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Anti-Americanism as an International Attitude towards American Foreign Policy Conduct

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my dear parents, my brothers, my sisters for their support and help to finish my studies. In addition, I cannot forget to thank my friends and all my classmates, especially my best friend whom consider as a brother to me Benaoua Zakarya.

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Before anything, I thank my God, the only who gave me the patience and courage to finish this paper. I want to give my best and grateful to my supervisor Mr. Temagoult for his help criticism, support and his valuable advice.

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ملخص

هذا البحث يتناول و يسلط الضوء على السياسة الخارجية الأميركية لما لها من أهمية في بناء العلاقات الدولية مع الأمم. القيم المحلية والخارجية، من أهمية في تعزيز صورة إيجابية أو سلبية عن الولايات المتحدة في تعزيز القوة الخشنة أو اللينة. إعطاء لمحة عامة عن ظاهرة في بالغ الأهمية، تسمى " معاداة الولايات المتحدة " التي أخذت جزء كبير حول العالم نتيجة السياسات الخارجية الأميركية. و للقيام بذلك، قد قسمنا العمل إلى أربعة فصول، بعدما تعرفنا على المشكلة، الهدف، الفرضيات والمنهجية من هذه الدراسة. في الفصل الثاني، نحاول استكشاف هذه السياسة الخارجية الأميركية بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية، إن سياسة الاحتواء التي لعبت دور كبير في إزالة هذه الشيوعية و بعد حرب الخليج انهيار الاتحاد السوفيتي، والنظام العالمي الجديد مع الولايات المتحدة القوة العظمى التي أعقبتها العولمة. الفصل الثالث، يعكف على المفاهيم ، موضحا أسباب معاداة الولايات المتحدة بوصفها ظاهرة عالمية، و يستكشف أيضا هجمات 9/11 التي تبدو أنها ذروة هذه الظاهرة، هذا يجعل الولايات المتحدة تبدأ الحرب العالمية على الإرهاب لإزالته ولكن هذه الحرب تخلق وتساعد على ظهور الدول الإسلامية في العراق و سوريا " إيزيس " التي هي حاليا تعتبر مشكلة كبيرة حول العالم الواسع. الفصل الرابع يميل إلى بعض حالات ظاهرة معاداة الولايات المتحدة في بعض البلدان كعينة و يعطي بعض المعلومات عن سلوك الناس هناك تجاه السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية.

Abstract

This study, addresses and sheds light about the U.S foreign policy as it is the most important to build international relations with nations, domestic values and foreign policies, are important in promoting a positive or negative image for the United States in fostering hard power to soft power. It is giving a general overview about a very crucial and important phenomenon called “Anti- Americanism “that takes a big part around the world, as it is a result of the U.S foreign policy conduct. So, doing that, we divided the work into four chapters, after having identified the issue, the aim, the hypotheses and the methodology at the beginning of this study. In chapter two, we try to explore the U.S foreign policy after WWII; the policy of containment which played a big role to remove communism, after the Gulf War and the Soviet Union collapsed, the rising of the New World Order as the U.S is the superpower which was followed by the globalization. Chapter three, is devoted to conceptualize, explain the causes of the anti-Americanism as a world phenomenon, it explores also of the 9/11 attacks which is seen as the top of Anti-American behavior, this makes U.S to start the Global War on terror to remove terrorism but the war creates and helps the rising of the Islamic States In Iraq and Syria “ISIS” which is nowadays seemed as the big problem around the world and its widespread. Chapter four tends to present and take cases of the anti-Americanism phenomenon in some countries as a sample and gives some information about the people’s behavior there towards the American foreign policy.

List of Abbreviations

AOL: America Online

ABC: The American Broadcasting Company

ATT: American Telephone & Telegraph

BEIC: The British East India Company

DEIC: The Dutch East India Company

IMF: International Monetary Fund

GWOT: The Global War On Terror

NAFTA: The North American Free Trade Agreement

NATO: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO: A non-governmental organization

NSC: The National Safety Council

SALT II: The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks II

UN: The United Nations

UNGA: The United Nations General Assembly

WB: The World Bank

WTO: The World Trade Organization

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Chapter One
General Introduction

Introduction

When the United States makes treaties with other nations, or when it sends ambassadors abroad, it is practicing foreign policy. The first priority of the United States' foreign policy is to preserve and strengthen the position of the United States as an independent, sovereign nation and a world leader as well. A central function of the U.S. government is to conduct relations with the almost 200 other nations in the world. A nation is a sovereign country, and as such, possesses the highest authority over its territories.

All sovereign states are theoretically equal. Foreign policy determines how America, conducts relations with other countries. It is designed to further certain goals. It seeks to assure America's security and defense. It seeks the power to protect and project America's national interests around the world.

America's foreign policy today covers a wide range of functions and issues, and the basic consequence of this intervention in the world that brings the birth of a new concept which is Anti Americanism, when it becomes as an international attitudes towards the American policy.

Before speaking about possible driving forces behind anti-American sentiments it is necessary to make a fundamental distinction between country-specific and more global ones. The former are usually researched in the format of case-studies devoted to particular countries and/or regions. There are contributions on the origins and development of anti-American sentiments in the Middle East, Latin America, and Europe and even in the U.S itself. This approach is based on the assumption that anti-Americanism is mostly fueled by factors which cannot be separated from the historical and political context of a particular society.

1-1-Definition of the Issue

Anti Americanism is a phenomenon which is vitriolic, that is based on emotional resentment, or from the other point of view, it is rational process which is based on objective evaluation. May be can one not both hate what the United States is, and what it does?

We define anti-Americanism as “a systematic negative normative evaluation of the United States.” This definition does not preclude either anti-American prejudice, or nuanced evaluation reflecting measured policy disagreements. It encompasses both.

The term "anti-American" is commonly used to characterize, and to discredit, a wide range of critical comments and remarks about the United States--too wide a range. Since there is no widely accepted definition of "anti-Americanism," almost any critical views of the country can be smacked with this pejorative label--and has been.

Anti-Americanism is the result of moral and spiritual shortcomings of those who exhibit it. It reflects U.S. policy and is therefore based wholly on rational thought and reasoned discourse. This exclusive focus on rationality should be rejected because anti-Americanism is a reflective phenomenon that is both logical and explainable, does not mean it reflects a view that is devoid of irrational sentiment and is entirely the product of well reasoned and objective policy evaluations. Anti-Americanism certainly has emotional aspects, as does anything people can have strong opinions about. Similarly, anti-Americanism is certainly also cognitive to a large degree, as is any belief people consciously embrace.

1-2-Aim of the Study

This paper aims to contribute to the ongoing theoretical debate on the nature of anti-Americanism as an international attitude towards American foreign policy. It discovers and shows in cases-study in each continent I take one country as an example; and its way to hate

U.S and the effects of its policies. May help to understand the extent the American foreign policy has negatively affected the world relationship.

This approach allows making sense of the association between anti-Americanism and U.S. policy, both domestic and foreign. Ideology is a significant predictor of anti-Americanism, varying according to the distance between a respondent's national welfare policy and U.S welfare policy. It is in countries with the most generous social policies that we find the strongest associations between the political left and anti-American attitudes.

This research establishes a framework of concepts and questions that we use throughout this volume explore the sources and consequences of anti-Americanism.

1-3-Research Question

This study makes a broad attempt to answer the questions below:

What the United States is, and what it does?

Why do people hate America? Do people hate America in the same way and the same degree?

1-4-Hypothesis

The present research is based on:

If people or nation behave negatively anti- America, it's because America who badly or incoherently conducted its foreign policy towards such people.

1-5-Significance of the Study

The next generation might be aware of the issue concerns Anti Americanism studied under objective tools. We shed the light on this negative international attitude towards American foreign policy around the world, by giving the roots, historical background, the

causes and the effects of Anti Americanism, to illustrate how much the wide spread of this phenomenon. My study is just a humble contribution to help understand the international relationships and foreign policy of a world louder toward the other nations.

1-6-Limitation of the Study

I illustrate my paper by giving examples of Anti American behavior around the world such as: in the Middle East, in some Muslim countries, also in Europe and Asia, then I am going to exemplify with the case the attack of 9/11 as the climax of Anti Americanism, it seems the big hostile and resentment towards U.S policy.

1-7-Methodology

The research is represented by either case-studies or theoretical contributions; whereas comparative and quantitative works are relatively scarce. It uses quantitative methods, namely factor and regression analysis, and country-level data collected by research centers and international organizations. The present study examines survey data from different countries in order to understand the nature and causes of anti-Americanism as a result of American foreign policy conduct.

1-8- Data Analysis

In this paper, we describe our sample, data collection methodology, and survey design. The data came from surveys collected by the “Pew Research Center for People and the Press” in different years as a part of their ongoing Global Attitudes Project. It covers some societies and includes numbers of questions which are related to various aspects of Anti American resentments. The surveys took many different ways to collect data such as telephone and face

to face interviews. May be the data includes age, sex, educational level, income and nationality, plus some attitudinal variables.

1-9-Literature Review

Here we review the existing literature on its extent and causes. We take some perspectives of researchers, scientists, writers, scholars... etc. This term has been widely and loosely used. What is needed is a definition that corresponds to observable phenomena.

Although many scholars have studied the phenomenon of anti-Americanism, their broad explanations offer inadequate accounts for the variety of anti-Americanisms that exist and many researchers related to the issue carried out studies on various angles as a matter of example:

According to Spiro (1988) “Anti-Americanism in Western Europe”, defines anti-Americanism as ‘a persistent pattern of gross criticism of the main values of the US Constitution.’ This is both too vague: the values need to be defined; and too specific.

Alternatively Krastev (2004) “The Anti-American Century?” defines anti-Americanism as ‘opposing any policy simply *because* it is endorsed by the US government’. This is not a good choice of definition, both because it is a causal definition: it includes the cause of the phenomenon under investigation, and because operationally it relies on a probably hard to distinguish preference distinction.

According to Berman (2004) “Anti Americanism in Europe, A Cultural Problem” provides a more tractable definition that focuses on opposition to specific American policies, or groups of policies. This leaves the motivation for the opposition open for investigation. It also allows a search for clusters of opposition, across policies, countries or respondents without prejudging their cause. Such a definition is value neutral, and it is possible to test for its presence.

Most recently, Katzenstein, Peter J. and Robert O. Keohane (2007b) have treated anti-Americanism as a psychological phenomenon, which manifests itself in various “schemata” (mental representations of the world) subject to various specific concerns about foreign policy, the failure of the U.S. to conform to its own stated values, American domestic policy, nationalism, and fundamental rejection of America based on its values and other existential characteristics.

So one study Anti Americanism on the level of criticism of the American values in its constitution. The second one claimed that Anti Americanism is opposition of what US government does; it means the causes why do people hate America.

In my turn, I am going to study this phenomenon as a behavior, reaction and attitude anti- American foreign policy around the world.

Collect data, quantify and analyze them by using statistics in terms of American involvement in the world and the world negative reaction/behavior toward such American position, by tables, figures, charts, graphs, to illustrate and express how everybody hates America by his own way.

1-10-Structure of the Work

The study consists four chapters, the first as a general introduction; the second sheds the light about the treatment of U.S foreign policy to the other countries.

The third chapter is devoted to conceptualize, explain causes of the Anti-Americanism around the world; it is also introduced to the Global War on Terror as U.S policy to remove and fight the terrorism. The last chapter gives some cases of Anti-American behavior around the world as a sample.

Chapter Two

The American Foreign Policy in the 20th Century

Introduction

During the 20th century, Americans attempted to set up a precise definition the crucial point of U.S. foreign policy, whether America ought to intercede abroad to advance the welfare of others or to secure the lives and freedom of American people. The Progressive upset in American governmental issues was raised by this struggle which is a standout amongst the most persevering legacies as the century progressed. There are different components including racial and national superiority, business and economic interests, strategic concerns, and idealism that were motivated US foreign policy.

The United States has practiced a wide mixture of foreign policies, particularly when British colonial control was over and America was turning into an independent nation, to isolation and neutrality nation has constantly centered the relations with other through our needs and wants at home. These relations can be unmistakably seen by means of the accompanying subjects: Neutrality, Imperialism, Internationalism, Cold War and the last one is the New World Order. The resulting "New World Order" discovered the US as the sole superpower and the new issues of the New World incorporate terrorism, police activities, humanitarian support and rescue, in addition checking not one extensive enemy, but many smaller rogue threats.

In this chapter, we introduce the Post World War II U.S foreign policy more clearly that it seems by policy of Containment during The Cold War which allow giving the other countries the Anti American ones, and how American foreign policy is becoming New World Order during 1990's, we pay particular attention to the phenomenon of global capitalist "globalization" that presents the U.S with many problems, and also we talk about how the public opinion towards US policy as a reaction and attitude with negative or positive sides.

2-1- Post-Second World War US Foreign Policy

2-1.1 Policy of Containment during the Cold War

The doctrine of Containment would have an enduring effect on the conduct of United States foreign policy during the Cold War (Magstadt, 2004, p.114-115 & Pieper, 2012). It included a progression of endeavors to manage the thought of keeping the Soviet Union from utilizing the force and position it won as an aftereffect of that WWII to reshape the global order, a prospect that appeared to be, in the West, no less dangerous than what Germany or Japan might have done had they had the chance (Gaddis, 2005, p.4 & Macdonald, 1995).

Containment turned into the fortified and “naturalized grand strategy, marginalizing alternative accounts of US imperialist ambitions” (Rowley & Weldes, 2008, p. 198). This policy enlivened by Georgan Kennan, received by the Truman organization in 1947, and followed in one way or another by successive US administrations ever since (Rees, 1967, p 16 & Pauly, 2010).

President Harry Truman, who perceived the need to expand on the new consensus that Roosevelt had made to secure local backing to restrict socialism, took up the control thought. In a discourse to a joint session of Congress on 12 March 1947, the President set out the approach that got to be known as the "Truman Doctrine".

“It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms . . . if we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world – and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our nation”.

The following month, Secretary of State, George Marshall, declared that the US was likewise prepared to supply Western Europe with monetary and money related aid (the Marshall Plan) keeping in mind the end goal to help financial recuperation and therefore fight off the comrade danger. American help had likewise been offered to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe yet Stalin had rejected the offer. The US additionally moved unequivocally far from its protectionist exchange policies of the inter-war years and served to build international organizations for advancing free trade (Kramnick, 1987).

After 1947, opposition to communism in this way turned into the directing guideline of American foreign policy and although there were significant differences over the behavior of the Vietnam War, there was no genuine restriction to the containment strategy that the US took after from the late 1940s until the end of the 1980s. Amid this period, the US formed into a worldwide superpower, dissimilar to whatever other ever.

It established over than 200 army bases around the world and submitted a few hundred thousand troops abroad to shield both Europe and Asia. It additionally occupied with an advertising and stealthy fight with the Soviet Union for the hearts and minds of the Third World, spending tremendous aggregates simultaneously. The defense and intelligence agencies extended massively and got to be imperative players in the plan and the execution of US foreign policy (Ambrose and Brinkley, 1997 & Andrew, 1995).

Another measurement of containment started when the US intervened in South Korea to militarily contain Soviet impact. The U.S. entered the Korean War to protect South Korea from a communist intrusion as a potential "loss" of South Korea to the communists was seen to be a conceivable venturing stone for further Soviet Union of the region and in the end to Europe (McGlothen, 1993, p. 21, and Acharya, 1997, p. 306).

An overwhelming reason during the John F. Kennedy's administration (1961-63) was the need to contain communism at any expense. Kennedy reprimanded Eisenhower's dependence on atomic prevention and huge striking back which would just prompt two results, "defeat" or "nuclear war" (Clarke, 2013). When all is said and done for Kennedy the US had to go beyond an "inactive" containment in that it must be forceful and play filthy as the communist did.

Johnson's administration (1963-69) was devoured almost from its onset by the heightening US presence in Vietnam (Pauly, 2010) where headed nearly to containment in straightforwardly applying the strategy of military containment and underlining that move back would just hazard a nuclear war and could incite a land war with China.

Richard Nixon (1969-74) and Gerald Ford (1974-77) and their exceptionally powerful national security advisor, Henry Kissinger, alluded to their foreign policy as détente. Détente was a type of containment and requirement on pressures among the two super powers (Garthoff, 2001, p. 339) which was propelled with extensive ballyhoo when of the May 1972 Moscow summit meeting and the June 1973 Washington summit, however the policy soon started to face challenges.

Jimmy Carter (1977-81), albeit at first seeking détente (Garthoff, 2001, p. 342), looked to devise some new system of containment, however failed to do so (Payne, 1983, p. 211). He came to office focused to a foreign policy that underscored human rights (Pauly, 2010, p.37); however because of the Soviet attack of Afghanistan in December 1979, containment was again made a priority (Kakar, 1999).

The advent of the Ronald Reagan government in 1981 acquired many progressions Washington and incredibly influenced American-Soviet relations. There was an accentuation on mobilizing America, as the US was seen to be the number two military power, with the

need to contain as well as to "rollback the juggernaut of Communism" in the world, albeit a lot of this, as (Garthoff, 2001, p. 342) set forward, was just "rhetorical posturing" instead of real feelings. When Reagan left office in January 1989, the strategy of containment had generally attained to its reasons.

All of America's presidents during the Cold War era, from Harry S. Truman to Ronald Reagan, used a few parts of the procedure of containment, with the suspicion that in the end, the US system would prevail over that Soviet Union. At first it was seen as an ideological containment consistent with Kennan's principle of communism through procurement of economic support (Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan) and diplomacy however which in the end got to be more militarized (i.e. NATO and the NSC) and all through the Cold War the governments picked very differed strategies inside distinctive connections - in containing Soviet/communism, yet they were all inexorably dependent on incognito counterinsurgency as a means for containment in which the US mediated military to control and/or topple communist impact, and did as such to a great extent on the need to stay away from communist propensities to spread further into neigh exhausting nations.

2-2- Post-Cold War U.S Foreign Policy

2-2.1 New World Order

The most generally examined use of the expression of recent times took a stab at toward the end of the Cold War, an idea that characterized the force to be reckoned with was known as the New World Order. There are several remarks can be seen in that time: The new universal system in the post-Cold War period has been stamped by an appearing disagreement, from one viewpoint, discontinuity; on the other, developing globalization.

One of the first and most well-known Western uses of the term was in Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, and in a require a League of Nations taking after the devastation of World War I. The expression was used sparingly toward the end of World War II when depicting the plans for the United Nations and the Bretton Woods system, and somewhat in light of its negative relationship with the failed League of Nations. In any case, many observers have connected the term retroactively to the request put set up by the World War II victors as "New World Order" (New world request -legislative issues - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.html).

Implications for NATO, the Warsaw Pact, and European mix were accordingly included. The Malta Conference gathered these different expectations, and they were fleshed out in more detail by the press. German reunification, human rights, and the extremity of the worldwide system were then included. The Gulf War crisis refocused the term on superpower collaboration and provincial crises. Financial aspects, North-South issues, the coordination of the Soviets into the global system, and the progressions in monetary and military extremity got more prominent consideration (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.html).

Additionally the universal relations have ended up genuinely worldwide in the post-Cold War world. Communications are immediate and the world economy works on all continents all the while. An entire set issues have surfaced that must be managed on an overall premise, for example, nuclear multiplication, the environment, the populace explosion, and financial interdependence.

The Soviet Union collapsed in the midst of a wavering economy and various upsets among its part nations. With the authority fall of communism in 1991, the United States turned into the world's sole staying superpower; it implies the end of the Cold War prompted restored addressing of the US worldwide part and specifically its association in peacekeeping and humanitarian interventions (Somalia, Rwanda, Kosovo) and in country building.

The New World Order as guessed between George H.W. Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev saw idealism and democratization for nations. Both presidents used the term to attempt to define the nature of the post Cold War period, and the soul of great power force collaboration they trusted may appear. Historians will think back and say this was no conventional time however a pivotal turning point: an unprecedented time of worldwide change.

President Gorbachev's introductory plan was wide ranging and optimistic, yet his capacity to press for it was extremely restricted by the inside emergency of the Soviet system. Bush's vision was, in examination, significantly more encircled and practical, maybe even instrumental on occasion and nearly connected to the Gulf War (www.Boundses.com/political).

Gorbachev would then extend the expression to incorporate UN fortifying, and great force participation on a range of North-South, financial, and security issues. Nonetheless, there was minimal genuine national open deliberation on foreign policy interests and needs. The US reacted to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait by massing an enormous military power for "Operation Desert Storm." In the wake of a quick Gulf War triumph, President Bush's good faith about "New World Order" was fleeting as the US attempted to manage clashes in the Balkans and somewhere else.

In the President Clinton time, his needs were growing democracy, free markets, and setting up the US for the difficulties of globalization. His accentuation on multilateral foundations ought not to shroud the way that his organization was likewise arranged to go only it on numerous issues. Republican control of Congress from 1995 onwards made life troublesome for Clinton (Fraser Cameron, USA remote approach after Cold War, p 14, second version).

The huge change during these years was a move from a bipolar world to a multi-polar world. While the United States remains a solid power monetarily and militarily, rising countries, for example, China, India, Brazil, and Russia as well as the United Europe have tested its strength. Foreign policy examiners recommend that the six rising big powers offer regular concerns: free commerce, financial development, prevention of terrorism, and endeavors to obstruct nuclear multiplication. Also, in the event that they can avoid war, the impending decades can be tranquil and gainful gave there are no false impressions or dangerous competitions ("Post-Cold War Foreign Policy" Boundless Political Science).

Every one of the three post-Cold War presidents thought that it was hard to intervene another system for the US. All were prepared to intercede abroad to ensure American intrigues. Clinton (Hyland (1999) Clinton's World: Remaking American Foreign Policy) and George W. Shrubbery contrasted in their methodology toward multilateral foundations however the distinctions limited to some degree in the wake of the terrorist assaults and the need to secure global backing to battle the terrorist risk. George W. Bramble (Brzezinski the Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership, 2004), then again, acknowledged the neocon thesis (a progressive who subscribes to neo-conservatism, accept that the United States ought not be embarrassed to use its unrivaled force – powerfully if important to advance its values the world over) that American military force could resolve most foreign policy issues. The Iraq war was to exhibit both the power and the impotency of US military force. The September 2001 terrorist assaults, it was an indication of the end of the post-Cold War.

2-2.2 The U.S and the Globalization “Return to Empire”

2-2.2 .1 the Globalization Era

What is globalization? Globalization may be defined as the incorporation of economic, social and cultural relations crosswise over outskirts. Today, numerous commentators have gone past basically restating fundamental contentions about economic globalization. Nowadays, there is likewise political and military/security globalization (R.O. Keohane & J. S. Nye Jr, 2000, pp. 104-19). Ellwood noticed that the idea can be depicted as a vacuum in light of the fact that it sucks up all meanings (Ellwood, 2001). Giddens (2000) portrays globalization as the procedure of cultural, political and economic reconciliation of country states all through the globe or world (Giddens, 2000).

The period of globalization supplanted the Cold War, carrying with it a consistent development toward mix and fracture. The mobility of capital and capacity to travel further and convey all the more transparently through technology and also the production of similar financial and political systems over the globe drove the world toward more prominent reconciliation.

In the meantime there are strengths made relocation among specialists and unleashed old ethnic and religious scorn that had been bypassed during the Cold War, coming about now and again in the fragmentation of entire country states. These powers quickly changed the worldwide setting, which implied changes in how foreign policymakers viewed America's put in the global order (Thomas Friedman, 2000).

The new global order upheld by the United States, new manifestations of correspondence considered generation to be moved significantly more remote far from business sector. Trade could be led with a more prominent speed too than at any other time in recent memory some time recently. We have seen in the time globalization the ascent of

transnational supply chains, the data upheaval, and establishments, for example, the World Trade Organization (<http://www.uschamberfoundation.org>).

As Gowan (2002) contends, US Empire has worked mainly on the grounds that "the US state has not quite recently been seeking after its own advantage to the detriment of every one of its adversaries, yet securing the general conditions for the extension of capital as a system, in which they have an interest as well" (Peter Gowan, 2002).

During the Cold War these two rationales were commonly corresponding to some degree in light of the fact that the potential for Soviet power projection in Europe and progressive age in the Third World undermined capitalism overall, with no center state separated from the US having the ability to check these dangers. This geostrategic reality, coupled with the USA's effective interpenetration of other center states through the internationalization of American capital and methods of multilateral co-appointment, implied that other industrialist forces were content to haven under the umbrella of American Empire.

So, the threat of Soviet force and different types of Third World oppositionism served to corral the "West" under US initiative, while the internationalization of American capital served to endorse the recuperation of smashed capitalist economies and the dominion of European elites (Robert Kagan, 2003).

The pressures between the American Empire's part of positive entirety transnational coordination and its quest for all the more exceptionally American hobbies are getting to be more laden. This pressure between the dual logics at the heart of American Empire puts the USA stuck a predicament from multiple points of view. The USA's economic and military prevalence, the majestic allurement is exceptionally solid and the occasions of 11 September have rushed the USA's yearning to achieve key mobility for its war on dread unhampered by the regularly difficult prerequisites of multilateral types of administration. As Perle, the

previous director of the USA's Defense Policy Board Advisory Committee (DPAC)

contended:

“I think it is time for us to say to the world if necessary that we have been attacked, a war was initiated against us, and we are going to defend ourselves, and we’re not going to let the decisions to do that, the manner in which we do it, the targets we select be decided by a show of hands by countries whose interests cannot be identical to our own and who haven’t suffered what we have suffered”.(Richard Perle, 14 November 2001)”.

In the new century, into perspective practically twelve years, the period of globalization is gradually. It appears to include the ascent of territorial powers all through the world, comparable with quick development in their separate economies (consider China, Nigeria, Brazil, Indonesia, and others). It is a healthier, wealthier, more interconnected world based on an establishment of high technology. Likewise with any kind of worldwide change, there will be disturbance and disarray. (<http://www.uschamberfoundation.org>).

2-2.2 .2 Globalizing Forces of New U.S Empire

There are four fundamental components to empire that depict the way of the entrance of areas that are ruled as a major aspect of the domain. Each of these systems of entrance are subordinate upon the other, consequently majestic shortcomings frequently originate from the absence of quality of one system with respect to the next. Every additionally portrays a component of the globalization process, for as empires amplify their reach they are coordinating regions militarily, politically, culturally and economically as a feature of a imperial association with the inside and hence changing these systems.

The expansion of military force has dependably been crucial to all empires. As Friedman publication head of the New York Times portray the centrality of the U.S. military in globalization “The most intense specialists compelling different nations to open their business sectors with the expectation of complimentary exchange and free speculations is Uncle Sam, and America's worldwide military forces keep these businesses and ocean paths open for this time of globalization (Thomas Friedman, 1999). The United States has manufactured a chain of army bases and arranging regions around the world, as a tools for sending air and maritime strengths to be used on a second to react, all in light of a legitimate concern for keeping up its political and financial dominion (Monthly Review, 2002).

Politically, the United States government assumes a focal part in the advancement of outside venture and advantaging U.S. business' entrance into foreign markets. The United States is the biggest universal financial support contributor in total dollar terms. It is important to note that most U.S. support is attached to the buy of items basically created by American agribusinesses and US based multinational enterprises or for infrastructural improvement to advance US based outside venture. In 2004, the United States gave some manifestation of outside aid to around 150 nations.

The standard vehicle for financial entrance and imperialist relations is the multinational enterprise, starting with the Dutch East India Company (DEIC), British East India Company (BEIC) and the British and Dutch Banking places of the 16th and 17th hundreds of years. Today, The World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and The World Bank (WB), all mainly U.S. manifestations and in which the United States has the most impact, are key instruments in characterizing the way of the financial infiltration from the center. They create the standards and the arrangement of sponsorships to encourage this infiltration and the extraction of assets and capital from the peripheral areas. The latest system for this economic entrance is known as the "*Washington*

Consensus". It is the new form of capitalism liberalism or neo-liberalism that characterizes the way of the economic character of globalization today.

Cultural infiltration and control is essential for its part in empire assembling in changing cultures to the buyer needs made in the commercial center by substantial multinational partnerships (Schlosser, 2001).

Broad communications is additionally a focal power for the social change that we depict as globalization. Henry Luce, at the time editorial manager of Time Magazine, depicted the New American Century and the focal part of the United States in cultural advancement. He noticed that we must acknowledge wholeheartedly our obligation and our chance, as the most capable and fundamental country on the planet (Luce, 1941: 23).

Today seven out of the main ten world's biggest media organizations are U.S. companies (AOL/Time Warner, General Electric, Viacom, Disney, Liberty Media Corporation, ATT Corporation, and News Corporation), two are European (Vivendi and Bertelsmann), and one is Japanese (Sony) and their range is genuinely worldwide (Nation T, January 2002).

In this problematic, "globalization" is all the more a political basic than a economic actuality (P. Bourdieu's meeting, June 2000). According to Bourdieu an approach meaning to reach out to the world overall the American economic model « Economic globalization is not a robotic consequence of the laws of innovation or of the economy, it is the result of an arrangement which is executed by an outfit of operators and establishments ... the worldwide business sector is the result of a pretty much deliberately facilitated strategy (Pierre Bourdieu, 2001).

As results of this phenomenon, the opposition to globalization development started to show up which comprises of heterogeneous components with an enormous differences of

objectives extending from reformist demands proposed by NGOs, mainstream Greens, trade unions and others up to progressive requests of a systemic nature upheld primarily by agitators, eco-anarchists and so forth. This heterogeneous nature of the development has various intense ramifications.

2-3- International Relations and Public Opinion towards U.S Foreign Policy

Public opinion is a crucial part in the connections between states. In spite of the fact that role of the public opinion is a moderately new field of logical inquiry, Post-Cold War advancements highlight the significance of residential performing artists as players on the global scene. Foreign policy examiners frequently markdown the effect of public opinion, however doing as such is a mistake. To be maintainable, national decisions must be educated by a precise perusing of what general society needs.

The end of the Cold War has not brought about an inclination of security, violent world, loaded with risk and worldwide flimsiness. Rather, the one focal foe has been supplanted by a heap of fear. Even so, Americans are interested about their general surroundings, and trust in a steadier world in the future (Meg Bostrom, October 1999, p 05).

Foreign policy crises (Gulf War, Kosovo, Desert Strike, Iran hostage crisis... etc) and large gets maintained media scope for the duration of the "life" of the crisis. As the crisis proceeds with, scope gradually ascends until an arrangement choice is made. At that point consideration gradually decreases during the execution process. The level of consideration during a military emergency relies on upon the level the US military is included; the higher the level of military inclusion, the higher the media scope and the higher general society consideration (Andrew Overton, 2014).

Non-crises (Star wars, Kyoto Protocol, Apartheid, SALT II, NAFTA... etc.) have an alternate cycle of public consideration. They regularly just get a knock in media scope when an approach choice is made and afterward open consideration instantly starts to peter out. This can be credited to the way that the stream of data of non-crises is to a great extent reliant on the administration itself, so a congressional or presidential decision on a non-emergency can precipitate this sudden spike in coverage (Andrew Overton, 2014).

Indeed, policymakers' suspicions about what citizens think habitually educate, constrain, or empower remote policy decisions. This is most evident in settled democracies, but at the same time is valid to some degree in more closed societies. Even authoritarian states oblige some assent from their citizenry. State strategies that veer took a long way from public opinion creates pressure that the state then has to spend assets to diminish.

The end of the Cold War in the mid 1990s has had a dual effect on global relations. On the one hand, the Soviet military withdrawal from Eastern Europe and the Third World conveyed an end to the Cold War, permitted democratization to continue in numerous states already governed by Marxist dictatorships, and prompted noteworthy advance in determining a few Third World clashes that had gotten to be drawn out during the Cold War.

The decrease in East-West pressure additionally brought about an extraordinary reduction in inter-state clashes, some of which happened because of the superpower ideological competition during the Cold War. Even it got to be in vogue to contend that compel, used here as military force, has run its course in international politics. And it is truly that defense in numerous parts of the world profoundly diminished. This pattern, notwithstanding not very many opposite illustrations (for occasion China), seems to holding (Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations, Vol. 7, No. 4, Winter 2008).

On the other hand, however, it would be fairly impulsive to contend that the world is presently settled. The breakdown of the "Soviet Empire" was trailed by the rise, or re-development of numerous genuine clashes in a few zones that had been generally quiet during the Cold War. Some of these new clashes have been occurring inside the previous Soviet Union, for example, the war in the middle of Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh, and the battling in Chechnya. At the same time a few contentions likewise ejected or increased in a few nations outside of it and numerous Third World clashes in which the superpowers were not profoundly included during the Cold War have endured after it, similar to the secessionist movements in India, Sri Lanka, and Sudan. (Options: Turkish Journal of International Relations, Vol. 7, No. 4, Winter 2008).

There are stability and instability to universal relations toward the end of the Cold War, The "American Empire" may best be seen working in the Persian Gulf, Iraq, and the Middle East, in general, where the military of the United States have created a semi changeless decent footing and a large numbers of officers conveyed at bases keep a watch on Iran, Syria, and other "potential enemies".

The universal system really and from a economic/political perspective, it mirrors a mixture of both unipolar and multipolar system in which no less than five noteworthy forces, the United States absolutely is an incredible monetary force, but it is not the only power, Europe, China, Japan, and Russia, dominate worldwide affairs. Likewise, there are other force focuses, most outstandingly, the European Union, the Organization of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (OAEC), and also numerous country states outside of these incorporations or associations (Harrison, 2004).

But nonetheless the rhetoric and challenges of these developments as a general rule single out US multinational organizations, US impact on the International Monetary Fund

(IMF) and the World Bank, and the United States' inability to sign the Kyoto protocol when looking for a spot to lay the fault for the world's ills. Likewise, it is America that is most at deficiency for world neediness, natural debasement, and worldwide clash. Some of these reactions are reasonable and defended; others are unpredictable and are rightly called Anti-American. Amongst numerous in the opposition to globalization development, "America" has turned into a code word for all the different ills of the world.

Americans feel the heaviness of world authority. They have doubtlessly the United States shoulders obligation regarding the world's issues and need to move to a position of shared responsibility and shared authority. This suspicion may be the main impetus behind a large number of the suppositions general society holds. The American spirit spins around the center estimations of freedom, individuality, opportunity, independence, and responsibility. While Americans accept these ideals represent what it intends to be American, they additionally accept that whatever is left of the world essentially appreciates the United States for the nation's economic prosperity (Meg Bostrom, October 1999, p 02).

Conclusion

The primary pattern in regards to the historical backdrop of U.S. foreign policy since the American Revolution is the movement from non-interventionism prior and then afterward World War I, to its development as a politically influential nation and worldwide authority during and since World War II and the end of the Cold War in the 20th century however there was another framework that seemed called "New World Order" which changed the world's picture after the Soviet Union was over, and it took after by the globalization time when the U.S was the superpower in all life areas. This worldwide industrialist has been given numerous issues to the U.S foreign policy toward the start of the 21st century.

The previous quite a long while have seen sensational moves in popular feeling towards the United States, the increment in unfavorable conclusions towards the United States after the end of Cold War is striking. Getting a clearer picture of what subjects in the United States and abroad need is essential for policymakers, on the grounds that open disposition will shape prospects for powerful multilateral participation in the twenty-first century.

Chapter Three

**Anti Americanism and the U.S Foreign
Policy**

Introduction

In This chapter, firstly we talk about the increase in critical attitudes towards the United States among people, a phenomenon we labeled “anti-Americanism”, its coming and beginning by giving the conceptualizing, and how it is becoming widespread as universal phenomenon. Also we see the reasons that contributed to the spread of Anti- Americanism. Secondly, we shed light of the US policy before the events of The September 11th attacks as the top of Anti-Americanism; we focus on this event and the reasons that led to its happening. Finally, we talk about the American Global War on Terror as a reaction of the U.S government towards the attacks.

3-1 The Coming of Anti-Americanism

3-1-1 Conceptualizing of the Anti-Americanism

Anti-Americanism from its beginnings to the current day, it is not a complete or intelligible conviction system or ideology, but instead a progression of reactions and preferences in regards to the United States that have been marked Anti-Americanism. Sequentially the term is initially connected with European cultural regrets about Americans' absence of conduct and their general obscenity and afterward, as America turns into a global power, more politically and economically based feedback comes to the fore.

We define Anti-Americanism as "a systematic negative normative evaluation of the United States." This definition does not block either anti-American bias, or nuanced assessment reflecting measured arrangement contradictions. It includes both. Anti-Americanism is the aftereffect of moral and spiritual deficiencies of the individuals who display it (Fabrinni, 2002). This method is unscientific, as well as politically spurred. (Gregory Johnston, August 2006).

Anti-Americanism reflects U.S. policy and is subsequently construct completely with respect to discerning thought and contemplated talk (even where education and literacy is low). Anti-Americanism is a reflective phenomenon that is both logical and explainable, does not mean it mirrors a view that is without nonsensical feeling and is completely the result of all around contemplated and target policy assessments. Anti-Americanism is over all an opinion. The declaration of such opinion is in this way subject to the same instruments of assessment development as different opinions, and feeling arrangement is not generally an in a broad sense balanced procedure, however one that is still theoretically explainable (Zaller and Feldman 1992).

Anti-Americanism positively has emotional aspects, as does anything individuals can have solid opinion about. Additionally, anti- Americanism is unquestionably likewise cognitive to a large degree, just like any conviction individuals intentionally grasp. So it is with anti- Americanism (Gregory Johnston, August 2006).

The concept of anti- Americanism is exceptionally precarious. It is politically stacked and hard to characterize. Its passed deliberately is effortlessly misconstrued, since it can be seen both as overstating the way of feedback towards the United States and as putting down it by naming the feedback getting just from an unreasonable and negative inclination, it would be simpler to speak basically about the picture of the United States abroad, however for better and for more regrettable, anti- Americanism is the term that has evoked warmed verbal confrontations and brought up principal issues about the eventual fate of world governmental issues and transoceanic relations.

The key inquiry is whether anti- Americanism alludes just to the surface of an example of negative feelings about the United States or to some more profound belief system, 'ism' that clarifies the state of mind. For some, all feedback and negative explanations about the United States speaks to anti -Americanism, for others anti- Americanism focuses to an enthusiastic, unjustified, one-sided or generally silly and all things considered a precise or rehashed assumption against the United States, or in the great, it is seen as a profound situated solid disdain towards the United States that is likewise inclined to brutal conduct. Katzenstein and Keohane characterize against Americanism as "a mental inclination to hold negative perspectives of the United States and of American culture as a rule" yet they separate between feeling, doubt and predisposition (Peter Katzenstein and Robert Keohane, 2007, p. 19).

3-1.2 Explaining and Causes of Anti-Americanism

Most talks of anti-Americanism concentrate on two fundamental subjects: either the "nature" of the United States and its strategies or on the specific political and social parts of different countries. Creators who allude to the United States propose that the reasons for anti-Americanism are outer and brought by America itself. The creators highlight the harmful impacts of the U.S. foreign policy, military activities, and social extension.

In a book titled, *Why Do People Hate America?* The creators' fundamental message is that scorn of America is an impression of individuals' genuine encounters with its approaches (Sardar and Davies, 2003). Halfway through the content, the creators incorporate a far reaching rundown of each American military intercession in the most recent century, from Wounded Knee (a slaughter of Native Americans in the 1890s) to the war in Afghanistan in 2001.

The emphasis on U.S. foreign policies and activities can be found in a few different books, for example, a gathering of articles by Gore Vidal (2002a,2002b), or Noam Chomsky's book titled, *9–11*, in which he proclaimed the United States a main terrorist state (Chomsky, 2001). Chomsky additionally incorporates a long list of countries where U.S. military activities prompted regular citizen killings, incorporating in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, East Timor, Sudan, Iraq, Yugoslavia, and Afghanistan.

Other outer variables, for example, the part of the United States in globalization and the extension of private enterprise have likewise been referred to as a premise or base of anti-Americanism. The U.S. has been described as the worldwide harbinger of "arrogant secularist materialism," the destroyer of indigenous social conventions, a one-sided domineering jerk in universal monetary issues, a pusher of hazardous adjusted nourishments, and a dismal risk to nature, human rights, and laborer insurance. For the individuals who stress outer components,

whether it is the deserting of the Kyoto accord, the steel taxes, the discourteousness of multinationals, or the bombarding of Baghdad, America's negative picture is an unavoidable result of its own behaviors.

On the opposite side of the debate, numerous authors push the internal, household elements attitude toward the United States. All in all, the quality of anti-Americanism depends less on U.S. activities than on the specific inward highlights of outside nations. Three sorts of inward variables, specifically, political, mental, and social, are unmistakable in the level headed discussions. Tending to mental reasons, a few creators demand that certain scrutinizes of the U.S. are irrational and even pathological.

Paul Hollander's (1992) *Anti-Americanism*, for instance, highlights the issue of irrationally. To Hollander, anti-Americanism is "less than fully rational... a free floating hostility or aversion that feeds on many sources besides the discernible shortcomings of the United States"

This position is not new and to a degree comparative position is found in a before gathering of articles on anti-Americanism in which mentality toward the United States were said to be construct more in light of creative energy and discernment than on the real encounters of the vast majority (Zeldin, 1990). "Envy" has additionally been habitually connected to unfavorable outside disposition toward the United States (Joffe, 2002). In a 2003 issue of *Policy Review*, a creator scorned anti-Americanism as "irrational" and "a fantasy ideology dressed up to look like Marxism" (Harris, 2003).

Numerous critics have likewise indicated the social contrasts between the U.S. what's more, remote nations. In the wake of 9/11, Samuel Huntington's "conflict of human advancements" speculation, which recognizes contrasts in society as the key wellspring of contention on the planet (Huntington, 1993). The cultural factor has likewise been said to

impact how Europeans, especially the French and the Russians, respected different parts of America before (Shlapentokh, 1988) and keep on with respect to today. In the assessment of these experts, negative attitudes about the U.S. have additionally happened as intended through local political powers.

Anti- Americanism itself can be seen as a negative ideology, a "scapegoat" system used by decision political and religious elites to discover reasons for enormous local disappointments with respect to social and monetary issues. The restriction can use negative pictures of different nations as a means to battle for political force.

Since the end of the Cold War, the U.S. has been the most effective state in the worldwide framework. Balance of power scholars argue that awkward nature of force lead to the development of adjusting coalitions (Waltz 1979). Thus, one may contend that anti-Americanism constitutes an impression of the anticipated impacts of U.S. administration and strength.

Furthermore, the end of the Cold War implied, in addition to other things, that nations once in the past obliging American assurance from the Soviet Union no more need such backing. This change has empowered political pioneers and publics in these nations to be more condemning of the United States. Moreover, American political dominion makes the U.S. a point of convergence for restriction since "Mr. Big" is never loved (Joffe 2001).

In addition, acting to its greatest advantage and as per its own qualities, the U.S. can have huge effect on different states and social orders. When it falls flat, similar to the Iraq case shows, the expenses of disappointment are frequently forced on others more than on itself. Subsequently, it is no mischance that American political force is at its highest while American standing is at its lowest. Then again, U.S. political dominion is not an important

condition for Anti-Americanism, but rather it is by all accounts helpful for it. Besides, the absence of restriction in the activity of force by the U.S. gives a premise to comprehension why awesome forces like China, France, and Russia feel insulted or debilitated by US power (Yanis A. Stivachtis, May, 2007).

A second clarification concentrates on the globalization backlash. The development of private enterprise through the methodology of globalization creates numerous issues. Those antagonistically influenced by this process have a tendency to oppose it. As indicated by Karl Polanyi (1957:219), an unregulated business abuses deep-rooted social qualities and along these lines bolsters political resistance developments that request compelling insurance. Besides, the spread of American practices and pop culture is broadly disdained even by individuals who discover parts of it extremely alluring. The anti-Americanism produced by what has been termed "McWorld" is diffused and generally dispersed on the planet (Barber 1995).

However, it doesn't create resistance through the type of suicide bombings or requests for the overthrow of the capitalist system. Hostility toward the U.S. takes after business sector changes which uproot individuals from their areas and jobs, as it happened in East Asia in 1997-98, while fast monetary change and the vulnerability getting from reliance on far off businesses and wellsprings of capital create disdain at the U.S. which is seen as the focal point of weights for such changes. Antagonistic vibe in this perspective accordingly radiates from ranges of the world confronting such encounters (Yanis A. Stivachtis, May, 2007).

A third clarification relates anti-Americanism to clashing personalities (Nau 2002; Lieven 2004; Huntington 2004). In this perspective, anti-Americanism is created by cultural and religious characters that are contradictory to the American values. As Seyla Behabib (2002:251) proposes, the results of American common mass society, which bring pictures of

sexual freedom, female liberation, and equity among the genders into the homes of patriarchal and dictator groups, independent of religion, are a wellspring of global quality clash and subsequently create antipathy and resistance.

Likewise, religion has turned into an essential viewpoint in the lives of Americans. Accordingly, an essential partition between the U.S. furthermore, its conventional European associates has been made on issues, for example, premature birth, capital punishment, and the utilization of new organic advancements (Norris and Inglehart 2004:110).

In addition, the exercises of Christian preachers constitute a danger to the communist kind of Chinese free enterprise, to Hindu radicalism in South Asia, and to Muslim fundamentalism all through the Islamic world. Common states in Europe and East Asia question more to the ascent of religiosity in American life and outside arrangement, and less to the impacts of the spread of American mainstream culture. Religious states in the Middle East and South Asia item to their introduction to the results of American pop culture and, on account of Christian teachers, to the ascent of American religiosity.

3-1.3Anti-Americanism “A World Phenomenon”

Albeit anti-Americanism has turned into a family unit term, it is ordinarily used rather aimlessly. Sylvia Ullmo (2009) rightly calls attention to that the term « présente tout à la fois une évidence aveuglante, et un indiscutable flou conceptuel » (in Mathé (ed.) 2000:9). The term anti-Americanism itself might at first appear to be moderately clear to most clients.

Actually, the term covers a scope of feelings and activities, which may have in like manner the object of their disappointment – America – however which have a large number of birthplaces and declarations. It is doubtful whether most clients ever interruption to

consider on its meaning(s). A linguistic may indicate three diverse conceivable elucidations of the term anti- Americanism:

1. Enmity towards America, i.e. anti-Americanism "dismissal of America "or
2. Enmity towards Americans, i.e. anti-Americanism "dismissal of Americans "or
3. Fear of Americanization, i.e. anti-Americanism "dismissal of Americanization".

In the event that we take after this rationale, we ought to be asking ourselves whether it is the nation, i.e. the United States that is rejected, its tenants, or the impact that this nation has on different social orders, which is despised. What has made anti-Americanism a general sensation is correctly what has portrayed the United States for more than a century: its proceeding with ascend to transcendence among the countries of the world, and there is little uncertainty that the ascent of the United States to the position of the world's most capable country has been paralleled by an ascent in anti- Americanism all through the world (Crockatt, 2003:46).

The universality of anti- Americanism is maybe its most fascinating highlight. Sardar and Davies (2002:195) have noticed that in a postmodern world with scarcely any universals left, "hating for America is about as close as we can get to an all inclusive assessment". Anti- Americanism is general, as well as special by its all inclusiveness. Contrasted and the hostility that other national anti- isms can offer ascent to, anti-Americanism unmistakably emerges as the main really general anti- ism, and thusly as "a sensation that has no partner in other comparable social orders" (Guerlain, 1996:127). It is besides an anti- ism (anti-Semitism, xenophobia and different forms of racism), which as noted above has discovered specific support as an exploration teach over the previous decades (Christian Fich, PhD proposition, 2009).

3-2US before 9/11 attacks

Before 9/11, and regardless of some optimism that the post-icy war time would introduce 'New World Order' after the 1991 Gulf War, the example of worldwide relations in the center did not interpret into stronger aggregate security and territorial administration administrations, nor did the liberation of outskirts states from superpower competition bring about the reinforcing of linkages to the systemic security of the core. All things considered, core security interests in the fringe were insignificant.

The beginnings of violence anti-Americanism can be followed to before occasions, for example, politically spurred assaults on, and killings of, Americans in Beirut from the 1970s onwards, the Iranian prisoner emergency of 1979–1980, the 1993 explosion of a van bomb in the underground auto stop in the World Trade Center, the 1998 car bomb assaults on the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam, and the 2000 suicide bombarding of the USS Cole in Aden Harbour, Yemen.

Most regional clashes stayed at a sufficiently low level of intensity ensuring the relative impassion of the center states. Obviously there were exemptions. The conclusive move made against Iraq in 1991 reflected the specific significance of the parity of force in the Middle East, the supply of oil, and the unambiguous way of Iraq's attack of Kuwait. That unique blend of highlights was not imitated somewhere else. In spite of requires the center to toss its weight behind a show of UN initiatives and bargain definitively with clash and unsteadiness plaguing the outskirts, vital and business intrigues kept on commanding the foreign policy of center states.

3-3 The September 11th attacks as the Top of Anti-Americanism

3-3.1 The Causes of 9/11

The causes for the September 11 occasions and their consequence are profoundly multifaceted and include, first off, the disappointment of U.S. brainpower and the damaging results of U.S. interventionist foreign policy since World War II and the inability to address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; U.S. policies since the late 1970s that bolstered Islamic Jihadist powers against the Soviet Union in the most recent days of the Cold War; and the inability to consider terrorist dangers important and give a sufficient reaction.

As it were, there is nobody reason or group in charge of the 9/11 dread assaults, however an extensive variety of obligation to be credited and a complex recorded foundation concerning relations between the U.S. what's more, radical Islamic powers neglected War and after that contentions beginning with the 1990-1991 "crisis in the Gulf" and resulting Gulf War (Douglas Kellner, 1992 and 2003b).

The violent anti-Americanism symbolized by the 9/11 assaults has without a doubt made the subject of anti- Americanism significantly more genuine than the parlor room denouncements of American conduct and society of a prior period. However while 11 September 2001 denoted another period of anti-Americanism, the concerns of the past stage have proceeded with generally unabated.

The Gulf emergency of 1990-91 disturbed the local economy and prompted the breakdown of Somalia, where the intermediary Bush interceded just in the wake of Thanksgiving 1992. This was charged as a philanthropic mission, yet US political interfering prompted resistance by specific gatherings, and a bash of unnecessary executing of dark cleaned Arabs came about.

3-4The American Global War on Terror

"War on Terror" transformed from a strike on Al-Qaeda fortresses in Afghanistan in late 2001 to an intrusion of Iraq in 2003, worldwide judgment of the United States encountered a resurgence that would have been hard to envision in months after the September, 11 assaults.

George W. Bush say: "The attack took place on American soil, but it was an attack on the heart and soul of the civilized world. And the world has come together to fight a new and different war, the first, and we hope the only one, of the 21st century. A war against those who seek to export terror and a war against those governments that support or shelter them." (President George W. Bush, 10/11/01).

The Global War on Terror (GWOT) taking after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 has been anticipated to on a very basic level move the part of improvement support as a tool of U.S. foreign policy. The administration of President George W. Bush, which had at first been to a degree incredulous of outside help, has following turned into a solid backer for advancement aid and altogether helped the U.S. foreign support spending plan.

This new enthusiasm is incompletely defended by the conviction that help can be an effective instrument in a more extensive crusade against worldwide terrorism. In any case, foreign aid is additionally expected to fill different needs, for example, helping the fight against worldwide destitution (Todd Moss, David Roodman, Scott Standley, 1998-2005).

Al-Qaeda is a movement characterized by scorn and hatred. They hate progress, freedom, choice, culture, music, laughter, women, Christians, Jews, and all Muslims who reject their contorted conventions. They adore and worship only one thing, and that is force they use without benevolence to execute the guiltless. The al-Qaeda terrorists trust it is worthy to take nourishment implied for starving, pure families. The al-Qaeda logic says it is

satisfactory to use blameless individuals as human shields for their military operations. The al-Qaeda logic says it is satisfactory to persecute ladies and fate them to a lifetime of destitution (The War on Terrorism – The First 100 Days).

Al Qaeda and its jihadist partners represent an expansive danger to U.S. national security. Such a grave danger obliges a solid reaction. Yet the United States has so far pursued just a one-dimensional war against al Qaeda, contending energetically on one front when it ought to be battling on four.

In particular, the Bush government has concentrated intensely on a hostile crusade against al Qaeda abroad while ignoring three other discriminating fronts: bolstering homeland defense, securing weapons and materials of mass destruction from conceivable robbery or buy by terrorists, and winning the war of thoughts. Furthermore, the government has infrequently done too minimal even in all out attack mode, rather redirecting itself into an unreasonable and counterproductive sideshow in Iraq. People in general credit President Bush for sturdiness on terror. Truth be told, his organization has sought after a pitiful war on fear, neglecting to commit the political and money related assets it requires (Stephen Van Evera, 2006).

President George W. Bush expanded America's country security and manufactured an overall coalition that started to obliterate al-Qaeda's hold on Afghanistan by driving the Taliban from force, upset al-Qaeda's worldwide operations and terrorist financing systems, devastated al-Qaeda terrorist preparing camps, helped the honest individuals of Afghanistan recoup from the Taliban's rule of dread and Helped Afghans set aside long-standing contrasts to shape another break government that speaks to all Afghans – including women.

3-5U.S Foreign Policy from Hard Power to Soft

The terms “soft power” and “hard power” were coined in the late 1980s by Joseph S. Nye, Jr., as a counter to those who foresaw the decline of the United States as a great power resulting from rising costs and the apparent diminishing utility of military force, Nye’s book, *Bound to Lead*, put forward the idea of soft versus hard power (Nye, 1990).

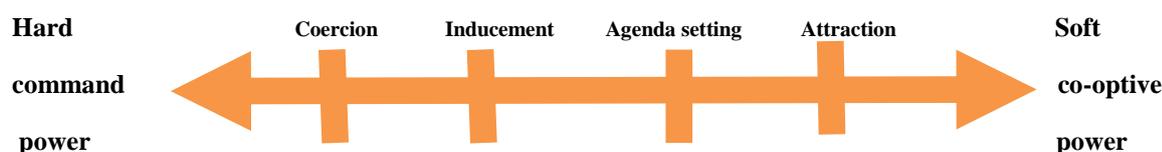


Figure 08: Behavioral Power

Source: From J. Nye, *Bound to Lead*, p. 267. 1990

The concept, more recently articulated by Nye in *Foreign Affairs* (Keohane & Nye) first made a distinction between *behavioral* power “the ability to obtain outcomes you want” and *resource* power “the possession of resources that are usually associated with the ability to reach outcomes you want.” Behavioral power was presented as a continuum (Figure 08). At one extreme was hard or command power the ability to change what others do through coercion (followed next on the continuum by inducement). At the other extreme was soft or co-optive power the ability to shape what others want through attraction (preceded by agenda-setting).

The terms have been used as a part of comprehension the systems by which nation-states can use the force they have accessible to them (Nye, Mar, 2010). As far as force between countries is concerned, " power is nothing more than the ability to affect others to get what you want " (Coutu, March, 2010).

Though hard power is comprehended to incorporate military and economic power, it is likewise the "capacity to force others to do what you need and get the results you need. Hard power uses inducements (carrots) and threats (sticks) to get others to do what they would not generally do" (Creehan & Rahman, Mar, 2010); soft power is the capacity of a nation's way of life, qualities, and strategies to impact another nation.

In foreign relations, both soft power and hard power are expected to work successfully with different governments. To be more effective and successful, the United States needs to place more assets into building up the quality of its soft power. The US ought to place an accentuation on the utilization of soft power, and use hard power just when other conciliatory means have been depleted (Coutu, March, 2010).

Soft power is harder for an administration to use, on the grounds that the utilization of soft power can't be straightforwardly administered by the government. It can on the other hand, be specifically advanced by the administration. As a matter of example, Nye refers to "public diplomacy, broadcasting, exchange programs, development assistance, disaster relief, and military-to-military contacts" as particular instruments of soft power that can be created by the administration to enhance relations with any country (Nye, March, 2010). There are additionally sorts of soft power that the government has no control over, for example, movies delivered by Hollywood, or articles composed by people communicating their own perspectives. These cooperates to shape the measure of soft power one country has with another.

In the recent past, the Bush Administration centered its policies on the utilization of hard power while disregarding and ignoring soft power, he conveyed to America the hostility and the resentment, and the Anti-Americanism has increased, though in the Obama era, he

attempted and focused to use soft power in the international relations with the nations, his goal to give or reform good image to the US, this is called “Obama Doctrine”.

President Obama faces a dilemma in foreign policy. On the one hand, he will inherit a legacy he cannot ignore: an economic crisis, two wars, a struggle against terrorism, and a set of problems in the Middle East among others. If he fails to fight these fires successfully, they will consume his political capital. On the other hand, if all he does is fight fires, he inherits Bush's priorities (Nye, March, 2009).

One irony of the Obama presidency is how much it relies on hard power. The president came into office proposing a dramatic shift from George W. Bush’s perceived unilateralism, and most of his predecessor’s hard-edged counterterrorism tactics and massive deployments in wars abroad. Yet after three years, Obama has escalated forces in Afghanistan, embraced the widespread use of unmanned drones to kill terrorists at the risk of civilian casualties, end to the war in Iraq, promised to close Guantanamo Bay by kept it opened, but killed Osama bin Laden in Pakistan in a thoroughly unilateral fashion (Lagon, Nov, 2011).

Obama promised also to begin a new soft-power American foreign policy approach of “talking to our enemies.” The Obama Doctrine gave off an impression of being contradictory to the defenders of the Global War on Terror (GWOT). It would give "peace a chance." Obama finished the war in Iraq. Now he has the Islamic State, or IS, to manage. He attempted to exit proceeded with American clash in the Greater Middle East however now is completely trapped on the front line to diminish the military and political headway of the terrorist group Islamic State of the Levant (ISIL).

The Obama presidency has regularly avoided asserting *meaningful* soft power, particularly in its relations with three countries Iran, Russia, and Egypt where it might have

made a difference not only for those countries but for American interests as well. His reaction to the challenges these countries have posed to the US suggest that it is not soft power itself that Obama doubts, but America's moral standing to project it (Lagon, Nov, 2011).

Obama's awkward approaches in soft power diplomacy will erode American preeminence on the global stage furthermore. Thomas Carothers, Vice President at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In this article, Carothers points out that US aid to promote democracy has plunged 28% during the Obama era, and the US Agency for International Development spends 38% less expenditure today to foster democracy, human rights and accountable governance abroad than that of 2009. Particularly, such aid dropped sharply to the Middle East by 72% and Africa by 43%.

It seems that the Obama administration prefers to live with stability under dictatorships however corrupt they may be, as they found it difficult to manage clashes between democracy activists and Islamists. Carothers comments that it is understandable, but he warns that autocracy foments corruption, and ultimately nurtures terrorism furthermore (Alexander, December, 2014).

Although the findings of this study do indicate the possibility that hard and soft power are perhaps best suited for different time-sensitive goals and each can have a positive effect on influence without the other power approach being present, it does not deem smart power to be irrelevant (Weinbrenner, 2004).

Who determines if soft power or hard power is more appropriate in any given political situation? The President of the United States should clearly settle on a definitive arrangement of decisions. He is guided by his unit of counsels, obviously. They are military and diplomatic utilizing an immense exhibit of tools running from diplomacy to active fighting.

3-6 The Rising of ISIS in the World

The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria or the Levant “ISIS” or “ISIL” is not only a terrorist group. It is a political and military organization that holds a radical interpretation of Islam as a political philosophy and seeks to impose that worldview by force on Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Expelled from Al-Qaeda for being too extreme, the Islamic State claims to be the legitimate ruler of all Sunni Muslims worldwide. They have established what they regard as a state which includes large swaths of territory in Syria and Iraq, governed from Iraq and Syria (Elliot Friedland, Nov 2014).

It is threatening the security of both countries and drawing increased attention from the international community. The Islamic State has thrived in the disaffected Sunni Muslim-inhabited areas of Iraq and taken control of some provinces in eastern Syria. The Islamic State’s tactics have drawn the ire of the international community, and raised new U.S. attention to Iraq’s political problems and to the civil war in Syria (Kenneth Katzman et al, Feb, 2015).

On June 29, 2014, the Islamic State declared the establishment of an Islamic caliphate with its leader being Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the caliph. The ideology of the Islamic State is that of Salafist-jihadism. It is important to remember that for them there is no distinction between religion and state. All decisions are based on a hardline interpretation of sharia (Islamic law), which is brutally enforced in the areas controlled by the Islamic State.

The ideology is almost exactly the same as that of other groups such as Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. It differs in its approach to the proper timing and the conditions necessary to establish a caliphate. Groups such as Jabhat Al-Nusra (Al-Qaeda’s official affiliate in the Syrian Civil War) believe that although the long term goal is to establish an Islamic caliphate, the time is not yet right for such a move ((Elliot Friedland, Nov 2014). The Islamic State’s medium term goal is to consolidate and expand its control of territory in Iraq and Syria and in

the next stage to advance into neighboring Sunni countries. It seems that Saudi Arabia and Jordan will be the next targets (<http://www.clarionproject.org>).

Both countries have large populations of discontented young men and both are authoritarian monarchies that emerged from the Arab Spring relatively unscathed. Advancing in this way is in keeping with the Islamic State's current practical approach of consolidating power in a contiguous territory in order to build a manageable and defensible state (<http://www.syriadeeply.org/articles>, Aug, 2014).

On September 10, 2014, President Obama announced a series of actions intended to “degrade, and ultimately destroy” the Islamic State organization. The United States is leading and seeking to expand a multilateral coalition that is undertaking direct military action; providing advice, training, and equipment for partner ground forces in Iraq and Syria; gathering and sharing intelligence; and using financial measures against the Islamic State.

The objective of these measures is to progressively shrink the geographic and political space, manpower, and financial resources available to the Islamic State organization. U.S. officials refer to their strategy as “Iraq-first” and “ISIL-first,” during criticism by some in Congress that more attention should be paid to the civil war in Syria and more effort should be made to oust Syrian President Bashar al Asad.

Conclusion

The anti-Americanism concept takes more suggestions of individuals, attitudes as irrational towards American government and its society. This phenomenon of hostility and resentment was defined by many researchers, scientists, and scholars like unnatural reaction to the position of America. Anti-Americanism created and appeared by many causes and raisons which helped to cause the top of hatred to the U.S such as the 9/11 attacks, these events led the U.S government to start war against terrorism in the beginning from Afghanistan in 2001 to Iraq in 2003, but this increases the hostility and anti-Americanism around the world. In this chapter we attempt to give definitions, causes and the rising of the terrorism especially nowadays the war against ISIS.

Chapter Four

Cases of Anti-Americanism around the World as a Sample

Introduction

In the world, there is a whole negative views of the United States have expanded strongly as of late. A key component adding to these emotions is that the United States is seen as unconstrained in its utilization of military force by the arrangement of worldwide standards and organizations that the US itself led the pack in securing in the post war period.

Speculation and commentary about Anti Americanism abroad has expanded drastically since the terrorist assaults on New York and Washington D.C. on September 11, 2001. At that point, the fast advancement of occasions has highlighted various distinctive sources and intentions of anti- American mentality.

The image of the United States has crumbled essentially abroad since 2001, especially in the Middle East, Europe and in Asia. In this chapter, we will see some nations as examples where the spread of Anti-American feeling is a difficult issue for the United States. The development of the anti-America in Muslim nations and Turkey appears to be as the highest point of this feeling; also this hostility is existed in Germany, Russia, china and Cuba.

4-1-Generally favorable Views of the U.S

In 2014, America's picture stays solid in a great part of the world. Regardless of outrage with Washington over U.S. keeping an eye on outside pioneers and remote nationals, across the board opposition to U.S. drone strikes, differences about what to do in the Middle East and other repeating strains, most reviewed publics around the globe still hold an ideal perspective of the United States. In general, mentality toward the U.S. is generally unaltered from disdain years back.

A worldwide middle of 65% voice an agreed supposition about America. This incorporates a middle of 74% in Africa, 66% in Western Europe, 66% in Asia, 65% in Latin America, yet only 30% in the Middle East.

Throughout the following couple of years the bottom fell out of U.S. support numbers, in the midst of broad resistance to the war in Iraq and different parts of U.S. foreign policy. America's picture started to rally in a few countries and to take off before the decade's over after the race of Barack Obama, at any rate in Europe and parts of Asia and Latin America. In the wake of slipping a bit again in the first years of this decade, brand U.S. has balanced out and even recuperated in a couple of countries in 2014 (Pew Research Center, 2014).

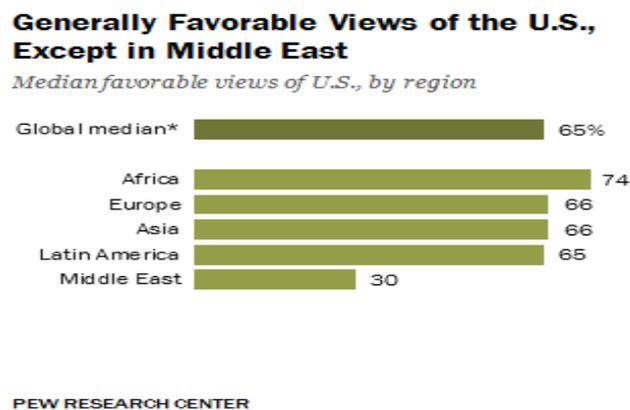


Figure 1, Source: Pew Research Center, 2014

4-2- The Middle East “Muslim World”

Today we see plainly the Muslim world is specifically compelling as it is a significant wellspring of savagery against the US, and we have officially listened, it is additionally a region of the world with especially negative emotions toward the United States. From the earliest starting point my exploration does demonstrate that anti-American sentiments do make it less demanding for al Qaeda to work and to develop in the Muslim world.

4-2.1 Anti-Americanism in Egypt

Egypt and the United States have kept up a nearby vital relationship. Because of the significance of the organization together, the elevated amounts of anti-Americanism in Egypt ought to concern U.S. policymakers. As opposed to numerous parts of the world, Egypt saw just a little increment in positivity from the Bush years with President Obama's decision, and this knock has following blurred. The anti-American sentiment is basically base up, which makes it a state of extraordinary concern as a presidential decision approaches in 2011 and the proceeded with standard of President Mubarak, aged 82, can never again be ensured.

Much like its Middle Eastern neighbors, Egyptian endorsement of the United States keeps on declining. The base up anti-Americanism of this pivotal U.S. associate is of concern in light of the fact that it could goad radicalism, as well as in light of the fact that current partner President Mubarak of Egypt is aging and an unverifiable move approaches. To minimize these issues, the United States ought to work for an answer for the Israeli-Palestinian clash, extend its open tact endeavors with the Egyptian media, and warily weight the Egyptian government to sanction fair changes.

What's most momentous about that 20/79 idealness difference toward the U.S. is that its more regrettable now than it was during the Bush years (an overall Pew survey of popular sentiment discovered a 30% support rating in Egypt for the U.S. in 2006 and 21% in 2007).

In a standout amongst the most deliberately critical nations in that area, a country that has been a nearby U.S. partner for quite a long time popular feeling toward the U.S. is as low as (if not lower than) ever, over two years into the Obama administration. Consider the late Egyptian general supposition history toward the U.S.:

The survey found that 39 percent of Egyptians accept the U.S. reaction to the change in Egypt was negative; twofold the 22 percent who said it was certain. Egyptian mentality toward the United States all the more for the most part stayed about the same somewhere around 2010 and 2011 — with only 20 percent holding a great feeling of the United States this year, an increment of three rate focuses from 2010, and 79 percent holding an unfavorable sentiment, a diminishing of three rate focuses. More Egyptians 64 percent said they had low or no trust in President Obama in 2011 than they did a year ago, up five rate focuses (Pew Research Center, 2011).

Egyptians are profoundly doubtful about the United States and its part in their nation, concurring a survey discharged by the Pew Global Attitudes Project. Most Egyptians doubt the United States and need to renegotiate their peace arrangement with Israel (Pew Research Center, 2011), however in 2014 the rate is changed from to 85 percent.

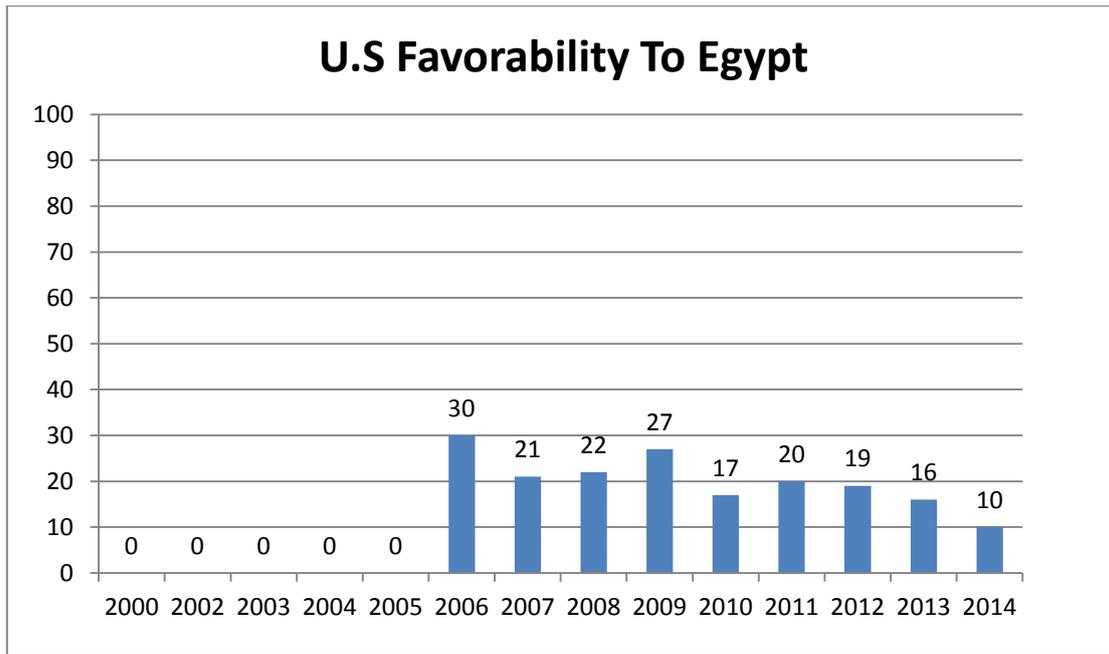


Figure 2, Source: Pew Research Center, 2014

4-2.2 Anti- Americanism in Turkey

Good and bad times of the relations in the middle of Turkey and the US were examined. It appears to be useful to periodize the relations. The primary period which is called as the vacation period stretches out from 1947 to 1960. In this period, the Turkish-American relations were in light of military and financial support, numerous respective understandings were marked, and specialized and military staff was traded. Moreover, tailing its support in the Korean War, Turkey turned into a part to NATO. Yet, as stressed above, even in this special night period, it witnesses the early indications of anti-Americanism which effectively began to thrive (Fusun Türkmen, 2009).

In the wake of having secured about 60 years of reciprocal relations we can presume that build or diminishing in anti-American assumptions in Turkey appear to be truly identified with the American approaches. Turkish individuals' impression of specific episodes cause

anti-Americanism to increment as O'Connor's —anti-Americanism as propensity predicts (Metin Toker, 1969).

As on the world, anti-Americanism in Turkey is not another wonder either. It has been show in Turkey since the early years of reciprocal relations however it got to be boundless toward the start of the 1960s. Füsün Türkmen depicts Turkish anti-Americanism as sovereign-patriot anti-Americanism as per Katzentein and Keohane model. By the same taken, by Bilge Criss, anti-Americanism was brought about by the will to safeguard sway notwithstanding ideological duties of Turkish left (Füsün Türkmen, 2010 & Nur Bilge Criss, 2002).

While this was the feeling during the Cold War, people in general recognition that Turkey's national hobbies were sidelined by its real partner has not been profoundly changed in the post-Cold War time, and has continued being the principle purpose behind anti-Americanism in Turkey. The US and Turkey stayed as vital accomplices and kept on chipping in mixture of issues that have gone from Central Asia to the Middle East. Then again, while they stayed as partners, the superpower scarcely mulled over of the hobbies of the medium.

This lack of thought showed itself in different arrangements of the US and prompted another period of expansion in anti-American assessment in Turkey. Against this foundation, this proposal contends that anti-Americanism in Turkey has generally been brought on by the Turkish recognition that the US acted singularly disregarding its nearby associate's intrigues and forcing its own will on Turkey. From this point of view, Turkish anti-Americanism can be characterized as sovereign-patriot anti-Americanism of as a propensity.

Turkey is a generally well off yet mainstream Muslim country with a strongly focused multiparty just political framework that since no less than 2005 has been among the most anti-American nations on the world (Pew Global Attitudes Project, 2009). The present day history of Turkey starts with Mustapha Kemal Ataturk's broad secularization of the country as it

transitioned from the fizzled Ottoman Empire to the contemporary Turkish country state (Hunter, 1998, 85).

Anti-Americanism in Turkey is currently grasped by all portions of Turkish society, and both mainstream patriots and Islamists participate in stridently anti-American talk (Taspinar, 2005; Cohen, 2007; Guney, 2008). Pollock (2005) portrays anti-Americanism in Turkey as a "blend of old leftism and new Islamism" where \just about every legislator and media outlet (common and religious) lectures a great mix of America- and Jew contempt that... intentionally goes far more remote than anything found in a large portion of the Arab world."

Islamists, for example, the first class connected with the Justice and Development Party, have been constantly and openly negative in their depiction of the U.S. (Cagaptay, 2008). In like manner, against colonialist talk is a principle subject of mainstream patriots, who contend that Turkey is under a \lethal risk" from both the U.S. furthermore, religious Muslims (Akyol, 2008).¹⁸ Secularist encourages, some of which draw a huge number of supporters, regularly highlight demonstrators conveying anti-American bulletins (Somer, 2007; Zaman, 2007).

Secular nationalist learned people additionally contend that American strategies in the Middle East are a piece of a \neo-provincial" push to create authority in the area: for instance, that a U.S. besieging in Iraq set off a significant seismic tremor in Turkey in 2003; that the U.S. is keeping Turkey out of Iraq to guarantee Turkey is not ready to endeavor Iraq's oil assets; and that Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein were both on the American finance (Cagaptay, 2004).

Pollock (2005) comparably relates that the Islamist daily paper *Yeni Safak*, and the standard mainstream paper *Hurriyet*, are both overflowing with doomsday arguments,

including how U.S. powers in Iraq have been gathering the organs of dead Iraqis available to be purchased in the U.S.; and how mystery American atomic testing was really in charge of the Southeast Asian wave.

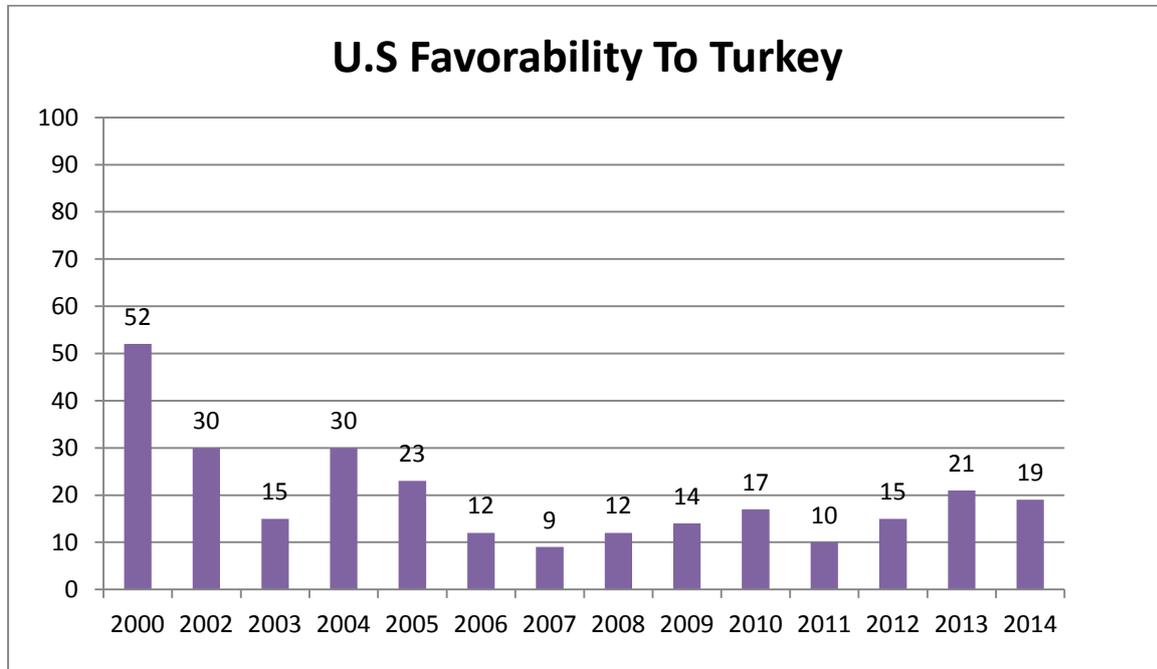


Figure 3, Source: Pew Research Center, 2014

4-3 Europe

Anti- Americanism in Europe is described by its authentic roots, back to the establishing of the United States. A significant part of the opposition to American opinion in Europe originates from the opposition that happens today between the United States and effective nations in Europe, for example, France, Great Britain and Germany. I will take Germany and Russia as tests in Europe of Anti-Americanism.

4-3.1 Anti-Americanism in Germany

The U.S. and Germany have for the most part had great relations since WWII. The U.S. helped remake West Germany through the Marshall Plan and after that gave military insurance during the chilly war. Since West Germany was on the forefront of the Cold War, U.S.-German relations were exceedingly essential for U.S. national security procedure. The German and U.S. governments endeavored broad endeavors to keep up great relations through the utilization of American study projects, training and work trade projects, and different sorts of social trades. The U.S. had a colossal impact on German culture, and there were far reaching exchange relations as the German economy progressed. Notwithstanding, there were additionally low focuses in the relationship between the two nations.

The opposition to Americanism found in Germany before 1945 and in the occasions of the late 60's show striking comparability. The inquiries to which Germans reliably gave discriminating reactions about the United States included contrasts in political and financial frameworks. As per Schwan's exploration, this is by all accounts the most overriding subject in anti-American assessment in Germany (Schwan Gesine, p58, 1999).

During the Vietnam War, there were challenges all through Europe against saw U.S. colonialism even while U.S. popular society got to be gigantically mainstream. At that point, during the eighties, there were substantial dissents against the U.S. sending of strategic atomic rockets in Germany and against the Reagan organization. Be that as it may relations between the two nations did not by any stretch of the imagination crumble until the second Iraq war. During this period there was a huge decrease in conclusion of the U.S. government and the U.S. as world pioneer in Germany. It is by and large accepted that U.S.-German political relations are unrealistic to achieve the level of participation that they were at previously. The foreign policy technique of the Bush organization has outraged or stressed a significant part of

the populace in Germany (Ioannis Stivachtis, Chair, Bettina Koch, Arnold Schuetz, May 4, 2007).

Stephen S. Szabo (2004). contends convincingly that the contention between the U.S. furthermore, Germany during the Iraq war was brought about by a conflict of vital societies brought out by the American evangelist propensities inside the Bush White House. Walter Russell Mead looks all the more extensively to the "Jacksonian" drive and the new right in American governmental issues as being focal in comprehension anti-Americanism in Germany.

The left wing political monetary contention is that U.S. is the world's overwhelming industrialist power. It looks to rule the world and make an exploitive industrialist world request. Germany is a "toady" of the U.S. The financial issues that Germany appearances are brought on by the U.S., generally just like the issues in immature nations (Andrei S Markovits, p 55, 2004).

A study done by Uwe Srp of print media scope of the Iraq war created comparative discoveries. *Anti Amerikanismus in Deutschland: Theoretische und empirische Analyse basierend auf dem Irakkrieg 2003* examines at the scope of the Iraq war in the German print media. Srp contends that the opposition to Americanism in Germany right now was to a vast degree brought about by media inclination. His examination demonstrates that the German media confined George W. Bramble, the Iraq war, and the United States in reliably negative and excessively oversimplified terms. Srp based the study around the idea of media encircling (Uwe Srp, 2003).

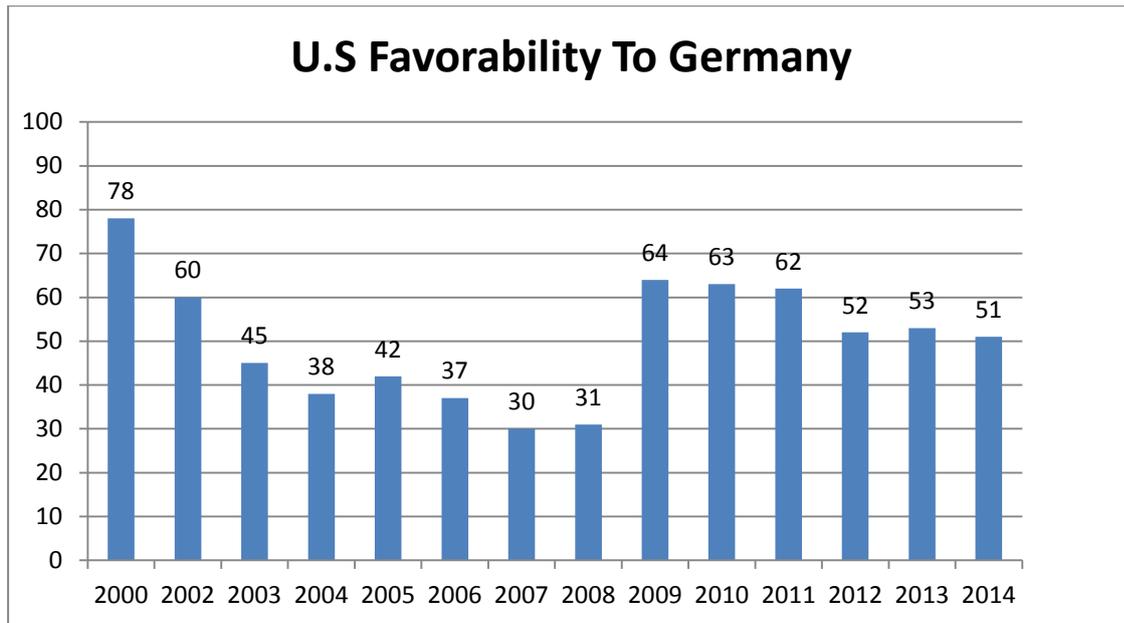


Figure 4, Source: Pew Research Center, 2014

4-3.2 Anti-Americanism in Russia

The opposition to Western/against American component in Russia's approach and conduct may develop if Russia progressively characterizes its part on the planet as that of a counterpoint to U.S. arrangement and activities on the worldwide stage. The United States and the NATO Allies must make moves to temper inclinations in Moscow that are reminiscent of the Cold War.

Russians are more anti-American than they have been anytime in the previous 25 years, as per a late supposition survey. More than 80 percent of Russians perspective the United States contrarily, the definite reverse of how the general population felt in 1992, regarded free surveyor the Levada Center said in an announcement.

As indicated by numerous experts, anti-Americanism in Russia is on the ascent. This is not an extraordinary sensation, as anti-Americanism obviously exists over the globe.

Despite the fact that this notice concentrates on Russia, numerous states have seen a surge in anti-Americanism, even in the wake of September 11 (Georgi Derluguian, October 2002).

Anti -American resentment, then; it is communicated just by specific parts however those areas of assessment are found far and wide, not only in Islamic nations. Anti-American assumption in Russia, then, does not appear to be all that remarkable. Regardless of the warmed talk of the Cold War, Anti-Americanism was not a pervasive feeling among the Soviet individuals. Recounted proof firmly shows that Soviet-period populaces held the American individuals, culture, and innovation in high regard; this sensitivity and regard, notwithstanding, did not generally stretch out to the legislature of the United States (Georgi Derluguian, October 2002).

Russia has a long history of Anti-Americanism, going back to beginning of the Cold War. In a percentage of the most recent Russian populace surveys, the United States and its partners reliably best the rundown of Greatest Enemies (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.htm).

The number of Russians who harbor negative perspectives toward the United States has soar in the midst of the continuous clash in couple of months, as per a survey distributed Monday by the Russian state-run Public Opinion Foundation. Thirty-seven percent of the survey's respondents said they had an unfavorable assessment of the U.S, contrasted and only 18 percent in February a year ago, precedes numerous emergency (The Moscow Times, Nov. 24 2014).

There has additionally been a spike in antagonistic vibe toward U.S. President Barack Obama, with 40 percent saying they have a negative perspective of him, contrasted and only 8

percent in April 2011. Sixty-four percent of respondents depicted current relations between the U.S. also, Russia as "awful," and 70 percent said the circumstance compounded inside the most recent year. With respect to which nation was at fault for harmed relations, 37 percent said the U.S. was basically at fault, while another 16 percent said the U.S. alone was capable. Just 12 percent said both nations had influence.

Fifty percent said Russia ought to endeavor to cover things up with the U.S., contrasted and 16 percent who said Moscow ought not to do as such. Sixty-two percent said it was in light of a legitimate concern for both nations to enhance ties. The survey was directed on Nov. 16 among 1,500 grown-ups in 100 urban areas crosswise over Russia. The wiggle room did not surpass 3.6 percent.

Correspondingly, the number who has a decent supposition of the U.S. has declined, from 23 percent in mid 2013 to 11 percent as of now. Seventy-eight percent said the U.S. assumes a negative part on the planet, contrasted and 53 percent in February 2013. The number who accepts the U.S. assumes a positive part on the planet plunged from 19 percent a year ago to 7 percent, and 36 percent said U.S.'s. impact was diminishing (The Moscow Times, Nov. 24 2014).

The greatest decrease in appraisals for the U.S. is in Russia, where 71% now hold an unfavorable conclusion. About a large portion of (51%) the Russian open communicated a positive supposition of Uncle Sam in 2013. In 2014, just 23% hold that view, a drop of 28 rate focuses. Russians' feelings have been here and there in the most recent couple of years (57% positive as of late as 2010). The late souring of the Russian state of mind about the United States has taken a swing at during an era of developing Moscow-Washington strain over Crimea, Ukraine and U.S. financial authorizations against some Russians.

Russia's political relations with the West sank to post-Cold War lows a year ago as Russia attacked the Crimean Peninsula from neighboring Ukraine, and Russia and the West went head to head in a progression of one good turn deserves another assents. Presently, with the equipped clash in eastern Ukraine warming up and U.S. legislators recharging a push to supply weapons to the Ukrainian military, mainstream conclusion of the West is not prone to enhance at any point in the near future in Russia. Indeed, the estimations held by Russians toward the United States have been steadily declining following mid-2011, with a sharp fall happening around March a year ago, when Russia added Crimea.

Most Russians have bolstered that extension, with a surge of energetic enthusiasm having impelled President Vladimir Putin's fame to unsurpassed highs. His endorsement at present floats around 85 percent. Then, Russians' feeling of Ukraine has fundamentally decayed, going from around 75 percent positive in July 2013 to very nearly 65 percent negative today, Levada Center said.

On the other hand, Russians' perspectives of China have enhanced more than 20 rate focuses following November 2013, with 81 percent of current respondents saying they have an ideal perspective of the nation. That enhanced slant mirrors the turn that Russian lawmakers and organizations have made toward the East over the previous year as ties with the West wallow. Russians' conclusion of Belarus has remained always positive, floating around the 80 percent mark for as long as decade and a half.

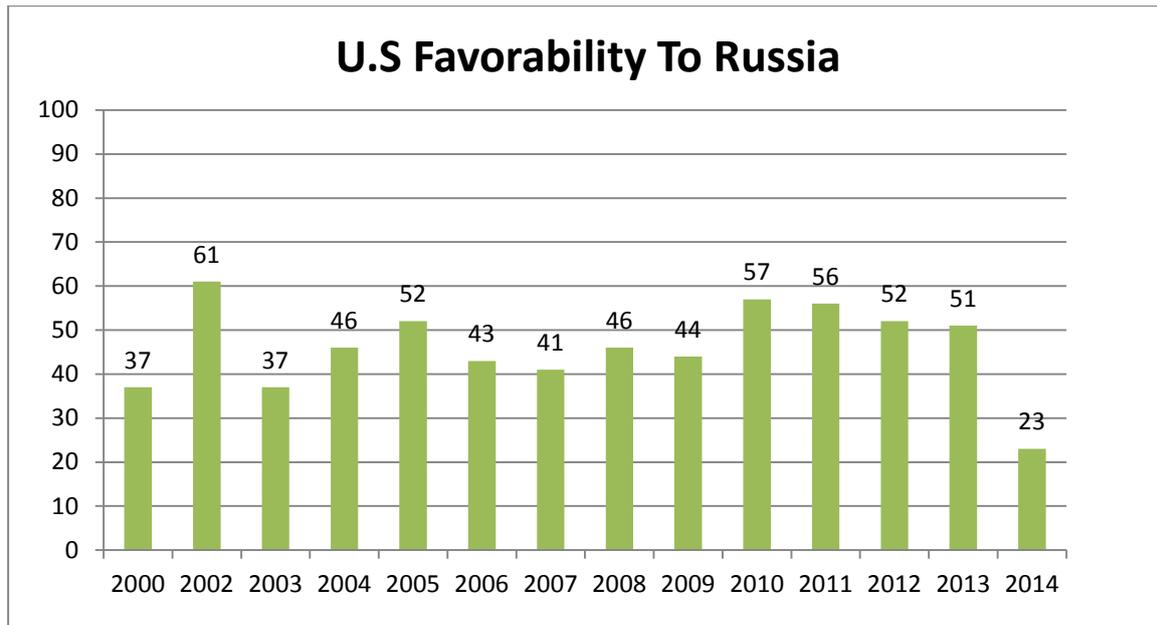


Figure 5, Source: Pew Research Center, 2014

4-4 Asia

4-4.1 Anti-Americanism in China

The populace of China used to loathe the United States uproariously and repulsively. Today, the Chinese individuals loathe the United States all the more unobtrusively yet pretty much as tenaciously. As indicated by a conclusion review discharged in March 2006 by the Chinese daily paper The Global Times (Huan Qiu Shi Bao), various Chinese living in urban territories confess to having negative perspectives of the United States.

Nearly 59 percent of them accept that the United States looks to contain China, while 56 percent consider the United States to be China's rival (Cheng Gang, March 17, 2006). A sixteen-country assessment study directed by the Pew Global Attitudes Project in 2005

created comparative results: just 42 percent of the individuals in China hold an ideal sentiment of the United States (The Pew Global Attitudes Project, June 23, 2005).

Anti- American talk in China normally focuses on the apparent risk of Western Civilization to the Chinese lifestyle and Chinese relations with Taiwan. Open deliberation over binding together or freeing Taiwan from terrain China, going back to the Taiwan Strait Crises of 1954-1958, keeps on isolating China and the United States.

The Chinese accuse the US for any issues that emerges in the reciprocal relationship in the middle of China and Taiwan and they accept that US backing of Taiwan is a push to debilitate their nation. Chinese patriotism calls for Taiwanese unification, and with the US supporting the Taiwanese government, Chinese patriotism has transformed into anti-American assumption.

Many Chinese believe that U.S. activities abroad exhibit the recently discovered, self-selected part of the United States as the policeman of the world. In China, 77% accept that the U.S. is assuming the part of world policeman more than it ought to be, as indicated by an April 2007 overview "World Publics Reject US Role as the World Leader".

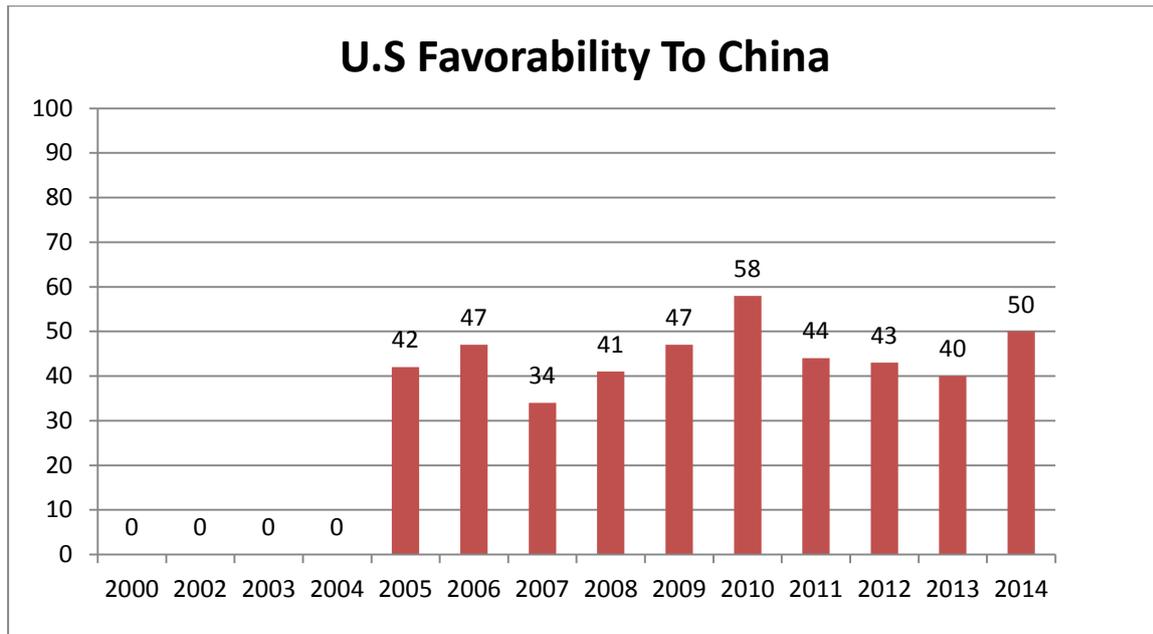


Figure 6, Source: Pew Research Center, 2014

4-5 Latin America

U.S. relations with Latin American nations since September 11, 2001 have changed significantly. Since the "War on Terror" has involved the brains of the U.S. government, numerous accept that Latin American needs have been put on a low priority status. There is a staggering sense that the United States is lethargic to Latin America's worries, however in the meantime expecting backing for the war. This has prompted developing anti-American feeling in the zone. I take Cuba as a sample of Anti-Americanism in Latin America.

4-5.1 Anti-Americanism in Cuba

The US and Cuba have had no strategic relations since 1961, yet the breakdown of relations came relentlessly after the transformation in 1959 which conveyed Fidel Castro to power. By 1960 Castro's administration had seized private area and organizations, some of which were US backups. President Eisenhower started confining exchange with the island

country however it was President Kennedy who secured a changeless ban on February 7, 1962 (Euronews, News Dec 17, 2014).

Toward the start of the Cold War, numerous Latin American scholars ascribed a great part of the area's neediness and disparity to the vicinity of American intrigues and saw communism, communicated in different Marxist mixed bags, as a honest to goodness elective. The United States kept on supporting dictator fascisms, similar to the Somoza family business in Nicaragua. America's case to be a wellspring of just values lost its believability (Enrique Krauze, Jan 7, 2015).

The tensest minute came in October of that year when US spy planes discovered confirmation of Soviet rockets being based on Cuban soil. The Cuban rocket emergency was defused when Soviet pioneer Kruschev and President Kennedy struck a mystery arrangement to expel US rockets from Turkey. Soviet rockets left Cuban soil, however the harm was finished. The US reinforced ban runs in 1992 and 1996. The most recent decade has seen limitations casual and fixed relying upon the political atmosphere.

The argumentative issue between the two nations was Cuba's assignment by the U.S. State Department as a state supporter of terrorism, a status initially doled out in 1982 in light of Fidel Castro's preparation of agitators in Central America. Castro declared in 1992 that Cuba would no more bolster guerillas abroad, and the State Department's yearly report for 2013 states there is no confirmation that the nation has given preparing or weapons to terrorist bunches.

In 1989 the Berlin Wall fell and, shockingly, majority rule governments came to power through the polling booth in different Latin American battlegrounds, quite Chile, Nicaragua and El Salvador. Marxists were stranded by belief system and space was opened for liberal and social-majority rule governments.

Cuba has been the epicenter of anti-Americanism in advanced Latin America. As a political philosophy it was conceived during the Spanish-American War of 1898, came to its stature with the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, and might now, through a uniquely valiant move by President Obama, have started its last decay (Enrique Krauze, Jan 7, 2015).

The change in the nations' relations, at first stamped by a detainee swap and Havana's arrival of an imprisoned U.S. foreman, incited a few specialists to indicate better prospects for Cuba's economy and U.S. relations all the more comprehensively in Latin America. Anyway the U.S. exchange ban, which requires congressional endorsement to be cancelled, is unrealistic to be lifted at any point in the near future.

The consent to re-create conciliatory relations between the United States and Cuba will confront major issues: the resistance of preservationist American lawmakers, and also a convoluted way toward common and political freedoms in Cuba (the late detainment of bloggers attempting to extend the scope of free discourse in Cuba is a terrible sign).

However approval for the understanding is boundless in Latin America. By his memorable declaration on Dec. 17, Obama has started to disassemble a standout amongst the most profoundly established ideological interests of the southern landmass.

Surveys directed soon after the U.S.-Cuba declaration in December 2014 found that a dominant part of Americans upheld restoring discretionary ties. A Pew Research survey discovered 63 percent of Americans upheld continuing political relations, and 66 percent would like an end to the exchange ban. A Washington Post-ABC News survey discovered 74 percent of respondents were supportive of an end to the travel boycott. In June 2014, Florida International University survey demonstrates a larger part of Cuban Americans likewise bolster normalizing ties and completion the ban, flagging a generational move in disposition toward the island (Danielle Renwick and Brianna Lee, April 15, 2015).

In 2015, survey directed by the U.S. firm Bendixen & Amadi International found that 97 percent of Cubans support the rebuilding of ties. Standardization between the United States and Cuba has been commended in a lot of Latin America, where U.S. approach toward Cuba—especially the ban and assignment of Cuba as a state supporter of terrorism—was profoundly disliked. Worldwide backing for the standardization of U.S.-Cuba relations was additionally overpowering, especially in Latin America. In 2013, the UN General Assembly sanction a determination censuring the U.S. ban for the twenty-second back to back year, with 188 part nations backing the determination and just two—the United States and Israel—contradicting .

Conclusion

To sum up, we see that there are a lot of visions and attitudes around the world toward the United States and this makes changes from one country to another, according to their people where they are giving their opinions by polls. We get these polls by surveys and organizations of research such as Pew Research Center, Gallup Center and Zogby which they help U.S to get more data and information and she makes changes in its policies as possible.

Anti-Americanism is widespread and especially in the post-Cold War era we currently saw and marked by resurfacing of the identity problems without the ideological covers of the past, relations with the United States is defined in a crisis atmosphere, especially in the Muslim World, and nowadays the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria as the top hostility and resentment towards U.S policies, its actions, violence are more dangerous and threaten the peace.

General conclusion

Based on what we have seen and discussed throughout the fourth chapters and the reliable sources, we can say that the first hypothesis which says the people or nation behave negatively anti-America, it's because America who badly, it is taking more debatable and discussing in many areas and places around the world.

Unlike the other countries, America was built as big nation, according to its values and principles such as freedom and democracy. These values helped the U.S to appear superpower and intervened to solve or create issues. Even before September 11th, the Bush administration had signaled its retreat from the internationalism that had consistently inspired US foreign policy since World War II. Ever since Woodrow Wilson, American scripture had also implied the vision of a world order that would forever transcend the lawlessness of international relations. Many of the international organizations that now serve to regulate inter-state relations bear a markedly American imprint, and spring from American ideals and initiatives.

After September 11th this outlook has only hardened. The overriding view of international relations in terms of the war against terrorism has led the United States to ride roughshod over its own Constitutional protection of civil rights as well as over international treaty obligations under the Convention of Geneva in the ways it handles individuals, US citizens among them, suspected of links to terrorist networks. The domestic and international multilateral checks have been unable to keep under control the exercise of US international power; anti-Americanism has functioned as a sort of last resort critic on the latter.

The second hypothesis which says that America is badly because incoherently conducted its foreign policy towards such people, from the U.S independence till nowadays the foreign policy was passed by many phases to isolation, neutrality, and interventional in the world, this was given to the U.S many problems and created big issue called "anti-

Americanism” in the international relations and especially with the people. From the end of the Cold War in 1991 to the end of the 2000s, anti-Americanism and the people’s hostility have passed through different phases in Europe, as well as in other parts of the world: it was modest in the 1990s; it exploded between 2003–2008; caused by the Iraq’s war, here it was seemed as big shift in the foreign policy, then declined after 2008 when Barack Obama became U.S President. Although anti-Americanism continues to be rooted in many political cultures and experiences, its emergence in the post Cold War era seemed to be correlated to a United States foreign policy-making process unrestrained by either domestic or international institutions.

I believe that Anti-Americanism has seemed to be the reaction, more than to controversial foreign policy's decisions, to their unchecked elaboration and unilateral implementation. For world public opinion, the legitimacy of the foreign policy-making process counts more than the latter's outcomes. In addition, a powerful scapegoating impulse, related to envy and resentment (particularly in countries that have been unsuccessful economically and in terms of international power) is central to anti-Americanism. Because of America's "lone remaining superpower" status, it has become a target upon which a wide range of grievances and resentments can be projected.

I think the ongoing protest against modernity's major components and unintended consequences, these include secularization, industrialization, urbanization, bureaucratization, mobility (both social and spatial), and the decline of community and social-cultural cohesion.

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