

Acknowledgments

A special and heartfelt note of gratitude must go to my supervisor

Mr. Bashar Ahmed who guided me with his outstanding intellectual knowledge

and incredible patience and insight.

I am indebted to my teachers Mr. Bokhama, Mr. Temagoult and all the staff of

English Department for their help during the five years

I wish to thank my family for their constant support and encouragement.

A special gratefulness and thanks to Toufik Mehni, Salim Debilou, Abdeladhim

Benaouali, Yacine Naceur and the colleagues at work for their

constant support and encouragement.

I would also like to express my gratitude to all people who – in a way or another –

backed me up.

Dedications

To the memory of my father

To my family for their unwavering support which has enabled me to fulfill my dream

to be at the university again.

Special mention of my brother Abdullah, my mother Hadja Halima and

my aunt Hadja Nadjet for their great support.

To all my friends and colleagues at work.

To my friends and companions at the university Salim and Messaoud

To everyone who helped me making this work right.

Abstract

It may not be an exaggeration to claim that no other foreign policy matter could be crucial than the issue of American foreign policy towards the Middle East. It is a relation overwhelmed by ideals and ideology. Ideals represent the ideas of democracy, liberty and human rights; whereas ideology represents power maximization, interests, national security and hegemony. The crucially bears in conducting a foreign policy that marries between both: ideals and ideology, soft power and hard power. Much has been written on US foreign policy towards the Middle East after the attacks of 11 September 2001. Democracy promotion in the Middle East has had an over exposure after the events. This dissertation explores the US democracy promotion post 9/11 and the degree of its genuineness. It draws on insights from international relations theory to illustrate the broader context of US foreign policy towards the region and to assess its impact. It states the crucial issues that command USA foreign policy towards the Middle East. It outlines the changes that occurred following the attacks and the rise of Neocons theories and the role of culture and identity in the foreign policy. It also highlights the changes that have happened with Obama's Administration. Finally, it addresses the developments in the region with the recent upheavals against namely post-colonial regimes with a brief reference to the foreseen shape of U.S foreign policy towards the democratic change in the region in the coming era.

Key Words: United States, Middle East, US Foreign Policy, Democracy Promotion, Ideals and Ideology, International Relations, 11 September 2001.

ملخص

قد لا يكون من المبالغة القول ان أي شأن من شؤون السياسة الخارجية قد يغدو شأنًا كما هو حال السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه الشرق الاوسط. انها علاقة تحكمها الايديولوجيات والمثاليات. هاته الاخيرة متمثلة في مفاهيم الديمقراطية, الحرية و حقوق الانسان. بينما تمثل الايديولوجيات زيادة القوة, حماية المصالح و الامن القومي و كذا التحكم و الهيمنة على العالم. ان ما يحكم السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية هو المزج و التزاوج بين الافكار المثالية و الايديولوجيا, القوة الناعمة و القوة العنيفة.

لقد كتب الكثير عن السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه الشرق الاوسط بعد هجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر. و الملاحظ ان ترقية الديمقراطية غدا ذائع الصيت بعد الاحداث الاخيرة. هاته المذكرة تتمحور حول موضوع ترقية الديمقراطية في الشرق الاوسط في السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية بعد احداث 11 سبتمبر 2001 و درجة مصداقيتها. تأخذ بعض الرؤى من نظرية العلاقات الدولية لتكشف عن النطاق و الخلفية الواسعة للسياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه الشرق الاوسط و كذا قياس انعكاساتها في المنطقة. تتكلم ايضا عن المواضيع ذات الاهمية و التي تحكمت في السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية تجاه الشرق الاوسط, كما تلقي الضوء على التغيرات التي طرأت مع قدوم ادارة أوباما. و في الأخير تتناول مختلف التطورات التي حدثت في المنطقة مع تصاعد الثورات الشعبية ضد الأنظمة ما بعد الكولونيالية مع الإشارة بايجاز الى الشكل المنظور للسياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه التحول الديمقراطي في المنطقة في المرحلة القادمة.

General Introduction

The United States of America as a superpower plays an essential role in determining the international relation and shaping the world politics. US foreign Policy has been for decades an area of academic research due to its uniqueness in power and identity and as a main player in the world. The U.S foreign policy is a tool and an extension to domestic policies that seek to protect the national interests and push to intervene everywhere in the world to extend its economic and political benefits in an anarchical world. This foreign policy is based on ideals and ideology. The Americans see that their values of democracy and human rights are applicable to the whole world and they have a mission to transmit them. But they also seek to ensure their national interests and to keep their nation as a super power and whenever the international system changes.

This represents the realpolitik of American foreign policy .

Much of this work tends to focus on the US foreign policy towards the Middle East, mainly the overexposure of the claim to promote democracy in the region accused by terrorism post 11 September 2001 attacks in the United States as a cornerstone in USA foreign policy. Thus we ask the following questions: Is it genuine that the United States sought for a democracy promotion in the Middle East? What role for power and identity in making the American foreign policy towards the region? What makes the Middle East crucial to American Realpolitik? Is American foreign policy biased to American ideals or to the realpolitik in its relations with the Middle East? Does American foreign policy change due to the change of Administrations?

In this study, we propose the hypothesis that US democracy promotion in the Middle East post 9/11 was much rhetorical and less genuine. It was a pretext to impose its hegemony on the region and to empower its position in the international arena. The American Realpolitik overwhelmed its foreign policy. It turned a blind eye on her authoritarian allies when they violate human rights, as happens with Israel against the Palestinians, and it sanctions states which they oppose its policies and accuses them for being antidemocratic as Syria Iran and Sudan. Even itself sidelines the human rights in Iraq and Afghanistan .

Much studies and writers has addressed the relations of Middle East with the outside world as a crucial region in the world politics. Particularly, many writers and researchers wrote about U.S.A policies towards the Middle East after 9/11 attacks and War on Terror. US democracy promotion post the event gained a currency in those writings as: Chomsky with his book, (Perilous Power: The Middle East & U.S Foreign Policy (2008). Strategic interests in the middle East, Opposition and Support for U.S.A Foreign Policy (Lansford & Covarrubias 2007) U.S.A Foreign Policy and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East (Katarina Dalacoura 2010) . A Choice of Enemies: America confronts the Middle East (Freedman 2004). Roland Axtmann. Democracy: problems and perspectives (2007). M. Kent Bolton. U.S. National Security and Foreign Policymaking after 9/11(2008). , Francis Fukuyama. Nation-building: beyond Afghanistan and Iraq (2006). In addition to other magazines as Foreign Policy Magazine. Foreign policy affairs Magazine, and many journals and newspapers which interested constantly in U.S relations with the Middle East.

Our research might well be catching attention because it provides in-depth reviews about what has been added to knowledge in politics, international relations and theoretical

perspectives, cultural backgrounds and geostrategic analysis of a crucial historical era of the world and Middle East in particular. We believe that this research can be helpful to the students who are specialized in American civilization in my university and in other universities as well. We hope that our work will provide them with knowledge they need.

This study is limited to democracy promotion in American foreign policy in the aftermath of the turning point of September 11th, 2001. And due to the nature of the topic, this research would be undertaken in a descriptive and interpretative methodology that needs to be spelled and interpreted .

This study aims to determine the context of Democracy Promotion in US foreign, especially in a condition of unequal powers and different identities. There is also a historical reason which is the Palestinian issue that has been an arena for where all the paradoxes of the American confrontations in the region reveal.

Table of Content

Acknowledgments.....	i
Dedications.....	ii
Table of Content.....	iii
List of Figures.....	vi
List of Acronyms.....	vii
Abstract in English.....	viii
Abstract in Arabic.....	ix
General Introduction.....	x
Chapter One: The Theoretical and Historical Background.....	1
Introduction to chapter one.....	2
1.1. What is Democracy.....	2
1.2. What is Democracy promotion.....	4
1.3. Principles of US Foreign Policy.....	6
1.4. Middle East and North Africa: A Crucial Region.....	8
1.5. History of US Involvement in the Middle East.....	10
1.6. Middle East in the Light of International Relations theory.....	15
1.7. Democracy Promotion in US Foreign Policy: Ideals and Real Politik.....	18
Conclusion to chapter one.....	20
Chapter Two: 9/11 attacks: A Turning Point in the US Foreign Policy.....	21
Introduction to chapter one.....	22
2.1. September 11 th , 2001: A Day in History.....	22
2.2. 9/11 attacks and US Foreign Policy Action.....	23
2.3. War on Terror.....	25
2.4. The Rise of Neo-conservatives' Theories in US Foreign Policy.....	28

2.4.1. What is the Neo-conservatism?.....	28
2.4.2. What Are the Neo-conservatives' Belief Under Bush Administration?.	29
2.4.3. The Middle East in Neocons Mind.....	30
2.5. US Democracy Promotion in the Middle East.....	31
2.5.1. Before 9/11 attacks.....	31
2.5.2. After the 9/11 attacks: Cornerstone of US Foreign Policy.....	32
2.6. The Emergent Key Issues in USA Democracy Promotion.....	33
2.6.1. The Islamists Dilemma.....	33
2.6.2. The Democratic Peace Theory as a Solution to Terrorism Problems...	33
2.6.3. The Invasion of Iraq.....	34
2.7. USA initiatives to promote Democracy in the Middle East.....	35
2.7.1. The Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI).....	35
2.7.2. The Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative (BMENA).....	36
2.7.2.1. How genuine are the initiatives to promote democracy in the Middle East.....	36
2.8. Nation -Building as a Vehicle for Promoting Democracy.....	37
2.8.1. What is Nation-building.....	37
2.8.2. Nation-building in American Foreign Policy.....	38
2.9. The impact of Democracy Promotion on M. East and N. African Countries.....	39
Conclusion to chapter two.....	40
Chapter Three: Obama's Administration: New Perspectives.....	41
Introduction to chapter three.....	42
3.1. Obama's Rethink of US foreign Policy in Middle East.....	42
3.2. Democracy Promotion in Middle East under Obama's Administration.....	44
3.3. 2011's popular Upheaval and the Change of Political Systems in the Region...	45

3.4 The Foreseen Framework of US Foreign Policy in the Region.....	47
Conclusion to chapter three.....	47
General Conclusion.....	48
Figures.....	50
Works-cited.....	56

List of Figures:

Figure 1: An airplane picture took before it crashes to the tower.....	50
Figure 2: 9/11 attacks on the great towers of ITC.....	51
Figure 3: Middle East, an area of interest for US.....	52
Figure 4: George W. Bush.....	53
Figure 5: Neoconservative Rumsfeld.....	54
Figure 6: Neoconservative Paul Wolfowitz.....	55

List of Acronyms:

BMENA: The Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative .

FP: Foreign Policy.

GWOT: Global War on Terror .

ME: Middle East.

MENA: Middle East and North Africa.

MEPI: The Middle East Partnership Initiative.

OEF: Operation Enduring Freedom.

OIF: Operation Iraqi Freedom .

ONE: Operation Noble Eagle .

US: United States.

USA: United States of America.

General Introduction:

The United States of America as a superpower plays an essential role in determining the international relation and shaping the world politics. US foreign Policy has been for decades an area of academic research due to its uniqueness in power and identity and as a main player in the world. The U.S foreign policy is a tool and an extension to domestic policies that seek to protect the national interests and push to intervene everywhere in the world to extend its economic and political benefits in an anarchical world. This foreign policy is based on ideals and ideology. The Americans see that their values of democracy and human rights are applicable to the whole world and they have a mission to transmit them. But they also seek to ensure their national interests and to keep their nation as a super power and whenever the international system changes. This represents the realpolitik of American foreign policy.

Much of this work tends to focus on the US foreign policy towards the Middle East, mainly the overexposure of the claim to promote democracy in the region accused by terrorism post 11 September 2001 attacks in the United States as a cornerstone in USA foreign policy. Thus we ask the following questions: Is it genuine that the United States sought for a democracy promotion in the Middle East? What role for power and identity in making the American foreign policy towards the region? What makes the Middle East crucial to American Realpolitik? Is American foreign policy biased to American ideals or to the realpolitik in its relations with the Middle East? Does American foreign policy change due to the change of Administrations?

In this study, we propose the hypothesis that US democracy promotion in the Middle East post 9/11 was much rhetorical and less genuine. It was a pretext to impose its hegemony on the region and to empower its position in the international arena. The American Realpolitik overwhelmed its foreign policy. It turned a blind eye on her authoritarian allies when they violate human rights, as happens with Israel against the Palestinians, and it sanctions states which they oppose its policies and accuses them for being antidemocratic as Syria Iran and Sudan. Even itself sidelines the human rights in Iraq and Afghanistan.

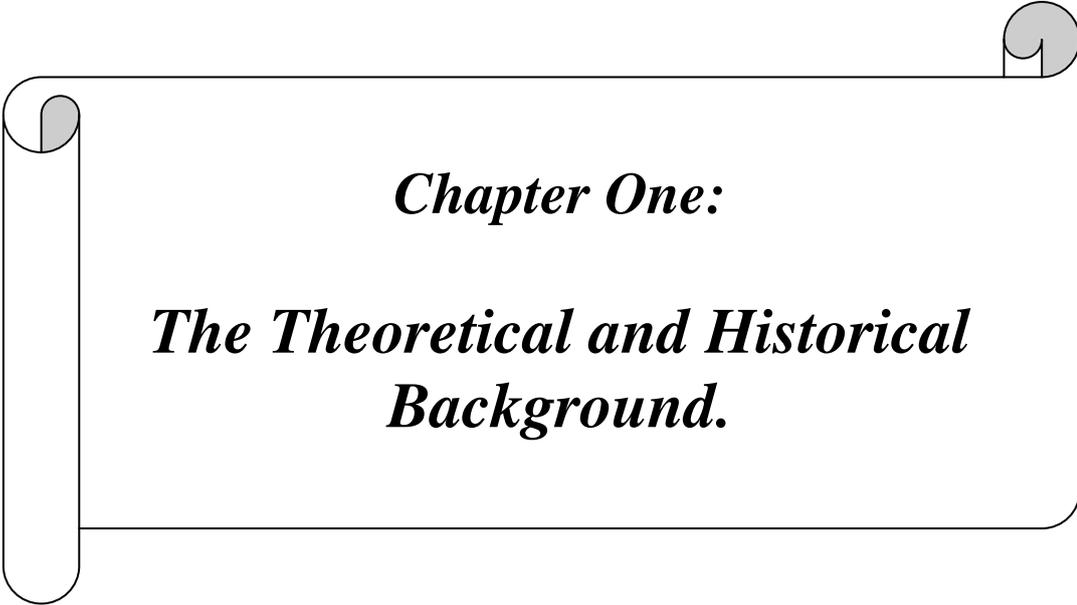
Much studies and writers has addressed the relations of Middle East with the outside world as a crucial region in the world politics. Particularly, many writers and researchers wrote about U.S.A policies towards the Middle East after 9/11 attacks and War on Terror. US democracy promotion post the event gained a currency in those writings as: Chomsky with his book, (*Perilous Power: The Middle East & U.S Foreign Policy* (2008)) . Strategic interests in the middle East, *Opposition and Support for U.S.A Foreign Policy* (Lansford & Cavarrubias 2007) U.S.A Foreign Policy and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East (katerina dolacoura 2010) . *A Choice of Enemies: America confronts the Middle East* (Freedman 2004). Roland Axtmann. *Democracy: problems and perspectives* (2007). M. Kent Bolton. *U.S. National Security and Foreign Policymaking after 9/11*(2008). , Francis Fukuyama. *Nation-building: beyond Afghanistan and Iraq* (2006). In addition to other magazines as *Foreign Policy Magazine*. *Foreign policy affairs Magazine*, and many journals and newspapers which interested constantly in U.S relations with the Middle East.

Our research might well be catching attention because it provides in-depth reviews about what has been added to knowledge in politics, international relations and theoretical

perspectives, cultural backgrounds and geostrategic analysis of a crucial historical era of the world and Middle East in particular. We believe that this research can be helpful to the students who are specialized in American civilization in my university and in other universities as well. We hope that my work will provide them with knowledge they need.

This study is limited to democracy promotion in American foreign policy in the aftermath of the turning point of September 11th, 2001. And due to the nature of the topic, this research would be undertaken in a descriptive and interpretative methodology that needs to be spelled and interpreted.

This study aims to determine the context of Democracy Promotion in US foreign, especially in a condition of unequal powers and different identities. There is also a historical reason which is the Palestinian issue that has been an arena for where all the paradoxes of the American confrontations in the region reveal.



Chapter One:

*The Theoretical and Historical
Background.*

Introduction to chapter one:

To better understand a present situation, drawing back to its historical background provides us with the conceptual framework of how it has been driven to take its shape now. The system of rule and relations between states has changed due to realities and the development of the international system. We often rely on theory to understand the components of a certain topic. Putting the issue of democracy promotion in American foreign policy in the Middle East within its conceptual and historical framework is necessary to understand better the topic. Moreover, exploring the cultural, economic and political ties between the United States and Middle East countries and how they have been shaped offers solid argument to interpret the present.

1.1. What is Democracy?

Addressing the topic of democracy leads to deal with several disciplines. We find a large literature in philosophy, sociology, economics and political science. Democracy as a political and a real regime has been a matter of debate between philosophers since the deep history with Aristotle till nowadays academics. Therefore, definitions vary from one to another. Here are some of them:

The term Democracy dates back to about 500 B.C.E. It comes from the Greek words *demos*, the people, and *crats*, to rule (CRS 3). The most common definition is "Government by the people; a form of government in which the supreme power is retained and directly exercised by the people. Collectively, the people are regarded as the source of government." (<http://www.brainyquote.com/words/de/democracy152579.html>)

In their book: *Democracy: A Comparative Approach*, Jan-Erik Lane and Svante O. Ersson hint that Alex de Tocqueville carried out the first empirical study of how democracy operates in real life. In his two volume book: "La Democratie en Amerique" (1835-40), he derived the vitality of American democracy from three sources: 1- its

geographical environment, 2- its civil society, 3- its political institutions. They propose a definition: "A democracy is the political regime where the will of the people becomes the law of the country (2).

U.S. president Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) defined democracy as: «Government of the people, by the people, for the people» ". The so-called "democracies" in classical antiquity (Athens and Rome) represent precursors of modern democracies. Like modern democracy, they were created as a reaction to a concentration and abuse of power by the rulers. Yet the theory of modern democracy was not formulated until the Age of Enlightenment (17th/18th centuries), when philosophers defined the essential elements of democracy: separation of powers, basic civil rights / human rights and religious liberty.

Today, democracy is an abstract term that is difficult to define and can have different meanings, depending on the speaker and context. However, there are some key elements which label the modern democracy. A country needs to fulfill some basic requirements, and they need not only be written down in its constitution but must be kept up in everyday life by politicians and authorities:

- 1- Guarantee of basic Human Rights to every individual person vis-à-vis the state and its authorities as well as vis-à-vis any social groups (especially religious institutions) and vis-à-vis other persons.
- 2- Separation of Powers between the institutions of the state: Government [Executive Power], Parliament [Legislative Power] and Courts of Law [Judicative Power]
- 3- Freedom of opinion, speech, press and mass media
- 4- Religious liberty

- 5- General and equal right to vote (one person, one vote)

Good Governance (focus on public interest and absence of corruption) (Definition-democracy <http://www.democracy-building.info/html>).

Thus, much work has been devoted to measuring the occurrence of democracy around the world. In fact, humanity came to this point of development and to the current supposed democratic rule in centuries of human interaction.

1.2. What is Democracy Promotion?

What is called now, the democratic system of rule and the respect of human rights has been developed mainly in the western world. This latter witnessed a gradual development throughout history. The first steps started in the middle ages. The ideas of democratic government developed within political, cultural, sociological and economical aspects. They were theorized by philosophers, writers and brilliant politicians.

Now, democracy is presented both as an ideal and a form of government. As an ideal, democracy aims especially to preserve and promote the dignity and fundamental rights of the individual, to achieve social justice, strengthen the cohesion of society, foster the economic and social development and enhance national tranquility. As a broad external aim, it creates a favorable climate for international peace (Axtmann 95). In the last point concerning the international relations, it is widely conceived that never two democracies go on war, the war breaks down only between democracy and tyranny.

The democracy as a form of government, Roland Axtmann sees that it is understood to be built around the key institution of elections enabling the people's will to be expressed (95). Applying these principles to many countries in the world, namely world countries, they still suffer from the absence of these prerequisites in their systems of government (Axtmann 107). Middle East countries as they belong to third world countries and as their political status are widely known as antidemocratic states.

Therefore, the international actors manage that the ideas of democracy and good governance should be promoted within these people and their political regimes.

The issue of democracy promotion has taken a great pace in the academic field. Democracy is seen as a universal value. The values of democracy and human rights are found in all societies (Kortman 17). Thus democratic principles are valid to all states. Where there is freedom of expression, there is a discussion of these principles. However, in some countries may not be freely expressed depending on to the free of media and the political environment.

According to Wikipedia, democracy promotion is a strand of foreign policy. It aims to support the spread of democracy as a political system around the world. It is a policy adopted by government, international organizations or non-governmental organizations. This issue has taken a lot of debates in the last decade where there are many countries not conforming to the democratic rules in power transition (Democracy Promotion. www.en.wikipedia.org). This refers to how the topic is widely taken through external actors.

In fact, a wide range of literature has addressed this external confrontation, Thomas Carothers, Anthony H. Coddeman and Marina Ohaway has written intensively in the topic. All of them refer to the USA as a key actor in the field of promoting democracy. Middle East countries have always been a main part in the debates. As a matter of fact, they all concentrate on USA involvement in the region the use of power in Iraq and Afghanistan in the last decade after 11 September attack in USA. The failure of USA in a real maintaining of democracy in these countries because of the political violence put the issue into questioning. The genuineness of US democracy promotion in Middle Eastern countries in the aftermath of 9/11 attacks is the central topic in this dissertation.

1.3. The Principles of US Foreign Policy:

Americans consider their nation as unique. It is so in its birth, formation and existence. They consider their nation as a source of inspiration in everything. It is the land of freedom, human rights and enlightening rationalism. The founding fathers conceived the US as a nation of mission which is exceptional in the political morality and the partnership in ruling the state with the system of check and balance the result was perceived as something unique and superior to anything in the old world , and indeed anywhere else.(Marsh – dolaon)

The government has to be devised to protect those rights therefore, the economic well-being, political values and security have always been a matter of national interests (1-4).When the new formed nation expanded to the west in the 1840, that was considered as a mission to bring shining example of liberty and democracy to other less fortunate people. It's America's manifest destiny in the world (4-5).

Indeed, the American nation was founded on abstract values, unlike other nation which were historically founded on race, religion, co-existence... America is a land of immigrants. It developed through history to reach its current shape. The principles expressed in the declaration of independence in 1776; democracy, freedom, equality and pursuit of happiness are universal values, and they represent the soft power of America. Thus, the Americans consider themselves they have prophecy to promote these values in the world.

However, domestic policy as directed in careful political values, respectful to the values of the society and the states' institutions apparently, the field of foreign policy is different. (Marsh & dolaon 5). This latter and especially in the USA, is directed by groups of interests, and the huge multinational companies as well as the national mood. For example, after 11 September attacks, the Americans felt hatred because of their values.

They felt that their national security menaced. U.S foreign policy served to defend that national mood. Promoting democracy in the Middle East in the aftermath of those attacks was a main concern to U.S foreign policy to defend the national American security.

In spite of the fact, there has been no radical change in US foreign policy. Madeleine Albright once declared in 1998, President Clinton and I (...) have spoken often about the goals of American foreign policy. Boiled down, these have not changed in more than 200 years. They are to ensure continued security, prosperity and freedom of our people (Marsh & Dolaon).

Joyce P, Kaufman in his book: A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy sees that it is impossible to understand American foreign policy without putting it into a historical context. There has been no radical change in it. Each generation often assess and evaluate previous or existing policy in light of changing circumstances. If there is a little change at least in theory, it should reflect to the current needs of the country (4-5).

To better understand the U.S. foreign policy which highlighted the war on terror, it should be placed within the framework of both: the international situation and the domestic priorities. Internationally, there is always an interaction with the other players whether they are state or non-state actors. The domestic factors take into account the economic situation of the country, the mood of the public opinion as happened in the war of Vietnam and the cycle of the political progress. When it is an election year, with no doubt that the foreign policy is under pressure of groups of interests. (Kaufman 5). Thus, the political and cultural background of USA foreign policy has not radically changed through decades. Those concepts are broad and flexible but what have changed are strategies for securing them.

As mentioned before, the international politics is always vague and always lays out controversial behaviors of states. The foreign policy seeks to serve the domestic's. It is

based on interests and there is always aim to empower the state. Marsh & Dolaon argue that the international politics is characterized by anarchy, self-help and power politics where survival is the overriding priority. They see that the main question should be asked in addressing US foreign policy is to what extent USA can conduct a principled and democratic foreign policy! And how far should it go in trying to spread its universal values abroad (5).

Back to the anarchical nature of the international politics, notably the issue of promoting democracy in the Middle East under George Bush administration was a means to make Middle Eastern countries under pressure to subject them to its strategic goals of hegemony.

1.4. Middle East and North Africa: A Crucial Region:

According to World Atlas e-site, geographically, The Middle East sits where Africa, Asia and Europe meet. However, opinions vary as to what countries make up the modern definition of the Middle East. Historically, Armenia and Azerbaijan have been long associated with the Middle East, but in recent years, some sources now consider them to be more closely aligned with Europe based on their modern economic and political trends. The African country of Egypt is still thought (by some) to be in the Middle East, as well as the northern African countries that border the Mediterranean Sea (<http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/me.htm> 05/21/2011).

Wikipedia e-site defines the Middle East as a region that encompasses Western Asia and North Africa. The history of the Middle East dates back to ancient times, and throughout its history, the Middle East has been a major center of world affairs. The Middle East is also the historical origin of major religions such as Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. In modern times the Middle East remains a strategically, economically,

politically, culturally and religiously sensitive region.

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East 05/21/2011).

Max Rodenbeck in *Research for development in the Middle East and North Africa* sees that the cruciality of the Middle East and North Africa comes from being in the middle. It holds a strategic position at the interface between Europe, Asia and Africa. It is a vital conduit for world trade, particularly between East and West. It also forms a physical barrier between the wealthy North and the poor South. This region is extremely rich in some key natural resources, notably oil. It has important and longstanding trade ties with the rest of the world, particularly Europe and the Mediterranean region. Notably, MENA's exports of oil constitute half of world trade in this essential commodity, while its oil reserves account for two thirds of the world total.

The region has had a turbulent modern history, and continues to endure protracted conflicts and political instability. These interlinked factors all serve to make MENA's future development a matter of crucial importance to the rest of the world. (19)

Obviously, all the definitions agreed on the geo-strategic position of the Middle East and North Africa in the world. They all referred to the economic importance of the region and its ties to the whole world economic, especially oil trade. Moreover, this region has been since ancient history a major center of world affairs. It's the historical origin of major religions. Therefore, its involvement in world politics, economics and culture makes it so sensitive.

This sensitivity clears up in its turbulent history as a land of invasion throughout time. Conflicts and political instability are major features in this region. " Israeli-Palestinian struggle is the most obvious regional example of such an intractable conflict. It is also the most poisonous in its far-reaching effects" (Rodenbeck 22-23).The infinite

support to the state of Israel from the world super powers, USA in particular and its confrontations in the region make the relationships with those countries under tension.

Middle East and North African countries are generally accused by the lack of democratic practices. Freedom House sees that the question of democracy and human rights are central to international discourse about the Middle East and North Africa. This is due to the political environment that has contributed to the emergence of deadly global terrorist movement, mainly after 9/11 attacks on the USA (3).

In fact, the United States of America has the upper hand in the region. It plays a critical role in shaping the political scene. It supports the political system that they share with its economic interests even they are authoritarian, in contradiction to its values. In the other hand, it does not give any importance to countries which do not represent any interest and it may sanction those oppose its policies.

Rodenbeck adds that Globalization that had emerged in the 1990's for many anti-Western and anti-American intellectuals symbolizes Western hegemony and neo-imperialism (22-23).

To sum up, the Middle East and North Africa is a region of polarization because there are overlaps of geography, history, religion, culture politics and economy. Those all vital components make it a political arena to all the international players.

1.5. History of USA involvement in the Middle East:

USA involvement in the Middle East is a complicated tale of American idealism, strategic interests and uses of power. The United States has always presented herself as a manifest destiny to the world to help people decide their fates in opposition to the colonial movement. However, this is done in isolation with seeking to gain political and economic interests. Paradoxically to its ideals, it may use power to protect its interests and seek for empowering its strategy in any targeted area.

The first ties of the USA with the Middle East and North Africa began in the following years of the young independent nation. It was first recognized by Algeria and Morocco. The new nation wanted to negotiate peace treaties with the North African states to secure safe passage for American ships to the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, it signed a treaty with Morocco in 1786.

Nonetheless, the broad objective of the American interests in the 19th century was rather the Middle East. Missionaries started to focus on creating educational institutions in Lebanon, Syria and Palestine. They founded the Syrian Protestant College in 1866, which is now the American University in Beirut. In Turkey, they established the Robert College in 1863. These institutions educated members of the elite who would have a major impact on the region. However, the USA didn't deeply intervene in the Middle East because it did not want to compete with the British and the French interests there. (El Mansour 1)

In other words, the first encounters of the USA with the Middle East were mainly cultural. In his book "Epic Encounters: culture, media and U.S. interests in the M.E. since 1945, Melani Mc Alister says that the Americans encountered the Middle East through its history as a sacred space and on T.V shows; as a part of the struggle over oil, but also in debates over ancient history and in discussions of religion (2). This shows how the presence of oil and the claim to religious origins highlighted Americans' vision towards the Middle East.

In McAlister's words, the Middle East and its people became meaningful with the cultural and political context to the Americans by means of the ancient religious sites and the formation of the modern states.

In his speech of inaugural on March 04th, 1913, President Woodrow Wilson outlined the ideals that he valued in and for the U.S. they are known as the 14 principles (Kaufman 45). For the countries of the region the US enjoyed a favorable image since

they had no imperial designs in the Middle East. This view was reinforced at the end of World War I by President Wilson's 14 Points and by America's championing of the principle of self-determination at the Versailles peace conference. Thus, Middle East people hoped for the Americans to help them toward independence, according to the goals set by the League of Nations (El Mansour 2). Then, the themes of idealism continued to be sounded by the U.S. in the Middle East.

After World War 1, the U.S. became a vigilant watcher of the Soviet behavior in the Middle East. Its strategic interests were in progress in the region especially after the weakness of its allies there, France and Britain. The U.S. managed that the old colonial powers would not be in position to contain the Soviet ambitions in Iran, Turkey and the Middle East in general.

In the 1930's, the world learned more about the value of oil as a main long term source of energy. Consequently, American companies began to compete in exploiting overseas oil resources (Seikal 46). Export of oil started from Saudi Arabia to USA by 1937, after the first concession was granted to a Californian oil company.

Amine Seikal comments that the president Roosevelt secretly committed the U.S. to Saudi Arabia's security and defense regardless any concern to the theocratic character of the Wahhabi monarchy (48).

The postwar period was marked by the gradual rise of American power in the region due to the increasing importance of oil, the establishment of the state of Israel, and the determination to counter Soviet influence. This strategy is known as the Truman Doctrine (El Mansour). A firm support for anti-communist conservative rulers who after the war came under increasing pressure from their peoples who were expecting more political freedom and social justice. For the U.S, it didn't matter whether those states were theocratic, autocratic or democratic, as long as they were anti-communist.

The after war period was also marked by the U.S involvement in the region by its support for the creation of the Jewish State in Palestine. In 1948, the Americans were the first to recognize the newly created state. In contradiction to its ideals, the U.S wanted to solve the problem of Jewish refugees by another refugee problem, that of the Arab Palestinians. The implications for US-Arab relations were catastrophic (Wilson 154). *In his book: Decision on Palestine: How the US Came to Recognize Israel* said: "It is no exaggeration to say that our relations with the entire Arab world have never recovered from the events of 1947-1948 when we sided with the Jews against the Arabs and advocated a solution in Palestine which went contrary to self-determination as far as the majority population of the country was concerned."(154).

Henceforth the security and survival of Israel became one of the pillars of US policy in the Middle East, not only because the Jewish state fitted very well in their Cold War politics, but also because for many Americans, Israel represented part of their culture and a Western presence in an alien and threatening region (El Mansour).

Obviously, the creation of State of Israel on the Arab lands and the great deal of the U.S in that was so damaging to the whole Arab people. For them, Palestine has an emotional concern as a sacred land. Since then, the loss of Palestine has haunted the entire Middle Eastern people's conscience.

During the 1950's and the 1960's U.S sought to make alliance with "Islamic" Middle Eastern states to fight the "Godless communists". The U.S aimed to isolate Nasser in Egypt and the radical secularist regimes in the Arab world (El Mansour). Here, U.S seems sympathetic with the Islamic beliefs in opposition to the atheist communism. In fact, the Americans saw Islam to serve their interests that is why they supported the Saudis to protect them from the Arab nationalism.

The Arab Israeli War of 1967 was a turning point which resulted in the Israeli occupation of more Arab lands. Even the United Nations Organization called for the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab occupied territories, U.S prevented its strategic ally from any sanctions of U.N and it has continued till now the settlement in the Palestinian lands in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Arab Israeli War of 1973 led to an Oil Embargo which for the first time affected the live of the Americans. The Arab's use of oil as an arm against U.S.A support to Israel would have a great impact on the American relation with the region.

The Iranian Revolution of 1979 brought more into debate the so-called "Political Islam". The Americans considered it as a threat to their allies and interests in the Middle East. In other words, the American Realpolitik reveals in such as crisis. The U.S was supporting the theocratic regimes those belong to its vital space. But when a state opposes its policies, it becomes an obsession. By holding 52 hostages for more than a year, the Americans seemed unfamiliarly powerless. Since that crisis, the Americans have acquired a negative image of Islam. The loss of Shah of Iran resulted in real damage to U.S presence and interests in the Middle East (El Mansour).

The region's chronic instability has made maintaining a balance between projecting American power, and upholding its ideals, increasingly difficult. Critics of the first President Bush, on the other hand, say he sidelined American ideals in favor of oil when he liberated Kuwait from Iraq in 1991, only to restore Kuwait's autocratic rulers.

However, in the 1990's the U.S had been taken a lot of prestige when it succeeded in gathering the Palestinians and the Israelis to discuss peace process which led to Oslo Accords, officially called the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements or Declaration of Principles, was an attempt to resolve the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict.Perhaps this was getting on the right side of the American

ideals. However, there would be setbacks later on in the peace process and U.S would continue to protect Israel from any questioning towards the international law by the reason of fighting the terrorism.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the relation between the U.S and Middle East and North Africa entered a new era highlighted by accusing the region as a source of terrorism after the shocking 11 September attacks in Washington. Under Junior Bush administration, there was a rise to the Neoconservative theories that wanted to reshape the region according to their extremist views to bargain more benefits and impose more hegemony.

1.6. Middle East in the light of International Relation Theory:

International relations undermine several disciplines such as: political sciences, history, and sociology. If anyone wants to look at the world, he should make assumptions whether explicitly or implicitly. We often relay on theory to think about policy. Therefore, theory is a key to any investigation of international politics. Pevehouse and Goldstein argue that knowing theories helps us to come to understand our own 'mental models" of the world.

In fact, scholars have not agreed in a specific definition to international relations. Therefore they suggest a number of different definitions. For some, it is the diplomatic strategic relations of states, characterized with the issues of war and peace, conflict and cooperation. They see international relations as about cross border transaction of all buds, political, economic and world communication (Brown 3). Brown sees that the conventional definition of international relation is the study of relations of states and those relations are understood primarily in diplomatic, military and strategic terms (3).

In relation to the topic, bringing the Middle East and into international relations theory reveals how history, identity and culture are so involved in shaping the region's foreign policies and its interaction with the several players in the international arena.

In fact, the international relations theories change as the world change. This change takes place as new events occur. So, new theories may rise and old ones fall. (Walt 2008). The field of international relations is dynamic and changing according to events and policy makers. But no single approach can capture all the complexity of contemporary world politics (Walt 2).

In the case of this crucial region, Middle East studies suffer from the struggle between analysts and scholars opposing each others' preferences, perceptions, and intensions. The interaction between the region's actors underlies responding to external forces rather than acting on their own (Sasley 11). Then, it seems that even in the academic field there are no standard criteria in approaching the region's issues. However, Sasley demonstrates that many scholars of international relations has always noted the importance of the Cold War, American hegemony, and the Arab- Israeli conflict as systemic pressures impacting on and shaping regional politics (17).

If the domestic politics is commanded by rules, institution and principles, the international politics is different. This last is always vague and it lays controversial behaviors of states. However, domestic policies tend to be for the sake of the citizenship and it's done by principles and morality. In fact the foreign policy seeks to serve the domestic. It's based on interests of internal and there is always an aim to empower it even there is what is called the international law represented by UN institutions. Thus, the competition between the international powers in the Middle East and North Africa aims to gain benefits and sign their presence. For example, Europe is more concerned by the security in the Mediterranean Sea, because the unrest in the Eastern and Southern shores

surely damage its interests. America has its allies in the region which they represent a vital space for its economic interests. Moreover, it is committed to defend to security of its first ally which is the state of Israel. Indeed, the states are the final judge of their own interests, especially to keep their states' security. It is the first factor that haunts the statesmen. This pushes us to ask, what the nature of the international politics is.

In the international relation generally one state's behavior inevitably impinge on some other states whether beneficially or adversely. This is due paradoxical desires of states. Then, we come to answer that question, that the environment of the international politics is anarchic. It is anarchic because of the absence of central authority and a supreme power. So, there is an enquiry if states can and should seek to do well in the world, and if morality, principles and power can be mixed easily. In the account of anarchy Brown analyses it as it doesn't necessarily mean lawlessness and chaos; rather it means the absence of a formal system of government (Brown 4).

The participants in international relations then are obliged to look after their own interest with their own means (Brown 4). A core issue in the international relation which continually states conscious of is security. When states consider that their interests, security and sovereignty menaced they seek defers on them .Then, the anarchic nature reveals. A clear example was the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait would lead to a major war in the gulf in 1990 – 91. All the participants in the conflict sought to take part to secure their interests in the area of Middle East. (Brown 6)

Even if there is order represented in power balancing among sovereign nation states, between poles or one hegemonic state like US does, now the theory of anarchy prevails. (Weber 14)

However, theorists of globalization claim that the importance of states is essential for nations, but they refuse to place them in the center of things (brown 7). Their reason is

the global political, social and especially economic transactions in the era of the new technologies. The internet and open skies for cultural interactions reduced the sovereignty of states. So in the modern world the central role of the state in international relations is questionable. The U.S war on Afghanistan in 2001 and on Iraq in 2003 was good examples. People around the world were watching the same images and hearing the same news.

For better understanding of the modern world especially international politics, it seems that the study of international relations is very interesting in producing theories since they deal with a multiplicity of cultures. That is why politics seems very different in the Middle East from politics in other regions (13).

1.7. Democracy Promotion in US Foreign Policy: Ideals & Realpolitik

Addressing the topic of promoting democracy pushes us to ask the question about the agency: Who are the promoters? We have already explained in this chapter the concept of democracy promoting and the main actors that work as agencies for the sake of achieving their goal to push states to do democratic reforms. They can be state actors or non-state actors. Most of the arguments focused on the state and particularly the USA that is to say the already democratic states .so, we need to think about the means that states might use for the sake of this project.

Democracy promotion has been a long standing element of US foreign policy. It operates as a key component of soft power. Thomas Carothers says in the words of Abraham Lincoln in one of his speeches on Feb, 22, 1861: as a nation dedicated to a proposition, the United States has always believed that its political ideals and principles are in theory universally applicable. He sees that declaration of independence gave liberty not alone to people of this country, but hope to the world for all the future time.

Consequently, it is not strange that the USA considers itself the first promoter of democracy in the world.

Since World War I, democracy promotion has been a cornerstone of the US foreign policy. USA fought to make the world safe for democracy. (CRS report for Congress. D.P: cornerstone of US FP. DEC 26, 2007. p2). However, the question that should be asked: What is the purpose of US from promoting democracy? In the international relation theory, each state's foreign policy aims to serve the national interest and to empower the state's position in the international arena. The USA can be considered as unique due to its position as a super power. Steven Hook argues that no country has had a greater impact on global democratization for better and for worse, than the USA during the 20th century. It opposed its vast political, cultural, economic and military resources to use them towards recreating other states in its own image (Schrader 109). (Exporting democracy: Rhetoric vs. reality by Peter j. Schrader.).

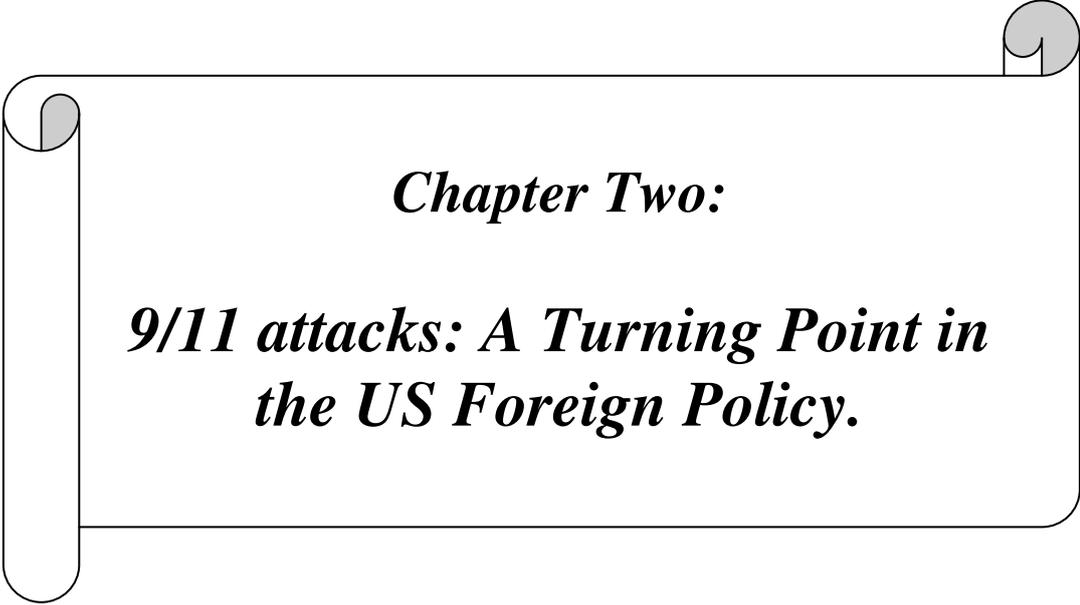
During the Cold War, the US foreign policy used alliances and containment to defend against the communist extension in the world. Their reason was always protecting the international liberalism. In contradiction, to its ideals, the USA turned a blind eye on their authoritarian allies' violation of democracy and human rights.

In the Middle East, the USA sought to protect its interests in the region which are: securing oil supplies, supporting its allies and opposing the Arab nationalism which was pro –socialist. The issue of democracy was just a secondary concern.

The concept of Democracy Promotion is multifaceted, it seeks to recreate the world in its own democratic values, it depends on its ideology of liberalism that is in its other face may be savage. The competition to maintain the national geo-strategic interests leads to conduct a foreign policy paradoxically to its ideals.

Conclusion to chapter one:

The system of democratic rule has developed among history till it gained its present theoretical aspects. Applying democracy in government is due to the historical development of each state. The anarchical nature of the international systems make relations between states based on securing the national interests as priority rather than maintaining morals and ideals.



Chapter Two:

*9/11 attacks: A Turning Point in
the US Foreign Policy.*

Introduction to chapter two:

11 September 2001 attacks in the United States represented a turning point in the history of the world. It has had a great impact on the international relations, foreign policy, the geo-strategy and many other sides. The United States declared a global war on terror. The Middle East was the first target of this war. Promoting democracy has been a cornerstone in the American foreign policy as a means in fighting terrorism. With the rise of the neoconservative team in President Bush administration, genuineness of democracy promotion has been a matter of debate. To what extension can a state support ideals over ideology?

2.1. September 11th 2001: A Day in History:

Since the World War 2, the modern world had never witnessed such devastating attacks as those of September 11 2001 on the profound. They were as sudden as Pearl Harbor attacks during World War 2. Americans were shocked deeply in their symbol of power, World Trade Center in New York.

Two hijacked passenger planes were flown into the twin towers of the World Trade Center (WTC) in New York City, causing huge fires that led to the collapse of the towers less than two hours later. One plane crashed into the Pentagon building in Washington, D.C. The last plane crashed in a field in Pennsylvania; it is believed the hijackers had planned to also crash this plane into a building or landmark, but were foiled by the actions of the plane's passengers. Many of these horrific events, including the second plane's crash into the World Trade Center and the collapse of the towers, were witnessed live by millions of television viewers. It was by far the worst terrorist attack on American soil. (<http://www.enotes.com/911-attacksarticl5/25/2011>).

For people who lived through that day, they were stunned to the event. There was a mixture of feelings. Some were sympathetic; others thought it was revenge due to the

American confrontations in the world. The Americans discovered how much they were hated in the world. Since the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, Americans did not feel anything remotely as threatening to their homeland as this. That feeling made the US public highly receptive to calls to do something about it (Zaborowski 102).

11 September 2001 attacks were a turning point in US history and the world's as well. The event had its great impact on politics and the international relations. The U.S. government increased military operations, economic measures and political pressure on groups it accused of being terrorists, as well as on governments and countries accused of sheltering them. The US foreign policy entered a new era. It declared a global War on Terror. It has manifested through military power, media, diplomacy ...etc. The academic field was much brainstormed as a result of that and much of studies were conducted about it.

2.2. 9/11 attacks and US Foreign Policy Action:

Stunned to the event, the American patriotic emotions struck hard due to the shock after the attacks. Americans realized that their national security was at stake. They laid aside their partisan differences and supported their leaders in making tough choices necessary to promote and protect the national security in an anarchical world (Wittkopf and Kegley 241). Then, it is notably that the national security is the first interest to be ensured.

The days following the attacks, the Congress gave President Bush a blank check to fight terror in the national territory and abroad (Wittkopf and Kegley 244). M. Kent Bolton in his book: U.S. national security and foreign policymaking after 9/11: present at the re-creation, says that following the attacks of 9/11, Americans predictably rallied around the flag in display of national unity rarely seen in America. Indeed, most Americans unified around the president, the federal government, US army, and around

policies most Americans understood would be forthcoming: namely, a punitive attack against the nebulous Al Qaeda network (Bolton 268).

In his 2002 State of the Union Address, President Bush branded Iraq, Iran and North Korea an "axis of evil". The word "evil" carried sinister Biblical overtones. In the first days after 9/11, the president described the war on terror as a "crusade". It caused much criticism in the Muslim world, where "crusade" recalls Christian military expeditions against Muslims during the middle Ages. Whose purpose was to retake the Holy Land from the Arabs (Wittkopf and Kegley, 246).

Eventually, the Middle East had been accused by terrorism, anti-democratic and an enemy of the American values. Bolton adds: America had been attacked; the attackers represented an ideology that was clearly antithetical to America's way of life (242).

It is of course undeniable that terrorism is a crime, especially when there are a large number of victims. The question might be asked: what reasons committed to the terrorist act? Many have justified that by legitimate grievance against USA policies and practices. Many of the problems that now exist in the Middle East can be traced to misguided American policies. The Arab-Israeli conflict and USA total alignment to Israel is the main grievance against the United States.

In reality, after the event, the USA foreign policy machine moved towards the new odds. The principles of power and pragmatism clearly reveal. The marriage between transmitting ideals of democracy abroad, and seeking for geostrategic interest in a case where the international system in transition is an external source of American foreign policy (Bolton 146-151). In addition, its European allies felt compelled to draw together against the Jihadist who attacked it on 9/11 (Bolton 268).

On the whole, through its history the nature of US foreign policy works under the same aspects. When transposed to international behavior, it repeatedly revolves around finding an appropriate role in the world.

2.3. War on Terror:

Under the shock of the attacks of September 11, 2001, there was no question that there was going to be some sort of retaliation and response from the United States. As a reaction to the events, USA President George W. Bush declared the Global War on Terror. The United States led an international military campaign with the support of United Kingdom, the NATO, and many other countries. Originally the campaign was waged against Al-Qaeda and other militant organizations in order to eliminate them.

Eventually, it revealed to the United States that it was in front of a new sort of war. Non-state actors now are threatening its security. The War launched in 2001 with the US and its allies' invasion of Afghanistan. Since then, other operations have commenced, the largest being the War in Iraq, beginning with a 2003 invasion.

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States has initiated three military operations:

1- Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) covering primarily Afghanistan and other small Global War on Terror (GWOT) operations ranging from the Philippines to Djibouti that began immediately after the 9/11 attacks and continues;

2- Operation Noble Eagle (ONE) providing enhanced security for U.S. military bases and other homeland security that was launched in response to the attacks and continues at a modest level; and

3- Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) that began in the fall of 2002 with the buildup of troops for the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, continued with counter-insurgency and stability operations, and is slated to be renamed Operation New Dawn as

U.S. troops focus on an advisory and assistance role. (Belasco 01)

The War on Terror was not just a military campaign. Former US President George W. Bush and other high-ranking US officials denoted a global military, political, legal and ideological struggle against organizations designated as terrorist and regimes that were accused of having a connection to them or providing them with support or were perceived, or presented as posing a threat to the US and its allies in general. It was typically used with a particular focus on militant Islamists and al-Qaeda. On September 20, 2001, during a televised address to a joint session of congress, Bush launched the war on terror when he said, "Our 'war on terror' begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_on_Terror5/31/2011). Thus The War on Terror became a long term plan for the United States. The means and the objectives would be everything available, too.

Since the attackers were all originated from the Middle East, questions raised: "Why do they hate us?" The United States officials considered that as an opposition to the American values of liberty and democracy. In one of his speeches President Bush said: "The attack took place on American soil, but it was an attack on the heart and soul of the civilized world."(President George W. Bush, 10/11/01THE COALITION INFORMATION CENTERS 03). In another speech he added: *"This new enemy seeks to destroy our freedom and impose its views. We value life; the terrorists ruthlessly destroy it. We value education; the terrorists do not believe women should be educated or should have health care, or should leave their homes. We value the right to speak our minds; for the terrorists, free expression can be grounds for execution. We respect people of all faiths and welcome the free practice of religion; our enemy wants to dictate how to think and how to worship even to their fellow Muslims."* --President George W. Bush, 11/8/01

(THE COALITION INFORMATION CENTERS 06). Notably that the American ideals are speaking up. The Americans felt that terrorists were addressing their values.

In fact the American officials and the mass media widely contributed in transmitting those thoughts. But many observant demonstrated that the American policies and practices in the Middle East have been reasons for the people who committed the terrorist acts. In the other hand, the America ideology revealed in making diplomatic pressure on Middle eastern countries to go along its demands in the war on terror, even if they oppose their domestic policies.

President Bush's War on Terror did not escape criticism. Many opposed the non-term limits. In his book: "Bounding the Global War on Terror", Jeffrey Record argues that the nature and parameters of Global War on Terror remain frustrating unclear. The administration has postulated a multiplicity of enemies, including rogue states, weapons of mass destruction, and terrorist organizations. Potential preventive wars subordinated strategic clarity to the moral clarity it seeks in foreign policy and may have set the United States on a path of open-ended and unnecessary conflict with states and entities that pose no direct imminent threat to the United States (01). This argument seems true. The open war on terror cost the United States a fair budget. It caused tension and fear worldwide. With USA failure to keep civil peace in Afghanistan and Iraq caused damage to USA image.

In another dimension of the War on Terror, accusing the Middle East as a source for terrorism, many aspects of struggle had been brought into debates: the role of religious beliefs in the terrorism, the rise of Islam phobia, culture and history, and clashes of civilizations. The aspect of identity highlighted the relationships between the Americans and westerns and Middle Eastern people. USA foreign policy outlined a long term objective to "democratize" Middle Eastern political systems and people to recreate them in

its image as a support for its national security. This reveals the marriage between American Ideals and ideology.

2.4. The Rise of Neo-Conservatives' Theories in US Foreign Policy:

Neo-conservatism has become the topic of the day. The term has taken a prominent place in world media, notably since 9/11 attacks in the United States of America. So, what exactly the conservatism is? What are the conservatives' beliefs? And what is their political influence in the American foreign policy?

2.4.1. What is the neo conservatism?

According to Encyclopedia Britannica, neo-conservatism, variant of the political ideology of conservatism that combines features of traditional conservatism with political individualism and a qualified endorsement of free markets. It is a movement arose among intellectuals in the United States in the 1970's who shared a dislike of communism. Neoconservatives have been especially influential in the formulation of foreign and military policy ("Neo-conservatism". Encyclopedia Britannica).

Merriam Webster online dictionary defines the neoconservative as a person who advocates the assertive promotion of democracy and USA national interests in international affairs including through military means. (Neoconservative. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary>). It is obvious the ideological and cultural background of the neoconservatives. With the high influence of media, they could transmit their ideas widely in the USA.

Neoconservatives took a high prestige in the administration of President George W. Bush, and their ideas had its impact on USA foreign policy in the War on Terror. Dick Cheney, Bill Kristol , Irving Kristol , Norman Podhoretz , Leo Strauss , Lionel Trilling, and Paul Wolfowitz were the most recognized neoconservatives in George Bushes' administration. (Neoconservatives .<http://conservapedia.com>).

2.4.2. What are the Neo-conservatives' Beliefs under Bush Administration?

The Neocons believe in maintaining the USA dominant position in the international system and the promotion of democratic values in the American foreign policy. The extremists of them even believe in engaging in preventive wars to ensure the national security. Neoconservatives had long spoken about importance of attempting to cultivate liberal democratic values in other national societies. Producing peaceful states and peaceful citizens would serve the national interests. (Cooper 94). This interprets the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq and the theory of nation-building.

Cooper argues that after 9/11 attacks, the Neocons were quick to renew the war of ideology. He adds: " Neocons attempt to promote liberal democracy intimately bound with the attempt to protect the national idea " (Cooper 72). Thus, they want only to see the world within their mindset. And this is an aspect ensures them the upper position of their ideals.

In his book, *Theories of International Policies and Zombies*, Daniel W. Drezner sees that like liberals, neoconservatives believe that a world of democracies would be more secure to global order (61). They stand on the idea that democracies will not fight each other. Therefore the world is safer place when there are more democracies. That is why they argue that the American hegemony contributes to a more just world order.

Drezner says that the neo-cons think that after creating a human outpost in the center of non-democratic state territory, human in neighboring nations will be inspired to rise up and liberate themselves from their oppressors (64). War on Iraq can be the best example for supposed ideology. In the words of the neo-conservatives democratic states should be keep vigilance in such dangerous world (62). That is why the United States made pressure on states such as Iran, Iraq and North Korea and describes them as rogue states and "the axis of evil" after 9/11 attacks.

Neo-conservatives' during George Bush Administration were so based ideologically. They were criticized widely for their policies in military interventions with the large number of victims in Iraq and Afghanistan. Moreover, seeking for economic interests in those countries makes evidence of the importance of ideology over ideals. Their ideological mindset makes them prone to recycle any argument that reinforces the need to promote liberal democracy (Cooper 72). Their policies caused lot of tension in the international relations .They opened debates about clash of civilizations. Critics contend that, for all their purported idealism and their talk about democracy, neoconservatives have been all too willing to prop up pro-American but deeply undemocratic regimes throughout the world.

2.4.3. The Middle East in Neocons mind:

The image of Middle Eastern people as Arabs and Muslims in the American mind is a part of the typical western colonial view. Religion , culture , history and identity in general has been an area of divergence .Centuries of interaction have left a bitter legacy between the world of Islam and the Christian west, deriving largely from the fact that both civilizations claim a universal message and mission (Al – Mansour). So, identity is a critical issue in the interaction between the two sides.

Neo-conservatives haven't made exception. Danny Cooper in his book: Neo conservatives and American foreign policy: a critical analysis sees that the Neoconservatives think that Middle Eastern political culture is characterized by extravagant conspiracy theories and wanton violence. America needed to stand with those Muslims ready to defend liberal democracy. This region is in need to liberal democratic values of compromise and toleration of social diversity (39).

Thus, Neo-conservatives had an argument after 9/11 attacks to push the American foreign policy to confront in the region armed by their ideology.

However, they believe that there are people in the Middle East believe in their ideas. In the neo-cons words cooper says that there are democratic opposition there. We in what we like to call free world could do much to help them (Cooper 39-42). Therefore, the United States finances them and pushes them to spread the American values and vision to democracy.

American religious adversaries the Neo-cons argued fourth not for the enlightenment principles of democracy and equality. Instead Osama Bin Laden and Aymen Al-Zawahiri, most logically push their followers of eschew western liberalism (Cooper 90). In the other hand cooper criticize them in concentrating on the faith in liberal democratic principle only to offer reasons to global interventionism. When they fail to conform to the internal conduct they focus on defending on American values abroad.

Neo-conservatives showed grievance against Middle Eastern culture and identity. Their ideology of liberal democracy, in depth aims to ensure their national interests as they believe. In fact, if their security menaced is because their confrontations in the region. Moreover, their double standards in supporting authoritarian regimes in the Middle East expose their claims that they are promoters of democratic values.

2.5. US Democracy Promotion in the Middle East:

2.5.1. Before 9/11 Attacks:

Over decades the engagement of USA in Middle Eastern affairs has changed due to the new realities. During the cold war US foreign policy in the middle east was driven by the three main objectives of containing the soviet union, securing petroleum supplies and ensuring the survival of Israel.(Dalacoura 59) democracy promotion and human rights considerations weren't matters of forefront for in US foreign policy .

However, after the end of the cold war and the perceived victory of "democracy" over Soviet communism, led to important changes in this area of policy Middle East was

inheritably influenced by these changes (Dalacoura 59) .During the Clinton administration, democracy promotion was not by cultural dimension .democratizing Middle East regimes was seen as the means of securing peace to support the peace process in the Palestinian Israeli conflict .Clinton administration was the first American administration that succeeded to achieve a step in the peace process after establishing the Palestinian Authority under the title of Oslo Agreements in 1993. Demoralizing the Palestinian Authority in particular would be a way of achieving peace with Israel and resolving the region most long standing conflict. Obviously, before the 11 September 2001, the issue of promoting democracy in the region was just for securing the first American ally in the region the state of Israel.

2.5.2. After 9/11 Attacks: Democracy Promotion a Cornerstone in USA Foreign Policy:

As an ongoing response to the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 on the united states, the issue of democracy promotion catapulted onto the center of American foreign policy in The Middle East. More broadly , Bush administration viewed democracy promotion as an Instrument for promoting peace and combating terrorism.(C RS 1). Eventually , there was a focus on " war on terrorism " and promoting democracy in the first accused region by terrorism was a matter of national security priority. Pushed by the neoconservatives, the president George w. Bush invaded Afghanistan to eliminate Taliban from power there in 2001. US Foreign policy sought to establish a democratic government there. Elections were organized there under American patronage. Hamed Karazay was elected a president. When George Bush stated reasons for starting the war in Iraq was to bring democracy to that country (CRS2).

The attacks of 11 September 2001 put the United States in a dilemma. The event showed the non-states actors, rather than states, now posed the greatest danger for the

United States (Neep 75). It is not a classical war that needs to battle a known enemy. The Islamist terrorists now are threatening the United States on its own soil. The reason for the United States was the profound democratic deficit in the Middle East. (Dalacoura 61). The Middle East was seen as a source of the Islamist terrorism. Islamic beliefs of Jihadism also were brought into debates as a causative factor of terrorism.

2.6. The Emergent key issues in USA Democracy Promotion:

Many arguments were driven to interpret the democratic deficit in the Middle East. Key issues raised in American democracy promotion in the Middle East after 11 September attacks:

2.6.1. The Islamists dilemma:

After the attacks, a view emerged in USA foreign policy that the United States was partly responsible for. Eliminating the Islamists from participating in the political process brutalized them and led them to desperate acts (Dalacoura 61). The United States were encouraging the authoritarian regimes in the Middle East to neutralize the Islamists in the domestic policies. There was fear that they could cause a threat to American interests and stability in the region. Now, because terrorists attacked its soil, the United States called for "Participation and Moderation" to include the moderate Islamists in the political life.

In response to this dilemma, some observers have questioned whether the United States should exert pressure on Arab governments to open their political systems and respect human rights with the knowledge that such steps, if successful, may benefit Islamist groups (CRS sum). In opposition to the ideas of democracy and the free elections, the United States has not been satisfied when Hamas won the elections in Gaza in free and democratic elections.

2.6.2. The Democratic Peace Theory as a Solution to Terrorism Problems:

In its "Global War in Terror", The USA foreign policy brought into façade this theory as a solution to the terrorism dilemma. This theory means that never two democracies go to a war. Only tyranny leads to war. Democratic peace theory became a source of consensus in the State Department and other centers of power in Washington. 'A more democratic world would be a safer, saner, and more prosperous world for the United States. Democratic countries do not go to war with each other or sponsor terrorism against other democracies or build weapons of mass destruction to threaten one another.' (Diamond 30). Thus, promoting democracy in the problematic Middle East would make the world safer. Here neo-conservatives' ideas seem idealistic. However, nothing innocent in the world of politics. The connection between the lack of democracy in the Middle East and the terrorism provided a reason to the United States to link between democratizing the Middle East and its national security after 9/11 attacks. The American Realpolitik is also a cornerstone in its foreign policy. For the neo-conservatives, that was a reason to secure United States position in the world. The economic interests are a part in the process. The connection between the neo-conservatives and petroleum companies working in the Middle East is so evident (Dalacoura 62).

2.6.3. The Invasion of Iraq:

The President Bush's Administration declared the "Operation Iraqi Freedom" on March 20th 2003 with the partnership of its main ally the United Kingdom Prime Minister Tony Blair. Their reasons were the possibility of Iraq to employ weapons of mass destruction against them or their allies in the region, to remove Saddam Hussein from power and to free the Iraqi people.

The Bush Administration used of democracy as a justification for the Iraq War. Democracy promotion and the methods used to advance it continue to dominate debate over the war as a means to establish democracy (SIEGLE article). Supporters of the Bush

administration maintain that force was needed to remove a dangerous tyrant, and they point to the US efforts in Iraq as a stimulus for democracy elsewhere. Critics see the Iraq intervention as a guise to expand US influence. The invasion of Iraq has always been about much more than democracy. This is especially true for an administration that came into office downplaying the value of democracy promotion, nation-building, and other elements of “soft power”.

US war in Iraq has established a long term strategy of the American hegemony in the region. Armed with the fact revealed later on that Iraq stopped its nuclear program in the 1990's. Bush Administration was under the effect of the neo-conservatives and their ideology to spread the international liberalism and looking for further economic interests. Later on, US rulers would be deeply divided over the invasion and occupation of Iraq and they face an expanding foreign policy crisis due to bath of blood took place in the Iraqi civil war.

2.7. USA initiatives to promote Democracy in the Middle East:

The Bush administration adopted a new approach and allocated more funds to democratic reform in the Middle East. A series of policy initiatives to promote democracy in the region followed the attacks of 9/11.

2.7.1. The Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI):

Announced in December 12, 2002. It is a program designed to promote political, economic, and educational development in the Middle East. This report provides an overview of the MEPI program, its perception in the Middle East, and its role in the debate over U.S. efforts to promote democracy in the Arab world. For FY2006, the Bush Administration has requested \$120 million for MEPI. For FY2005, Congress appropriated \$75 million for MEPI, half of the President’s original request. MEPI has received an

estimated \$294 million in funding since its creation in FY2002. This report will be updated as developments unfold (Sharp CRS web 1).

2.7.2. The Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative (BMENA):

Announced in June 2004 at the G8 summit in Atlanta, Georgia. Is a multilateral development and reform plan aimed at fostering economic and political liberalization in a wide geographic area of Arab and non-Arab Muslim countries. In December 2004, the first BMENA meeting took place in Rabat, Morocco and was called the "Forum for the Future." At the forum, foreign ministers and finance ministers of the countries in the region stretching from Morocco to Pakistan as well as from the countries of the G8 pledged to create several new development programs and committed \$60 million to a regional fund for business development. Critics of BMENA contend that the initiative focuses too heavily on economic issues instead of political reform and does little to strengthen non-governmental organizations and civil society groups in Arab and non-Arab Muslim countries. (Sharp CRS web 1 February 15, 2005).

2.7.2.1. How genuine are the initiatives to promote democracy in the Middle East?

Many criticized the initiatives of promoting democracy in the Middle East after 9/11. Their credibility has been questioned. There is distrust in USA as a democracy promoter. For example, in Egypt and Jordan, a greater reluctance on the part of Islamists in both countries to accept foreign funding coupled with an eagerness to engage in dialogue and confidence building). US assistance is almost universally controversial; EU assistance, while not exempt of criticism and rejection because of political considerations, is more widely accepted (Khakee 2-3). The effect on the credibility of democracy promotion of Western reactions to the Hamas victory in the internationally observed elections (2-3). The United States favored some countries over others in offering aids. It

offered much aids to countries which are close to its policies as: Egypt, Jordan, Tunisia, and Morocco. Foreign donors give money directly to NGOs, while maintaining a generally positive rhetoric towards the agenda as a whole. Many observers think that the United States invaded Iraq as a quest for oil and to control of the Middle East, not for genuine democratic reforms (Mansour ii).

As a response to the American policies in the Middle East, there has always been mistrust between the two sides. The USA Realpolitik makes spreading its ideals rhetorical.

2.8. Nation -Building as a Vehicle for Promoting Democracy:

The question of promoting democracy together with nation-building is increasingly relevant. In the twentieth century was mainly stuck to the United States of America as a super power after World War 2. It contributed in rebuilding the destructed nations after the war as Germany and Japan. However, the concept differs in the current time.

2.8.1. What is Nation-building?

Nation building as it is commonly referred to in the USA involves the use of armed force as a part of a broader effort to promote political and economic reforms with the objective of transforming a society emerging from conflict into one at piece with itself and its neighbors (Dobbins xxiii). Dobbins adds that the first order priorities for any nation building mission are public security, humanitarian assistance, governance, economic stabilization, democratization and development(xxiii). Nation-building is generally seen as stopping violence against the population of a country and then constructing a society supported by institutions based upon the rule of law and various other norms that will make it function autonomously and to the benefit of its population (Watson 10). How bright are ideas and theories? Obviously that theory differs from

reality. No state costs itself a war for free. In the case of US nation-building, there is a mission and there is ideology that moves things to such as a deal.

2.8.2. Nation-building in American Foreign Policy:

Thomas Carothers in his article, Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror in Foreign Affairs said: " During the war on terrorism, George W. Bush has shown a split personality on the promotion of democracy abroad. Bush the realist seeks warm ties with dictators who may help in the fight against al Qaeda, while Bush the neo-Reaganite proclaims that democracy is the only true solution to terror. How the administration resolves this tension will define the future of U.S. foreign policy". This quotation better describes the nature of the American Foreign policy. It is always highlighted by ideals, ideas, and ideology. President Bush in one of his speeches said: "I do not think our troops ought to be used for what called nation building. I "I think our troops ought to be used to fight to and win a war" Oct 11, 2001 (qtd. Fokuyama 1).

Winning the war labeled all the American administrations and it is means to impose the American view to the world. In another speech he portrays the American ideals. He said: "*I sent American troops to Iraq to make its people free, not to make them Americans. Iraqis will write their own history, and find their own way.*" May 24, 2004 (qtd. Fokuyama1).

There is certainly a gap between discourse and reality. The chaos Iraq has lived in was so shocking. The large number of victims reveals the ugly American war. Many people believe that nation-building is evolutionary rather than revolutionary, that is takes a long time and is a social process that cannot be jump-started from outside. The hugely expensive U.S. attempt at nation-building in Afghanistan has had only limited success. However, there is a progress in the political process in both countries concerning the

elections and creating institutions. A good way may the Americans be more aside to their ideals is to build natural relations with these countries and stop the indirect interventions between the political wings; and of course with a guarantee of its economic interests.

2.9. The impact of Democracy Promotion on Middle East and North African Countries:

After 9/11 attacks, the Middle East has been an area of polarization. The question of promoting democracy in this crucial region led by the USA has had great impact on those countries and people. The issue was under tension because of the several components underlying it. The idea of imposing the Western liberal principles as international norms in irrespective of culture and religion put these countries in a dilemma (Dalacoura 64). It brought division to the statesmen and to the elites as well. Democratic reforms were imposed by external actor.

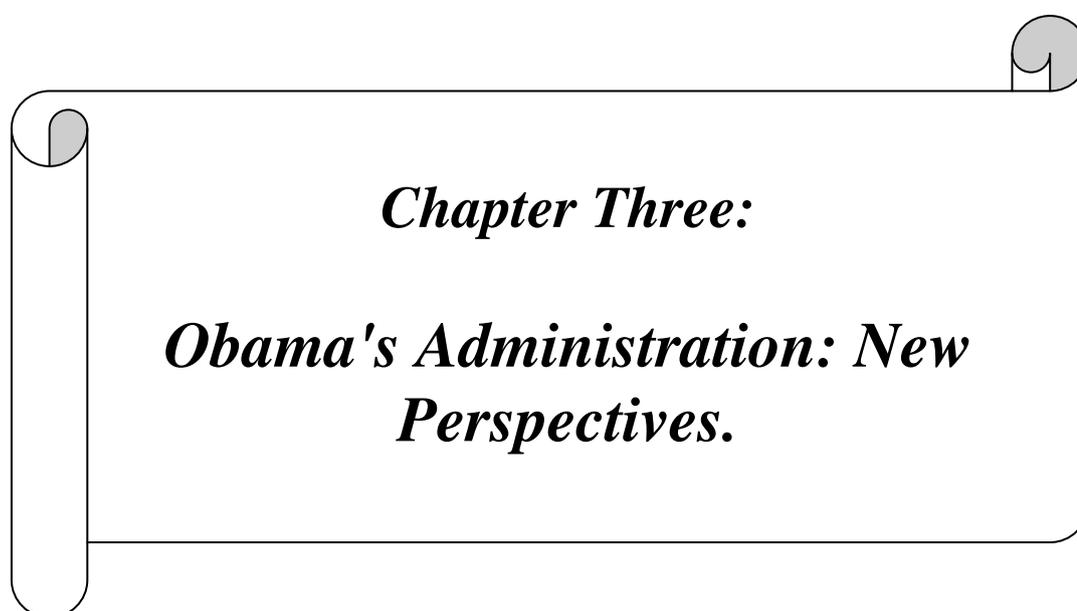
American foreign policy in the region today provides s striking example of the ideological phenomenon (Perry [www.find articles.com](http://www.findarticles.com)). In the post-9/11 Middle East ‘democracy’ was often perceived as a Trojan horse for Western interests at the expense of local ones. Rather than a validation of common humanity across regions and civilizations, the promotion of democracy similarly to the advocacy and imposition of neo-liberal economic reforms was seen as part of the hegemonic project of the West and a means to perpetuate its political, economic, military and cultural domination (Dalacoura 64). Civil society activists are likely to open contacts with USA visiting officials. Receiving material support from Western governments because it discredited them in the eyes of their fellow citizens as well as opening them to attacks from their own governments. There has been still continuous US support for Middle East dictators.

Under the pressure of USA, some civil society associations could work a bit freely. The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt participated in the Legislative Elections in 2005. A number of grand conferences, such as the ones at Alexandria, Sana’a and Doha,

held in 2004, brought Arab governments together with intellectuals and public figures to discuss reform (Dalacoura 65). The president Bush Administration encouraged such as acts in order to align these movements to the view of its policies in the region. Obviously, the purpose was to create an atmosphere to convince the people, especially the elites to accept its liberal and capital principles. That helps it to extend its domination to the region. Now, the Arab Spring came and sure in one of its causatives is due to the last decade's impact on the region.

Conclusion to chapter two:

In its War on Terror after the 11 September attacks, George Bush republican administration made democracy promotion the leading force of the US foreign policy. Even the Neoconservatives showed idealistic burden in their initiatives to promote democracy in the Middle East, they were ideologically based on spreading the American cultural hegemony. They wanted to reshape the region in their own image. The economic interests were always beneath their rhetoric discourse about ideals. Seeking for maintaining the super position of America and power maximization were their broad objectives.



Chapter Three:
Obama's Administration: New Perspectives.

Introduction to chapter three:

The coming of Barak Obama to the American administration in itself was a great change in the American domestic policy. He declared that he would rethink the American foreign policy in the Middle East and War on Terror. Democracy promotion would be taken under the international liberalism. However, the Arab spring puts the American foreign policy towards new realities.

3.1. Obama's Rethink of US foreign Policy in Middle East:

After years of tension in the foreign policy under the dominance of the Neoconservatives within the Bush administration, the steps towards a more realist foreign policy with the arrival of the Barack Obama administration in January 2009. Change has come to America with the historical election of Barack Hussein Obama, the first African-American president in the United States. President Obama has captured the vision of America and the world. He sent hope to the world of peace (Abdul Rashid 1). In the foreign policy the formation of the Obama Middle East policy, at least in its early phase, contained a realist streak of the Democratic Party (Dalacoura 68). The liberal internationalist principles were evident in Obama's speech to the Muslim world in Cairo in June 2009. The speech did not make exception of the rhetorical discourse of American ideals; however, it gave hope for change. Here is a quote of that speech:

" I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq. So let me be clear: no system of government can or should be imposed upon one nation by any other. That does not lessen my commitment, however, to governments that reflect the will of the people.

Each nation gives life to this principle in its own way, grounded in the traditions of its own people. America does not presume to know what is best for everyone, just as we would not presume to pick the outcome of a peaceful election. But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people; the freedom to live as you choose. Those are not just American ideas, they are human rights, and that is why we will support them everywhere." (qtd Dalacoura 68)

The speech gave a glimpse to the future view of President Obama to the relationships between the USA and the Muslim World. Choosing Cairo had a symbolic meaning to the whole Muslims. In addition that Egypt is a central ally to the United States in the Middle East. Even the speech gave hope and relaxed the officials and people as well, that does not mean a real change in the American foreign policy's principles. Going back to the reality of the international relations, Obama has just avoided the rigid of the neo-conservatives but no ignorance to the national interests.

Salahd- din al Jourchi said in his article in Carnegie Endowment for International Peace : " President Obama has won overwhelming support not only in the United States but also in the Arab world, where people embraced him with equal enthusiasm. Many Arabs admired him as vehemently as they rejected President Bush's public persona and policies". This better describes how people were frustrated by the former administration's policies. But for observers, Obama would not go abroad in the issues of the Middle East, especially the peace process between the Palestinians and the Israelis. However, the Obama administration has ordered an end to use of the phrase "Global War on Terror," a label adopted by the Bush administration shortly after the September 11, 2001 attacks, by

'Overseas Contingency Operation.' Moreover, Improved the US record, as Obama has done, for instance by committing to closing down Guantanamo Bay.

3.2. Democracy Promotion in Middle East under Obama's Administration:

The Bush's administration's highly problematic legacy on democracy promotion and general pessimism about the global state of democracy create pressure on the Obama administration to pull the United States substantially back from supporting democracy abroad. (Carothers) U.S. democracy promotion efforts in the Middle East should focus on realistic political reform goals that correspond both to regional realities and the limited degree of actual U.S. influence. The most pressing issue facing Arab countries is the development of political systems that can contend with evolving socio-economic realities and open participation to political opposition, argues Carnegie Middle East Program Director Marina Ottaway. (<http://www.carnegieendowment.org>) This was as a recommendation to the Obama Administration .

The United States under Obama Administration is between achieving stability or promoting democracy and freedom in the Middle East. As President Barack Obama enters office in 2009, his administration confronts a daunting set of challenges in the Middle East, including bringing an end to the Iraq war, addressing multiple unresolved tracks of the Arab-Israeli conflict, developing an effective response to Iran's nuclear program and regional ambitions, neutralizing continued threats posed by terrorist groups, confronting Islamist political extremism, and dealing with internal conflicts in several key countries. At the same time, rising security threats in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India. This might prompt the Obama administration to shift away from discredited efforts to promote democracy (Katulis 3). President Barack Obama and his team are asked to reformulate

U.S. policy on democracy promotion. (Carothers, Democracy Promotion under Obama: Finding a Way Forward, <http://carnegie-mec.org>).

Cardinal values of Obama's political philosophy and style of non-confrontation may be considered as soft power. The USA foreign policy may gain interests and sides to a balance between the American ideals and Realpolitik. However, It is early to make judgments.

3.3. 2011's popular Upheavals and the Change of Political Systems in the Region:

Political unrest and change are sweeping North Africa and the Middle East. A mass protest in Tunisia that began in December 2010 led to the ouster of the country's autocratic ruler. Buoyed by the successful protests in Tunis, pro-democracy and antigovernment protests began in Egypt and are occurring in other countries in the region . After a month of popular protests against his 23-year rule, Tunisia's president fled the country on Jan. 14. It was the first successful mass uprising against an Arab leader in years. Arabs were transfixed by Tunisians' rare display of grass-roots power and its culmination in the ouster of the leader of one of the region's most authoritarian countries. Activists and opposition figures in the wider Middle East say Tunisia's popular protests and clashes with police forces have broken a psychological barrier in other countries in the region with authoritarian regimes, political repression and a lack of jobs and opportunities.

On 25 January 2011, the following was reported that across Egypt, thousands of people have taken to the streets to protest for political and economic change. What is happening in Tunisia and Egypt is going to reshape the region. The stunningly quick fall of Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia and Hosni Mubarak in Egypt had many observers in

the West reaching for familiar historical analogies of momentous upheaval. (Nathan J. Brown <http://www.carnegie.ru/publications/?fa=44072>)

The popular uprisings in the Middle East have been triggered by a combination of deteriorating living standards and growing inequality, an economic deficit, and a lack of political freedoms. While similar conditions exist in a number of Arab countries, socio-economic indicators suggest that the intensity of these deficits varies considerably across the Arab world. As a result, the nature and shape of protests across the region might differ. (Behr and Aaltola 2).

However, protests across the region have also been driven by a powerful “contagion effect” working which has been facilitated by satellite broadcasters, mobile phones, the internet, and new social media tools that elude government control and helped create new cleavages and loyalties. Behr and Aaltola argue that the Arab uprising will create a new political and economic reality in the Middle East and transform the regional balance of power. While Western influence in the region will inevitably decline as a result, the Arab revolutions also have an undeniable potential to enhance regional cooperation, reduce the appeal of terrorism and help break the current deadlock in the peace process (2)

As the Arab revolution spreads, the international community grapples with its causes and consequences. Are other Arab regimes likely to fold? What will replace them? And what will the long-term impact be?

What is called the Arab Spring is partially caused by that pressure made in the last decade on the post-colonial regimes to promote Democracy. The over spread of democratic ideas and the public debates were held had their impact on the new generations .

3.4 The Foreseen Framework of US Foreign Policy in the Region:

During the beginning of the first uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, the United States did not make any clear attitude from the events till the upheavals got large. US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has said on 5 February that the Middle East is facing a "perfect storm" of unrest and nations must embrace democratic change. (US secretary of state speech. www.cnn.com). As usual, the idealistic political discourse does not change. It is so compatible with the American ideals. However, observers note that the American relations with the Middle East might be reshaped due to the new realities, especially for Egypt. It needs to readjust its foreign policy towards the region and try to make some balance between its rhetorical discourse and its realpolitik. The scene is not clear yet.

Conclusion to Chapter Three:

The issue of promoting democracy in the Middle East has not been that much rhetoric as in Bush administration, but the American mentality in defending on the values continues to be tied to the national interests. The American foreign policy enters a new era with the change of the political regimes the United States used to deal with. Now, democracy seems to be given birth from the entire body of Middle Eastern people. However, the impact of globalization and the pressure made by Americans in the last decade to seek for democratic change in the Middle East is one of the causatives of the contemporary change in the region.

General conclusion

The United States claims for exporting democratic values to the world and mainly to the crucial Middle East has been an issue that overwhelmed the American foreign policy at the beginning of the 21st century. It has enriched the academic field as well. The issue under study underlies many disciplines and it has had its impact on the theoretical perspectives in diplomacy, politics, economics, international relations, etc... . 11 September attacks were a turning point in the world history.

Attacked on its own soil, the United States adopted a preventive policy to ensure its national security and interests. It engaged in an ideological war against terrorism. It was ideological because it took political and cultural dimensions. It used promoting democracy as a soft power to weaken its supposed enemy of evil, and it used hard power when it engaged in military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan to rebuild these nations to free them from the forces of evil.

As a nation considers itself dedicated to a mission, USA has always believed its political ideals are universally applicable. The anarchical nature of the international system offers the powerful to impose its views to ensure the national position. Therefore, power and identity play a great role in shaping the American foreign policy. Even American realized that in some way that their policies abroad were responsible for what happened in 9/11, the American policy makers saw the danger coming from the turbulent Middle East. They presented the issue as a struggle between good and evil, democracy and freedom in opposition to tyranny and darkness. Spreading the democratic values in the Middle East will free these people and make them secure and secure their neighbors.

Promoting democracy in the turbulent Middle East was the leading force of the American foreign policy during President George Bush Administration. The Middle East

has been the first arena in the world that the USA always ensures its presence and hegemony in the world. Controlling the oil supplies has been the first concern of the USA for decades. Ensuring the security of its ally the state of Israel is a national priority. In an area accused by the absence of the democratic practices, promoting democracy has operated as a key component to ensure more benefits in the region.

The reality shows that there has been a large gap between the rhetorical discourse of democracy and human rights and the practices of the realpolitik. The USA has always protected the state of Israel the international law when it violated the human rights in Palestine. It has supported the authoritarian regimes that serve its strategies in the region. The failure of its policies in Iraq and Afghanistan after the large number of victims because of the civil wars puts its policies there under questioning.

USA foreign policy is based on the marriage between those human values and the Realpolitik that seeks to maintain its position in the world. That policy has had its impact on the Middle East because it was the arena of those theories. It sought to promote democracy as global principles regardless the diversity of cultures and identities in the world. That represents a hegemonic act of the US foreign policy. It was a complex deal. That is why US democracy promotion in the Middle East was much rhetorical and less genuine. The reality is that democracy comes through the long interaction between states and societies through internal development.

Figure 1:



An airplane picture taken before it crashes to the tower. www.news3d.com

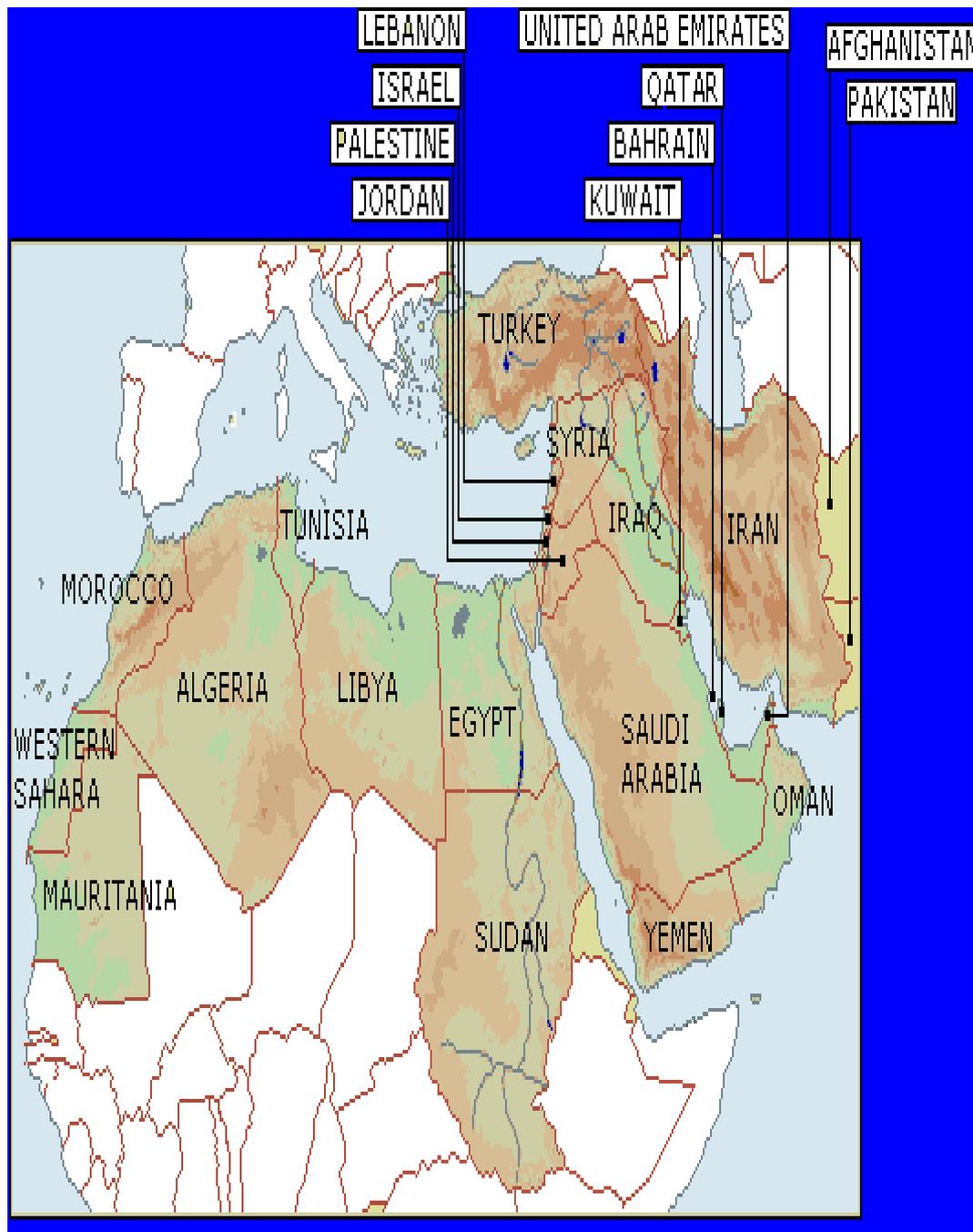
Figure 2:



9/11 attacks on the great towers of ITC.

www.googleimage.com

Figure 3:



Middle East Map. www.googlemap.com

Figure 4:



George Walker Bush www.googleimage.com

Figure 5:



Neoconservative, Rumsfeld www.googleimage.com

Figure 6:



Neoconservative Paul Wolfowitz www.googleimage.com

Works-cited

- Ali, A. Rashid. Obama's Peace in the Middle East: The Mideast Peace Process. Indiana, Author House, 2009.
- Amirahmadi, Hooshang. The United States and the Middle East: a search for new perspectives. Suny Press, 1993.
- Anna Khakee et al. "A Long-Lasting Controversy: Western Democracy Promotion in Jordan". Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies, Malta and Al Urdun Al Jadid Research Center (UJRC), Amman 27 May 2009.
- Art, Robert and Robert Jervis. International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues. 9ed. New York, Longman, 2009.
- Axtmann, Roland. Democracy: problems and perspectives. Edinburgh. Edinburgh University Press, 2007.
- Behr, Timo and Mica Aaltola. "The Arab Uprising: Causes, Prospects and Implications". FIIA Briefing Paper 76, March 2011.
- Belasco, Amy. "*The Cost of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Global War on Terror Operations since 9/11*." Congressional Research Service March 29, 2011.
- Beth A. Simmons and Walter, C. Handbook of international Relations. Sage, 2002.
- Bolton M. Kent. U.S. National Security and Foreign Policymaking after 9/11: present at the re-creation. Lanham, Maryland, Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.
- Brown, Chris. Understanding International Relations. 2nd ed. Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Burchill, Scott et al. Theories of International Relations. 4th ed. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Carothers, Thomas. "Promoting democracy and fighting terror". <<<http://foreignaffaires.com/articles/58621/thomas-carothers/promoting-democracy-and-fight-terror>>>. 5/6/2011, 14:02.

Carothers, Thomas. Aiding Democracy Abroad: the learning curve. Washington D.C, Carnegie Endowment, 1999.

"Constitutional Rights Foundation". <<<http://www.crf-usa.org/election-central/nation-building.html>>>.

Cooper, Danny. Neo-conservatism and American Foreign Policy: A Critical Analysis. New York, Taylor & Francis, 2010.

Dalacoura, Katerina. "*US Foreign Policy and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East: Theoretical Perspectives and Policy Recommendations*". *Ortadoğu Etütleri*, Volume 2, No 3, July 2010.

"*Democracy Promotion: Cornerstone of U.S. Foreign Policy*". *Congressional Research Service (CRS)*. December, 2007.

"*Democratizing the Middle East*". *The Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, Tufts University*, 2006.

DeYoung, Karen. "Afghan nation-building programs not sustainable, report says". <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/national-security/afghan-nation-building-programs-not-sustainable-reportsays/AG5cPSLH_story.html>>. 07/06/2011. 20:13.

Dobbins, James. The Beginner's Guide to Nation-building. Santa Monica, Rand Corporation, 2007.

Drezner, W. Daniel. Theories of International Politics and Zombies. New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2011.

- Eglald, Rached and Dina Craissati. Research for development in the Middle East and North Africa. Canada, IDRC, 2000.
- El Mansour, Mohamed. "The US-Middle East Connection: Interests, Attitudes and Images". <<<http://www.teachmideast.org/essays/28-history/110-the-us-middle-east-connectioninterests-attitudes-and-images>, 2004. >>.
- Feldman, Shai and Yiftah Shapir. The Middle East strategic Balance, 2003-2004. Sussex Academic Press, 2004.
- Fukuyama, Francis. Nation-building: beyond Afghanistan and Iraq. Baltimore, JHU Press, 2006.
- Glenn E. Perry, "Imperial democratization: Rhetoric and reality". <<http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2501/is_3-4_28/ai_n27087526/pg_2/>>, 10/6/2011, 17:52.
- Katulis, Brian. Democracy Promotion in the Middle East and the Obama Administration. Headquarters: New York, 2009.
- Kaufman, Joyce P. A concise history of U.S. foreign policy. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006
- Kegley, W.Charles et el. American Foreign Policy: pattern and process. 7th ed. Belmont USA, Cengage Learning, 2008.
- Kortmann, Karin. "*Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role and strategy of the European Union Brussels*". 5-6 June 2007.
- Lane, Jan-Erik and Svante O. Ersson. Democracy: a comparative approach. Oxon, Routledge, 2003.
- Lansford, Tom and Jack Covarrubias. Strategic Interests in the Middle East for US Foreign Policy.

Maureen, M. Mansour. "Perceptions on Policy: The Effects of the U.S. Greater Middle East Initiative on Egyptian Political Attitudes". College of Arts and Sciences University of South Florida. July 8, 2005.

McAlister, Melani. Epic encounters: culture, media, and U.S. interests in the Middle East since 1945. 2nd ed. University of California Press, 2005.

Munck, L. Gerardo. Measuring democracy: a bridge between scholarship and politics. Baltimore –Maryland, JHU Press, 2009.

Nathan, J. Brown. "Hope and Change in the Middle East". <<<http://www.carnegie.ru/publications/?fa=44072>>>, 11/6/2011, 12:14.

Neep, Daniel. *"Dilemmas of Democratization in the Middle East: The "Forward Strategy of Freedom"*, Middle East Policy. 2004.

"Neo-conservatism". Encyclopedia Britannica. Ultimate Reference Suite. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2011.

"neo-conservatives". <<<http://conservapedia.com/Neoconservatives> 5/29/2011, 13:16.>>

"neo-conservative". Merriam Webster Dictionary. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/neoconservative>. 9/5/2011, 15:43.

Ottaway, Marina. "Democracy Promotion in the Middle East: Restoring Credibility". << <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/?fa=20183>>>. 11/6/2011, 13: 25.

Pells, L. David. "Tunisian Winds of Change! The Potential Impact of Political Upheaval in North Africa & the Middle East". PM World Today – February 2011.

Peter, C. John and Joshua S. Goldstone. Reading In International Relations. New York, Longman, 2008.

Record, Jeffery. Bounding the Global War on Terrorism. Strategic Studies Institute, 2003.

- Salahad-Din a l-Jourchi, "President Obama and Middle East Expectations". Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. January, 2009.
- Sasley, Brent E. "*Studying Middle Eastern International Relations Through IR Theory*", Ortadoğu Etütleri, Volume 2, No 2, January 2011.
- Schraeder, J. Peter. Exporting democracy: rhetoric vs. reality. Colorado, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002.
- Seikal, Amin. Islam and the West: Conflict or Cooperation? . Palgrave, NY, 2003
- Shaked, Haim and Itamar Rabinovich. The Middle East and the United States: perceptions and policies. Transaction Publishers, 1980.
- Sharp, M. Jeremy. "The Middle East Partnership Initiative: An Overview". CRS Report for Congress. July 2005.
- "U.S. Democracy Promotion Policy in the Middle East: The Islamist Dilemma". Congressional Research Service (CRS). June 2006.
- Watson, C. Ann. Nation-building: a reference handbook Contemporary world issues. California, ABC-CLIO, 2004.
- Weber, Cynthia. International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction. 3rd ed. Taylor & Francis, 2009.
- Wilson, Evan M. Decision on Palestine: how the U.S. came to recognize Israel. Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 2008.
- Wittkopf, Eugene R., Christopher Martin J. and Charles W. Kegley. American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process. Belmont, Cengage Learning, 2008.
- Zaborowski, Marcin. Friends Again? EU- US relations after the crisis. Paris: Institute for Security Studies, 2006.