

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

University of Abd El Hamid Ibn Badis/ Mostaganem

Faculty of Languages

Department of English

**US Scenarios-Making Process:
Promoting Democracy in the Greater Middle East**

A Thesis Submitted to the Department of English in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Doctorate in American Studies

By:

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2024 /2025

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Dedication

To my beloved parents

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Almighty Allah, not only for helping me complete this study, but also for guiding me throughout my life. No words could adequately reflect my deep appreciation and gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Abdeldjalil Larbi Youcef for his valuable and constructive comments, his unwavering patience and assistance, his compassion and understanding. His vast expertise and insightful suggestions enabled me to crystallize and complete my work. I could not have wished for a better advisor and mentor to carry out this research work. My gratitude also goes to each of the members of the board for their invaluable assessment.

Abstract

The post-Cold War international order now revolves around a unilateral political and strategic structure marked by the existence of a single dominant power embodied by the United States, which drives it to dominate the world in pursuit of its vital interests. It has therefore become imperative to focus on its foreign policy. It is undeniable that American interests are inextricably bound up with the Middle East due to the region's crucial importance: strategic location, oil, and the existence of Israel. This reflects the various forms of U.S. political and strategic coordination with the countries of the Middle East, which have guided successive U.S. administrations with reference to the conditions of regional systems in the service of the main strategies through which America has sought to channel its foreign policy in pursuit of its ultimate goals and interests. Nevertheless, in post 09/11/2001, the US foreign policy has been crystallized considerably, particularly with regard to the Arab and Islamic world. After declaring its war on terrorism, America stressed the importance of democracy and human rights, and the need to promote them, drawing the conclusion that the political, economic and cultural situations of Arab and Islamic states were to blame for the rise of terrorism. The aim of this thesis is to highlight the American objectives behind the assertion of democracy promotion. We addressed the subject matter of the research in accordance with David Easton's *A System Analytical Approach* because of its comprehensive analytical assessment of foreign policy, and its ability to incorporate all the variables that, eventually, result in making a particular decision. Our argument is that this policy is not intended to achieve global security and peace; rather, it is a scenario to justify its interventionism.

Keywords: democracy, foreign policy, Middle East, 09/11 attacks, United States, war on terrorism

List of Acronyms

Jr: Junior

Sr: Senior

UN: United Nations

UNMOVIC: United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission

UNSCOM: United Nations Special Commission

WMD: Weapons of Mass Destruction

WWI: First World War

WWII: Second World War

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Identification of Key Notions

The accuracy of the Middle East's determination is a little bit ambiguous due to various terminology used to refer to its countries, creating an intriguing difference in its identification. We recollect the terms as follows:

- ✓ Southwest Asia
 - ✓ Old East / Ancient East
 - ✓ Levant
 - ✓ Near East
 - ✓ Middle East
- Levant refers to the direction of the East. In other words, the direction of the sunrise. The olden term *Levant* originated in the Greco-Roman civilisation and refers geographically, to the Eastern Mediterranean people (Palestine, Syria, Lebanon), which means that the term does not encompass all of the region's nations.
 - Old East or Ancient East was a term used by the archaeologists to designate the areas that witnessed the Neolithic age (the New Stone Age). These areas were extending from Egypt to Anatolia and West Iran. However, it also, refers to the region where ancient civilisations emerged: Iraq, Egypt, Central Anatolia, Phoenicia, and Western Iran.
 - Southwest Asia is the geographical triangulation marked in the East by Afghanistan, in the West by Anatolia, and in the South by Yemen.
 - The Near East, generally, spans Western Asia, and while meanings vary within academic circles, the term was initially used to the entirety of the Ottoman Empire. However, this term has gone out of usage and has been supplanted with the term Middle East.
 - The term Middle East is now widely used as a replacement to old terminology. It refers to the area extending from Turkey to Yemen, and from Iran to Egypt. Some may

include Sudan and Libya. Thereby, the Middle East includes West Asian nations: Turkey, Iran, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, UAE, Oman, and Israel which occupies most of Palestine, in addition to Egypt, plus Sudan and Libya in certain circumstances.

On the other hand, after the end of the Second World War, the United States introduced the term *Greater Middle East* to refer to the region that stretch from the countries of North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia) in the West, to Sudan and Ethiopia in Central and East Africa in the South, to Pakistan on India's Western Borders in the East, to Turkey in the North.

Rogue States

The expression is applied on the governments that are considered, by the United States, to be run by dictatorial regimes that do not respect human rights and permit terrorism and the spread of WMD. These states are: Iran, Syria, North Korea, Afghanistan, Cuba and Venezuela. Other countries have also used this term.

Gulf Wars

Multiple political and military terms have been used to describe the war fought by the coalition countries in 1991 to draw Iraq out of Kuwait, including:

- The Gulf War
- The Liberation War of Kuwait
- The Desert Storm
- The Gulf Crisis

Yet, most political sources use the terms: *The First Gulf War* to refer to the Gulf War (the Liberation War of Kuwait), and *The Second Gulf War* to refer to the US war against Iraq in 2003.



GENERAL INTRODUCTION

General Introduction

The attacks of 09/11/2001 that marked a major turning point in the US history and that of the entire world, have led to the burst of a new phenomenon known as international terrorism. As a result, the US administration has launched a campaign to persuade its citizens and the rest of the world that a long-lasting global war on terrorism must be framed and declared. This declaration was loud and clear in president George Walker Bush [Jr] *State of the Union* speech, as he went so far as to state that: “*who’s not with us is against us*”. The latter created a volatile atmosphere reminiscent of the Cold War, where each of the world’s communities had no choice but to choose a side.

This war on terror has become one of the most fundamental cornerstones of the American foreign policy and which has been founded on the pre-emptive strike, although it is illegitimate under the international law. This US political shift that is based on the enemies’ early abortion has been defended under the guise of combating terrorism, claiming that they are not required to return to the international law as they are in a state of self-defence.

Consequently, Afghanistan was the first US target as being the headquarters of Al-Qaeda terrorist organization, followed by attacking Iraq in 2003 for being indicted of possessing weapons of mass destruction along with sponsoring terrorism. Besides, this US newly adopted foreign policy has crystalized another dimension that of promoting democracy. The US administration stated that the political, cultural and economic conditions prevalent in the Greater Middle East in general, were to blame for the rise of terrorism. The absence of democracy and violations of human rights are, according to the United States, the main reasons that have contributed in the emergence of such a phenomenon.

This generated conviction has prompted the US administration to impose its vision of democracy on the rest of the world, so as to exclude any threat to its national security and

interests. Therefore, the promotion of democracy and human rights has become one of the proclaimed objectives of the US foreign policy in the Greater Middle East area. This American aspiration for democracy was initially evidenced by making Iraq a role model to be emulated, then, launching *The Greater Middle East Project* initiative.

Thereof, this research sheds light on the motives and objectives of this American missionary of promoting democracy in the Greater Middle East region, and to determine whether the United States seeks to guarantee the success of its project for dominance over the area through the implementation of reforms and democratization. This work, also, attempts to explore the American doctrines to determine whether oil is still the asset of enormous economic power and a critical strategic commodity that requires subjecting its resources under the US control at any cost.

As the research delves into the nature of these motives and aspirations that the American administration is seeking to attain on both regional and global levels, underlying the factors that have led the Middle East area to be the ideal setting for America to put on its policy into effect in order to serve its strategic interests. To that end, the current research work tries to scrutinise the evolving course of the US foreign policy and its democratised vision for the area, in an attempt to spotlight its true strategic goals and to identify the tools and means employed to achieve them.

There from, we posed two essential questions:

- ✓ Is the United States really fuelling democracy and free political practice in the Greater Middle East or is it just a guise under which it aims only to serve its strategic interests?
- ✓ What are the factors that influence this US missionary of spreading democracy? What are the goals and the measures employed to attain them? And to what extent has it been able to accomplish those objectives?

To offer in-depth answers to these primary questions, other targeted sub-questions are asked:

- ✓ Why has America chosen the Greater Middle East region to be the strategic target to maintain the case of disequilibrium within the international system, dedicating the decisive supremacy to its favour at the expense of the other international superpowers?
- ✓ Is this US policy of promoting democracy a direct factor of the fragmentation of several region's countries and the advent of difficult-to-control ethnic and sectarian contentions?
- ✓ What are the consequences of the growing antagonism towards the United States among Islamic and Arab communities because of its practices in Palestine and other countries, and its constant bias to Israel?
- ✓ Is the American permanent presence in the region affecting the other superpowers?
- ✓ To what extent will the world's superpowers enable United States to dominate the region solely?
- ✓ To what extent may oil be regarded a vital strategic objective that must be controlled by United States at any costs?

In light of the preceding questions, we developed the following hypotheses:

- ✓ The US government used this American democracy promotion missionary not as a goal to attain in the region, but as a tool to legitimize its new policy, which includes military action and a permanent presence in the region, as the actual practice of its foreign policy contradicts with the precise phrasing of its declared objectives and claims for democracy and ideal principles.

- ✓ Due to its geostrategic location and vast petroleum deposits and resources, the US government has sought to tighten its grip on the political situation as a means to accelerate, smooth and extend its geo-economic hegemony over the area.

The Rationale

The study of the American foreign policy in order to comprehend its mechanisms has become an absolute necessity due to its growing desires to dominate the international system and to strengthen its unilateralism, given that the US Department of Defence has taken precedence over the US State Department. In other words, United States has begun to prioritise the provision of military force over diplomacy.

This study is aimed at clarifying the US strategy adopted following September 11th attacks, in order to assess the different hazards that the American government interprets as obstacles facing its expanding ambitions in the world, starting with the Middle East area. This research also analyses the US national security' shift that took place in the 09/11 aftermath.

Another consideration lies in the relevance of the chosen topic, which is tied to the difficulties and repercussions of America's persistent presence in the region, and which is gradually expanding to embrace the whole area. So, in light of current regional and international data, we plan to study the possible scenarios that the countries of the Greater Middle East would probably confront in their relations with the United States in the foreseeable future.

The significance of the thesis topic impacts Algeria as a geographically vital state in the Arab and Islamic world, and it is considered a part of the Greater Middle East region in the American agenda. Furthermore, Algeria has been accorded a focus of interest as a pivotal state in North Africa, not to mention the problem of terrorism that our country has faced, and

which has made Algeria a key player in the international coalition held by the United States for counter terrorism.

We would also like to point out that due to the issue of terrorism, Algeria and the United States have experienced a crisis known as *The Silent Crisis* in 2007. Fortunately, the incident was resolved amicably; nevertheless, the American ambassador to Algeria became a persona non grata, and the US government removed him to settle down the dispute.

Furthermore, the Western Sahara conflict, the recent normalization of relations between some Arab countries and Israel, Iran's nuclear program and Syria's crisis are the most delicate matters that have shaken the relations between Algeria and the United States; as the Algerian government sees that some of the policies of both of the Trump and Biden administrations to be detrimental to its vital strategic interests and those of the Greater Middle East states.

As a result, Algeria's existing security and economic challengers may develop into crises, and possible future military hazards. All of these challenges, eventually, amount to legitimate national apprehension, as long as tensions in the Greater Middle East on several front persist in a world of conflicting and interrelated demands.

The Research Methodology

Foreign policy is one of the most critical major branches of political sciences as it is the primary generator of international relations. It reflects the attitude and the course of actions that a state adopts in its interactions with the rest of the international parts. It influences both internal and external variables that have an impact on the type of policy being delivered, introducing strengthened ties, sometimes, and strained relations other times.

Therefore, our study is largely focused on evaluating the United States' decision-making process, with a particular emphasis on its foreign policy regarding the Middle East region.

Consequently, we attempt to tackle the research topic in accordance with a couple of appropriate methodologies for the study:

✓ **The Historical Methodology**

It aims to investigate past historical events and to analyse pertinent data, in order to understand the variables and circumstances surrounding American foreign policy towards the Middle East region. Owing to the fact that the study of the international relations' nature must be restored to past events and facts to be analysed, in order to well explain current events, challenges, and the various developments.

✓ **David Easton's A Systems Analytical Approach**

We addressed the subject matter of the research in accordance with David Easton's *A System Analytical Approach* because of its comprehensive analytical assessment of foreign policy, and its ability to incorporate all the variables that, eventually, result in making a particular decision. The foundation of this approach is *General Systems Theory* that is based on analysing the concept of complex system and its interconnected relations. The latter has been taken from natural sciences to be adapted to social sciences, and then applied to political sciences¹.

A Systems Analytical Approach envisions foreign policy as a political system with a variety of entities performing particular roles that result in decisions (outputs). These outputs generate, when interacting with the surrounding environment, outcomes that, in turn, produce inputs (new requirements) through the feedback process. These inputs form groups in favour or in opposition to these outputs (policies), and the feedback process creates an endless cycle.

This approach encompasses multiple dimensions to analyse the foreign policy:

✓ Variables influencing foreign policy

¹ See David Easton: (1965) *A Framework for Political Analysis*

- ✓ Foreign policy' objectives
- ✓ Foreign policy' instruments

The Research Structure

To adequately address the research problem, we have systematically structured this study into four chapters. The first chapter targets the constitutional and political foundations of the American policy, displaying the various bodies involved in shaping its foreign policy, and the factors influencing the policymaking process, as well as, addressing the different US doctrines that place the Middle East as a priority on the American political agenda.

For a better understanding of the Philo-political substratum of American policy, the second chapter is dedicated to discuss the multiple trends of American policy, and to provide a profound analysis of its prominent theoretical approaches, and philosophical thought of the neoconservative current that has much of influence on the US foreign policymaking, especially, following the 09/11 attacks.

The third chapter provides an insightful discussion of the American security strategy following the September 11th attacks, and its war on terrorism, highlighting its adopted counter-terrorism approach that has served as an asset for its foreign policy and determined the nature of its ties with the Middle Eastern countries, in particular. The chapter, also, brings into light the international challenges face by the United States because of this strategy put forward to combat terrorism, and which is based on the illegitimate pre-emptive strike policy.

The research in its fourth chapter, however, tackles in details the US foreign policy towards the Middle East after the September 11th assaults, which is primarily based on democratising the region's states as the only solution to eradicate global terrorism, through the imposition of its Greater Middle East Project. Therefore, this chapter devotes a special focus on the establishment of this American initiative and its presumed missionary of spreading democracy in the region. It, also, explores the significance of the Middle East

region and the key role it plays in the overall equilibrium of geostrategic and economic powers, underling the American ambition to monopolise and control this vital area.

The study's four chapters are sealed with a sort of a comprehensive conclusion, trying to answer the questions stemmed from the research problem, while attempting to either confirm or refute our hypotheses set for the study.

The Limitations of the Study

- ✓ The research subject comprises multiple interwoven and overlapping political, economic, social, and cultural themes and events, that are difficult to analyse independently of one another, or even to isolate a specific period for the study, which led us back to previous periods in history
- ✓ The second issue arises from the first; in that no matter how diligently we attempted to incorporate the research subject into a comprehensive study, there are still other matters and dimensions relating to the research topic that are of considerable importance and must be explored
- ✓ The third issue is tied to the methodological challenge inherent in the subject's nature, and that makes it difficult to track ongoing developments and anticipate their trajectory



CHAPTER ONE

The Constitutional and Political Foundations of the US Foreign Policy

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Chapter One

The Constitutional and Political Foundations of the US Foreign Policy

A foreign policy is the whole of the ways through which governments aim to achieve their goals, preserve their security and strengthen their power and international standing. It neither represents unique notions nor expresses the true international notions contained in the term policy. However, it is a mingling of interests, views, and uncertainties in the worldwide community, which may or may not be related. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy to mention that circumstances are always changing, or being unable to adapt and cope with new events when they are identified. The latter might be a serious impediment to the shaping of foreign policy (Sheingate, 2016). This, however, has prompted us to ask the following question:

- ✓ How can US diplomacy transcend the dichotomy of idealism and realism in managing its policy?

To understand the way the US government attempts to combine its national objectives with its global position, we must understand the constitutional and political fundamentals of its foreign policy, with an emphasis on the region of our study.

1. The Decision-Making Devices Involved in the US Foreign Policymaking

Identifying the bodies that are engaged in the US policymaking with reference to its international relations, allows us to examine and critique key beliefs and concepts shaping the US foreign policy, particularly, towards the Middle East region.

1.1. The US Political System

Since 1789, the United States has put its constitution into action, with certain revisions that do not include changing its substance. As a result, its system is made up of:

a. The Legislative Branch

It consists of:

✓ **The House of Representative**

It is made of 435 members based on the population of each of the 50 states, and a renewable but non-solvable two-year term.

✓ **The Senate**

It is made up of 100 members; 02 members from each of the 50 states, and its members are elected every two years.

b. The Executive Branch

It is led by the president who determines the foreign policy's alternatives. He possesses the complete legitimacy from the people (the voters). It is worth noting that public contentment is a source of strength for democracy in America. As an example, President Gerard Ford, who headed office following the resignation of President Richard Nixon, was deprived of these grassroots. This was evident through the delays in Cuban engagement during the Congo crisis. Lyndon Johnson, also, experienced the same state of incapacity on the international stage, when he was assigned to finish the tasks of assassinated president John F. Kennedy. As a result, Johnson enlisted the assistance of Dean Rusk (Secretary of State), Robert McNamara (Secretary of Defence), and his own consultant, then, Mc George Bund to make decisions until 1964, when he was officially elected president of the United States. (Hook, 2018)

1.2. The President's Powers

The president is of an extremely significant role as he bears a large deal of responsibility. He enjoys vast authorities for a four-year term subjected to renewal once only. The president is the one who sketches the broad strokes of foreign policy, and determine its alternatives. Public and constitutional legitimacy grants him various powers as he is largely accountable

for the executive power and has the right to designate top state officials and personnel. (Hook, 2018).

The president, also, guarantees the implementation of regulations, and has the authority to oppose to legislations approved by Congress. It is the one responsible and authorized to sign foreign treaties with the benediction of two-thirds of the Senate. On the military scene, the president is the Commander in Chief of the armed force (Bowles, 1998). The presidential office bears major responsibility in designing the foreign policy formula. Thus, the president selects carefully its Executive Office, and which was founded by president Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1939. The latter consists of *The White House Office*, *The Management and Budget Office*, *The National Security Council*, and *The Central Intelligence Agency*. (Hook, 2018)

It is important to point out to the fact that the Congress passed a resolution in 1973, due to the interventionist nature of the US foreign policy, known as *The War Powers Act* and which requires the president to notify the Congress 48 hours ahead before taking any military action. The resolution restricts the military troops to remain in a state of combat for more than 60 days, granting them an extra 30 days to retreat. If it is not the case, the president must seek a congressional permission to a formal declaration of war (Bowles, 1998).

However, numerous US presidents disregarded this *War Powers Act* claiming that it has not served the US best of interest, as it has only granted so far five permissions for war out of 130 conflicts that took place and where the US presidents made their decisions solely. As an example, the Korean war and the 1964 Golf of Tonkin incident in Vietnam, where such US presidents urged the Congress' green light to legitimize their actions (Boniface et al, 2010).

In terms of signing and ratifying foreign treaties, the president draws his authority from Article II, part 02 of the US constitution with the consent of two-thirds of the Senate members. When it comes to the nomination of ambassadors, the Senate is authorized to

oppose the president's choice. However, the American tradition holds that the president's selection is guaranteed and appropriate in virtually all circumstances. This tradition is today highly relevant in international policy (Burgess, 1998). Beside these constitutional authorities that has been given to the president to develop foreign policy, each of the US presidents has left his own imprint depending on his politico-ideological environment.

Under given circumstances, the president is able to get over these constitutional barriers, just as presidents Harry Truman and John F. Kennedy were able to persuade Congress, the entire US administration and the public opinion as well, of the efficacy and healthfulness of their approaches in overseeing the US foreign policy. Other presidents like; Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, were not as effective in emphasizing and crystalizing their foreign policy's perspectives (Burgess, 1998).

Due to the complexities of domestic and international tasks, as well as the rising liabilities and obligations, the president has the right to resort to assistants whose job is to gather information and to voice suggestions. These aides along with *The Central Intelligence Agency* which is subjected to *The National Security Council* in its performance of functions, are known as *The Executive Office* of the president. During Roosevelt's administration, the president was the direct responsible for the well implementation of the foreign policy. However, World War II demonstrated that the president cannot undertake this role alone due to its complicated and interlocking nature which is constantly evolving over time. As a result, he, personally, appointed foreign policy personnel. Therefore, effective executive office for the president is strongly required to confirm and enforce its stringent monitoring (Corel, 1997).

Although the president can reinterpret the Constitution, his dedication to the constitutional democracy requires him to adhere to the Constitution and the decisions of the courts. As an example, president Truman attempted to construe his powers as a commander

in chief and authorized to seize sixteen steel mills during the Korean War. However, the Supreme Court overruled such authorization and he found himself obliged to rescind his decision. Hence, despite the fact that the president is supported constitutionally, he is limited in certain respects by the consent or opposition of certain individuals or organizations, such as, powerful Congress' members, the president's own consultants, pressure groups, lobbies and public opinion. (Corel, 1997)

1.3. The Executive Department

It is made up of the following elements:

a- The Executive Office

It was founded in 1939 by the president Roosevelt. It is consisted of advisors whose role is to assist the president on major decisions.

b- The White House Office

Its advisors are appointed by the president to help him alter issues tied to the national security of America.

c- The Management and Budget Office

Its primary duty is to prepare the president's budget. It also, assesses the quality of the policies and the programs, as well as their adherence to the president's priorities.

1.4. The National Security Council

America was involved in both world wars and had, essentially, no clear structure or formal mechanisms for decision-making until the founding of the National Security Council in 1948. During World War I, the American Government developed the *National Security Council* and was tasked with the economic supervision, but, before World War II, president Roosevelt set a permanent group of coordination comprised of a representative of *The Foreign Affairs Department* along with the army and navy Chief of Staff. (Burgess, 1998)

President Nixon attempted to utilize the National Security Council' personnel as a possible substitute to the permanent government. However, president Carter attempted to re-establish a sort of equilibrium between the National Security Council, the Foreign Affairs Department and the Department of Defence. Notwithstanding, these attempts did not yield the anticipated outcomes due to several susceptible weaknesses that were clearly visible in this decision-making body during the Carter's tenure. (Burgess, 1998)

The practise of the National Security Council, then, saw substantial alterations under the presidency of Ronald Regan. His reasoning was that the National Security Council is not a decision-making device, but rather an assistant council in this process. Accordingly, he made several adjustments by forming four ministerial committees in accordance with the four principles of the US national security:

- ✓ Foreign Policy Committee
- ✓ Defence Policy Committee
- ✓ International Economic Policy Committee
- ✓ National Security Policy Committee

Each of these committees is subjected to the department that is directly associated with. However, there is a special committee chaired by the National Security head for unusual instances and highly delicate and complicated issues (Wayne, 1995).

Given the above, we conclude that the US decision-making process is founded on the principle of coordination and cohesion, and the dedication to the American ultimate goals as well. On the other hand, this does not disguise the shortcomings of the National Security Council that are obvious through the US government's failure in handling various crises, like, the Vietnam War, and its several interventions in Lebanon, Iran, Somalia and Iraq. Therefore, as an institution with a real direct impact on global affairs, the risk of these

failures necessitates a reconsideration of its duties, and an ongoing adjustment, because of the complexity of international matters and their increasing gravity.

1.5. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

It is one of the most vital US agencies with the key mission of spying on foreign states and individuals in question. The CIA was established during World War II in circumstances marked by a struggle over unifying the several divisions of the US armed forces during the American overall reform of foreign policy. The CIA is seen to be a strategic tool that strives to deliver information to the American government that might be of a great importance in forming the US foreign policy. Theoretically speaking, CIA is subjected in its tasks to the jurisdiction of Congress. However, such oversight is severely constrained since the CIA does not include Congress in its obtained information in order to prevent the disclosure of its intelligence material related to security to large spheres (Burgess, 1998).

A number of US presidents paid particular interest to the CIA, whether via financial support or by delegating authority over its missions and works. In this sense, president Reagan passed a presidential regulation in 1981 that enables the CIA, unprecedentedly, to perform covert spy missions, domestically, in order to collect data that is affecting the activities and intentions of foreign countries, organizations and individuals. This edict authorized raids without warrants, along with monitoring all modes of communications and phone conversations. Furthermore, William Casey, the head of CIA, requested to expend his authorities to assist Reagan's strategy on both domestic and global scales. Consequently, CIA has gained capabilities allowing it to spy on American individuals and interfere in their affairs, while enjoying full immunity to avoid persecution (Wayne, 1995).

CIA, on the other hand, is utilized as a weapon on the global level to resolve critical, sensitive and difficult matters. For instance, under Eisenhower's presidency, CIA was tasked with deposing the Iran and Guatemala governments. Among its tasks, also, was the breaking

down of Saddam Hussein's regime, as it provided data of Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction, and fabricating the claim of sponsoring terrorism, as they provided false information to indict Iraq of having a relation with Al-Qaeda terrorist organisation. Consequently, the United States used those data as a pretext to declare war on Iraq in 2003, and they succeeded to overthrow Saddam Hussein and his Baath Party (Macleod, 2004).

The CIA tasks are distributed to the multiple intelligence agencies as follows:
(www.justice.gov)

✓ **Defence Intelligence Agency**

Is in charge of spying on the countries' military sectors

✓ **National Security Agency**

Is focused on employing cutting-edge technology to spy on foes and allies alike. Its workforce is small, but, its technological capabilities are vast. It supervises internal/external correspondence and has extremely sophisticated deciphering equipment of espionage, providing the most up-to-date information to the US government

✓ **Geospatial Intelligence Agency**

Is tasked with gathering data, images and maps for every location on the planet. It helps the US government with astronomical and geographical issues, particularly, those pertaining to field deployments across the universe.

✓ **The Space Reconnaissance Office**

Is tasked with providing the other agencies with the images and data collected from space to assist them in determining the motions of foreign forces or activities that may attract the American attention.

✓ **Foreign Affairs Intelligence Agency**

It houses the gathering, categorization and organization of data generated from the reports of US embassies across the world. In fact, it had cautioned the Executive Office

that the toppling of Saddam Hussein would result a harsh disorder in Iraq. However, this warning was completely disregarded by the US administration.

✓ **Finance Intelligence Agency**

Given that money is the power source of survival for terrorism, this agency oversees the flow of money within and out of America.

✓ **Energy Intelligence Agency**

Assigned with tracking and assessing the nuclear capacities of the other countries, ally or foe, as well as developing strategies to combat nuclear proliferation. It is now focused on rogue states' nuclear program, such as, Iran and North Korea.

✓ **Defence Logistics Agency**

It offers the complete range of innovative logistical and technical assistance and alternatives to the US forces.

✓ **Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency**

It offers a technological basis for national security through creating and improving innovative technologies for defence uses.

✓ **Pentagon Force Protection Agency**

It is responsible of securing the Pentagon's infrastructure and its condominiums.

✓ **Drug Enforcement Agency**

It specializes in prosecuting drug dealers and tracking trafficked drugs ports, sea and air. It has offices abroad in South America, Europe and Asia.

✓ **Navy Intelligence Agency**

It conducts high-seas missions and collects data on foreign countries' maritime forces.

✓ **Marines Intelligence Agency**

It collaborates with CIA and The Department of Defence on any field activities or potential attacks that may be carried out by foreign naval forces.

✓ **US Army intelligence Agency**

It collaborates with Defence Intelligence on reconnaissance missions that require collecting specific data on both military capacities and intelligence equipment of foreign states.

✓ **Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)**

Its operations were limited before to the US territory. However, following the 09/11 attacks, it has developed a legitimized path out of US borders and is now allowed to expand its missions on a global scale.

1.6. The Department of Defence

It was established in 1790 and it was named the *Department of War*, and only after World War I that it was structured based on its functions. The Department of Defence has taken its current formation from the revisions of the National Security Act in 1949, and which entrusted the role of overseeing and regulating this department to the State Secretary of Defence, while the president is the Commander in Chief of all Armed Forces. The Department of Defence or, also, known as *The Pentagon*, safeguards the domestic security of America, and the strategic interests of its foreign policy on the global scale. Its annually enormous budget provides it a key role in policymaking (Macleod, 2004).

It is clearly noticed that the military institution is one of the most essential instruments of the US foreign policy, and having a permanent strong army poised for conflicts serves to be the vital part of its international relations. President Wilson had foretold that saying: “*The US foreign policy inability to develop an effective security organization will necessitate the construction of a regular army at a great expense, putting a strain on the country’s essential social services.*” (Macleod, 2004 p. 25)

1.7. The Department of Foreign Affairs

It is in charge of foreign policy. It was founded in 1789 during the first presidency ever in the US history. Its head is the president's Chief of Staff and a member in the National Security Council. He discusses with the president all aspects of international affairs, including agreements, conventions, protocols and treaties. Because its function is comprehensive to several other policies, such as economic and military policies, the Department of Foreign Affairs is responsible of coordinating between the different US measures and activities, requiring a number of professional diplomats. It is also in charge of bargaining and analysing reports received from various states throughout the world. The State Secretary of Foreign Affairs is also responsible for bringing together in harmony the various agencies of foreign affairs in terms of tasks and missions (Berry, 2007).

The president and the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs must be aware of the foreseeable issues and matters and present solutions to meet them. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs has different matters to be handled and balanced between, encompassing defence, diplomacy and economics. Due to the complexities of its missions, the Department of Foreign Affairs comprises different agencies that work under its supervision, among which we recall:

- ✓ The Disarmament and Arms Control Agency
- ✓ The International Development Agency
- ✓ The International Communications Agency

These agencies are important and their reports are involved in shaping the US foreign policy. However, the guidelines for assessing foreign relations vary from one department to another, depending on particular factors and dimensions, like, trade, countering international terrorism, human rights, etc. (Boekle et al, 2006)

1.8. The Congress

Congress has various authorities, both in regular and special situations, and is an important participant in US foreign policy. It is comprised of four committees:

- ✓ Permanent Committee
- ✓ Temporary Committee
- ✓ Shared Committee
- ✓ Subsidiary Committee

These committees perform a crucial role in the legislative sphere which is the fundamental process of Congress. It also performs additional tasks, like, amending the US Constitution, as specified in Article 05 of the American constitution. Furthermore, it approves the nomination of prominent officials and ratifies foreign accords and agreements. The Congress exerts enormous pressure on the Executive Office and compel it to implement congressional policies.

It also has the authority to oversees corporate affairs between America and other states across the world. Furthermore, it enjoys the full right to supervise the president's policy setup and implementation through commissions of investigation, which are frequently an impediment to the president. As instances of the function of these commissions, consider the *Watergate Crisis*² during president Nixon's tenure, and the *Lewinsky Affair*³ during president Bill Clinton's tenure. Besides, the Congress possesses the ability to vote for a president in case none of the presidential contenders receives the majority of votes cast. It enjoys the

² **Watergate Crisis** was a major political scandal that took place in United States in the 1970s as an outcome of the June 17, 1972 break-in at the Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquarters at the Watergate office complex in Washington D.C. the president Nixon's administration made efforts to conceal its involvement, but the conspiracy came to light and fell under the Congress' investigation. As a result, Nixon resigned and 69 people were indicted, with trials or plea deals that ended with 48 being found guilty and imprisoned, many of whom were Nixon's top administration officials.

³ **Monica Lewinsky** was 1998 American sex scandal between the US president Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky, a 22-year-old White House staffer. The disclosure of this affair led to the impeachment of the president Clinton by the House of Representatives in 1998.

authority to apply its judicial power by acting as the Supreme Court in the case of a legal indictment of a president or a state executive. (Hunt, 2009)

What distinguishes the United States government, is the fact that its components have the ability to limit the authority of each other. This mechanism is known as *Checks and Balances*, and it is a vital aspect of the US Constitution as it keeps and ensures the equilibrium between all US decision-making branches, in a way no one could be considered as the supreme power of the system. (Hunt, 2009)

2. Organizations with Significant Effects on US Foreign Policymaking

2.1. Political Parties

There is a sort of contention on the concept of parties and more than one meaning for the party. A political party, according to most scholars, is an ongoing collection of individuals who work together to exert or preserve power. Notwithstanding, a political party, based on the American paradigm, is identified as an organization whose primary purpose is to acquire the largest number of electoral seats so it would be able to influence the US general policy (Wayne, 1995).

This section gives a special emphasis on the two major political parties in the US history, the Democrat and the Republican parties that have been in control of American politics since the Civil War, and have gained every American presidency since 1852 along with controlling the Congress since 1856.

The Republican Party was founded by Alexander Hamilton. It is conservative with majority of its constituents being businessmen. On the other hand, the Democrat Party that was founded by James Madison is more open-minded and milder. It is, also, known as *The Anti-Federalist Party*. The existence of these two parties does not preclude the presence of other minor parties; nevertheless, their efficacy is restricted.

The Republican Party advocates for the abolition of slavery entirely, and Abraham Lincoln was the first Republican to win the presidency in 1860. It typically promotes a conservative program, and places itself as a Right-Wing in American politics (www.cullmangop.com). The Democrat Party successfully fought for the creation of the Bill of Rights. It takes a Left-Wing position and promotes a modern liberal program. However, matters of national security and America's paramount interests are subjects that both of these two parties agree on (www.sos.arkansas.gov).

Each of the parties has a distinctive program for foreign policy setup and international relations' perspectives. In contrast of the Republicans, the Democrats advocate for globalization and the development of a robust economy. The Democrat Party has a long history of engaging with international politics, notably from the age of president Wilson and his vision of Global Idealism through the era of Roosevelt and his Good Neighbour policy. (Magloff, 2012)

2.2. Pressure Groups and Lobbies

The functioning of pressure groups and lobbies has received extensive consideration in the academic sector. Identifying a government, according to the political scientist F. Bentley, cannot be only attained by describing its devices and their functions, as he stated that all phenomena associated to governments are related to certain groups exerting pressure on other groups. (Hogan. 2000)

The Encyclopaedia of Political Sciences contains various definitions for pressure groups. According to Samuel Finer, they are *“all the groups or unions that seek to influence state public policy while being reluctant to assume direct responsibility in governance”*. With reference to the most recent definitions, pressure groups are organized groups of individuals that attempt to impact governmental legislation addressing specific issues and objectives,

and they encourage change to further their aims (Bryson et al, 2009). There are two types of pressure groups:

a. Non- Profit Pressure Groups (Advocacy Groups)

They frequently indicate people's dissatisfaction with current societal situation, or different opinions that are underrepresented in the general community. As a result, individuals form advocacy organizations to express their shared opinions and values to affect change within socio-political entities, such as, governments and companies. The Tobacco-Control Movement is the clearest illustration of this, as it has been extraordinary successful in affecting change throughout a variety of socio-political contexts (Bryson et al, 2009).

Regarding what has been mentioned, one may mistake pressure organizations for political parties. Indeed, both attempt to effect change, but the distinction is that political parties get elected to public office, whereas pressure groups are neither elected nor nominated by the government. This is not to say that they are unconstitutional. On the contrary, they are acknowledged by the constitution as being a crucial component of the democratic process since they improve democracy by providing a voiced platform to people of various backgrounds (Bryson et al, 2009).

The advocacy groups' techniques include media advocacy, direct political action (organized protests), and lobbying elected officials. Undoubtedly, some of these groups wield more power than others, contingent upon their capacity to be accepted as genuine by the general public, media and those in positions of control (Magloff, 2012)

b. Self-Interest Groups (Lobbies)

They are extremely strong groups that represent solely their own interests, which are frequently antithetical to the interests of the wider public. As a result, they usually prefer that their practices and impact go undetectable by the society. The Legislative Branch is the primary focus of such lobbies since it is the source of regulations that affect their interests.

Therefore, lobbies devote enormous amounts of money in form of fundraising to Congressmen and presidential nominees to support their electoral campaigns, and this way they exert as much power to have favourable rulings to their interests, or to prevent particular regulations from being implemented. That's why Jack Abramoff, the famous lobbyist, said while he was asked about Congressmen: "*We own them*" (Bryson et al, 2009).

There are several lobbies in America, the most influential, however, is the Jewish lobby AIPAC (American Israeli Public Affairs Committee), which exert a lot of power on the US decisionmakers due to the constant American support to Israel, and a variety of other factors, like, Israel's strategic vitality to America in the Middle East. Therefore, the American president constantly considers Israeli interests, and any leaning towards an Arab or a middle Eastern state would cost him losing votes along with financial and media backing (Bryson et al, 2009). Indeed, several studies including a synthesis of prior findings by University of Kansas Professor Mayer Alexander, and a 2006 Bloomberg News reports, stated that Jews possess the most powerful lobbying system in the United States, labelling these Jewish lobbies as the *Invisible Government* that dominates America.

In this regard, president Roosevelt stated in one of his speeches that: "*...behind the ostensible government lurks an invisible government that owes no allegiance, acknowledgment, or duty to people...*". Another statement that bears the same declaration was expressed by the Senator Daniel K. Inouye who said: "*there exists a shadowy government in United States with its own air force, Navy, fundraising mechanism, and the ability to pursue its own ideas of national interests, free from all checks and balances and the law itself*" (Magloff, 2012, pp. 115, 117).

In addition to this, the majority of media industry in the United States is either controlled or owned by Jews; such as, the largest internet services provider in America (AOL) is governed by Jews who have been deployed it as a Jewish online asset. AOL has also

purchased Time Warner and, hence, it is under Jewish management. Turner Media Maverick's owner, Ted Turner is a Jew. He also founded the lucrative cable-tv network CNN, and hired solely Jews in top management positions at CNN, which along with Media Maverick have never adopted public stances that are averse to Jews or Israel. Furthermore, Walt Disney Company' chairman Michael Eisner is a Jew, in addition to Murdock News Corporation, Fox Television Network, 20th Century Fox Pictures, and Fox 2000, all of which are owned by Rupert Murdock who is a Jew. (Hoff, 2010).

The following is a list of AIPAC's accomplishments in America:

- ✓ Over the past fifteen years, AIPAC succeeded to pass more than a dozen bills and resolutions criticizing Iran and placing strong sanctions on it
- ✓ Providing crucial security and support to Israel on an annual basis to guarantee that the Israeli entity is prepared to face rising challenges
- ✓ Enacting legislation mandating the US administration to consider all future weapons sales to Arab and Middle Eastern countries in light of Israel's desire to preserve a qualitative military advantage over prospective rivals
- ✓ Adopting a number of congressional resolutions confirming the US support for Israel's right to self-defence in facing the Palestinian resistance organization *Hamas*, considering it a terrorist organization along with *Hezbollah* organization
- ✓ AIPAC has been behind passing a lot of congressional resolutions, legislations and political initiatives aiming to address the Middle East and strengthening the US-Israeli alliance against the region in accordance to what fits their strategic desires
- ✓ AIPAC maintains ten regional and nine satellite offices around America, assisting pro-Israeli activists (Hoff, 2010)

In this regard, Sandy Berger, the Bush administration's National Security Advisor expressed these US-Israeli relations stating:

The Middle East is also the homeland of Israel, our close ally, and a state with whom we share historical ties, interests, and values. Safeguarding Israel's security means safeguarding our own security; this is the reason for our firm and long-term commitment to Israel's security (Magloff, 2012, p. 102)

Therefore, all these aspects must be considered while assessing the shaping of the US foreign policy and its strategy regarding the Middle East region, as being key-factors.

2.3. Public Opinion

The influence of public opinion on the foreign policy is enormous. This authority has grown dramatically in recent decades, and policymakers pay close heed to public opinion in order to maintain a long-term relation between the government and the social community. Public opinion is concerned with broad public concerns, and it has a direct influence on the governments' performance in democratic countries. Public opinion must be voiced as it is an essential component of the democratic system (Wayne, 1995).

It is a set of opinions expressed by individuals in a society in reaction to an issue. It is a basic factor among political and social forces with a significant influence. As a result, this force is employed to guide communities on a national level to achieve specific desires. Its influence becomes apparent in the process of adopting, altering or cancelling laws. Public opinion's influence is also extended to reach foreign national concerns. This is related to the fact that the American foreign policy is founded upon one of the ideas which claims that the American educational system is designed in a way that strengthens and maintains public opinion. This claim is based on the premise that the American educational system impacts

attitudes about American interests and emphasizes responsible judgements and choices. (Wasty, 2003)

In unusual situations, public opinion is seen an important driver for US foreign policy; for instance, the isolationist attitude of the 19th century American society was the motive behind the US government adoption of the Isolationism Doctrine. Also, the American invasion of Afghanistan following the 09/11 attacks received a wide blessing and support of the American public community. Not the same thing can be said about the US military intervention in Iraq, where the American public community was against the idea, and the Bush administration used all tools to convince and manipulate the public opinion to its favour. Speeches, media, lobbying organizations, election campaigns and political parties frequently impact and manipulate public opinion to promote certain goals (Harbenar et al, 2009).

Based on the foregoing, we conclude that the ostensibly complex interaction between the policymakers and the public opinion illustrates both the complexity and the correctness of domestic policy, and which, consequently, mirrors the American model of foreign policy.

2.4. Studies Centres

In America, there are several study centres that do political and strategic research, and are known as *Think Tanks*. The word *Think* obviously alludes to the act of thinking. The word Tank, on the other hand, refers to the massive armoured battle vehicle, and which is a symbol of war. As a result, Think Tank is a blend of cognition and action. “*The Impact of these institutions entails authorization that has not been voted on; this authority is delegated to no one*”, said president Eisenhower (Burgess, 1998, p. 86).

Consequently, these institutions have the ability to affect both policy and public opinion. They, as part of their operations, have become more like pressure groups, providing

opportunities and paving the path for pressure groups with similar goals, on both domestic and global scales (Burgess, 1998). Among these facilities are the following:

- ✓ Hoover Institution for Strategic Studies, founded in 1919
- ✓ The Heritage Foundation, founded in 1973
- ✓ Policy Research Institution, founded in Kansas

Because of the significance they hold, numerous policymakers and top officials possess a membership in these research institutions. As an example, during Bush Jn' second presidency tenure, Condoleezza Rice (the National Security Advisor), Donald Rumsfeld (the Secretary of Defence), and James Baker (Secretary of Foreign Affairs), were members of the Hoover Institution for Strategic Studies (Magloff, 2012).

2.5. The Economic Clout

The economic influence is a major engine in the development of the United States' domestic and international politics. The significance of the financial and economic impact in US foreign policy emerged from the US Oil Company, whose leaders have been exerting recurrent pressure on subsequent American administrations since the 1920s, as the British businessmen took control of the Middle Eastern Oil while the properties of the US Oil Company were restricted in Mexico and Romania. (Chomsky et al, 2006)

For this reason, American firms rushed into action in 1991, forming an *American Petroleum Institute* (API), as well as a *Committee of Foreign Relations* headed by *Standard Oil Company's* chairman Water Steagall. This corporation generated just 16% of its crude oil from its own resources. As a result, the Standard Oil Company sought to acquire other oil resources, where the Middle East proved to be the most likely site for success. Along with API, there has also been another group that has lobbied the US government to invest in the Middle Eastern oil; it is *Engineers American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical* (EAIMM), as it possesses a whole division dedicated to oil. (Chomsky et al, 2006)

The latter presented in March 1920, a petition to the Congress that addressed the urgent and resolute need to adjust the foreign policy with regard to Oil Industry. In this petition, EAIMM defended its stance that prompted the US government to take action and demand equal access to oil fields that are in foreign hands. In response of this US Oil Corporations' pressure applied on the US government, Congress approved *The Mineral Leasing Act* in 1920, which prohibits any country from reaching US oil fields, if the latter denies the US oil firms' access to oil resources under its possession (Rutledge, 2005).

The US oil firms succeeded to seize control of the Middle East's oil reserves in the late 1920s. Since then, the American financial giants have begun to govern and enforce choices affecting the US foreign policy, and they have become more influential over time as they have expanded their enterprises to encompass other industries, like, the military industry and armament. (Rutledge, 2005)

3. The Psychological Element of Policymakers

Because the psychological factor plays a significant role in political leadership, studies and research are focused on how policymakers and their personalities were developed; i.e., the environment where they were raised, their affiliations, their ideological and cognitive backgrounds, and other factors that help analysts understand their psychology, trying to reduce the margin of error in interpreting their behaviours, particularly, towards policymaking.

Sigmund Freud was the first to begin psychoanalysis of American presidents, when he prepared a study on the personality of president Woodrow Wilson, because the issue of ethics, essentially, linked to the private life of candidates has always been the first factor that attracts public opinion before they assume presidential responsibilities, and therefore, the focus is usually on the relation between these lapses and their presidential performance.

Bruce Buchanan, an American political scientist, outlines four challenges that face the American presidents and directly affect their personalities and behaviours as well:

- ✓ Excessive glory where there is no room for opposition, and is characterized by a plethora of praising supporters
- ✓ The way the president deals with the numerous frustrating obstacles, and his ability to withstand his decisions' outcomes in case of failure
- ✓ The extent to which he is able to come to terms with the opposing wings of his government
- ✓ The way the president handles the huge incentives to achieve multiple goals simultaneously (Hajeski, 2015)

Therefore, the president's personality factor has an important role to play in influencing foreign policy, especially, when combined with the broad powers conferred on him; as the compound pattern of the personality which is driven by a range of distinctive needs, such as, the need for achievements, the need for strength and control, etc., has a crucial impact in shaping the behaviour of policymakers, and eventually, the state's external behaviour. Note that in the American case, although the president enjoys broad powers, his administration plays a significant role in influencing his choices. As a result, his choices are partly affected also by the psychological aspects of his decision-making environment as a whole.

When we examine the American foreign policy, we observe a set of fundamental principles that have guided its external behaviour from its inception up to this date. However, examining the history of the US foreign policy over time reveals intermittent periods that may be classified as pragmatic, or a phase of force recovery, where the president's personality and his psychological features, in general, have their own touch on the policymaking. Hence, during that phase, they consider that the best way in serving the foreign policy's interests is to serve internal interests and requirements. So, they focus on

devoting most of their concerns to issues of internal economy and security more than emphasizing international matters. This is more evident among Democrat politicians.

The most suitable example, probably, is the policy of both presidents, Bill Clinton and Barak Obama, who tried both of them, through their compromise-oriented approach, to invest more in domestic matters, and to gain the satisfaction of most of the parties. Also, their tendency to teamwork under the international legitimacy, and to sponsor common international institutions, such as, the United Nations and the NATO.

4. External Variables Influencing the US Foreign Policymaking

It is commonly agreed on, that the external conduct of a state is affected by the behaviour of other international states towards it. As the international system provides numerous incentives to the state, and which can be either contradictory or cooperative. As a result, the external behaviour of the state will be determined in accordance to the nature of these incentives provided by other countries.

When responding to external change, Charles Hermann⁴ identifies four types of foreign policy change:

- ✓ Adaptive change: keeping the same foreign policy' goals and tools
- ✓ A programmatic change: changing the tools to achieve the desired goals
- ✓ A total change of goals with keeping the same tools
- ✓ A shift in the overall foreign policy orientation, i.e., a change of aims and tools

(Hermann, 1972)

The external factors are also of great importance in determining the decision-making process. Understanding the external factors entails analysing the most important interconnected international segments through the ongoing process of interaction between

⁴ **Charles F. Hermann** is a professor emeritus of International Affairs, and an expert in matters relating to American foreign policy, crisis management, and policy-making

these units. Therefore, the state's behaviour reflects its outputs towards its external environments, and it is natural that such behaviour eventually is influenced by the interacting international units and affects them in return.

Historically, despite its growing powers, the United States did not engage and meddle in international affairs until it was exposed to external influences; the Pearl Harbour attacks. With the end of World War II, the external environment with all its variables and interactions, started to play a significant role in American decision-making, and provided the foundation for the interpretation and drafting of many resolutions and this was evident during the Cold War. By the end of the Cold War, the structure of the international system has changed to become unipolar with the United States in lead. This has prompted the latter to dedicate all its sources of power required to strengthen and maintain this unilateralism. This has allowed America to perform many roles on the global scale and to take advantage of its unilateralism to impose its policies and hegemony.

The emergence of international organizations and global financial and trade institutions, as well as, the policies of alliances inherited from the Cold War phase, are all the consequences of the external factors' influence on the US policymaking, and which in turn benefit America. The United States, for example, wields enormous veto power in the Security Council, and imposes its policies through the NATO, all of which immensely enable it to control the international security concerns. As an example, following the events of September 11th, NATO fully supported the United States, when its Secretary General George Robertson declared that those assaults against the United States were an aggression against all NATO states members, and thus, America was openly backed by the NATO to activate Article 05 of the NATO Treaty *Collective Defence*⁵.

⁵ **NATO Treaty: Article 05:** states that in case any of the NATO ally is subjected to an armed assault, every state member will regard this act of violence as an aggression on all the members, and will take whatever steps are required to support the attacked ally.

This support was manifested militarily as the European states' airspace, ports and airports were devoted for the US forces and their protection, as well as, intelligence collaboration during its military action against Afghanistan. Politically, however, the Security Council passed the 1368-1373 resolutions that denounced global terrorism and authorized the United States to take all actions it deems necessary.

International financial institutions are also subjected to a great American influence through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which has a significant control over the developing countries' economics, as it imposes a set of conditions concerning political and economic reforms in exchange for loans and aid. Thus, as being the biggest contributor with the largest share in IMF, the United States holds a key role in guiding its decisions, given that the IMF' system grants the vote right based on the contribution ratio.

Consequently, we can say that external factors have become key players for many reasons, such as, the increasing degree of global interconnectivity and interdependency, as well as, the interrelatedness of international issues with a complex dimensional nature that fall beyond the capabilities of one state to handle; like, international terrorism. Thus, in the case of America, these external factors impact its policy to a great extent, due, on the one hand, to the fact that it is the world's sole superpower, and on the other hand, to the important role it plays in international affairs.

5. The Middle East through the US Doctrines

American foreign policy has been founded, since the American independence in 1776, on two trends: Isolationism and Internationalism. Isolationism is the oldest and the first American political orientation. It was the belief of the first American president, George Washington, who, in turn, inspired it from the isolationist attitude of the American society then. This trend lasted until the 1940s of the twentieth century. The second internationalist

tendency began in 1940s and continues to the present day. Both trends were the consequence of domestic and international factors that changed over time.

In fact, Isolationism advocated for the establishment of a US foreign policy that was characterized by autonomy and neutrality with reference to the European conflicts that were affecting world politics then. However, those principles of independency and neutrality did not mean for the US authorities to remain isolated; rather, they were regarded as being allowed to develop and grow beyond its borders. In this regard, Albert Beverage, a US Senate member at that time, stated:

Today's factories in the United States produce in a way that exceeds our consumption, and we can clearly see that fate has drawn much of our policy, that global trade must be in our hands, and there is no question that we will control and define its regulations in different parts of the world.

(Sheingate, 2016, p. 132)

Consequently, the US aspirations have begun to spread and extend throughout the world in numerous ways and shapes, particularly, after the end of the Cold War and the rise of globally dominant economic rivals, as well as geo-economic interwoven and often competing interests. The Middle East, on the other hand, has always fascinated these global rivals, as it has been granted an importance worthy of the economic attractiveness and the tug-of-war amongst the world' superpowers. It has, also, long been recognized as a vital topic on the world' stage for being the primary wellspring of present civilizations (حداد معين, 2002).

The Tigris and Euphrates' banks witnessed the birth of the world's first civilizations, which were carried to Greece, Rome and, eventually, to Europe. Later, the Middle East underwent the birth of the Islamic civilization which was found in the 7th century. In fact, the Middle East was not only the homeland of Islam, but, also, that of the two other

monotheistic religions: Judaism and Christianity. This aspect, in fact, was the catalyst for the eruption of a number of ideological confrontations in the area, in order to impose one religion solely, including the Crusades and the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict (حداد معين, 2002).

The Middle East' favourable position has, also, strengthened its geostrategic relevance. The latter is considered to be the intersection of the three continents; Asia, Europe and Africa, with critical vital sea-air-land routes; such as, the Strait of Bab El-Mandab that joins the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, and the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles that connect the Black Sea with the Mediterranean Sea. The Indian Ocean accounts for approximately 70% of the estimated distance in marine transportation. The Suez Canal in Egypt is Critical in the shipping transit between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. Add to this, the Hormuz Strait which is a one of the most critical waterways due to the daily flow of oil ships (مركز الدراسات الشرق أوسطي, 2000).

The political upheavals that have occurred in the region over time are the additional factor that contributes to the region's importance particularly, after the World War II when concurrence between the United States and the Soviet Union heightened over what was known as Spheres of Influence during the Cold War. In addition to the birth of rebellions and liberation movements against the French and British dominations, since the bulk of the area's states were undertaken by foreign forces.

However, the establishment of the state of Israel on the state of Palestine was the most severe political shift in the region, as the latter has become the closest and most strategic ally of America, assisting in the determination of the US foreign policy guidelines towards the Middle East. In an attempt to implement its Containment Policy to face the Communist threat, the US administration established an eco-political and military network with a number of the area's countries including, Turkey, Iran that was at that time under Bahloe Shah Reza

reign, and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) headed by Saudi Arabia, within the context of friendly countries (مركز الدراسات الشرق أوسطي, 2000).

However, since World War II, America has become intrigued about all what concerns the Middle East, considering it part of its national policy. In this regard, president Truman stated in his speech made in 1946:

The immense natural riches in this region, as well as its better placement across sea, land and air transport corridors, making it a significant and excellent economic and strategic spot, and so, it is simple to see how Near and Middle East may one day become a site of intense and violent struggle between external powers which could quickly escalate into an armed confrontation. (Calyre, 1990, p. 113)

The keen interest in the area arises from academic studies brought out by the geographic professor Helford Mackinder at the University of London, who stated in 1942: “*Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland; who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island; who rules the World-Island commands the World*”. The whole landmass of Africa, Europe and Asia is referred to as the *World-Island*. The *Heartland* stretches from the Volga to the Yangtze Rivers, and from the Himalayas to the Arctic Coast, and this whole land mass falls in the centre of the *World-Island* ([www. Sott.net/article](http://www.Sott.net/article)).

To understand the most significant changes in the US foreign policy towards the Middle East, we must go back through the different doctrines issued by several US presidents and that marked substantial shifts.

5.1. The Monroe Doctrine 1823:

America adopted the president’ James Monroe Doctrine following WWI, and which was dependent to the Isolationism tendency with an aim of staying out of international conflicts, and focusing the American potentials on developing the domestic economy. It worked, also,

on extending its influence over Central and South American countries through dominating the Caribbean and Panama Canals. Moreover, it targeted all agricultural and industrial sectors, and invested in oil resources and energy in Venezuela, Mexico, Peru, the Czech Republic and Bolivia, as well as railways and airlines in South America (Hajeski, 2015).

America adopted the Monroe doctrine in 1823 due to the dread of Russian expansion into North America Pacific Ocean's coasts then, in addition to the shifts undertaken by the Spanish and some of the European states following the Spaniards' eviction from Latin America. Initially, the purpose of America throughout his philosophy was not to establish its dominion over the Western Hemisphere; rather it was for the sake of ensuring the end of the European dominance. However, the United States declined the Czar of Russia request of a US permission for the Holy Alliance⁶. All of the presidents George Washington, Davis Jefferson and Monroe declared explicitly this disapproval, which was highlighted in a letter written by president Monroe claiming that: *"The allied forces' political system is fundamentally different from the American system... and any attempt of these countries to extend their system to this part of the hemisphere should be considered a threat to our national security and safety."* (Hajeski, 2015, p. 53).

Hence, by virtue of its central government and the growth of its economic capacities as well as the stabilization of its local political system, along with their belief that America is superior than the rest of the world's nations, the groundwork and principles of the US foreign policy were laid. In addition to this, the views of sociologist Herbert Spenser and the recognition he earned in the United States through his theory published in 1882, and that was largely supported by Professor Graham William, have had a significant impact on the US foreign policy. Spenser adapted and applied Charles Darwin's theory of biological evolution to humanities. This idea was embraced by the American policymakers in shaping

⁶ **The Holy Alliance:** is a European system of peacekeeping resulting from the Napoleonic Wars

the US foreign policy' guidelines within the framework of the context that says: "*Life is a never-ending pitiless struggle, and only the mightiest stand a chance for survival*". (Noueilhet, 1978, p. 67)

5.2. The Truman Doctrine 1949

The policy of president Harry Truman was principally oriented to back the defence system against any possible danger to Greece and Turkey. However, this doctrine did not target only these aforementioned nations; it also included other regions. It is worth noting that the Marshall Project, which United States established after WWII to offer economic help to European countries, was expanded to involve any Middle Eastern states wishing to profit from it. America hoped to gain these nations' support in this manner, during the Cold War ant its bipolar system. (Bruce, 2004)

The Truman doctrine asserts that the United States must intervene directly when needed, offering any feasible assistance, whether financially or militarily, to the countries that oppose communist ideology. What stands out is the doctrine's unconditioned support of the Palestine' partition and the foundation of the state of Israel, as the latter backs and ensures the well-implementation of the US policy in the Middle East, and secures its strategic interests there. In fact, president Truman played a critical role in imposing the Palestine partition project, as America passed a formal recognition of the state of Israel at the UN General Assembly conducted on 29/11/1947. (Bruce, 2004)

5.3. The Eisenhower Doctrine 1957

Following the triple attack executed by Britain, Israel and France on Egypt in 1956, president Dwight Eisenhower requested Congress approval on the American urgent need to restore security and guarantee stability in the Middle East region. The true goal of this ideology was not to support world peace, but, was to shield the region against any potential Soviet intervention, whether directly or indirectly. It also attempted to fill the British and

French void left in the region by providing military assistance to its countries in need. In this regard, Israel was the only state that received the American military support. The Eisenhower doctrine classified the Middle Eastern states into two categories: friendly and hostile countries, and it did not assign the Palestinian cause any political significance.

In March, 1957 America joined Baghdad Pact, which was founded in 1955 as a military pact between Iraq and Turkey only. After that, in the same year of 1955, each of Iran, Pakistan and Britain joined them to form the Military Committee of the Baghdad Pact. The fundamental reason for joining this alliance was the great geo-strategic placement of Iraq which had many significant features that suited America with reference to its economic interests; owing primarily to the oil resources in that area, in addition to the territory location that falls next to the Soviet Union's South frontiers and which constituted the portal of incursion into the whole Middle East and that must be blocked, according to the United States, to limit the Soviet expansion. This way, America achieved, through the Baghdad Pact, its political aims as well, as it finalized its strategic blockade of the Communist extension which was ringed by South-East Asia Alliance to the East, and NATO to the west. (Nouailht, 1978)

This alliance had captured president Eisenhower who sought to add new Middle Eastern countries as members into. His first attempt was with King Hussein of Jordan who expressed interest in joining the Baghdad Pact, but, the political circumstances at that time in Jordan precluded him from attaining his aim. The Jordanians strongly opposed this pact, forcing the Monarch to reverse his decision. The second attempt was with Egypt, but the Egyptians also refused to join military alliances. The third, however, was with Syria that denied this alliance as it had strained ties not just with Turkey, but also with the United States which supported Turkey's military threats against Syria. Furthermore, tensions between Syria and Iraq were higher at that time, as the Syrian government claimed to reveal a conspiring plan set by the

Iraqi government of Nuri Al-Said along with the US Embassy in Damascus (Nouailht, 1978). Hence, all of Eisenhower's three attempts in adding new Middle Eastern members fell apart.

5.4. The Nixon Doctrine 1970

On February, 18th, 1970, president Richard Nixon made a speech where he stated that: *“The United States will contribute in its allies’ defence and growth...we will provide help and support, when necessary and where it can be productive, and make things different for better”*. (Bruce, 2004, p. 58)

The development of president Richard Nixon's doctrine revived the US foreign policy during the 1970s. Among the most significant points raised by this doctrine are:

- ✓ The United States remains devoted to all of its international commitments
- ✓ If any ally to America, or any other country is subjected to threat, the United States will act quickly to guarantee adequate safety and security to these nations

The United States, then, put the Nixon doctrine into effect in order to preserve its priorities in the middle East through proxy states, i.e., states in the area that strive to protect the US interests and influence over the Middle East, such as, Iran at that period of time and its ally Israel. (Boekle et al, 2006)

5.5. The Carter Doctrine 1980

On January, 24th, 1980, president Jimmy Carter declared his doctrine, and which can be summed in the imperative of maintaining American strategic interests in the Middle East.

The latter is generated in the following important points:

- ✓ Increasing the US defence annual spending by 6%
- ✓ Growing and tightening the US surge in the region
- ✓ Bolstering the NATO and all the American alliances
- ✓ Working on solving the Arab-Israeli issue with a focus on guaranteeing Israel's security and safety

- ✓ Boosting the US forces over the Indian Ocean and seeking bases in the Middle East
- ✓ Striving to develop a common military formula among the Middle Eastern states that embraces all the region's political and ideological variances. (Boekle et al, 2006)

What is noticeable in the Carter Doctrine is the high degree of consistency with the Eisenhower Doctrine that confirmed and preserved the ongoing development of American policy and ultimate goals. The only distinction is in the process through which the policy was implemented. In addition, the Carter Doctrine emerged in particular situations caused by the Soviet incursion of Afghanistan that occurred a month after the Iranian attack on the US Embassy in Tehran, capturing Americans as hostages. All these events were viewed as an eminent danger to the US security and the stability of its interests in the Middle East.

5.6. The Reagan Doctrine 1981

The Regan Doctrine was put into effect as a response to the challenges caused by the Carter Doctrine on both internal and external levels, and among which we recall:

- ✓ The difficulties in moving US military personnel from and to Middle East
- ✓ Shortage of stable bases in the Middle East region for the US military forces
- ✓ Scarceness of fresh water in the places where the US military personnel landed, as each of them needs at least 12 gallons of fresh water
- ✓ A growing list of domestic economic challenges, including soaring fuel costs, inflation and unemployment (Lebow et al, 1996)

As a result, president Ronald Reagan put his doctrine into effect to circumvent these aforesaid challenges, and which can be summed in the following important points:

- ✓ The development of swift troops
- ✓ A new military fleet was created as assistance to the sixth and the seventh fleets which patrols the Mediterranean and the Pacific Ocean

- ✓ The creation of permanent US military bases in the Middle East, threatening of using action against any opposing state (Lebow et al, 1996)

We can deduce from all of these doctrines promoted by American presidents that the Middle East region is rated on top of the list of the American political agenda. Furthermore, the region is defined by two aspects that constantly entice United States; the economic element and the security component, which their relevance is constantly reaffirmed by numerous US presidents and policymakers. In this context, president Gerard Ford stated in 1975:

The American concern for the Middle East is not a question of choice, but of necessity, given that this region is of a strategic importance and a source of a major portion of energy, whether for America or for Western Europe and Japan. (Hogan, 2000, p. 64)

A transformation in American foreign policy is clearly noticed. It went from being built on a large-scale deterrence strategy that employed all methods to achieve the intended aims, to the development of the flexible response⁷ strategy in 1961, which included focusing on resolving international crises with the prospect of deploying military action. Moreover, its strategy towards the Middle East was founded on the following key-elements:

- ✓ The region's importance in confronting the Soviet Union
- ✓ Disabling the liberation movements, especially, in Palestine to fulfil Israel's objectives
- ✓ The economic factor, particularly, the region's richness of oil sources and other important raw materials

⁷ **Flexible Response:** is a US policy that employs a variety of diplomatic, political, economic and military alternatives to dissuade an enemy assault. This expression was first used in US General Maxwell D. Taylor's 1960 book: *The Uncertain Trumpet*, which strongly attacked the US national security policies. Originally intended to more successfully oppose the communist expansion, the concept has now become a core premise of the American military philosophy.

5.7. The Bush Doctrine 2001

With the arrival of Neo-conservatives into power during the 43rd US president George Walker Bush Jr. first inauguration, the White House prepared a special study emphasizing on the strategic importance of the Greater Middle East with a focus on two points:

- ✓ The region's suitability in all domains and which serves the US vital interests better than any area in the world
- ✓ The fact that the region is suffering many conflicts and is subjected to foreign threats

Therefore, the study offered a well-designed plan as a strategic vision for the region's future, and for which the following actions must be taken:

- ✓ Direct and permanent US military presence to maintain continual deterrence and prompt response to threats in or around the Gulf region
- ✓ Prepare the various military personnel so that major threats could be addressed with swift access and action
- ✓ Total US dominance of all the region's governments politically and financially to American interests, possessing no ability to dismantle American control
- ✓ Working on to persuade the Gulf countries with the eminent Iraqi danger that would annihilate them in case they break away from the US delegation
- ✓ Working on confirming the Iranian intimidation of the region's security and stability. (Lisch, 2019)

Following the 09/11/2001 events, which forced significant changes in the American strategic thinking, the United States endorsed the pre-emptive strike to be the axis of its foreign policy, as president Bush and his neo-conservative administration considered it the most appropriate strategy against potential and uncertain threats to its national security. This

Buch doctrine was even more developed in the 2006 US National Security Strategy document and worked on two significant themes:

- ✓ Declaring war on global terrorism which threatens the security of America and its allies, and is based on the two main pillars:
 - a- Prosecution of terrorist organizations by depleting their resources through appropriate intelligence and military means beyond all diplomatic and legal restrictions and control.
 - b- Striving to eliminate weapons of mass destruction and to prosecute the countries that produce them, particularly, the Rogue States or as Bush referred to them by *The Axis of Evil*, and which are: Iran, Iraq (before the US occupation), North Korea, Syria, Cuba and other states that constitute an obstacle in the face of US vital interests. These countries are either indicted of practicing terrorism or sponsoring it financially, logistically or militarily. This was already executed in Afghanistan and Iraq as United States invaded them after the 09/11 attacks for the aforesaid claims.
- ✓ Disseminating the American values and the promotion of universal democracy, freedom and human rights, claiming that the absences of these values, is the major source of terrorism and extremism. (Jacques et al, 2008)

The New American Century Project of September 2002, provided a ground for the Bush Doctrine, and its principles have become the hallmark of the new American foreign policy which is based on three pillars defining the US new mission:

- ✓ The shift from deterrence to pre-emptive response in dealing with threats
- ✓ The shift from containing regimes to breaking down and changing them
- ✓ US awareness of its leading role in the world and its responsibility as the trustee of its stability and security (Jacques et al, 2008)

As a matter of fact, the Bush Doctrine is the step stone and the means through which the United States has realised its strategic vision for the world by re-mapping the Middle East region and, eventually, imposing its New World Order.

We can conclude from this chapter that the Middle East's geostrategic significance has rendered it a sphere of dominance. This is evident in the distinct perspectives of the US policymakers, which have resulted in the US foreign policy towards the area, regardless the fact of whether the administration in governance is Democrat or Republican, as far as the political framework is based on the two fundamental components: democracy and liberalism, and that the US ultimate strategic interests are ensured and well served.



CHAPTER TWO

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Chapter Two

The US Foreign Policy: Determinants, Trends and Goals

The United States is currently the world's sole country that enjoys several advantages, specifically, in terms of supplying powerful political, economic and military forces. These characteristics, in addition to a network of diplomatic relations, allow America to perform various key-roles and employs many trends towards different areas of the world. These policies and trends have stemmed from multiple interwoven backgrounds that have been crystalized since the writing of the US Constitution. Therefore, this chapter attempts to illustrate the multiple theoretical backgrounds and philosophical thinking of American politics, with reference to the region of our study; the Greater Middle East, to understand and clarify the different dimensions of the US foreign policy towards the region.

1. A Conceptual and Historical Framing of the US Foreign Policy

American politics, generally, has known several developments affected by the world's transformations, in addition to the successive US administrations that sway between Democrat and Republican principles and beliefs. However, it has been marked by two distinctive trends since its independence; Isolationism and international hegemony breakthrough.

1.1. US Isolationism

The Isolationist policy is the first orientation of American policy. This policy arose for a number of reasons, the most important of which are: the geographical separation from the rest of the world's continents, the political and ideological characteristics of the American nation and the isolationist attitude of its society, to which are added the economic prosperity and self-sufficiency. As being fresh formed nation, the United States of America did not

constitute a threat to the countries of the world and was, therefore, not involved in foreign affairs.

American foreign policy was characterized by Isolationism from its independence until World War I, as American leaders believed that building a strong state capable of defending its sovereignty and preventing external threats could only be accomplished through socio-cultural and inward-oriented economic construction, and disassociation from all external influence and conflicts. This explains the American reluctance to politically connect with European countries that were undergoing conflicts at that time.

The isolationist tendency of the United States emerged as president George Washington came to power. He believed that this trend is the unique option to construct a nation of power in all domains. This trend was further enshrined with the arrival of president James Monroe, who brandished *America for Americans* slogan. During this phase, the United States succeeded to a large extent to establish a reasonable level of domestic stability and economic foundation, along with powerful military forces, which would serve as one of the key-motives towards opening up to the external world. (Howard, 1995)

Nevertheless, while Isolationism has tended to fade with the end of the Cold War, it is still prominent in intellectual and scholars' debates and discussions. Since America embraced Liberalism as its ideology in the 1990s under Clinton's presidency; the debates have been set over the US unilateralism and its isolationist perspective that has taken another form; i.e., it was transformed from staying away from interfering in foreign affairs, to keeping foreign involvements out of the American global pursuit of interests' process that has been given an active missionary attitude with a humanitarian and moral nature that does not opposes wars, such as, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The latter, has ignited debates among political scientists and academics who are trying to determine and well

understand the complex and contradictory nature of this American ideology. (Prestowitz, 2003)

1.2. US Global Hegemony Pursuit

The United States, initially, considered World War I as an irrelevant European conflict to its interests to be involved in. This fact granted America the privilege of dealing with all parties of the war, especially, economically. Thus, the United States was able to establish a great economic basis along with internal stability, versus a European economic fragility and unstable systems. This, precisely, was one of the reasons that prompted American leaders to strive in bridging the gap between the two world wars.

Under the banner of *a non-victory peace*, president Wilson suggested in 1916 an American mediation to address European disagreements. This was regarded as the first evidence of the US plan to open up to the world. Indeed, the United States participated in the war alongside the allied countries in 1917. This shift in American policy was a crucial factor in the defeat of the axis powers and the rise of the American position on the international stage. After the end of World War I, and the rise of the American global position, president Wilson issued the fourteen fundamental principles, addressing human rights, freedom, democracy, trade freedom and the concept of establishing an international organizational system. As a result, the United States emerged smartly from its isolation, achieving a significant political success through its role in ending the war, and a great economic scale by minimizing the negative effects of the post-war economic crisis on the world. (Soros, 2004)

Unlike World War I, the United States largely distanced itself in the midst of World War II, where it did not directly intervene in the war or initiate military conduct against any party until the Japanese attacks on the US base Pearl Harbour. These attacks granted America public support to go to war. The US involvement in World War II turned the war's course in

favour of Britain and the ally states. Consequently, the United States resurfaced with significant international and economic clout that made it an eligible nation to expand its foreign policy moving from isolation to openness. However, the Soviet Union emerged as an important base of global socialism in the face of the American capitalist ideology, resulting in a new international system structure that shifted from multipolarity to bipolarity. The emergence of this bipolarity; the United States and the Soviet Union, as the world's sole superpowers and their conflicting interests over the global leadership, led to *The Cold War* which lasted until the Soviet Union demise in the 1990s.

During that time, the United States significantly opened up to the rest of the world. This openness was accompanied by a wide spectrum of different US foreign policy beliefs and goals, driven by the containment of the Soviet tide and its communist ideology, as well as the quest of global hegemony. These US policies aiming at global hegemony were evident when president Harry Truman came into power. He made noticeable changes in the US foreign policy that addressed the need to protect the world's countries. This Truman Doctrine of providing American aid to the world took place on the real ground starting by Turkey and Greece in 1947. (Soros, 2004)

Later, the Marshall Plan was executed to help rebuilt war-ravaged European countries, through which America tended to impose its dominance on Western Europe and make it a zone of influence for the United States. During the period between 1963 and 1969, American politicians in power were divided into two political streams: Hawks and Doves. The Hawks called for continued American intervention in international affairs and the containment of the communist expansion, while the Doves called for peace and finding formulas of compatibility between the two blocs. (Cyrus, 2022)

With the arrival of Republican Nixon into presidency, the United States pursued the bipolar reconciliation policy as a peaceful option with the Soviet Union. Consequently, the

reduction of armaments by the two blocs was a sign of a goodwill for peace that took an end with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. When Democrat Carter came to power, the US politics embraced the carrot-stick strategy (enticement and intimidation policy) by promoting democracy and human rights, on the one hand, and threatening not to accept any infringement of the American interests in the world, on the other hand. (Cyrus, 2022)

This Carter Doctrine stated clearly that the United States considers any Soviet attempt to control the Gulf region as an aggression against the American vital interests, and will act to redress it by various means including armed force. However, at the end of the Cold War and as the Republican Ronald Reagan took power, the United States began to establish a unilateral global vision for its foreign policy. This vision is based on the idea of deploying the American model that combines military forces with the principles and values of peace and capitalist democracy, putting American national interests above all considerations. (Cyrus, 2022)

With the Soviet Union dissolution, the American unilateralism has begun to dominate the world, imposing the American model to assure its international status as the greatest dominant nation in international affairs. Thus, a new phase of American policy was marked during president George Bush Sr tenure, who announced a new world order that seeks justice and security, allowing the world's nations to thrive and live in harmony. This was much stressed on through the Clinton's policy that was based, primarily, on *Commitment and Democratic Enlargement* strategy. The latter was built on three pillars:

- ✓ Maintaining American hegemony militarily
- ✓ Achieving economic prosperity
- ✓ Promoting international free market democracies (Cyrus, 2022)

However, in 2001, the September 11th attacks on the American most prominent economic, political and security symbols marked a watershed in the US history and that of international

relations, as the US foreign policy took a new turning point, declaring war on terrorism and embracing a completely new strategy based on the pre-emptive strike which means the early abortion of enemies that constitute potential threats to the American national security and interests. This strategy becomes to be known as the Bush Doctrine and is based on:

- ✓ The use of American military forces to counter global terrorism, rogue states, and countries producing weapons of mass destruction
- ✓ Dissemination of democracy and human rights values and principle using military force when necessary (Carothers, 2003)

This way, consequently, America has guaranteed and confirmed its hegemony over the world and on different scales, beyond all diplomatic and legal considerations.

2. Analysing the Theoretical Approaches of American Policy

2.1. Realism/Neo-Realism

The Neo-Realism is considered an extension to classical realist political theory that is based on *Power-Interest* dichotomy in its interpretation of international relations, as it asserts that the nation has to define its interests through the use of force. This approach denies completely the adoption of a moral foreign policy and regards it as a kind of weakness and surrender. This approach was inaugurated by Kenneth Waltz and has become enormously significant in the contemporary study of the international relations.

The structure of the international system is, according to Waltz, the fundamental element of analysis, and because there is no high central authority to defend states, this structure is chaotic. However, the allocation of force is seen by the neorealists an independent variable that is followed by the states' actions as a subordinate variable. Thus, this chaotic system provides the world' states with possibilities and constrains in a competitive environment with no defined norms preventing the use of force, which is likely to be a persistent possibility. According to neorealists, the United States needed to take full advantage of the Soviet

Union's vulnerability at the end of the Cold War, by exerting more aggressive and severe measures to exacerbate its woes. Meanwhile, they acknowledge that the world's superpowers are trying to prevent any openness or vacuum to power, and this may lead to the emergence of the hostile states.

The neorealists claim that the countries share the same objectives, but they differ in terms of their capabilities to achieve them. They also confirm that the distribution of differing capabilities is the key-factor that determines the composition of the international system, and raises the risk of conflicts (Lebow, 2003). Besides, Waltz, believes that the bipolar system was more stable than the multiple system, because the balance of powers between United States and the Soviet Union maintained the international situation and prevented another worldwide war. As the chaotic international system forces the countries to prioritize security and make it their ultimate concern, the Neorealism has replaced the traditional concept that all states pursue power, with the premise that all states seek security and survival.

Therefore, Neorealism has been subdivided into two trends: Offensive and Defensive. Both of the two trends recognize that security is the most important motive for all states in this anarchic system. However, they disagree upon the process through which this security is achieved. According to offensive neorealists, security will frequently opt for expansion and attacking strategies (Snyder, 1996). As Robert Gilpin believes that a pre-emptive war against rising powers and potential threats is appealing. Eventually, this is the strategy adopted by the United States following the 09/11 events. Mearsheimer asserts that the neorealists see the international system as a battleground where countries seek to exploit each other, and that international relations are not in a state of constant war, rather, they are in a state of intense competition for security.

Offensive neorealists are pessimistic about formal collaboration, because it takes the shape of a temporary alliance, and according to them, today's ally may become tomorrow's

adversary in an era of globalization characterized by conflicting interest and aspirations. This fosters the chaotic international system's competitive nature and leads to unavoidable conflicts. As a result, they believe that campaigns for reducing armaments' budgets are inappropriate and misguided, because they are a call for other states to attack.

Both of the two currents acknowledge that rationally contemplated states will focus on the possibility of conflict, because defensive measures are the truest insurance against any aggression, and thus, states must be prepared for the direst circumstances. However, defensive neorealists are less pessimistic than the offensive. They believe that real cooperation can be manifested on the ground despite the chaotic nature of the international system. The defensive neorealism asserts maximum security, while offensive neorealism stresses on maximum power, influence and expansion.

The neorealism believes in the concept of *A Stable Hegemony*, as it claims that the stability of the international system requires a single dominant power in order to impose order. This dominance, according to this theory, must be based on powerful economic and technological foundations, and a solid political power supported by strong military capabilities. The only state that meets these needs, according to neorealists, is the United States, claiming that only the American hegemony is capable to guarantee the world' order and ensure its security.

2.2. Liberalism/Neo-Liberalism (*Cooperation-Based Approach*)

Liberalism has emerged as a Philo-political system during the eightieth century, and among its pioneers Immanuel Kant and his Republican Liberalism, and Adam Smith and his liberal economic thinking. President Woodrow Wilson is one of the contributors to this school. This was apparent through his fourteen points' speech to the US Congress on January 08th, 1918, where he outlined his post-war peace initiatives, and in which he stated the following: "*Economic impediments to international commerce must be abolished or*

substantially reduced, and a league of nations must be founded to provide large and small states with mutual assurance of political independence and regional integration” (Hook, 2018, p.250). In other words, the American liberalism is a totalitarian form of approach that advocates releasing the economic realm from the grip of state, and limiting the state’s function to allowing market freedom and commerce exchange.

Neoliberalism emerged in early 1970s against the backdrop of the 1973 crisis which was attributed, according to neoliberalists, not only to the increasing oil costs, but also to higher state expenditures on simple social groups. These thoughts were seen as a bounce back to the Keynesian perspective that calls for the government’s intervention through public policies that aim to stabilize the economy, including full employment and price stability. Functional and regional integration studies are the building blocks of the Neoliberalism, which assumes that peace and progress can be achieved through forming a multi-states partnership by ceding some of their sovereignty to form integrated groups that promote economic growth and respond to regional problems.

Functionalism (Liberalism) and Neofunctionalism (Neoliberalism) are the theory main streams, which claim that international organizations must be established to satisfy the functional desires of public opinion, technocrats and business elites by going in a transnational direction based on politico-economic cooperative tendencies among international communities, as neoliberalists believe that cooperation is both feasible and required. This theory has known a great spread in American economic thought and was popularized by Thomas Friedman, Joseph Nye and Keohane.

Neoliberalism has sought to expand beyond the narrow framework of national sovereignty to establish a kind of cooperation with the support of regional and international institutions. It is based on the fundamental premise that the state’s actions reflect its community’ relationship with the global community through a sort of mutual dependency.

As a result, this theory has overtaken the state's economic arena, which is its main pillar of analysis, into a worldwide setting with all its intricacies, working via international financial and economic institutions to find solutions to impoverished nations' issues.

The factors of increased interdependency among states and non-states parties in various sectors, as well as, the emergence of new agendas on some international issues; such as, security threats, international terrorism, environmental matters, drugs, etc., are regarded as Neoliberalism' main gateway to understand the post-Cold War world. In an environment characterized by competitiveness, the rationality obligates the states, according to neoliberalism, to seek their interests through their cooperative behaviour with other parties, whereas Neoliberalism ensures easy cooperation on the international stage which is defined to a great extent by overlapping interests. This theory is not concerned with the redistribution of force as much as it is devoted to international institutionalization and the significance of the domestic acts in the interpretation of foreign behaviour.

The proponents of this theory believe that American hegemony and protection will lessen the dangers of regional conflicts, while increasing the opportunities for a democratic peace prospect. Fukuyama argues that the military force is not the solution for America to exert its power and influence on the world, rather, the only way is to reshape the international institutions, particularly the United Nations. Graham Allison believes that the creation of regional and international systems is necessary to increase cooperation and to coordinate responses to new security threats. Robert Keohane also argued that one of the positive effects of the 09/11 attacks is the creation of a kind of international anti-terrorism coalition.

In other words, the neoliberalism embraces international collaborations. It is worth noted that the neoliberals reject the Bush Doctrine's adoption of the use of pre-emptive and unilateral force, and believed that the war on Iraq should have been conducted in accordance with the international legitimacy, as was the case during the Second Gulf War in 1990.

2.3. Constructivism (*Cultural-Based Approach*)

Nicholas Onuf was the first to coin the term *Constructivism* in the study of international relations in 1989 (Wendt, 2000). In fact, this period was highlighted by the emergence of new approaches to international relations' study that rejected Neorealism and Neoliberalism. Among these theories, we mention Critical and Feminist theories in addition to Postmodernism.

Constructivism has emerged as one of the most significant theories and has been considered a connecting bridge between prior theories' past and post-new currents, which were not entirely rejected by constructivists who attempted to include new dimensions and variables that were previously neglected by the previous approaches. The constructivists offer a social perspective on global politics, stressing norms above physical structures, and a considerable increasing number of intellectuals and scholars has become interested in this theory that has had a significant influence on the study of international relations.

If we link this theory to the temporal context and the circumstances in which it arose, it is possible to assert that the end of the Cold War precipitated the detonation of many wars and internal conflicts; such as, Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and which were ethnic in nature and aimed at preserving the minorities' identity (Smith, 1996). On the other hand, the huge impact of globalization has fuelled anxieties of jeopardizing local cultural specificities, as Samuel P. Huntington (1996) argued, in his book *The Clash of Civilization*, that the influence of cultural and civilizational variables including religion will be the source of future conflicts.

Unlike Waltz who gave importance to the material sources tying them to security, or Keohane who favoured institutionalism as a key element of security in international relations. Constructivism offers great importance to the beliefs and norms in international

relations, devoting a key link between identity and security, arguing that cultural factors as a whole are perceived to have a significant direct and indirect impact on the states' security.

Alexander Wendt is interested in the structure and the path that lead together to the construction of identities. He believes that the structure is a tangible resource along with a set of rules, standards, beliefs, ideas, speeches and institutional interactions. The path, however, arises as a distinct process that determines the way to engage through social and historical processes. Wendt (2000) asserts that the creation of new international institutions and organizations contributes to the path of introducing norms and standards that lead the states to rethink their identities and interests.

According to David Campbell (1992), the purpose of foreign policy falls primarily on the path of reproducing identity; as he illustrates that identity is also a vision of the states' roles and functions in international politics. On the one hand, leaders always exhibit national identity to validate the legitimacy of their policies and actions. Foreign policy, on the other hand, contributes to identity protection through the use of opposing term "we- them/they" in their speeches to highlight, more often, the threat.

Constructivists claims that policymakers make decisions based on certain standards with the background of subjective factors derived from cultural and historical experiences, and institutional factors as well. Thus, the resulting behaviours are a variable subjected to the independent variable of standards and identity, and which is, according to them, the determinant factor of the various objectives and interests of the states. However, the international law and international treaties and conventions are considered the pillars of these standards (Boekle et al, 2006).

Stephan Krasner concedes that American foreign policy is more influenced by ideological dogma than by a clear conception of national interests. Ernest May, also, highlights the importance of culture and identity, as he asserts that, historically, American foreign policy'

challenges encompassed one question “*Who are we?*”. According to Campbell, American foreign policy, during the Cold War, was founded on the premise of protecting American national identity, and which was particularly and clearly affected by the Communist threat. Presidents Nixon, Carter and Reagan considered the Soviet Union to be primitive and barbaric that endangered the American and Western civilizations and modernization, as Reagan said: “*This Communism is a problem to our civilization*”. (Toru, 2004, p.31)

Constructivism contends that United States has maintained a policy of deterrence and avoided deploying nuclear weapons in several conflicts, motivated ethically by the preservation of international norms and American identity as well (Suchman, 2009). As a matter of fact, the United States is unrivalled in terms of exporting its culture to the world’s countries, like, films, consumable goods, food, etc. Joseph Nye, in this regard, emphasizes the need of soft power side to side with hard power (military and economy).

Soft power is the capacity to persuade people to follow and imitate, and it stems from American values represented in American culture and ideology. It is the influence and inspiration of others, as well as the norms defended abroad by the state, like, democracy, human rights and support for international institutions (Katzenstei, 2008). Hence, some of the scholars and political scientists argue that the American intervention in Somalia and Bosnia, during the Clinton’s presidency, was under a humanitarian banner, as the democratic administration appeared to defend American and Western norms and values.

While Republicans and Democrats agree on the importance of spreading American values globally to support the American identity, they criticized the Clinton administration, as Condoleezza Rice stated that Clinton had replaced the notion of national interests with the notion of human interests, while, according to Rice, the American focus on its own interests enhances in practice freedom, peace and well-being in the world (Macleod et al, 2004).

Likewise, Darius Farman asserts that the US war on Iraq was based on a moral standard and that the United States went to war as the world's decent protector. The Bush administration justified its intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq through several speeches in which they focused to the US entitlement to defend Western and American values, and to protect the world from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, in addition to the need to eliminate the extremist and fundamentalist organizations. Consequently, and due to the fact that Iraq was portrayed as a disruptive and detrimental power, and Saddam Hussein was tarnished as a dangerous dictator to the middle East region and to the world, Bush Jr. was able to mobilize and unify successfully the public opinion in favour of the military action (Zalewski, 2003).

Nonetheless, a significant category of intellectuals and political scientists argue that the lack of a cultural reference to the new international order supported by American literature has become a matter of concern, as there are no clear conception and norms to explain the causes of this American humanitarian interventions. In this regard, Chris Brown (2019) stated the following: *“Only the United States and its allies can assess and decide whether given criteria constitute a threat, and what to do about it. The issue, here, lies in the prospect of using this discretion to further particular interests”*.

As a conclusion, we can say that the United States, after removing the Communist threat, has faced another crisis of seeking a new enemy. Therefore, the Americans were split between those who supported the need to go back to isolation, and they were few, and those who believed that it is necessary to be engaged in international affairs, and they are also divided between unilateralism and interaction with other parties. Nevertheless, United States believes that foreign policy has to have its background based on the awareness of national interests.

Furthermore, the security concern remains the engine of American foreign policy; as we have seen that most of the approaches in international relations have focused, in interpreting the US policy, on security. The Neorealism has supported American hegemony in protecting its interests. The Neoliberalism has seen that minimizing threats and maintaining security requires the activation of international cooperation by supporting the role of international institutions. The Constructivism, however, believes that the instability of the American foreign policy is due to the fact that the US norms and doctrines are not politically well-defined and determined.

3. The Philo-Political Thought of the Neo-Conservatives

Philo-political thinking ranks higher than purely political thinking. To be more precise, philosophy refers to comprehensive and profound concepts and perspectives that attempt to explain the universe, mankind and society. Therefore, political philosophy is the methodical process performed by the politico-philosopher and through which the overall concepts, ideas and norms, that revolve around a specific subject matter in politics, are assessed and determined in well-structured scientific methods.

The Conservative philosophy is a set of principles explored in Edmund Burke's publications around the end of the eighteenth century. These principles proliferated in Europe at the dawn of the nineteenth century in response to the outcomes of the French revolution. The term *conservative* refers to a collection of concepts and beliefs, most notably, emphasizing social unity and rejecting governmental intervention in the economy. It sees individualism and liberalism as major causes for the destruction of the nation socially and politically, as the social and religious elements are among the pillars of its foundation. (Critchlow, 2011)

According to Pr. Glenn H. Snyder, people are responsible for the actions of the state. To grasp these actions, he claimed that it is necessary to go back and take a closer look to the

decision-making process, through highlighting the decision-makers' environment and background, rather than through objectives or impartial observations. Snyder asserts that the environment and background influence the policymakers' approach to a particular issue, and which results in the state's behaviour toward that given situation. (Critchlow, 2011)

When a US president takes power, the first task he focuses on is filling crucial positions of authority. These selected people have already pledged their fealty to him and have the required expertise and abilities to fulfil those positions. These experts and authorities might be those who supported the president during his presidential campaign, and are also chosen based on their skills to manage attitudes and to deal with challenges during a crisis. The president organizes his responsibilities through these specialists, and they bear a substantial portion of foreign policymaking. (Hunt, 2009)

Therefore, when president George W. Bush took office in January 2001, the necessity of investigating and analysing the Philo-political thought of the New Right and Neoconservatives has become evident; given that, he enveloped himself with a strong cast of political figures with relevant expertise in both foreign and defence policies. Add to this, the Bush Jr. era is considered a major turning point in the American history, and it has marked the neoconservative ascendancy through the successive US administrations whether Republican or Democrat.

3.1. The New Right

The New Right, also known as Neoconservatism, is a school of thought that emerged in the 1940s when some of its representatives, who had previously been libertarian, rejected American liberalism and its approach to the Soviet Union. This political trend became evident in the 1960s, when liberalists and American public opinion as well, were strongly opposed to the American war in Vietnam. As a result, there was a schism between this trend's backers and those of Liberalism. (Critchlow, 2011)

The philosophical tendency of this ideology is characterized by its stance towards the Vietnam war, i.e., this trend perceived the liberals' opposition to war and their support to the containment policy of the Communist ideology as a malfunction of the liberal thought that originated, according to neoconservatives, from their poor perception of values, such as, the ultimate good and absolute evil. Thus, they came to conviction that Liberalism presented a moral relativism that prevented it from grasping the absolute evil embodied in the Communism ideology, as well as the moral discernment required to deal with this danger and eliminate it. However, this ideology was limited and had no public support. It was dependent on the masses of other right-wing religious currents that shared the same beliefs and perspectives on foreign policy. (Hunt, 2009)

The New Right is a secular utilitarian⁸ stressing on the fact that religion fills only a given gap in the society, and that ethical excellence exists only in popular culture, where its goal is to regulate and enforce a sort of discipline. This persuasion stems from the philosophical thought of Leo Strauss who stated that: *"the ethical virtue is not relevant to a genuine intelligent man or a philosopher; it exists only in popular mind where its goal is to control the majority of unintelligent people"*. (Hodgson, 1996, p.61)

Among the most prominent Leo Strauss' concepts adopted by the New Right, his perception of democracy. He believes that democracy must be powerful enough to confront tyranny as a menace to mankind. This illustrated his perspective on the significance of using force to spread democracy to the different areas of the world. This belief has been embraced and supported by the Bush administration and manifested in his doctrine. (Hunt, 2009)

⁸ **Jeremy Bentham** (1748-1832) was the father of utilitarianism, a moral theory that maintains that activities should be considered acceptable or immoral based on the extent they promote or diminish human well-being or utility. Secular morality is a philosophical field that deals with morality but detached from religious beliefs. Bentham was a staunch secularist who believed that society could function well without having any religious backgrounds, as he argued that there are people who have morals despite the fact that they have no religious beliefs; because a morally good behaviour is defined as the activity that results in the greatest degree of happiness or betterment.

The second belief espoused by the New Right is strongly tied to the aforementioned element, which is the risk of being subjected to bigotry and hostility from non-democratic countries; as despotism and totalitarianism, according to Strauss, are both the outcome of the denial of ethical virtue. He also believes that the state's polity must be banned from issuing benign regulations, arguing that the good system has to defend itself in the face of corrupted governments. (Hunt, 2009)

This philosophy constitutes the foundation of the New Right's political philosophy that deems itself to be the virtuous and benevolent system, whereas the other systems are evil and deviant. The Arab-American Institute's head, James Zegby, described the neoconservatives as follows:

A secular philosophy that represents a reaction of certain liberals to the Democratic Party' pacific strategy towards the Soviet Union (formerly), notably, with regards to its mistreatment of its Jewish residents and its ties with the Arab world...it is tiny but powerful collection of authors, pundits, and government officials. (Mattson, 2008, p. 19)

Godfrey Hodgson stated in his book "*A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America*":

Since the late 1960s, the conservatives have been developing a number of thoughts and patterns that have well-defined and grounded the neo-conservatism, and have had a significant impact on the formulation of the New Right movement; such as, the desire to draw American nationalism and to emphasize Americanization or the Exceptional American; this belief that American society is better than the rest of the world's societies, despite its flaws. (Hodgson, 1996, p. 265)

This concept of moral superiority has got strong roots in American philosophy since it is based on the core premise of Puritanism that states: “*It is the fate of America that requires it to be the saviour of the sinful world*”, and the Americans of many ethnicities and socioeconomic backgrounds including those of African origin, believe in it (Schneider, 2009, p. 56).

This American neoconservative approach has thus integrated the religious feature in managing its politics and interests, although it has been assumed that engaging the religious dimension in managing international relations was in slump. It is noteworthy also that the United States is becoming more involved than ever in Islam religion, associating it with terrorism.

3.2. The Neoconservative Philosophy

Ronald Ernest Paul, a US Congressional representative, outlined the most essential elements of Neoconservative philosophy in a speech made to Congress on July 10th, 2003, and which can be summed in the following points:

- ✓ They believe that the revolution is perpetual and the use of force is permissible
- ✓ They call for revamping the map of the Middle East even if it takes the use of force to do so
- ✓ They approve the pre-emptive war to attain the desirable outcomes
- ✓ They arrogantly believe in American Imperialism
- ✓ They believe that being mendacious is necessary to revive the state
- ✓ They believe that the country’ true managing process has to stay hidden from those who lack the confidence and courage to deal with these facts
- ✓ They assert that moderation in foreign affairs is not endorsed
- ✓ Resort to force in enforcing the American principles and ideals is appropriate, arguing that force is not confined to defending the state’s security

- ✓ Provide unconditional support to Israel and calling for tightening the relations with the Likud Party⁹ (Schneider, 2009)

In fact, these thoughts and concepts were put into action under the presidency of Kennedy, who nominated a group of academics (neoconservatives) to administrative positions and were tasked with drawing the main lines of American politics. These academics were chosen based on their expertise and competence. However, their programme was not finalized until president Reagan came into power, and who embraced their neoconservative thinking when he started to use terms, like, good, evil, etc., and this was evident in his speeches as he kept referring to Communism as an evil empire. Henceforth, neoconservatives have started to consolidate their power by gaining access to key authority positions. (Schoen, 2001)

A number of research institutes are also headed and controlled by neoconservative thinkers, among which we recall:

- ✓ Heritage Foundation
- ✓ The Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs
- ✓ The American Project for Public Policy and Research Institute
- ✓ The Washington Institute for Near East Policy
- ✓ Security Policies Centre
- ✓ The American New Century Project Institute
- ✓ Advanced Strategic and Political Studies Institute
- ✓ Hudson Institute

The neoconservatives use also a variety of mass media outlets to promote their principles in American culture; such as:

- ✓ The National Review

⁹**Likud Party:** Is an Israeli right-wing political party created by the revolutionary leader Menachem Begin, and the first right-wing party to rule the Israeli government. It was headed by the previous Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

- ✓ Wall Street Journal
- ✓ Weekly Standard
- ✓ The New Republic
- ✓ The Commentary
- ✓ The Washington Times
- ✓ The National Interest

3.3. The New Right and George W. Bush Jr

President George Walker Bush has been fascinated by the New Right movement while he was the Texas governor, to such a point he selected Dick Cheney; one of the most renowned Right-Wing religious leaders, as his running mate in his 2000 presidency elections. Moreover, Bush assured the Right-Wing Christians that he would offer them the assistance they were looking for, when he run for office. Being the president of the United States, Bush appointed a group of Right Christians and neoconservatives to key authority positions, among which we mention: (Critchlow, 2011)

A. Dick Cheney

He was the US Vice President; he advocated for pre-emptive military strike against Iraq during the Iraqi crisis. He served also as Secretary of Defence during George Bush Sr' tenure, and the White House Chief of Staff in the Gerard Ford administration.

B. Colin Powel

He served as Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the Bush administration in its first term. Before, he was the Army Chief of Staff during the Bush Sr. administration.

C. Donald Rumsfeld

He served as Secretary of Defence, and was an avid advocate of the pre-emptive strike and war on Iraq from the beginning of the crisis. Before, Rumsfeld served as Secretary of Defence in the Ford administration, and as US ambassador to NATO, then, a member in US

Congress. Also, he was president Reagan's special envoy to Saddam Hussein, in 1983, when Iraq was enjoying the American assistance against Iran.

D. George Tenet

He was the head of the CIA, and the only one who served before in the Clinton administration. After the 09/11 events, he was heavily attacked under the claim that CIA had not been able to thwart those terrorist attacks.

E. Paul Wolfowitz

He was a professor at the National War College in Washington. He served at the Pentagon as a deputy assistant Secretary of Defence in the Bush Sr administration, then as a Vice President later in the Bush Jr administration. He is highly regarded in Right-Wing circles. He also called for the pre-emptive war on Iraq. As undersecretary of defence, he prepared a study in 1979, characterizing Iraq as an imminent threat to the Gulf region and to the American interests, stressing on the necessity for an ultimate annihilation of the Iraqi regime, and the imposition of more stringent ceasefire terms during Gulf War I in 1991.

F. Condoleezza Rice

A university professor previously, she is the first female to head the National Security Council (1979-1991), specialized in Russian affairs and armament control matters. She was nominated to Secretary of State position upon the departure of Collin Powell by the end of Bush first presidency term. She took on the role of presidential candidate advisor for international affairs during Bush Jr second campaign. She prepared a paper that outlined Bush' vision for the future of the world in case of his re-election for a second term. This document is entitled "*Campaign 2000: Promoting National Interests*", and in which she stated:

The United States has found it exceedingly difficult to define its national interest in the absence of Soviet Union. That we do not know how to think

about what follows the US-Soviet confrontation is clear from the continued references to the “post-Cold War”. Yet, such periods of transition are important, because they offer strategic opportunities. During these fluid times, one can affect the shape of the world to come. The enormity of the moment is obvious. The Soviet Union was more than just a traditional global competitor; it strove to lead a universal socialist alternative to market and democracy. The Soviet Union quarantined itself and many often-unwitting captives and clients from the rigors of international capitalism. In the end, it sowed the seeds of its own destruction, becoming in isolation an economic and technological dinosaur. (www.hoover.org)

According to this statement, the United States’ transitory era should be invested in the future to recreate world’s landmarks on an international capitalism platform emphasizing two dimensions: democracy and market (economy).

She went on saying:

The process of outlining a new foreign policy must begin by recognizing that the United States is in a remarkable position. Powerful secular trends are moving the world toward economic openness and –more unevenly— democracy and individual liberty. Some states have one foot on the train and the other off. Some states still hope to find a way to decouple democracy and economic progress. Some hold on to old hatreds as diversions from the modernizing task at hand. But the United States and its allies are on the right side of history. (www.hoover.org)

Concerning power, she added:

American foreign policy in a Republican administration should refocus on the national interest and the pursuit of key priorities. These tasks are: to

ensure that America's military can deter war, project power, and fight in defence of its interests if deterrence fails. To promote economic growth and political openness by extending free trade and a stable international monetary system to all committed to these principles, including in the western hemisphere, which has too often been neglected as a vital area of U.S. national interest. To renew strong and intimate relationships with allies who share American values and can thus share the burden of promoting peace, prosperity, and freedom. To focus U.S. energies on comprehensive relationships with the big powers, particularly, Russia and China, that can and will mould the character of the international political system. To deal decisively with the threat of rogue regimes and hostile powers which is increasingly taking the form of the potential for terrorism and the development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

(www.hoover.org)

We can plainly see the American political philosophy that is controlled by the Neoconservative thinking via Rice's document, that can be summed up in the following points:

- ✓ Resorting to military action to protect the US strategic interests
- ✓ Recrystalizing the world' system with reference to the American values and norms
- ✓ Confirming the American superiority and confronting opposing countries and forces to American policies, values, and interests

G. Irving Kristol

He is considered the godfather of Neoconservatism and the founder of *The American New Century Project Institute* as well. In 1983, he published his book *Reflections of a*

Neoconservative: Looking Back, Looking Ahead along with several publications and contributions to the fields of politics and economy. His thoughts and writings heavily influenced president George W. Bush Jr and his administration. His ideas are seen of a great importance to such an extent they have been responsible for moulding the American political climate through the successive administrations.

Undoubtedly, Neoconservatism philosophy has got a significant impact on president Bush and his administration since taking office. It has contributed in ordering the Middle East priorities, and attempting to remap the Middle East region according to what fits the US strategic interests and those of its close ally Israel. This can only be achieved, according to neoconservatives, through getting rid of dictator regimes and spreading democracy and American values and ideals, even if it takes the use of force to achieve this objective. Furthermore, the 09/11 events have provided a supportive asset to this philosophy, where the hard-line discourse of the neoconservatives, under the guise of preserving the US national security from any conceivable threat, has become accepted and embraced by large segments of American society.

Philip Gordon, a political scientist and scholar in Brookings Institute, highlighted the neoconservative vision for remapping the Middle East region in four assumptions, and that are summed in the following points:

- ✓ Status Qua: after 09/11/2001 attacks, the prevailing status in the Middle East in no longer acceptable. The perpetrators of these suicidal actions are driven by hatred toward all what is American, and the Arab-Islamic World is their dwelling land
- ✓ The existence of dictatorship in the region represents an eminent threat that cannot be contained by imposing any type of sanctions, what makes it impossible to achieve peace and stability in the region

- ✓ Peaceful solutions are hard to be achieved between Palestinians and Israelis as long as there are states in the region that support and sponsor what America refers to as Palestinian terrorism
- ✓ Only when the Middle Eastern countries become more democratic, then, long-lasting peace and stability will be witnessed there (Lisch, 2019)

3.4. Neoconservatives and the Creative Chaos Theory

When asked about the rise of Islamic extremist groups and the spread of disorder in the Arab region, on 09/04/2005, US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, responded that the current situation in the Arab world has not been stable for a while, and that the opportunities created by the democratic transition process at the outset are in form of a creative chaos that may produce a better situation than the region lives currently. (Davidson, 2016)

The creative chaos, also known as constructive chaos, is a one of the most essential keys adopted by the New Right and neoconservative thinking in dealing with international crises. This term was carefully coined by top academics and policymakers in the United States, and contrary to the concept of chaos that is burdened with negative connotations, like, instability, another positive term was added to it, which is construction. The term first appeared in 1902 by the American historian Alfred Thayer Mahan.

Two years later, after the 09/11 attacks, Michael Ledeen, an American historian and neoconservative foreign policy analyst, built on it and called it constructive chaos or constructive destruction. The latter means causing chaos, destroying everything that exists, and rebuilding according to the blueprint that serves the interests of the executing powers. The creative chaos is the result of a deep desire for change dictated by the actors' aspirations to achieve mobility and change at various levels, especially, political and economic. (Robertson, 2010)

The Centres for Research and Studies have embraced the theory of creative chaos, which has been imbued with study. In short, the theory means that when society reaches the extreme of chaos, of massive violence and bloodshed, and a maximum amount of fear in the masses, it becomes possible to rebuild it with a new identity that serves everyone's interests. Among the most talked-about thinkers is the right-wing American Samuel P. Huntington; who is mostly known for his *Clash of Civilizations* theory. (Davidson, 2016)

In fact, the right-wing Christians, neoconservatives, along with the Zionist lobby in America, have religious ideological goals through the chaos theory towards the Arab and Islamic states. They believe that Islam is a source of terrorism and antagonistic to mankind, and thus, this religion cannot be left to govern such an important region of the world, as it is considered a source of a serious threat to the liberal democratic nations.

Furthermore, and despite American claims that religion and politics are separated, the religious dimension remains a major key component of American political thinking that is much influenced by the conservative religious ideology that believes, according to the protestants (known for their strong Jewish leaning), that America is the new Jerusalem where the Christ is anticipated to return and lead his followers (Jews and Christians) to restore the real Jerusalem, where *The Armageddon Battle* will take place to defeat the anti-Christ king and his followers. Thus, the occupation of Jerusalem is considered the first step towards the realization of this Armageddon prophesy. (Robertson, 2010)

For neoconservatives, this religious belief is a constant that cannot be ignored and that defines the American religious identity. They are stressing on it, especially after having reached positions of power in American politics, and have dominated sensitive US cultural, intellectual, political, and economic spheres. Therefore, this religious organization has sought to dominate the American state and its policies to achieve its religious goals, through force and wars. As a result, armaments, economic dominance, and control over the Arab and

Islamic world, are to serve the religious and moral values and principles of the faithful American nation. As to them, these beliefs are given by God to this people (Americans), who will execute divine justice in the world.

It is clearly noticeable that the neoconservative philosophy has become the most significant feature of the Republican political thought, and how these American ideals embodied by this Neoconservatism are designed to be universal. As we can also conclude that the neoconservative political approach is non-diplomatic, because they believe that diplomacy undermines the US policy' potential to promote democratic ideas and to protect its national and strategic interests.

Therefore, they argue that polity must be a revolutionary transformation means, which is the basic foundation of neoconservative Philo-political theory. Furthermore, they claim that American advantageous position in all aspects and its exceptional make of it the world's hero and the peacekeeper, illustrating the US permanent involvement in Middle Eastern affairs with the scenario of its devotion to convert the region's states into democratic countries and to support liberally their economics.

3.5. Creative Chaos, Middle East and the American Model of Democracy

If we pay close attention to present-day American rhetoric, we undoubtedly discover that the capitalist system, which has adopted the democratic option, has gained its peak of growth, significantly, from the post-World War II era that was characterized by the independence of the states where colonial activities took place. This fact may be seen in Rice's statement when she argued that: *"the nature of American interests has required that the stagnation of the Arab region could just be driven to a certain extent that does not allow for immediate dissolution of its current regimes"*, and she added: *"America has erred in sustaining regional stability for almost 60 years"*. (Tschirgi, 2007, p. 43)

Indeed, this statement, which is a clear way of infringing on the global peace proclaimed in the UN Charter, is nothing more than an extension of American discourse since the end of the Cold War and the advent of the new world order that is based on unipolarity; as George Bush expressed it in his speech that the United States is the only state among all global nations that possesses the highest moral stature and the potential to create a new world order.

This uniqueness stems from the American belief that they are a chosen people who bear the responsibility of humanity's wellbeing. This conviction is not a nascent present; rather, it has historical foundations since the founding of *The Plymouth* settlement in 1620; the first Pilgrims' settlement in America. In the same context, Time Magazine stated during the Second World War that: "*the United States of America is capable of elevating mankind from animal status to pre-angelic level*".

Therefore, it is evident that the United States has long bet on its major objective; the leadership of the world, holding itself accountable for world peace and the balances of the new world order. As a result, the concept of "*balance of powers*" was replaced by that of "*balance of interests*", and any opponent to these American alternatives is considered a terrorist and an extremist that must be fought by all means necessary. Therefrom, the concept of creative chaos stemmed and developed.

This is what can be read and understood in Fukuyama's book "*The End of History and the Last Man*", when he spoke about nation-states' erosion in favour of one totalitarian liberal democratic state which is, in his belief, the United States of America; as Fukuyama presents the American model of democracy to be the only correct and mature political system. As conflicting arguments in favour to this theory, many scholars believe that achieving the American model of a liberal democratic state must be accompanied by a sudden and drastic decline in overall welfare; interstate, ethnic and revolutionary wars.

Samuel Huntington (1996, p. 49), refers to creative chaos by *“the gap felt by citizens in terms of “what is” and “what should be” ...this gap will be reflected on stability in one form or another”*. In clearer words, creative chaos refers to a state of disorder and instability in society, caused by a strong desire for change driven by individuals’ aspirations for progress and advancement, particularly, in political and economic spheres. However, this desire for change is often supported by external financial sources. Even if the catalysts for change are internal, they are aligned and tailored to the western powers’ interests that they strive to protect.

Possibly, the most prominent example of creative chaos could be deduced from the official political language of the US government, through which America works relentlessly to sow the seeds of strife in the world, using democracy as a pretext to deceive the Arab and Islamic populations for the aim of producing unstable global systems. To create such gaps, America utilises strategic research institutes that provide it with the necessary information about all events occurring in the Arab and Islamic world.

This has been proven by Wikileaks which revealed that the United States’ global institutions, notably the US Department of State and all its intelligence agencies, as well as other research centres, collect the scope of information that encompasses nearly all of the Arab and Middle Eastern states’ domestic disputes, their limbs, symbols, causes and magnitude, etc. According to Wikileaks, the United States uses these strategic research centres to read, also, the composition and demands of their social forces, the nature of their systems and their ability or inability to meet these demands. Seemingly, this strategy allows the United States to avoid relying solely on direct military action, and it offers the smooth execution of the creative chaos in the region.

Therefore, creative chaos depends, in the first place, on the malfunction of the social structure and its disarray that leads to anarchy (sectarian, ethnic and religious strife). This,

automatically, opens the door for political, economic and military intervention; all in the name of peoples' right to democracy. One of the clearest examples is the *Arab Spring* and its ramifications that certain Arab countries are still suffering from.

Also, Iraq constitutes the best example of the execution of the creative chaos using military action. This was openly stated in William Krystol's speech saying:

The invasion of Iraq is compulsive for reasons other than the evil it represents, the only way to get rid of people like Bin Laden and Saddam Hussein is to bring about imbalance if not full chaos in that part of the world (Davidson, 2016, p. 35)

The United States argued that the war on Iraq was for the sake of abolishing the dictatorship and establishing an Iraqi democratic system to be an example in the region to be aspired to. But, in fact, what America actually did, was dividing Iraq into ethnic areas as follows: the North of the country for Kurds, the centre for Sunnis, and the South for Shiites (التقرير العربي الاستراتيجي، 2004- 2005). The United States claimed to have worked on establishing a democratic federal government, in which all groups of different ethnic backgrounds would have equal representation. This was already addressed by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) in its *Vision for Post-Conflict Iraq* plan, which stressed the need to establish a new Iraqi government with confined authority, transforming it to a democratic federal system (USAID, 2003). Actually, this set the ground for the emergence of socioeconomic tensions and racial confrontations that culminated to the dissolution of Iraqi unity.

Furthermore, establishing a federal government based on ethnicity and sectarianism did not mean that the United States was keen to ensure the inclusion of marginalized minorities of Kurds and others in the political process, preventing the monopoly of power by one dominant group; rather, it was a choice to fragment the Iraqi society and to maintain its

presence and stretch its dominance to the rest of the region, as all that was accomplished in Iraq was damage and division that has led to the explosion of severe ethnic and sectarian conflicts, and which their pitfalls are still hard to overcome, and thus, expanding the circle of regional instability. At the end, the question that poses itself is *“What kind of democracy could ever be accomplished throughout such brutal means?”*

Consequently, democracy that the United States calls for while being imposed through these callous and harsh means, brought nothing but fuelled animosity for America in many areas of the world, causing instability by fostering social fragmentations, extremism, and terrorism, especially, in the Middle East, where most of the states are severely split along national, religious, and ethnic lines, causing the region to become torn between regional ethnic tensions, and foreign goals and aspirations.

Therefrom, we can undoubtedly state that democracy, which should be an end for all the world’s nations, is only used as a means by America to achieve its expansionist programmes that are promoted in smart ways according to specificities of each region, i.e., depending on the nature of the conflict in the target country (ethnic, religious, social requirements, political corruption, economic deficiencies, etc).

4. The Middle East’ Importance in the US Political Agenda

Many of the world’s states consider the Middle East area to be extremely significant. The United States is foremost among them, since the region is one of the most centralized sectors of essential American interests that cannot be neglected under any circumstances, to an extent of employing military force, in case US interests in the area are threatened.

These American interests are inextricably tied to the Middle East, given the region’s vital importance, due to its strategic global location, its natural wealth, and oil richness, add to this, the protection of the Israeli entity which constitutes its closest ally. This reflected the varied forms of political and strategic coordination in accordance to the conditions that

correspond given international and regional data, and which guided successive US administrations in passing their foreign policy to serve the American ultimate objectives and interests.

4.1. The Geo-politic Importance

The Middle East stretches from Iran to the East, the Arabian Gulf and the Zagros Mountains including Tigris and Euphrates plains, up to the Moroccan Atlantic shores to the West. To the North, from the Torus Mountains, the Mediterranean countries' shores, Turkey and the Southern Anadolu Plateau, up to the Indian Ocean and Ethiopia to the South. Geographically, the Middle East symbolizes a regional expansion as a single geographical mass centred, in the East, on the Zagros Mountains and the Arabian Gulf, and from the West, on the Atlantic Ocean, and is therefore, a region of strategic depth. It is a geographical mass located between latitudes 8 and 42 North, along 60 East and 25 West, and is the centre of the world and the crossroad of the three continents: Asia, Africa, and Europe. It is Europe's Southern and South-Eastern security sphere, and the key-border line that Russia must pass in order to reach the warm waters. It is the central region that separates between the developed world in the North and the developing world in the South. (محمد توفيق, 2003)

In addition to the geo-strategic location, the Middle East landmass encompasses a large strategically important water range of seas and oceans; the Atlantic Ocean in the West, the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea in the North, the Oman Sea and the Indian Ocean from the East and South East, along with the Red Sea, the Arabian Gulf and the Aqaba Gulf. Furthermore, many straits and channels constitute vital strategic links between these waterbodies; such as, Bab Al-Mandab Strait, the Strait of Gibraltar, the Strait of Bosphorus and Dardanelle, the Strait of Hormuz, and the Strait of Terran. These are all strategic maritime ports and corridors linking international navigation traffic and commerce. (محمد توفيق, 2003)

4.2. The Economic Importance

Many elements, most notably oil and natural gas, as well as enormous monetary inventories of oil revenues, in addition to the area's mineral riches assets, make the Middle East region economically essential. The economic interest in the region has grown as industrialized countries have become more reliant on oil, which has become the cornerstone of economic life and progress. In fact, the global demand for oil has been increasing since the post-World War II and which was accompanied by the Marshall Plan for economic recovery in Europe. (Rosier, 2003)

The Arabian Gulf alone generates 35% of world oil production, while the Middle East possesses more than 70% of global reserves. The Middle Eastern oil is of vital importance, as evidenced by the following facts:

- ✓ After peaking in the 1980s, the United States oil output has been progressively dropping
- ✓ Imports of major industrialized countries are increasing, given that other energy alternatives are only contributing a small portion of total energy demands
- ✓ China and Russia's exports are falling as a result of rising domestic consumption and decreasing production rates
- ✓ The oil fields in the Middle East are close to European and Asian markets
- ✓ Because of its expectations of global oil scarcity, the United States reduces its oil production rates and maintains subsoil storage, preferring to import oil from abroad, thereby, entering the global market as an import, add to this, America is becoming unable to supply the oil growing needs of Western European states and Japan which means increasing global demand

- ✓ The Middle Eastern oil enjoys many comparative benefits, like, reduced pricing and production costs as compared to other regions, as well as, its advantageous feature in terms of the varied range of production with light, medium, and heavy ores suitable for different markets (Akin, 2015)

Furthermore, the enormous cash inventories from oil revenues in international convertible currencies have increased the Middle Eastern countries' importance. They have entered the field of international economic relations, providing economic aid and mortgages to the Third World countries, and even to the developed and industrialized countries themselves. This has granted these Middle Eastern states an increased significance in international economic affairs. (Akin, 2015)

Natural gas is another key source of energy, with reserves, in the Middle East, reaching around 54.8 trillion m³, accounting for 30% of global reserves. The region produces around 21.2 million barrels of natural gas per day, accounting for 29.4% of world output. (Hosny, 2015). Moreover, the diverse geological structures of the area grant it a large range of natural and mineral wealth, including Phosphate, Potassium, Iron, Gold, and Diamond in some countries. In terms of agricultural, animal, and fishery wealth, according to many surveys done in 2004, 2008, and 2015, and collected by International Monetary Fund, the Middle East region is self-sufficient and it produces a surplus of its needs exported to the world for hard currencies. These surveys argue that the region, with all this natural, mineral and energetic wealth it enjoys, it has the potential to catch up with the industrialized world in a relatively short period of time, if it has the security and stability factors.

4.3. The Military Importance

For clarification, the Middle East military importance refers to the collection of factors associated to military activities, whether they are directly tied to land, sea, air, armed forces or to the bases where they operate. The following are the most essential of those factors:

- ✓ The region's adequate breadth and depth allows and facilitates the establishment of military bases
- ✓ The diversity of the soil character provides diverse circumstances for combat training of troops in different types of terrain and battlefields
- ✓ The region's moderate climate in several areas allows for year-round airworthiness and navigable waterways
- ✓ The region's huge landmass is distinguished by its width, the ability to expand its road networks, and the diversity of its natural resources, all of which provide it with economic, military, and strategic advantages
- ✓ The large seas and oceans' coastline with multiple ports serving as important maritime bases, and the region's possession of many of the highly strategic sea-lanes
- ✓ Energy and fuel sources' self-sufficiency for military activities
- ✓ The availability of the necessary factors for the establishment of military industries; such as, the manufacture of weapons and ammunition, especially, if cooperation can be achieved with countries having expertise in sophisticated armaments technology, allowing the development of war production industries in some Middle Eastern countries as Egypt and Turkey
- ✓ Availability of several airports and air bases facilitates manoeuvres to reach any spot in that region
- ✓ Availability of a broad network of land, sea, and air channels facilitates the transportation of troops and equipment
- ✓ Because of its strategic location globally, the main superpowers are attempting to seize control of the region, knowing that dominating the area means having the international control militarily (Akin, 2015)

4.4. The Cultural Importance

The Middle East enjoys a spiritual status among the world's communities, as it is the cradle of the three divine religions: Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, including their sanctities. Note that, the Middle East is also the birthplace of several ancient civilizations, including the Pharaonic, Babylonian, and Assyrian civilizations, as well as the Islamic civilization from which the West has taken so much inspiration. This civilisation has much credit and contribution to the development of the European and Western civilizations. (Jepperson, 2003)

On the other hand, the spread of Islam in the region has helped to disseminate Arab-Islamic identity, that plays a significant role in the cause of unity among its states. This means, creating a collective capacity capable of participating effectively and influentially in the course of international relations, thereby, threatening the superpowers' vital interests in the area. In fact, the religious factor has played a prominent role in the region's connections with the rest of the world. A series of European crusades took place, aiming at containing the Islamic tide in the world. In addition to this, Islam has had a crucial contribution in preventing the spread of Communist ideology in the area, and occasionally, jeopardizing the interests of the region's major powers, as happened in Iran after the fall of the Shah. (Jepperson, 2003)

Based on the forgoing perception, and due to the fact that the Middle East is characterized by its cultural, linguistic, and ethnic diversity, and which has fuelled local tensions that have been externally exploited, the foreign powers, individually or collectively, have attempted to undermine any form of unity or complementarity among the states of the area. They have been sowing discord and division among the Middle Eastern countries in order to keep them vulnerable, underdeveloped and dependent on those foreign powers, whether economically, militarily, politically, and even culturally; as it is not in their interests to emerge a giant force

capable of expressing autonomy and tipping the power scales and the international balance to its favour.

5. US Foreign Policy' Mechanisms

There is no doubt that the Middle East pre-eminence has drawn it into a cycle of rivalry and conflict for hegemony. This situation has profoundly polarised regional and international powers, and has driven the United States' ongoing ambition to impose its supremacy and broaden its sphere of action. These are among the priorities of the US foreign policy in the region and which have been reflected in the planning and formulation of its strategic alternatives according to its perception of the developments happening in the region, with the aim of maintaining its global credibility and hegemony.

Hence, the backdrop of the US foreign policy is to protect the state's highest interests, and because of America's prerequisites that have successfully placed it at the forefront of the global scene as the leader of the new world order, the United States strives by all means to retain that status. On the other hand, American power which is characterized by diligence, extension, exclusiveness, and diversity, has allowed the US foreign policy more liberty in deploying several means independently or concurrently. These means or mechanisms differ depending on the objectives set to be reached and to the subsequent US administrations as well. These mechanisms, however, can be summarized as follows:

5.1. Economic

The United States has been able to influence and control the global economy, and to establish an international economic system that serves its purposes, through the economic, financial, and international institutions created by the Bretton Woods monetary system. It has succeeded in qualifying its economy to be more robust and stable internationally, relying on high-quality technologies, and its companies' control over capital movements, investments, and international trade. (ادريس الكريبي، 2010)

Therefore, America employs its economic assistance to pursue particular aims in the region; as it provides economic and financial aid to the Middle Eastern countries. However, it resorts, in certain circumstances, to impose economic sanctions to force the implementation of the United Nations' resolutions passed against some governments. It works also on negotiating free trade zones with World Trade Organization' states wishing to move towards trade liberalization on an international basis, and expanding free trade zones to include those who have not yet caught up with globalization. (ادريس الكربي، 2010)

5.2. Diplomatic (*Soft Power*)

Diplomacy, or soft power, is not simply similar to impact, because impact could also be based on hard power of threats and bribes, etc. It is also more than just an art of persuasion or the capacity to solicit people's arguments, albeit part of it. However, it simply means power of attraction; as attractiveness frequently leads to acquiescence. As for resources, soft power relies on media, economic temptation aid and loans, as well as, cultural instruments that create such attractiveness, as the former French Minister Bernard Kushner put it: "*the Americans are the strongest in inspiring other people's dreams and deepest desires thanks to their mastery of global imagery through movies and television*". (Nye, 2004)

The US Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence agreed that diplomacy, which falls under the umbrella of soft power, is a long-term reaching activity to promote national interest and security, through understanding, familiarizing, and influencing on external audiences, as well as, the expansion of dialogue between citizens, institutions, and their overseas counterparts. The United States, often, resorts to the diplomatic alternatives, especially, after it has started to lose its legitimacy and credibility in the Middle Eastern communities because of its practices in the region, as well as, its use of hard power (military intervention), particularly in its quest of combating terrorism, and which can harm its vital interests in the region. These diplomatic alternatives are highlighted in:

- ✓ Re-strengthening political and military alliances, and organizations to thwart any threats to its interests, guarantee its infiltration, and strengthen its political power and control over the area
- ✓ A US interest in worldwide development, through developing more integrated assistance programmes, connecting American interests with the ambitions and aspirations of populations all over the world
- ✓ Reinvesting in public diplomacy through establishing non-profit organizations overseas, to strengthen social bonds with international communities; like, the Fulbright Program funded by United States, and which its annual accreditation was doubled to foster scientific and cultural understanding and interaction between its people and those of the world's nations
- ✓ Taking the lead on issues, like, climate change and energy security, as well as investing more in technological and creative areas
- ✓ To work on playing the role of mediator in solving some of the region's intern conflicts, typically, the Arab-Israeli conflict, trying to find satisfying solutions to both of the parties, while protecting Israel and preserving its ultimate interests as being its closest ally. (Wohnesorge, 2020)

5.3. Military (*Hard Power*)

The United States has always emphasised the importance of possessing enormous military power, and developing military and combat capabilities, as means of ensuring its status and dominance in the world, generally, and in the Middle East, particularly. Indeed, its hard power was the key to the successful preservation of American international interests. In fact, the US history is marked by dozens of cases in which its military power has been used, causing its policy to be military in nature and raising hostility towards America, as its

behaviour, often, counters the requirements of international legitimacy, as well as, moral and humanitarian norms and values.

However, the US use of hard power has two recurring forms:

- ✓ Threatening to use hard power in the pattern of deterrence or coercion. In other words, threatening with the aim of influencing the opponent to either keep it from doing particular things (deterrence), or compelling it to do particular things (coercion).
- ✓ The actual use of hard power, which is associated with the hostile use of military forces under the pattern of defence or attack against specific counterparty, causing them direct destructive effects. (ايجاد عمر، 2016)

Besides, there are some military strategies developed by America to guarantee its interests in the regions, and which are as follows:

- ✓ Maintaining American military permanent presence through the establishment of military bases in the region
- ✓ Establishing a regional structure involving the region's states that enjoys the American trust, like, the Saudi Arabia
- ✓ Joint manoeuvres with the region states, such as, the US-Israeli strategic cooperation. (Lisch, 2019)

To conclude, we may say that the United States relies and cling on two principles in shaping its foreign policy, and accomplishing its quest of pursuing its interests and security on a global scale. The first and foremost principle is of the absolute and unlimited power which is based on strengthening its political, economic, and military forces in order to impose its global hegemony and order in accordance to what fits and ensures its objectives, excluding any rivalry on the international scene.

The second principle is of the American moral values which presents an ideal and excellent helpful perception of US foreign policy, and through which the United States advocates for an ongoing intervention in international affairs based on the intellectual features that set the premise of promoting liberalism and democratization. However, the tools and mechanisms used to exert its foreign policy and to fulfil its aims, vary according to the variables of international data, and that of the successive US administrations and their grasp of given global circumstances.



CHAPTER THREE

US Security Strategy Following 09/11 Attacks -War on Terrorism-

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Chapter Three

US Security Strategy Following the 09/11 Attacks

War on Terrorism

The 09/11/2001 assaults executed against the United States, on the World Trade Centre, in New York, and the Department of Defence (Pentagon), marked a qualitative leap in terrorism phenomena and its devastating potential. These attacks resulted in a strategic rethinking of the US foreign policy, and eventually, adopting the Bush doctrine which is a major turning point in the American political history, as it has embraced the war on terrorism as its main foundation, and the pre-emptive strike as its strategic tool of execution.

Those attacks offered president George W. Bush the golden opportunity to exemplify the neoconservative philosophical thought, which is made up of three key-constituents: military dominance, religious fundamentalism, and hegemony. The US administration capitalized on the psychological trembling generated in the American society and the world's communities as well, by extending its military engagement internationally, rising the banner of war on terrorism and the necessity to drain its sources.

Since then, war on terrorism has become the centre line of the US foreign policy, while aiming to convince the worldwide community that the Middle East is the root of global terrorism. However, we cannot address this US war waged on global terrorism without highlighting the definition of terrorism in the American political agenda, and which has caused a clear confusion among intellectuals, academics and scientists, as it manifests a noteworthy contradiction in grasping and determining the concept of terrorism.

1. The Definitional Problem of Terrorism

Terrorism has been the matter of significant controversy and appraisal, as there is no agreed-upon definition yet of the concept. However, it is identified, according to the

American political literature, as a pre-designed violence or aggression to serve given political aims and maiming or killing innocent civilians (US Department of State, 2003). Moreover, America gave, throughout its political rhetoric, the notion of terrorism a religious dimension tying it to Islam, making of it to be a synonym of the word *Jihad*, and illustrating that Islam is an anti-democratic religion that backs dictatorship, and incite for terrorism and blood shedding under the pretext of Jihad. Consequently, the United States, following the 9/11 events, grasped the opportunity and hastened to accuse the Arabs and Muslims for terrorism, particularly, in light of the growing hostility towards America in the region as a response to its unfair practices and its unconditioned bias to its ally Israel.

Nonetheless, it ought to be highlighted that terrorism is not pertained to Arabs and Muslims, as portrayed by the American and Western allegations. However, it is an international phenomenon resulted from the developments and the ongoing change of the international system that the worldwide communities have undergone, including globalization and its challenges, the advancement of military technologies, and the complex nature of the shifting interconnected relations between regimes and organizations, which is often characterized by conflicts.

Furthermore, acts of aggression and terrorism are also bound to cartels and militias that are spread all over the international community. The United States itself has been plagued by drug cartels and militias, among which we mention: the Michigan militia, the Oath keepers, the Texas militia, and the Three Percenters militia. In 2016, SPLC (Southern Poverty Law Centre) identified 165-armed militia groups in the United States, and 334 militias throughout the two Americas (Cole, 2004). Moreover, Israel's ongoing atrocities against the Palestinian people are deemed gross violations of international law and human rights, and thus are terrorist acts.

All of these acts have been categorized as violence, terrorism, or organized crime which has grown into a structured organization with specific goals and strategies, due to deteriorating political and socioeconomic circumstances and rising poverty (Cole, 2004). Accordingly, these activities associated with violence, aggression, and organized crime, make it strenuous to identify terrorism as a phenomenon and define it appropriately. Furthermore, the United States far surpassed all limits of logic to consider armed struggle and national liberation movements to be serious threats to the world's security and peace, arguing that conflicts should be resolved via diplomatic means (US Department of State, 2022). In other words, from American standpoint, armed struggle and libertarian movements that reject colonization and aggression and serve legitimized rights of independence and sovereignty, have to acquiesce in their cause or they will be tagged with terrorism.

Correspondingly, the Palestinian resistance, which is taken out to draw the world's limelight to their legitimized cause and the brutality of Israel's doings against their nation, is labelled terrorism. On the other hand, bombing and killing countless thousands of innocent people most of which are children and elders in Afghanistan and Iraq, is referred to differently, like, self-defence, legitimized defence, and war on terrorism, rather than terrorist acts. In other words, terrorism from an American perspective is not related to actions of violence, but rather, to who is committing these actions.

Therefore, defining the notion of terrorism in the American political agenda depicts a very loud and blatant puzzling perplexity that has only one explanation; the United States seeks only what serves its strategic interests and those of its ally Israel, going even beyond all norms and legitimacy to guarantee them.

2. The US Strategy for Counter-Terrorism

It should be emphasized that the matter of terrorism started to gain increasing attention since 1980s, for the fact that Alexander Haig, the Secretary of State in the Reagan

administration, announced that international terrorism would supersede human rights in the US political agenda. However, this vision has been greatly realized in American foreign policy as a result of the 09/11 aftermath convulsions that led to the crystallization of a new strategy to combat terrorism.

2.1. The Strategy' Principles and Purposes

The sudden attack on American military and economic icons of power; the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, on September 11th, 2001, killed over 3000 people from more than 80 nations. As a result, the United States has sought to bring the world together in combatting a new distinct war, and the first of its kind, a war aimed at combatting the ever-evolving threat of terrorism and any governments that sponsor it. With a focus on prevention, disruption and pre-emptive response, this strategy encompasses a range of tactics and policies designed to detect, deter, and defeat terrorist organizations and their operatives, within and beyond the United States.

Consequently, those assaults marked a major turning point in the American history, shattering the idea that threats from overseas had vanished. It is worth noting that before those events, the United States lacked a plan for combatting terrorism and the threat it represented to American interests. Given the number of assaults against US targets domestically and internationally, however, their impact was not that profound. The table below shows the attacks executed against American targets within the country and abroad.

Table 01: Local and Global Acts of Terrorism against USA (Talbot, 2002)

Date	Country	Events
1979	Tehran - Iran	✓ Students attacked the US embassy holding 52 Americans captive for 444 days
April 1983	Beirut- Lebanon	✓ 63 people were killed in a car bomb targeted the US embassy

October 1983	Beirut-Lebanon	✓ A suicide gang of Shiites detonated the US marines' barracks, killing 241 American soldiers
December 1983	Kuwait	✓ A gang of Shiites detonated a car bomb next to the US and French embassies, killing 05 and injuring 86
September 1984	Beirut-Lebanon	✓ A car bomb was blown in US embassy annex, killing 16 and injuring the ambassador
November 1984	Bogotá-Colombia	✓ A passer-by was killed in an explosive assault on the US embassy
April 1985	Madrid- Spain	✓ Bombing a restaurant next to a US air station, killing 18 Spaniards and injuring 15 Americans
June 1985	Beirut-Lebanon	✓ A gang of Shiites hijacked a US Air-Fly Boing TWA 727, murdered a US Navy sailor, and held 39 Americans captive till July thanks to a Syrian mediation
August 1985	Frankfurt-Germany	✓ A car bomb explosion at a US facility, killing 02 people and wounding 20 more
October 1985	Egypt	✓ Four Palestinians hijacked the Italian cruise liner Achille Laura, killing an American
November 1985	Egypt	✓ An Egyptian passenger airline was hijacked, killing an American passenger
December 1985	Rome-Italy Vienna-Austria	✓ A suicidal Arab gang assaulted US and Israeli airports' ticket counters, killing 16 people
April 1986	Berlin-Germany	✓ A bomb explosion aboard an American TWA airliner, killing 04 passengers ✓ A bomb explosion in a nightclub, killing an American and injuring 150 others among which 44 were Americans
December 1988	USA	✓ A bomb explosion in a Panama Company airliner, killing 259 passengers
February 1993	USA	✓ A bomb explosion underneath the World Trade Centre, killing 07 people and injuring 500 more

November 1995	Riyadh-Saudi Arabia	✓ A bomb explosion at a Saudi military facility, killing 07 people, 05 of them were Americans
June 1996	Dhahran-Saudi Arabia	✓ A bomb explosion at the Khobar Towers, killing 19 Americans and injuring 400 people
June 1998	Beirut-Lebanon	✓ A shelling assault on the US embassy without casualties
August 1998	Nairobi-Kenya	✓ A bomb explosion in the US embassy, killing 224 people, 12 among them were Americans
October 2000	Aden-Yamen	✓ A bomb explosion killing 17 US sailors and injuring 40 others aboard the USS Cole while refuelling, and the US government indicted Oussama Bin Laden
September 2001	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ An American jet with 81 passengers and 09 crew members slammed into Manhattan's 368-foot tall North Tower of the World Trade Centre ✓ After around 18 minutes, another US Airline Boing 727 crashed into the South Tower of the World Trade Centre ✓ At 09:30, another US airline jet carrying 65 passengers crashed into the Pentagon ✓ A Boing 747 with 45 passengers collided nearby Pittsburgh international airport, and a car bomb detonated next to the Department of Foreign Affairs in Washington

The American response to those terrorist attacks that occurred before 09/11, was generally restricted to one or two retaliation raids, and criminal prosecution of those who could be arrested for such crimes. However, the magnitude of those 09/11 events represented a major challenge to American security and civic society, blowing all beliefs of indomitable America. This is why the bulk of post-crisis writings highlighted new worries about the state, whether

these concerns are motivated by wrath, fear, the need for immediate action, or an internal revision process.

Thus, president George W. Bush supported by a broad national consensus, described this challenge since its outset as a war, and “*in this war triumph must be achieved*”, stated Bush (Kissinger, 2002, p. 289). As a result, the United States made significant changes in the American strategic thinking, endorsing the pre-emptive strike to be the axis of its new adopted strategy for counter-terrorism; as the Bush administration and his neoconservative administration considered it the most appropriate strategy against potential and uncertain threats to its national security.

This US strategy for counter-terrorism and its primary components, known also as Bush Doctrine, were outlined in *The National Security Strategy of the United States* which was released in September 2002. This document is recognized as the canonical formulation of this strategy, and in which the following is stated:

The Security environment confronting the United States today is radically different from what we have faced before. Yet the first duty of the United States government remains what it always has been: to protect the American people and American interests. It is an enduring American principle that this duty obligates the government to anticipate and counter threats, using all elements of national power, before the threats can do grave damage. The greater the threat, the greater is the risk of inaction_ and the more compelling the case for taking anticipatory action to defend ourselves, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy's attack. There are few greater threats than a terrorist attack with WMD. To forestall or prevent such hostile acts by our adversaries, the United States will, if necessary, act pre-emptively in exercising our inherent

right of self-defence. (The National Security Strategy of the United States, 2002)

In simple terms, this US counter-terrorism strategy revolves around aborting the target before it becomes a serious threat. Thus, Iraq was chosen as a case in point of this American new strategy, presuming that it threatened global security and stability, tying it to WMD and terrorism which they claimed was caused by the paucity of democracy in the Middle Eastern countries.

Furthermore, the 2006 US National Security report reiterated that “*The United States is at war*” and that its strategy intended to: “*...to eliminate targets that cannot be attained by other means, including nuclear arms, if necessary, given the deterrence strategy has proven ineffective, and hence, room must be allowed for conventional or nuclear weapons to get involved*” (Abramowitz, 2008, p. 78).

This adopted strategy has also validated the United States unilateralism, as it is indicated in *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism*, which was released in February 2003, stating that:

In this war against a shared foe, the United States will strive to enlist the international community’ assistance. However, if necessary, we will not hesitate to act alone, to exercise our right to self-defence, including acting pre-emptively to protect our people and our country... (National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, 2003, p.02)

As the Pentagon reports of 2003 and 2006 demonstrated, pre-emptive action and unilateralism have become the tenets of this US war on terrorism, which, in turn, has become the beating heart of the American foreign policy. Accordingly, this US counter-terrorism strategy emphasizes two significant themes:

- ✓ Declaring war on global terrorism which threatens the security of America and its allies, and is based on the two main pillars:
 - Prosecution of terrorist organizations by depleting their resources through appropriate intelligence and military means beyond all diplomatic and legal restrictions and control.
 - Striving to eliminate weapons of mass destruction and to prosecute the countries that produce them, particularly, the Rogue States, or as Bush referred to them by *The Axis of Evil*, and which are: Iran, Iraq (before the US occupation), North Korea, Syria, Cuba and other states that constitute an obstacle in the face of US vital interests. These countries are either indicted of practicing terrorism or sponsoring it financially, logistically or militarily. This was already executed in Afghanistan and Iraq, as the United States invaded them after the 09/11 attacks for the aforesaid claims.
- ✓ Disseminating the American values and the promotion of universal democracy, freedom and human rights, claiming that the absences of these values, is the major source of terrorism and extremism. (Jacques et al, 2009)

The *New American Century Project* of September 2002, provided, also, a ground for the US counter-terrorism strategy which its principles have become the hallmark of the new American foreign policy. This strategy is based on three pillars that determine the US new mission:

- ✓ The shift from deterrence to pre-emptive response in dealing with threats
- ✓ The shift from containing regimes to breaking down and changing them, especially, in the Middle East
- ✓ US awareness of its leading role in the world and its responsibility as the trustee of its stability and security (Jacques et al, 2009)

As a result, in addition to restrengthening the Congress' 1991 armament control programme in the Middle East, the United States has arisen emblems of reforms for the region in form of what is known as *The Greater Middle East Project*, as part of this US strategy for the area. This project addresses all the countries of the Greater Middle East, from Mauritania to Afghanistan, and targets political, social, and educational rehabilitations, along with a US-designed model of democracy, all of which have to be affected in the region even if it takes the use of military force to be attained.

This initiative, according to political analysts, is nothing more than a US carefully designed plan to re-draw the area, and an optimal chance to execute its formula of the new world order. Eventually, America has greatly excelled in making this war on terrorism and its strategy the helm of collaboration with the worldwide nations, in general, and with the Middle East region, in particular, as it has made it the core component of its foreign policy.

2.2. War on Afghanistan

On September 20th, 2001, the US counter-terrorism strategy was unveiled, as it is aforementioned, and characterized by two features: continuance and inclusiveness. As a result, Afghanistan was the first target of this US war waged on terrorism for being the headquarters of Al-Qaeda terrorist organization and Taliban regime. Thus, on October 07th, 2001, the American military operations started in Afghanistan, and lasted 20 years when the last US troop left the country on August 31st, 2021.

Four presidents held the White House; George W. Bush, Barack Obama, Donald Trump and Joe Biden, during this US military intervention in Afghanistan, with 51 participating countries including the NATO. According to research conducted in 2021, as part of *The Costs of War Project* by Brown University (a private American university), the number of Afghan victims, over these two decades, has reached nearly 350 thousand victims, among which 71

thousand victims were women and children, not to mention the country's catastrophic socioeconomic costs. (<http://watson.brown.edu>)

According to the reports of UN Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) submitted in July 2021, the number of Afghan refugees registered abroad has exceeded 3million and 500 thousand since 2001, making Afghanistan to be the world' second largest source of refugees. As to UNICEF, it stated that approximately 60% of children in Afghanistan are not enrolled in schools because of this US military intervention. (<http://watson.brown.edu>)

On the other hand, and according to Washington Post, 2352 American soldiers were killed since 2001, and more than 20,000 others have sustained sporadic injuries most of which have caused permanent physical disability. Add to this, 1144 soldiers belonged to the NATO and other participating countries were killed, as well as, 444 aid workers and more than 70 journalists. (<http://watson.brown.edu>)

2.3. War on Iraq

A number of studies traced back the US efforts to flip Iraq upside down, politically, to the administrations of presidents Kennedy and Eisenhower, when the US Navy landed in Lebanon following the toppling of Iraq's Pro-Western Hashemite Kingdom by General Kacem Abdul Karim in 1958. That American Navy landing was intended to imperil the Iraqi revolution and to prevent it from expanding to Jordan. However, since the emergence of the socialist Arab Baath Party and its philosophical ideology calling for Arab national solidarity, Iraq had been targeted by American leaders of barricade and sabotage, employing the Kurdish leader Barzani Mustapha to carry out this US plans. When the Shah of Iran ended his conflicts with Iraq, the United States dropped that tactic due to its futility. Meanwhile, Iraq remained to be the intended US strategic target. (مركز الاهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية، (2003)

Since then, America has been working on intensifying its presence in the Middle East, and it has vowed since 1987, during what was politically known as *Tankers War*¹⁰, to defend oil supplies in the region. As a result, the US oil imports, according to the American Petroleum Institute, reached around 48.9% in the 1990 first semester. Therefore, the United States has been working on to retain a substantial number of its forces in the Gulf area, in a bid to strengthen its grip over oil resources, as well as, serving other aims that have come to light following the its occupation of Iraq. (Gonzales, 2015)

Following the Liberation war of Kuwait, the United States shifted its focus on Iraq. In March 1991, President Bush Sr. delivered a speech in which he stated:

we must work to control the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the missiles that are used to launch these weapons; it would be tragic if the Middle East and the Persian Gulf proceed with a new arms race...until Iraq succeeds to convince the world with its good intensions that its leaders will not use the oil revenues to rearm and rebuild dangerous war machines, it must be prevented from obtaining the tools of war. (Broadcasting Board of Governors, 1991)

Through press, media, and advertising campaigns, the USA elevated Iraq to the fourth military power in the world. This propaganda was employed by Schwarzkopf, the commander of US-led Alliance Forces against Iraq in the Gulf War, to support the annihilation of the Iraqi capabilities, even though the worldwide communities were acutely

¹⁰ **The Tankers War** refers to the anti-shipping armed operations that took place during the Iraq-Iran war (1980-1988). This war was initiated by Iraq, with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia's support, against Iran. As Iraq began bombing ships in order to damage Iran's fighting capabilities, by initially assaulting ships carrying military supplies, then, attacking ships carrying Iran's exports. United States intervened in the conflict in 1986, and eventually engaged in confrontation with Iran.

cognisant that the Iraqi armour possessed only minimal defensive arsenals compared to the coalition forces that owned highly sophisticated warfare gear.

In truth, Iraq represented one of the handful developing countries with large capacity and technical advances, allowing it to accomplish and build significant military capabilities. This data was used by the US government as a strategic argument to initiate war on Iraq. The United States and its drive for arms control in the Middle East region, concentrated on certain Arab and Islamic states, with Iraq as the primary target.

Arms Control; this notion arose for, presumably, sustaining the stability and security of the Middle East. This concept appeared, particularly following the Gulf War, when some states began actively developing capabilities regarding not only conventional weapons of warfare, but also, weapons of mass destruction. Given the prevalence of tensions and the sharp rise in the pace of armament among the Middle Eastern countries, this fact foreshadowed the start of a massive weapons race and significant developments that led to the breakout of certain wars in the years to come, like the war on Iraq.

Faced with such changes, the US government moved to build arms control mechanisms in the Middle Eastern region. It began with a promotional effort in 1991, to exert pressure on some countries-selling weapons. According to The Washington Post, Russian intelligence had been recruiting Russian experts and sending them to Iran to help train its technicians to manufacture missiles with a range of 1920km. These missiles can carry nuclear weapons. (Stockholm International Peace Research Institution, 2006)

The United States, also implicated Brazil, Argentina, North Korea and China in supplying Middle Eastern governments with advanced military equipment. Ironically, the United States criticised arms exporting states, despite the fact that itself was the leading weapon exporter and the world's largest military provider, according to research conducted by the Service Congressional Research Centre. This research covered the period ranging from 1998 to

2005, and included official statistics on the worldwide sales of conventional weapons. This report was generated as an update of a previous one which addressed the period from 1990 to 1996. (Stockholm International Peace Research Institution, 2006)

Table 02: Sales of the Biggest Weapon-Exporting Countries

Countries	1990-1996 (Billion dollars)	1998-2005 (Billion dollars)
United States	61.526	108.687
Russia	30.254	45.471
France	16.945	32.715
Germany	13.947	19.320
UK	17.613	16.468
China	08.586	13.357
Italy	5.134	10.747

The analysis indicated an increase in the value of weapons procurement contracts. It also indicated that the United States, Russia, France and Germany were the four biggest states in terms of the overall amount of contracts executed during the period from 1998-2005, with \$108 billion, which is equivalent to 37% of the total amount of deals, to the United States, \$45 billion (14%) to Russia, \$32 billion (10%) to France, and \$19 billion (5%) to Germany.

Furthermore, shortly after the President George Bush Sr. unveiled his arms control initiative, the United States supplied Israel with ten (10) US jet aircraft and Arrow type short range tactical ballistic missiles. When asked about the contract, US Secretary of Defence Dick Cheney responded: *“The United States is willing to bear the burdens of the legitimate security demands of our friends.”* (Zbigniew, 2004, p.108). This means that this arms control initiative did not include America’s allies, particularly, Israel which has been kept out of any international pressures, militarily.

After presenting this initiative, the US government confronted the issue of whether or not it ought to continue supplying the allied Middle Eastern countries, for the fact that America had concerns about those states' governmental systems which had been through unstable political state that could lead them to be changed at any given time, and be replaced by new hostile systems to the United States and its interests.

Then, the Congress attempted to modify the arms control process to reduce the severity of armed conflicts that were perceived as a danger to the US interests in the Middle East region. Therefore, in 1991, legislation was enacted to implement the amended formula of the arms control initiative that aimed at overseeing the trade of weapons to the Middle Eastern nations. This formula encompassed the following points: (مركز الاهرام للدراسات السياسية) (و الاستراتيجية, 2006)

- ✓ Congress unveiled that the countries of the Middle East had purchased over \$250 billion worth of weapons since the mid-1970s, primarily sourced from the permanent members of the Security Council (USA, France, UK, Russia, China), in addition to Italy, Argentina, Brazil and Germany
- ✓ It determined that the region' states either had or were actively seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction
- ✓ The initiative stressed on the fact that the widespread presence of both traditional and unconventional weapons would pose a significant risk to the security and stability of the region and the world
- ✓ The Security Council's five permanent members have to collaborate with the rest of arms-exporting states to reduce the transfer of weapons to the Middle East (Lesch, 2003)

The United States was eager to be a key player at this project. This was clear from the third-quarter of Congress' initiative dubbed Arms Providers Deal, which stated that:

- ✓ The US Secretary of State must convene a meeting with delegates from all arms-provider countries to discuss the initiative. The meeting aims to exchange information and establish official agreements on the following points:
 - Prevent the proliferation of all kinds of non-conventional weapons in the region, and related technologies
 - Minimise the spread of conventional weaponry in the region
 - Offer inducement to the region's countries in order to achieve regional armament control treaties via all possible measures

The initiative, also emphasised the importance of disseminating information amongst arms-producing states about their sales to all Middle Eastern countries, as well as promoting the regional arms control agreements. The Arms Providers Deal, in its fourth section, emphasised the aims that the United States ought to achieve regarding the region, such as:

- ✓ Making the region free of all possible kinds of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical, biological)
- ✓ Implementing security protocols requiring the Middle Eastern governments to provide early notice for military land and aerial training
- ✓ Implementing additional protocols to allow for the region's negotiations

Yet, the fifth part of the deal included the following:

- ✓ Inviting the region' states to accede *The Nuclear Mid-Range Arms Treaty*, which prohibits the proliferation of Cruz-type ballistic missiles and rockets with ranges of 500-5500 km
- ✓ Negotiations on a convention to prohibit possession of ballistic missiles and Cruz-type missiles with a range of 150km

Congress emphasised the necessity to submit a regular annual report on arms sales, covering the following:

- ✓ To provide records of all conventional and non-conventional weapons' shipments to the region, identifying sources, types and destinations
- ✓ To analyse the region' states militarily, particularly, in terms of weapon level transmission
- ✓ Identifying states that rejected the pact
- ✓ Identifying any violations of the pact by weapons-exporter countries

In section six of the deal, Congress placed constraints on the American weapons' selling procedures. The latter precluded the US government from proceeding any contracts with the region's countries until the US president submit the following:

- ✓ An affidavit demonstrating the Secretary of foreign affairs' attempts to organise a meeting for *Arms Providers Deal*
- ✓ To provide a detailed report about the meeting

Section seven, was devoted to the US policy regarding its allies' armament, where it was claimed that:

- ✓ Arms contracts must adhere to the pact (Arms Providers Deal), and have no influence on US interests in the area of Middle East
- ✓ To be involved in the necessary strategies for improving the security of the friendly states

Then, section eight states that the USA intends to broaden the scope of this arms control deal to involve additional states across the world.

What is noteworthy is that a thorough examination of the agreement's content removed Israel from the limitations and constraints imposed on the region's countries under the justification that Israel armament aims to preserve its security. This, of course, is an attempt to maintain Israel constantly ahead of the remainder of the region's states.

However, the September 11th events noted the starting point of the US political escalation against Iraq, through several hostile speeches made by president Bush and his top officials, in order to set up for war. Regardless, the American desire to strike Iraq had been its objective since the Gulf War I in 1991, when president Bush Sr. stated his intension to depose the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. Since then, the United States had been engaged in a clandestine war with Iraq in a form of measures that were taken against it; such as, the imposition of no-fly zone, harsh economic embargo, Desert Fox military operations, and the periodic US-British bombardment of Iraqi military and vital facilities (Scheer, 2003).

The United States began to gauge the region's readiness for war, by dispatching a large number of American officials to the Middle East in order to learn about their position from the war on Iraq, and to seek their support. As in March 2002, Dick Cheney, US Vice president then, paid a diplomatic visit to eleven Middle Eastern countries that coincided with the American ongoing wide escalation of rhetoric against Iraq, in order to convince the world, in general, and the region, in particular, that the Iraqi system posed an imminent threat that must be faced and eliminated urgently.

In September 2002, president Bush made a speech to the UN General Assembly, stating the following:

- ✓ Emphasizing the need of disarming Iraq; else, a military intervention would be unavoidable
- ✓ He warned that in case Iraq succeeded in obtaining fissile materials, it might manufacture a nuclear weapon within a year
- ✓ Accusing the Iraqi government for violating its international commitments, as it had been avoiding, since the Liberation War of Kuwait, to disclose its stock and programs of weapons of mass destruction

- ✓ He highlighted Iraq's failure to comply with the UN Security Council 's resolutions, asserting that this refusal was a threat to the UN's authority itself (www.gov.org)

On the other hand, the Bush administration expressed clearly its disappointment with president Bill Clinton, stating that he must bear the responsibility for making inappropriate decisions, as his containment policy pursued with Iraq had proved its inefficiency, and thus, it was deemed necessary to attack Iraq and remove Saddam Hussein and his Baath Party from power. Furthermore, America worked on demonizing any initiative taken by the Iraqi government to reach a peaceful solution for the crisis; such as, the Iraqi initiative to comply with the UN resolution 1441 issued in 2002, and to accept the resumption of UN inspectors' missions in Iraq after being disrupted in 1998, and which was followed by Saddam's refusal to comply with the UN resolution 1284 issued in 1999 which obliged the inspection committees to return to Iraq.

However, despite the UNSCOM and the UNMOVIC reports that confirmed the dismantling of the Iraqi military manufacturing infrastructure, and the destruction of all various kinds of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, the United States remained steadfast to the idea of striking Iraq. Commentary magazine, which advocates the New Right and neoconservatives, released an article in July, 2002 saying:

The invasion of Iraq is compulsive for reasons other than the evil it represents, the only way to get rid of people like Bin Laden and Saddam Hussein is to bring about disequilibrium if not full chaos in that part of the world (Davidson, 2016, p. 35)

Then, in September 2002, Bush officially stated, in an address to the UN General Assembly, that the UN inspectors' reports would make no difference, asserting that a military action against Iraq was unavoidable decision, and he confirmed that the attack would be

launched even if the United Nations would not endorse it. It is worth noting that ANAC¹¹ members; like Dick Cheney, William Kristol, Paul Wolfowitz, Charles Kretchmer, Francis Fukuyama, and Donald Rumsfeld, played a critical role in shaping American foreign policy during the Bush Presidential tenure, by virtue of the key positions of some of them in the policymaking. They were mainly in favour of the war on Iraq; as stated in a speech made to president Bush: “...any strategy to combat terrorism must also involve the removal of president Saddam Hussein’s governing system.” (Butler, 2002, p. 32)

Eventually, president Bush declared war on Iraq in 2003, knowing that Saddam Hussein and his Baath Party would never voluntarily step down. The United States was not the only force; other forces participated as shown in *Table 03*. This war was waged under justifications ranging from Iraq’s possession of weapons of mass destruction and sponsorship of terrorism, to violation of human rights, presuming that this war is part of its humanitarian mission to abolish dictatorship and build a democratic government in Iraq that serves as an example in the region. This US attitude can only be seen in one way; that is submitting Iraq under American influence had been a longed-for strategic aim that must be attained at whatever cost.

Table 03: *The Participating Forces in the War on Iraq* (www.newsweek.com)

Countries	Withdrawal
The United States	2011
Britain	2011
Australia	2009
Estonia	2009

¹¹ **PNAC: Project for the New American Century:** was a neoconservative thinktank established in 1997 in Washington, D.C. It focused on US foreign policy, and it’s claimed purpose was to promote American worldwide leadership in terms of military strength and moral clarity. In 2006, it was superseded by another thinktank called *The Foreign Policy Initiative*.

Romania	2009
Salvador	2009
Albania	2008
Armenia	2008
Azerbaijan	2008
Bosnia	2008
Bulgaria	2008
Czech	2008
Denmark	2008
Georgia	2008
Italy	2008
Kazakhstan	2008
Latvia	2008
Macedonia	2008
Mongolia	2008
Poland	2008
South Korea	2008
Ukraine	2008
Lithuania	2007
Slovakia	2007
Japan	2006
Norway	2006
Netherlands	2005

2.4. International Stands on the US Counter-Terrorism Strategy

The pre-emptive strike is the core axis of the US war on terrorism, and the two wars of Afghanistan and Iraq are the direct results of this strategy under the guise of the right to self-defence, as stated the Article 51 of the UN Charter:

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security (<http://legal.un.org>)

To provide a plausible rationale for the expression “*if an armed attack occurs*”, the United States contended that international law does not need an actual armed attack, and that a pre-emptive action against an imminent threat is a stretch of the right to self-defence. However, the expression “*imminent threat*” is still being debated in terms of the degree of its seriousness and size (Bruce, 2004). The Security Council endorsed the United States by passing Resolution N° 1373, which addresses the challenges to global peace and security posed by terrorism, as well as, a variety of measures linked to the ceasing of financing terrorist activities and combatting it. Then, it laid out the applied requirements of Resolution 1373 in 13 items in form of queries for governments to respond to, and it developed a committee to assess the countries’ compliance to the resolution which was placed under Chapter VII of the UN Charter (www.un.org). Notwithstanding, despite this American effort to justify the adoption of pre-emptive strike under the umbrella of the UN Charter, this US strategy has not received universal worldwide recognition.

The first and most obvious reason that deprived America a full recognition is, as we’ve previously discussed, the ambiguity and double standards in defining the concept of terrorism in American political literature, as a wide range of global governments have found it confusing and challenging to match between the concept of terrorism and the one embraced

and imposed by the United States (Bruce, 2004). Another fact is that worldwide governments are required to combat terrorism with reference to a US designated list of terrorists from which a serious problem arises, given that American comprehension of terrorism affects multiple nations and libertarian movements fighting for their own freedom and independence, although the UN Resolution N° 3246 issued in 1974, has proved the legitimacy of the armed resistance for self-determination. In addition to this, the UN Resolution N° 3314 passed the same year declared that populations under colonization, racism, or any form of foreign dominance have the right to an armed resistance for independence (www.un.org).

However, America refused to remove the Palestinian movement *Hamas* from the list of terrorist organizations, in order to confirm its full support to its ally Israel which is already denounced by international community for multiple terrorist acts. For this reason, numerous countries claimed to initiate an open debate to determine the phenomenon of terrorism and well identify its criteria, but this debate never took place. Therefore, neither there is a well-established definition of terrorism, nor clearly identified characteristics of this phenomenon. Consequently, this US war on terrorism has become a source of concern for worldwide peace and security rather than a means of achieving international stability.

On the other hand, the United States has given its war on terror a moral dimension of promoting democracy and human rights starting with Iraq. But what America actually did, was dividing Iraq into ethnic areas as follows: the North of the country for Kurds, the centre for Sunnis, and the South for Shiites (2005- 2004 (التقرير العربي الاستراتيجي)). The United States claimed to have worked on establishing a democratic federal government, in which all groups of different ethnic backgrounds would have equal representation. This was already addressed by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) in its *Vision for Post-Conflict Iraq* plan, which stressed the need to establish a new Iraqi government with confined

authority, transforming it to a democratic federal system (USAID, 2003). Actually, this set the ground for the emergence of socioeconomic tensions and racial confrontations that culminated to the dissolution of Iraqi unity.

Furthermore, establishing a federal government based on ethnicity and sectarianism did not mean that the United States was keen to ensure the inclusion of marginalized minorities of Kurds and others in the political process, preventing the monopoly of power by one dominant group; rather, it was a choice to fragment the Iraqi society and to maintain its presence and stretch its dominance to the rest of the region, as all that has been accomplished in Iraq is damage and division that has led to the explosion of severe ethnic conflicts. Thus, as long as regional conflicts keep worsening the political situation there, and which would not settle down before a long time, the United States will be able to maintain its presence in all forms in the area.

Moreover, we must point out to the fact that despite the American insistence on stressing, through its political rhetoric, on democracy and that the United States will cope only with governments that emerges from democratic elections, the successive US administrations have never desired a truly powerful public democratic expression, particularly, if this democracy has the capacity to affect political decisions when necessary. In practise, however, America has constantly betted on its capacity to influence and control democratic-appearing regimes through legitimate and illicit means.

This is shown and proved in the US long history of such practices; as the United States was able to oust the *Mossadegh* government of Iran in the 1950s, and to push president *Eduard Shevardnadze* of Georgia to resign through inciting public protests and demonstrations (Rose Revolution) in 2003. Add to it, the multiple efforts to remove Venezuelan president *Hugo Chavez* from office, despite the fact that he was duly elected. In addition to this, the Bush Jr. administration denied the democratic triumph of *Hamas*

movement in Palestine, although the elections were free and fair, indicting it to be a terrorist organization that must not be in charge of Palestinian affairs. (Hoff, 2010)

On the other hand, America keeps preaching about human rights while indulging in brutal practices in Iraq and Afghanistan including torture, harassment, attacks, raids and indiscriminate bombardments on unarmed civilians who had been already denied of all aspects of life. Add to this, it authorised human rights' breaches in its interests and those of its allies under the guise of fighting terrorism, rejecting all UN human rights agreements because they did not serve the US objectives. For these reasons, the United States lost its seat on the *Human Right Committee*¹², but was able to reclaim it again by applying pressures. Besides, democracy that the United States calls for while being imposed through these callous and harsh means, brought nothing but fuelled animosity for America in many areas of the world, causing instability by fostering social fragmentations, extremism, and terrorism.

It is well known that democracy is tied to cultural and social awareness and political experiences, and therefore, it cannot be coerced; rather it evolves incrementally. In other words, democracy is not a one-size-fits-all solution that can be enforced immediately, anywhere at any given time, especially, in the Middle Eastern states which most of them are severely split along national, religious, and ethnic lines. This, in fact, is precisely what happened in Iraq, as it has become torn between local ethnic tensions and foreign goals and aspirations, with the United States at the forefront of the list.

All of these practices, along with enforcing this ambiguous US counter-terrorism strategy and a fait accompli policy, contravening international legitimacy, have earned the United States heavy criticism both domestically and internationally; as they indicate a loud double

¹² **Human Right Committee** was incepted in 1948 and is based in Geneva, and subjected in its functions to the United Nations.

standards policy, owing to the fact that the actual practice of the American policy is diametrically opposed to the faultless formulation of its declared ideal aims.

3. An Analytical Overview of the 2002 US National Security Strategy

The 2002 US National Security Strategy is one of the most essential documents for analysing the American policy and strategy, although some academics regard these documents to be unsuited for studying the US policy and strategy, owing to the fact that the US administration publishes such materials just for domestic and global consumption and they lack specificity and objectivity. This category believe that these documents are no more than tools created to be part of the political battleground in Washington, to be used in conflicts between the White House and Congress, as well as between Democrats and Republicans.

However, we believe that such documents, despite these flaws mentioned, make it easier to determine whether the measures, objectives, and methods pursued in the framework of this strategy are compatible with those expressed and described. Add to this, these documents contain some of the strategy's big outlines that can be used to refer to some of American key strategic elements and ways to attain them.

This strategy was developed by The National Security Council, and approved by president George W. Bush who publicly unveiled it in a speech made on September 17th, 2002. This document outlined the Bush's foreign policy and security strategy with war on terrorism at the forefront of its priorities, as stated at the opening of the document that:

To defeat this threat, we must make use of every tool in our arsenal_ military power, better homeland defences, law enforcement, intelligence, and vigorous efforts to cut off terrorist financing. The war against terrorists of global reach is a global enterprise of uncertain duration. America will help nations that need our assistance in combating terror, and America will

hold to account nations that are compromised by terror, including those who harbour terrorists_ because the allies of terror are the enemies of civilisation. The United States and countries cooperating with us must not allow the terrorists to develop new home bases. Together, we will seek to deny them sanctuary at every turn. (The National Security Strategy of The United States of America, 2002, p.01)

Then, this strategy highlighted what is characterized as a comprehensive vision of the US international relations, announcing that the strategy' objectives are: political and economic freedom, ensuring global peace and security, and respect of human rights and dignity, stressing on the American position of being the unmatched worldwide leader and that this hegemony is a pure American right that must be sustained in order to maintain peace, as declared in the following statement:

Today, the United States enjoys a position of unparalleled military strength and great economic and political influence... We seek to create a balance of power that favours human freedom: conditions in which all nations and all societies can choose for themselves the rewards and challenges of political and economic liberty... We will defend the peace by fighting terrorists and tyrants... We will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent. (The National Security Strategy of The United States of America, 2002, p.01)

The pre-emptive strike has been declared to be the key-measure of execution for this new strategy, and that it is the only appropriate procedure to fight this growing phenomenon of terrorism; to abort this threat before it would be well formed and reach the American soil, justifying it as an act of self-defence, as stated:

As a matter of common sense and self-defence, America will act against such emerging threats before they are fully formed. We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best...In the new world we have entered, the only path to peace and security is the path of action, and this nation will act. (The National Security Strategy of The United States of America, 2002, p.02)

To achieve these goals, the strategy sets out the following steps that America will take:

- ✓ Promote Human Dignity aspirations
- ✓ Fortify alliances to combat terrorism and to prevent assaults against United States and its allies
- ✓ To cooperate internationally to alleviate regional conflicts and defeat extremist Islamic organizations
- ✓ Prevent the adversaries from using weapons of mass destruction to threaten America or its allies
- ✓ To usher in a new era of global economic growth through free trade and markets
- ✓ To broaden the development circle by constructing open societies with democratic infrastructure
- ✓ To create agendas for collaborative activities with the world's major powers
- ✓ To redesign the American national security mechanisms to meet the new challenges and opportunities
- ✓ Targeting the states that sponsor terrorism in all possible forms
- ✓ Exert pressure on Arab and Islamic countries to introduce comprehensive reforms based on a US designed vision, claiming that the political systems and culture of Arab and Islamic States are primarily responsible for the production of radical

Islamic fundamentalism, particularly, the absence of democracy (The National Security Strategy of The United States of America, 2002)

This is on a global scale; however, the US administration has adopted domestically a set of new strategies and laws, most notably, *The Patriot Act of Public Law 107-56*, which is one of the most important laws hastily enacted following the 09/11 attacks. It has become applicable after being signed by president George W. Bush on October 26th, 2001. Despite objections from several senators, this law was quickly approved and adopted in 45 days following the September 11th events, without even being adequately reviewed by Congress. This law was passed in record time compared to the time it usually takes to pass a law in Congress. Senator Patrick Leahy of Vermont, for example, attempted to obstruct the law's passage, stating:

I am afraid that we would turn to a situation where we all share the dismay that criminal acts in New York and Pentagon may reoccur. We do not want to change our laws, so that we would not be affected by such laws at a later stage. (Gideon, 2003, p. 11)

However, the viewpoint that represented the majority of the law's passage proponents was highlighted in the statement of Attorney General John Ashcroft, who argued that the Act offered security needed and which matches the requirements to combat and overcome terrorism and the evolving threats it represents. He also assured that this law:

fills, first, the gaps in our ability to interrogate terrorists. Second, it serves as an update of counter-terrorism laws, that is needed to address the challenges posed by new technologies and new threats. Thirdly, it authorizes us to organize an active working group that communicates information and engages us all in the fight against terrorism. (Gideon, 2003, p. 13)

In fact, The National Security Strategy referred to the hazards of new technologies as a key component in enhancing the phenomenon of terrorism and its techniques, stating that:

Defending our Nation against its enemies is the first and fundamental commitment of the federal government. Today, that task has changed dramatically. Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial capabilities to endanger America. Now shadowy networks of individuals can bring great chaos and suffering to our shores for less than it costs to purchase a single tank. Terrorists are organized to penetrate open societies and to turn the power of modern technologies against us. (The National Security Strategy of United States of America, 2002, p. 01)

The *Patriot Act* featured several contentious provisions, since it broadened the scope of counter-terrorism strategy to be able to face any new forms of crime committed by local terrorism. Therefore, this law granted the executive branch a slew of new authorities to address the various types of crime and terrorism that have been extensively identified to include the proliferation of new technologies. As a result, security agencies are permitted to undertake investigations, arrests without a warrant, surveillance, eavesdropping on phone conversations, e-mails, and social media, against organizations and individuals in the United States. A special emphasis also has been placed on airports' security, border control, and visa issuance and approval procedures. (Cole, 2004)

The law incorporated broad terms, like, acts dangerous to human life, acts aimed at influencing government's policies through intimidation or coercion, or providing assistance to groups engaged in such acts, etc, (www.whitehouse.gov). However, the problem of this broad language is that it has allowed authorities to include a wide range of various interpretations of such terms, including even peaceful protests. Thus, this statute has caused a wide irritation of civil rights advocates across America.

On the other hand, ethnic distinctions have also become more common, as the FBI carried out mass arrests of hundreds of Arab Americans and Muslims, most of which were detained for no other reason than their race or religion. In unprecedented secrecy proceedings, these intelligence agencies granted themselves the authority to eavesdrop on the proceedings between the accused and his counsel without the authorization of the court. Furthermore, they did not communicate the names of the majority of detainees, and their trials were conducted in a complete secrecy without even allowing any news of the details, procedures, and results of those trials. By virtue of the powers given to these executive authorities through this law, they were able to obstruct important judicial inquiries to verify most of these arrests, attaching the status of enemy combatants to those detainees without even a legal proof, and attributed to themselves the necessary authority to incarcerate them in military prisons. (Miller, 2004)

Unquestionably, this is an obvious breach of the long-held legal principles that the accused is innocent until proven guilty, and that there should be no protracted imprisonment without charge, as well as, there shall be no discrimination on the basis of race or religion. Thus, this anti-terrorism act obliterated many constitutional rights and civil liberties that have long been cherished in America. Migrants, particularly, Arabs and Muslims have been subjected to the largest share of these infringement of rights and liberties' cases. Again, this is a blatant contradiction to what has been expressed in The National Security Strategy and its described ideal aims, as the first stated objective of this strategy is, as mentioned above, to promote human dignity and aspirations.

To have a clear idea of *The Patriot Act*, we summarized it in these following crucial points:

- ✓ The law suspects immigrants simply for the fact of being immigrants, especially, Arabs and Muslims

- ✓ It empowers the executive authorities to initiate arrests only on suspicion that an immigrant was involved in a violent crime or offered humanitarian aid to an organization or an individual designated as a terrorist by United States
- ✓ It mandates these authorities to prevent foreigners from entering the country without any justification
- ✓ It expands these authorities' powers to undertake wiretapping activities, including cell-phones, e-mails, and social media
- ✓ It requires security agencies to conduct covert inspections in non-terrorism-related instances
- ✓ The statute grants the CIA authority equivalent to jury power
- ✓ It expands the FBI's information-collecting authorities while reducing judicial supervision over it (www.whitehouse.gov)

What is noteworthy is the fact that, it is not the first time in US history that the response to fear has been to target immigrants and regard them as suspects, based on their collective identity rather than individual behaviours. A review of some historical events provides best examples to illustrate that:

- ✓ In WWI, opponents were jailed simply for declaring their refusal to the US engagement in the war, and the majority of them were immigrants
- ✓ In 1919, the American government responded to the politically motivated bombing of Attorney General Mitchell Palmer's house, by arresting over 6000 suspected immigrants in 33 states across America, who were arrested because of their political affiliations and not because of their involvement in the bombing. They were tortured and imprisoned in tight quarters in order to make them sign confessions. Eventually, 556 immigrants were deported due to their political affiliations

- ✓ In WWII, 110000 people were detained solely because they were Japanese, and not because they posed a threat to national security or war activities
- ✓ During the period of struggle against Communism, membership in the Communist Party was a crime to be punished for severely, and McCarran-Walter Act was passed which authorized the American government to expel non-citizens who defended Communism or other forbidden ideas, or who belonged to the Communist Party or other groups that adopted prohibited ideas. With reference to this McCarran-Walter Act, the United States banned visas to writers and artists whom their political affiliations did not suit America, including Nino Pasti, former NATO Deputy Supreme Commander, who objected the deployment of nuclear cruise missiles (Miller, 2004)

Therefore, the targeting of political opponents, or immigrants based on their ethnic and religious backgrounds, or their political affiliations rather than targeting criminals, has long existed in the American political practice. However, although those practices were perceived as errors within the United States and abroad, the responses that followed the events of September 11th represented a recurrence of those inaccuracies, particularly, with regard to the targeting of porous groups for political activism or because of their identities. Add to this, random widespread arrests rather than focusing on legally suspected individuals.

Those in favour of this law argue that this anti-terrorism strategy would achieve a variety of goals including:

- ✓ To drain the terrorists' sources and energies, preventing them from creating significant political and military blocs
- ✓ They believe that this strategy plays a vital role in cutting terrorism from its roots and bringing down their strongholds, making sympathisers unwilling to join them for fear of suffering the same doom

- ✓ They argue that after implementing these measures, no significant terrorist acts occurred in United States, claiming that this is one of the important outcomes of this anti-terrorism strategy (Mayer, 2004)

However, civil rights proponents were displeased and offended by this statute, arguing that the security conditions have worsened, and that this strategy has magnified the threats posed by terrorist groups, as these procedures have led to flagrant violations. Many political analysts, such as, David D. Cole and James Dempsey, have seen that the American responses violated three fundamental principles:

- ✓ Overreactions at times of fear, a common mistake that has been made a lot in the past, and is still persisting to this day in the US practices
- ✓ Scarifying constitutional democracy, political freedom, and equitable rights and treatment
- ✓ In an attempt to find a balance between freedom and security, the rights and liberties of vulnerable minorities, particularly, Arabs and Muslims have been sacrificed in a misguided effort to achieve security for the rest of the American people (Carothers, 2003)

These advocates of civil rights and liberties believe that the true threat does not lie in terrorists as much as it lies in the means used to combat them. According to them, these security and military campaigns have heightened the severity, seriousness, and spread of terrorism. The following points summarizes the criticism of these anti-terrorism measures:

- ✓ Blatant violations of constitutional rights and freedoms
- ✓ The massive drain of the American economy caused by this war on terror, which turned the highest surplus in US history reached in the Bill Clinton era into the worst budget shortfall in US history under the Bush tenure

- ✓ This ongoing war and its undetermined duration with no tangible victory would be excessive, because, unlike conventional wars, killing or arresting hostile adversaries, or even achieving military victory is not a triumph, as it is a war of ideas and tendencies in the first place
- ✓ Because of the US government's preoccupation with this war on terror, the internal issues of unemployment, bad health insurance, and poor social security have been overlooked and worsened, as these budgets have been slashed to sustain this war, which shows no signs of ending (Carothers, 2003)

Chuck Hagel; a US senator and a Former Secretary of Defence, as well as, a Foreign Relations Committee' member, argued that the United States needs to adopt a more realistic strategy in confronting the world with all its intricacies, avoiding the trap of dogma; given today's high stakes, there is little margin for errors. In light of this, Hagel identified five specific priorities for a global American policy and a worldwide strategic vision for this phase of history, namely: (www.newamericanstrategies.org)

a) Alliances

The United States must rethink and reinforce its alliances. The great challenges facing America today; such as, combating terrorism, preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and settling regional conflicts, are not solely the responsibility of America, but also of its allies around the world, as they share the same challenges and are equally affected by their outcomes. Without robust collaboration and cooperation in all domains: diplomacy, economics, intelligence, humanitarian aid, and security, the United States will fail to meet any of these challenges, because such position cannot be filled only by America. The importance of multilateral alliances and institutions in effective foreign policy cannot be overstated, and they must be viewed as extending rather than confining American power.

b) Military Force Structure and Strategy

American military power and force structure cannot fulfil their obligations without moving to a more comprehensive strategic approach in war on terrorism. Military force alone cannot win this war.

c) Public Diplomacy

The image of the United States needs an immediate and profound reform. The sustainability of American leadership necessitate trust in American intensions. Since the events of September 11th, educational and vocational exchange programmes that previously permitted international students and professionals to study or work in the United States, have been affected by the severe security measures and visa policy.

This, in fact, is risky given that those who are studying in the United States often become friends, fans, and supporters of America. In case these conditions sustained in the United Sates, it would result in losing a big slice of the world's young generation, who may shift towards anti-America. As the US leadership is not based only on the realization that America is a superpower. Leadership, however, requires deeper and more sustained relations with the world.

d) Energy Security

Economic and energy security must be incorporated as a first priority in US foreign policy. In fact, they are dealt with in American policy, but with misinterpreted or undervalued forms. Energy security allows easy access to energy: crude oil and natural gas, and is crucial to the growth and stability of both American and the entire world's economies. However, many energy-supplying nations and regions are facing civil instability, corruption, development retreat, and regional war. Therefore, it is required to intensify the efforts and collaboration with these energy-supplying countries in Middle East, Africa, and Latin

America, to promote more stable policies that include political and economic reforms, regional trade agreements and regional conflict resolution.

e) Trade and Global Economy

Foreign policy must reflect the realities and demands of global economy, and trade is a crucial component of both domestic and international economic growth. Owing to the fact that the US economy is stronger, broader, and more dynamic, the United States must emphasize on leading the global economy and trade, and they must be also on top of US foreign policy's priorities. Although some of the actions, taken under the swiftly enacted anti-terrorism *Patriot Act*, were justified, we cannot deny that Congress granted in many cases broad authorities to the executive power.

In some cases, the executive power accorded those authorities to itself using that statute and that go beyond war on terrorism, violating fundamental constitutional rights and freedoms. Noam Chomsky and many others, also, argued that the United States should have sought to mitigate the threat posed by terrorism rather than exacerbating it, owing to the fact that the United States is regarded as a first-class terrorist state due to its unethical and unfair practices in many parts of the world.

4. An Analytical Overview of the 2006 Revised US National Security Strategy

The 2002 National Security Strategy was updated four years after its adoption, in 2006. Generally speaking, most of its provisions were reiterated and reconfirmed with slight additions, as it is shown through its stated aims and measures:

- ✓ Protecting the United States and its allies from terrorist attacks by dismantling and weakening terrorist networks across the world, while boosting collaboration in this regard by establishing a global anti-terrorist environment
- ✓ Emphasize the need to launch a so-called *War of Ideas* to curb the spread of terrorist ideology

- ✓ Emphasizing the need of adopting hard stances against terrorist organizations and their sponsoring states, by depriving them of financial, military, and other resources
- ✓ Reassuring the American firm position and ongoing willing to combat terrorism, by devoting all its governmental parts, as well as, its military, financial, and diplomatic resources to this cause (The National Security Strategy of The United States, 2006)

Furthermore, the United States reaffirmed, in the 2006 National Security Strategy, the contentious strategy of the pre-emptive strike as a crucial component of its war on terror, without providing any details of how, when, and on which ground should this pre-emptive action be taken. As a result, the ambiguity and questions raised by the 2002 National Security Strategy remained unresolved.

As for the promises that “*the reasons for our actions will be clear*”, “*the force to be used will be balanced*”, “*the cause will be fair*”, and other pledges are still vague, as this 2006 revised strategy did not provide clear explanations. Also, the United States did not make any reference in this strategy to the international law or United Nations Security Council. Moreover, the strategy’s major focus is on promoting democracy, but it did not provide much to emphasize any legal rights to use force for this purpose. As this strategy provides transient signals of humanitarian intervention.

Consequently, this 2006 revised strategy still contradicts the European Union’s security strategy of 2003, which rejects the notion of pre-emptive or preventive defence, and exclude the notion of *Rogue States*, and recognises their adherence to international law and the role of United Nations. Despite the countries’ consensus that transnational terrorism and the development of weapons of mass destruction pose serious challenges to the world, they have not shown agreement to this American strategy of pre-emptive defence. Also, the

International Court of Justice is still maintaining a cautious stance on self-defence, as it has apparently become the finest card to warrant the pre-emptive action.

The 2006 National Security Strategy, generally, maintained the ideals stated in the 2002 strategy. However, while the focus in 2002 was on the threat posed by Iraq and North Korea, the attention shifted to be placed on Iran and Syria which are indicted of sponsoring Hizballah and Al-Qaeda organizations. On a local scale, the strategy doubled the FBI and CIA authorities without adequate safeguards against violations. It maintains harsh anti-terrorist measures directed primarily against Arabs and Muslims there, sacrificing the premise of equal rights and civil liberties at the expense of the minorities, in order to achieve alleged majority security, and which has proved ineffective.

Indeed, five documents of National Security Strategy have been issued since the 2006 NSS. Two during president Barack Obama tenure, in 2010 and 2015. The third one was under president Donald J. Trump's presidency, in 2017. The fourth and the fifth were issued under president Joe Biden's administration, in 2021 and 2022. However, despite minor variances in terms of tools and metrics utilized, they all in practice share the same principles and aims:

- ✓ International relations are founded on force rather than law, as force is the source of glory, and the law must legitimize it
- ✓ Because the United States is the only unrivalled superpower in the post-Cold War world, it possesses the ability to impose its visions, interests, and values abroad
- ✓ Adopting the American ideals will benefit the entire world, since the American model has proven its superiority and exceptionalism above all others
- ✓ The United States had failed to capitalise on its power potential under past governments, and that failure warranted correction; thus, the United States must enforce its sovereignty and dominance over the world

Therefore, we conclude that the US leadership, whether Democrat or Republican, is designed on the ground of the same beliefs and constants. Moreover, maintaining US powerful military forces ready to defend its vital interests globally, when necessary, is an absolute conviction of the US leaders, despite their claim that the guidelines of American foreign policy are inspired and drawn from the UN Charter.



CHAPTER FOUR

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Chapter Four

US Foreign Policy towards the Middle East Following the 09/11 Attacks

The United States kept announcing in many occasions that a new Middle East focused on democracy and devoid of corruption and despotism is required. Thus, the project of *The Greater Middle East* has been reintroduced following the 09/11 events, practically, after the invasion of Iraq, and which has carried much of data with regard to the American policy and strategies towards the region. This project is an outgrowth of what had already been announced by president Bush Sr. in 1991, declaring that the United States has become capable of putting a new world order into effect. This, in fact, has been a US longed-for aim since the end of World War II. This project seems to be the most appropriate strategy to remap the world according to what fits and serves its interests, starting from the Middle East as a first step, due to its geo-political and economic great significance in the US agenda, and using democracy and human rights to gain support domestically and globally.

Notwithstanding, this American project has encountered considerable hurdles as a result of the rising complexity of the sectarian and regional environment. In addition to the ongoing US military campaign in Afghanistan, US-Iranian strained relations over Iran's nuclear program, and Israeli practices in Palestine. All of these challenges and complications slowed the project's progress, and raised concerns about the region's future and the new map imposed by the United States to serve and protect its strategic interests.

Therefore, the study addresses in its third chapter this project, in terms of its foundation and goals, as well as, the stakes America has faced during its implementation process; note that this project has been met with scepticism, dread, and even denial in some Middle Eastern states. The study also attempts to provide a closer look into the US claim of spreading democracy in the region, highlighting the process' features and mechanisms, as well as, the

impact of this US missionary of promoting democracy on the region. Furthermore, this chapter discusses the international geo-strategic and economic hurdles that confront America in preserving and protecting its interests in the area, particularly, in light of rising global economic rivalry and increased demands for oil.

1. The Establishment of The Greater Middle East Project

The vision of *The New Middle East* project dates back to the 1950s. It is a geopolitical expression that has been coined to refer to the Arab and Islamic area following the decline of the European influence over the region, and the emergence of the US-Soviet bipolarity, with an aim of including Israel as a part of this new Middle East, and with a desire to keep the European influence out of the region. In fact, the United States has sought to overcome the European rivalry since its adoption of the Monroe Doctrine which prohibited European states from establishing regional outposts on the American continent, because they were perceived as a serious risk to the US interests and desire to control the continent (Hook, 2018). Since then, this US attitude has been anchored in American political agenda, albeit with certain geographic and temporal variations.

1.1. The US-Euro Initiatives

Following the end of the Gulf War I, the United States presented *The New Middle East Project* at the International Conference for Peace in the Middle East, that took place in Madrid, in October 1991. As a result, in spite of the inexplicable uncertainty in reading and interpreting the content, the UN Resolution 242 served as the legal foundation for the summit. The resolution's French version emphasised withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from *THE* territories it occupied; whereas, in the English version, it is stated: withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from *territories* it occupied, rather than *THE territories* it occupied. Consequently, Israel withdrew, after signing the Peace Treaty with Egypt, by around 600 km² from Sinai, in between 1982 and 1985. (www.jcpa.org)

To implement its designed project for the Middle East, the United States sought to use the complex regional issues; such as, the arms race, conflicts and security matters, and economic cooperation in order to remap the region, trying to create a most suitable formula to include Israel as an official part of the Middle East. For this reason, America has endeavoured on eliminating the traditional geographic, cultural, and historical characteristics, focusing on modern-day agroeconomic international market system, resulting in a progressively evolved Middle Eastern market with Israel as an appealing dominant power. (Eyre, 2009)

Note that, president Bush Sr. pledged, during the International Conference on Peace in the Middle East, to put an end to the Arab economic boycott of Israel, to repeal UN Resolution 379, which declared Zionism to be a racist organization, and to honour the verbal commitment signed by president Gerald Ford and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, in 1975, regarding the relevance of the Golan Heights to Israel's security. It also promised to ensure Israel's security and substantial military dominance over all the region's countries (Hunt, 2009). Therefore, Israel has been eager to embrace *The Greater Middle East Project*, knowing that their interests would be preserved and their position will be critical in any process of change in the region.

This is represented in *The New Middle East* book of the Israeli Shimon Peres, who portrayed Israel as a democratic and prosperous state bordered by tyrant and poor nations (Peres, 1993). The same image is depicted in *A Place Under the Sun* book of Benjamin Netanyahu, who described the Palestinians to be a threat to the Israeli existence, declaring the Jewish right to a state that does not only include the entirety of Palestine, but also encompasses Jordan, which he considers as an integral part of the Israeli state. (Netanyahu, 1995).

Actually, Israel was able to compel the Arabs to engage into parleys. With US assistance, it was able to accomplish major successes in terms of economic normalisation. It concluded

a peace deal with Jordan in 1994, and the Oslo Accords were signed in (1993-1995) with Palestinian government, which culminated in the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) recognising the state of Israel, and Israel recognising the PLO to be the Palestinian people's representation and negotiating partner (محمد علي، 2006).

In addition, the Arabian Gulf states, Morocco, and Tunisia, launched, with an American encouragement, the establishment of Israeli trade representative offices in their countries, as well as, the cancellation of the economic embargo of foreign enterprises that deal or have joint businesses with Israel. Mauritania and Qatar have also developed diplomatic ties with Israel, and the process of normalisation is currently being maintained both discreetly and officially.

As a matter of fact, the United States was not the only state to introduce its initiatives to the Middle Eastern countries. European states, also, launched measures in tandem with America, desiring to play their part in the region rather than leaving it entirely to the American control. In this regard, European nations took a variety of actions in order to confirm their participation for any Middle East-related agreements. Consequently, there had been eleven initiatives that targeted the Greater Middle East (Mediterranean and Middle Eastern areas):

- ✓ The United States and European Union resolved to debate the Arab and Islamic World's political and democratic reforms. President George W. Bush provided a vision to enhance democracy and freedom in a speech delivered in February 2003. This speech got well-known as *The Greater Middle East Project Initiative*.
- ✓ Danish Initiative for A Better Middle East
- ✓ Collin Powel Initiative of The Middle East Partnership
- ✓ European Initiative for Simplifying Human Rights Procedures with Mediterranean Partners, May 2003

- ✓ Islamic World' Reforms Initiative, on March 2004
- ✓ The Greater Middle East' Future Franco-German Initiative, on March 2004
- ✓ The Broader Middle East and North Africa G8 Initiative, on June, 2004
- ✓ The Mediterranean and Middle East Partnership: European Union Initiative, on June 2004
- ✓ Istanbul Cooperation Initiative: NATO-Istanbul Summit, on June 2004
- ✓ New Middle East Atlas Initiative, on July 2004
- ✓ European Initiative of New Dialogue
- ✓ Middle East Regional Security Initiative (التقرير الاستراتيجي العربي، 2005-2004)

1.2. The Project' Foundation and Goals

After comprehensive and thorough studies, the Bush administration concluded that the old institutions, alliances, and strategies are no longer adequate to protect America and its vital interests, and that suppressing terrorism of a global reach has become a must before it evolves into a powerful and well-structured phenomenon that it would be impossible to overcome. Therefore, the United States urged the entire region and the world, as well, to cope through its unilateral designed counter-terrorism strategy, considering any state unwilling to accept its strategy to be a terrorism supporter and sponsor. In addition, America saw the 09/11 attacks to be the most suitable chance to impose its well-structured vision on the region, working directly rather than through Israel, as it had previously done.

This American initiative of *The Greater Middle East Project* is based primarily on the 2002-2003 UN reports made on the Arab nations' development programmes. However, the United States picked just what could be compatible with its geopolitical and strategic interests in the area. For instance, these UN reports identified the Israeli entity to be a crucial issue impeding growth in Arab nations. However, America made no reference to this data (امين شلبي، 2004). Furthermore, the United States designated, in this initiative, the

new Middle East (The Greater Middle East) that stretches from Indonesia in the East to Mauritania in the West, going via South Asia and Asia Laos. (See maps 01 and 02)

Map 01: The Middle East (www.school-of-international-and-public-affairs-colombia-university)



Map 02: The Greater Middle East



The United States has built its initiative on various pillars including:

(التقرير الاستراتيجي العربي، 2004-2005)

- ✓ Middle East region is the focal point of religious extremism and terrorism that endangers the US interests and global security
- ✓ The main causes behind this militancy in the region is the dearth of democracy, poor education, lack of scientific progress, and unfavourable human rights and women' conditions
- ✓ The most effective solutions to address these issues is to implement substantial political, economic, and social reforms, targeting:
 - a) Promotion of democracy and good governing system
 - b) To create more apprised societies
 - c) To broaden the economic opportunities

In terms of promoting democracy, the project is founded on:

- ✓ Managing open elections
- ✓ Strengthening the function of Parliaments
- ✓ Increasing women's involvement in civic and political affairs
- ✓ Providing common people with legal assistance
- ✓ Promoting press liberty
- ✓ Combatting nepotism
- ✓ Promoting civil rights and organisations

In terms of creating more apprised societies, the project emphasises:

- ✓ Comprehensive educational reforms
- ✓ Implementing distance learning
- ✓ Implementing entrepreneurial education

In terms of broadening economic opportunities, the project stresses on:

- ✓ Small-business financing

- ✓ Financing Greater Middle East Development Bank
- ✓ Introducing reform plans to reduce state control over business and financial services
- ✓ Encouraging the Middle Eastern States to join The World Trade Organisation

Collin Powel, former US secretary of Foreign Affairs, introduced *The Middle Eastern Partnership Initiative* that addresses also democracy, civic liberties, and schooling reforms.

His initiative is summed up as following:

- ✓ To establish The Middle Eastern Democratic Fund, in the scope of political reforms, to support non-governmental organisations and all groups of different political currents and tendencies
- ✓ Promoting the establishment of more non-governmental organisations, independent media outlets, polling organisations and think tanks
- ✓ The governmental and judicial systems must be transparent
- ✓ Training candidates for political practice, legislatures, and other elected authorities
- ✓ Providing journalism training in both conventional and electronic newspapers
- ✓ The initiative emphasises educational reforms, encouraging to provide scholarships to American colleges (التقرير الاستراتيجي العربي، 2005-2004)

The outlining of the most significant elements of *The Greater Middle East Project* demonstrates that the US administration has embraced a specific standpoint, that the paucity of the region's stability is not caused by Israel, as stated in the UN reports. However, this is due only to the nature of the current systems of the Middle Eastern states. This perspective, of course, shields the strategic objectives and vital interests of America that are expected to be achieved through this project, including, among other things, guaranteeing Israel's

security and the flow of oil, as well as, ensuring that there would be no emergence of a regional power that might jeopardise the United States' interests and Israel's existence.

This shows the Iranian role in the regional balance of power, following the annihilation of the Iraqi military power, particularly, after the Islamic revolution in Iran and the growth of Islamic movements in all the region's states. The latter have become the cause of Western worry that America desires to express it by linking it to extremism and Iran's nuclear development. For this reason, the United States has been working on inciting the region and the world against Iran, claiming that there are Iranian intentions of expanding at the expense of Arab states' lands, trying to agitate the region and shift its attention, if not put an end, to the Arab-Israeli conflict. (Lisch, 2019)

Owing to the fact that war on terror and arms control are among the most crucial goals of the project, the United States has waged a worldwide campaign against Iran, presenting it as a serious danger to the region's security and that of the entire world. For that, it charges Iran of harbouring terrorists, developing weapons of mass destruction, violating human rights, opposing the peace efforts, and obstructing normalising process between Israel and the region's states (Miller et al, 2021). Most of these allegations are identical to those levelled by America in its declaration of war on Iraq.

On the other hand, the US administration aims, through this project's reforms, to change the educational programmes, removing anything that is perceived to be a source of enmity, bigotry, and intolerance against America, Israel, and the West generally. According to the United States, the educational programmes of the region's countries emphasise Islamic values that are responsible for the emergence of terrorism. Shimon Peres explains this US-Israeli perspective in his *New Middle East* book, attempting to link religion to the phenomenon of violence, and the dissatisfaction and poverty that exist in the region, stating that:

Given the conditions characterised by frustration and poverty, the majority of people have found an outlet in the occult, rejecting the modern state's models, and sinking themselves in a religious fundamentalism, which is one of primary drivers threatening the region's security and the world's stability.

(Peres, 1993, p. 168)

He went far to argue that in case *Confederation* is embraced as a solution, there will be no confrontation between Israel and Arab and Muslim countries, stating the following: “*I've long supported the Jordanian-Palestinian Confederation; in its mature form, it will be an outstanding resolve for the three parts: Palestinians, Jordanians, and Israelis, allowing them to prosper in peace.*” (Peres, 1993, p. 192)

Under the guise of fostering a culture of openness, non-aggression and tolerance, America has coerced the Middle Eastern states to implement its designed programmes with no respect for their peoples' opinions, stances, and conditions that differ from one another. In fact, Charles Frankel; An American philosopher and former Assistant Secretary of State, had already advised the US administration not to embrace such approach in engaging with foreign nations, stating:

We must give nations the freedom to determine what suit them without expecting a total commitment from them, because adopting a policy of conflict entails engaging in a war that is unlikely to be won; it is like sowing seeds in a stormy weather. This national hubris of the United States and its unwillingness to lose the fight may steer US policies in a different path, and regardless of the US cultural programmes chosen, their management is in the hands of the American intelligence agencies that are predisposed to consider cultural relations to be no more than a propaganda instrument.

(Hoff, 2010, p. 193)

The United States has become well aware of the great significance of including educational changes as part of the project. Nowadays, it has become a lived truth that the American educational institutions and colleges that are established around the world, and in several Arab and Islamic states, seek to cement the American civilisation and values. In this regard, Robert Satloff; Executive Director at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP), stated that: “*American schools and colleges in Arab and Islamic countries are not merely high-quality educational institutions; they are also our hidden weapon in the American intellectual battle to eliminate extremism and religious fundamentalism that are rooted in these communities*”. (Brown et al, 2010, p. 82)

Satloff, also pointed to the presence of 185 American educational institutions in 50 Arab and Islamic states, emphasising that these institutions are managed by *The Office of American Overseas Schools*, and which is subjected to the US department of Foreign Affairs. In fact, these institutions are aiming to foster the American thinking and life style in all of its possible facets, through carefully designed pedagogical programmes that use English as the primary medium of instruction.

1.3. The Project’ Criticism

Many Western scholars and analysts have argued that the initiative is admirable in terms of ideals, which strive to find a panacea to the region’s genuine challenges. However, it contains significant gaps, and the first thing they commented on, was the way this project was presented, stating that it was impolite and inconsiderate of president Bush to introduce this initiative in the G8 Summit, which comprises the world’s wealthiest states, predominantly, Western. According to them, this may cause the initiative to be seen negatively by the Middle Easter nations, and may reinforce local fears that Western Christian and Jewish states seek to reaffirm their prospects in the region. (Tschirgi, 2007)

Because of to their different standpoints, attitudes, and policies towards America, the region's governments have not taken a cohesive stance on this initiative. Therefore, they welcomed this American project to varied degrees. Some of them saw this initiative as a new form of colonisation, as well as, a mystery undertaking that lacks a well-defined strategy and specified aims. In addition, it integrates overlapping patterns for quick application. Others were sceptical and refused to participate in this initiative, driven by their anxieties which were exacerbated by the US lack of reverence and credibility. While some other countries embraced the project and perceived it as an unprecedented chance to invest in.

As a result, several states signed bilateral treaties with America; like, Jordan that did not resist any of the project's goals, alongside with Morocco, which started to discuss trade liberalisation with the United States. While other states refused to be part of the project; like, Lebanon when the Prime Minister Rafik El-Hariri proclaimed his explicit denial of the initiative, highlighting his concerns about its shortcomings. Egypt recognised that changes must emerge from a self-conviction, making reference to multiple considerations, such as, inherent variations in the social, cultural, and religious structures of the different Arab communities. Saudi Arabia, also, expressed the same attitude that of Egypt. Nevertheless, Yemeni president Salah Abdullah argued that the era of despotism has reached an end, and the democracy age has begun, and he urged Yemenis to embrace the US project stating:

(علي حوت، 2006). "لنخلق رؤوسنا قبل ان يخلقها لنا الاخرون"

We summarised the most significant criticisms as follows:

- ✓ Explicit ignorance of the facts mentioned in the UN reports on human development concerning the ensuing effects of the Israeli occupation
- ✓ Disregarding the Palestinian-Israeli issue
- ✓ This initiative pursues a strategy of active participation in the affairs of the Middle Eastern states

- ✓ Imposition of economic trading procedures on the states' banks aiming to curtail money flow under the guise of draining up terrorist funding sources
- ✓ Convincing the region's states that Iran constitutes a real threat that necessitate a coalition with America and Israel to counter it (علي حوت، 2006)

In spite of all these objections, United States has been working relentlessly to execute this project through deliberate and meticulous measures, using a variety of ways, including:

- ✓ To keep referring to the Middle East to be a source of extremism, terrorism, and tensions
- ✓ Exerting pressures on the region's states to pursue democratic changes, with the exception of Israel which symbolises, in its perspective, the perfect democratic model
- ✓ To create military outposts in the region
- ✓ Forcing the region's governments to normalise relations with Israel
- ✓ Beleaguering the Palestinian resistance and designating it to be a terrorist organisation (مازن الحسيني، 2005)

Based on the aforementioned, the United States is placing a high value on the Greater Middle East project, trying to implement it despite the challenges it has encountered in the area; such as, the erosion of its credibility as a result of its permanent bias to Israel and the refusal to acknowledge the brutal Israeli practices towards the Palestinians. In addition to its worsening ties with some Islamic countries; such as, Afghanistan and Iran. Moreover, meaningful and profound changes do not happen in bat of an eye, but rather, via an incremental and protracted process that gives them depth and consistency.

All these obstacles hampered the project's implementation. However, the United States continues to insist on executing this project at any costs, because it fits into the policy of dismantling the area and redrawing it according to what ensures the US supremacy, and

Israel's successful inclusion and integration into the region, because that's what this project is all about in its essence.

Clearly, the American vision of this project is to create a safe zone where American and Israeli interests would grow in security. This can only be achieved through weak, sporadic, and fully connected states to America and under its dominance. It also means eliminating all resistant movements and political currents that opposes its interests and strategies, and assisting its ally Israel to impose a solution on the Palestinians through a weak national authority that is unable to confront.

2. The US Political Attitude of Promoting Democracy in the Greater Middle East

The September 11th events marked a significant milestone in American foreign policy towards Arab and Islamic countries. The absence of reform policies and open political, economic, and social developments there, have resulted, according to the US administration, in stagnation and political congestion among Arab and Islamic communities and their regimes. This has encouraged intern conflicts, especially, among religious hardliners, fuelling militant currents and terrorist organisations that contributed to the 09/11 attacks.

Thus, the United States has spearheaded the Arab and Islamic world's rehabilitation agenda through hard power; declaring wars on Afghanistan and Iraq, and soft power; The Greater Middle East Project, which introduces political, economic, and social reforms. This project was introduced under multiple arguments; like, extremism, violence, lack of political freedoms, weak educational levels, absence of democracy and human rights, and women's emancipation. All of these factors, stated the US administration, have contributed to the rise of terrorism. As a result, the United States argued that the only strategy to isolate and defeat terrorism, is through fostering social justice, respecting human rights, and democratizing the Arab and Islamic states to abolish the authoritarian regimes.

2.1. Previous US Administrations and the Cause of Democracy and Human Rights

In light of the shifts in the international system and the subsequent developments witnessed in the post-Cold War, American foreign policy has been concerned with some fundamental principles, among them, democracy and human rights, as a policy that reflects the presuming American ideals and interests. In fact, promoting democracy has increased the American global influence and credibility, since its interests will be safer in a world that respects political rights and free economic market.

Therefore, the causes of democracy and human rights have acquired notoriety among American presidents, their election platforms, and those directly accountable for American foreign policymaking. President Wilson (1913-1921) declared that the United States would enter WWI to make the world safer for democracy, and his famous 14 points confirmed that. However, the Senate's refusal to ratify the League of Nations' establishment pushed the country into isolation. (Zalewski, 1997)

The United States launched its democratisation activities in 1974, and the urge to link the legislation of international and financial institutions to democracy and human rights was crystallised in 1977. According to the American perception, the positive interaction between these global institutions and foreign states is tied to the extent to which these countries embrace democratic behaviours. In 1977, the US Department of State issued its first annual report on human rights, during which time discussions within US Congress intensified about imposing economic sanctions on countries that violate human rights. (Mayer, 2004)

President Carter's administration (1977-1981) upheld human rights and democracy as the determinant of US foreign policy for a variety of reasons, including the fact that spreading freedoms around the world is consistent with American values and interests, and promoting human rights and democracy globally will strengthen American security. Then, under the leadership of the United States, the Regan administration (1981-1989) established *The*

National Foundation for Democracy, which receives federal support from Congress to promote democracy. Later, he established *The National Democratic Institute*, and *The International Republican Institute* for technical and material assistance to democracy programmes abroad. (Mayer, 2004)

Similarly, President Bill Clinton (1994-2001) believed that international democratic expansion might replace containment policy as an appropriate alternative for post-Cold War American foreign policy. Thus, in a speech made on September 21st, 1993, at Hopkins University, Clinton's national security advisor, Anthony Lake, declared: "*A democratic enlargement is an essential objective of American foreign policy*" (Mayer, 2004).

Consequently, president Clinton presented officially his so-called *Democratic Enlargement* approach, which resulted in three national security documents: *The United States' National Security Strategy for Intervention and Expansion* issued in 1994, 1995, and 1996. This approach was centred on strong global involvement to open foreign markets, which means that this strategy uses democratic enlargement as a mechanism to gain more markets. It should be noted that president Clinton was the first to use the term *market' democracies*. (Hajeski, 2015)

President Clinton argued that pursuing the democratic process will contribute as an active force to international stability and security, asserting that only democratic principles and systems can do a better job for preserving ethnic and religious minorities, since openness and political pluralism provide suitable alternatives to violence in conflict resolution. He added that collaboration between comparable regimes in terms of human values will enable the development of partnership between communities with common interests in international environmental preservation, and in adherence to international law. Furthermore, the Clinton administration criticised some Arab states, and announced that the US ties with Arab

and Islamic countries will be based on their positions and practices on democracy and human rights issues. (Hajeski, 2015)

President George W. Bush (2001-2008) considered that the absence of democracy in the Middle East is the key factor behind the phenomenon of terrorism. His obsession with restructuring the region politically, economically, and socially, was exceptional, as seen through his strategy towards the region, and which included military involvement alongside the introduction of his initiative of *The Greater Middle East Project*. The latter accorded great focus to the imperative of democratisation to eradicate terrorism (Hajeski, 2015). Consequently, the dissemination of democracy and liberties has become, through the successive US administrations, a core premise reflecting the US foreign policy, and determining its adopted strategies toward the world's countries in general, and Arab and Islamic countries, in particular.

2.2. The US Perception of Democracy in the Region before and after 09/11

Prior to September 11, 2001, American policy was based on a key belief that democracy cannot be attainable due to Arab-Islamic culture and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Thus, the US administration's interest with democracy and political reforms in the region was limited, and the terms democracy and freedom were replaced with stability and security, to sustain oil supplies and lucrative markets, in addition to the protection of Israeli entity while trying to settle down the Arab-Israeli conflict, even if this meant dealing with authoritarian regimes. (Miller, 2004)

Following the 09/11 attacks, democracy and political reforms in the region have become part of American security strategy and foreign policy. In fact, president Bush criticised severely the traditional arguments and claims held by the Middle Eastern political authorities over the past decades to justify the postponement of the political reform process, using the term *Arab Exception* or *Arab Privilege*, through which they attempted to promote the idea of

the difficulty of democratising the region's states because of their cultural, political, and religious specificities. Bush argued that what can be applicable to other regions; such as, Latin America, Eastern Europe, and East Asia, can also be applicable to the Middle East region. (Mayer, 2004)

President Bush stressed that the world would not be safe from terrorism until the Middle East becomes safe for democracy. Bush argued that his adopted strategies attempt to pave the way for democracy in the region, emphasising three features of the Middle Eastern systems:

- ✓ Authoritarian Regimes; the region's countries are enslaved by authoritarianism, or at the very least underrepresenting governments
- ✓ The Majority of these systems profited from the geostrategic data and oil to stay contenders in the global economy without producing political liberalism
- ✓ Most of these regimes' interests are tied to those Islamic religious institutions that are motivated to oppose change, promoting the ancient fundamentalist trend (the literal application of Quran), which has left little room for other alternatives (Carothers, 2003)

This harmful combination, argued president Bush, of authoritarianism, affluence, and religious fundamentalism, fuelled discontent and agitation in these communities, and this was sufficient to trigger terrorism, causing the September 11th events. Therefore, the United States emphasised that the situation in the Middle East must be rectified through democratising the region to make the world safer. (Carothers, 2003)

However, different scholars and analysts assert that democracy is an incremental change that cannot be applied by force. Their arguments are summarised in the following points:

- ✓ There exist different models of democracy, and therefore, the democratic process must not necessarily follow a specific model, since there is no single model to be followed
- ✓ Democracy cannot be achieved by elections only; it must be accompanied by the development of civil society
- ✓ Democracy needs decades, if not generations to be achieved appropriately, in addition to education and cultural awareness, economic modernisation, and accountable and independent media
- ✓ While democracy can be supported from outside, it is indispensable to be established from within in order to be sustained (Gause, 2005)

There is also a common consensus among them, that the rejection of American presence in the region is the real cause behind the proliferation of violence and terrorist acts there. In case the United States accelerates the process of democratisation in Arab and Islamic states, it is likely that elected governments will become less cooperative with America than the authoritarian regimes (Gause, 2005).

In fact, with reference to the region's political history, genuine democratic elections often favour Islamists. For instance, Justice and Development Party of Morocco, which is an Islamist party, frequently wins over than 42 seats in the parliamentary elections. Islah Party in Yemen, wins around 46 to 50 seats. The Muslim Brotherhood Party in Kuwait wins about 17 to 20 seats. In the first municipal elections in Saudi Arabia, Islamic groups won 06 out of 07 seats in Riyadh, Mecca, and Jeddah. In Iraq, the Shia led by Ayatollah Al-Sistani frequently dominate the parliamentary elections with around 140 to 145 seats out of 275. The Palestinian Hamas Organisation has always shown clear success in elections. (www.carnegie-mec.org).

Thus, it is suggested that the democratisation of the region will not serve America. On the other hand, they confirmed that the US administration cannot reasonably be unaware of this fact. For that, they went to argue that the United States is using the promotion of democracy as a pretext to justify its strategies and its permanent intervention in the region, aiming only to serve its long and short-term strategic objectives.

2.3. US Political Discourse' Features of Promoting Democracy

We tried to determine the most essential features of the US political discourse for promoting democracy, in the following points:

- ✓ US interests are the first and foremost determinant of the American vision of spreading democracy
- ✓ Extremism, terrorism, and underdevelopment in Arab and Islamic countries are due to authoritarianism and religious fundamentalism
- ✓ Considering the democratic world more peaceful, as democratic countries do not fight one another and they tend to resolve their conflicts peacefully
- ✓ The process of establishing democratic systems in the Middle East is central to countering terrorism. As the absence of democracy in the region, essentially, contributes to the creation of an atmosphere conducive to the developing phenomena of extremism, violence, and terrorism, and thus, the eradication of these phenomena is heavily dependent on the promotion of democracy there

Actually, this perspective represents strongly the standpoint of the neoconservatives in the US administration. However, there are other trends that oppose the preceding tendency. One of which believes that imposing democracy on the region's countries is completely bad idea, because having democratic elections in the Middle East' states would result in more regressive and anti-Western regimes than exist presently, if not an escalation of the Islamic mainstream attaining power easily. Another trend considers that Islamists pose no threat to

democracy and have nothing to do with violence and terrorism, claiming that Islamists enmity against the United States stems from the American support for the region's authoritarian regimes, and its bias to Israel.

2.4. The Process' Mechanisms

There is no consensus among the various political currents in the United States about the rational and feasibility of democratisation as an objective of American foreign policy, nor is there agreement on the mechanisms that could be used to spread democracy. Meanwhile, there is the pro-isolation current that rejects US intervention abroad, unless for the sake of protecting its interests in a narrow sense. The Right-Wing conservatives believe that foreign relations are not based on morality and values, but on power and interests, and thus, spreading democracy globally may impose restrictions on American foreign policy and national interests. On the other hand, it can be said that there is a considerable unanimity within liberal mainstream on the significance of basing American foreign policy on some of democratisation's core ideals.

However, the neoconservative trend relates internal conditions of foreign countries with the maintenance of American interests and national security especially after the 09/11 attacks. Therefore, they call for interference in the domestic affairs of states to preserve the US interests and security. In this context, neoconservatives considered that overthrowing the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein and establishing a democratic model in Iraq, is one of the most important means of achieving democracy in the region.

Scholars argued that in case there is a need for democratisation, certain criteria must be met and applied in accordance with a timetable and the specificity and circumstances of each state; like:

- ✓ The states' political conditions; both internal and external
- ✓ Judicial independence

- ✓ The extent to which civil societies interact with these variables
- ✓ Freedom of expression and press
- ✓ Supervising community mobility, capital, and public services
- ✓ Economic conditions; such as:
 - Transparency of financial transactions
 - Respecting the sanctity of signed financial, commercial, and economic contracts
 - Anti-corruption initiatives' viability
 - Reducing or eliminating monopolies
 - Indirect taxes (Chomsky et al, 2006)

The following are some of the tools employed by the United States to spread democracy:

(Brown et al, 2010)

a. Political Means

- ✓ The State Department disclosures on the democratic process in foreign countries
- ✓ Intensifying US diplomatic missions with expertise in advertising for democracy
- ✓ Using international conferences and organisations; like, *The United Nations* and *US Information Agency* to exert pressure on countries in order to proceed with political reforms towards democratisation

b. Economic Means

- ✓ Associating democratisation with aid
- ✓ Economic sanctions on countries opposing democracy or violating human rights
- ✓ Voting against states that are inconsistent with the process of democratisation at the World Bank and International Monetary Fund
- ✓ Proving financial aid to civil society organisations to promote democracy

c. **Military Means**

- ✓ Direct invasion
- ✓ Providing military aid to the countries embracing democratic change
- ✓ Financial aid to organisations opposing governmental systems deemed undemocratic

According to *the 2002 National Security Strategy* document, the United States pursues a variety of measures to help the communities to be democratised:

- ✓ Loud manifestations against violations of non-negotiable human dignity' demands
- ✓ Assuring that America will be the voice that upholds freedom in the elections' process
- ✓ Providing political and financial assistance to promote liberties and support activists within international communities, guaranteeing that countries progressing towards democracy are rewarded for their efforts
- ✓ Making freedom and the development of democratic institutions a prominent theme in the US bilateral relations with countries
- ✓ Declaring that America will claim the cause of human dignity and democracy, and will fight the countries that obstruct democratic improvements and violate human rights (The National Security Strategy, 2002)

Notwithstanding, the actual practices of the US administration, particularly, following the events of September 11th, proved the contrary of its ideal claims for democracy and human rights. It has found a haven in its war on terror and Counter-Terrorism strategy to execute its repressive policies which have turned into a ground for flagrant violations of international law, and of fundamental freedoms and human rights within America and abroad. Add to this, human rights' violations are denounced by the United States in some of the countries, while

they are overlooked in favour of its allies with Israel on top of the list. This US blatant double standards policy caused America its credibility in various parts of the world.

3. Preserving Consistency of the US Strategic Interests in the Region

In light of data that we've dealt with through the research' previous chapters, we clearly notice that the Middle East has long been the principal priority of the succeeding US administrations. This is obvious in its sustained military presence in numerous states across the region, as well as, in its project aiming to remap the region to fit the evolving interests of United States in the foreseeable future. On this basis, we've come to a conclusion that America has been pursuing a devised strategic plan that is centred on three critical pillars:

- ✓ Ensuring the Israeli statehood and influence in the region
- ✓ Preserving and regulating the region's oil sources
- ✓ Limiting economic rivalry in the region

Thus, we shall discuss, in this subsection, these three strategic pillars that constitute the asset of the US interests.

3.1. Protecting the Israeli Entity

Historically, the US-Israeli alliance is traced back to May 14th, 1948, when the United Nations officially declared Israel to be a state. After that, president Henry Truman announced that America recognises the statehood of Israel, backing the UN partition plan. Since then, the countries' relations and coherence have matured to the point that Israel has become the United States' first strategic ally. This was asserted by Dick Cheney, the US secretary of Defence during the Bush Sr. administration, who expressed the US-Israeli solid ties stating: *“Our enduring partnership is founded on strategic collaboration, reciprocal support, and the United States' unshakable commitment to Israel's security.”* (Broadcasting Board of Governors, 1991).

The United States has used every possible method to boost Israel's position in the area and safeguard its security. It had worked relentlessly to bring Israel and Egypt in tandem, culminating eventually to the signing of the Camp David Accords in 1978. Henry Kissinger, the US Secretary of State then, considered that step as bolstering the US influence in Egypt, because America is acquainted with the necessity of maintaining strategic supremacy in the region, preventing a possible tilt in the equilibrium of powers in favour of any Middle Eastern state to the detriment of Israel. (مركز الاهرام للدراسات السياسية و الاستراتيجية، 2002)

In 1994, the United States encouraged Jordan to negotiate a peace treaty with Israel in Wadi Araba, and was the impetus to the Israeli-Palestinian Oslo Accords. As for Iraq, Israel had a significant part in convincing America to initiate war against it. In this context, Philip Zelikow¹³ stated in 2007, that the real threat emanating from Iraq was not intended for the United States, but rather for Israel. Add to this, Dick Cheney, US Vice President at that time, delivered a statement to *The Washington Post*, where he claimed that Israel warned the United States from a deferral of military strike on Iraq, and that the Israeli intelligence had supplied the US administration with numerous evidences of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programme, within the context of coordination between America and Israel. (Abramowitz, 2008)

This concord and cooperation between the two countries was accentuated during a press conference conducted in 2004, at the White House by president Bush and Ariel Sharon, the Israeli Prime Minister then, where Bush stated proudly: "*For more than 50 years, Israel has been a vital ally and a true friend of America. I've been proud to call the Prime Minister my friend.*" (georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov). In a 2004 interview with Sun Diego

¹³ **Philip Zelikow:** is an American author, academic, and a diplomat. He was the former Director of The Miller Centre of Public Affairs at University of Virginia, and the Director of the 09/11 Commission, as well as, a former counsellor of the US Department of State.

Tribune, Anthony Charles Zinni¹⁴, virtually corroborated while criticising the war on Iraq, that the US administration waged this war in order to serve the Israeli strategic interests. (Sheingate, 2016)

The academics and analysts explain this solid alliance with reference to multiple reasons, among the most significant we recall, American elections; i.e., this interdependent alliance, especially, between the Right-Wing and the Likud Party, is regarded as a mobilisation process of a significant portion of American Jews to cast ballots for Republicans. Another reason, is that the American economy is Jewish-owned, for the fact that a vast range of American financial giants and elite businessmen are Jews. This alliance was also construed from an ideological standpoint, as the two countries share the same beliefs and vision of redrawing the world's map for a new world order, with the United States to be the world's undisputed leader. For this reason, having the Jewish assistance is one of great benefits and supporting factors for this endeavour. (Cox, 2013)

Therefore, the United States has always been working on creating an economic zone in the Middle East for Israel. For this sake, it has introduced several ideas and plans to establish a new Middle Easter system, with Israel being the core axis of each of these initiatives, and the only state entirely supported by America in the framework of this strategic alliance. This was asserted by Martin Indyk, former Assistant Secretary of State and US Ambassador to Israel. He stated that the United States is fully committed to the qualitative superiority of Israel in the Middle East region in the context of a strategic partnership. He added that the United States seeks to strengthen good relations with the Middle Eastern countries, especially, Arab States in order to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict. (Cox, 2013)

¹⁴ **Anthony Charles Zinni**: an author of best-selling books on his military career and foreign affairs, a former United States Marine Corps General, and a former Commander in Chief of the United States Central Command as well. He was also an instructor in the Department of International Studies at the Virginia Military Institute

Consequently, Israel enjoys a full American support politically, economically, and militarily, allowing it to oppress the Palestinian resistance and compelling the world to label them terrorists, preventing the regional and international communities to deal with them or support them. This US strategy and bias, has instilled enmity in Arab and Islamic nations towards America, posing barriers to the realisation of multiple US aspirations and ambitions in the region.

3.2. The Element of Oil

During the 1950s, the United States was reliant on the Middle East's oil on an increasing scale. At that period, Saudi Arabia expanded its contacts with foreign oil firms, since there was a Saudi shortage of liquidity. This fact prompted American oil companies to aid Saudi Arabia after its request for financial assistance was rejected by English and Dutch corporations. Thus, they provided Saudi Arabia with loans to be paid back in instalments from oil profits. However, they tied their aid to the US administration permission, aiming of using this assistance for political negotiations. Since then, the American economic and geopolitical interests have grown quickly, and this strategy has led to the establishment of military alliance across the area. It had established the Baghdad Alliance, and then, committed armed forces to Lebanon in 1956. Then, the Middle Eastern oil reserves have necessitated a permanent military presence under the guise of defending such fields and enforcing regional stability. (Report of an Independent Task Force, 2006)

In the 1970s, president Jimmy Carter attempted to implement an energy strategy known as *Energy War*, in order to wean the US economy off its reliance on OPEC¹⁵. In fact, this was not Carter's one and only policy; he had previously proposed novel approaches to energy concerns. It should be noted that, previous US presidents attempted to do the same efforts, when the US Department of the Interior revealed a depletion of US oil reserves, and urged

¹⁵ OPEC: Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries

the US administration to adopt a new energy policy to keep the United States from losing this crucial component to the economy and development. In this concern, president Carter stated in 1977 that: “*A national calamity is looming in the near future; the energy problem has not yet engulfed us, but it will if we do not take the essential steps promptly*”. (Feldstein, 2018, p. 35)

Consequently, Carter devised a domestic strategy to free America from energy reliance. To fulfil this aim, he allotted around 143 billion dollars, based on the assumption that US oil imports would not surpass 8.3 million barrels per day; the level reached in 1977. This total amount of imports, in accordance with Carter’s energy strategy, was expected to be reduced annually to the half; 4.1 million barrels per day. In the early 1980s, an abrupt change in energy policy ensued following the arrival of president Ronald Reagan. His approach was based mostly on purchasing Middle Eastern oil. He focused, for this reason, on creating a military might and arming programmes to defend the world’s energy reserves, particularly, in the Middle East. Alexander Haig commented in 1981, regarding this policy, saying:

NATO is likely to confront new challenges in the evolving world, like, maintaining control over raw supplies. This, in fact, broadens the realm of concerns not only for the Gulf, but also for the African continent, and we will be prepared to engage, even if solely, to assure access to critical resources. (Feldstein, 2018, p. 27)

The Bush Sr. administration pursued the same Reagan policy, although some international events that occurred in the Middle East caused several global developments at that time, like:

- ✓ The emergence of a rapid Japanese economy that challenges America and its interests across the world
- ✓ The rising competitiveness between Japan and the United States over oil market shares in the Middle East

- ✓ The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the interference of America along with the transnational forces to liberate Kuwait and to preserve Middle Eastern oil reserves, as well as, to protect the American strategic interests in the area (Manheim, 1997)

During Gulf War I, the United States had implemented a new energy strategy. It had fixed the price of a barrel at between 18 and 20 dollars, and increased the security of oil reserves by fortifying the military presence in the region, trying to solidify relations with oil-producing states. In this respect, president Bush Sr. stated in a November 1990 statement to Newsweek magazine: *“Energy security is tied to our national security, and we must take action to address this issue.”* (Chomsky, 2008)

Saudi Arabia is the Middle East’s major oil producer, with 2.264 billion barrels of oil reserves. Such an amount, according to statistics, represents approximately a quarter of the global oil reserves. Therefore, Saudi Arabia possesses a significant impact on oil prices in international energy markets. It has also been a steady oil source since 1933, with the exception of 1973-1974 period, when Saudi Arabia, and other oil-producing states enforced an oil ban as a retaliation for the US assistance to Israel in the 1973 war. This Arab oil ban incurred the American economy over 2.6 trillion dollars. (Feldstein, 2018)

President George W. Bush declared in his State of the Union Address, in January 2006, that America has become addicted to foreign oil. Indeed, despite having less than 5% of the world’s population, America is world’s biggest oil consumer, with 25% of worldwide consumption on a daily basis. Meanwhile, the United States accounts for only 9% of global oil output and possesses less than 3% of proven oil resources. As a result, America is extremely reliant on foreign sources to supply its domestic energy consumption. In fact, US imports already represent 60% of total domestic oil demand, and forecasts suggest that

American oil imports will exceed 70% of total US oil consumption by 2026. (www.realinstitutoflcano.org)

Therefore, it is not surprising that United States' dependency on overseas oil is a major driver of American foreign policy and military strategy towards the Middle East. As a matter of fact, since 1945, when president Roosevelt pledged to the Saudi King Abdelaziz that America would guarantee the kingdom' safety in exchange of preferential access to Saudi oil, the deployment of military forces to preserve the flow of oil has been a major pillar of the US foreign policy. (Report of an Independent Task Force, 2005)

Consequently, the United States has been working hard to cement its hegemony and extend its influence in oil-rich areas, particularly, the Middle East. Following the 09/11 attacks, America shifted its focus to countering terrorism, and Iraq was an ideal state to be the next US military target after Afghanistan, as it possessed a strategic oil reserve with being the second largest oil-rich state after Saudi Arabia, with around 17 billion barrels of oil stockpile, which is equal to 15% of total global oil resources. According to the majority of political analysts and academics, this is a compelling reason to invade Iraq which is crucial to Non-Aligned Movement and OPEC (*Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries*) (Gonzales, 2015). This way, the United States was able to bring together the grounds for punishing terrorist-supporting states with expanding its dominance over energy sources.

On the other hand, many political scientists argued that the real motivation for the US invasion of Afghanistan was to explore a larger field of oil sources. Specialised studies calculated the country's oil reserves to be around 7 billion barrels, plus the Iraqi stockpile of 17 billion barrels, in addition to the Iranian oil reserves of about 13 billion barrels, causing the area to be the permanent priority of America, which has no alternative to the region's oil (مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية، 2002). This has additionally rendered the Middle East a location of

rivalry between the world's superpowers, which has constituted a real set of challenges to United States to confront.

This led president George W. Bush to establish National Energy Policy Development Group in 2001. It is made up of cabinet secretaries, such as, State Treasury and Energy, as well as, high governmental officials, such as, the Head of the Environmental Protection Agency and the Deputy Chief of Staff. It incorporates representatives from a number of significant US energy-related firms and trade organisations, in addition to corporate lobbyists as well. In a study made by this group in 2005, they concluded that:

The US oil demand will increase from 19 million barrels a day, currently, to more than 26 million barrels per day within the next 20 years. If the US oil output keeps following the same pattern of the last decade, it will fall by 1.5 million barrels per day in the coming few years, meeting less than 30% of the US oil total consumption. (Toby, 2012, p. 28)

Furthermore, this energy group made a report entitled *Strengthening Global Alliances: Optimising Energy Security and International Relations*, asserting that: “*The Middle Eastern oil-producing countries are expected to supply 67% of the World's oil demand by 2020; this region will remain central to global energy security*” (Gonzales, 2015, p. 83).

In March 2001, Abraham Spencer; US Secretary of Energy, delivered a speech at a conference held by the US Chamber of Commerce, where he warned that America is about to encounter the most severe energy deficit since the 1970s, stating that: “*America needs to find a rapid solution, otherwise, the energy crisis will endanger United States' prosperity and national security, and it will change the Americans' way of life*”. (Rutledge, 2005, p. 264)

Over a month later, James Backer Institute for Public Policy along with US Council on Foreign Relations, produced a paper with the same conclusion, emphasising that:

At the dawn of the 21st century, the sector of energy has witnessed a crisis which could erupt at any moment due to a variety of triggers, and that would unavoidably affect every nation of this globalised world. It is undeniable that these energy's disruptions may have a potential adverse effect on the international economy, but certainly will have a catastrophic impact on United States' national security and foreign policy. (Rutledge, 2005, p. 267)

As a result, this increasing oil demand across the world has triggered the American concerns; especially China which is becoming the most country addicted to Middle East's oil. Its daily consumption has risen from 6 million barrels to 12 million barrels. This increasing demand caused China to turn from being an oil supplier to oil importer. To preserve its stability and economic progress, China has pursued oil reserves overseas to construct a strategic oil stockpile like America has done previously, and its closest supplier, obviously, is the Middle East (Rutledge, 2005).

However, the United States retains the priority of purchasing an additional yearly supply of Middle Eastern oil up to 112 million barrels, while China claims an average rise up to 107 million barrels annually. Meanwhile, according to *International Energy Agency*, the Gulf states' total output hit 25 billion barrels in 2000, and 22.7 billion barrels in 2010. This decrease of oil output caused insufficiency to fulfil the countries' growing demands, because the Gulf states alone were predicted to achieve an output capacity of 31.4 million barrels per day in 2010, and 45.6 million barrels per day by 2025 (Clingendael International Energy Programme, 2017). These diminished levels of oil output set the ground for a strategic confrontation between the global economic rivals who are vying for their desired portion of Middle Eastern oil supply in every possible legitimate or illicit way.

For this reason, when the United States invaded Iraq, it steered clear from missile bombarding the oilfields and energy facilities, in order to preserve an ongoing flow of oil. It should be noted that the first thing the US administration did when invading Iraq, was to develop a comprehensive strategy to manage the Iraqi energy industry. The Iraqi officials who were nominated to the Ministry of Oil during the US occupation also developed, with an American participation, special political considerations pertaining to the matter of oil marketing, giving precedence to America which seized the opportunity to use the UN resolution No 1483 that eased the constraints and established a legal framework for the selling of Iraqi oil. In fact, putting the Iraqi oil under its control made the US earnings to reach 116 billion dollars in 2004. (Council on Foreign Relations, 2007)

Thus, we conclude that dominating and managing Middle East' oil is among the primary axes of the US foreign policy, trying to extend its hegemony over the region and preventing the competing powers from gaining an open access to control it. For this reason, controlling Iraq; the second largest oil-supplier, permitted America to expand its influence into the rest of the region's countries, undermine OPEC, and manipulate oil prices. America is also seeking through its strategies to monitor the area's oil reserves, which are the primary sources of the region's economy revenue.

Nevertheless, because of the upheaval in the Middle East and its need for the diplomatic and even military support to serve its strategies and interests, the United States has been wisely avoiding a direct conflict with international superpowers over dominating the region. Therefore, America embraced the strategy of alliances with the world's powers under various pretexts; such as, combating terrorism and promoting democracy, trying to pursue adequate plans to solidify its long-term foreign policy' objectives and measures affecting the Middle East region and its rivals as well.

3.3. The Economic Rivalry

The complexity of current global variables has brought about new worries, which are reflected in the increased need to strengthen the economic basis in particular. Given that any state's strength or weakness is measured through its economic productivity, as well as the extent to which its people achieve prosperity. This, in fact, has resulted in a profound transformation in the concept and characteristics of global warfare, including economic, technical, and financial components. Thus, political structures have been interwoven with economic, technological, and even cultural spheres, resulting in the formation of a new concept with its own interdependent and coherent features of all these domains in tandem. This new concept has eventually become another measuring component of a state's power. (Brzezinski, 2004)

America has recognised the new bets brought about these developments. As a result, it deploys innovative processes to fast adapt and stay on the track of the worldwide transformations. These developments are marked by the emergence of economic rivals in various parts of the world, resulting in intensifying international economic competition. Therefore, the United States has been attempting to deploy its armed assets for more than just defensive and political goals. It also desires to enhance its economic dominance, because it is well aware that economic might will determine the future. Consequently, America has been investing in its military powers for economic reasons, devoting vast budgets to its armed forces. This US strategic policy has been taking shape since the end of the Cold War.

However, with the arrival of Bush Jr. to office, he started to modify president Clinton's policies and practices. He began to lay new groundwork for the protection of American commerce, in order to safeguard and guarantee the necessary support for its industries and business activities, because the impact of Western and Asian trade rivalry has begun to be seen. (Brzezinski, 2004)

This explains the United States' unwillingness to sign the Kyoto Protocol on climate change and environmental preservation, because it is perceived as reducing US output and harming the country's interests. It should be noted that this agreement forbids the use of mines and the development of chemical weapons. Furthermore, America works on suspending arms control treaties, because it started to view these international duties as a barrier to the development of its economy and global trade. This rejection of international accords, particularly in the sphere of weaponry, demonstrates the US aim to maintain military superiority, as well as, to preserve a monopoly on the conventional arms industry due to its significant financial earnings and political benefits. (Toby, 2012)

This tendency became obvious with the passage of a never-before-recorded armament budget in the 09/11 events' aftermath, where the US administration saw a chance to fulfil its intended political and economic aims and interests. As a result, America waged war against Taliban regime, employing its counter-terrorism policy to give its military actions legitimacy on both domestic and international scales, and with the UN approval based on UN Resolution No 1368 which was passed a day after the attacks. Indeed, the United States was effective in removing Taliban from power, installing a weak political system in Afghanistan that suits the US vision and interests. Then, it waged war on Iraq without the UN consent, citing a number of reasons. (Brzezinski, 2004)

It should be noted that the majority of political scientists have agreed on that all of these military actions are justifiable under the US strategic economic accounting. The US war on Afghanistan was strategic in nature, as it is inextricably linked to strategic control over energy pipelines and transit corridors (see map 03), particularly Eurasian corridors that are of great significant geo-economic flexibility, connecting Europe' Eastern verge with the Western brim of Asia (Toby, 2012). In this sense, Henry Kissinger argued in his *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?* Book that: "*The United States' national interest is found*

in resisting any power seeking to dominate Asia, and America ought to be willing to act without allies, if necessary". (Kissinger, 2002, p 202)

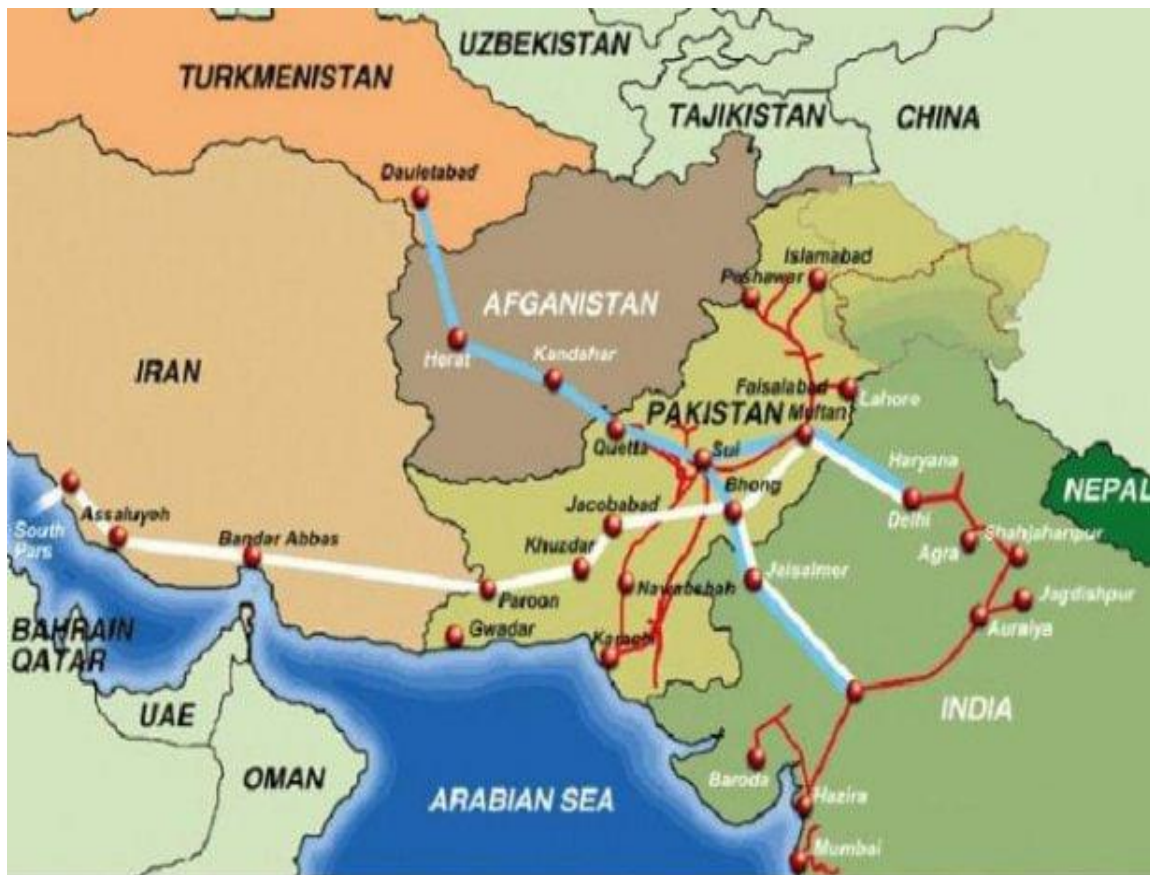
Map 03: The US Influence over Oil and Gas Pipelines in Afghanistan (businessinsider.com)



Moreover, Afghanistan's significance stems, also, from its strategic location, as it is positioned in between Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent, and the Middle East. As well as, it is surrounded by the Chinese, Japanese and Indian markets. However, its value grew when it became the only feasible option for extending the Caspian Sea's oil and gas pipelines project (see map 04). This in fact, has placed this state in the global strategic energy formulas; given that reliable data estimated the Caspian Sea basin's stock of oil and gas materials at around 5 trillion dollars. Therefore, the US wars on Afghanistan and Iraq are considered pure American pursuit of economic objectives. Then, it proceeded to design special plans for the Middle East which is regarded the main source of global energy; like,

its initiative of *The Greater Middle East* project, trying to place the entire region under its control and dominance, and to confine the rival powers' influence. (Chomsky et al, 2006)

Map 04: TAPI Gas Pipeline Project in Afghanistan (Eurasian Energy Analysis/daryo.uz)



As a matter of fact, the United States is required to explore new ways to sustain its global prestige and economic capabilities, utilising all available tools, including its military strengths. Furthermore, America is acutely aware of the fact that global economic system is enduring profound changes that may culminate in the development of a new system in which newly industrialising states, like, India, Korea, Turkey, China, South Africa, and Malaysia will be playing a critical role that cannot be ignored in the near future. This is going eventually to sharpen economic competitiveness and lead to forming new alliances of economic nature (Sheingate, 2016). All of these variables have led the US leadership to the

unavoidable policy of intervening anywhere across the world, in order to mitigate these prevailing shifts that are considered, from an American perspective, disastrous for the American welfare and its status in the international scene.

Therefrom stems the geoeconomically and politically significance of the Middle East, not just because of its energy sources, but also due to the fact that it serves as a crossroads for land and air transit routes, and sea-lanes connecting Asia with Europe, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Indian Ocean. In addition to this, the area plays an essential part in US international commerce flow, leading the United States to broaden the NATO's mandate to include the Eastern brim of the Atlantic Ocean. This US strategy reaffirms the US politico-philosophy of employing military forces to achieve economic aims.

Besides, America places a high value on the Arab Maghreb states; known also as the Greater Maghreb or the Farthest Maghreb, including: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Mauritania. The Arab Maghreb is, according to the United States, part of the Middle East and is included in *The Greater Middle East Project*. It is viewed as a geostrategic location with a crossroads that connects Europe, African Sub-Sahara and the Persian Gulf. Also, during the Gulf War, the Mediterranean Sea served as a key canal.

All these and other factors have made the Maghreb a critical component of the US foreign policy considerations, especially in recent years, when it has started to establish political structures and measures for North African energy security. Moreover, several African states have become increasingly significant oil-suppliers to America. Given that the United States purchases around one-quarter of the African continent's overall oil exports (Feldstein, 2018). Furthermore, according to statistics generated by EIA¹⁶ from 1980 to 2022, the African consumption of oil has never surpassed 9% of its total produced oil, and the remainder is

¹⁶ **EIA:** Energy International Administration

destined for exportation, putting African oil in high demand globally, with the United States as the largest African oil consumer. (www.eia.gov)

Because of international security concerns and global economic rivalry, America attempts to diversify its oil supplies. As it has realised that its reliance on Middle Eastern oil posed a significant risk. Hence, current US oil imports from both Middle East and Africa are becoming nearly equal, reaching 15.6% from Africa; primarily Algeria, Nigeria, and South Africa, and 17.2% coming from the Middle East. All these US efforts are part of its strategic approach of monopolising the largest attainable portion of global oil sources, leaving little room for international economic rivals, trying to minimise their influence. (Toby, 2012)

What is noteworthy is that the United States has become concerned about China's progress, particularly since it started its economic expansion in Asia and the Middle East. This achievement is the outcome of its 1980s economic reforms that provided China with the chance to establish a unique model founded on internal political centrality and exterior economic openness, allowing China to join the World Trade Organisation in 2001. During the past couple of decades, China's economy has witnessed an increasing growth, prompting the country to propose establishing a joint free market with Southeast and Northeast Asia, as trade turnover between them has risen to 56%, and practically the same rate of exchange has been reached between China and Japan, far exceeding US-Japan trade exchanges. The same can be said about the Chinese cooperation with Singapore, Malaysia, South Korea, and Thailand. The US concern about China's expanding ambitions in the Middle East was openly articulated by Kissinger, who expressed worries about China's aim for regional supremacy, and its increasing economic and military progress. (Gonzales, 2015)

Besides, less than 40 years ago, Asian states including Japan, contributed with only 5% of the global total production, whereas North America produced 37% to 40%. By the mid-1990s, Asian states and North America had about equalled each other, with over 26% each.

According to the analysts, Asia' economic progress and advancement is historically unprecedented, given that manufacturing process of development took roughly 5 decades in Britain and slightly less in America. However, South Korea and China needed only a decade to achieve the same progress. (Gruin et al, 2015)

Japanese trade growth in the Middle East has also concerned the United States. Given that since Gulf War II, Japan has been trying to establish long-term economic ties with oil-producing countries, through developing collaborations in energy refining sector. These developments have begun to harm the American interests (Gruin, 2015). Thus, it sought to allay these worries by seizing the leadership of the Middle East through hard power and its Greater Middle East project, trying meanwhile to lay a hand on this Asian growth and control it to minimize its impact; given that these Southern Asian countries claim the Middle East as their primary source of oil supply, as well as, an appealing market for their different industries.

We can conclude that America wishes to solely manage the Middle East' reorganisation, through its military power using the so-called war on terrorism as an argument, and by exhibiting its project of The Greater Middle East, which was designed to reform the region's existing systems with reference to what matches its interests and objectives. As it is clear that this US project, in its essence, is not about reorganising the Middle Eastern political institutions on a strong democratic basis, but to secure its strategic goals in the region; such as, guaranteeing the flow of oil and to prevent it from being diverted by any state that attempts to control the region and its resources. Add to this, protecting the Israeli entity and integrating it into the region at any costs. This, in fact, necessitates weak and wrestling political systems with one another, and not unified solid democratic states capable to confront.

Furthermore, the United States is determined to employ all means necessary to maintain and fortify its global leading status, starting with the Middle East not merely for its energy reserves, but also for its geostrategic location, making of it the ideal framework for America to pass its hegemony-expanding programmes aiming at dominating the world and monitoring the rising global economic growth.



GENERAL CONCLUSION

General Conclusion

The United States' foreign policy towards the Middle East has represented the growth and crystallisation of a set of strategies and policies that have generated substantial shifts on the regional level, leaving it in an unstable state. The attacks of 09/11/2001 that marked a major turning point in the US history and that of the entire world, have led to the burst of a new phenomenon known as international terrorism. As a result, the US administration has launched a campaign to persuade its citizens and the rest of the world that a long-lasting global war on terrorism must be framed and declared.

This war on terror has become one of the most fundamental cornerstones of the American foreign policy and which has been founded on the pre-emptive strike, although it is illegitimate under the international law. This US political shift that is based on the enemies' early abortion has been defended under the guise of combating terrorism, claiming that they are not required to return to the international law as they are in a state of self-defence.

Consequently, Afghanistan was the first US target as being the headquarters of Al-Qaeda terrorist organization, followed by attacking Iraq in 2003 for being indicted of possessing weapons of mass destruction along with sponsoring terrorism. Besides, this US newly adopted foreign policy has crystalized another dimension that of promoting democracy. The US administration stated that the political, cultural and economic conditions prevalent in the Greater Middle East in general, were to blame for the rise of terrorism. The absence of democracy and violations of human rights are, according to the United States, the main reasons that have contributed in the emergence of such a phenomenon.

This generated conviction has prompted the US administration to impose its vision of democracy on the rest of the world, so as to exclude any threat to its national security and interests. Therefore, the promotion of democracy and human rights has become one of the proclaimed objectives of the US foreign policy in the Greater Middle East area. This

American aspiration for democracy was initially evidenced by making Iraq a role model to be emulated, then, launching *The Greater Middle East Project* initiative.

Thereof, this research sheds light on the motives and objectives of this American missionary of promoting democracy in the Greater Middle East region, and to determine whether the United States seeks to guarantee the success of its project for dominance over the area through the implementation of reforms and democratization. As the research delves into the nature of these motives and aspirations that the American administration is seeking to attain on both regional and global levels, underlying the factors that have led the Middle East area to be the ideal setting for America to put on its policy into effect in order to serve its strategic interests. To that end, the current research work tries to scrutinise the evolving course of the US foreign policy and its democratised vision for the area, in an attempt to spotlight its true strategic goals and to identify the tools and means employed to achieve them.

This research study, represented in four chapters, seeks to address the questions posed over the conflictual nature that characterised the American foreign policy in post-Cold-War world. It also aims to emphasise the strategic objectives underlined by the United States for which the Middle East has been used as a springboard to attain them.

To settle and elucidate this research problem, we posed two critical questions:

- ✓ Is the United States really fuelling democracy and free political practice in the Greater Middle East or is it just a guise under which it aims only to serve its strategic interests?
- ✓ What are the factors that influence this US missionary of spreading democracy? What are the goals and the measures employed to attain them? And to what extent has it been able to accomplish those objectives?

To include the research subject into a comprehensive study, we asked other targeting sub-questions, in order to emphasise as many related matters as feasible that bear either direct or indirect effect on the research topic, which are as following:

- ✓ Why has America chosen the Greater Middle East region to be the strategic target to maintain the case of disequilibrium within the international system, dedicating the decisive supremacy to its favour at the expense of the other international superpowers?
- ✓ Is this US policy of promoting democracy a direct factor of the fragmentation of several region's countries and the advent of difficult-to-control ethnic and sectarian contentions?
- ✓ What are the consequences of the growing antagonism towards the United States among Islamic and Arab communities because of its practices in Palestine and other countries, and its constant bias to Israel?
- ✓ Is the American permanent presence in the region affecting the other superpowers?
- ✓ To what extent will the world' superpowers enable United States to dominate the region solely?
- ✓ To what extent may oil be regarded a vital strategic objective that must be controlled by the United States at any costs?

Then, we set forward the following hypotheses:

- ✓ The US government used this American democracy promotion missionary not as a goal to attain in the region, but as a tool to legitimize its new policy, which includes military action and a permanent presence in the region, as the actual practice of its foreign policy contradicts with the precise phrasing of its declared objectives and claims for democracy and ideal principles.

- ✓ Due to its geostrategic location and vast petroleum deposits and resources, the US government has sought to tighten its grip on the political situation as a means to accelerate, smooth and extend its geo-economic hegemony over the area.

The study indicated that the Middle East region is rated on top of the list on the American political agenda, because of its great geostrategic and geo-economic significance that has rendered the region a sphere of dominance. Furthermore, the region is defined by two aspects that constantly lure the United States; the economic element, especially, oil, and the security component, the relevance of which is constantly reaffirmed by the American successive administrations.

Besides, a clear shifting in American foreign policy is marked, as it went from being built on a large-scale deterrence strategy to resolving international crises with the prospect of deploying military action, as far as, the US ultimate strategic interests are guaranteed and well-served. This approach has been mostly sharpened following the events of 09/11, as America declared war on global terrorism, adopting a strategy for counter-terrorism based on the illegitimate pre-emptive strike under the guise of self-defence. Consequently, US military actions were carried against Afghanistan and Iraq for multiple reasons, that are already discussed in the third chapter.

Then, the United States gave its war on terror a moral dimension of spreading democracy and promoting human rights, and claimed that its war on Iraq was for the sake of abolishing the dictatorship and establishing an Iraqi democratic system to be an example in the region to be aspired to. However, all that was accomplished in Iraq was damage and division that has led to the explosion of severe ethnic and sectarian conflicts, and which their pitfalls are still hard to overcome, and thus, expanding the circle of regional instability. This in fact, has well served America because as long as regional conflicts keep worsening the political

situation there, and which would not settle down before a long time, the United States will be present in all forms in the area. Given that this counter-terrorism strategy has laid ground for the United States to intensively place significant military outposts in central Asia and Middle East, both of which possess the largest global energy reserves, under the pretext of strengthening energy security.

On the other hand, America has kept preaching about human rights while being engaged in brutal practices in Iraq and Afghanistan including torture, harassment, attacks, raids and indiscriminate bombardments on unarmed civilians who had been already denied of all aspects of life. It has also authorised human rights' breaches in its interests and those of its allies under the guise of fighting terrorism, rejecting all UN human rights agreements because they did not serve its objectives.

Domestically, however, the United States has found a haven in its war on terror and counter-terrorism strategy, to execute its repressive policies which have turned into a ground for glaring violations of fundamental freedoms and civil rights based on ethnic distinctions, as the FBI carried out mass arrests of hundreds of Arab and Muslim immigrants, most of which were detained for no other reason than their race or religion. They attached the status of *enemy combatants* to the majority of those detainees without even a legal proof, and attributed to themselves the necessary authority to incarcerate them in military prisons to be tortured to death.

Besides, democracy that the United States calls for while being imposed through these callous and harsh means, brought nothing but fuelled animosity for America in many areas of the world, causing instability by fostering social fragmentations, extremism, and terrorism, especially, in the Middle East, where most of the states are severely split along national, religious, and ethnic lines, causing the region to become torn between regional ethnic tensions, and foreign goals and aspirations.

As a matter of fact, the US administration cannot reasonably be unaware of this fact. This, however, bears one explanation, that the United States is using the promotion of democracy as a pretext to justify its strategies, and its permanent intervention in the region, aiming only to serve its long and short-term strategic objectives. As a result, this US missionary of promoting democracy has become a source of worldwide threat rather than being a means of stability and safety.

Furthermore, this research illustrates the American consistent support to Israel, as the United States has always been working on removing all what has been perceived as a threat to Israel and its security and interests. In addition to this, within the framework of the US-Israeli alliance founded on the permanent bias in favour of Israel to the detriment of the legitimate Arab demands, America is constantly keen to ensure that Israel will always remain regionally superior, politically and militarily, through the imposition of *The Greater Middle East Project* which aims to create a safe zone where American and Israeli interests would grow in security. In fact, this project has been proved to be no more than a US designed vision to reform the region's existing systems with reference to what matches its interests and objectives; for the fact that in its essence, this project is not about reorganising the Middle Eastern political institutions on a strong democratic basis, but rather, to dismantle the area and redrawing it according to what ensures the US supremacy, and Israel's successful inclusion and integration into the region.

To achieve this objective, America has been exerting pressures on the Middle Eastern countries within the framework of this project's reforms, to proceed with normalising ties with Israel as a must to settle down the Arab-Israeli conflict. All this, therefore, can only be achieved through weak, sporadic, and wrestling countries with one another, and that are incapable to confront or oppose the United States and Israel.

All of these practices, along with enforcing this ambiguous US counter-terrorism strategy and a *fait accompli* policy, contravening international legitimacy and beyond all diplomatic and legal considerations, indicate a loud blatant double-standards policy, leaving us with one and only conclusion, that the actual practice of the American policy is diametrically opposed to the precise phrasing of its declared aims and claims for democracy and ideal principles.

The study highlights as well, the American desire to solely manage the Middle East' reorganisation, through its military power using the so-called *war on terrorism* as an argument, and by exhibiting its project of *The Greater Middle East*, to secure its permanent strategic goals in the region, and which are:

- ✓ Guaranteeing the flow of oil and to prevent it from being diverted by any state that attempts to control the region and its resources; given that controlling natural resources, with oil at the forefront, is one of the most crucial factors of international dominance
- ✓ Protecting the Israeli existence at any costs
- ✓ Employing all means necessary to maintain and fortify its global leading status, starting with the Middle East, not merely for its huge energy reserves, but also for its geostrategic location, making of it the ideal framework for America to pass its hegemony-expanding programmes aiming at dominating the world, and monitoring the rising global economic growth

Therefore, we conclude that the United States relies and cling, through its successive administrations whether Republican or Democrat, on two principles in shaping its foreign policy and accomplishing its quest of pursuing its interests and security on a global scale. The first and foremost principle is of the absolute and unlimited power which is based on strengthening its political, economic, and military forces in order to impose its global hegemony and order, in accordance to what fits and ensures its objectives, excluding any

rivalry on the international scene. The second principle is of the American moral values which presents an ideal and excellent helpful perception of the US foreign policy, and through which the United States advocates for an ongoing intervention in international affairs, based on the intellectual features that set the premise of promoting global democracy and freedoms.

Therefore, on one hand and based on the aforementioned conclusions, the study confirms and authenticates both of its hypotheses set for the research. On the other hand, the study predicts that the United States will continue, under the guise of fighting terrorism and extremism, as well as expanding democracy, to impose pressures on Arab and Islamic states:

Politically

- ✓ Exerting intensified pressure in order to complete the normalising ties' process with Israel at all different levels
- ✓ To continue its missionary of spreading democracy and fuelling free political practice as an excuse to interfere in the nations' internal affairs

Economically

- ✓ To facilitate more foreign investments
- ✓ To quicken the global transition to liberal international order, for the fact that it benefits America to a great extent at the expense of developing states

Educationally

- ✓ To stress on pedagogical reforms in order to eliminate all religious bigotry and prejudice that the United States views as fuelling terrorism and extremism

Obviously, the nature and depth of the United States' ties with the Middle Eastern states will be determined and measured by their adherence to these reforms. However, this US war waged on terrorism and extremism, which is mainly directed towards the Arab and Islamic world is a futile effort; as it is merely attempting to treat the symptoms of growing hate

towards America and long-standing rejection of its presence in the region. Instead, America should address their prime cause which is entrenched in its policies and discriminatory practices in that part of the world. Thus, it should reconsider its foreign policy; of course, expecting an immense change of US foreign policy would be unrealistic. However, adopting a “*minimizing harm*” strategy as part of a comprehensive policy rethink is both required and beneficial to all parties.

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UNITED NATIONS **S**



Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/RES/1284 (1999)
17 December 1999

RESOLUTION 1284 (1999)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4084th
meeting, on 17 December 1999

The Security Council,

Recalling its previous relevant resolutions, including its resolutions 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990, 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 699 (1991) of 17 June 1991, 707 (1991) of 15 August 1991, 715 (1991) of 11 October 1991, 986 (1995) of 14 April 1995, 1051 (1996) of 27 March 1996, 1153 (1998) of 20 February 1998, 1175 (1998) of 19 June 1998, 1242 (1999) of 21 May 1999 and 1266 (1999) of 4 October 1999,

Recalling the approval by the Council in its resolution 715 (1991) of the plans for future ongoing monitoring and verification submitted by the Secretary-General and the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in pursuance of paragraphs 10 and 13 of resolution 687 (1991),

Welcoming the reports of the three panels on Iraq (S/1999/356), and having held a comprehensive consideration of them and the recommendations contained in them,

Stressing the importance of a comprehensive approach to the full implementation of all relevant Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq and the need for Iraqi compliance with these resolutions,

Recalling the goal of establishing in the Middle East a zone free from weapons of mass destruction and all missiles for their delivery and the objective of a global ban on chemical weapons as referred to in paragraph 14 of resolution 687 (1991),

Concerned at the humanitarian situation in Iraq, and determined to improve that situation,

Recalling with concern that the repatriation and return of all Kuwaiti and third country nationals or their remains, present in Iraq on or after

2 August 1990, pursuant to paragraph 2 (c) of resolution 686 (1991) of

99-39609 (E) 171299 /... 2 March 1991 and paragraph 30 of resolution 687 (1991), have not yet been fully carried out by Iraq,

Recalling that in its resolutions 686 (1991) and 687 (1991) the Council demanded that Iraq return in the shortest possible time all Kuwaiti property it had seized, and noting with regret that Iraq has still not complied fully with this demand,

Acknowledging the progress made by Iraq towards compliance with the provisions of resolution 687 (1991), but noting that, as a result of its failure to implement the relevant Council resolutions fully, the conditions do not exist which would enable the Council to take a decision pursuant to resolution 687 (1991) to lift the prohibitions referred to in that resolution,

Reiterating the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Kuwait, Iraq and the neighbouring States,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and taking into account that operative provisions of this resolution relate to previous resolutions adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter, A.

1. Decides to establish, as a subsidiary body of the Council, the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) which replaces the Special Commission established pursuant to paragraph 9 (b) of resolution 687 (1991);
2. Decides also that UNMOVIC will undertake the responsibilities mandated to the Special Commission by the Council with regard to the verification of compliance by Iraq with its obligations under paragraphs 8, 9 and 10 of resolution 687 (1991) and other related resolutions, that UNMOVIC will establish and operate, as was recommended by the panel on disarmament and current and future ongoing monitoring and verification issues, a reinforced system of ongoing monitoring and verification, which will implement the plan approved by the Council in resolution 715 (1991) and address unresolved disarmament issues, and that UNMOVIC will identify, as necessary in accordance with its mandate, additional sites in Iraq to be covered by the reinforced system of ongoing monitoring and verification;
3. Reaffirms the provisions of the relevant resolutions with regard to the role of the IAEA in addressing compliance by Iraq with paragraphs 12 and 13 of resolution 687 (1991) and other related resolutions, and requests the Director General of the IAEA to maintain this role with the assistance and cooperation of UNMOVIC;
4. Reaffirms its resolutions 687 (1991), 699 (1991), 707 (1991), 715 (1991), 1051 (1996), 1154 (1998) and all other relevant resolutions and statements of its President, which establish the criteria for Iraqi compliance, affirms that the obligations of Iraq referred to in those resolutions and statements with regard to cooperation with the Special Commission, unrestricted access and provision of information will apply in respect of UNMOVIC, and decides in particular that Iraq shall allow UNMOVIC teams immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to any and all areas, facilities, equipment, records and means of transport which they wish to inspect in accordance with the mandate of UNMOVIC, as well as to all officials and other persons under the authority of the Iraqi Government whom UNMOVIC wishes to interview so that UNMOVIC may fully discharge its mandate;

5. Requests the Secretary-General, within 30 days of the adoption of this resolution, to appoint, after consultation with and subject to the approval of the Council, an Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC who will take up his mandated tasks as soon as possible, and, in consultation with the Executive Chairman and the Council members, to appoint suitably qualified experts as a College of Commissioners for UNMOVIC which will meet regularly to review the implementation of this and other relevant resolutions and provide professional advice and guidance to the Executive Chairman, including on significant policy decisions and on written reports to be submitted to the Council through the Secretary-General;
6. Requests the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC, within 45 days of his appointment, to submit to the Council, in consultation with and through the Secretary-General, for its approval an organizational plan for UNMOVIC, including its structure, staffing requirements, management guidelines, recruitment and training procedures, incorporating as appropriate the recommendations of the panel on disarmament and current and future ongoing monitoring and verification issues, and recognizing in particular the need for an effective, cooperative management structure for the new organization, for staffing with suitably qualified and experienced personnel, who would be regarded as international civil servants subject to Article 100 of the Charter of the United Nations, drawn from the broadest possible geographical base, including as he deems necessary from international arms control organizations, and for the provision of high quality technical and cultural training;
7. Decides that UNMOVIC and the IAEA, not later than 60 days after they have both started work in Iraq, will each draw up, for approval by the Council, a work programme for the discharge of their mandates, which will include both the implementation of the reinforced system of ongoing monitoring and verification, and the key remaining disarmament tasks to be completed by Iraq pursuant to its obligations to comply with the disarmament requirements of resolution 687 (1991) and other related resolutions, which constitute the governing standard of Iraqi compliance, and further decides that what is required of Iraq for the implementation of each task shall be clearly defined and precise;
8. Requests the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and the Director General of the IAEA, drawing on the expertise of other international organizations as appropriate, to establish a unit which will have the responsibilities

of the joint unit constituted by the Special Commission and the Director General of the

IAEA under paragraph 16 of the export/import mechanism approved by resolution 1051 (1996), and also requests the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC, in consultation with the Director General of the IAEA, to resume the revision and updating of the lists of items and technology to which the mechanism applies;

9. Decides that the Government of Iraq shall be liable for the full costs of UNMOVIC and the IAEA in relation to their work under this and other related resolutions on Iraq;
10. Requests Member States to give full cooperation to UNMOVIC and the IAEA in the discharge of their mandates;
11. Decides that UNMOVIC shall take over all assets, liabilities and archives of the Special Commission, and that it shall assume the Special Commission's part in agreements existing between the Special Commission and Iraq and between the United Nations and Iraq, and affirms that the Executive Chairman, the Commissioners and the personnel serving with UNMOVIC shall have the rights, privileges, facilities and immunities of the Special Commission;
12. Requests the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC to report, through the Secretary-General, to the Council, following consultation with the Commissioners, every three months on the work of UNMOVIC, pending submission of the first reports referred to in paragraph 33 below, and to report immediately when the reinforced system of ongoing monitoring and verification is fully operational in Iraq;

B.

13. Reiterates the obligation of Iraq, in furtherance of its commitment to facilitate the repatriation of all Kuwaiti and third country nationals referred to in paragraph 30 of resolution 687 (1991), to extend all necessary cooperation to the International Committee of the Red Cross, and calls upon the Government of Iraq to resume cooperation with the Tripartite Commission and Technical Subcommittee established to facilitate work on this issue;
14. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council every four months on compliance by Iraq with its obligations regarding the repatriation or return of all Kuwaiti and third country nationals or

their remains, to report every six months on the return of all Kuwaiti property, including archives, seized by Iraq, and to appoint a high-level coordinator for these issues; C.

15. Authorizes States, notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs 3 (a), 3 (b) and 4 of resolution 661 (1990) and subsequent relevant resolutions, to permit the import of any volume of petroleum and petroleum products originating in Iraq, including financial and other essential transactions directly relating thereto, as required for the purposes and on the conditions set out in paragraph 1 (a) and (b) and subsequent provisions of resolution 986 (1995) and related resolutions;
16. Underlines, in this context, its intention to take further action, including permitting the use of additional export routes for petroleum and petroleum products, under appropriate conditions otherwise consistent with the purpose and provisions of resolution 986 (1995) and related resolutions;
17. Directs the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) to approve, on the basis of proposals from the Secretary-General, lists of humanitarian items, including foodstuffs, pharmaceutical and medical supplies, as well as basic or standard medical and agricultural equipment and basic or standard educational items, decides, notwithstanding paragraph 3 of resolution 661 (1990) and paragraph 20 of resolution 687 (1991), that supplies of these items will not be submitted for approval of that Committee, except for items subject to the provisions of resolution 1051 (1996), and will be notified to the SecretaryGeneral and financed in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 8 (a) and 8 (b) of resolution 986 (1995), and requests the Secretary-General to inform the Committee in a timely manner of all such notifications received and actions taken;
18. Requests the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) to appoint, in accordance with resolutions 1175 (1998) and 1210 (1998), a group of experts, including independent inspection agents appointed by the SecretaryGeneral in accordance with paragraph 6 of resolution 986 (1995), decides that this group will be mandated to approve speedily contracts for the parts and the equipments necessary to enable Iraq to increase its exports of petroleum and petroleum products, according to lists of parts and equipments approved by that Committee for each

individual project, and requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide for the monitoring of these parts and equipments inside Iraq;

19. Encourages Member States and international organizations to provide supplementary humanitarian assistance to Iraq and published material of an educational character to Iraq;
20. Decides to suspend, for an initial period of six months from the date of the adoption of this resolution and subject to review, the implementation of paragraph 8 (g) of resolution 986 (1995);
21. Requests the Secretary-General to take steps to maximize, drawing as necessary on the advice of specialists, including representatives of international humanitarian organizations, the effectiveness of the arrangements set out in resolution 986 (1995) and related resolutions including the humanitarian benefit to the Iraqi population in all areas of the country, and further requests the Secretary-General to continue to enhance as necessary the United Nations observation process in Iraq, ensuring that all supplies under the humanitarian programme are utilized as authorized, to bring to the attention of the Council any circumstances preventing or impeding effective and equitable distribution and to keep the Council informed of the steps taken towards the implementation of this paragraph;
22. Requests also the Secretary-General to minimize the cost of the United Nations activities associated with the implementation of resolution 986 (1995) as well as the cost of the independent inspection agents and the certified public accountants appointed by him, in accordance with paragraphs 6 and 7 of resolution 986 (1995);
23. Requests further the Secretary-General to provide Iraq and the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) with a daily statement of the status of the escrow account established by paragraph 7 of resolution 986 (1995);
24. Requests the Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements, subject to Security Council approval, to allow funds deposited in the escrow account established by resolution 986 (1995) to be used for the purchase of locally produced goods and to meet the local cost for essential civilian needs which have been funded in accordance with the provisions of resolution 986 (1995) and related

resolutions, including, where appropriate, the cost of installation and training services;

25. Directs the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) to take a decision on all applications in respect of humanitarian and essential civilian needs within a target of two working days of receipt of these applications from the Secretary-General, and to ensure that all approval and notification letters issued by the Committee stipulate delivery within a specified time, according to the nature of the items to be supplied, and requests the Secretary-General to notify the Committee of all applications for humanitarian items which are included in the list to which the export/import mechanism approved by resolution 1051 (1996) applies;
26. Decides that Hajj pilgrimage flights which do not transport cargo into or out of Iraq are exempt from the provisions of paragraph 3 of resolution 661 (1990) and resolution 670 (1990), provided timely notification of each flight is made to the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990), and requests the Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements, for approval by the Security Council, to provide for reasonable expenses related to the Hajj pilgrimage to be met by funds in the escrow account established by resolution 986 (1995);
27. Calls upon the Government of Iraq:
 - (i) to take all steps to ensure the timely and equitable distribution of all humanitarian goods, in particular medical supplies, and to remove and avoid delays at its warehouses;
 - (ii) to address effectively the needs of vulnerable groups, including children, pregnant women, the disabled, the elderly and the mentally ill among others, and to allow freer access, without any discrimination, including on the basis of religion or nationality, by United Nations agencies and humanitarian organizations to all areas and sections of the population for evaluation of their nutritional and humanitarian condition;
 - (iii) to prioritize applications for humanitarian goods under the arrangements set out in resolution 986 (1995) and related resolutions;

- (iv) to ensure that those involuntarily displaced receive humanitarian assistance without the need to demonstrate that they have resided for six months in their places of temporary residence;
- (v) to extend full cooperation to the United Nations Office for Project Services mine-clearance programme in the three northern Governorates of Iraq and to consider the initiation of the demining efforts in other Governorates;

28. Requests the Secretary-General to report on the progress made in meeting the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people and on the revenues necessary to meet those needs, including recommendations on necessary additions to the current allocation for oil spare parts and equipment, on the basis of a comprehensive survey of the condition of the Iraqi oil production sector, not later than 60 days from the date of the adoption of this resolution and updated thereafter as necessary;

29. Expresses its readiness to authorize additions to the current allocation for oil spare parts and equipment, on the basis of the report and recommendations requested in paragraph 28 above, in order to meet the humanitarian purposes set out in resolution 986 (1995) and related resolutions;

30. Requests the Secretary-General to establish a group of experts, including oil industry experts, to report within 100 days of the date of adoption of this resolution on Iraq's existing petroleum production and export capacity and to make recommendations, to be updated as necessary, on alternatives for increasing Iraq's petroleum production and export capacity in a manner consistent with the purposes of relevant resolutions, and on the options for involving foreign oil companies in Iraq's oil sector, including investments, subject to appropriate monitoring and controls;

31. Notes that in the event of the Council acting as provided for in paragraph 33 of this resolution to suspend the prohibitions referred to in that paragraph, appropriate arrangements and procedures will need, subject to paragraph 35 below, to be agreed by the Council in good time beforehand, including suspension of provisions of resolution 986 (1995) and related resolutions;

32. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the implementation of paragraphs 15 to 30 of this resolution within 30 days of the adoption of this resolution;
33. Expresses its intention, upon receipt of reports from the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and from the Director General of the IAEA that Iraq has cooperated in all respects with UNMOVIC and the IAEA in particular in fulfilling the work programmes in all the aspects referred to in paragraph 7 above, for a period of 120 days after the date on which the Council is in receipt of reports from both UNMOVIC and the IAEA that the reinforced system of ongoing monitoring and verification is fully operational, to suspend with the fundamental objective of improving the humanitarian situation in Iraq and securing the implementation of the Council's resolutions, for a period of 120 days renewable by the Council, and subject to the elaboration of effective financial and other operational measures to ensure that Iraq does not acquire prohibited items, prohibitions against the import of commodities and products originating in Iraq, and prohibitions against the sale, supply and delivery to Iraq of civilian commodities and products other than those referred to in paragraph 24 of resolution 687 (1991) or those to which the mechanism established by resolution 1051 (1996) applies;

34. Decides that in reporting to the Council for the purposes of paragraph 33 above, the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC will include as a basis for his assessment the progress made in completing the tasks referred to in paragraph 7 above;
35. Decides that if at any time the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC or the Director General of the IAEA reports that Iraq is not cooperating in all respects with UNMOVIC or the IAEA or if Iraq is in the process of acquiring any prohibited items, the suspension of the prohibitions referred to in paragraph 33 above shall terminate on the fifth working day following the report, unless the Council decides to the contrary;
36. Expresses its intention to approve arrangements for effective financial and other operational measures, including on the delivery of and payment for authorized civilian commodities and products to be sold or supplied to Iraq, in order to ensure that Iraq does not acquire prohibited items in the event of suspension of the prohibitions referred to in paragraph 33 above, to begin the elaboration of such measures not later than the date of the receipt of the initial reports referred to in paragraph 33 above, and to approve such arrangements before the Council decision in accordance with that paragraph;
37. Further expresses its intention to take steps, based on the report and recommendations requested in paragraph 30 above, and consistent with the purpose of resolution 986 (1995) and related resolutions, to enable Iraq to increase its petroleum production and export capacity, upon receipt of the reports relating to the cooperation in all respects with UNMOVIC and the IAEA referred to in paragraph 33 above;
38. Reaffirms its intention to act in accordance with the relevant provisions of resolution 687 (1991) on the termination of prohibitions referred to in that resolution;
39. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter and expresses its intention to consider action in accordance with paragraph 33 above no later than 12 months from the date of the adoption of this resolution provided the conditions set out in paragraph 33 above have been satisfied by Iraq.

United Nations

S/RES/1373 (2001)



Security Council

28 September 2001

Distr.: General

Resolution 1373 (2001)

**Adopted by the Security Council at its 4385th meeting, on
28 September 2001**

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 1269 (1999) of 19 October 1999 and 1368 (2001) of 12 September 2001,

Reaffirming also its unequivocal condemnation of the terrorist attacks which took place in New York, Washington, D.C. and Pennsylvania on 11 September 2001, and expressing its determination to prevent all such acts,

Reaffirming further that such acts, like any act of international terrorism, constitute a threat to international peace and security,

Reaffirming the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence as recognized by the Charter of the United Nations as reiterated in resolution 1368 (2001),

Reaffirming the need to combat by all means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts,

Deeply concerned by the increase, in various regions of the world, of acts of terrorism motivated by intolerance or extremism,

Calling on States to work together urgently to prevent and suppress terrorist acts, including through increased cooperation and full implementation of the relevant international conventions relating to terrorism,

Recognizing the need for States to complement international cooperation by taking additional measures to prevent and suppress, in their territories through all lawful means, the financing and preparation of any acts of terrorism,

Reaffirming the principle established by the General Assembly in its declaration of October 1970 (resolution 2625 (XXV)) and reiterated by the Security Council in its resolution 1189 (1998) of 13 August 1998, namely that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in terrorist acts in another State or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

01-55743 (E)

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S/RES/1373 (2001)

1. *Decides* that all States shall:

- (a) Prevent and suppress the financing of terrorist acts;
- (b) Criminalize the wilful provision or collection, by any means, directly or indirectly, of funds by their nationals or in their territories with the intention that the funds should be used, or in the knowledge that they are to be used, in order to carry out terrorist acts;
- (c) Freeze without delay funds and other financial assets or economic resources of persons who commit, or attempt to commit, terrorist acts or participate in or facilitate the commission of terrorist acts; of entities owned or controlled directly or indirectly by such persons; and of persons and entities acting on behalf of, or at the direction of such persons and entities, including funds derived or generated from property owned or controlled directly or indirectly by such persons and associated persons and entities;

(d) Prohibit their nationals or any persons and entities within their territories from making any funds, financial assets or economic resources or financial or other related services available, directly or indirectly, for the benefit of persons who commit or attempt to commit or facilitate or participate in the commission of terrorist acts, of entities owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by such persons and of persons and entities acting on behalf of or at the direction of such persons;

2. *Decides also* that all States shall:

- (a) Refrain from providing any form of support, active or passive, to entities or persons involved in terrorist acts, including by suppressing recruitment of members of terrorist groups and eliminating the supply of weapons to terrorists;
- (b) Take the necessary steps to prevent the commission of terrorist acts, including by provision of early warning to other States by exchange of information;
- (c) Deny safe haven to those who finance, plan, support, or commit terrorist acts, or provide safe havens;
- (d) Prevent those who finance, plan, facilitate or commit terrorist acts from using their respective territories for those purposes against other States or their citizens;
- (e) Ensure that any person who participates in the financing, planning, preparation or perpetration of terrorist acts or in supporting terrorist acts is brought to justice and ensure that, in addition to any other measures against them, such terrorist acts are established as serious criminal offences in domestic laws and regulations and that the punishment duly reflects the seriousness of such terrorist acts;
- (f) Afford one another the greatest measure of assistance in connection with criminal investigations or criminal proceedings relating to the financing or support of terrorist acts, including assistance in obtaining evidence in their possession necessary for the proceedings;
- (g) Prevent the movement of terrorists or terrorist groups by effective border controls and controls on issuance of identity papers and travel documents, and through measures for preventing counterfeiting, forgery or fraudulent use of identity papers and travel documents;

3. *Calls* upon all States to:

- (a) Find ways of intensifying and accelerating the exchange of operational information, especially regarding actions or movements of terrorist persons or networks; forged or falsified travel documents; traffic in arms, explosives or sensitive materials; use of communications technologies by terrorist groups; and the threat posed by the possession of weapons of mass destruction by terrorist groups;
 - (b) Exchange information in accordance with international and domestic law and cooperate on administrative and judicial matters to prevent the commission of terrorist acts;
 - (c) Cooperate, particularly through bilateral and multilateral arrangements and agreements, to prevent and suppress terrorist attacks and take action against perpetrators of such acts;
 - (d) Become parties as soon as possible to the relevant international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism, including the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism of 9 December 1999;
 - (e) Increase cooperation and fully implement the relevant international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism and Security Council resolutions 1269 (1999) and 1368 (2001);
 - (f) Take appropriate measures in conformity with the relevant provisions of national and international law, including international standards of human rights, before granting refugee status, for the purpose of ensuring that the asylum-seeker has not planned, facilitated or participated in the commission of terrorist acts;
 - (g) Ensure, in conformity with international law, that refugee status is not abused by the perpetrators, organizers or facilitators of terrorist acts, and that claims of political motivation are not recognized as grounds for refusing requests for the extradition of alleged terrorists;
4. *Notes* with concern the close connection between international terrorism and transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, money-laundering, illegal armstrafficking, and illegal movement of nuclear, chemical, biological and other potentially deadly materials, and in this regard *emphasizes* the need to enhance

coordination of efforts on national, subregional, regional and international levels in order to strengthen a global response to this serious challenge and threat to international security;

5. *Declares* that acts, methods, and practices of terrorism are contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and that knowingly financing, planning and inciting terrorist acts are also contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations;
6. *Decides* to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of its provisional rules of procedure, a Committee of the Security Council, consisting of all the members of the Council, to monitor implementation of this resolution, with the assistance of appropriate expertise, and *calls upon* all States to report to the Committee, no later than 90 days from the date of adoption of this resolution and thereafter according to a timetable to be proposed by the Committee, on the steps they have taken to implement this resolution;
7. *Directs* the Committee to delineate its tasks, submit a work programme within 30 days of the adoption of this resolution, and to consider the support it requires, in consultation with the Secretary-General;

3 S/RES/1373 (2001)

8. *Expresses* its determination to take all necessary steps in order to ensure the full implementation of this resolution, in accordance with its responsibilities under the Charter;
 9. *Decides* to remain seized of this matter.
-



United Nations
Security Council
8 November 2002

S/RES/1441 (2002)

Distr.: General

Resolution 1441 (2002)

**Adopted by the Security Council at its 4644th meeting, on
8 November 2002**

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, in particular its resolutions 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990, 678 (1990) of 29 November 1990, 686 (1991) of 2 March 1991, 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 688 (1991) of 5 April 1991, 707 (1991) of 15 August 1991, 715 (1991) of 11 October 1991, 986 (1995) of 14 April 1995, and 1284 (1999) of 17 December 1999, and all the relevant statements of its President,

Recalling also its resolution 1382 (2001) of 29 November 2001 and its intention to implement it fully,

Recognizing the threat Iraq's non-compliance with Council resolutions and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles poses to international peace and security,

Recalling that its resolution 678 (1990) authorized Member States to use all necessary means to uphold and implement its resolution 660 (1990) of 2 August 1990 and all relevant resolutions subsequent to resolution 660 (1990) and to restore international peace and security in the area,

Further recalling that its resolution 687 (1991) imposed obligations on Iraq as a necessary step for achievement of its stated objective of restoring international peace and security in the area,

Deploring the fact that Iraq has not provided an accurate, full, final, and complete disclosure, as required by resolution 687 (1991), of all aspects of its programmes to develop weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles with a range greater than one hundred and fifty kilometres, and of all holdings of such weapons, their components and production facilities and locations, as well as all other nuclear programmes, including any which it claims are for purposes not related to nuclear-weapons-usable material,

Deploring further that Iraq repeatedly obstructed immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted access to sites designated by the United Nations Special Commission and unconditionally with UNSCOM and IAEA weapons 02-68226 (E)

inspectors, as required by resolution 687 (1991), and ultimately ceased all cooperation with UNSCOM and the IAEA in 1998,

Deploring the absence, since December 1998, in Iraq of international monitoring, inspection, and verification, as required by relevant resolutions, of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, in spite of the Council's repeated demands that Iraq provide immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted access to the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), established in resolution 1284 (1999) as the successor organization to UNSCOM, and the IAEA, and regretting the consequent prolonging of the crisis in the region and the suffering of the Iraqi people,

Deploring also that the Government of Iraq has failed to comply with its commitments pursuant to resolution 687 (1991) with regard to terrorism, pursuant to resolution 688 (1991) to end repression of its civilian population and to provide access by international humanitarian organizations to all those in need of assistance in Iraq, and pursuant to resolutions 686 (1991), 687 (1991), and 1284 (1999) to return or cooperate in accounting for Kuwaiti and third country nationals wrongfully detained by Iraq, or to return Kuwaiti property wrongfully seized by Iraq,

Recalling that in its resolution 687 (1991) the Council declared that a ceasefire would be based on acceptance by Iraq of the provisions of that resolution, including the obligations on Iraq contained therein,

Determined to ensure full and immediate compliance by Iraq without conditions or restrictions with its obligations under resolution 687 (1991) and other relevant resolutions and recalling that the resolutions of the Council constitute the governing standard of Iraqi compliance,

Recalling that the effective operation of UNMOVIC, as the successor organization to the Special Commission, and the IAEA is essential for the implementation of resolution 687 (1991) and other relevant resolutions,

Noting that the letter dated 16 September 2002 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the Secretary-General is a necessary first step toward rectifying Iraq's continued failure to comply with relevant Council resolutions,

Noting further the letter dated 8 October 2002 from the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and the Director-General of the IAEA to General Al-Saadi of the Government of Iraq laying out the practical arrangements, as a follow-up to their meeting in Vienna, that are prerequisites for the resumption of inspections in Iraq by UNMOVIC and the IAEA, and expressing the gravest concern at the continued failure by the Government of Iraq to provide confirmation of the arrangements as laid out in that letter,

Reaffirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq, Kuwait, and the neighbouring States,

Commending the Secretary-General and members of the League of Arab States and its Secretary-General for their efforts in this regard,

Determined to secure full compliance with its decisions,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Decides* that Iraq has been and remains in material breach of its obligations under relevant resolutions, including resolution 687 (1991), in particular through Iraq's failure to cooperate with United Nations inspectors and the IAEA, and to complete the actions required under paragraphs 8 to 13 of resolution 687 (1991);
2. *Decides*, while acknowledging paragraph 1 above, to afford Iraq, by this resolution, a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations under relevant resolutions of the Council; and accordingly decides to set up an enhanced inspection regime with the aim of bringing to full and verified completion the disarmament process established by resolution 687 (1991) and subsequent resolutions of the Council;
3. *Decides* that, in order to begin to comply with its disarmament obligations, in addition to submitting the required biannual declarations, the Government of Iraq shall provide to UNMOVIC, the IAEA, and the Council, not later than 30 days from

the date of this resolution, a currently accurate, full, and complete declaration of all aspects of its programmes to develop chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, and other delivery systems such as unmanned aerial vehicles and dispersal systems designed for use on aircraft, including any holdings and precise locations of such weapons, components, subcomponents, stocks of agents, and related material and equipment, the locations and work of its research, development and production facilities, as well as all other chemical, biological, and nuclear programmes, including any which it claims are for purposes not related to weapon production or material;

4. *Decides* that false statements or omissions in the declarations submitted by Iraq pursuant to this resolution and failure by Iraq at any time to comply with, and cooperate fully in the implementation of, this resolution shall constitute a further material breach of Iraq's obligations and will be reported to the Council for assessment in accordance with paragraphs 11 and 12 below;
5. *Decides* that Iraq shall provide UNMOVIC and the IAEA immediate, unimpeded, unconditional, and unrestricted access to any and all, including underground, areas, facilities, buildings, equipment, records, and means of transport which they wish to inspect, as well as immediate, unimpeded, unrestricted, and private access to all officials and other persons whom UNMOVIC or the IAEA wish to interview in the mode or location of UNMOVIC's or the IAEA's choice pursuant to any aspect of their mandates; further decides that UNMOVIC and the IAEA may at their discretion conduct interviews inside or outside of Iraq, may facilitate the travel of those interviewed and family members outside of Iraq, and that, at the sole discretion of UNMOVIC and the IAEA, such interviews may occur without the presence of observers from the Iraqi Government; and instructs UNMOVIC and requests the IAEA to resume inspections no later than 45 days following adoption of this resolution and to update the Council 60 days thereafter;
6. *Endorses* the 8 October 2002 letter from the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and the Director-General of the IAEA to General Al-Saadi of the Government of Iraq, which is annexed hereto, and decides that the contents of the letter shall be binding upon Iraq;

7. *Decides* further that, in view of the prolonged interruption by Iraq of the presence of UNMOVIC and the IAEA and in order for them to accomplish the tasks set forth in this resolution and all previous relevant resolutions and notwithstanding prior understandings, the Council hereby establishes the following revised or additional authorities, which shall be binding upon Iraq, to facilitate their work in Iraq:

- UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall determine the composition of their inspection teams and ensure that these teams are composed of the most qualified and experienced experts available;
- All UNMOVIC and IAEA personnel shall enjoy the privileges and immunities, corresponding to those of experts on mission, provided in the Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations and the Agreement on the Privileges and Immunities of the IAEA;
- UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have unrestricted rights of entry into and out of Iraq, the right to free, unrestricted, and immediate movement to and from inspection sites, and the right to inspect any sites and buildings, including immediate, unimpeded, unconditional, and unrestricted access to Presidential Sites equal to that at other sites, notwithstanding the provisions of resolution 1154 (1998) of 2 March 1998;
- UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the right to be provided by Iraq the names of all personnel currently and formerly associated with Iraq's chemical, biological, nuclear, and ballistic missile programmes and the associated research, development, and production facilities;
- Security of UNMOVIC and IAEA facilities shall be ensured by sufficient United Nations security guards;
- UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the right to declare, for the purposes of freezing a site to be inspected, exclusion zones, including surrounding areas and transit corridors, in which Iraq will suspend ground and aerial movement so that nothing is changed in or taken out of a site being inspected;

- UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the free and unrestricted use and landing of fixed- and rotary-winged aircraft, including manned and unmanned reconnaissance vehicles;
 - UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the right at their sole discretion verifiably to remove, destroy, or render harmless all prohibited weapons, subsystems, components, records, materials, and other related items, and the right to impound or close any facilities or equipment for the production thereof; and
 - UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the right to free import and use of equipment or materials for inspections and to seize and export any equipment, materials, or documents taken during inspections, without search of UNMOVIC or IAEA personnel or official or personal baggage;
8. *Decides* further that Iraq shall not take or threaten hostile acts directed against any representative or personnel of the United Nations or the IAEA or of any Member State taking action to uphold any Council resolution;
 9. *Requests* the Secretary-General immediately to notify Iraq of this resolution, which is binding on Iraq; demands that Iraq confirm within seven days of that notification its intention to comply fully with this resolution; and demands further that Iraq cooperate immediately, unconditionally, and actively with UNMOVIC and the IAEA;
 10. *Requests* all Member States to give full support to UNMOVIC and the IAEA in the discharge of their mandates, including by providing any information related to prohibited programmes or other aspects of their mandates, including on Iraqi attempts since 1998 to acquire prohibited items, and by recommending sites to be inspected, persons to be interviewed, conditions of such interviews, and data to be collected, the results of which shall be reported to the Council by UNMOVIC and the IAEA;
 11. *Directs* the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and the Director-General of the IAEA to report immediately to the Council any interference by Iraq with inspection

activities, as well as any failure by Iraq to comply with its disarmament obligations, including its obligations regarding inspections under this resolution;

12. *Decides* to convene immediately upon receipt of a report in accordance with paragraphs 4 or 11 above, in order to consider the situation and the need for full compliance with all of the relevant Council resolutions in order to secure international peace and security;
13. *Recalls*, in that context, that the Council has repeatedly warned Iraq that it will face serious consequences as a result of its continued violations of its obligations;
14. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

Annex

Text of Blix/El-Baradei letter

United Nations Monitoring, Verification International Atomic Energy Agency and Inspection Commission

The Executive Chairman

The Director General

8 October 2002

Dear General Al-Saadi,

During our recent meeting in Vienna, we discussed practical arrangements that are prerequisites for the resumption of inspections in Iraq by UNMOVIC and the IAEA. As you recall, at the end of our meeting in Vienna we agreed on a statement which listed some of the principal results achieved, particularly Iraq's acceptance of all the rights of inspection provided for in all of the relevant Security Council resolutions. This acceptance was stated to be without any conditions attached.

During our 3 October 2002 briefing to the Security Council, members of the Council suggested that we prepare a written document on all of the conclusions we reached in Vienna. This letter lists those conclusions and seeks your confirmation thereof. We shall report accordingly to the Security Council.

In the statement at the end of the meeting, it was clarified that UNMOVIC and the IAEA will be granted immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to sites, including what was termed "sensitive sites" in the past. As we noted, however, eight presidential sites have been the subject of special procedures under a Memorandum of Understanding of 1998. Should these sites be subject, as all other sites, to immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access, UNMOVIC and the IAEA would conduct inspections there with the same professionalism.

H.E. General Amir H. Al-Saadi
Advisor
Presidential Office
Baghdad
Iraq

We confirm our understanding that UNMOVIC and the IAEA have the right to determine the number of inspectors required for access to any particular site. This determination will be made on the basis of the size and complexity of the site being inspected. We also confirm that Iraq will be informed of the designation of additional sites, i.e. sites not declared by Iraq or previously inspected by either UNSCOM or the IAEA, through a Notification of Inspection (NIS) provided upon arrival of the inspectors at such sites.

Iraq will ensure that no proscribed material, equipment, records or other relevant items will be destroyed except in the presence of UNMOVIC and/or IAEA inspectors, as appropriate, and at their request.

UNMOVIC and the IAEA may conduct interviews with any person in Iraq whom they believe may have information relevant to their mandate. Iraq will facilitate such interviews. It is for UNMOVIC and the IAEA to choose the mode and location for interviews.

The National Monitoring Directorate (NMD) will, as in the past, serve as the Iraqi counterpart for the inspectors. The Baghdad Ongoing Monitoring and Verification Centre (BOMVIC) will be maintained on the same premises and under the same conditions as was the former Baghdad Monitoring and Verification Centre. The NMD will make available services as before, cost free, for the refurbishment of the premises.

The NMD will provide free of cost: (a) escorts to facilitate access to sites to be inspected and communication with personnel to be interviewed; (b) a hotline for BOMVIC which will be staffed by an English speaking person on a 24 hour a day/seven days a week basis; (c) support in terms of personnel and ground transportation within the country, as requested; and (d) assistance in the movement of materials and equipment at inspectors' request (construction, excavation equipment, etc.). NMD will also ensure that escorts are available in the event of inspections outside normal working hours, including at night and on holidays.

Regional UNMOVIC/IAEA offices may be established, for example, in Basra and Mosul, for the use of their inspectors. For this purpose, Iraq will provide, without cost, adequate office buildings, staff accommodation, and appropriate escort personnel.

UNMOVIC and the IAEA may use any type of voice or data transmission, including satellite and/or inland networks, with or without encryption capability. UNMOVIC and the IAEA may also install equipment in the field with the capability for transmission of data directly to the BOMVIC, New York and Vienna (e.g. sensors, surveillance cameras). This will be facilitated by Iraq and there will be no interference by Iraq with UNMOVIC or IAEA communications.

Iraq will provide, without cost, physical protection of all surveillance equipment, and construct antennae for remote transmission of data, at the request of UNMOVIC and the IAEA. Upon request by UNMOVIC through the NMD, Iraq will allocate frequencies for communications equipment.

Iraq will provide security for all UNMOVIC and IAEA personnel. Secure and suitable accommodations will be designated at normal rates by Iraq for these personnel. For their part, UNMOVIC and the IAEA will require that their staff not stay at any accommodation other than those identified in consultation with Iraq.

On the use of fixed-wing aircraft for transport of personnel and equipment and for inspection purposes, it was clarified that aircraft used by UNMOVIC and IAEA staff arriving in Baghdad may land at Saddam International Airport. The points of departure of incoming aircraft will be decided by UNMOVIC. The Rasheed airbase will continue to be used for UNMOVIC and IAEA helicopter operations. UNMOVIC and Iraq will establish air liaison offices at the airbase. At both Saddam International Airport and Rasheed airbase, Iraq will provide the necessary support premises and facilities. Aircraft fuel will be provided by Iraq, as before, free of charge.

On the wider issue of air operations in Iraq, both fixed-wing and rotary, Iraq will guarantee the safety of air operations in its air space outside the no-fly zones. With regard to air operations in the no-fly zones, Iraq will take all steps within its control to ensure the safety of such operations.

Helicopter flights may be used, as needed, during inspections and for technical activities, such as gamma detection, without limitation in all parts of Iraq and without any area excluded. Helicopters may also be used for medical evacuation.

On the question of aerial imagery, UNMOVIC may wish to resume the use of U-2 or Mirage overflights. The relevant practical arrangements would be similar to those implemented in the past.

As before, visas for all arriving staff will be issued at the point of entry on the basis of the UN LaissezPasser or UN Certificate; no other entry or exit formalities will be required. The aircraft passenger manifest will be provided one hour in advance of the arrival of the aircraft in Baghdad. There will be no searching of UNMOVIC or IAEA personnel or of official or personal baggage. UNMOVIC and the IAEA will ensure that their personnel respect the laws of Iraq restricting the export of certain items, for example, those related to Iraq's national cultural heritage. UNMOVIC and the IAEA may bring into, and remove from, Iraq all of the items and materials they require, including satellite phones and other equipment. With respect to samples, UNMOVIC and IAEA will,

where feasible, split samples so that Iraq may receive a portion while another portion is kept for reference purposes. Where appropriate, the organizations will send the samples to more than one laboratory for analysis.

We would appreciate your confirmation of the above as a correct reflection of our talks in Vienna.

Naturally, we may need other practical arrangements when proceeding with inspections. We would expect in such matters, as with the above, Iraq's co-operation in all respect.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed)

Hans Blix

Executive Chairman

United Nations Monitoring,

Verification and Inspection Commission

(Signed)

Mohamed ElBaradei

Director General

International Atomic Energy Agency

3246 (XXIX). Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights

The General Assembly,

Reaffirming its faith in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of that Declaration,

Recalling, inter alia, its resolutions 2588 B (XXIV) of 15 December 1969, 2787 (XXVI) of 6 December 1971, 2955 (XXVII) of 12 December 1972, 2963 E (XXVII) of 13 December 1972, 3059 (XXVIII) of 2 November 1973 and 3070 (XVIII) of 30 November 1973, and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council,

Noting with appreciation the reports of the Secretary-General,²⁵

Noting with satisfaction the assurances given by the Government of Portugal that it will fulfil its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and comply with United Nations resolutions relevant to the right of the peoples under Portuguese administration to self-determination and independence,

Indignant at the continued repression and the inhuman and degrading treatment inflicted on peoples still under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation, especially on individuals detained or imprisoned as a result of their struggle for self-determination and independence,

Reaffirming that the independence of Southern Rhodesia should not be negotiated with the illegal régime but with the authentic and recognized representatives of the Rhodesian people,

Mindful of its responsibility to evolve all possible measures which will enable oppressed peoples to attain independence and self-determination and, in this regard, deploring the obstructive attitude of certain Member States,

Recognizing the imperative need to put an early end to colonial rule, foreign domination and alien subjugation,

1. *Reaffirms* the inalienable right of all peoples under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation to self-determination, freedom and independence in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

2. *Renews* its call to all States to recognize the right to self-determination and independence of all peoples subject to colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation and to offer them moral, material and other forms of assistance in their struggle to exercise fully their inalienable right to self-determination and independence;

3. *Reaffirms* the legitimacy of the peoples' struggle for liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation by all available means, including armed struggle;

4. *Demands* full respect for the basic human rights of all individuals detained or imprisoned as a result of their struggle for self-determination and independence, and strict respect for article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights under which no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, and their immediate release;

5. *Welcomes* the recognition by the Government of Portugal of the right of all the peoples under its colonial administration to self-determination and independence, and the initiatives already taken in this regard;

6. *Urges* the Government of Portugal to continue to ensure that the process of decolonization, which will enable peoples still under its colonial administration to achieve self-determination and independence, is accomplished without delay;

7. *Strongly condemns* all Governments which do not recognize the right to self-determination and independence of peoples under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation, notably the peoples of Africa and the Palestinian people;

8. *Further strongly condemns* the policies of those members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and those countries whose military, economic, sporting or political relations with the racist régimes of southern Africa and elsewhere encourage these régimes to persist in their suppression of the aspirations of peoples for self-determination and independence;

9. *Calls upon* those countries to reconsider their policies and to sever all links with the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia;

10. *Renews its appreciation* to Governments, United Nations agencies and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations for their efforts in extending various forms of assistance to peoples in dependent Territories and appeals to them to increase such assistance;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to assist the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system in working out measures for the provision of increased international assistance to the peoples of colonial Territories;

12. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session.

2303rd plenary meeting
29 November 1974

3266 (XXIX). Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 3057 (XXVIII) of 2 November 1973 and 3223 (XXIX) of 6 November 1974 on the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and resolution 3225 (XXIX) of 6 November 1974 on the status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination,²⁶

Having considered the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on the fifth year of its activities,²⁷ submitted under article 9, para-

²⁵ A/9638 and Add.1, Add.1/Corr.1 and Add.2-5, A/9667 and Add.1.

²⁶ Resolution 2106 A (XX), annex.

²⁷ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 18 (A/9618).

THE NATIONAL
SECURITY STRATEGY
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



MARCH 2006



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

My fellow Americans,

America is at war. This is a wartime national security strategy required by the grave challenge we face – the rise of terrorism fueled by an aggressive ideology of hatred and murder, fully revealed to the American people on September 11, 2001. This strategy reflects our most solemn obligation: to protect the security of the American people.

America also has an unprecedented opportunity to lay the foundations for future peace. The ideals that have inspired our history – freedom, democracy, and human dignity – are increasingly inspiring individuals and nations throughout the world. And because free nations tend toward peace, the advance of liberty will make America more secure.

These inseparable priorities – fighting and winning the war on terror and promoting freedom as the alternative to tyranny and despair – have now guided American policy for more than 4 years.

We have kept on the offensive against terrorist networks, leaving our enemy weakened, but not yet defeated.

We have joined with the Afghan people to bring down the Taliban regime – the protectors of the al-Qaida network – and aided a new, democratic government to rise in its place.

We have focused the attention of the world on the proliferation of dangerous weapons – although great challenges in this area remain.

We have stood for the spread of democracy in the broader Middle East – meeting challenges yet seeing progress few would have predicted or expected.

We have cultivated stable and cooperative relations with all the major powers of the world.

We have dramatically expanded our efforts to encourage economic development and the hope it brings – and focused these efforts on the promotion of reform and achievement of results.

We led an international coalition to topple the dictator of Iraq, who had brutalized his own people, terrorized his region, defied the international community, and sought and used weapons of mass destruction.

And we are fighting alongside Iraqis to secure a united, stable, and democratic Iraq – a new ally in the war on terror in the heart of the Middle East.

We have seen great accomplishments, confronted new challenges, and refined our approach as conditions changed. We have also found that the defense of freedom brings us loss and sorrow, because freedom has determined enemies. We have always known that the war on terror would require great sacrifice – and in this war, we have said farewell to some very good men and women. The terrorists have used dramatic acts of murder – from the streets of Fallujah to the

subways of London – in an attempt to undermine our will. The struggle against this enemy – an enemy that targets the innocent without conscience or hesitation – has been difficult. And our work is far from over.

America now faces a choice between the path of fear and the path of confidence. The path of fear – isolationism and protectionism, retreat and retrenchment – appeals to those who find our challenges too great and fail to see our opportunities. Yet history teaches that every time American leaders have taken this path, the challenges have only increased and the missed opportunities have left future generations less secure.

This Administration has chosen the path of confidence. We choose leadership over isolationism, and the pursuit of free and fair trade and open markets over protectionism. We choose to deal with challenges now rather than leaving them for future generations. We fight our enemies abroad instead of waiting for them to arrive in our country. We seek to shape the world, not merely be shaped by it; to influence events for the better instead of being at their mercy.

The path we have chosen is consistent with the great tradition of American foreign policy. Like the policies of Harry Truman and Ronald Reagan, our approach is idealistic about our national goals, and realistic about the means to achieve them.

To follow this path, we must maintain and expand our national strength so we can deal with threats and challenges before they can damage our people or our interests. We must maintain a military without peer – yet our strength is not founded on force of arms alone. It also rests on economic prosperity and a vibrant democracy. And it rests on strong alliances, friendships, and international institutions, which enable us to promote freedom, prosperity, and peace in common purpose with others.

Our national security strategy is founded upon two pillars:

The first pillar is promoting freedom, justice, and human dignity – working to end tyranny, to promote effective democracies, and to extend prosperity through free and fair trade and wise development policies. Free governments are accountable to their people, govern their territory effectively, and pursue economic and political policies that benefit their citizens. Free governments do not oppress their people or attack other free nations. Peace and international stability are most reliably built on a foundation of freedom.

The second pillar of our strategy is confronting the challenges of our time by leading a growing community of democracies. Many of the problems we face – from the threat of pandemic disease, to proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, to terrorism, to human trafficking, to natural disasters – reach across borders. Effective multinational efforts are essential to solve these problems. Yet history has shown that only when we do our part will others do theirs. America must continue to lead.



GEORGE W. BUSH
THE WHITE HOUSE
March 16, 2006

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i.

I. Overview of America's National Security Strategy

It is the policy of the United States to seek and support democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world. In the world today, the fundamental character of regimes matters as much as the distribution of power among them. The goal of our statecraft is to help create a world of democratic, well-governed states that can meet the needs of their citizens and conduct themselves responsibly in the international system. This is the best way to provide enduring security for the American people.

Achieving this goal is the work of generations. The United States is in the early years of a long struggle, similar to what our country faced in the early years of the Cold War. The 20th century witnessed the triumph of freedom over the threats of fascism and communism. Yet a new totalitarian ideology now threatens, an ideology grounded not in secular philosophy but in the perversion of a proud religion. Its content may be different from the ideologies of the last century, but its means are similar: intolerance, murder, terror, enslavement, and repression.

Like those who came before us, we must lay the foundations and build the institutions that our country needs to meet the challenges we face. The chapters that follow will focus on several essential tasks. The United States must:

- **ii.** • Champion aspirations for human dignity;
- Strengthen alliances to defeat global terrorism and work to prevent attacks against us and our friends;
- Work with others to defuse regional conflicts;
- Prevent our enemies from threatening us, our allies, and our friends with weapons of mass destruction (WMD);
- Ignite a new era of global economic growth through free markets and free trade;
- Expand the circle of development by opening societies and building the infrastructure of democracy;
- Develop agendas for cooperative action with other main centers of global power;

- Transform America’s national security institutions to meet the challenges and opportunities of the 21st century; and
- Engage the opportunities and confront the challenges of globalization.

II. Champion Aspirations for Human Dignity

A. Summary of National Security Strategy 2002

The United States must defend liberty and justice because these principles are right and true for all people everywhere. These nonnegotiable demands of human dignity are protected most securely in democracies. The United States Government will work to advance human dignity in word and deed, speaking out for freedom and against violations of human rights and allocating appropriate resources to advance these ideals.

B. Successes and Challenges since 2002

Since 2002, the world has seen extraordinary progress in the expansion of freedom, democracy, and human dignity:

- The peoples of Afghanistan and Iraq have replaced tyrannies with democracies.
- In Afghanistan, the tyranny of the Taliban has been replaced by a freely-elected government; Afghans have written and ratified a constitution guaranteeing rights and freedoms unprecedented in their history; and an elected legislature gives the people a regular voice in their government.
- In Iraq, a tyrant has been toppled; over 8 million Iraqis voted in the nation’s first free and fair election; a freely negotiated constitution was passed by a referendum in which almost 10 million Iraqis participated; and, for the first time in their history, nearly 12 million Iraqis have elected a permanent government under a popularly determined constitution.
- The people of Lebanon have rejected the heavy hand of foreign rule. The people of Egypt have experienced more open but still flawed elections. Saudi Arabia has taken some preliminary steps to give its citizens more of a voice in their government. Jordan has made progress in opening its political process. Kuwait and Morocco are pursuing agendas of political reform.
- The “color revolutions” in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan have brought new hope for freedom across the Eurasian landmass.
 - Democracy has made further advances in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, with peaceful transfers of power; growth in independent judiciaries and the rule of law; improved election practices; and expanding political and economic rights.

Summary:

It is unquestionable that the United States of America is the most powerful key player on a worldwide scale, in general, and in the Middle East, in particular, and that its influence over the region cannot be denied. As a result of these factors, it is becoming increasingly important to study the US system and policy in order to comprehend its plans and strategies, and to acquire the knowledge necessary to cope with potential challenges in the future. This thesis, therefore, highlights and discusses the various scenarios that the US government displays to justify its continuous intervention and presence in all forms in the area, with a particular emphasis on the scenario associated with the promotion of democracy.

Keywords: Democracy, Foreign Policy, Middle East, 09/11 Attacks, United States, War on Terrorism

Résumé:

Il est incontestable que les Etats-Unis est le plus puissant acteur pivot à l'échelle mondiale, en général, et au Moyen-Orient, en particulier, et que son influence sur la région ne peut être niée. En raison de ces facteurs, il devient de plus en plus important d'étudier le système et la politique des Etats-Unis afin de comprendre ses plans et ses stratégies, et d'acquérir les connaissances nécessaires pour faire face aux défis potentiels à l'avenir. Cette thèse met donc en évidence et discute les différents scénarios que le gouvernement Américain présente pour justifier son intervention et sa présence continue sous toutes les formes dans la région, en mettant particulièrement l'accent sur le scénario lié à la promotion de la démocratie.

Mots-clés : démocratie, politique étrangère, Moyen-Orient, 09/11 attaques, les Etats-Unis, la guerre contre le terrorisme

الملخص:

مما لا شك فيه أن الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية تعد اللاعب الأقوى والرئيسي على النطاق العالمي، بشكل عام، وفي الشرق الأوسط خاصة، كما أن نفوذها على المنطقة لا يمكن إنكاره. لذلك أصبح من المهم جدا دراسة نظام وسياسة أمريكا من أجل فهم خططها واستراتيجياتها لاكتساب المعرفة اللازمة لمواجهة التحديات المختلفة التي يمكن أن تطرح في المستقبل. لذلك تسلط هذه الأطروحة الضوء وتناقش مختلف السيناريوهات التي تعرضها الحكومة الأمريكية لتبرير وجودها وتدخلها المستمر بجميع الأشكال في المنطقة، مع التركيز بشكل خاص على سيناريو نشر وتعزيز الديمقراطية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الديمقراطية، السياسة الخارجية، الشرق الأوسط، هجمات 09/11، الولايات المتحدة، الحرب على الإرهاب