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An Analysis of Anti-Americanism as a World Reaction Towards the U.S. Hegemony A Study of Specific Cases of Anti-Americanism in : Latin America, Europe, Middle East, and Asia

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Dedications

In the name of Allah, most Gracious, most Merciful

The finest words expressing my profound gratitude are particularly granted to my beloved mother Lamia, my father Salah for providing me with strength and endless prayers. I also dedicate this work to my sisters, Zohra, Djihed, Fatima, and Hounaida, and my brothers, Hocine and Fahd who have shown me their encouragements. A special dedication goes to Naoual KELALA for her endless pivotal support to the continuation of this work.

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the outbreak of anti-Americanism as reaction to the American foreign policy misconduct in the world. It focuses on the increase of this phenomenon after the events of September 11th, 2001. Within this time frame surrounded, the opposition to America and Americans is a matter of US government's disliked actions. For many countries, The U.S. used to be a solution. But since then America appears to be a world problem in which the American hegemony in the world creates a specific world reaction often labeled Anti-Americanism. The aim of this dissertation is to deepen the analysis and description of this world issue where America is accused of doing too much or very few. It also determines the development of anti-Americanism in the world and analyzes the effect of the American foreign policy on the process of Americanization. America has marked its presence throughout the world and this political strategy creates a feeling of hatred against all what is American. Furthermore, the present work is conducted to sort out and describe anti-Americanism in the world and explains some of these cases through a specific descriptive qualitative methodology. Results show that anti-Americanism appears under many different forms of reactions; in Latin America it's due to historical ethnicity. In Western Europe anti-Americanism appears as a form of hatred and jealousy because of the U.S. cultural and economic domination. In Middle East, anti-Americanism is manifested as a religious reaction against the American political attitude and conduct of subjective support to Israel. In Asia, it appears as a specific military and geo-political competition with North Korea.

Acronyms

CDU: Christian Democratic Union.

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency.

ICC: International Criminal Court.

JCPOA: Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action.

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

NSC: National Security Council.

SIC: Senate Intelligence Committee.

SPD: Social Democratic Party.

TPP: Trans-Pacific Partnership.

UN: United Nations.

UN-ESCO: UN-Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

UN-HRC: UN-Human Rights Council.

List of figures

Figure1.....	59
Figure2.....	61
Figure3.....	72

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	I
Acknowledgments.....	II
Abstract.....	III
Acronyms.....	IV
List of figures.....	V
Table of Contents.....	VI
General Introduction.....	11
1 Chapter one: The Evolution of the American Foreign Policy from Isolationism to Internationalism	
1.1 Introduction.....	19
1.2 The Basic Principles.....	19
1.2.1 Theoretical Aspect.....	19
1.2.2 Continuity and Change.....	20
1.2.3 Making the American Foreign Policy.....	20
1.3 The Evolution of the American Foreign Policy.....	21
1.3.1 The First Circle of Isolationism: Nation in Formation.....	21
1.3.2 The Second Circle of Internationalism.....	25
1.3.2.1 The American Intervention to End the Spread of Dictatorship.....	26
1.3.2.2 The Role of U.S. in the European Reconstruction.....	27
1.3.2.3 America between Ideals and Ideologies.....	28
1.3.2.4 Facing the Threat of Communist Expansion.....	30
1.3.3 The Third Circle : Containment and Nation building.....	31
1.4 The Credibility of the American Foreign Policy.....	33
1.4.1 From Domestic Point of View.....	33
1.4.2 Overseas.....	34
1.5 The American Foreign Policy Before & After September 11 th , 2001.....	36
1.5.1 Before September 11 th , 2001.....	36
1.5.2 After September 11 th , 2001.....	38
1.6 U.S Foreign Policy Failures.....	40
1.7 Leading from Behind.....	41

1.8 Conclusion.....	43
2 Chapter Two: Understanding and Analyzing Anti-Americanism in Latin America, Europe, Middle East, and Asia	
2.1 Introduction.....	47
2.2 Epistemological Definition of Anti-Americanism.....	47
2.3 The Evolution of Anti-Americanism in the World.....	52
2.4 Soft and Hard Anti-Americanism.....	54
2.5 The American Unilateralism vs. the United Nations Security Council.....	55
2.6 Soft and Hard Power Role in Dealing and Making with Anti-Americanism.....	56
2.7 Anti-Americanism in the World.....	58
2.8 The U.S.-Latin American Relation to Anti-Americanism.....	59
2.8.1 Anti-Americanism Roots in Latin America.....	60
2.8.2 Venezuela Crisis.....	62
2.9 Anti-Americanism in Western Europe.....	64
2.9.1 French Anti-Americanism.....	64
2.9.2 German Anti-Americanism.....	66
2.10 Anti-Americanism in Middle East.....	69
2.11 Anti-Americanism in North Korea.....	72
2.12 Conclusion.....	75
General Conclusion.....	76
Bibliography	

General Introduction

General Introduction

This project tends to put in plain words the concept of anti-Americanism in the world. The opposition against the spread of the American culture and policy is often labeled anti-Americanism. Anti-Americanism is defined as the hostility to the interests of the United States. From this perspective, the only meaningful way of analyzing anti-Americanism is to present a critique of U.S. foreign policy. By contrast, for Americans on the right, the rise of anti-Americanism is a rejection of America's civilization and style of life people hate the American values, not their policies. For the leftists, "anti-Americanism" is a protest, not against the U.S. itself, but against its apparent failure to live up to its own ideals.

The American expansionism is a process of Americanization, starting from the American west until it reached globalization. After securing the land, America wanted to focus more on sea side. Building a strong economic and political country led to the need of expansion. It is evident that prosperous nations must expand but this expansion costs a negative sentiment of rejection. Because domination and expansion are due to success and prosperity inside the country, hence a new strategy must be developed abroad. This expansion goes through various directions in order to build strong relation abroad. This might be financial aids, cultural programs, and technological assistance programs.

The U.S foreign policy adopted from the cold war and the war against terror; has marked its global domination on politics, economy and cultural domains, which afterward led many countries and others to adopt an anti-American attitude towards the United States and its policies. The term anti-Americanism also called Americano-phobia is a sentiment that states an opposition to the American policy especially the foreign ones.

The definition of anti-Americanism should not be applied to just any criticism of U.S. values or policies. Hostility to the policies of the U.S. government unquestionably does not succeed as anti-Americanism. But opposing any policy simply because it is approved by the U.S. government comes close to being a definition. The trick is to distinguish the slight difference between these two stances in actual life and in actual time. Anti-Americanism is a systemic opposition to America as a whole. It is a critique of the United States that transcends just disagreement over specific policy or government decisions. The logical way to define anti-Americanism would be as opposition to Americanism.

Terrorism doesn't need Anti-American sentiments in order to target American citizens, and there is no certainty that negative perceptions of America registered in opinion polls will have any political consequences. Historically, analyzing anti-Americanism has been the business of the right, and this has politically colored all discussion of the subject. In the view of many on the Left, any focus on anti-Americanism is just an excuse to ignore or discredit criticism of U.S. policies.

Anti-Americanism values from an individual attitude to a political governmental attitude. As a response to the American involvement in foreign affairs, this judgment has raised with several characteristics marked throughout the level of interventions in world's conflicts. Anti-Americanism can be explained as a pendulum swing, starting from a single psychological behavior to written articles to a demonstration riot to the extreme point that is terrorist attacks against U.S. physical interests in the world.

Arguing on anti-Americanism requires an accurate definition of what it mainly contains in most cases, for that, the concept is conducted from general point of view. Resulting in a set of inaccurate impressions, anti-Americanism is described in many manners; a mix of hate and envy

since the fall of Soviet Union. After the fall of communism America conducted the world as the only hyper power under what is called unilateralism.

The American intervention policy can be considered as repulsive reaction, we can notably identify places in which countries adopted this negative sentiment, as we can refer that from the period after the Cold War till the climaxing September 11th, 2001. Since 9/11 was the top form of anti-Americanism, many impressions presented the real anti-American countries even though the opposition is not blatant; in fact, this period may be labeled the anti-Americanism century. Anti-Americanism, as a political and cultural attitude, has been increasingly growing over the last century.

Statement of the Problem

The term anti-Americanism used by political scientists attracted our attention to investigate about the extent of the American involvement in the world under the motto of ideals; such as, freedom, democracy and liberty. Unfortunately America didn't have allies only but enemies as well. America claims to be world savior by holding human values and principles, in fact, America has conducted its foreign policy not in accordance with ideals but its ideologies. America involves itself in world matters, for that, it creates problems, and consequently there is a counter reaction often called anti-Americanism. The present research attempts to determine the development of anti-Americanism in some specific cases worldwide and to analyze the effects of the American foreign policy on the process of Americanization. The attacks of September 11th are considered as a turning point for the American policy of interventionism. Even though the framing of anti-Americanism has been a frequent topic in western media, the US foreign policy involvement in different aspects with many countries and insists to overthrow many legitimate regimes all over the world, and substitutes them with ones which would secure U.S. interests.

This led to a rage of anti-American sentiment all over the world especially after the attacks of September 11th, 2001. As long as the American intervention continue to be strongly felt in the process of decision making in the world, a negative counter reaction fuels tension over all what is American.

Research questions

The main question of this study is:

- Is anti-Americanism a consequence of the American hegemony?

The work also intends to investigate other two sub-questions:

- Does anti-Americanism go beyond rational debates over policy in the world?
- To what extent culture & history can influence the perception of Americanism in the

world?

Hypotheses

To answer the previously mentioned research questions, the following hypotheses can be formulated:

- Anti-Americanism evolves in accordance with the U.S foreign actions.
- Anti-Americanism is a direct consequence of the American foreign policy overexposure.
- Culture, beliefs and the presence of “Anti” for any world leader, reinforces the theme of

opposition to the United States in the world.

Research Aims

This research aims to reach two main objectives:

- To understand the reasons behind the development of anti-Americanism in the world.
- To explore world’s position towards the American condition.

Significance of the Research

This research sheds light on anti-Americanism phenomenon as it helps to understand the causes and effects of this trend on American foreign relations and to answer the ambiguities surrounding the term anti-Americanism, also to understand the contemporary US foreign policies and the possibility to develop new idea about "anti" presence for any hyper power. Indeed, the process of Americanization eventually faces a negative sentiment adopted by many countries which is now obvious in many political critiques' point of view and that blatant sentiment could not be covered by diplomacy.

Methodology

The research is based on the analytical approach, especially while dealing with the history of US foreign policy and it's relation to the rage of anti-Americanism. It relies on critical and argumentative analysis. The study relies on qualitative methodology that deals with historical and political discourses and world crisis.

Delimitation

Anti-Americanism is a consequence of the American foreign policy, and it has created and generated many causalities and victims. However, for the sake of the research we are obliged to delimit the issue to the following main points, Latin America, Europe, Middle East, and Asia.

Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of two chapters; the first chapter is devoted to historical background about the American foreign policy. It discusses the different policies conducted to understand the shift from isolationism to internationalism, which later on produced another dimension of the American unilateralism. It also deal with the nature of the American foreign policy before and after September 11th, 2001 in which anti-Americanism is a consequence of

Americanization process as negative reaction towards the American acts. The second chapter is devoted to theories and concepts in which it tends to introduce an appropriate epistemological definition to “Anti-Americanism” by referring to theories that deals with the context of our research. Furthermore, it analyzes some specific cases and its negative reaction to the American foreign policy overexposure by providing discourses and polls, for that, four distinct study cases on the spread of anti-Americanism in North Korea, Middle East, Latin America, and Western Europe. Two important additional points are general introduction where all elements of research questions and hypotheses are stated, then at the end a general conclusion to close the work about the issue.

Chapter one:
The Evolution of the
American Foreign
Policy from
Isolationism to
Internationalism

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1.1 Introduction

1.2 The Basic Principles

1.2.1 Theoretical Aspect

1.2.2 Continuity and Change

1.2.3 Making the American Foreign Policy

1.3 The Evolution of the American Foreign Policy

1.3.1 The First Circle of Isolationism: Nation in Formation

1.3.2 The Second Circle of Internationalism

1.3.2.1 The American Intervention to End the Spread of Dictatorship

1.3.2.2 The Role of the U.S. in the European Reconstruction

1.3.2.3 America between Ideals and Ideologies

1.3.2.4 Facing the Threat of Communist Expansion

1.3.3 The Third Circle of Containment and Nation building

1.4 The Credibility of the American Foreign Policy

1.4.1 From Domestic Point of View

1.4.2 Overseas

1.5 The American Foreign Policy Before & After September 11th, 2001

1.5.1 Before September 11th, 2001

1.5.2 After September 11th, 2001

1.6 U.S Foreign Policy Failures

1.7 Leading from Behind

1.8 Conclusion

Chapter one: The Evolution of the American Foreign Policy from Isolationism to Internationalism

1.1 Introduction

The American foreign policy shifted from isolationism to internationalism witnessing a number of fundamental changes. Arguably, the American foreign policy is based on interests and security regardless to time and space. Since the Second World War, American foreign policy was led by the goal of dominating the globe economically, politically and culturally. This chapter tends to explore the basic difference between isolation and internationalism eras by providing a historical overview on the basic principles of the American foreign policy. In addition, it traces the American foreign policy since the WWII until September 11th, 2001. The American foreign policy has been for a long time unknown on the global stage because of isolation policy. However, it takes another direction that paves the way to interfere either directly or indirectly in world's conflicts. The interference of US in world's conflicts has led to the spread of Anti-Americanism not just in US opponents but in its oldest allies.

1.2 The Basic Principles

To understand the American foreign policy, it is important to shed light on the basic principles that conducts it by introducing theoretically the changeable and continuous principles, as well as following specific strategies that fits the American interest and security.

1.2.1 Theoretical Aspect

Foreign policy can be defined as a set of actions resulting from beliefs and values. Beliefs and values are often taken within the basic framework for foreign policy actions of a nation. However, this set of actions cannot be understood separately in which it is important to mention their significance within the context of foreign policy behavior. As far as politics is concerned,

values and beliefs are the motivation for actions. Thus, decisions making are the starting point of foreign policy conduct (McCormick 1,6).

1.2.2 Continuity and Change

The American foreign policy is based on security and interests. Continuity and change are still the main features used to describe the shift from isolation to internationalism. Continuity is considered as central principle of the country while change is the strategy used to preserve this principle. Furthermore, the saying "America is above all" explains continuity in American policy; even though, the United States engages in world's economical and political affairs. The policy was considered as progression because of America's supremacy. Whereas change is occurred in strategies, decisions, and government members, as example, the idea of "making America great" remains up till now one of the fundamental principles of the American foreign policy.

1.2.3. Making the American Foreign Policy

The American foreign policy of today faces different problems and functions. The main focus is to maintain the diplomatic relations with allies' countries or other institutions, for example, the Organization of American States. Also, to establish international security by working in accordance with the allies, for example, peacekeeping treaties and arms control. In addition, it includes international economic matters such as, trades as well as, business, and travel. As a world leader, the U.S has a role in negotiation agreements and solving conflicts, and to guide the international economic (Constitutional Rights Foundation ,par.9).

The president and the executive branch are responsible for carrying out the American foreign policy. The president has a significant role in making treaties with the consent of the Senates. As commander in chief of the military he can execute orders to use the U.S. power

around the globe. The president consults the National Security Council in the process of making U.S. foreign policy. The U.S State Department headed by the secretary of state represents the president abroad, and carries out decisions made for every part of the world. Another department is the U.S Foreign Service; it is formed of ambassadors in every county to represent the American political interests (Constitutional Rights Foundation ,par.10,12).

Furthermore, Congress as another source of power participates in shaping the America's foreign policy. It sets regulations, tariffs on foreign exports and imports, and also it can declare war. As it is usually set to accept, change or refuse president's proposals. Another factor to influence carrying out the American foreign policy is public opinion. Public opinion also plays a role in framing the image of foreign policy, as example, the strong view individuals do arrange remonstrations to influence political decisions. Advocacy groups influence Congress in the process of decision making about certain matters. Also, business associations work as a lobby to influence trade issues and international economic (Constitutional Rights Foundation ,par.13,16).

1.3 The Evolution of the American Foreign Policy

The American foreign policy can be viewed from different perspectives. The U.S. form its policy according to the strategy needed, in other words, policy decision making shifts from isolation to internationalism due to the conducted issue. Hence, its evolution can be demonstrated in three co-centric circles:

1.3.1 The First Circle of Isolationism: Nation in Formation

From the first settlement of the White Anglo Saxon Protestants until the 19th century, America expanded only at local level from East to West. This expansion created the first appearance of anti-Americanism sentiment, in other words, the clash between the WASP and the

Native Americans. Indians besides slaves were the first to develop sentiment of hatred against the white man and it was the starting point of anti-Americans stance.

Isolationism describes the American foreign policy through its greatest history decisions. Isolation tendency was conducted by significant caution. First, the United States is far from the centre field for world's political and economical debates. As a result, America has to stay away from other nations matters. Second, United States was in formation. As a result, Its army as well as its economy was not able to compete leading powers that time, in fact, winning any political debates abroad was impossible during the presence of Britain, France and Spain. Third, the sense of nationalism was valuable more than foreign affairs. And fourth, the very sacred mission for Americans was to make American great by accepting foreigners in the process of modernizing the American continent (McCormick 12).

In order to be away from external conflicts the U.S leaders adopt isolationism as a pillar in the American foreign policy. Democracy in the United States was different from those values of the rest of the world and of Europe in particular. Americans worked on keeping America away from world's affairs by avoiding international conflicts. George Washington's Farewell address (1796) warns Americans from the constant danger that predestined their republic. The major principle is to avoid military alliances in trading relations with the leading powers from Europe. Consequently, Americans tended to ignore international clashes and moved inward into isolationist policy. George Washington warns his citizens to avoid sectionalism as he emphasizes the role of unity to develop a civilized nation. Therefore he stated:

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others

should be excluded, and that in place of them just and amicable feeling toward all should be cultivated (McCormick 13).

George Washington addresses his people to maintain unity although the internal conflict caused by sectionalism. Also, he refers to the need to keep distance with other nations to avoid further implications, and insists to keep amicable relation in order to maintain peace and harmony.

In addition, he discussed the issue of having close ties with states of interests which later on can provoke significant problems with their allies:

Passionate attachment of one nation to another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nations, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without adequate inducement or justification (McCormick 13).

According to George Washington, relations between nations should not be very tight, due to the problems that may be while the existence of real interests between allied nations. He argued the necessity of actual interest between America and favorite nation, because it creates negative tension due to the possible disagreement in ones quarrels. In other words, he argued the significance of avoiding close ties to avoid friendly fire.

And in the end Washington stated that it would be the best for America's interest to stay away from the European arena:

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop. Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the

causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendship or enmities (Quoted in McCormick 13).

Although Washington claimed to conduct the foreign policy of isolation, but he also believed that diplomatic ties with others can be worthy. As long as America is a nation in development, Washington opposed to be involved in international affairs and warned creating close bounds with other nations.

Furthermore, President Monroe's message to Congress sent on December 2, 1823 describes the American foreign policy of isolationism. Throughout this message, the U.S wanted to explore the Spanish colonies and recognize them as free states in central and south the American continent, but feared the direct clash with Spain, and the inevitable intervention of Britain and France in order to maintain those colonies under the Spanish control.

Moreover, the doctrine is proposed to prevent the direct interventions of the European powers, not only in America but in the American continent. Also, it served to stop the process of European colonization in Latin America, in fact, America wasn't planning to interfere in other nation' affairs, as well as, America wish that Europe do not interfere in the American continent affairs due to the different political system between Europe and America. But still this difference in policies between the United States and Europe toward each other and toward Latin America can fuel tensions. Monroe declared that:

In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do [...] The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. These differences proceed from that which exists in their respective Governments [...] We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between

the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition [...] by any European powers in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States (Quoted in McCormick 14).

Monroe doctrine states the need to keep out from European affairs, as he claims, to distinguish between interests and evil of friendly nations who shares the same interest, however, the concept of the new world played an important role in shaping the foreign affairs framework taking in consideration the political, economical and cultural differences of old world nations. Washington's Farewell Address and the Monroe Doctrine are considered key statements to understand the policy of isolationism conducted by America in global relationships, and their principles are the basis for the contemporary American foreign policy.

1.3.2 The Second Circle of Internationalism

In the early of the twentieth century, the United States devoted itself to international involvements for ethical standards towards other nations. The values inherited from the founding fathers have an important role in the American foreign policy of today. Indeed, conducting political or economic matters cannot oppose those values. The move from isolationism to internationalism could be recognized during and after the Second World War. It had implications on the world's political framework. The World War I and World War II demonstrate the importance of moral principles for U.S. to justify its involvement in European issues. Since the end of World War II, the United States worked with its allies to maintain international world

security. Because the American civil behavior was up to new challenges, however, from national to international point of view, Americans wondered whether the benefits of international leadership compensate the costs of changing attitudes towards their country.

1.3.2.1 The American Intervention to End the Spread of Dictatorship

The outbreak of Nazism in the American awareness has a crucial impact on the U.S.-Japanese relations. The signing of the Anti-Comintern agreement in 1936 concluded by the Germans and Japanese increased the tension. It was directed against the Communist International specifically against the Soviet Union. As a result, the American government linked the cooperation between the Japanese expansionism and the German hegemony in Europe (Davidann 181).

The start of the Sino-Japanese War witnessed the complete disappearance of the American support for Japan. Public opinion Gallup poll published on October 24, 1937, 40% with no opinion, 59% Favored China and only 1% favored Japan. The poll shows to what extent the U.S.-Japanese relations had declined. In addition The New York rally was held in Madison Square Garden attracted 10,000 people. It was sponsored by the American Friends of the Chinese People, and the American League against War and Fascism. But a large number of Americans reflected an isolationist attitude by avoiding taking sides in the conflict. By time, Americans felt to be more concerned about the conflicts in Europe or East Asia. The Ludlow Amendment in 1937 prohibited the U.S. government from declaring war on other nations without the approval of national referendum. However, 70 percent of Americans supported this decision (Davidann 180,181).

The American participation in the First World War was a matter of principles and values more willingly than to create much balance between the European leading powers. Many reasons

led to the American participation in the First World War, as far as, principles and values are the only justification for America to intervene against dictatorship. For that, the moral explanation was given by Germany's abuse of power. Furthermore, slogans created to increase the American participation in the war reflected the apparent justification for the American intervention. Indeed, the First World War was supposed to be a "war to end all wars" and a promotion for world's democracy (McCormick 25).

1.3.2.2 The Role of U.S in the European Reconstruction

The United States mobilizes considerable support to its allies even though before its involvement in the WWII. For instance, the Neutrality Act of 1939 aims to put restrictions on arms sales and allowed the United States to supply its allies mainly France and Britain. For that, in March 1941, Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act that provides additional aid. Until the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, the United States finally had direct reason to be involved in the conflict (McCormick 25).

The U.S. conducted isolationism to protect their interests. Although isolationism represented the American policy, Franklin D. Roosevelt showed a strong leadership in changing public opinion and the military position when facing the threat of Communism and fascism. The liberal consensus supposed to embrace "the Golden Age" but it did not serve the American expectations, in fact, from all in all the American interest is the main issue to defend (Klar ,par.2,4).

Since the beginning of World War II the public opinion impact on the American foreign policies became essential. And after Gallup polls had been introduced during the 1930's in which 70 percent of Americans thought that the American intervention in world's affairs was risky. Furthermore, it was demonstrated in the propaganda film "*Why we Fight, War Comes to*

America". For that, public support is needed for any political success. While in December 1941, 70 percent of Americans preferred U.S. to have a main role on the international scene (Klar ,par.14).

Roosevelt was not isolationist's supporter, and he argued that those who claim to remain out of worlds conflicts, because senators with isolationist tendency held the foreign policy committee. Indeed, Americans wanted to avoid post-world war scene. And as isolationist Senator, Wallace White expected Britain and France to win their righteous cause. In addition, Senator Vandenberg stated that the U.S. had to be either all the way in or all the way out (Klar ,par.19,20).

1.3.2.3 America between Ideals and Ideologies

The U.S. called for liberty throughout a series of propaganda. Everything was good in America, as it has the highest living standards, and the best way of life, its lifestyle, food, and freedom of press and religion. In order to justify the United States involvement in world's affairs the "Just War" clause has been introduced by the American philosophy of conducting foreign policy. Only America can save the world in the name of democracy, for that, America received opposition outside and inside. While the depression created an internal conflict which supposed to be solved. As a result, anti-trust regulation was unnecessary. In addition to the military program that was established to create a strong industrial and political frame for the coming years (Klar ,par.22,24).

A retired Navy Admiral later reflected the effects of the army before and after WWII and claims that the army force runs the United States abroad: "World War Two changed everything. Our military runs our foreign policy. The State Department has become a lackey of the Pentagon.

Before WWII this never happened. The ultimate control was civilian. WWII changed all this”
(Quoted in Klar ,par.25).

In That regard, the military forces have an important role in making the American foreign policy after World War II. He argues the implications of this on the image of America abroad. Moreover, he condemns the military intervention and emphasizes on the civilian control of the American Foreign policy.

The U.S. declared its official intentions to undertake an active role in the world, and put aside its isolationist past after three years of Pearl Harbor. Harry Truman was considered as successor after Roosevelt’s death. He declared in 1947 the need of U.S. policy to support free peoples resisting dictatorship (Klar ,par.29).

In *The Good War* by Steve McConnell, he states the change in the American foreign policy from isolationism to leadership, in which he claims that America is worthy to lead the globe. Also, he encourages the world to adopt the American supremacy:

The meaning of WWII for me was being victorious. That was what the war movies taught us, what John Wayne taught us. We won and we were right. America had proved its strength. We had conquered the world. We were riding it, taking it for everything it was worth. We were the giants. We could do what we want to (Quoted in Klar ,par.30).

A strong military force is the only condition for America to lead the world. However, America must be ready for challenges, because leading the world depends on securing interests and contain rivals. Even though America’ eligibility to lead the world, but it is important to succeed ruling every aspects, and to not give up America’s interests to other country that do not share the same ideas about the world. In fact, alliances must support America’ to remain strong

to achieve mutual beneficial goals. In order to maintain international security, military, foreign, and economic assistance must be regarded as priorities (Kyl and Lieberman ,par.5-7).

Another factor that marked the U.S. intention to adopt internationalism is the NATO development. For the United States, those who supported communism are the same who supported the American isolationist policy. In fact, between 1946 and 1949 the U.S. opposed the "Red Threat" expansionism. And in 1948, 74% expected war in future 10 years. The majority of Americans then questioned the amounts spent overseas, and whether the foreign policy conducted abroad is best to intervene only in countries that could provide their interests and security (Klar ,par.32,33).

1.3.2.4 Facing the Threat of Communist Expansion

All Democrat or Republican Presidents From 1948 to the 60's believed in the red threat. Yet there was rejection to internal problems, and with the statement of America's problems only comes from outside. In addition, it was argued that America had achieved a consensus between government and intellectuals, and by abolishing class America moved beyond ideology. There was no acceptable counterbalance to the consensus, because most Americans took a step forward to prove themselves as good citizens (Klar ,par.40).

For Americans, the WWII was the period in which America must be unified. The main focus was devoted to not go back to division of that of 1930's Great Depression. For that reason, the American intervention was not only dedicated to political debate, but economic matter is influence by global factors. The economy had been largely self-controlled inwardly; there was no need to shift from isolationism to internationalism. Consequently, this change perceived with Soviet threat (Klar ,par.41).

Americans were persuaded by the arguments provided by government, press, business and labor. As the U.S. adopted new ideology most Americans supported their government's efforts to restrict communism. America ought to be carefully protected, as well as, the rising mentality of protecting capitalism, democracy and religion. Furthermore, Radical political and social movements were abandoned, meanwhile, tribalism replaced localism. World War Two carried out to confirm ideological division for the U.S. Conversely, the new policy of interventionism was not new, but it was continuity of the American tradition of "protecting the American interests" (Klar ,par.42,43).

1.3.3 The Third Circle of Containment and Nation building

The post-second World War period was about containing communism. The Cold War was known for the competition between the U.S and the Soviet Union. Both with their allies compete ideologically, economically, and militarily. They both achieved enormous military force along with creating nuclear weapons. But the containment policy led the United States to a massive clash in the Vietnam and Korean wars. However, the U.S and the Soviet Union never get into a direct clash (Constitutional Rights Foundation ,par.7).

The end of the Cold War declared the collapse of the Soviet Union because of the exhausting competition with the West. Hence, the United States remains the only leading power in the world. The American foreign policy was shaped throughout time by specific values and principles, as example, nation's self-determination. The U.S supports those nations that tend to practice democracy according to the U.S constitutional government. Some values and principles might conflict with national security and international political goals. However, in few cases, America supported authoritarian regimes and intervened to restrain certain political activities (Constitutional Rights Foundation ,par.8).

Nation building during the late 20th century was everyone's interest. The U.S. occupation helped builders of nation of each country they occupied. The American administrators set both military and civilian explicitly to construct the infrastructure that serves U.S interests as modern nations required. For example; roads, telephones, hospitals and schools to assure the stability of modernization, and to build a useful, successful, and competent government serves the American interests and preserve its security. As example, modernization in Haiti appears to create inappropriate laws and ways into the country by specific American officials. As a result, the state repression under the U.S. guidance, people resisted and attacked the body built by U.S interventionist policy. American officials noted that politicians who favored the American occupation are now eager to control everything. Because America had already helped to overcome the authoritarian regimes, for that, the way to power is clear to take. In other words, those politicians who claim to throw the authoritarian regimes are indirectly destroying their nation not building it (Krastev and mcPherson 60,61).

Resistance movements in the world and through three generations from the 1920s, the 1960s, and the 2000s provide Anti-Americanism. It took place within nations that America intervened in, for that, the opponents of the United States policy labeled themselves nationalists in the early 20th century. As a result, negative reaction was created inside these nations and on the international level. For example, in Castro's era everyone sees America as devil. The American neo-liberalism appears to shed light on the poor and the states even though they both oppose the United States. That model anti-American exists in some indigenous groups of activists from Mexico to Bolivia, who claims that anti-Americanism is at top level since America impose its methods and policies. However, they make use of technologies such as the internet, political organization (Krastev and mcPherson 70,71).

1.4 The Credibility of the American Foreign Policy

Since isolationism the American foreign policy was unknown for the rest of the globe. The American interventions in foreign affairs have become unwelcomed abroad because it is planned primarily to look after the American interests regardless its impact overseas. The impact of the American policies can be identified home and abroad, in other words, the American intervention faces critiques from both citizens and foreign countries. Although the American tends to solve world's conflicts but its policies have a direct and indirect impact on the way people sees the United States. In America both domestic and foreign policy derives from the same source that is characterized by Washington's doctrine (Jett 3).

1.4.1 From Domestic Point of View

The American public opinion about government foreign policy is changeable due to the nature of media coverage of American intervention abroad. Media play central role in shaping the public opinion. Indeed, media is part for the American individual. The news coverage of world's conflicts and the American intervention could determine the attitude of those who watch the news constantly to those who does not. However, the public opinion is based on rationality. It is difficult to determine whether Americans are being skeptical or encouraging the American foreign policy of internationalism.

Even American citizens influence the American foreign policy making. After WWII, 70% of Americans favored an active role for the U.S. in world affairs by December 1941. However, 60% had favored neutrality in any European War in 1936. America was under threat because of world's opposition to its policies and especially the Axis alliance which confirms the rise of negative reactions towards America (Klar ,par.16).

In 2004 elections under Bush administration republicans succeed to win Congress. But they lost domestic support after a while due to the policies undertaken in Iraq and the war against terror. Since the beginning of war against terror and the public agreement on the president had witnessed withdraw. Indeed, the disapproval of Bush administration kept decreasing since mid 2005, even though it rose to 50 percent in Gallup polls April, May, 2005. After the killing of Abu al-Zarqawi, Iraqi leader in al-Qaida, and substituted the Iraqi regime. Public approval increased to 42 percent by July 2007. All in all, the majority of domestic opinion declined the Bush administration, and neglected his foreign policies especially in Iraq (McCormick 232).

Moreover, a response in view of development since sending the first troops to Iraq, and according to Gallup poll made in 2008, 60 percent of Americans consider the American intervention a mistake. Furthermore, the American foreign policy conducted in Iraq had surprisingly collected the majority of Americans who oppose Bush administration. In comparison with the Vietnam and Korean wars, political scientist John Mueller stated the opposition to Iraq war which started short time after Bush wins the Congress 2004 elections (McCormick 232,234).

1.4.2 Overseas

The American intervention in Iraq took unilateral path, and it was the reason behind questioning Bush's administration. The global public views the American intervention in Iraq as a constant mistake until the end of Bush presidency. For instance, America intervened unilaterally in the Iraq War even though disapproval views abroad. After the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001, America gained European sympathy, but it quickly vanished during the American intervention in Iraq. European favorable view of the United States shows 48 percent in Britain, 31 percent in France, and 25 percent in Germany. During the second term of Bush's

presidency public views improved slightly only in countries that are considered as allies. The opposition was not only confined to Europe but around the globe. According to Pew survey in 2006, only 3 countries out of 10 favored the United States. In 2005, BBC worlds Service Poll stated 3 countries favored Bush's administration and encourage it to continue. Whereas 22 countries refused Bush's reelection, and consider it threat to world's peace (McCormick 231,232).

The uncertainty of European public view was reflected at government decisions. The case of Iraq War had attracted few European approvals. In fact, only few accepted to provide assistance in order to implement democracy in Iraq. The mass had also central role for those states who were obliged to step back their forces. In conversely, there are other states, for example, Germany and France provided Iraqi security personnel and helped to reconstruct the country. In fact, Germany and France do have limits for their intervention in comparison with Bush's unilateral approach. With the arrival of Chancellor Angela Merkel by 2005 and President Nicolas Sarkozy by 2007, the Iraq war had approval from the new European leaders who had intention to provide assistance for the United States. Also, the war would affect countries that are close to United States and keeps to contract their support to Bush's administration (McCormick 232).

The American foreign policy is not welcomed overseas, and Americans have no idea about its implications on their lives. Public view about America abroad is shaped by the American reaction and the American policy either. Polls of Pew Research Center shows public opinion of Americans assume that the American foreign policy do not affect their quotidian life. Moreover, in 2005 Pew surveys appear that about 60 percent of Americans are convinced that America neither get into other nation's affairs nor interests, unlike what people abroad believe (Jett 10).

1.5 The American Foreign Policy Before & After September 11th, 2001

The American foreign policy adopted from the basic principles had witnessed a dynamic change at several levels before and after September 11th, 2001. The influence of the terrorist attacks on political and economical issues has put much emphasis on changing the American foreign policy, regardless its implications.

With the attacks of September 11th, 2001, the American foreign policy crisis has come to fore to be. It is not just about the Middle East issues but it has roots long before. The legacy of US unilateralism received opposition, and U.S. intervention policy has come to final stage by terrorist acts; in fact, the War against Terror provides rational reason for the United States to plunge into these issues (Bennis ,par.2).

America shifted from isolationism to internationalism by conducting containment policy in 1947 lasted to 2001 attacks. Americans relied on Bush's administration to preserve order and security. Although many Americans questioned the credibility of his administration to maintain security and interests, Bush's War against Terrorism has been initiated from the first time of his presidency. For Americans, it is a matter of commitment and focus, but the psychological shock of the attacks on World Trade Center seems to have blatant implications on the American interventionism (Gordon ,par.2).

1.5.1 Before September 11th, 2001

The arrival of George W. Bush was viewed as continuation for the philosophy of his father's administration. Due to its foreign policy remarkable approach, Bush's administration opposed Former President Clinton, in which Clinton's depend on multilateral approach. Although, Bush's career in foreign policy was not really enriched enough to conduct the American supremacy, he relied strongly on his foreign policy advisors (McCormick 203).

Bush's vice president and key advisor Dick Cheney had been a member of two previous administrations. He was familiar with Washington policymaking process, and he was viewed as conservative. Cheney supported Bush in Congress voting and showed his assistance to administration policy that stands for the American supremacy. For instance, prior Iraq War, Cheney supported strongly the approach used and soon became known as the leader of "neoconservatives" who believes in using the American power for moral goals. The American foreign policy can be affected by unwelcomed regimes. According to neoconservatives, America is determined in its foreign policy making. Another advisor was Condoleezza Rice, she worked as national security adviser, and expert of the George H. W. Bush administration. Also she dealt with Soviet matters as member in the National Security Council. As far as foreign policy is concerned, Henry Kissinger was considered as "master global strategist", but Rice became one of Bush's important advisors during the election campaign of 2000 among other key advisors. She had possibility to influence decision making as she had direct access to the president. In addition, she had orientation toward traditional realism than Cheney who was into neoconservatives which dominated the Bush policy making process. After winning his first term presidency, Bush appointed Collin Powell for his previous experience during Regan, and Clinton administration. He was one of Bush's key foreign policy advisors, as he was considered more conservative (McCormick 204).

The new secretary of state Condoleezza Rice is realist when it comes to foreign policy perspectives. For that, she has chosen Robert Zoellick as deputy secretary of state. Zoellick served during George W. Bush as U.S. trade representative and in Regan's term as White House Deputy chief of staff. This experience in foreign office allowed his successor John Negroponte to come back in Bush's administration in 2001, as he served as ambassador to Iraq and the UN.

Furthermore, Bush's administration in its 1st term tended to appoint well experienced officials with neoconservative foreign policy orientation. Moreover, Donald Rumsfeld was selected as secretary of defense whom he served during Ford administration. Also, he had served in Congress in 1960s and in 1970s as U.S. ambassador to NATO. Rumsfeld's views for foreign policy lean for the American primacy. Paul Wolfowitz was considered as one of the neoconservatives leaders in the Bush administration along with Dick Cheney and John Negroponte. He participated many of Rumsfeld's views about the unilateral role of the United States in the post-Cold War. Furthermore, George Tenet had a long experience as deputy director of CIA. He was a member of the NSC, and a member of the SIC staff. This large experience brought from Washington was considered as advantage for the new administration. Although, the events of 9/11 and the beginning of Iraq War (McCormick 205).

Bush appointed key advisor that was an asset for his first term success inasmuch as he had no foreign policy experience. Most of them had unilateral about the role of America abroad distinct from Clinton's administration that preferred liberal internationalism. However, Bush's administration in the second term tends to select officials more oriented to neo-conservatism to continue the philosophy of George H W. Bush along with traditional and political realists (McCormick 206).

1.5.2 After September 11th, 2001

September 11th, 2001 is a day that will be remembered for all Americans. It marked infamy along with December 7, 1941. The events of 9/11 left Americans and its leaders to change their attitude towards the foreign policy. Therefore, political events after that day are considered as challenge for the Bush administration. Indeed, when those events happen they change the generation mindset if not reverse it. For instance, the Vietnam War events had effect on views

toward war and peace and the American role overseas. So far 9/11 events appear to be the climax of events that can influence public opinion about politics, in which it creates waves of thoughts among the generation being socialized to the active role of America, and the effects to be implicated on foreign policy later on (McCormick 207,208).

All in all, September 11th, 2001 events had impact in American foreign policy than Pearl Harbor, or the Vietnam War. First, it was the first direct attack on America since the War of 1812. Americans were assertive about their security but the 9/11 events crashed their beliefs. This event confirmed that everyone can be harmed. Second, September 11 was basically an assault on Americans. Furthermore, September 11th, 2001 events were measured by the amount of American feelings toward foreign policy, also by the change within the administration framework such as changing Congress agendas or the nature of the presidency (McCormick 208).

The American public views on their country foreign policy have changed since the events of September 11th, 2001. Americans neglected the use of military to overcome terrorism. But, it seems that Americans supported the American foreign policy approach after the events of September 11th, 2001 including using the air forces and bombing the terrorists basis and even assassinate their leaders. Furthermore, a considerable section of Americans do believe in the solution of army intervention in Iraq War. However, more than 65% called for provide more internal nation security, and also they supported strongly spending more on developing the army section and use it against Iraq. In general, it seemed that the mass did not think about the implications of the American intervention, but they approved on every decision made by the Bush's administration after 9/11. Thus, foreign policy matters became progressively an American concern. Even though, the Clinton administration faced republicans who controlled

Congress and contributed in making foreign policy which led to impose views on this new political matter (McCormick 209).

1.6 U.S Foreign Policy Failures

U.S. foreign policy failure can be viewed only from rational and logical position. America invaded Iraq under the slogans of democracy and freedom as a unilateral structure and used its hyper power to face multilateral leaders. Iraq did not have any relation to destructive weapons or any relation to the attacks on September 11th, 2001. In that regard, Americans question the real reason behind the American intervention in Iraq. After Iraq destruction, zero weapons of mass destruction were found. It was inevitable for Americans to hide the failure that appeared when Islamic fundamentalists fought back turned the country into devastation. Therefore, this failure was the exposure for terrorism to attack the America in its territory.

The mission in Afghanistan was unsuccessful and costs America 45 Billion Dollars a year. Money was not the only loss for America, also many American soldiers died in war besides with thousands of wounded. The American government expected to spend about 16 Billion Dollars in Syria. The two missions together will cost around 60 Billion Dollars in addition to numbers of American lives (Davis ,par.12).

"It is time to take a hard, critical, and unemotional look at our foreign policy in the post 9/11 era and admit that the routine and near-permanent use of lethal military power abroad has not made us safer, continues to squander billions that could be better used in other ways, and needlessly sacrifices the lives of our service members" (Davis ,par.13).

According to Daniel Davis, the American foreign policy should be regarded from a rational point of view. The use of military power did not help to secure America's interests nor its citizens after the events of September 11th, 2001. Therefore, the American foreign policy needs a severe critical unemotional analysis. Especially the amount of money spent on

military section only which could be used in another rightful cause without sacrificing the lives of Americans.

For the sake of our national security and economic prosperity, we must stop the reflexive use of lethal military power abroad in an attempt to solve problems and rediscover that sometimes other instruments of national power are better suited to achieve positive outcomes for the nation (Davis ,par.14).

Daniel Davis argues the importance to take into consideration the American national security and economic prosperity. In that context, Davis emphasis the need to stop using the military intervention as a way to solve issues abroad. Hence, the U.S. needs to use another method to reach positive results that benefits both America and the world.

1.7 Leading from Behind

America has the ability to shift from one strategy to another according to the situation that requires it. For Americans, the election of President Barack Obama is a victory itself due to its importance worldwide that time. The "global" president has a goodwill reputation overseas along with his charismatic soul of leading and uniting people of different races. Obama has a clear look to the world that is inspired by respect more than the challenges that former presidents proffered. On the other hand, his policy was clear about Guantanamo which represents George W. Bush iniquity along with ending Iraq War in 2010 (Pauwels 204).

Leading from Behind is an approach used by the former president Obama after the American foreign policy failure especially in Iraq. He received critiques for adopting this approach when Americans opposed and called for American leadership, which they claimed would make alliances contribute in making peace, also to shares costs and negative reactions. And to make sure that the principles of human dignity are respected by all (David Publishing 786,787).

Leading from behind meaning is somehow confusing because the slogan itself is criticized. Ben Armbruster mentioned at the liberal Think Progress the idea of leading from behind popularized in the following quote from Mandela: "It is better to lead from behind and to put others in front, especially when you celebrate victory when nice things occur. You take the front line when there is danger. Then people will appreciate your leadership" (Ryan ,par.2).

Nelson Mandela expressively states the American policy of interest and security. He emphasizes on the idea of leading others from behind only when the situation is peaceful, However, he captures the importance of being present in critical times when danger occurs. Indeed, others will surely appreciate your intervention.

Conservatives argue about the theory of "leading from behind" as it can be used as a cover for the absence of truly leadership. In fact, Bill Clinton did not get U.N. approval for the Kosovo War and George W. Bush also did not succeed to get U.N. approval for the Iraq War. In contrast, it is about Obama and getting an approval from United Nations to intervene in Libya. From this level, Obama succeeded with his "Leading From Behind" to intervene in Libya (Ryan ,par.9).

Obama's "Leading From Behind" came fore to be as important change to the American Foreign policy. He won support to use more military intervention by calling on the U.N. Security Council to impose a no-fly zone over Libya which was issued and supported by an Arab League ministerial. This method of leadership has virtues and it should be taken into consideration especially about what was achieved (Ryan ,par.10).

Crowds in Latin America threatened Eisenhower's vice president when he was sent on a friendly trip. But due to security matters the trip was canceled. However, Reagan years witnessed large manifestations in the closest allied countries in which they accused America as the big threat that can take the world into a nuclear war. Indeed, America must lead from behind because

it is hated. Ryan Lizza stated that: "during the post-Cold War era, a time when America's unmatched power created widespread resentment". This resentment did not end with the so called Barak Obama consciousness, but the Cold War feelings had the same deep impact (Krauthammer ,par.7,8).

For some Americans, the entourage of Barack Obama itself reviles the American hegemony. In other words, Obama's was considered anti-Americanist, as well as the church he attended; which shows anti-American resentment more than in Arab streets. Indeed, only the liberal elite who can revile America's Image inside or abroad. Hence, with "Leading From Behind" America's role in the world will be diminished (Krauthammer ,par.10,11).

As most Americans believe, other presidents consider anti-Americanism as a given. Despite the fact that America is malignancy, Americans believe in their goodwill intentions. In conversely, Krauthammer states that: "a sympathetic journalist, channeling an Obama adviser, elevates it to a doctrine. The president is no doubt flattered. The rest of us are merely stunned". For that, leading from behind is not leading but it is handing over the leadership. It is controversial (Krauthammer ,par.12,13).

1.8 Conclusion

The elements discussed above provide a historical overview of the American foreign policy principles from isolationism to internationalism. This chapter examines the nature of American foreign policy from isolationism to interventionism. Also, it provides insight as how it shifted from isolationism to internationalism, and to maintain America great by protecting the American principles that are set in security and interest. Furthermore, it dealt with the credibility of the American foreign policy, and here we mention its implications on domestic level and abroad. Finally, it dealt with the American foreign policy before and after 9/11, and the change

occurs in leading strategies including the failure of the American foreign policy which later on anti-Americanism comes to fore to be.

Chapter Two:
Understanding and
Analyzing Anti-
Americanism in
Latin America, Western
Europe, Middle East,
and Asia

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2.1 Introduction

2.2 Epistemological Definition of Anti-Americanism

2.3 The Evolution of Anti-Americanism in the World

2.4 Soft and Hard Anti-Americanism

2.5 The American Unilateralism vs. the United Nations Security Council

2.6 Soft Power and Hard Power Role in Making Anti-Americanism

2.7 Anti-Americanism in the World

2.8 The U.S.-Latin American Relation to Anti-Americanism

2.8.1 Anti-Americanism Roots in Latin America

2.8.2 Venezuela Crisis

2.9 Anti-Americanism in Western Europe

2.9.1 French Anti-Americanism

2.9.2 German Anti-Americanism

2.10 Middle East

2.11 Anti-Americanism in North Korea

2.12 Conclusion

2.1 Introduction

The concept of anti-Americanism can be introduced as a set of attitudes toward Americans. This phenomenon was identified by scientists as unexplained response to the American supremacy. Others viewed anti-Americanism as subjective reaction of weak nations toward the success of Americanism. Furthermore, the concept of anti-Americanism can be predefined as accumulation of feelings and other different motivations; hence, anti-Americanism should be understood as a matter of cultural issue yet comes under different manifestations which can be motivated by different resentments. This chapter attempts to give an appropriate epistemological definition to the concept of anti-Americanism especially after 9/11 attacks in which anti-Americanism reaches its climax. Also, it explores the importance of theoretical implication on the studied issue. For the purpose of this study, our research concerns anti-Americanism in the world and some specific study cases about Latin America, Western Europe, Middle East, and Asia.

2.2 Epistemological Definition of Anti-Americanism

The first edition of Noah Webster's American Dictionary of English Language (1828) defines the word 'anti-American' as "opposed to America", or to the interests or government of the United States; opposed to the revolution in America." In France the use of the noun form "Antiaméricanisme" has been catalogued from 1948, entering ordinary political language in the 1950s. Oxford Dictionaries define anti-Americanism as the hostility to the interests of the United States. (Webster).

According to Collins English Dictionary the concept "anti-American" means to be opposed to anything or relating to the United States of America. Moreover, example sentences containing "anti-American" are presented. In recent weeks, there has been a fair bit of anti-American

rhetoric in the campaign. Another example, Critics sees the show as a western import at a time when anti-American sentiment is widespread (Collins).

The word "Anti" can be used with any country as far as political and cultural boundaries are regarded. Any leading power must have opposition; in other words, any prosperous nation must expand over the interests of other nation. Hence, it creates hostile resentment to the hyper power in which the "anti" emerges and develops continuously along with the involvement of the hyper power in other's matters.

People can be skeptical when there is distrust, Anti-American bias, by contrast, occurs when policies and actions undertaken by the U.S. government and American corporations are seen as expressions of an unchangeable national identity and character, such that dialogue over disagreements is deemed to have no value (Gross).

Other dictionaries define the term as the fear or dislike of people, policies, culture or government of the United States. Americans cannot ignore what their government does abroad and for that Anti-Americanism can be detected even at national level. French scholar Marie-France Toinet says use of the term "is only fully justified if it implies systematic opposition, a sort of allergic reaction to America as a whole" (Toinet).

The negative attitude "anti-Americanism" is produced to create a problematic concept. As a previous scholar stated, "anti-Americanism proves difficult to define once you start peeling back the layers of meaning". It is hard to identify what "anti-Americanism" counter without agreement of the concept itself. It is more complicated with the suffix "ism" linked to other ideologies such as racism, sexism, and liberalism, in other words, it deals with irrational attitudes. Moreover, it maintains a systematic criticism of the United States which is motivated by either resentment or hatred to the American policy more than to the United States itself (Johnston and Ray 3).

Anti-Americanism is expressed by many activities including; media, public publishing, and speeches inside and outside the U.S. From a classical context, Paul Hollander explores various themes depending on journalists, academics comments on this phenomenon and states: "Anti-Americanism has always been associated with the contradictory aspects of American society. In the new century it combines murderous violence with lofty and heartfelt religious and political sentiments and justifications" (Hollander 2).

September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks were the extreme level of violence, since the United States shifted from being a super power to a hyper power, anti-Americanism was a consequence of American actions. In all cases, can we explicitly link anti-Americanism only with terrorism? European countries, including France, Germany, condemned the U.S. foreign policy, in the words of Chalmers Johnson, "the suicidal assassins of September 11, 2001 did not attack America [...] they attacked American foreign policy" (Krastev and McPherson 11).

The Western European opposition to America is not a recent matter but it had been operational and deep-rooted ever since the beginning of the Americanization process. The contemporary Western European anti-Americanism is not just a reaction to U.S. policies in Afghanistan and Iraq only, but a denial of those American values that was labeled "American conditions".

Anti-Americanism in Europe, in short, is a problem that emerges from European culture and it will be with us for long time. We must understand its source, and how it is regularly remobilized to serve the needs of particular politicians. We also must be able to see anti-Americanism in Europe as an indicator of European culture, rather than the fault of U.S. policies. Historically, Europeans have been among the strongest friends of the United States, and for many that tradition continues. There is also, however, a European predisposition to vilify the United States (Berman 13).

According to Berman, political debates in the west are linked to many writers such as Noam Chomsky, John Pilger and Tariq Ali. Yet, the central argument of these authors generally focuses on American politics, not American culture or the American individual.

Three types of reactions are observed in order to explain the reasons behind opposing America. First, leftists oppose the U.S. capitalism and its project of globalization. Second, distinctive nations who struggle to emerge within an international order dominated by the United States. Third, particularly in Western Europe, a reaction against everything linked to the American cultural imperialism.

Interpreting anti-Americanism as criticism to the United States itself cannot be achieved only by observing the nature subject of the criticism. Among authors, Hollander illustrates a matching between anti-Americanism, anti-Semitism, and racism. In fact, he considers it as irrational action towards the American government, culture, and people. Also, Hollander states a list of domestic anti-Americanism developed late Cold War, for instance, Noam Chomsky, Kurt Vonnegut, and Miss America 1988. Robert Kagan comments on the European criticism of American foreign policy, and argued that anti-Americanism is largely shared by the people of Europe (Johnston and Ray ,par.6).

In addition, other authors consider criticizing the individual aspects of America well established, but in most cases anti-Americanism can be founded on hatred and irrational motivations. Rubinstein and Smith define anti-Americanism as "any hostile action or expression that becomes part and parcel of an undifferentiated attack on the foreign policy, society, culture, and values of the United States". Haseler argues that "anti-Americanism should not be confused with opposition to specific U.S. policies or administrations". For Haseler, anti-Americanism

includes hostility "to the cultural and political values of the United States", and that one is "often the product of rage based on resentment and envy" (Johnston and Ray ,par.7).

Anti-Americanism have many descriptions of attitudes that can be unrelated to the American actions. Haseler argues that even though the changes occurs the American administration or policy. Indeed, for Spiro, Anti-Americanism in Western Europe as illogical rejection of the American democracy. In addition, Spiro argues that anti-Americanism widespread in the European ruling class since 1776. Furthermore, Fabrinni argues about the persistence of anti-Americanism in Europe because of "domestic source" (Johnston and Ray ,par.8).

Other scholars affirm that Anti-Americanism is a reaction to American policy. According to interviews of forty Pakistanis, Kizilbash (1988) asserts that anti-Americanism in Pakistan is a result of policy disagreement. In addition, the American opposition to Pakistan nuclear plan and U.S. support for Israel. In order to trace the source of anti-Americanism in Europe since the end of World War II, Smith, S. K. and D. A. Wertman suggests that anti-American feeling reaches the highest point with particular U.S. policies, for example, the development of the hydrogen bomb, along with the exploitation of nuclear forces (Johnston and Ray ,par.9).

Furthermore, Katzenstein and Keohane viewed anti-Americanism as a psychological phenomenon. This phenomenon works itself in different mental representations of world's concerns about foreign policy. The U.S. failure to stick to values led to fundamental denial. However, Katzenstein and Keohane argues the significance of psychological progression in shaping the degree of one views American actions during which one hold negative attitudes about the U.S. (Johnston and Ray ,par.10).

2.3 The Evolution of Anti-Americanism in the World

Anti-Americanism roots can be traced originally to conservative position. It began back in Europe half the nineteenth century where economy and cultural aspect changed dramatically. Yet, conservatives were not eager for this change like leftists and liberals. Those European conservatives visited America and went back to publish their travel reports about how frightening America's future is. Unlike Europe, capitalism was unrestrained, and all Americans were viewed as individualists since they only think of how to gain money. According to European conservatives, and due to the chaos of capitalism way of living Americans do not have any ethics in which Americans were criticized for loosen sexual morals (Krebbers ,par.1).

Furthermore, conservatives complained about the role of technology to spread the Americanization, and this process can facilitate making the American culture well known and more followed throughout radio, cinema, and transport. Hence, the superficial American culture will replace the elevated cultures of European nations. The American Hollywood, music, cars, and way of life were in conservative eyes a future threat for the entire world (Krebbers ,par.2).

There is no actual reason behind the anti-American sentiment, rather than ideologies that tries to justify oppression like racism and sexism. Anti-Americanism explains anti-Americanists themselves. For instance, Europeans are considered fundamentally different unlike Americans; therefore, according to anti-Americanists there is no "American culture". After 1945, everything in Europe connected to America became popular. America then was considered as positive power just about everyone. For many Europeans and "Third World" people, America is the only way to freedom and prosperity. But things have changed since then. For most, America's image could prevent anti-Americanism from becoming the dominant reaction (Krebbers ,par.3-4).

The 1960s witnessed heavy attacks on the U.S. politics. The European opposition to the American intervention policy in Vietnam has soon outbreaks. Yet, it did not represent anti-American attitude, which by the way was heard recently that time specifically when politics is mixed to conservative views about the "American culture". Furthermore, in the 1980s problems evolved, and critics towards the superpowers were eventually justified. For example, the US president Reagan was portrayed as irrational blindfolded in using arms. For the Right and some Leftists, US soldiers are considered as occupying army using Europe as arena to solve their own issues. Many activists regard Europe as an oppressed colony by the American culture and army forces in which Europe must take liberation war against America (Krebbers ,par.5).

The last years have witness remarkable change in the European public view towards the American culture and policy. Negative reaction towards the U.S. has existed in Europe at particular levels; the invasion of Iraq faced large wave of criticism which marked the starting political issue between U.S and Europe. Negative opinions about the American decision have increased especially in the second term of Reagan administration. Furthermore, negative reaction in Germany and the UK are classical way of thinking in late 1980s, and with the French public stable levels of opposition during the Cold War. The increase of opposing opinions to the United States is enormous between 2002 and 2003. During that period, anti Americanism attitudes can be observed especially in Western Europe (Johnston and Ray ,par.4).

The Iraq War can be considered as the clear point for the American European struggle on power. For many European anti-war activists, US seek power more than peace in Europe. For instance, President Bush is seen as the most evil man on earth by trying to forcibly access Iraqi oil along with Great Britain. Although countries like Germany and France who are seen as peaceful forces has already access to Iraq oil. The European involvement of each country has its

own economic reasons and Iraq pay the price. In other words, the unilateral reaction on US policy is anti-American. Indeed "no blood for oil" slogan should be loudly shouted at European governments. In brief, European super powers do not manage their policy from elevated morals level than the US. Moreover European capitals send out army forces to the "Third World" to ensure their interests (Krebbbers ,par.7).

2.4 Soft and Hard Anti-Americanism

Anti-Americanism is considered as the negative reaction towards the United States' domestic and foreign policy. Indeed, even among Americans, anti-American resentment can be observed especially against the unilateral intervention decision in Iraq and the recent decision made by President Trump against foreigners. The American foreign policy had witnessed a wide range of opposition; however, this opposition is measured on different scales which can be presented as soft and hard negative reactions inside and outside the U.S. (Master Courses).

Soft anti-Americanism is in fact the negative reaction headed for U.S. foreign policy which carries less physical harm to America. This soft reaction towards America took many forms, for example, demonstrations in Latin America and in Middle East against the American conditions and the foreign policy overexposure. Additionally, the disagreement between Iran and America is expressed blatantly in the Iranian streets by burning the American flag and protest strongly against U.S. policy of intervention. In addition, the hostility to "the American culture" in most parts of Western Europe especially France and Germany (Master Courses).

On the other hand, the hard form of anti-Americanism was observed in the events of September 11th, 2001. The terrorist attack is up till now viewed as the top act of anti-Americanism. The attack did not target the twin towers only but America's freedom, economy, as well as its prosperity and security. Hard anti-Americanism can be linked to the degree of U.S.

intervention, in fact, the more U.S. intervention increase in world's matters; the more it is confronted by increasing opposition (Master Courses).

2.5 The American Unilateralism vs. the United Nations Security Council

The world became more dangerous because of the division of the great powers. Leading powers lean towards unilateral positions, whereas other powers become increasingly polarized. This division between the leading powers is certainly a source of worry. Other rising powers such as China can question the international status built after World War II by Western powers. In fact, China can be considered as the only country challenging the U.S. in the future, even though they have different social, cultural and political structures. On the other hand, the only military power considered challenging in terms is Russia. Russia is also considered as one of the leading powers that can challenge the U.S. in framing the world order. This challenge constantly argues the need of such competition to confirm its power among Europeans and Americans (Bartolome ,par.1-3).

The NATO Summit of 2017 was the first for President Trump to demonstrate the new American position to multilateralism. The image which shows the ability of the United States to take charge of the situation is while taking an official picture of the Summit, the president Trump slightly pushed aside the prime minister of Montenegro to be the one at the centre of the picture. In addition, more recommendations and tensions have been canceled after ending the commercial escalation along with aluminum and steel tariffs between the U.S. and EU. However, Europe remains suspicious about Trump's administration unpredictable actions. In fact, the President of the European Commission specifically traveled to Washington to discuss the matter with President Trump. The meeting proves that the American position from the foreign relations had totally changed (Bartolome ,par.4,5).

The American policy about multilateralism pointed out considerable amount of critiques. Since President Trump took office, The NATO, UN, and WTO have constantly received critiques and hints about the of U.S. intention to leave them. On the other hand, the U.S. has already left the UN-ESCO, as well as the UN-HRC, along with a number of multilateral conventions, for example, the Paris Agreement, TPP, and the Iran nuclear deal JCPOA (Bartolome ,par.6).

2.6 Soft Power and Hard Power Role in Making Anti-Americanism

According to Joseph Nye soft power "occurs when one country gets other countries to want what it want". He defines soft power as the ability to attract, persuade, and co-opt as opposed to coercion in international relations. Nye argues that hard power remains crucial to groups that tends to defend their independence or other groups willing to use violence. The other path to get a solution for certain issues is often called "the second face of power", as example; the United States as a hyper power makes other countries want to reach its level of prosperity and success. But it is also significant to drag those countries to change their politics without the need of military intervention. In other words, soft power helps to prevent terrorism from gathering supporters. Some issues require multilateral cooperation and soft power is a way to help the United States to take a new direction (Nye 5).

It is important to win the public inside the country and abroad by having ideas and institutions. It is also significant to attract others and provide valid foreign policy goals. Despite the salience of Arab public opinion was not considered a serious subject. The notion of the "Arab street" was linked with unpredictable violence and irrational people with the ability to cause problems. The U.S. and the authoritarian Arab regimes could reach agreement throughout policies of coercion, as long as they keep popular discontent under control to continue to

ignoring public opinion and work on their own interests. The advance of technology and Media had a deep implication on the Middle Eastern political sphere and the image of the Arab public opinion. For that, the authoritarian Arab leaders are obliged to take in consideration the Arab public sphere and to justify their policies and decisions. The Arab Spring aftermath made Arab citizens more open to governance diversity after years of corruption (Ciftci and Tezcur 3-5).

According to Katzenstein, anti-American sentiments are linked to the American position in world's issues. These issues define the degree of anti-Americanism, in other words; they define the American intervention in political matters abroad. Furthermore, politics abroad identifies attitudes towards America in which anti-Americanism plays a systemic force to conduct politics in the world.

"Anti-Americanism is not just tied to the personality of the president; it is tied to what people think America is about and what it stands for. Under that very often tie of what is the policy inside these countries. America actually is being used for domestic political purposes. Anti-Americanism is not about America; it is about the politics in the other countries [...] I think anti-Americanism is the systemic force in world politics" (Katzenstein).

Hostility against the U.S. developed in time not only because of the American politics but also against the American unilateral position. Debates over policy in Europe grew during the decade about the conflict between Palestine and Israel as well as the constant worry about globalization project. Therefore, The U.S. is considered the main source of worry for Europe and the world. For Western Europe, solidarity with America after the events of September 11, 2001 was momentary, and it lasted for short time, as the anti-American resentment remains (Berman 38).

2.7 Anti-Americanism in the World

Anti-Americanism seems to be a negative reaction to the American-led "War on Terror". For Europe and the rest of the world the case of Iraq invasion is one of the main centers of argument. Europe argued the legitimacy of the invasion. In October 2003, 68% of Europeans considered the Iraq invasion as a non-justified action. In fact, the shift from containment to intervention policy did not receive instant reaction among people. (Johnston and Ray 12-13) Furthermore, the more people are engaged politically the more their opinions are well received locally and abroad. For that, the more high levels of political engagement occurs the more anti-American sentiment raise (Johnston and Ray 15).

In *Civilisation Des États-Unis*, Marie Christine Pauwels demonstrates the reasons behind the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001. 26% of interviewees see that the U.S. democracy and freedom intervention in world's conflicts are the motive behind the terrorist attacks. However, 22% viewed the American support for Israel as the direct reason behind the attacks. Also, 20% of people condemn the American values and way of life and consider it as a direct effect to fuel resentment. While 17% consider the intervention in Middle Eastern countries as the main reason behind the terrorist attacks. 11% condemn the economic order and military power, whereas 4% are not sure of the reason or refused to answer. (Figure1)

Why People Hate the United States

These are some of the results of the Harris Poll, a nationwide interactive survey of 1,012 adults interviewed by telephone between September 19-24, 2001.

“Which one of the following do you think is the main reason why those who attacked us and their supporters hate the United States?”

Our democracy and freedom	26%
Our support for Israel	22%
Our values and way of life	20%
Our influence on the economy and lives of Middle Eastern countries	17%
Our economic and military power	11%
Not sure/Refused	4%

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Figure 1: The Reasons Behind the Terrorist Attacks of September 11th, 2001.

Source: *Civilisation Des États-Unis*, Marie Christine Pauwels, 2009, p.214.

2.8 The U.S.-Latin American Relation to Anti-Americanism

Alan McPherson argues on three main issues to trace the roots of anti-Americanism in Latin America; the Cuban Revolution, the 1964 Panama riots, and U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic. The nature of anti-Americanism in Latin America shifts from supporting to detesting the American policy. After the increase of anti-American sentiments under the slogan "Yankee hating", the U.S. aimed to contain this rage by applying a consistent ideological diplomacy led to split Latin America between those who are with or against the United States. Furthermore, McPherson emphasizes the necessity to contain the roots of anti-Americanism, and he warns the American government about the outstanding risks of ignoring such phenomenon (McPherson ,par.2-3).

2.8.1 Anti-Americanism Roots in Latin America

According to McPherson, the years from 1958 to 1966 witnessed the rise of anti-Americanism in Latin America. Anti-Americanism attitude is not confined to Middle East only but it is a world's issue. This phenomenon is taken into serious consideration by looking up its roots and tackles the main issue that may seek clarification. An anti-Americanism sentiment exists in different cases; in Cuba Venezuela and Panama. These examples together emphasize the need of U.S. policy to confront the challenges in these countries rather than using them only to alienate people. McPherson also argues the role of counter propaganda to take the situation from Alliance of Progress and the Peace Corps into reverse, and that creates in time more violence (McPherson ,par.1).

In *Anti-Americanism and the American world order*, Giacomo Chiozza argues that old generations in Latin America have an increasingly hatred toward what is all American; however, the new generations are tolerant when it comes to deal with the United States. (Figure 2)

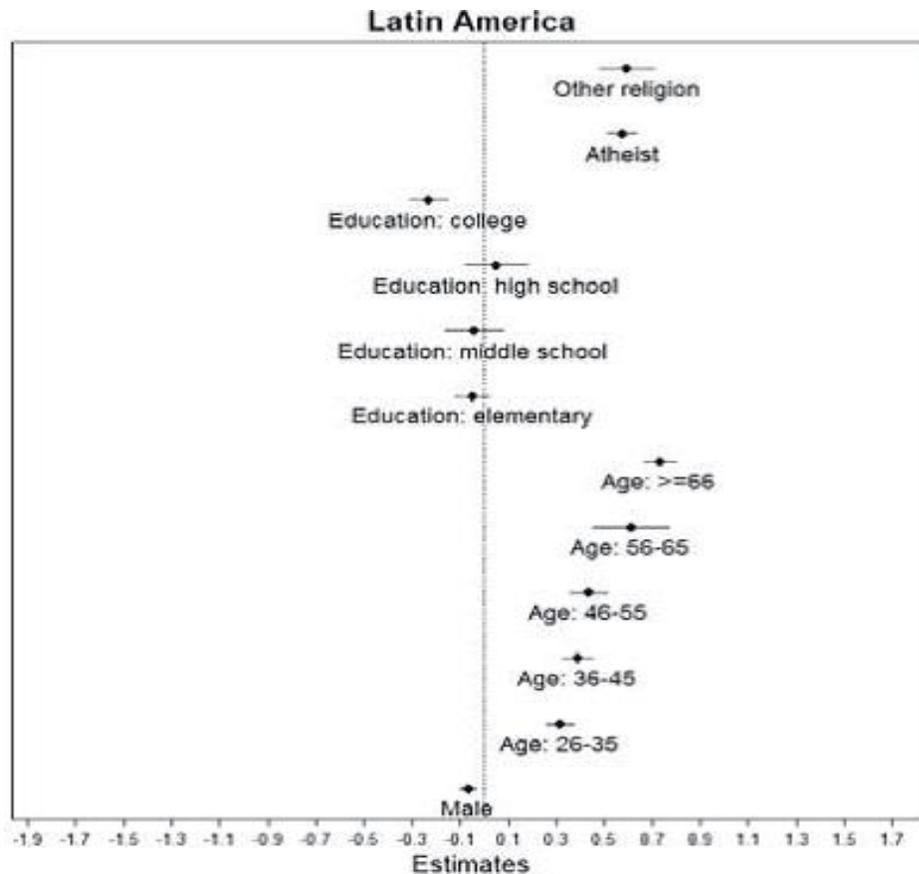


Figure 2: The Effects of Demographic Factor on Anti-American Sentiment in Latin America.

Source: *Anti-Americanism and the American world order*, Giacomo Chiozza, 2009, p.121.

Figure 2 describes anti-American attitude in Latin America. The old generation (46 -66 years old) seems to be more concerned by anti-Americanism than the new generation. The perception of the U.S. and its policies are familiar among the old generation who witnessed world conflicts where the American policy of intervention affected their political framework. They do have a clear idea about the position of the U.S. in the issue. Hence, the more age raises the more anti-American sentiment rises accordingly. The new generation (26-45 years old) inherits anti-American sentiments from the old generation; however, they did not witness

conflicts. For that, age matters to define the level of political awareness among people in Latin America.

In contrast, Education did not make any large difference about the perception of the United States. Among students from elementary to high school; the level of anti-Americanism is average. However, students in college do have a better respond to evaluate the U.S. and its policies (Chiozza 124).

2.8.2 Venezuela Crisis

During the 1950s until the 70s in Latin America, social activists confronted the system left from the colonial period. In Venezuela, the Latin American country has been downward because of the unmanageable inflation along with food shortage which increases political discontent. The Venezuela crisis is recognized by the U.S. as world's issue. The global security is the American security; for that, America cannot let the scenario of Cuba repeat itself in Venezuela's case. Indeed, security of the world means the security of America's homeland and of interests in the region. The constant fear of the U.S.S.R influence on Third World Countries is inevitable. Hence, the U.S. tries to prevent further implications from revolutionary countries in Latin America such as Cuba of which show their antagonism up till now (Nugent ,par.5-6).

The Venezuelan leader Nicolás Maduro delivered a speech to his supporters about the danger of U.S. intervention in the country's political crisis, "We don't want to go back to the gringo interventions of the 20th century". Furthermore he claims, "The U.S. is trying to mount a coup and install a puppet government [to protect] its interests in Venezuela". Undeniably, his administration has led the country downward and this issue requires external intervention. Socialists' leaders blamed the U.S. for the current situation of the country due to the history of interventionism and American imperialism in Latin America. On the other hand, America

recognized Juan Guaidó; the opposition' leader, and refused any military intervention from its part (Nugent ,par.1-2).

Maduro claims that the U.S. "intends to govern Venezuela from Washington." by appointing Guaidó. Washington indeed tends to interfere in the country's political crisis as it has a long history of intervention in Latin America. However, the U.S. implemented a series of interventionist methods. In that context, CIA agents aside with State Department officials during the 1960s trained Guatemalan security that were involved in killing thousands of innocent civilians. In addition, the CIA tried to prevent the success of Allende in the 1970s in Chile but he got the General Augusto's support. Pinochet's regime that was recognized as a right wing regime committed 3,065 crimes against his civilians along with human rights abuses. The U.S. attempted to support Contra against the socialist government of Sandinista in the 1980s which led to years of violence (Nugent ,par.7-8).

Guaidó is recognized as Venezuela interim president by The U.S., U.K., Canada, and other Latin American countries. Guaidó as leader of the opposition, the National Assembly and the parliament claims to take charge of the country since there is no legitimate government. The second term of Maduro is not considered legitimate by the opposition; therefore, Guaidó recognized himself as a president in front of thousands of his supporters. But short after, the U.S. recognized him as interim president in public. On the other hand, Maduro proclaimed breaking bounds with the U.S. and gave orders to the American diplomats to leave offices within 3 days time. In that context, the Secretary of State Mike Pompeo denounced Maduro's actions and gave \$20 Million aid showing his support to Guaidó (Nugent ,par.3).

Venezuela crisis is one example of many others where anti-American phenomenon rises blatantly. The internal conflict between Maduro and Guaidó represents the division inside the

Venezuelan society. On the other hand, the United States intervenes indirectly to solve Venezuela social and political problems for the sake of America's own interests. Latin American countries are often identified with racial attitude which describes an anti-American view. Therefore, ethnicity issue affects the relations between U.S. and Latin America.

2.9 Anti-Americanism in Western Europe

Anti-Americanism in Western European countries is motivated by different types of resentment. Developing countries target the U.S. according to its level of intervention, and some others accuse it of doing very few; because of its failure even at local level to cover social issues. "A giant with clay feet" resentment is fueled by hatred. All in all, the model "American way" is nothing but materialism and consumerism and it is rejected both ways (Pauwels 202).

2.9.1 French Anti-Americanism

Anti-Americanism in France appears in various forms and is motivated by different reasons. France was never confronted directly with the U.S., but criticized blatantly human rights issues inside and outside America. Seeing America becoming a model country is something that strokes the notions of sovereignty and political leadership in Europe. It is inevitable for Western European countries to admit defeat against the power of Americanization. In the case of France, French people held a kind of resent towards the U.S. because they deprived France from being the only country that symbolized civilization. Anti-Americanism in France rides the highest, as example, the Coca Cola after the Cold War was considered as a dangerous American strategy of "Coca Colanization" (Pauwels 203).

According to the statistics of the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA), France invested around \$268 billion in the United States while the U.S. investments reached \$78 billion in 2016. The U.S. is considered the first foreign investor in France, whereas France is the 6th

investor in the United States. In addition, new French investments in the U.S. attracted \$19 billion whilst France reached \$1.9 billion of U.S. investments during 2016 (Relations ,par.5).

Anti-Americanism in France expresses beliefs and fears about the power of the United States. This fear embodies the civilization and democracy introduced by the hyper power. The fear of exploitation and capitalism age explains the French hostility to America. America influenced France socially and culturally during the second half of twentieth century. Hence, France criticized the American "way of life" but totally ignored the other half (Hoffmann).

Furthermore, media in Russia matches the aggressive manifestations of "**yellow jackets**" in France to the Revolutions occurred few years ago in Soviet Union republics. Russian government believes that "yellow jackets" are kind of punishment to France and President Macron:

"It is enough to recall that the head of the Fifth Republic has recently claimed its position as leader of the European Union, defended the idea of a European army independent of the United States and actively defended the Iranian nuclear agreement" (Clothilde ,par.3).

Anti-Americanism can be introduced in different forms, it can be an article, a statement, and it can reach a top form by a terrorist act. The hostility of French towards the U.S. is rooted in the French beliefs. Indeed, this resentment can go further, from cultural to political which can create economic issues. The French president calls for a United European Army to confront the U.S. unilateralism threat along with China and Russia. President Macron claims that the army will be independent from the U.S. refers to the American intervention in world's matter, in which he shows anti-American attitude by supporting the Iranian nuclear cause.

In that regard, the Russian government press argues the possible indirect intervention of America in the violent manifestations in France. Furthermore, it claims that "yellow jackets" is a

clear answer from President Trump to the president of the fifth republic for supporting the idea of making a European army stands against the American interests or even security.

Moreover, President Trump tweeted after the commemorations in Paris: "But it was Germany in World Wars One & Two - How did that work out for France? They were starting to learn German in Paris before the U.S. came along. Pay for NATO or not!" (Samuel ,par.6).

During the Cold War the U.S. intervened to reconstruct Europe, and also to prevent the spread of Communism in Europe. The Marshall Plan was a huge favor from America to rebuild Europe. President Trump claims the important role of the U.S. to protect France from Nazis when France was about to become a part of Germany. Furthermore, President Trump calls President Macron to be in America' side, not against.

2.9.2 German Anti-Americanism

The visit of George W. Bush to Berlin in May 2002 accompanied with hostile demonstrations revealed the amount of resentment towards the United States. Although the war in Afghanistan was not popular but the resentment was related to different policy decisions of the U.S., for example, the disapproval of the Kyoto Treaty, the objection to ICC, and mainly the unconditional support to Israel. The perception of Americanization varies from one country to another. In other words, each country around the world condemns the U.S. according to different internal and external factors, and it can be cultural background, local circumstances and political debates (A.Berman 1).

Americans cannot ignore what their government does abroad. Different events lifted awareness among Americans about the image of their country overseas. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States became the only superpower. World's issues are America's issues; in other words, a super power cannot ignore world's conflicts or else it cannot be labeled

a superpower. Hence, it is for the sake of America's interest to pay more attention to the way it looks abroad. The attacks of September 11th, 2001 are considered as a direct assault on the American way of life. To protect the American home land from future attacks, changes must occur not only in the American foreign policies but also in the American way of life. Policy implication demonstrates the seriousness of the debate over the perception of the United States (A.Berman 2-3).

The German word "Schadenfreude" expresses the mix of satisfaction and sadness when seeing the disaster of September 11th, 2001. For Americans, expressing such feeling to the terrorist attacks was a shock, even though Western Europe shows a temporarily sympathy. It was unfair that America which saved Western European countries from terror during WWII and the Cold War to receive such negative reaction. Indeed, their resentment is fueled by hatred and spiritual decadence to the position of the United States as a super power (Pauwels 202).

It seems that German anti-Americanism relies, not only on historical causes, but also on contemporary events. The World War defeat and humiliation is regarded as the main reason behind this resentment. In addition, the unconditional American support to Israel taking in consideration the violent animosity of Germans toward Israel. German anti-Americanism resentment at the present time is fueled by old negative feelings about the U.S. along with the American supremacy since the fall of communism. Therefore, hostility towards the U.S. remains highly felt in accordance with the American intervention in global affairs.

Germany does not consider the U.S. trust worthy after the election of Donald Trump as president. In 2016, an opinion poll carried out by Infratest Dimap shows that 59 percent of Germans consider the United States trust worthy, however, only 22 percent in 2017. In addition, Pew Research survey in June 2017 shows 87 percent of public in Germany view that Trump

government cannot solve world issues. Furthermore, Pew Research data shows that 62 percent of Germans have opposed opinion to the U.S. which harms its global image; however, it reached 45 percent in 2015. This attitude explains the frequent reference to President Trump in German media. This resentment is a result of American actions; the response of Trump to the events of Charlottesville, penalties on Russia, along with the pressure on Germany to enhance U.S. nuclear weapons deployment in Germany (Tolksdorf ,par.1-2).

Leading candidates in Germany show concern about the events of violence in Charlottesville. Chancellor Angela Merkel a member in CDU claims that strict procedures must be implied against racism. Furthermore, Martin Schulz a member in the SPD and Merkel's opponent calls the incident "Nazi terror" and argues about the silence of President Trump "remained silent about this kind of terror, or makes comments that would allow those who committed these acts of violence there to feel encouraged". For Germans, the penalties announced against Russian companies means it can happen to German companies that deal with Russians particularly (Tolksdorf ,par.3-4).

President Trump informs countries about the necessity to choose between business with America and Iran. The German cars company Volkswagen chosen to work with Iran with regards humanitarian exception. Hence, the American government imposes sanctions on different companies including energy and clothes (Wadhams ,par.9). The current German opposition to America seems to be at increasing rate. German alliance with Iran is not the only reason for sanctions, but also President Trump claims that Germany allies with France against the American interests, such as the German agreement about building a European Army against the danger of Russia, China, and America.

2.10 Middle East

The unconditional American support for Israel is considered one of the main reasons behind the rage of anti-Americanism in Middle East. America receives a series of critiques not only from the Arab Muslim World but also all over the globe. Most of the world blames America for being side to side with Israel. Israel receives around 2 billion Dollars as a foreign aid since 1972, and all of it goes to the military branch. In addition, Islamic fundamentalists consider the American support for Israel on the top list of the reasons behind Anti-American resentment in which the U.S. is portrayed as a "McWorld" as a result of globalization and to condemn America for corruption (Pauwels 203-202).

For anti-Americans, the events of September 11 confirm their hostility against the American society. A professor at Massachusetts University suggests: "find a way to reduce those alienating actions whereby we create our own enemies", referring to the American foreign policy of intervention. An emeritus professor at Haverford College proposed: "the United States was the most violent nation on earth", and followed: "We are complicit". Moreover, a lecturer at North Carolina University told his students: "that if he were President he would first apologize to the widows and orphans, the tortured and impoverished and all the other millions of other victims of American imperialism". In the same context, Professor Robert Jensen at Texas University condemns the American government: "the attack was no more despicable than the massive acts of terrorism [...] that the U.S. government had committed during my lifetime". The Middle East Studies Association members and a professional academic group argue that the United States is responsible for the terrorist attacks. Moreover, one panelist said at the 2001 annual meeting of the association, "We have not shown that our actions differentiate us from those who attacked

us". A professor in the meeting proclaimed, "We ought to be reminded of our responsibility for Hiroshima and Nagasaki and understand that we are not so good" (Hollander 209-210).

The American foreign policy failure overseas is not ignored by Americans. For Americans, understanding the involvement level of their government in Middle East explains the reasons behind the rage of hostility against the U.S. Americans condemn their government for what it does abroad not because they feel sorry for the victims but for the image of the civilized and model country. However, others condemn their government failures on the basis of humanity and freedom. Hence, Americans blame their government for the image of America today.

Israel is viewed as a Western tool for American imperialism. Anti-Zionist sentiment is a form of anti-Semitism. Phyllis Chesler argues that "hidden behind that smoke screen of anti-Israeli fervor is, as we shall see, a familiar hatred of the Jew, the 'other,' the Christ killer, the Elder of Zion: the powerful, secret, international conspirator". Moreover, a correspondent to *the Guardian* claims "anti-Semitism is usually hidden under the mask of anti-Zionism". Krastev and McPherson argue that "if anti-Zionism can function as a mask, hiding the familiar hatred of the Jew; this implies that, in and of itself, it is not anti-Semitic" (Krastev and McPherson 143-144).

These arguments tend to confirm the inseparability of hostility to American and hostility to Israel. As long as the America support to Israel continues to be stable and constant, the hostility towards America and Israel goes accordingly. As a result, Anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism cannot be separated.

For Islamic fundamentalists, the United States is blamed for being a model country. Europeans instead, criticize America for being far from modernity when it comes to capital punishment and freedom of religion. In that regard, The United States is accused for Americanization and unilaterally resisting its globalization (Krastev and McPherson 9). In

addition, this hostility to Israel as repressive occupying regime can be linked to those who use military force against the others. It introduces a new meaning of the concept anti-Semitism in away hostility is affected by the American support (Krastev and McPherson 145-146).

Anti-Americanism in Middle East rides its highest because of the American policy of intervention. Indeed, religion might have a specific role in familiarizing this concept. The American support to Israel is unconditional. The strong opposition between Muslims and Jews is inevitable, and it is mainly religious conflict. Hence, the U.S. supports Israel even though the latter tends to commit crimes against humanity in Palestine. For that, Israel issues are indeed America's issues.

In *Anti-Americanism and the American World Order*, Giacomo Chiozza demonstrates the effect of age, education and religion on anti-American sentiment in Middle East. It seems that males (26-65years old) have neutral opinion between slightly with and against anti-American sentiment. While in college and high school students seem to be friendly when it comes to America. This may be due to the globalization factor which affects young people way of thinking. But in primary and elementary school, pupils may have slightly increased hostility comparing to those of college and high school students, and that may be due to the level of awareness and rationality factors between generations. Religion on the other hand, takes a blatant course of hostility against the U.S. which explains the image of America in Middle East (Figure3).

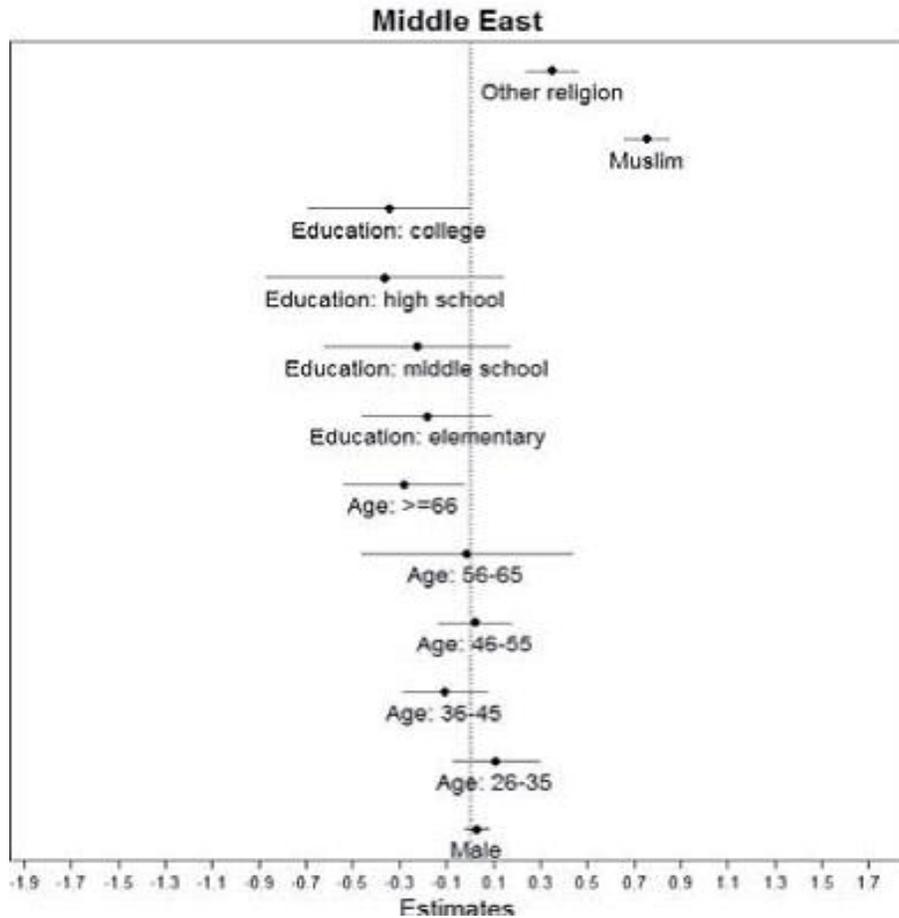


Figure 3: The Effects of Age, Education and Religion in Shaping Males Public Opinion about the United States in Middle East.

Source: *Anti-Americanism and the American world order*, Giacomo Chiozza, 2009, p.121.

2.11 Anti-Americanism in North Korea

Americans biggest fear is to confront another nation with same military capacities as the United States. Even though this issue concerns a number of countries especially neighbors to North Korea. The United States seeks a diplomatic solution by isolating North Korea and announces sanctions against it. Trump threatens to intervene military to prevent the continuity of Kim Jon-un nuclear program, which the latter ignores the American threats and rises tension. The Trump administration argues the possibility of two solutions, intervene military and solve

the problem with deepen conflict or leads North Korea to denuclearization which is expected any time soon (Wertz ,pars.1-3).

Tension between America and North Korea rises with Trump sanctions on Pyongyang. President Trump tends to activate a missile system to attack the North Korean Nuclear program while President Kim Jon-Un aims to carry out more military tests on that subject. But the problem is when those large sanctions are imposed on North Korea it may create national catastrophe among innocent North Korean civilians. The main goal of U.S. policy is to prevent further misuse of destructive weapons. However, it is impossible to prevent North Korea because of the rhetoric policy of the country, and the inflexible negotiations with the authoritarian regime in its position of paranoia, isolation despites its military power (Marcus ,par.1-4,6-7).

Furthermore, Jonathan Marcus argues the impact of North Korea policy on world's peace: "I would stress at the outset that we are (hopefully) still far away from a full-scale military engagement. Given the North Korean military's capabilities and readiness, any war, if it did break out, is likely to lead to devastating consequences for South Korea". The U.S. contains the issue by sending troops to the region including a sophisticated submarine carries cruise missiles, however, the reports received from the forces are more likely to increase hostility between America and North Korea (Marcus ,par.10-11).

For North Korea, it is possible that the use of nuclear programs and tests is significant. North Korea claims the right to possess nuclear weapons, in fact; 70 years ago the U.S. use of atomic bombs against Japan in World War Two was unnecessary. In that regard, the United States argues that any country tends to possess the nuclear weapons would consider large diplomatic implications (Marcus ,par.23). The American supremacy provokes anti-American attitude in North Korea. Although, both countries do not have any economic relation but North

Korea shows its opposition to the United States by progressing the nuclear programs. Anti-American attitude can be noticed on the level of government and its geopolitical conflict with the U.S.

North Korea is considered fundamentally weak and closed country where citizens are aware of their government policy. North Korea is surrounded by enemies who seek nuclear weapons. Therefore, Kim Jong-un reaction is to prepare a highly sophisticated society to confront any outside threat. Indeed, the United States considers North Korean decisions incredibly rhetoric. However, North Korea nuclear program is a way out to protect the country. According to level of animosity collected, North Korea is also considered as the most isolated country with few allies (Marcus ,par.27-28).

North Korea emphasis on progressing to build nuclear weapons and ignores its citizen's needs. The American policy aims to persuade North Korea using diplomatic policies. According to Jonathan Marcus, North Korea needs to be convinced that countries outside are not a direct threat to its stability. Moreover, they need to be convinced that America is not going to intervene in their county as long as they do not work on developing nuclear weapons (Marcus ,par.29). It seems that the American concern is world's concern. In other words, America tends to prevent the appearance of any power that might be equivalent to its power. The American policy of intervention continues to be observed on the geopolitical level with North Korea which creates a highly sensitive relation along with the resentment towards anything that is American.

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter attempted to analyze anti-Americanism by providing an epistemological definition besides the evolution of this phenomenon. A close examination of articles in this chapter reveals that anti-Americanism is reinforced by the level of American intervention

following the attacks of September 11th, 2001. Also it presents the American unilateralism as a source of power against the decision of United Nations Security Council; in which the unilateral decisions made by the U.S. fuel opposition all over the globe especially in Western Europe. It follows the same methodology, by exploring the rage of anti-Americanism in the world in general and some specific cases in Latin America, Western Europe, Middle East, and North Korea in particular.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

The main goal of conducting this case study of anti-Americanism in Latin America, Western Europe, Middle East and Asia is to examine its response within a time frame surrounding post-September 11th, 2001. This chapter presents a historical overview about the American foreign policy by introducing the basic principles of the American foreign policy. Also it demonstrates the policy of continuity and change conducted by the U.S. according to the situation stated in three concentric circles. Furthermore, it shows the opposition to the American policy according to the level of its intervention inside and outside the country. The events of September 11th, 2001 are considered as the top form of America resentment. The look to the United States has changed dramatically before and after those events; indeed, it has an important impact on the U.S. global relation. The attacks on America's ground are viewed as a result of its foreign policy failure. Although this failure America remains strong because it adapt to the situation it requires, with applying Leading from Behind after direct intervention failure. This failure overseas creates a stream of negative reactions all over the globe and presents later on anti-American attitude.

In the second chapter, it presents an epistemological definition to anti-Americanism along with an overview about its evolution in the world. To understand more this phenomenon, it is important to mention types of anti-Americanism and to distinguish between soft anti-Americanism as a reaction, for example, demonstration, articles, and statements to hard anti-Americanism which is the events of September 11th, 2001. Moreover, it shows the role of soft power and hard power theories in dealing and framing with this phenomenon. To analyze this phenomenon, it argued four main study cases in Latin America; Venezuela' national conflict between Maduro the socialist president and Guaidó the president who holds American hopes and

fears, and this study emphasis on the ethnic conflict between U.S. and Latin America even though the conflict is local. In Western Europe; France and Germany are of the leading powers in the world, thus an anti-American attitude can be observed due to the competition between France, Germany against the United States, and here it is recognized as economical issue along with historical cultural background. Furthermore, in Middle East; the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the main issue in that area; which many countries wonder the unconditional support of America to Israel, and it is seen from a religious point of view. Finally in Asia; the geo-political issue between U.S. and North Korea has come fore to be after the election of President Trump and especially after the war of statements between the two presidents.

Finally, this research aimed to examine the spread of anti-Americanism in the world as negative reaction to the American hegemony. According to the findings, America' level of opposition is defined in accordance with the level of intervention in the world. After the events of September 11th, 2001 the U.S. became a giant with clay feet in which many countries even European ones show a negative attitude mixed with sympathy. Our research aimed to investigate the debate over American policy and its relation to the events of September 11th, 2001 which shows an increasing opposition to U.S. policies as a direct cause of framing anti-Americanism. Moreover, it aimed to demonstrate the reasons behind this resentment. The American resentment is motivated by various factors; cultural in France and Germany along with historical background. In France, anti-American resentment is part of their daily life, due to the American position in the world which puts America as the new symbol of democracy and freedom. However, in Germany the resentment goes back to the humiliation of the World War II. According to the findings, it also proves that whenever the U.S. intervenes in world affairs, anti-American resentment evolves in accordance with it. It has been confirmed that the American

policy of interventionism; whether it is too much or very few, affects the American relation with some specific countries, for example, the American Korean relations after the American threats to the Korean government which escalades tension quickly. As many countries relied on America to solve world conflicts, America now is considered as a threat to the world order and peace, and it is now a source of problem. It also confirms that every leading power must have an opposition and this opposition remains if the present hyper power collapses.

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المخلص

تدرس هذه الأطروحة بداية معاداة الولايات المتحدة كردة فعل اتجاه سوء استعمال سياستها الخارجية في العالم. حيث تركز على تصاعد هذه الظاهرة بعد أحداث 11 سبتمبر 2001. في نطاق هذه المدة تعتبر معاداة الأمريكان و الولايات المتحدة مسألة قرارات حكومتها. بالنسبة لعدد من الدول كانت الولايات المتحدة تعتبر حل للصراعات في العالم ولكن بعد ذلك أصبحت تعتبر مشكلة من حيث تخلق هيمنتها ردة فعل عالمية تسمى بمعاداة الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. الهدف من هذه الأطروحة هو تعميق التحليل والوصف من حيث تتهم الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية إما بالتدخل المفرط أو الغير كافي. أيضا تحدد تطور هذا الشعور في العالم وتحلل تأثير سياستها الخارجية على مشروع العلمنة. إن قيام الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية بطبع بصمتها في العالم قد أدى الى تكوين مشاعر كراهية اتجاه كل ما هو أمريكي. إضافة إلى ذلك يقوم هذا العمل بوصف وشرح معاداة الأمريكان في بعض القضايا في العالم عن طريق منهجية تحليل الوثائق النوعية. النتائج تبين أن معاداة الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية في أمريكا الجنوبية هي نتيجة للتاريخ العرقي بين الطرفين. في أوروبا تظهر معاداة أمريكا على شكل كراهية و غيرة بسبب الهيمنة الاقتصادية والثقافية للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. بينما في الشرق الأوسط تظهر على شكل رد فعل ديني اتجاه الموقف السياسي الأمريكي والمساعدات المقدمة لإسرائيل. وتظهر معاداة الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية في آسيا على شكل منافسة عسكرية سياسية مع كوريا الشمالية.