birth (4). According to Pal and Kumar De, the three indicators are equal in weight (4). The three indicators, in fact, are crucial elements of the evaluation and the definition of human developmental globalization dimension.

1.2.2. The Approaches of globalization

There are several approaches to interpreting globalization, but we will choose three basic approaches as follows.

1.2.2.1 The Realistic Approach

In this definition, Boulderado asserted that realism is meant to approach reality without any interference of the self or disguising the truth. In this case, the American foreign policy is like a school that is based on an individual practice, the human and the self. Thus, the American foreign policy is not based on fixed strategies or tactics; instead, it diverse in its dimensions according to the side that relates this policy in the global atmosphere. Not only that, the liberal approach is related as well to the world and its specific circumstances on the foundation of historical, political and strategic moment (67). The realistic approach to foreign policy stands for unilateral decisions that most of the times contradict international ethics and considerations.

In her description to realism of the American foreign policy, Boumediene pointed out that realism is an ambiguous rule with no clear directions of strategies. It is more a behavior than a faith. It is then confusing; sometimes, it calls for violence in getting rid of dictatorial regimes: and in other situations, realism calls for dialogue, negotiation and understanding. In the realistic model of foreign policy, there is a general agreement on the absence of ethical and legal considerations in international policies, of course, from the part of American decision makers.

According to About Amir, the advocates of this model emphasize on that the State must focus on multiple issues. First, it is the duty of the State to double its armed potentials and capacities to confront the opponent countries. Second, it must select carefully its allies that best help protecting its benefits and strengthen its security, too. Finally, the state should establish balance of powers to reach international stability (68). For the sake of gaining power, dominance and control, all means are allowed even if they are unethical. In other words, the end justifies the means.

1.2.2.2. The Liberal Approach

Liberalism is amongst the other many theories that defends scientific rationalism, liberty and determination of the human progress. Boulderado assured in her thesis that liberalism, in its essence, assures individual rights, institutional and democratic principles, as well as constraints the States' power. Liberalism, also, is a model of an organized economy in which the capitalist market encourages people's welfare via equal distribution of rare natural sources between citizens. Scott Pour chill highlighted why this model, which is liberalism, is dominant in the world, Scott mentioning that the spread of liberalism is due to two elements or principles: the spread of democracy after the Cold War and the globalization of the world's economy (71). Unlike the first model, the liberalist approach to foreign policy is built on freedom of economy and trade.

The Liberal assumption is based on the following principles:

1. The state cannot act alone and as the only doer; instead, the State constitutes of individuals and groups and competing bureaucracies.
2. On the one hand, the fragmented vision of the State leaves an impression that the conflict between benefits, equality and the desire in equality will eventually lead to follow a path of rational decision making because of misconception or bureaucratic policies. On the other hand, the State has to focus only on one field, which is politics and security, and to leave the other domains for special governmental institutions.
3. Politics is able to expand. Besides the national security, the importance of the economic, social, and environmental fields increases in developing security due to the increase of mutual dependency factors (Boudarden 72).

America cannot survive or even exist without the rest of the world being democratic. In order to reach an American internal security, America must get rid and illuminate all the opponent ideologies outside. This danger may threaten its benefits outside; thus, the USA should keep in proving its credibility and exaggerating the danger to justify its interference outside. This is based on the idea that events that seem far away might cause a series of reactions that might threaten the national security.

1.2.2.3. The Imperialist Approach

Imperialism, historically speaking, emerged in the Seventeenth Century as a description to the British expansion. The linguistic meaning of "imperialism" is derived from the Latin "imperium" that means having power and sovereignty in its highest forms. This definition is suitable whether when it is used in its political context or in its external expansion's meaning (Bouderdaben 75). For Schumpeter, imperialistic politics is purely expansionist in nature and it is driven by a strong will and desire in expansion. Whereas, both Hobson and Lénine relate imperialism to economical control that is based on financial capital monopoly.

In Autumn 2002, the world witnessed the declaration of the world's super power and its intention to preserve its strength and dominance either via armed threat or an actual use of arms. Jhon Ikenpiri said that this declaration is the highest American foreign policy strategies and through its America guarantees that the main principal is to keep the one sidedness of the world where there is no equal power to the USA. This model, generally speaking, refuses all kinds of international law or institutions and consider them valueless (76). Biegalski in his book “*The Grand Chess Board* stated that the aims of this model are as the following:

1. Keep the security dependence of Europe, Japan and East Asia.
2. Guarantee that Arabic countries, the Soviet Republics and Central Asia stay obedient and under the American protection and control.
3. Do not let the uncivilized countries meet together like the Democratic Republic of Islamic Iran, China and Russia (Adel Albidiwi 78).

1.3. American Foreign Policy and its Principles

U.S. foreign policy is linked to set of principles and values that have become known as American values and made America a global model of democratic state based on a free society and equality before law.

1.3.1 Politics and Values

According to Mc Cormick, Politics, in its essence, has never been separated from values. It basically deals with multiple values that are deeply related to individuals, groups and even nations (6). In his definition of politics, Harold Lasswell has asserted that politics "is the study of the influence and the influential [...] The influential are those who get the most of what there is to get" (6). Based on Lasswell's definition, politics mainly helps to construct a kind of influence that could be power that is held by the mass and individuals, in accordance to what they believe in. In other words, there is a reflection of the mass's beliefs and values.

In addition to Dahl, Aristotle's and Max Weber's definitions come across one point is that politics is linked to values, these values could be rule, power or authority, too (6). Dahl's definition to politics goes around what power in theory and practice means. It goes around three: power to rule, govern and having authority. David Eston goes even further by pointing that politics is more associated with values and that politics is the authoritative representation or distribution of values (6). David's definition links the distribution of values to politics. To put it clear, values shape most of the decision makers' policies and politics.

Based on the aforementioned definitions, the existing relation between politics and values indicates that politics is meant to bring about and distribute some abstract (individual) values that are shared between individuals and, thus people can practice some sort of liberty, power and willingness. When politics is based on individual values, in this case, politics stands for and about people. There is no restriction of liberty, but instead politics guarantees people's expectations. In the final stand, these values are the basis, which should construct a more harmonious, powerful, organized and sophisticated system to guarantee the individual's welfare and to fulfill the common good for all.

Values, in the other side, refer to the fact that there is a sort of conduct that individuals follow and is related to their existence. In this respect, values are related to modes of behavior (6). They are of our choice, personal and we see them right to follow. Based on them, we perform, we behave and treat other people. We move and act in accordance to what we believe. Actually, values dictate most of our behavior (6). Values are the standards of our behavior and modes of thinking. They are not innate, but they strongly influence the way we look into ourselves and how we value and judge things as true or false, wrong or correct.

In their ethical sense, values are seen as good that people maintain and obtain. The best illustration of the strong existence of values is in the American Declaration of Independence, which dictates the concept of the USA and signifies how the American political action in

earliest times came to be (6). Mc Cormick highlighted that values, such as liberty, pursuit of happiness, life is still valued in the American society now emphasized by the American leaders and this helps in distinguishing the American nation from many others (6). Politics that is hegemonies in nature and practices all kinds of power and threatening, its citizens will not survive unlike the politics that is the mass's creation.

Achieving and maintaining values seem to be the essence of any practice of politics. And we assume that foreign policy is strongly an individual choice and decision because individuals are motivationally driven by these values. Many social psychologists, amongst Milton Rokeach, in their analysis to the relation between the triangle of beliefs, values and the behavior of individuals come to the conclusion that beliefs as proportions are "inferred from what a person says or does" (qtd. in American Foreign Policy 6). Mc Cormick includes that the content of these beliefs indicates, for sure, our description of an object or a situation. To put it differently, the content of these values determines our judgement of things as true or false, evaluates as good or bad, or advocates a course of an action as desirable or undesirable (6).

1.3.2. The US as a New Democratic State

The USA came into existence with a set of values that distinguishes it from the rest of the world. It came to become the democratic nation in a world that is ruled and governed by dictators and monarchies. According to one historian, the American Founding Fathers did not want to have a simple and small revolt against the British Empire, but they believed in constructing a better model for the rest of the world. Thomas Jefferson said that new America has to be

The solitary republic of the world, the only monument of human rights...the sole depository of the sacred fire of freedom and self-government, from hence it is to be lighted up in other regions of the earth, if other regions shall ever

become susceptible to its being in its influence. (My italics. qtd. in American Foreign policy 10)

America, in this sense, shall come up with unique model that is based on what all people agree to be correct and valued. And since America is based on democratic values, they developed a belief that it should be unique and worth to be imitated by all countries. This sense of being unique developed a feeling of "exceptionalism" of America and by Americans, too that eventually turned out to be "an ideology". Driven by this ideology, most of Americans' actions abroad were based on it (10). The feeling of the American exceptionalism paved the way to America to act, decide and justify its actions abroad.

1.3.3. A Free Society and Equality Before Law

The future of the political system depends on the dynamics of civil society and equality before law that means the strongest of state comes from the strongest of society.

1.3.3.1. A Free Society

Early to 1776, America was considered as a free society. The American nation stressed liberty and equality. It came to be known as a free society and associated with concepts, such as liberty, equality when the world was under order and authority. In the same context, this new society was dynamic, classless and free compared to Europe which was class bound and restrictive (10). In this case, America defeated the very principles that Europe worshiped and was governed by them (10). America eventually built for herself a diverged monument that attracts all its viewers.

The fundamental of the American beliefs could be summarized as classical liberalism. Classical liberalism's thoughts are stressed by the Seventeenth Century John Locke. In its essence, classical liberalism favors and puts forward the individual over the government. The government should be constructed on its minimum use of power and control. The

government's task is to maintain and preserve what is necessary for individuals, such as liberty and freedom. Citizens are then free and alone to pursue their goals and to fulfil them, and to seek rewards on the foundation of capacities and high qualifications.

1.3.3.2. Equality Before Law

Not only personal freedom and achievement are cherished by Americans, but also equality before law. Basically, this right dictate that all individuals without exception are given the right to maximize their potentials based on what they have. Still, equality before law does not necessarily mean equality of outcomes (substantive equality): instead, it is equality of opportunities (procedural equality). Despite the fact that the American society bears the same importance of equality of opportunities, it stresses more how important freedom is in determining one's own level of achievement. Freedom of citizens dominates the American way of thinking.

1.4. Conclusion

U.S. foreign policy as a programme worked to achieve a specific number of the objectives on the external level is based on the pragmatic must be understood through the approaches the aforementioned. And we can say that there is a big relationship between domestic policy and foreign policy.

In short, no one can deny the exceptionality of a new nation, which is believed that the American nation is a nation with no history. In a short period of time, America could get rid of years of British colonization and also build a new nation that believes in success, hard work and liberty. The high spirit of Americans raised a high sense of competition that led to the American success in all domains and in the establishment in a strong government that tries to guarantee first and for most the Americans warfare, liberty, freedom and prosperity. This is why America continued prospering even in darkest situations. And since American believe in

the right for all people to live free, they adopted the idea of 'democracy' and tried to spread it all over the world, in an attempt to establish an eternal peace and to achieve humanity.

Whether America succeeded in its claims or not, this question will be answered lately.

Chapter Two:

US National Security Strategies towards the Middle East Before and After 11/9 Events

2.1. Introduction

2.2. American Foreign Policy Before 9/11.

2.3 American Foreign Policy Strategies after 9/11.2.3 Conclusion

2.4. Conclusion

2.1. Introduction

The second chapter brings about the main periods that the American foreign policy went through and the main strategies it articulated during each period. We started with isolationism that is deemed to be the first real foreign policy, that later became an American tradition and belief for several decades. Then, we moved to how isolationism was preferred by Americans during WWI, in order to strengthen the American internal affairs. There was a huge difference between WWI and Second World War. WWII strengthened the American political and economic position and the beginning with the Soviet Union's Containment. Up till the 9/11 attacks, the American foreign policy shifted radically from its tradition, and both, President George W Bush and Americans, agreed on that isolationism is no longer the solution to overcome the abroad threat. Instead, according to them the war is now at home. The end of the terrorist attacks in America was the beginning of war on terrorism that George Bush first initiated. Bush's war on terror, first was agreed on; however, when it came to Iraq's case; Bush, the President was condemned for such a wrong decision. The difference between Obama's and Bush's foreign policies is called hard power, because he preferred hard power while Obama dislikes military intervention and he preferred soft power.

2.2 American Foreign Policy Before 9/11

The US foreign policy before 9/11 was characterized by isolation in general as a strategy to build a strong state free from any commitments with European countries and avoid the interfering into foreign wars and the important periods at this stage as follows.

2.2.1 The Major Periods in the American Foreign Policy Before 9/11

Historically speaking, the Founding Fathers of the American State did not intend to isolate themselves from the world affairs, Due to the urgent need of America to build itself and to get

very strong allies ,especially France, Isolationism came to be recognized as the first step into a real foreign policy under the first President of the United States, George Washington as well as Thomas Jefferson (Decode et al., vol. 2, 338). Of course, the American isolationism's choice was not for vain; it was meant to retrieve from the world affairs and to stay away of everything out of its weakness and until it builds its own strength.

Isolationism stands for the nineteenth century's policies and that were urged in the twentieth century. In other words, the key element of isolationism is the avoidance of any form or contact "[...] of political and military commitments to or alliances with foreign powers, particularly those of Europe." (Alexander Decode, Richard Dean Burns et al 337). Isolationism represents the neutrality from any kind of external international relations in which the return into internal affairs is most preferred. It was believed that this sort of a policy was imposed on major powers as an urgent measure as in the case of France after the Franco-Prussian wars (1870-1847), etc. (vol. 2, 337).

The father of the first American Neutrality Act, George Washington, incorporated the crucial principles of isolationist policies in his Proclamation of Neutrality (1793). George Washington advocated the new measures of the American foreign policy that will be followed until the Second World War. Up till the WWII and after the alley with France during the Seven Year Wars against Great Britain, the isolationist policy stayed unchallenged. It then developed into a tradition. In his farewell address, George Washington pointed out that "Europe has a set of interests which us have no or a very remote relation" and he advised his countrymen "to steer clear the permanent alliances" (vol. 2, 338).

The beginning of the WWI marked the end of the American isolationist policy. Isolationism does no more fit the new circumstances of the world. First, due to the new position of America as a super power, the US had to exhibit a part of its power and of its opinion in the world affairs. Its voice is an indication of its new phase in her history and that

America is not weak anymore. America found it difficult and not even dribble to stay 'unentangled' (342). Therefore, the US might protect its interests by building more active corporation with the world powers and by making commitments and alliances, and "not in keeping with the traditional policy" (342). Although, America broke one of the pillars of the isolationist policy by having no alliances, but it did not fight with or against any other country; thus, it stayed in a way or another isolate and detached.

Makeover and Davies said that in the first years of the American State and nation, America was not isolationist. Geopolitically speaking, America was a nation under building; thus, it was both politically and economically, a loose nation that needed strong allies (Boukhallat 39).

The French revolution had its influence as well on the American spirit. It was as the intersection between the self-interest and the ideological positions amongst Americans (Boukhallat 40). Mckeever and Davies added further that because of the American experience in the French Revolution, Americans felt sympathy toward the French, then Thomas Jefferson and all Americans started to identify themselves as fellow revolutionaries (40). It was the American dream to have an example like the French one.

The American isolationist position from the start was due to the feeling of the American superiority among Americans. Despite the fact that the American foreign policy under George Washington administration was 'an active neutrality' than isolationism, America stayed away from wars. Thus, George Washington issued the Proclamation in 1793(40). When George Washington issued the Act of Neutrality, he knew for sure "[...] that England or France, as well as Spain, would be only too happy to assimilate American sources and territory if given the chance [...]". He just hoped that America would avoid European conflicts until it becomes strong enough to confront and deal with the world's threat to its existence, the thing that she lacked in 1970 (US History 113-14).

In the same vein, George Washington, the President, signed with Britain the Jay Treaty. This was after some British attacked American ships. This treaty was meant to guarantee that no future attacks from the British part will occur (Boukhallat 40). While the first treaty was signed with Britain, the Pinckney Treaty for the state of New Orleans was signed with Spain. It denoted that New Orleans would be freed from taxes (40). It is worth to mention that the Jay Treaty did not alarm only Spain; yet, it angered France. Meanwhile, France felt that America had looked at these treaties "[...] as a violation of the Franco-American mutual defense" (US History 114).

Absolutely, the French-American relation are getting much worse; therefore, by 1797, the American chart shipping in the Caribbean were under the French attack (US History 114). According to Mckeever and Davies, George Washington signed the 1800's Convention to avoid any further wars with France and to guarantee the financial recognition to France in return to deem America as a neutral country concerning its trading rights (Boukhallat 40). The one cannot mention the periods of the American foreign policy history without mentioning the ideologies of the time.

Multiple ideologies are contributed to the shaping of the American foreign policy. It is worth to mention, the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny. The latter shaped most of the American strategies that followed. The Monroe Doctrine was the philosophy that marked the nineteenth century foreign policy America. Renea. JR said that "Monroe's words were few, yet they emancipated a philosophy of the American sphere of influence in the Western hemisphere that exists to the present day, and that shaped the foreign policy of every president since" (10). The address of President Monroe came as a result of the Spanish's call of help to withdraw the Spanish colonies' rebellion. The year 1823 was remarkable in the sense that President Monroe delivered his famous speech warning European nations from any kind of intervention (O'Clobangh 85).

Since the first day, the term Manifest Destiny came into existence, all the coming American policies were based on or justified by it. The first who coined with this term was Jhon O'Sullivan in 1845 (113). This concept named America as the only destined country to rule the whole world. Both Mckeever and Davis asserted that, "The belief that the New World was created by God and possessed and run by Americans", is in short all what the American destiny is about. Beneath this belief, Americans believed that Mexico, Canada, the Carribean, Central and South Americas would be eventually United States territories. Not only that, Cincotta et al. declared that it is a divine destiny that America will expand to Pacific Ocean. Mckeever and Davis made sure that beneath this doctrine, westward expansion was justified at first (Boukhallat 42-43). However, this term went far beyond its main objectives. Under this divine right, therefore, many societies were replaced and killed in the process of westward expansion (130).

Maintaining homeland concerns was no more the case with American foreign policy during WWII. The shift was huge and undesirable for most superpowers at that time; yet, it was necessary for America to prove its dominance and power (new emergent super power). America for the first time is an imperial power. In its traditional meaning and usage, imperialism is deemed to be

[...] The forcible extension of governmental control over foreign areas not designated for incorporation as integral parts of the nation. The term is commonly used to mean any significant degree of national influence, public or private, over other societies; but to some it refers principally to foreign economic exploitation with or without other actions. (DeConded et al., 217).

For the first time, America exerts and exhibits some of its powers over other countries. Both Meckeever and Davis emphasized the fact that while under Roosevelt's administration, he favored military action, his successors were the advocates of "an activist international

policy" (Boukhallat 43). For them, to expand on the overseas trade, since America depended heavily on overseas markets, America had to adopt "open door" policy.

It was Jay Hay, who dispatched this policy after the victory of America over Spain? Hay demanded that all powers have "[...]to respect the principle of equal commercial opportunity in the sphere they were consolidating in China." (DeConded et al., vol. 3, 29). The notes that Hay demanded did not challenge the spheres of influence' existence nor demanded an equal access for American investments. He just reflected the only desire for American of selling and buying their goods (29).

Boukhallat asserted that via this step, Americas entered the world international first economically and politically (43). Beneath the Taft Presidency (1909-13) and administration that the "Dollar Diplomacy could secure the American economic access as well as political influence through American influence in other countries." (Boukhallat 43). President Wilson promoted many values, such as democracy, individualism, republicanism and free enterprise. Meeckeeper and Davis added that Wilson also endorsed idealism to build a new outline for the management of politics among nations (43).

With the outbreak of WWI, president Wilson was convinced that staying neutral is the best solution if America wants to keep safe its economic interests and to follow its beliefs (43). World War I, of course, served many of the American economic interests; America could sell weaponry to the British and it stayed away from European affairs. No one can deny the fact that WWI helped in rising the position of America politically, economically and even military in world affairs. Meanwhile, the American experience in the war had served as a hard lesson on the danger of international commitments (vol. 2, 344).

With the near of the WWII, the American foreign policy shifted towards being more international. By international policy, we mean that there are more contact and political commitments with other nations (vol. 2, 241). The fall of France in the 1940's and the attack

on Pearl Harbor marked the end of isolationism and the beginning of a new phase which was called internationalism and interventionism.

During WWII, America turned to be a political and economic power in the world (Boukhahal 44). During the few years of WWII, the American economy recuperated from Great Depression, this led to the safety of America from the chaos that it lived in two decades. Therefore, the American new economic dominance in the world eventually led to its political dominance. The American dominance was represented through the dominance over the International organizations such as the United Nations, etc. (Boukhallat 45).

2.2.2 American Foreign Policy Strategies Before 9/11 Attacks

The Second World War deteriorated all the conflicting powers, but the United States and its opponent the Soviet Union (vol.2, 222). Unlike the First and Second World Wars, the Cold War was more the war of ideas, politics and, economics and even technologies. In fact, the beginning of the Cold War was not marked by a single event; yet, a series of events between the two super powers Capitalism and Communism occurred (Boukhal 49). Although, there was no use of weapons in the Cold War, it was the most dangerous, since it was based on technology, intelligence and the power of the mind.

The Cold War was mainly between the Capitalist America and the Communist Soviet Union. America after WWII had a great influence over noncommunist countries. Its weight abroad strengthened the American economic position which eventually led to shape the structure of the noncommunist countries (222). Economically speaking, the American dollar became the measure of most international exchanges between the 1940's and 1960's. Besides, both political and economic impacts were accompanied by an overwhelming social effect worldwide. There was a rush to adopt the American life style; it was like a remarkable of the American lifestyle was (222).

Since the two nations hold two opposing ideologies; it had been only one power that should win at the end. Thus, the existence and the survival of the first necessitates the elimination of the other (Boukhallat 50). The United States did not only represent an economic threat, but a military danger, too. Meckever and Davis highlighted that the intimidation of the American threat is exhibited through the American possession of the Atomic bomb. Consequently, the Soviet Union accompanied with Germany agreed to create their own atomic bomb for the sake of facing the Americans (Boukhallat 50). The Soviet Union thought they could threaten America and destroy it for good.

In the same vein, Martin McCauley said that the main problem between the two nations is that each one has its own interests and objectives, but what is observed is that ultimately one power is declining and the other dynamic is enlarging and expanding. (Boukhallat 50). Martin added further by describing both the American's and the Soviet's ways (51). The American way was merely pluralist and there exist countless economic decision makers during the Cold War. Unlike the Soviet Union which was more mobilizing and bringing together the nation all together as one (51).

In his report, George Kennan diagnosed the Soviet's policy, which was central to his optimistic forecast and too much of his doctrine. He asserted that the Soviet policy is "relentless but not adventurous—a fluid stream which moves constantly wherever permitted to move toward a given goal." (vol. 1, 346). Thus, Kennan's diagnosis to the Soviet's policy helped much in understanding the path of how communism works later. In 1974, George Kennan wrote a report in which he was anonymous and he signed using « X »; he gave his own analysis that later became as the near-canonical statements of "Containment".

According to Cincotta et al, when America did not engage itself in the First World War, the American economy flourished, and this positively decreased the results of the 1929-30 Great Depression, which the whole world suffered from it (Boukhallat 51). The last few

months after WWII knew the occupation of the Soviet military forces of most of Eastern European nations. This occupation was done for the sake of supporting the Communist party and to get rid of democratic parties. The year 1946 announced the impossibility of international peace with the existence of Capitalism in the economic world. In other words, it is impossible in all the ways that peace could be achieved under Capitalism.

Boukhallat highlighted in her thesis that in their response to Stalin's speech announcement, the British wartime Prime minister Winston Churchill and the American President Truman delivered their famous speech. Both affirmed that "From Slettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent." By 'the red curtain', they meant Communism. At that point, the American and the British cooperation began to overcome the Soviet threat, the issue which Churchill emphasized (53). This American- British co work set the beginning of the strategy of Containment strategy to get rid of Communism.

Containment was the new dress that the American foreign policy wore. It is the strategy that America decided to eliminate the Communist threat during the Cold War (vol.1, 344). In trying to implement the Containment strategy, numerous strategies were used: economical, military and diplomatic ones. This term first was coined by Kennan in July 1974 in the Foreign Affairs Journal (345-46). In the report, which Kennan addressed, he translated the word 'Containment' from a French expression 'Cordon Sanitaire ' (Boukhallat 53-54). The report that Kennan delivered in the journal soon had its influence on the Truman's policy which was labelled 'the Truman Doctrine' (Vol.1, 346).

The measurement that Britain started was in the eastern Mediterranean, in trying to function Containment (Boukhallat 54). As an example, Great Britain supported Greece to get rid of communism when communists terrorized the ruling monarchy (54). Britain also helped Turkey when the Soviet Union barely "[...] pressed for territorial concessions and to build

naval bases on the Bosphorus" (54). But when Britain could not pay for the aid, the American support was needed by the US State Department.

The containment strategy first was used during President Harry Truman, who was immediately ready to use it. In the same vein, he delivered a speech that became known as the 'Truman Doctrine'. He said "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." (vol.1, 346). In his way to help to free people, Cincotta et al said that Truman asked the Congress to provide him with 400 million as a military and economic assistance to Greece and Turkey (Boukhallat 55).

Under the support that Truman offered to Greece and Turkey, he gained their assistance to the Containment strategy. Meanwhile, both McKeever and Davis affirmed that it was hard on Truman to convince Americans that Containment is a necessary step for the American's best interests. The change that America entered was huge and was opposite to the American foreign policy tradition (55). For the first time in its history, America played the role of 'the world's policeman'.

2.2.3 The September 11 Attacks

Donald Schmidt gave a brief history of the 9/11 attacks in details. The morning that is supposed to hold hope and a new beginning and opportunities was tragic for Americans. The morning of September 9/11 was the beginning of the American tragedy and the world's grief. Mahammad Atta, Marwan Shehhi, Hani Hanjour, Ziad Jarriah were the names of the Hijackers that were convicted behind the 9/11. Hijacker were in their assigned places: Mohammed Atta and his crew were in Maine and Portland (323).

Marwane al Shehhi and his crew were in Boston. Near Dalles airport, Hani Majouri was there and Ziad and his team were waiting their orders in the Newark era (323). The first Flight 11 flied from Boston at 7: 59, in which 11 of the plane's crew and 81 passengers amongst Mahammad Atta were there. At 8:21, the Flight #11 ignores sender orders to respond to

commands. The first plane was hijacked. Exactly at 8:28, the American plane turns southward following the Hudson River towards New York City. Schmidt summarized the main 9/11 Events as the following (324-325):

- At 8: 40, the Flight #11, flying at only 900 feet and nearly 400 miles an hour, skims the skyscrapers.
- United Airlines Flight #175 left Boston's Logan Airport to go for Los Angeles at 8:14 and by 8:42 it had strayed from its normal pattern. The Boeing 767 had been hijacked by Marwan al Shehhi and his team. At 9 :30, the 175 Flight hit the south tower of the World Trade Center (324).
- Flight 77 hold some elementary school students and their teachers and they were heading to Los Angeles. At 9: 38 it hit the Pentagon's building.
- It is assumed that the flight 93 was heading to the national Capital, but because the violent struggle between passengers and Ziad and his *Kamikaze Crew*, the plane crashed near a Pennsylvania country side about 600 mph (Schmidt 325).

Consequently, the attacks of the September 11 did not only result in an intense grief and disgust on the hostility that these attackers showed when they attacked the buildings, but the economic world was badly affected by the attacks as well. Concerning the travel industry, it was damaged because fewer Americans wanted to travel by planes.

Just after the attacks, the whole world, not only America were highly alarmed and ready for any potential terrorist threats. For the first time in their history, Canadian Civil airlines suspended their flights for three days (355). After the attack, many British flights were forbidden to fly over London for several days (355).

2.2.4. The 9 /11 Attacks and the Bush Administration

Holsti highlighted that Bush's agenda is in no means isolationist and unilateralist, which was favored by previous presidents. It is best described as 'herded realism', which places

interests, such as 'Nation building' and 'peace keeping', as crucial goals (248). Opposite to President Obama, President Bush's administration is described as "hard power" in which military intervention, as a solution, is more favored. And this was the fact when Bush declared his war against terrorism in his response to terrorism after 9/11 attacks.

The moment President Bush heard the news, he was visiting Emma Booker's Elementary school in Sarasota, Florida state. At 8:45, Karl Rove, the President advisor, whispered the bad news to the president. Then, at 9:00, the Chief of Staff Andy Card brought more worst news about the second attack. After that, Bush stood away from the classroom, he addressed his nation via TV Cameras calling that "Terrorism against our nation will not stand." (qtd in Schmidt 325).

After 9/11 attacks, the Congress passed USA Patriot Act. It was signed and became officially a law in October 26th (US History 356). In one hand, this law forced citizens to sacrifice some of their rights, on the other hand, it reinforced the governments to investigate in the events and to arrest terrorists. Under this law, many people were accused; although, they were innocents and there were proves of law abuse (356).

Responding to the war, the US decided to initiate a war against terrorism under Bush's administration. Afghanistan was the first target then and in 2002, President Bush mentioned Iraq, Iran and North of Coria as "Axis of Evil". These three were labelled "rogue states", i.e.; these states are accused either by promoting terrorism or developing and obtaining nuclear weapons (356).

After the American attempts and sweets to find Bin Laden, who was number one suspect in the 9/11 attacks, the year 2002 marked and witnessed the shift towards Iraq. Falsly proved that Iraq obtains Mass Destruction Weapons (MDW), the United Nations Security-Council passed a resolution forcing Iraq to help in having a weapon inspector to search for weapons or it will face serious outcomes, if it refuses. Both France and Russia did not want a military

invasion on Iraq and they swear to veto any resolution that calls for Iraq's invasion (US History 356).

Condoleezza Rice, the national security advisor for George Bush in his first term and a secretary of State in his second term, highlighted that Bush's approach is mainly based on realism and its tenets (Eugene 57). She further asserted in 2002 that Bush's administration would "refocus the United States on the national interest and the pursuit of key priorities." In his first inaugural, he gave life to these interest and priorities. In addition, Bush admired his willingness to protect and promote the American values.

He stated that, "The enemies of our country should make no mistake" and "America remains engaged in the world by history and by choice, shaping a balance of power that favors freedom [...]" (57-78). These words had their reasoning in the American atmosphere, especially when Bush added in his 2002 State of Union address that, "We have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing resentment. We must seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror." (qtd. in Eugene (58).

His words entailed that a proactive engagement in international affairs, the thing that the previous administration did not do. Despite, George Bush called for support in his war against terrorism, he acted unilaterally. His unilateralist thrust really offended the allies of the United States (58). Posen, a foreign policy analyst said the attacks of September 2001 pulled Bush to return back to Clinton's multiunilateralist's legacy. Posen scrutinized that "Allies are essential for success in the war on terrorism." (58). But Bush pushed for aggressive unilateralism when he intervened in Iraq in 2003, despite the oppositions of France, Germany, Russia and China (58).

The policies that Bush will after follow were stated clearly in a series of his speeches. The year 2001 presented the born of the 'Bush Doctrine' when Bush announced that the United States "[...] will pursue nations, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are

with us or with the terrorists [...] Any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded as a hostile regime" (58).

In his speech in 2002, he introduced the (Axis of Evil) to Americans, which are Iraq, Iran, and North Coria. With this introduction, Bush paved the way for the invasion of Iraq. The case of Afghanistan's invasion is totally different than the Iraq's invasion. The invasion of Afghanistan enjoyed more worldly support. The war against Taliban and Afghanistan, was supported because America promoted that Osama Bin Laden trained followed terrorists such as those who attacked the Center's twin tower. Getting rid of the Saddam Hussein was a similar scenario, because ficklely it was proved to have ties with Al Qaeda; hence, Sadam Hussein was crucial in Bush's war against terrorism (59). It was even proved that Iraq is promoting biological and chemical weapons which fortified the fake lie.

2.3. American Foreign Policy Strategies After 9/11

Thinkers differed about what America foreign policy after 9/11 has changed or not?

2.3.1. The Bush Strategy

Before the invasion of Baghdad, George Bush gave president Sadam and his two sons 48 hours to leave or America will invade Iraq on March 17th, 2003 and their answer was no (US History, 356). Then, Bush and some of America's alliances, deemed as the president as 'Coalition of the Willing' and without the UN sanction, they began their invasion (356). Both Uday and Qusayr were killed in a fire fight and Saddam Hussein was found hidden in a spider-hole.

Bush's doctrine did not differentiate between a real terrorist and the one who promotes terrorism; they are two sides of the same coin. Bush added further that America, if necessary, will act alone to practice preemptive attacks against potential intimidations to the American

security. And that the world is in an urgent need to America since it is her duty to spread freedom and democracy, too (USA History 356).

In fact, Bush's war on terror started just after October 2001 on Afghanistan, searching for Osama bin Laden. On the meanwhile, the hideous of the Taliban regime soon took refuge in neighboring countries as Pakistan. However, on September 12, 2001, Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, raised Iraq's issue, not only AL-Qaeda. Now, with the sentimental atmosphere of Americans, it would be much easier to engage in a war against Saddam (Schmidt 333). Even former Secretary of the State, Paul O'Neil confirmed that Saddam Hussein was in the black list waiting for his turn. After a long search for Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda leaders, the destination shifted to Iraq 'option'.

Soon, Bush's administration scrutinized Saddam's behavior. His unpleasant record on human rights, his wars against neighboring states and his development of weapons of Mass destruction. In short, Saddam Hussein was an easy target to destroy. Saddam's sins and crimes were listed as follow (333):

*Saddam is accused of engaging in two aggressive wars in 1982 And 1990 against two states of the Gulf.

* He killed thousands of Iranians using gas in his war with Iran.

*Many of the United Nations' resolution were defied and ignored by Saddam Hussein.

*He was cruel to his population.

*He possesses chemical and biological weapons.

The moments that followed the attacks on the World Twin Towers, the President declared that America is 'at war'. The enemy that Bush had described was anonymous. Bush said: "A faceless enemy has declared war on the US of America. So, we are at war". Bush toted up that "This is an enemy that runs and hides, but it won't be able to hide forever. An American enemy that thinks its heavens are safe, but won't be safe forever." (qtd. in Schmidt 334).

The propaganda to invade Iraq of Bush's administration continued in 2002 by using statements, such as "We do not want the smoking gun to be a mushroom cloud." This statement was said by the national Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice.

- Vice- President Cheney asserted that time is running out of our hands and Saddam is using his dictator regime to build nuclear weapons via using uranium.*According to Jack Bookman, Colin Powell; the State Secretary said: "I just know that time is not in our side."*Chioney said "Armed with an arsenal of these weapons of terror, Iraq could directly threaten America's friends throughout the region and subject the Unbited States or any other nation to nuclear blackmail."*President Bush "The Iraqi dictator must not be permitted to threaten America and the world with horrible poisons and diseases and gases and atomic weapons" *Rumsfeld cautioned that "There is no doubt in my mind that they currently have chemical and biological weapons." (336).

Obtaining weapons of mass destruction is not the only accusation, Saddam is also had ties with Bin Laden, thus with Al Qaeda's terrorists. In their advertising campaign in September, both president Bush and Condoleezza Rice informed on the danger of the "marriage" between Saddam Hussein and Bin Laden (336). Not only that but the American government claimed that Saddam used gas on his people which resulted in 30,000 casualties (337). The accusations that Bush's administration was desperate to prove, turned to be false with the declaration of Bush of their victory in their war against Iraq (338).

*Saddam Hussein obtains chemical weapons (Not Found).

*Iraq owns secret arsenal of scud missiles (Not Found).

*Saddam has (never) abandoned his nuclear weapon program (False).

*Many biological weapons and decontamination vehicles have been found (Not Found).

*No existing relation between Saddam Hussein and Bin Laden. (No existence)

When President Bush issued his National Security Strategy, America, then would exert its power everywhere, maintain bases, and having hand in everything (339). The NSS document informed that the aforementioned rogue states would eventually use mass destruction weapons against America (339).

Neither Iraq, Iran, Syria, North Korea or Cuba showed the intention or the capacity to initiate any mass destruction weaponry (340). There is a difference between preventive and preemptive war. According to Paul W. Schroeder the Prediver war is to take direct military actions against a clear threat's strikes. This happens only when only the conditions exist (Schmidt, 340):

- * When the intimidation is looming over the nation.
- * There is a clear attack that an attack is specific and clear.
- * The threat had great effect on the vital interests of the nation.
- * All the diplomatic solutions have been exhausted with no concrete solution.

In all the cases, Bush broke his sweat to prove the existence of the Iraq's threat by proving the existence of mass destruction weapons. Six months after Iraq's invasion, no proof of weapons was found (341). The NSS document that Bush issued, seemed that it was written by Woodrow Wilson because, it reinforces ideas about universal values. This document ensures that America had to defend its liberty and justice because these are right for all the humanity (341).

The neo-conservative strategies had as their objective Saddam Hussein. The neo-conservative party had in their agenda Saddam Hussein and just they waited until George Bush accepted their proposal after 9/11. Christopher Doran in his book that is entitled *Making the World Safe for Capitalism* asserted that war on terror was for the sake of expansion, protection and it is considered as free market (4). Since Bush's administration is

considered as neo-liberal administration. Friedman recorded that neoliberal policy has three principles:

The government should remove all rules that might obstacle the collection of profits. Governments should sell off any property they possess that could bring more profit. Governments should cut back funding of social programs (5).

America took advantage of the sectarian violence between Sunnis, Shia and Kurds. America, then, trained militias, in order to create violence between sectors. This strategy is called "divide and rule" that led to the creation of the system of terror and suppression of any potential resistance. Also, this strategy guaranteed also that Iraqis fight each other's and never be united to fight America (14). The intense fight among Iraqis themselves would terrify Iraqis, then they will accept the American presence in their territories (14). The help that Americans believed in turned to be their curse. Iraq ranked the second after Somalia as the most peaceful and least peaceful in the Global Peace Index (14). This rank came after eight years of the American invasion of Iraq.

For Doran, the Invasion of Iraq was not for the sake of spreading democracy in the region, but to protect the American interests there. America was afraid that Saudi Arabia's position in the ME would be destabilized because SA guaranteed the access and the manipulation of OPEC oil prices. However, under Saddam Hussein's administration, many contacts were signed with European and Russian companies to raise the production of Iraq's oil. America was not a part of these contacts (116). As an example, France and Russia signed deals with Iraq, and once again America was excluded. America, therefore, intentionally kept the sanctions in their places. America wanted to guarantee their illumination, this eventually ensured no other access to Iraq's oil, only hers.

The second challenge that America encountered was that Iraq was an anti-neoliberal. Iraqis did not allow for any access to their market's sanctions: health, agriculture and even

education (117). It is believed that the invasion of Iraq is called the Second Cold War, in which many key elements are common between the two wars.

In the conclusion, the one draws that the decision of America of invading Iraq was never innocent, especially when all the American accusations to Saddam Hussein turned to be false. Thus, America has lost its case against Iraq, and thus it lost the Public Opinions' trust.

2.3.2. The Obama Strategy

After the controversial presidency of George W Bush, change came with the historical election of Barack Hussein Obama (Boulifa 42). Obama brought a positive light in order to bring hope to America. Abdul Rashid said that Barack Obama brought more hope to achieve peace and the possibility to regain peace once and for all. Obama's administration is deemed to be liberal Internationalis. The tenets of the liberal internationalism were clear in his speech that he addressed in Cairo in June 2009.

I know there has been controversy about the promotion 'of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq. So, let me be clear: no system of government can be or should be imposed on one nation by any other...America does not presume to know what is best for every everyone, just as we not presume to pick the outcome of a peaceful election. But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things : the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed ; confidence in the rule and the equal administration of justice ; government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people ; the freedom to live as you choose. These are not just American ideas, they are human rights, and that is why we will support them everywhere. » (qtd in. Boulifa 43)

In this quotation, we notice that president Obama, states clearly the issue that worries Arabs and he simply assures that no nation will exert its powers on another nation, in addition, America is not the only country that has ideas and thus he is lessening the hegemony and supremacy of America. In his speech in Cairo, Barack Obama uttered that there should be no enmity between America and Islam and that instead of competing with each other's, they share common principles. President Obama wanted to mark the beginning of the US and Muslims (Moines and Barnes, 4).

In his article in Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Salah –din al Fourchy affirmed that the support that President Obama exceeds the American borders to the Arab world. His support was overwhelming. President Obama was admired than the former president, G. W. Bush. Although, president Obama did not really go abroad in the Palestinian-Israelis issue, yet, at least he ended the phrase "Global War on Terror" (Boulifa 43).

For Cahors, Bush's administration resulted in a worldwide pessimism concerning the promotion of democracy and it created a problematic legacy, which became a heavy burden and pressure on Barack Obama. President Obama found it difficult to retreat from encouraging democracy abroad (44). Obama was left in a cross road, in which he has to choose among equal choices and in all the cases, he will lose. Kabulis highlighted that Barack's administration was left in a tough situation; it was between two choices, whether achieving democracy and freedom for the Arabs or achieving stability in the Middle East.

Obama's presidency was full of challenges from the first day he was at office in 2009. Kabulis emphasized that Obama had to face Iraq's War, resolve the problems between Arabs and Israelites, develop a problem to respond to Iran's Program, and to put an end to terrorist's threats (Boukhallat 44). Carothers Even, Barack Obama with his team were asked to reformulate the democracy promotion's agenda (Boukhallat 44). It seems that the Obamney values and his non-confrontation's style are more deemed as soft power. (44).

Concerning the American foreign policy, Obama cannot easily be categorized as a traditional ideology. He took the liberal-internationalist aspect, as Walter Russel Mead described, that Woodrum Wilson followed. Meanwhile, "[...] he is less adamant on human rights than Jimmy Carter and more cautious on the attraction and power of American democracy than George Bush." (Moines and Barnes, 4). Despite the Obama speeches are loaded with idealistic rhetoric, there is more depth than only diplomatic D tente (4). Johnathan Chart said that the approach of Obama is more pragmatic. His conduct of foreign policy is similar to domestic policy in the sense that he uses both "[...] ideals and compromise allies in opposing camps." (Moines and Barnes, 4). Obama's foreign policy was different from Bush's one.

2.3.3. the Trump Strategy

Gerald M. Fierstein asserted in his Middle East Policy at One Year's Journal that no much change has been followed after the Obama's Presidency. He undermined regional cooperation and stability. Trump's strategy towards terrorism fails due to his abandon of the soft power tools that proved to help confront future extremism. The expansion of Iran continued via finding alternatives in Syria, Lebanon and Yemen.

Concerning the Palestinian –Israeli's issue, his attempts went for vein and were with little success and it resulted in the continuous refusal of Palestinians to have a deal with Israel. While foreign policy seems not a crucial tenet in the Trump's agenda, yet three corner issues are present in his speeches: illuminating ISIS and violent Islamic extremism, cancel Iran deal, and counter Iran's regional threat, and last and not least a comprehensive resolution of the traditional Israeli-Palestinian conflict (1).

Much focus and effort were put in trying to achieve the designed goals by Trump concerning the aforementioned issue, but with a little success. Under Trump's Presidency, in one year, no clear strategy was set to deal with the issue. During his first year of presidency,

President Donald Trump's administration of counterterrorism was under development (1). No one knows whether the delay is done for purpose or just there is something deeper than that.

According to Curtis, President Trump announced his victory in his fight against ISIS. He declared the fall of ISIS after Raqqa's fall in Oct 2017. He attributed the success to the people and the engagement's rule (1). However, the analysis that are obtained by the Department of Defense confirmed that the terrorist's threat is still on. In addition, the strategy that Obama initiated in his attempt to stop terrorism is still on and there was no change since then. Thus, Trump's administration has always "[...] dismissed or downplayed the non-Kinetic elements of a comprehensive policy." (Fierstein 3). In this respect, Trump's has defined his policy in accordance to Obama strategies.

The Trump's foreign policy towards the ME seems gloomy, because there are no clear indications of its direction. The absence of a whole approach of Trump's government to violent extremism, makes it difficult for the long-term success so hard to achieve (10). Since Bush's administration failure in his invasion to Iraq, the US's position in the ME is weakening (11).

2.4 Conclusion

Despite the different historical periods that America went through, it had to adapt new strategy each time to cope with the new circumstances; however, the American foreign policy was believed to be isolationist in nature. The 9/11 events was the turning point in the American foreign policy's history. It was the war at home, in which America had to say openly its words. For protecting home, all Americans were united under Bush's administration and sought revenge. In their war against terrorism, American decision makers justified the use of all necessary means to destroy their enemy. However, it turned that the

American invention of Iraq was the deadly mistake for Bush, and it is condemned till the present day. It was the American tragedy.

Chapter Three:

Globalization and US initiatives of The Democratizing of The Middle East

3.1. Introduction

3.2. The U.S. International Institutions Means

3.3. The Impact of Political and Economic Globalization on U.S. Policy In the ME

3.4 Conclusion

3.1. Introduction

Less interest was given to the Arabic region in general, and to the middle east, in particular. It seemed that it is a region where regional tensions are in their pick and it is not worth to invest in the area or even establish relations with its contries;However, with the boom of industry, and the rise of the global demanded for petroleum ,it became remarkable; thus, the search for other resources was vital. In this context, the ME appeared to be the best destination to have and serve the world with this rare raw material.

It was in that time that all views turned to this region, amongst them was America. However, to have access to the ME and monopolize petroleum, there should exist a strong justification to enter the region, and the excuse was "democracy". Driven by economical interest in the Middle East, America came under the democracy project to control as well to surveille the region. For the establishment of the grounded objectives, the American decision makers designed a set of international economic institutional means.

3.2. The US International Institutions Means

Both Burns and Peltason assured that America joined most of the international organizations, which are the major instruments of the "American Diplomacy" (Boukhallat 45). Thus, as far as America is a member of the international organizations, the American influence and presence over the world would be touched and sensed.

3.2.1 The United Nations (UN)

Asti was defined by Burns and Peltason,

The United Nations is an organization designed to bring nations together to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations, to achieve international cooperation in solving world problems, to promote and

encourage respect for human rights, and to harmonize the actions of nations in attaining these common goals (qtd. in Boukhallat 45).

As an international organization, the United Nations is supposed to achieve certain designed goals such as peace, liberty and freedom. So, there are many other institutions which worked in collaboration and under the United Nations; such as, World Bank, World Trade Organization and Monetary Fund.

Boukhallat stated that the UN is meant to make treaties and to repair the injury to its agents or members. It was first established in 1945 at the end of Second World War. It was the successful version of the League of nations that was first suggested by President Wilson. DeLorenzo stated that the League of Nations lacked the military power that the United Nations possesses. The United Nations actually "[...] had the full support and funding of the United States and more considerably was gifted with a military force to provide its directives with some backing."(46). This organization was established by America and built for American purposes.

3.2.2. The Organization of the American States (OAS) 1948

In 1948, the Organization of the American States was established. It is composed of 35 nations of the Western hemisphere. It was set up to revoke the speed spread of the communist ideology. Boukhallat mentioned in her thesis that "The treaty of this organization necessities member nations to support other member nations in resisting armed attacks as well as negotiating conflicts among members in an effort to reach a peaceful resolution to disagreements among them (47).

The first point that this treaty tackles is the collaboration of the member nations, as well as to the arrival to a peaceful solution in case of disagreements instead of using armed force to solve their problems (47). According to DeLorenzo, the other aim of the United Nations is to encourage the development of more democratic nations, protect human rights and endorse the

different sorts of exchange whether social, or economic among the members in this international organization (47-48). Burns and Peltason stated that the American influence in this organization is huge, in the sense that, America exerts its power via Pan-American Union. This union is like a general secretariat for the OAS. America also is capable to exert its political and economic influence via the Inter-American Committee or the Alliance for Progress (Boukhallat 48).

3.3. The impact of Political and Economic Globalization on US Policy in ME

I think that the Globalization provided the United States with the opportunity to enter the ME under the umbrella of international legitimacy.

3.3.1. The cause of Promoting Liberal Democracy

Said highlights that no one can isolate the political interactions of the political systems in Islamic countries from the international framework and the role of the hyper powers in the political scene. These interactions are mainly Islamic Arabic and American in nature (2-1). This interest was not sudden, especially that the ME is rich of petroleum. This criterion brought more attention and interest into the region compared to past times. On that basis, the Arabic region is the most exposed region to external changes, ups and downs (281). Francis, Fukuyama assures in his thesis that is entitled "The End of History and the Last Man" that ideology is no more the fuel and the push of the international relations, but petroleum. This raw material is deemed to be the strongest reason behind international relations (281).

Many questions have arisen concerning the issue of democracy amongst whether the Islamic region is capable and ready to transform? And how is its readiness to do political modifications? And does America own the necessary materials to help reaching democracy in the region? (281) These questions formed the core of the American agenda and the debate over them was heat.

The USA adopted spreading democratic values with the help of western countries on the basis that these values are typically American. This way of thinking emerges out from the feeling of the American supremacy. Hence, it is an American duty to civilize the backward countries that live on earth with it. America, furthermore, spreads the feeling that these countries become a source of stress to America because they poison the western life. Thus, America sought to reeducate again these countries by teaching them democratic values, social life styles, and ways of nonviolent dialogues. Because these values are American in nature, they should be spread all over the world. Said underlined that after individual work and depending on armed forces, the propagating democracy outside is known as the third major goal of the three goals of the American foreign policy (285). Propaganda is powerful and it attains the obtained aims.

In truth, globalization provided the necessary and huge equipment to influence people in the internal affairs of countries, and the Arabic countries in particular to the extent that it becomes confusing to distinguish between what is internal from external. While, when we talk about the international contexts and its relation to external environment, we find others who suggest an alternative (substitute) idea to globalization as the International Civilian Societies and new techniques of human connection [...] (281).

9/11 events were the motive behind the emergence of the new current in the political hemisphere. The American Academy, furthermore, assures based on 9/11 events' results that the controlling and dictator regimes in the ME are the responsible for creating the suitable atmosphere to raise extremists and Islamic terrorists, who show aggressive enmity towards the USA. H Tawfik sees how democracy was a vital necessity that it should be accomplished in this region and that democracy represents a priority in order to contain and get rid of violence, these extremist groups and terrorists too (seed 282). America proved its philosophy

of the existence of terrorism in the Arabic world, and as a result it proved its own justification and correctness.

One among the most debatable topics in political globalization is "censorship". The idea of having an internal censorship over elections was the center of debate recently. Of course, there are who are with and those who are against this kind of censorship, each for a different reason. Some countries conceive that censorship decreases from their sovereignty, and in a way or another, it is a sort of interference in its internal affairs. Whereas, others believe that this process is as an opportunity to have an eye on the world (surveillance) and on the democratic process and how does it work. Area Mohammed pointed out that the third side was somehow neutral, it showed no sign of agreement or disagreement, yet it took advantage of the idea via gaining more support and help (seid 282). Censorship's idea is a form of interfering legally in internal affairs. It does not need to agree or disagree upon; it just happens any ways.

Whether directly or indirectly, the Arabic countries are under the western surveillance despite their refusal of the idea of control. Thanks to the advanced technology and satellites. For that reason, Arabs are believed to be the countries which are most affected by political globalization and its drawbacks. Consequently, the Arabic world failed in establishing an effective and efficient Arabic economic unity and one sidedness. In addition, Arabs were, on different levels, incapable of finding competent economic, political and official institutions in dealing with challenges of globalization. This situation ultimately had negative impacts on these countries' opportunities and potentials.

The political system's crisis is so deep that is defined to be more deemed as a constitutional crisis that is traced back to the post-colonial period in which these countries were not based on strong political regimes capable of establishing democratic systems. Maliki stresses on that even contemporary Arabic countries are unable to make freedom available

and protect the national sovereignty conditions. And also, it failed in making liberty and justices as common values and it failed in confronting the international intervention and protecting the national soil from direct and indirect presence (284).

On the same path, we can believe that the external invitations to independence, from liberty and democracy are the initiation of the beginning of a colonization of a different kind than the classical one. After colonization's form, its coming back was under a new umbrella of unity and collaboration and common interests. And as a result of these agreements, the legal ground for colonization was provided.

In its invitation and openness to political reform to the Islamic and the Arabic worlds, the western countries started from the political backwardness that these countries suffer from (284). In its essence, the political drawbacks are known as the flaw of the political system's capacities to provide its citizens and institutions with enough sources to reach their highest goals.

Besides, the flaw of the political system is known as the disability in constructing a new set of values that pushes its components to gain constructive direction and getting involved in a participating behavior. Balalaika assures that the political backwardness is the representation of the flaw of the political participation and its inefficiency and disability (military cous) (284). All what political backwardness comes to signify is the disability in performing in the international scene, because of the lack of strong political system.

Many thinkers warned from following and implementing wrong political reforms that apparently would lead to draw policies, constructing and putting wrong legislations that definitely will worsen the crisis even more (284). If the Islamic and Arabic countries were under the motive of many western's reform invitation, political realities show that these countries are the least lucky countries that benefit from the overwhelming wave of democratic change. There are some studies that show in proofs how bad this wave on the Arabic and

Islamic countries is. To illustrate more, many Arabic governments exploited the American campaign of democracy to get rid of its opponents under the umbrella of international legality.

At the same time, America is confused because by its action in illuminating the undemocratic regimes, it is threatening to get rid of the same regimes that are in its service (284). For this reason, America favored working with global controlling regimes on working with Islamic democratic movements, because it does not achieve its goals for her. And this definitely is a motive that assures for us the non-honesty of establishing political transformations in Islamic societies.

In this context, the west is working on convincing the Islamic countries of particular political reformation's programs. America even imposes some cultural programs that might contradict with Islamic values. From this stand point, we arise the problematic on whether it is possible to implement such programs that deviate and contradict the social values of the Islamic societies? (285) This question holds more than a wondering. It definitely questions whether for the sake of achieving or proving something, we choose a fake or wrong program on a wrong basis.

This value's vision is based on a more realistic security vision, which considers political reform crucial to revive peace and reach tropical stability for the long run. Democratic countries, certainly, are less exposed to internal challenges as far as there is a possibility of speech on general staff. The aforementioned reasons are believed as vital influencing motives in the decision makers processes (228). Another security side states that in political globalization, America assures that spreading democracy in the whole world will definitely decrease or illuminate wars (287). In the American thinking, democracy is adequate to fight wars.

The western world expects always confrontations from the other civilizations in its seeking to control them, however the Islamic western experience is deeper than that.

Westerners know for sure how dangerous Islamic values are on the west. Also, they know for sure how important and deep the Islamic faith of Muslims. These Muslims, who are willing to sacrifice everything for the sake of defending their own values, which they believe in them (288). From this stand point, America had to find out some stronger and more global programs for the longer run.

All these programs in the political globalization's framework are meant to purify the Islamic and Arabic communities from the enmity spirit. The real motive behind this is to alter the Arabic Youth's vision to the USA and to reestablish good relations with them based on understanding and dialogues in the international agreements' framework (288). Since the Arabic youth is the biggest slice in the Arabic world, the Amirian focus turned into them.

Eidem assures that the west adopts many mechanisms to strengthen political globalization amongst the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and the continuous Mediterranean Dialogue that started in 1994 (Seid 288). Dr. Seid drew the link between political globalization and democracy in the sense that globalization has changed the nature of many countries and transformed them from enclosed systems into open regimes, for the sake of constructing web connections between different countries indifferent political, economic and social fields (289). There is no doubt of the interrelation between democracy and globalization.

3.3.2. Spreading Economic Globalization "Imperial Capitalism"

America works on the basis that the end justifies the means. The end of America was to get access to the ME's petroleum and for that, she adopted a political cover to justify its interference in the region. Walter Miller in *The Inner History of the Cold Walters* noted that "Europe in the next ten years may shift from coal to an oil economy and therefore who ever sits on the valve of Middle East oil may control the destiny of Europe" (qtd. in the Character of Duplicity in US 56). Walters noted the importance of the ME and its connection to the position globally.

Maugeri in his book that is entitled *The Age of Oil* assured that the west showed no real interest in the Arabian Peninsula. This lack of interest came under a common belief that the region contains no drop of petroleum (33). After the bad experience of the company in the Gulf area, Britain had to take the role in the region. Starting with Bahraini and Kuwait in (1880 and 1890) respectively, most of Arabian sheikhdom shoes to give part of their sovereignty to GB. In return, GB had to provide both British financial and military protection (Maugeri 33-34). The question that should be asked is why GB was favored by sheikhdoms.

Aliakmon uttered that "[...] The Arabic world faces lots of economic problems, however this does not necessary mean that there is a lack of raw materials that can turn backwardness into development. It just needs a right and correct policy to put in service the economic, human and esthetical potentials in exploiting the available sources." (qtd. in the Age of Oil 292).

The influence of the new global systems on the growing political Islamic systems were political as well economical. Thus, the appropriate suggestion to economical modifications in the Arabic World is to integrate in the international economy. Still, Arabic countries desire most the Chinese model of economy than the American one. Why? The Chinese economical model does not need to be politically opened. The Chinese model is purely economic (293). The American economic model is not desired by Arabs because it is open market's foundation.

Although, the Arabic countries had to deal with the negative outcomes of globalization, but in trying to do so, it is trying to find for itself an internal project for the common good of the whole national soil without integrating in an external project. Arabic countries, furthermore, attempt to deal with external powers; in accordance to their own standards. In the frame work of globalization and depending on the international governmental and economic organizations, and in the name of economical reformations, the West is trying to

have access to the Islamic world regardless to social privacies. This access is legal and comes under legal economical international institutions such as the International Cash Box.

Racine suggests that the principal aim of these institutions is to free the internal economy and free its external relations and open it to the activeness of products and services. This mechanism is to guarantee the rise of demanded and expanding the market as a way to motivate new continuous investments. This ideological definition of economic improvement reflects the overwhelming side of economic globalization (Seid 293). The real motive behind having economical openness is to have more investment opportunities, which lead eventually to the rise of the American opportunities.

America used many political things to have influence in the internal Islamic economic side. As an example, the Euro-Mediterranean Cooperation initiation is deemed to be an American one. In the same context, and for political reformations, America provided help and support to governments and institutions of Civilian Society. However, Lathan said that many questions the credibility of such American initiation, instead they saw that in its attempt to do so, America is bettering Washington's picture that is distorted because of the unhuman deeds in its war against terrorism (Seid 286).

3.3.3. Evaluation of the American Initiatives of Democratizing the ME

There is a general disagreement on the American role of spreading democracy in the Arabic world because this role is not stable. On one side, America wants to fight terrorism and cut it from the roots, starting from the point that dictator regimes are number one reason behind the emergence of extremist thinking. On the other side, it hesitated in spreading democracy out of its fear that Islamists will take control over their countries.

Certainly, reaching Islamists the reign will limit the western's benefits in the Arabic region. In this case, America favored collaborating with more controlling regimes that guarantees for her profits and business's protection than establishing democratic regimes

(Seid 294). Interests come in the first place for America. If something is not worth, then there is no need to attempt to get it.

The strategy that is followed by the US in imposing democracy is based on the assumption that it is due to the lack of channels of expression of freedom of Arabic Muslim Youth, the extremist thinking emerged. On this foundation, America started the project of democracy and the American values in the Islamic as well the Arabic world. According to Hanafi the economic side to this strategy is that liberal economy and the economic progress, that is the result of democracy, can lead to the emergence of independent middle class. This class seeks to support democratic reforms and reign of law (Seid 295). America asserts that the emergence of the middle class will balance powers and reassure the work of democracy.

The US seeks, behind its foreign policy, to make a propaganda to beautify the image of this policy. America is regarded as the country which defends human rights and democracy globally. Thus, America motivates the other countries to be committed to democratic principles and respect human rights that reflect the core of the American democracy towards the Arabic world. In this respect, this demands more effort from the American part to strengthen democracy, peace and security (Boudarbaden 224-225). To reach what it desires, America encounters had to work hard and consistently.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter gives an insight on the crucial stations in the history of the American Arabic interrelations and the American foreign policy towards the ME in particular. It highlights how the American foreign policy comes to define itself by a set of human and universal believes and values, such as liberty and equality. In addition to democracy that is the cover under which she justifies her interference in the ME. on that basis, America proved in a way or another how vital the Middle East is to America and to its maintaining of her position as the

world's superpower. America, in effect, did not and will not hesitate to provide the necessary means to fulfill its interests in the Middle East.

General Conclusion

After we completed the analysis of the topic being discussed and handled, we came up with the following conclusions that we will state later. Based on the literature collected in chapter one and two, we concluded that America is mainly a country of ideas; it is a country that is based on the accumulation of a set of beliefs and principles that represent the core of the American society. Principles such as liberty, freedom and equality before are cherished in America by Americans.

These same principles form the basis for the American spirit of exceptionalism that later shaped most of American foreign policy decisions overseas. First, the exaggerated feeling of exceptionalism gave a false justification to most Americans that it is a divine duty from their part to promote democracy worldwide and not only monopolize it for themselves. Under the name democracy, which later became a cover for some connotative reasons, the American interference overseas arose and the reason is always 'democracy'.

The second conclusion that we reached is that the American foreign policy towards the Middle East, as the region that brought much interest to America, was not innocent. It became noticeable that Americans and the American policy makers and decision makers are practical, they think like businessmen. Whenever they think to be engaged in a project or a war, there should be a solid plan for their engagement that should secure, first the American interests and then their security. These two elements should be given priority all the time, and the other issues are secondary.

And since the promotion of democracy in the Middle East is a project like any other project, the plan was set to seek what is beneficial of America. Although, the project proved to have some advantages to the region, it brought more backwards than advantages, especially after the great openness on the west under 'globalization'. This globalization that gave ultimate access to human as well material sources in the Middle East in particular. It is deemed as the

soft power. This strategy differed from Bush's, Obama's and Donald Trump's administrations towards the middle East and fighting terrorism there.

As far as the Middle East project is concerned, a set of strategies and means were set to achieve the obtained goals in the region. Some strategies are economic and some are, for instance the United Nations, and the Organization of the American States. These economic institutions and others are the economic facade of globalization that is labelled "economic globalization". A since there is an economic side to globalization, there is absolutely a political side.

Works Cited

- Boukhalatt, Abdelhak. The Impact of 9/11 Events on the US foreign policy. Master dissertation Biskra university 2011.
- Boulifa, Samira. American Foreign and Democracy promotion in the Middle East. Master dissertation Biskra university 2012.
- Brixiova, Zuzana, and Dalia Treigiene. "Globalization and Growth in Recent History". 2011, pp. 1-13. [http://www. ResearchGate. net/publication/ 246868906](http://www.ResearchGate.net/publication/246868906). Accessed 03/06/2019.
- Byan, Daniel, and Sara Bjerg Moller. "The US and the Middle East: Interests and Risks and Costs." Chapter from: *Rethinking American National Security Strategy*, edited by Jeremi Suri and Benjamin Valentino, Oxford, 2016, pp.1-45. Web.
- Cupian Onyekenwa, Eneh. "A Review on Globalisation and Development." 2007, pp. 01-19. [http://www.researchgate net/publication/281275293](http://www.researchgate.net/publication/281275293). Accessed 03/06/2019.
- De Conde, Alexander, et al. *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy*. 2nd ed., New York: Gale Group-Thomson Learning, 2012. Web.
- Doran, Christopher. *Making the World Safe for Capitalism: How Iraq Threatened the US Economic Empire and Had to be Destroyed*. London: Pluto Press, 2012. Web.
- Feierstein M. Gerald. "Trump's Middle East at One Year: Policy Lacks Strategic Coherence Despite Rhetoric." Middle East Institute, vol 2, no.3, 2018, pp. 01-12. Policy Focus. [www. mei. edu](http://www.mei.edu). Accessed 24/02/2019.
- Holsti, Ole R. *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy*. The United States: University of Michigan, 2004. Web.
- Ikenbury, G. Jhon, et al. *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy/ Wilsonianism in the Twenty-First Century*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. Web.

- Kumar De, Uptal, and Mnjoranjnan Pal. "Dimensions of Globalisation and Their Effects on Economic Growth and Human Development Index." *Asian Economic and Financial Review*, vol 01, no 01, 2011, pp. 1-13. <http://www.Researchgate publishing net/228123842>. Accessed 05/06/2019.
- Lynch, Timothy J., and Robert S. Singh. *After Bush: The Case of Continuity in the American Foreign Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Web.
- Maugueri, Loenardo. *The Age of Oil: The Mithology, History Future of the World's Most Controversial Resource*. Westpost: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc-Peager Publishers, 2006. Web.
- McCormick, James M. *American Foreign Policy and Process*. 5 th ed., Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, Web
- Mir Riaz, Usman, et al. "Understanding Globalization and its Future: An Analysis." *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, vol 34, no. 2, 2014, pp.607-624. <http://www. researchgate. net publication>. Accessed 03/06/2019.
- Nelson, Anna Kasten, editor. *The Policy Makers: Shaping American Foreign Policy From 1947 the Present*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2009. Web.
- Smith, Robert. *Barack Obama's Post American Foreign Policy: The Limits of Engagement*. Bloomsbury Publishing, Inc-Bloomsbury Academia. London, 2012. Web.*US History*. Wikibook. org, 13March 2013. Accessed 1/10/2016.
- US History*. Wikibook. org, 13March 2013. Accessed 1/10/2016.
- Wittkopf, Eugene R. et al. *American Foreign Policy: Patterns and Process*. 7th ed., The United States: Thomson Wadsworth, 2008. Web.
- أسعيد، مصطفى. "الديمقراطية بين المنظومتين الفكريتين الغربية والإسلامية دراسة مقارنة". رسالة دكتوراه. 2011. جامعة محمد خيضر بسكرة.

بودربادن ,منيرة " جهود الدبلوماسية العامة الامريكية في تنفيذ السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية ضمن معايير الترتيبات الامنية

إتجاه المنطقة العربية .رسالة دكتوراه . 2018 جامعة الحاج لخضر باتنة

المخلص

تسعى هذه الدراسة الموسومة بتأثير العولمة على السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه الشرق الأوسط بعد أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر خلال الفترتين الرئاسيتين لكل من جورج بوش وباراك أوباما، للكشف عن الإستراتيجيتين الصلبة والمرنة لكل منهما لتحقيق الأهداف الوطنية، حيث طرحنا الإشكالية التالية: ما هو تأثير العولمة على السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية وما انعكاساتها على الشرق الأوسط؟ كما طرحنا عدة أسئلة حول ماهية العولمة وأهم مقترباتها في تنفيذ السياسة الخارجية؟ وكيف أثرت الهيمنة الأمريكية سلبيًا على منطقة الشرق الأوسط؟ ومن أهم فرضيات الدراسة إن الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية أهداف غير معلنة تسعى إلى تحقيقها من خلال نشر وترقية الديمقراطية بالمنطقة، وعليه تهدف الدراسة إلى معرفة مدى نجاح الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية تحقيق أهدافها المعلنة والخفية من خلال تطبيق المنهج التاريخي، حيث توصلنا إلى فشلها في تحقيق الأهداف المعلنة بل إنها حققت أهدافها غير المعلنة عن طريق القوة المرنة، كما أنها تفضل التعامل مع أنظمة شمالية موالية لها على أنظمة ديمقراطية لا تخدم مصالحها، وفي الأخير يمكن القول إن العولمة قد وفرت للسياسة الخارجية الأمريكية إمكانيات معتبرة مكنتها من اختراق المنطقة، وخلق تحالفات جيوسراتيجية لخدمة مصالحها رغم الانتقادات الموجهة لها من داخل وخارج الولايات المتحدة.