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**The American Foreign Policy towards the Middle East: The Case of
Iraq Wars**

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Dedication

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Mahaibia Salsabil

Dedication

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Abstract

This study is an attempt to investigate in a comprehensive dissertation the concept of the American foreign policy towards the Middle East by taking Iraq as a major case study starting from 1980 until 2019. The project sheds the light on the American foreign policy historical evolution through highlighting its main principles, strategies and approaches primarily Idealism and Realism. Moreover, it explores the history of the American foreign policy towards the Middle East, including an overview about the Middle East as a nucleus region, in addition to the major reasons that lead to the interference of the United States. Therefore, this dissertation major concern is to focus on Iraq as a case study aiming to clarify the impact of the American foreign policy on the Middle East. This process is done by analyzing the major events that took place there through history, the main strategies and approaches followed by the American foreign policy makers, as well as the impacts of its interference on the country. The study proves that the US pays a special attention to its foreign policy due to its impact on the country safety and economic stability. It also highlights the United States-Middle East relation, as well as the region importance to the United States, especially Iraq. Finally, the study proves that the United States followed a realistic approach in terms of its foreign policy towards Iraq.

ملخص

هذا العمل هو عبارة عن محاولة لدراسة السياسة الخارجية الامريكية تجاه الشرق الأوسط في مذكرة شاملة تتضمن العراق كدراسة حالة أساسية بدءاً من 1980 الى غاية 2019. هذا المشروع يسلط الضوء على التطور التاريخي للسياسة الخارجية الامريكية من خلال لقاء الضوء على مبادئها الرئيسية واستراتيجياتها ومناهجها، في المقام الأول المثالية والواقعية. كما انها تحيط بتاريخ السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة تجاه الشرق الأوسط متضمنة نظرة عامة على الشرق الأوسط كمنطقة أساسية، فضلاً عن الأسباب الرئيسية التي أدت إلى التدخل الأمريكي. لذلك، فإن الهدف الرئيسي لهذه المذكرة هو التركيز على العراق كدراسة حالة تهدف إلى توضيح تأثير السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية على الشرق الأوسط، من خلال تحليل الأحداث الكبرى التي حدثت هناك عبر التاريخ، بالإضافة الى الاستراتيجيات والأساليب الرئيسية المنتهجة من طرف صناعات السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية وعواقب تدخلها في البلاد. تثبت الدراسة أن الولايات المتحدة تولي اهتماماً خاصاً لسياستها الخارجية لما لها من تأثير على أمن البلاد واستقرارها الاقتصادي. كما انها تسلط الضوء على العلاقة بين الولايات المتحدة والشرق الأوسط، فضلاً عن أهمية المنطقة بالنسبة للولايات المتحدة، وخاصة العراق. وأخيراً، تثبت الدراسة أن الولايات المتحدة اتبعت نهج الواقعية فيما يخص سياستها الخارجية تجاه العراق.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ARAMCO	The Arabia American Oil Company
BAPCO	The Bahrain Petroleum Company
FDR	Franklin Delano Roosevelt
IR	International Relation
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
MEDO	Middle East Defense Organization
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OIF	Operation Iraq Freedom
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
SOCAL	The Standard Oil of California
TPC	The Turkish Petroleum Company
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nation Security Council
US	United States
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

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Introduction

The United States (US) is one of the major powers in the world, due to its unique history and its remarkable evolution in terms of politics, economy, technology, media, arms, nuclear power ...etc. The government established a distinctive domestic and foreign policy, in order to preserve and secure its interest, especially its foreign policy, which became now the focus of researchers and scholars. Therefore, the US considered having international ties outdoor aiming to improve its economy and spread its ideologies. One of the major interventions that marked the American foreign policy oversea is its involvement in the Middle Eastern nations especially in Iraq.

This dissertation highlights the nature of the American-Middle Eastern ties, throughout tracing back the history of the American Foreign policy separately and then shedding the light on the history of the US foreign policy in the Middle East in general. This study as well tries to examine these ties by taking Iraq as a remarkable Middle Eastern nation that has been exposed to the American interference by the end of the Cold War.

This study aims first at defining, foreign policy in general, then highlights the major aspects, theories, tools and aims of the American foreign policy. Second, it seeks to explore its nature towards the Middle East generally and Iraq specifically. Furthermore, this study focuses on determining the approach followed by the US policy makers in Iraq, whether it is an idealistic or a realistic one.

There is an ongoing debate on how the US foreign policy functions and processes. That is why it is important to dive into its history, its components and instruments to better understand it. This study advances four hypotheses. First, the US government now considers its foreign policy one of the most important policies in the whole governmental system because it is linked to the

physical and economic security of the state. The second hypothesis is that the US pays special attention to the Middle East region. Furthermore, the US considers Iraq the heart of its foreign policy in the Middle East, and finally, that US foreign policy towards Iraq is based on a realistic approach rather than an idealistic one.

This work discusses US foreign policy towards the Middle East by answering some important key questions:

- What is foreign policy?
- What controls the US foreign policy? And what was its pattern through history?
- What is the significance of the Middle East to the US? And how did it interfere in it?
- How did the US start to interfere in Iraq?
- What are the real reasons of the 2003 US-Iraq War? And what were its consequences?

The subject of foreign policy is not that new nor less discussed by researchers, historians, politician or political analysts. Numerous voluminous books, dissertations and articles have been written on this subject. The following review of literature is intended to provide a basic knowledge related to the theme under investigation, based on a thematic order.

Walter Russell Mead in his book *“SPECIAL PROVIDENCE American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World”* published in 2001 argues that the common belief that there is little to be gained from studying the history of the American foreign policy is wrong. Claiming that the US has always had a unique and special foreign policy even before its independence.

“American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century”, 2013, is a book written by Bruce W. Jentson, in which he discussed the American foreign policy from every perspective, from aims to tools by exploring the country history (pre- cold war, cold war, post-cold war) linking it with the theory and the strategy correspondent. He further discusses the American foreign policy in different regions, Asia, Europe...etc, and finally the Middle East as a

major focus, discussing every event individually, from the two Gulf Wars, to the Iraq war and a very terrorism policy.

Bledar Prifti wrote a book entitled “*US Foreign Policy in the Middle East: The Case for Continuity*”, which tackles the American foreign policy in the Middle East throughout tracing back its history and stating the Middle Eastern significance to the US and the past major powers. He also explains the norms upon which this policy was based on, including the several American reactions and roles in the conflicts and disputes that took place in the region within the last seven decades implying the continuity of the American foreign policy towards the Middle East.

“*International History of the Twentieth Century and Beyond*”, is the production of four major authors: Antony Best, Jussi Hanhimäki, Joseph A. Maiolo, and Kirsten E. Schulze, in which they report and analyze the major events that took place during the twentieth century in all of Asia, the Middle East, Europe, Africa and the Americas. Therefore, this book is a sort of a historical study that tackles the historical background of the international relations and how they impact each other in terms of economy and politics. They also explain how the evolution of several events in the world shaped nowadays political, economic and social state.

In his book, *War and American Foreign Policy: Justifications of Major Military Actions in the US*, 2021, David J. Lorenzo studies the American foreign policy attitudes during wars and how war is an important component of the US foreign policy, where it contains justifications to the American decision to go to war. The book can be considered also as a historical record of all the American wars from 1812, until the second Gulf War (Iraq War 2003).

The Mother of All Battles, 2008 is one of the most notable books of Jeff Archer, as he discusses the history of the US Iraq relation. Starting from Iran-Iraq war arriving at the US-Iraq War of 2003, highlighting the real and the hidden reasons behind each intervention, along with its effects and consequences, backed with huge collection of pictures that shows great damage.

Furthermore, the book is a historical record of each event that took place during that period and especially since 1990 arriving at that war of 2003, where he argued that the war is unjust and that the US interfered for its own interests and hidden aims. In addition, he claims that the authorities attempted to promote for this war.

The US has always been an interesting country, especially at the governmental level and policy making, due to its unique and special process of decision making. Many scholars studied and investigated different aspects of the country foreign policy, which attracted great attention. However, little attempts were made to study and investigate the United States foreign policy towards the Middle East and especially Iraq. This topic has been chosen due to its importance, as Algeria geographically exists next to the Middle East region, any instability, event or policy that occurs there would affect us in a direct or in an indirect way. That is why there is an increasing need to study and understand how the American foreign policy works and functions there.

This work is divided to three chapters; the first chapter entitles “the United States Foreign Policy”, defines foreign policy and studies the historical background of American foreign policy as well as the factors responsible for shaping it. The chapter also explores Idealism and Realism for being the main and the essential approaches in controlling the international relationship in addition to answering the question of what is the Middle East. “The US Foreign Policy towards the Middle East” is the second chapter title, which explores the international relationship policy followed by the US towards the ME, the real reasons of the Gulf war, Iraq war and the role of the US in both of them. The third chapter “Case Study: The US Foreign Policy towards Iraq”, aims to explore the real reasons that control their relationship.

In order to confirm the hypotheses and to answer the study questions, this research is conducted through historical and qualitative approaches, aiming to explore the US foreign policy towards the Middle East. Using the qualitative method, this study gives deep explanation to the

basic principles, methods, and policies used by the US in order to control and manage its international relationships, especially towards the Middle East. The historical approach is used to explore different facts about the subject, investigating the history of events concerning the US foreign policy towards Iraq.

Chapter One

The American Foreign Policy

The US is a relatively a newly emerged country compared with other major powers of the old world, which gave it the chance to learn from previous empires and government flaws. The founding fathers succeeded in creating an iconic foreign policy that would guarantee the country's involvement in global crisis, and secure its future position to lead the world.

This chapter represents an attempt to define foreign policy, where several definitions from different scholars is provided, followed by a historical overview on the American foreign policy. The latter includes the major phases, and the policy decisions that were made in these eras by the correspondent government. Furthermore, major theories and aspects that have been followed by the US are included. Finally, the chapter provides a small highlight on the authorities that makes and controls the American foreign policy, concluded with its aims and tools to reach them.

1. Definition of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy has been a subject of debate for decades, and as a result, many scholars have attempted to identify and conceptualize it as: Rosenau, James N, Stanley H. Hoffmann, Hugh Gibson, William Wallace, and many others. There is an old saying, "politics stop at the water's edge" in other word, classical differences and conflicts in the domestic policy stop and come to an end when entering the international stage, in order to face foreign threats to the country (Jentelson 27).

Rosenau, an American political scientist and international affairs scholar, believes that it is logical to have boundaries to divide and distinguish foreign and domestic policy. He refers to foreign policy as authoritative actions taken by governments or the branches in charge to give orders, whether to maintain the desirable aspects of the international environment or to modulate its undesirable aspects (552). In the same passage, Hoffmann, a professor at Harvard University,

specialized in French politics and society, European politics, U.S. foreign policy, and international relations, believes that foreign policy takes place in a “milieu” with its own “coherence and uniqueness”, its own rules and policies that is completely different from domestic political laws (346). In these definitions, the focus is on highlighting foreign policy as a discipline field separated from the domestic affairs that have its own rules and decision makers.

Gibson, an American diplomat and an expert in foreign policy, explains foreign policy as a well-constructed holistic plan based on the previous knowledge and experiences, in order to guide the government business with the other countries, and it aims to promote and protect the interests of the nation (9). William Wallace, who used to be one of the main leaders of the Scottish First War of independence, in the other hand divides foreign policy to different levels, giving a detailed definition to each; the pragmatic definition, which views foreign policy as the countries’ actions in interacting with other governments. The diplomatic one, which is about the government's broad direction toward other governments, including the formation of alliances and collaborations, in the favor of a declared national interests and desired models of international order. And finally the “grand strategy” definition, which states that foreign policy is about national identity: the sources of national pride, the characteristics that distinguish a country from its neighbors, the core elements of sovereignty that it seeks to defend, and the values that it stands for and seeks to promote abroad (65). In short foreign policy is a discipline field or institution in the government that is concerned with the international relations and affairs of the government with other countries; economic, security, alliance, trade...etc, and it has its own rules and policies that govern and control its decisions.

2. The American Foreign policy

Lord Bryce, who used to serve as the British ambassador in the US, described the role of the foreign policy in the American political life as “There are no snakes in Ireland” (qtd in Mead

3). As the US evolved to become one of the super powers in the world, most observers neglected the role of foreign policy in this development, and there was a shared belief that it played only a marginal role in the country policy. The growth and the development of the US to become one of the dominant superpowers is something that no one could reject or ignore, and as the US evolved, the special policy that governed and ruled its international relationships also evolved and went through many phases. In order to understand how the American foreign policy works and functions, one should first trace back its history and development.

3.1 History of the American Foreign Policy

Throughout most of the American history, neutrality and isolationism were the classic principles of foreign policy. In the occasional paper, *Origins of U.S. Foreign Policy*, Pat Paterson clarifies that in the Cold War era, the US started the containment policy, in order to fight the threat of communism. However, after the Cold War, President Clinton shifted from this tradition in order to expand the country's economic and political affairs. After 9/11 attacks, President George W. Bush launched the pre-emptive doctrine in order to promote democracy and ensure security overseas, initiating new era in the American foreign policy with new principles of liberalism and internationalism. Accordingly, based on his division the American foreign policy can be divided into three eras: the Pre-Cold War era, the Cold War era, and the Post-Cold War era.

Walter Russell Mead, a foreign affairs and foreign policy professor, states that from the eighteenth century to the twenty first century, Americans tend to have four different schools of thoughts when it comes to foreign policy: Hamiltonians, who believe that the international alliance between governments is the key to ensure both domestic and economic stability. Wilsonians, who share the common belief that the US has the national interest and the moral obligation to spread the American democracy and social values. Jeffersonians, in the other hand

believe that the government should focus more on ensuring democracy at the national level, rather than increasing the risks of war by being open. Finally, the Jacksonians who believe that the goal of both domestic and foreign policy should be ensuring physical and economical security and that the US should not interfere in wars unless the country is menaced (17). According to Mead, these four schools of thoughts happen to take a place in all the American history and will probably remain in the future as well.

3.1.1 Pre-Cold War Era

Bruce W Jentleson is a leading scholar of the American foreign policy, who gives chronologies of five historical phases and their significant foreign policy that took place before the Cold War: The Revolutionary War and the consolidation of independence (1776–1800), expansion and preservation (1801–1865), global emergence (1865–1919), isolationist retreat (1919–1941), and WWII (1941-1945) (73). By this division, he highlights the key events in the American history coordinating it with the foreign policy followed by the decision makers.

3.1.1.1 The Revolutionary War and the Consolidation of Independence (1776–1800)

It is known that the US was a part of the British Empire colonies, and that Americans went through a revolutionary war in order to be an independent country. Mead believes that even though the country at that time had no experience in foreign policy, yet Americans were good in establishing international relations. The revolution leaders successfully managed to gain the international support of the French government and other allies, causing pressure to the British government, forcing it to sign the Paris Treaty (165-166). From the very beginning, the US used international relations, and knew that it is a very important aspect that should not be neglected in the American policy.

There was this famous conversation between John Adams and the Englishmen Oswald in November 1781 in Paris:

"You are afraid," says Mr. Oswald to-day, "of being made the tools of the powers of Europe." "Indeed I am," says I. "It is obvious that all the powers of Europe will be continually maneuvering with us, to work us into their real or imaginary balances of power. ... But I think it ought to be our rule not to meddle; and that of all the powers of Europe, not to desire us, or perhaps, even not to permit us, to interfere, if they can help it. (qtd.inPerkings 10)

From the very beginning, ancestors of America knew that being naturally and geopolitically distant from Europe is the key to insure security and prosperity in the US. Neutrality therefore, would be the policy of the US for the upcoming era. After signing the Paris Treaty in November 1782 that ended the conflict between the two parts, America and Britain, the first President George Washington, and his countrymen, decided to be neutral and isolated, avoiding long term alliance with the outside world unless in emergency situations in order to avoid the wars that were raging in the European continent (Paterson 5-6).

AkisKalaitzidis, a professor of international relations and comparative politics, and Greg Streich, a specialist in the American politics and political theory, share the same believe as Paterson; newly emerged countries should avoid conflicts and wars especially with Washington plan to guide the country to the top. In the war between Britain and France, there was a conflict in the American government, where the Federalists led by the Anglophile, Alexander Hamilton sided with Britain, and the Republicans led by Francophile, Thomas Jefferson, wanted to defend France. However, President George Washington ended this partition by choosing to remain neutral (3). The isolation policy therefore is as old as the creation of the US, and it succeeded to keep it safe from conflicts overseas through centuries. This policy also enabled the US to build strong economic and physical security.

3.1.1.2 Expansion and Preservation (1801–1865)

The American historian, professor, and chairman at Rochester University in the US, Dexter Perkins, states that in this era, there were the striking events of 1823. The European powers formed the so-called “Holy Alliance” in order to re-occupy Latin America, which had recently gained independence from Spain. The British government tried to establish an agreement with the US to allow this invasion movement. However, this offer was rejected completely, and this was followed by the famous proclamation of December 2, 1823, known as the Monroe Doctrine, in which an independent warning was sent to the powers of the Old World (10). With this announcement, the US made it clear that it will not allow old imperial powers to approach Latin American countries.

In a message to Congress, President James Monroe confirmed that “The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects to future colonization by any European powers” (qtd.in Gilderhus 8). In this message, the US clarified to the world that it has the right to interfere in foreign affairs whenever things contradict its interests, in addition to confirming its leadership in the American continent.

With the Louisiana Purchase from France in 1803, the US was double sized, yet this also led to greater danger, when it almost got defeated in the war with Britain in 1812. By the end of the war with Mexico (1846-1848), Texas as well became a part of the US (Jentelson74-76). According to Mead, the US domestic prosperity started to repeatedly get disturbed by the nineteenth century, due to economic and financial problems, that its origin was from oversea. The US became in need to secure foreign markets for its products, as a result, it started to get open to Asia and Africa, and by the 1860, American official missions were already sent to Burma, China, Japan, the Ottoman Empire, Sumatra, Thailand, and Vietnam (“The American Foreign policy

legacy” 167-169). In this era, the US started gradually to change its policy of isolation, in order to establish a stable and safe economic system.

According to Jentelson, the bigger the country, the greater the danger is. As Abraham Lincoln was elected as president, the issues of slavery and racism reached their climax, launching a Civil War that lasted from 1861 to 1865. The country has started a rehabilitation process. In addition to economic booms and busts, the US found itself obliged to stick more closely to the isolation policy (74-76). As the civil war ended, there was a need for reformation and rehabilitation of domestic policy in order to secure stability and avoid another conflict in the future.

3.1.1.3 Global Emergence (1865-1919)

The next most significant event that marked a change in the American foreign policy was the Spanish War, which led the country to an era of global emergence. This phase in the American history is marked by the Spanish war 1898 and its consequences, the Open Door Policy 1899, and the outbreak of WWI in 1914, as the major events that took place (Jentelson 76-78).

3.1.1.3.1 The Spanish War

At the beginning, the US had a common trade, mainly agricultural with Cuba, which was at that time colonized by Spain. However, by the end of 1890, Cuban War increased and the country was already involved in the so-called “Ten Years War” with Spain calling for independence. This state damaged the American economy and trade and caused an economic depression (Lorenzo 87–88). Since the Cuban independence war started right after the end of the Civil war, the US decided not to interfere, although it was interested in Cuba, leading the country to an economic crisis.

As a reaction to the revolution, Spain gathered the citizens in small cities and

concentration camps. Therefore, due to the terrible economic situation, starvation, diseases, and epidemics spread widely, more than four hundred thousand Cubans died. As the human disaster unfolded around the world, the McKinley administration launched a harsh diplomatic response against Spain, which later justified the war. The government did not interfere in the war until President McKinley sent the US ship *Maine* to Havana harbor to take back Americans who were stuck there due to the war. The government also ordered the Navy Department to relocate a component of the “North Atlantic Fleet” from Hampton Roads to Key West and the Gulf of Mexico, where some US navy ships were also positioned in Lisbon, while others regrouped in Hong Kong near the Philippines. However, the *Maine* ship exploded on February 15, 1898, killing 266 sailors (Offner 50-56). This event dragged the US into the middle of the war, in the name of first ending the humanity crisis in Cuba and secondly, insuring the country’s safety.

During war time, media always plays an important role in shaping and guiding the public opinion. David Spencer, a founding professor in the Faculty of Information and Media Studies at University of Western, in London, highlights the role of Yellow Journalism used by Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, who led revelry of exaggerated stories about the American Spanish War in 1898 shaping and guiding the public opinion to support it. Furthermore, Yellow Journalism was a shady reporting method, which cared less about the correctness and reliability of information, and focused more on the story telling way itself, which was usually entertaining and exiting, for the sake of raising the newspaper selling (ix-xvii, 123-126). Mass media always plays a major role in wars, today even more developed media is used, the internet, television, and social networks, which all play major role in shaping and guiding the public opinion.

As a result, to the pressure performed by the public opinion, a formal declaration of war was passed by congress on April 25, and the Spanish American war officially started. Although

the core of the war was Cuba, yet due to strategic reasons, the US attacked the Philippines, another colony of Spain, to pressure it, gaining Guam, and Puerto Rico (Lorenzo 90-91). The Spanish war and its important events was the gate of the US to become a new imperial power, as it took control over different countries and areas in Latin America, and southern Asia, leading to a global expansion.

In addition to taking control over Cuba, the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico, the US also invaded other countries in the Caribbean Sea, Haiti and Dominican Republic in 1915 and 1916. The US did so by drowning these countries into debt and then linking their economies to its own, making American existence essential for them, and also by attaining the project of the Panama Canal that connects the Atlantic Ocean with the Pacific Ocean. This expansion movement over other countries dropped the US's main principles of neutrality and the freedom of nations to decide their future; and initiated a new era, that is ruled and governed by the Monroe Doctrine (Al-Masoudi543). To sum up, the US has its own new strategies and methods to invade other countries compared to the old world powers. When they used excuses like bringing civilization and spreading Christianity, the US used its economic superiority over the rest of the American Latino countries as an excuse and a way to control them as well as to interfere in their economic and political decisions.

3.1.1.3.2 The Open Door Policy

In 1900, the chief of the State Department's Bureau Commerce, Emory stated that the new expansions' importance did not lay in their resources and capabilities, but in their geographic position as a gateway for trade development in the Far East of Asia (McCormick 155). The annexation of Hawaii and expansion over Wake, Guam, and the Philippine were not for their economic worth or for imperialistic reasons as much as they were important for securing new markets for the American products.

After the economic depression that took place between 1870 and 1880, the US policy makers and businessman knew that they need new markets for the American products; these markets must be in populated consuming nations. In this respect, the Spanish American War gave the US a chance to enter the Asian market, and particularly the Chinese market. At that time, China was not a powerful country; in fact, it used to be called “The Sick Man of Asia” and used to be dominated by the world powers in the famous “spheres of influence” (McCormick 155-157). The US taking over the Philippines was not a random decision, it was important in order to secure its share in the Chinese market where the superpowers were having more investments rights and political impact, in their “sphere of influence”.

It was on September 6, 1899, when the Secretary of State John Hay dispatched his diplomatic note to Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, and Russia. The latter insisted on the equal commercial chances of all nations in China. The circular included the minimum guarantees that are necessary for commercial equality “no interference with the treaty ports, equitable administration of the Chinese customs tariff, and no discriminatory railroad rates or harbor dues”. This principle, besides the Monroe Doctrine and the policy of non-entanglement, stands now as the fundamentals of American foreign policy (Esthus 435-436). The Open Door policy is the process of keeping foreign markets open, securing equal and liberal trading opportunities (McCormick 156). The US used the Open Door policy in order established a kind of a limited imperialism, aiming to control the country’s international relations and economy, leaving domestic affairs for country government.

3.1.1.3.3 The First World War (1914-1918)

Jennifer D. Keene, an American historian specialized in World War I (WWI), described WWI as a “forgotten war”. Since, when all the wars that America went through have one collective particular meaning, or a result, such as the Civil War that ended slavery and unified the

country, WWII ended fascist systems all over the world and the Cold War that ended the threat of the communist system, the WWI stands for nothing in the American collective memory (449). In short, WWI or the Great War as it used to be called, is one of the most brutal wars in the history that all belligerent suffered from its harsh consequences, deaths and destruction, it was a needless tragedy in the American citizen's opinion.

WWI began as a result to the assassination of the Archduke of Austria Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914. After that, events went tremendously fast, where within one month, Europe erupted into a state of universal war, and almost no party declared its aims behind. In general, both parties had traditional aims, which were to expand their territories and to gain more power (Hobson141). Power balancing was the main aim behind this war, where major powers in Europe wanted to enlarge their territories at the expense of other countries, leading the continent into a war.

In the beginning of the war, exactly on August 20, 1914, President Wilson wrote a message concerning the European war, and clearly stated that "Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality... We must be impartial in thought as well as in action" (qtd.in Clarke 124). At that time two coalitions were already made, the Allies, who were; France, Russia, and Great Britain, and the Central Powers, who were Germany and Austria-Hungary (O'Callaghan 88). The government announced its unwillingness to interfere in a war that was out of its territories, and insisted on its neutrality concerning the conflict.

Wilson's neutrality was not strict, since he gave the allies access to supplies and allowed American banks to lend them money, effecting in the length of the war. Allies were convinced that they would win the war; accordingly, they refused any attempts for peace. German leaders in the other hand believed that American neutrality was actually biased; as a result, they as well refused Wilson's attempts later on in making peace (Capozzola et al 466). In the beginning of

the war the US decided to remain neutral and not to interfere in the war, yet it was indirectly involved from the beginning, first by the economic drawbacks of the war, and secondly by its non-objectivity and its uncompleted neutrality.

On February 1915, Germany declared the waters bounding the British Isles as a war zone. As Ships were not allowed there, and even neutralships were threatened by the attacks, because the allies used their flags before as a camouflage. However, the sinking of British *Lusitania* ship in May 7, 1915 due to German submarine attacks, resulted in the death of 1100 passenger including 128 Americans, led the American Secretary of State Bryan of that time to take action. Hence, he sent the first note of other two on May 13, 1915 to the Germans, where he expressed the American unease with this action (Clarcke 126). As the war went more brutal, the US stepped out calling for peace and immediately end the war in Europe.

Michael Clarke, the Senior Fellow at the Centre for Defense Research in the Australian Defense College, further explains that on December 18, 1916, President Woodrow Wilson presented a peace note to both the allies and the central powers. He started the “peace without victory” idea, and invited all nations to follow the Monroe Doctrine of neutrality, and that no nation should enlarge its territories at the expense of other nation. In addition to avoiding entangling alliances for military purposes, for it may lead to unfavorable results (132). However, this attempt failed and it has been refused, because allies were positive that they will win the war, and Germans believed that the US was subjective and should not be the one to lead the peace process.

The US did not get directly involved in the war, until there was a real threat to its national security. Michael Neiberg, the Chair of War Studies at the US Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, summarizes the factors behind the American interference in the war in two major levels, the international and the national one. First at the international level, where there was the

Zimmermann telegraph, which offered Mexico the recovery of lands lost to the US in the mid-nineteenth century, in exchange for propping up Germany. Furthermore, the rising tension in Mexico, the appearance of Japan as a super power, the unrestricted submarine warfare launched by the Central Power, which was responsible of the sinking of several American ships, and finally, the possible strategic drawbacks that may occur if Germany conquer the war. Second, at the national level, there was a growing support of large groups of Americans to join the war (Capozzola et. all 471). For those reasons and more, the year 1917 marked the US official interference in the war, siding with the allies against Germany.

It was on April 2, 1917 when the president asked the Congress for a declaration of war. As previously mentioned the parties in Europe kept their motives behind joining the war implicit, however, President Woodrow Wilson was explicit and announced:

Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involve and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not the will of their people. (qtd.in Hobson145)

The year of 1917 did not just stand for the official American interference in the war, but also for the very first emergence of democracy in the international scene (Hobson 140-141). Thus, America participated in the war in the name of democracy, preserving human rights and finally insuring peace in the world, presenting its idealistic beliefs and ailing to spread it.

President Woodrow Wilson continued his attempts for peace by starting to promote for the new “self-determination” concept, presenting the Fourteen Point statement of peace, and inviting to create a democratic organization to guarantee peace and prevent future wars (Hobson 154-157). Wilson succeeded in his attempts to make peace, when the central powers surrendered

on November 11, 1918 based on the Fourteen Point statement. The war was finally over and the arms were put down.

3.1.1.4 Isolation Retreat (1919–1941)

Samuel Eliot Morison, an American historian known with his works on the maritime and American history, and Henry Steel Commager, who was one of the most active American historians, express their disagreement with government decision of isolation in their book *The Growth of the American Republic*:

Dissolusuned about the war, cynical about the treaties, cretical about the political jockeying of the continental powers, undeferent to the fate of the new nations that she had helped create, and that looked to her for inspiration, she had taken the road to isolationalism. (632)

Although the US was the one to propose the idea of the League of Nation and played a significant role in the peace Treaty of Versailles, it had less influence than Japan, Britain and France. Wilson found himself obliged to agree on Japan taking control of Germans spheres of influence in China, in the process of looting Germany its lands and pushing it to pay for the war impacts to the countries that get affected by it. This was a kind of an “unjust peace” for the US Senate, where it was considered as a betrayal for China, and it refused membership in the League of Nations, and retreat its isolationism (Lorenzo131). The US abandoned its seat in the League of Nations and became totally isolated from the world, which later led to numerous problems, because this decision made a huge impact on the country economy and domestic affairs.

3.1.1.4.1 The Great Depression (1929)

Among the significant events that shaped the post WWI era is the Great Depression. The war affected the American economy, but also brought some technological development and new mechanical machines to different sectors, including agriculture. During its isolation and due to

government's ignorance to the country's economy and trade, an imbalance between supply and demand of goods in the American market took place, leading to the stock market crash in 1929. In 1930 the banks ran out of money and the credit and debt system collapsed leaving the country's economy in a chaotic situation. For those reasons and more, an economic depression started all over the world including America, where unemployment spread across the country (Gay 529-532; Morison, Commager 633).

3.1.1.4.2 Pacts and Treaties

After WWI's dilemma, the US made many efforts in order to guarantee peace around the world to avoid similar scenarios. The Washington Naval Treaty was one of these attempts. It was initiated by the US government when a formal invitation by President Harding was sent to the countries that won WWI: Great Britain, Japan, Italy and France. It was held in Washington from November 12, 1921 to February 6, 1922, and discussion focused on the limitation of armament of the naval forces (Abbott 1). The US started to participate in international agreements and treaties, hoping to avoid another war in the future.

The treaty articles insisted on the limitation of the total tonnage of capital ships (battleships and battle-cruisers), the size of future capital ship units, the total tonnage of auxiliary combatant ships concerning surface vessels submarines and airplanes carriers, the size of guns to be carried on board auxiliary combatant ships. In addition to a restriction on the disposal and construction of all classes of combatant ships, insisting on no acquisition from foreign sources or building for foreign account. According to the US retired Navy, Admiral Knapp, this was the proposal of the secretary of state, that was forwarded on November 12, 1921, in which some of the conditions were accomplished, some partially accomplished and some did not get accomplished at all (13). This treaty insisted on the limitation not the disarmament, and it aimed at reducing the use of power in conflicts as well as paving the path for more diplomatic and peaceful means.

There was also the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, which was an attempt initiated by France and the US to renounce war as a mean to solve conflicts. Sixty-three countries joined this pact and agreed on avoiding wars and instead use more peaceful and pacific methods. However, numerous comments were made on the fact that the pact did not provide any legal obligations for the signatories (Debenedetti 22). This pact was supposed to be the humanity hope to prevent wars, yet with time it lost its meaning because of its simplicity and the legal gaps in its articles.

3.1.1.4.3 The Good Neighbor Policy (1921-1936)

One of the significant changes in the American foreign policy in this age is the announcement of a new policy, the Good Neighbor policy. During the presidential era of Coolidge and Hoover, there was a progress in the American attempts to end its military interventions in the Dominican Republic, which it was over in 1924 with Coolidge. There was also President Hoover's attempts to freeze debt, where the latter helped the countries of South Africa and the European countries. Hoover as well stated that the Monroe Doctrine has been misinterpreted and misused in order to justify American interventions in Latin American countries (Beck 110-112). There was a shift in the American foreign policy concerning its neighboring countries, and specifically towards its ex-colonies and the countries, that it military interfered in, and some of them actually gained their independence.

As the dictators of Europe kept threatening and spreading totalitarian beliefs among their neighboring countries, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) felt the necessity of maintaining a good and strategic relationship with its neighbors in the south, by expressing the American good will, which would benefit both sides. In order to fulfill this aim, FDR created the Good Neighbor policy 1933 (Stuart 166). The policy was announced in his inaugural address when he came to office using specific and exact terminology, which became comely used since then:

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others —the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with and with a world of neighbors.
(qtd.in Beck 113)

Since Latin American countries are powerless compared to the US, they would rather accept the Americans friendship offer, than facing the same threat the European countries faced. The Good Neighbor Policy was a Win-Win deal for both parties.

3.1.1.4.4 Pre-World War II

It is argued that the US allowed the war to happen by ignoring the German rearmament process of its military forces. The growth of totalitarianism in Germany and Italy, Mussolini's military movements, as well as Adolf Hitler's arrival to power were all met by an American silence. The US just responded by calling for a rearmament program for itself, and announced its neutrality to the war in 1935, neglecting all the treaties, disarmament programs, and restrictions against Germany, thus giving it the freedom to start a new war (Morison and Commager 633-643). Historians believe that the US ignored all the red flags of the war and kept itself isolated from the world, claiming that the war is oversea so it will not affect its national security. The mid 1930s marked a change in the disarmament program of the US, as experts started to notice an imminent threat from some emerging regimes in Europe and Asia. President FDR considered a rearmament program, especially as the negotiations with the Japanese government started to take a new turn, and it came to an end when the Japanese air forces attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941(Lorenzo 132 133). The US, after this direct attack on its own lands, national security, and sovereignty, announced war on Japan the next day. Several days later, Germany declared war on the US, and it became officially involved in the war on both sides and

arias, Asia and Europe.

3.1.1.5 World War II (1941-1945)

Justus D. Doencke, an American historian, Professor Emeritus at the New College of Florida and the writer of *Storm on the Horizon: The Challenge to American Intervention, 1939–1941*, which received the Herbert Hoover Book Award, notes that historians' reactions to the government's foreign policy towards WWII was divided into two groups. Some criticized FDR's administration decisions, claiming that they were the reasons behind the attack on Pearl Harbor and that he urged the US to enter the war, and others who believed that FDR never wanted to participate in or provoked the war (669-670). The Americans, who recently went out of post WWI drawbacks, did not want to interfere in any other European war, as there was a split between the ones supporting the American interference in the war and the other ones against it.

The policy of isolation and neutrality finally came to an end with the US official involvement in the war. President FDR's foreign policy at that time was guided to form alliances against Germany and Japan, where the US participated in several conferences and agreements with European powers and the Soviet Union. According to Ernest R. May, the American historian of international relations, between 1941 and 1945 there was the so-called "Half Alliance" with the Soviet Union. The US, Great Britain and the Soviet Union agreed on forming an alliance against Germany in Europe, but the latter refused to interfere in the Far East. May further explains that Japan would have been probably defeated faster and consequently the war would end sooner if this alliance was made (153-156). There was a strategic relation between the Soviet Union and Japan, which the Soviet leaders found it unwise to interfere and lose its interests in the area.

3.1.1.5.1 Pacts, Treaties and War Conferences

Among the conferences that the US got involved in was the Tehran Conference. In 1941, the US president FDR expressed the willingness of the US and Great Britain to "police the entire

world” by giving different “police procedures”. By September 1942, in a meeting with the Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov, FDR informed him about a system where three to four powers, including the Soviet Union, would play the role of “policemen” in the after WWII world. The idea was constituted by 1943 in Tahrán Conference, where the four powers, United States of America, Great Britain, Soviet Union and China “would prevent local crises from morphing into global confrontations” based on “persuasion, power and especially patience” (Clack 213).

The formation of the “Four Policemen” was backed up by the creation of a liberal international economic system, based on tariff reductions and stable currency exchange rates. Such concepts worked as the framework for agreements reached at the Bretton Woods from 1 to 22 July, 1944 and Dumbarton Oaks from August 21 to October 7, 1944 conferences. This framework established the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, among other things, and confirmed the US’s position at the heart of the new financial system by supporting an international gold-exchange standard (Miscamble 557–558).

During WWII, a series of conferences were held, which had an effect on the post-war world order and the war itself. First, from November 28 to December 1, 1943, the leaders of Britain, US, and the Soviet Union, Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin, met in the Iranian capital, discussing military strategies, in addition to post-war world order. Second, the Yalta Conference that was between the 4th and the 11th of February 1945, where the allies followed the Germans’ unconditional surrender and worked on dividing the country into zones of occupation. Finally, the Potsdam Conference was held from July 17 to August 2, 1945. The allies’ discussion revolved around the continuous war against Japan, the process of redrawing German territories, and the relocation and transformation of its citizen (Thomas Brown).

The end of the war was marked by the Japanese defeat due to the US attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where for the first time in the history the nuclear power has been used

as a weapon. When most of historians and analysts linked this event to President Truman, Professor and co-chair of the international relations program and the international policy, Barton Bernstein, highlights that FDR already paved the path for Truman, when he agreed with Britain on creating Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs), using nuclear power secretly from the Soviet Union, and blocking all the attempt of controlling the use of atomic energy in the military sector (23-24). As the war ended, a new shape of conflict started to appear, especially with the secrecy policy that was followed by the US and Britain, leading to a new stage in world history, the Cold War.

By the end of WWI, the US helped to conceptualize and create the League of Nations, whose aim was to prevent future wars and conflicts. However, the League failed to achieve its intended goals of preventing future wars and crises, as a result, on April 18, 1946, the necessary actions to terminate its existence were taken, and on August 1, its properties and money assets were transferred to the newly formed organization, the United Nations (UN) (Goodrich 3). The UN is a similar organization to the League of Nations. It aims to preserve peace and help provide human assistance to poor countries and regions of conflict. It was created at the end of the WWII. From April 25 to June 26, 1945, around fifty nations gathered at the United Nations Conference on International Organizations in San Francisco, California, where they worked on creating a draft of the UN character, then signed it (History of the United Nations). As the world went out damaged from the two wars, numerous countries called for a stronger and well-formed organization that would stop and avert future conflicts and guarantee peace than the League of Nations, since it horribly failed to avert the WWII, as a result a new organization was founded based on stronger basis.

3.1.2 Cold War Era

3.1.2.1 Origin of The Conflict

Even though the allies reached an agreement in the Yalta Conference, the latter failed to secure a stable world order after the war. The Soviet took control over Western Europe and half of Berlin spreading communism, in the other hand, Britain, France and the US worked on keeping their “Occupation Zones” in Germany, where the US worked against the spread of communism by promoting liberalism and democracy (Lorenzo 153-154). As mentioned in the previous title, tension between the Soviet Union and the US started early before the end of WWII, preparing for decades of conflicts between the two superpowers, as the old ones backed off.

The Cold War was not geographically related to the European continent only, but it spread all over the world to reach Asia as well, where the Chinese government adopted communism, and the US took control over Japan ending the Soviet influence in the region. This state led the Soviet Union to claim the right to occupy North Korea and worked on spreading communism in the era causing the beginning of two major wars, the Korean and the Vietnam War (Lorenzo 154-155; 172-177). The appearance of such conflict was expected, since President FDR himself stated before that he did not believe in communism, nor could take it. But, the alliance was a strategic way to win the war: “I can’t take communism, but to cross this bridge I’d hold hands with the Devil” (qtd.in Jentelson 114). To conclude, the alliance between the US and the Soviet Union was fragile from the very beginning, and not that promising, therefore, the situation of the world after WWII was predictable.

In an attempt to find the reasons behind the conflict of the Cold War, two major groups emerged to them. The first group is the Orthodox, who claim that the Soviet Union was responsible for the Cold War, and represented the idea that it is the US duty to stop the growing

threat of communism due to its imperial aims. Since the Soviet Union attempted to turn Western Europe to a sphere of influence using the Red Army and sending spies to steal the secret of the atomic bomb. The second group is the revisionists who believed that the Soviet Union claimed the right to react on the anti-communism movement launched by the US government, because it threatened the security and the stability of the union, especially with the developed atomic bombs that the US used by the end of WWII (Schlesinger Jr 24,25; Jentelson 115). It can be understood that there was a split in the American perspective about the Cold War, since some did not believe in its motives and did not agree with the policy of the government at that time.

3.1.2.2 Truman Doctrine

Foreign policy changes with the change of presidents, because it is linked to their beliefs, ideologies and party affiliations. During the Cold War era, four American presidents served the nation: Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Lyndon B. Johnson, and John F. Kennedy. The first three were pretty religious and believed in divinity, whereas for President Kennedy, little is known about his beliefs, but in terms of foreign policy, it was quite similar to the former presidents, where morals, ethical values, and human rights were essential among their aspects. Although there were several differences in their policies, they almost had the same attitude towards Russia and communism (Rosenberg 736-737; Hartley 77).

According to Rosenberg, President Truman, has personally explained his actions towards Russia. In this respect, Truman believed that there is no need to meet Stalin nor make new agreements with him, because as happened with the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, he would not stick to them (739-740). Truman Doctrine was iconic and different from president FDR. The latter worked on creating alliances and agreements with the Soviet Union during WWII as previously mentioned in this chapter, whereas Truman tend to follow more realistic flow and decided to cut all relations with Moscow.

The professor of history Dennis Merrill, states that there was a common concern that communism spread may cause a “domino-like catastrophe” during the cold war threatening the stability and security of the whole world and not only the US security. He also noted that President Truman succeeded in creating foreign policy that won the public support, and unlike previous policies like the Monroe doctrine, Truman Doctrine included the whole globe, and focused on containing communism (28). In his continues efforts to fight communism, President Harry S Truman on March 12, 1947, requested \$400 million directed for military and economic aid for Greece and Turkey. Moreover, between 1945 and 1960, he succeeded in building a worldwide system of alliance including the Marshal Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) formation, Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), and the SEATO, Korean, and Taiwan pacts (Merrill 27; Hartley 78).

Paul C. Avey, an associate professor of political science at Virginia Tech, argues that in addition to the war of ideologies between the Soviet Union and the US, the American policy was mainly directed to confront the rising powers of the communism in Europe, as well as to reach a balance of power (152). Furthermore, the government focused on limiting and ending the communist spread by any means. According to Paterson, the cold war placed American authorities in a difficult position requiring them to choose between the country’s realistic needs, like stability and security, and its idealistic goals, including human rights and democracy. He goes on to say that many foreign policy specialists regarded the struggle between capitalists and communists as an “existential battle between forces of good and evil” (22).

In order to understand how the American foreign policy functioned during this era, and why it is necessary to pick one of these principles to win the race between Capitalism and Communism, one must first provide a definition for each of the principles (Realism and Idealism). Generally speaking, when it comes to American foreign policy, there are two main

theories that the debate is about, Realism and Idealism, where International Relations (IR) specialists always argue on which theory the US should follow (Shipoli 33).

3.1.2.3 Realism

Realism is a school of thought and a theory in IR where the focus is on goals of power (Jentelson10). To understand this statement, one should go back to the founding father of this view, Thucydides, who argues that peace between states is not permanent, and that crisis and wars could outbreak at any moment, that is why the relations between states should be built upon realistic aspects not on idealistic ones (Shipoli 34). Realists believe that the main characteristic of the world is being anarchic, where wars and conflicts are most likely to happen at any time, and this could be proved by observing the human history. As a result, relations between states are governed by power (Fernandes 16). To sum up, the followers of the realism theory believe that IR should be governed and based on realistic aims, in order to guarantee safety to the country, and this happen only by being powerful, and by securing a strong and powerful position in the international scene. The Philosopher Thomas Hobbes summarizes arguments of realists in the following quote:

All men in the state of nature have a desire and will to hurt, but not providing from the same cause ... so that in the nature of man, we find three principal causes to quarrel. First, competition; secondly, diffidence; thirdly, glory. The first make the men invade for glory; the second, for safety; and the third, for reputation. (qtd.inShipoli 36)

Breaking down this statement, Hobbes claims that the human beings are instinctually aggressive and harmful. But this desire is mainly provoked by three aspects; “competition, diffidence and glory”, which are according to him, the reasons behind human instinct to take over lands and to invade new places, satisfying the need and urge of superiority, since it is all about

glory, reputation and safety.

3.1.2.4 Idealism

Idealism is the second school of thought which is said to be governing American foreign policy. Numerous attempts to define idealism have been made, and it has a wide range of definitions, but the focus in this study is on foreign policy and IR. According to Peter Wilson, idealism is one of the ideas and terms that is difficult to define, however generally speaking, idealism is an approach for IR, it aims at achieving specific values or moral aims, such as making the world a more peaceful and a just place. The theory is based on the belief that the efforts to make the world a better place is not enough, although human being has this great ability to change the world radically.

Idealists would keep their ideals in mind while creating an attitude toward a certain political scenario. According to the American academic and writer, Mordecai Roshwald, idealists always like to be dominant. He further argues that idealists only consider facts if they are correspond to their ideals or can be made or predicted to conform to it. The political strategy of radical idealists would be “Fiat justitia, ruat mundus” (100). The previous Latin statement is the literal meaning of “Let justice be done, let the world fall”. Believers of this extreme stream see the world as a stage for justice to spread and operate in.

Idealists believe that national organizations such as the League of Nations are the best way to promote for an ideal world, where peace and security among states can be achieved (Fernandes 16). In other words, idealism is a stream of thoughts that calls for a world where norms and values like justice, equality, and peace are its founding aspects. Idealists also go against realists by sharing the belief that power should not be the solution to conflicts, but more pacific means should put to practice. These ideas are similar to the ones that President Wilson called for when he helped in creating the League of Nations during and after WWI, as mentioned

previously in this chapter.

3.1.2.5 Idealism VS Realism in the American Foreign Policy

In American foreign policy, there an existing question of which theory the US should use, realism or idealism, many attempts have been made to answer this question. In this regard, Shipoli stated that the US uses both theories as foreign policy strategy:

Both idealists, or liberal peace thinkers, and the realists that are known for thinking in terms of power struggle direct US foreign policy... Foreign policy needs to be conducted according to the realities of time and place, although the USA has tended to go one way more than the other at different times, shifting from one extreme to the other, but never being completely one-sided. (Shipoli 40)

In the same line, the American historian, Professor Melvyn P. Leffler, clarified how 9/11 attacks made a shift and a huge turn in the American foreign policy, and as a result, President Bush and the American administration adopted realism as a theory in the American foreign policy (24). Although Bush era represented a change in the American foreign policy, yet many thinkers believe that even the most humanitarian president, and supported human rights, Clinton, did this only when it suits his interests. Clinton's era witnessed great support to human rights, especially when the Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, declared the US dedication and commitments to human rights at the 1993 UN conference, and promised not to support regimes that oppress their nations. However, the US later on forcefully sent back Haitian political refugees back to their country, in addition to giving authorization to train the military of Indonesia and Colombia, countries known with their violations of human rights (Clinton's Foreign Policy 24-25). the American history shows how the American foreign policy swing from one extreme to another by dealing with each question with what suits its interests, even If this means violating promises or working against its stated ideals, which leads us to the next school of

thoughts in the American foreign policy.

Rahm Emanuel, chief staff of President Obama from 2008 to 2010, when talking about Obama's ideology in April 2010, he questioned the classical division of the president's ideology between idealism and realism, presenting a third one called "*realpolitik*", in which he claimed that this ideology was adopted by Obama in terms of foreign policy, similar to George H.W. Bush (Hounshel). In this regard, it is understood that apart from realism and idealism, there is a third flow, which was the belief of Bush senior.

3.1.2.6 Realpolitik

The ideology origins are rooted back to German language, where according to Brockhaus' *Konversationslexiko*, one of the oldest German encyclopedias, *realpolitik* is defined as "A statesman who in his dealings allows himself to be influenced only by existing circumstances and needs, in contrast to doctrinaire and phrase-making politicians" (qtd. in Emery 450).

In addition, the American historian and economist, Henry C. Emery, states that *realpolitik* is German-originated political principle, which claims that in the political scene, there is no need for morality. It first insists on the right of the powerful side to boss the weakest one, so that they fortify themselves. Then second, focuses on the German race's superior destiny over the rest of the world, which obliges and allows them to carry it on regardless of any prior promises or ethical principles (449). In short, *realpolitik* calls for the withdrawal of moral values when it comes to the national interest, and that the country policy should be guided and based on the nation's goals and benefits even if it goes against previously stated decisions and statements. Many scholars consider Machiavelli the founding father of *realpolitik* (Bew 1). In his very controversial book, *The Prince* that was first published in 1532, Nikola Machiavelli stated some extreme thoughts on how the Monarch could achieve his intended aims by any possible means,

whether through hypocrisy, misleading, tricking and even using force and public execution. Nikola claimed that in order to take control over the kingdom, scare the enemies inside and outside, and have an international weigh, the Monarch must not follow his personal feelings, morals or values, rather he should focus on the interests of the kingdom. However, he also insisted on the necessity of maintaining a decent image in front of his people, in order to secure his position and to gain public support (Machiavelli 41-51). In short, Nikola highlighted how the state authority must only focus on the national interest, despite how dirty is the strategy used to achieve these goals.

The American historian, Otto Pflanze, states that the concept of *realpolitik* or politics of reality, has two basic foundations. One imposes visualizations of political realities and issues, then based on them, while the second presents solutions and strategies in order to benefit the most from these implied realities. He further argues that, Otto von Bismarck, the Prince of Bismarck, had similar views as Machiavelli, where his focus was on Power-state (Machtsstaat), believing that the core of politics is power (493). Concerning how this principle arrived to the western world. Jason Steinhauer, historian and program specialist at the John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress, clarifies how huge are war impacts on language vocabulary, by using Michael Tilby research results on how after WWII more than 2000 word were added to the French language. He further added that after the brutal European revolutions, and in 1848 the word *realpolitik* was first introduced in Europe (Real *realpolitik*: A History). Machiavelli and Bismarck are regarded as the founding fathers of *realpolitik*, where thanks to their principles and visions, *realpolitik* now acquired its modern conception.

3.1.2.6.1 American *Realpolitik*:

America is a newly emerged nation, so, by the time Europe got exposed to *realpolitik*, the US was busy in expanding its territories and preserving its isolation. Along the same line,

Professor of History, John Bew, states that this trend arrived at the US in the years between 1990 and 1919 i.e. by the end of the Cold War and the US emergence as a power in the international scene. At the beginning, the US was skeptical about the imperial part of *realpolitik*, and the extreme thoughts embedded in, such as superiority. Yet, some influential figures started a call for establishing “new realism” to guide foreign policy. Among these voices Theodore Roosevelt and Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, whom based on their opinions, the journalist Walter Lippman called the government to adopt some *realpolitik* in the country’s policy. The US, as a result, created its own *realpolitik* (lower-case and de-italicized), different from the German and the British one, and clearly highlighted the US interest in ensuring stability in the world, and shaping it before the world impose his changes on the country (107-108). The US was dubious about the old world political techniques, accordingly, it didn’t put it into practice. However, important figures urged the government to reconsider *realpolitik* and create its own version. Thus, the American new trend is about influencing the world before it influences the country, in other word, creating a partition of power that suits the American goals and visions.

3.1.3 Post-Cold War Era

3.1.3.1 New World Order

By the 1990’s, the Cold War came to an end after the fall of Berlin wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The post-Cold War era started with George H.W Bush announcing his willingness to create a new world order, where democracy, peace, and economic prosperity are its fundamental aspects (Jentelson 2). After the end of the Cold War a sense of euphoria speeded, especially because the conflict was over without the use WMDs.

In the words of President George H.W Bush describing the Gulf War in 1991, “more than one small country; it is a big idea; a new world order... new ways of working with other nations . . . peaceful settlement of disputes, solidarity against aggression, reduced and controlled arsenals

and just treatment of all peoples” (qtd.in Nye, Jr 83). The Gulf War was a manifestation of the New World Order. An attempt to define it was made by the Director of the Harvard Center for International Affairs, Joseph S. Nye, Jr, stating, “World order is the product of a stable distribution of power among the major states”. He continues claiming that according to realists, there is actually new distribution of power, it did not start in the Gulf War, but it started right after the collapse of the Soviet empire in eastern Europe by 1989 (84). The US after the disappearance of the Soviet Union celebrated a unipolar moment, where finally, the threat of communism was over and it could work on creating a New World Order based on its principles and beliefs.

3.1.3.2 Globalization

President Clinton stated that the “train of Globalization cannot be reversed” highlighting how the new global trade could help in upgrading millions of lives from destitution. Globalization was marked by all the new technological development, and new open trade market and the internet development, which linked the world together and brought along Global Prosperity (Jentelson 3; Clinton’s Foreign Policy 19). The doctrine of Clinton was marked with the appearance of globalization, where he faced this huge responsibility to protect the nation from its possible drawbacks.

Clinton’s administration understood well that Globalization with all its advantages represented a huge threat for the US security, health, safety, economy... etc, if anything happened even oversea. So, as a way to prevent instability if something occurred in the future, the government launched a set of changes, especially concerning trade and free market. The president completed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), helped and supported in creating World Trade Organization (WTO), and other humanitarian efforts as he urged Congress to pass the African Growth and Opportunity (Clinton’s Foreign Policy 19).

3.1.3.4 War on Terror and the Preemptive Doctrine

War on terror and the preemptive doctrine is a policy launched by Bush's administration as a reaction to the terroristic attacks made by "El Qaeda on September 11, 2001, on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, the symbol of capitalism". Following these attacks, and at the joint session of Congress, President Bush announced that "every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists" (qtd. in Boyle 192). These attacks however did not change anything globally for the US, the world remained unipolar, but these attacks obliged the US to rearrange its alliances and reconsider its policy, launching a global war against terrorism alongside with its allies (Boyle 192; Kellner 622). To sum up, 9/11 attacks marked a significant change in the American foreign policy and specially in the Middle East, marking the beginning of new era in the American foreign policy.

The United States has long maintained the option of preemptive actions to counter a sufficient threat to our national security. The greater the threat, the greater the risk of inaction—and the more compelling the case for taking anticipatory action to defend ourselves, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy's attack. To forestall or prevent such hostile acts by our adversaries, the United States will, if necessary, act preemptively. (Rielly)

The Professor of History at the University of Virginia Melvyn P. Leffler, defines preemptive as a strategy that seeks to eliminate threats, clarifying that this strategy is as old as the US (23). Furthermore, the Professor of International Politics and Strategic Studies, Colin S. Gray explains that "to preempt" means to initiate an attack against another one that is either already ongoing or has been ordered, based on irrefutable proof. He further explains that it has been used during the Cold War by both parties, so nothing new shaped the American foreign policy (8-9). In other words, the preemptive doctrine is a policy and strategy followed by the US to prevent

possible attacks, through reacting first in order to guarantee its security and stability.

4 Foreign Policy Makers

It is commonly known that the divisions of power in the US constitution is separated and divided between three branches: executive, legislative and the judiciary which over power each other by checks and balances. According to Charles W. Yost, who served as the US's permanent representative to the UN from 1969 to 1971, there are numerous approaches to run a government. The executive authority in the US is both more nominally consolidated in the president and more starkly separated from the legislative than in most democracies. This is especially true in foreign policy, where the President's power has been severely challenged only in those rare circumstances, such as the Versailles Treaty or the Vietnam War, where he appears to be blatantly ignoring or overriding the sentiments of both Congress and the people. In general, he has been free to conduct international affairs as he sees fit, using traditional tools, establishing new ones, or conducting his own diplomacy (59). Therefore, Foreign policy making is the role of the president and his government. Historically speaking, the American foreign policy changes with the change of doctrine and with the election of new president as well, in other words it primarily depends on the ideology of the president.

The president has the authority to first make Treaties however, he needs the approval of one third of the Senate, yet, this was and still a hard task for presidents, so they shifted from making treaties to making executive agreements whether written or oral where both sides are committed to it. Second, the power to make war; Although its commonly known that the Congress is the one in charge to declare wars, yet through history it always declares wars as in a response to the president demand (Introduction: U.S. Foreign Policy and the American Political System 6).

5. Aims and Tools of the American Foreign Policy

Jentelson in his book *The American Foreign Policy and the Dynamic of Choice*, summarizes the goals of the American foreign policy in the 4P's: Power, Peace, Prosperity, and Principles. For power, he claims that the US achieves its goals by adopting realism as a strategy for its IR, doing military interventions that aims for defending itself by preempting or preventing threats, creating alliances, and providing military aids to them. Furthermore, the US also uses diplomacy as a strategy to achieve its goals for power, by making "Coercive statecraft", such as imposing economic sanctions, and finally using the (CIA) Central Intelligence Agency. For Jentelson peace is the manifestation of idealism in the American foreign policy, since the US works on making the world a better place, by creating security organization like UN Security Council (UNSC), in the sake of spreading peace, democracy, human rights ...etc (9-14). The US government works on securing the country by obtaining power, securing constant economic prosperity and spreading peace. Prosperity is the president administration main aim, as previously mentioned with President Clinton, with the spread of globalization, he made numerous trade treaties to secure the American economy.

Foreign policy is the field of interests that controls and governs the country's relation with other countries. It plays a major role in American government because it is linked to every concern of the state, from domestic stability to economic prosperity and specially security. The US after WWII entered a new stage in its history, where it considered itself responsible for ensuring peace and spreading democracy. As a result, it started to work on creating a New World Order that is governed and ruled by democracy and justice, which in the American vision will ensure human rights and freedoms.

Using different instrument, the US worked on achieving this aim by using humanitarian institutions like the UN, the UNSC, and alliances like the NATO and many other tools. With time

and especially after the 9/11 attacks, another new turn was taken by the US institution, where new decisions were taken into consideration. The US launched a war on terror targeting terroristic groups all over the world, using preemptive and preventing strategies, which means a special foreign policy.

The US intervention and influence was not only limited to its neighboring countries but also to different countries all over the world, such as China, the Philippines, Vietnam, South Korea...etc. In fact, it also reached the Middle East, where its intervention and contribution in the region made a huge impact on the whole area in general.

Chapter Two

The American Foreign Policy in the Middle East.

Geographically speaking the Middle East was and still one of the most crucial regions in all over the world, owing to its significant location, raw materials and historical background. The US based on these attractive aspects; it was highly interested to interfere in the Middle East, and hence this area took a large part in the American agenda over time.

This chapter is an attempt to give a historical overview about the Middle East as a core region in the American Foreign policy. Starting with its definition and nomination evolution, continuing to its importance that is going to be highlighted according to two perspectives; the first is a broad one, while the second is according to the US. The American objectives in the region are also discussed along three eras: The Cold War era, the Post-Cold War era, and finally during the Globalization era. As a conclusion, a historical overview of American Foreign Policy in the Middle East is provided, which covers the American chronological involvements in the Middle East, from the early 1920s until 20th century.

1. Historical Overview of the Middle East

1.1 The Definition of the Term Middle East

1.1.1 The Evolution of the Term

The process of defining the Middle Eastern region has proven to be extremely complicated; starting with its unspecified borders, moving to the region's name itself, which has evolved throughout time. Therefore, dating back to the Greek Empire, the world was divided into two major sections: the civilized cultural south, which refers to the Greeks, and the uncivilized barbarian north, which includes all foreigners who speak other languages than the Greek language. In this regard, they have a well-known idiom that clearly explains this division: “πᾶσι μὴ Ἑλληνὶ βάρβαρος” which means, “whoever is not Greek is a Barbarian” (Arnaut 10). That

is to say, the world during the Greek empire was split up into a civilized South and uncivilized North.

Later on, Rome formed another split, which is primarily an East-West separation, as a result, further divisions were created, such as the so-called Far East and Farther East that were all tied to China, Japan and Malaysia. However, according to the American historian of the Middle East Roderic H. Davison, Europeans considered that there are two major labels. The Far East that includes all of the British colonies in East Asia, and the East that starts where the Ottoman Empire begins. Whereas, in the early nineteenth century, when the travel writer and historian Alexander William Kinglake, narrated his journey to Europe and the Middle East, in his memorable account “Ethon: Traces of Travel Brought Home from the East”, they changed their minds and agreed with Kinglake that the east in fact starts from Belgrade where he crossed from Hapsburg into Ottoman territories (666). Therefore, based on these divisions the Middle East was termed differently.

Before 1918, Europeans never considered the so called in our days “the Middle East” as a distinct region with any special cohesiveness, other than being a distinct part of the Muslim world. The western half of the Middle East was referred to as the Levant or the Near East, which is one of the region’s names that came as an opposition to the term the Far East. So, the term “Near East” was primarily coined by Great Britain and it was separated from the Middle East until WWI, when they were reunited to shape one entity, in which it became extremely popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It was pretty much related to the Ottoman Empire territories, in addition to some nations in South East Europe like Greece and Yugoslavia (Smith 4; Chammou 6).

Later on, in 1902 the British archeologist, D.G. Hogarth created another name, which is the Nearer East, in which he referred to its boundaries as follow:

Our region, therefore, will embrace all south-eastern Europe below the long oblique water-parting of the Balkans; all the islands eastward of Corfu and Crete, which themselves are included; all of the north-eastern corner of Africa that is fit for settled human habitation; and all of Asia that lies on the hither side of a truly distinctive natural boundary. (2)

Within the same year the term Middle East was created by Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, an American naval officer as he used it in his article “the Persian Gulf and International Relations” to identify the region around the Persian Gulf as a vital part of a strategic geographical location. However, he did not set any kind of boundaries for the region, because he considered the Middle East as an ambiguous area that only lies along the Suez-Singapore sea route. Mahan’s term grew in popularity and came into usage, because of Valentine Chirol, a writer at *The Times of London*. As he used the term in his first article, about the Russian rapid advance in Asia, when he said, “To them, Tehran is merely one link in a long chain which stretches from Constantinople to Peking, and the pressure they apply in Persia is perhaps not infrequently meant to be felt as much in the Far East or in the Near East as in what Captain Mahan has aptly christened the Middle East” (Davison 667-668).

The Middle East region therefore was termed the Near East, then the Nearer East, until the Middle East was adopted to be a widespread designation for this geographical portion. Nevertheless, the most crucial point to note is that all of these terms were used interchangeably.

Normally, each geographical region has its own borders that separate it from other locations throughout the world, however certain regions, such as the Middle East, do not have their borders decided and defined yet. The Middle East has been and continues to be one of the most controversial areas in terms of defining its borders, as there are many different viewpoints, with each individual drawing the region’s borders differently based on his own beliefs and what

appears logical to him, or in other words, according to what best suits his needs. Moreover, The East, the Far East, the Farer east, the Near East, the Nearer East and the Middle East are all names that denotes either proximity or direction. Hence, the process of labeling this region depended primarily on from what angle it is labeled, as the German political scientist TibiBassam stated:

The terms 'Middle East' or 'Near East' used in European languages are only meaningful from the European perspective. If one is travelling from India or China to Cairo or Damascus, one is moving westwards, and yet one speaks incorrectly in geographical terms of a journey to the Middle East. (43)

It is clear that each one called this geographical portion differently, which means there was no specific name for this area. However, at some point it was in a higher need to be defined clearly, so that, politicians can have one common name to identify this geographical portion with, which was the case in 1957 when the Eisenhower doctrine was processed. In the sake of providing the Middle Eastern countries with military and economic help, Congress asked the Secretary of State Mr. Dulles to define this region precisely and concisely. As a result, he defined the Middle East as, "The area lying between and including Libya on the west and Pakistan on the east and Turkey on the north and the Arabian Peninsula to the south." Moreover, he believed that the Middle East and the Near East are synonymous (Davison 665). Consequently, and according to Dulles's definition, the two terms were used interchangeably in the political speeches, doctrines and conferences.

This region includes many countries that are not fixed from the very beginning, since as the borders are flexible the countries as well became flexible. Furthermore, this region can be also defined based on what its nations share in common. In this regard, the historian professor L. Carl Brown believes that the Middle East is made up of former Ottoman Empire territories, i.e.

the Afro-Asian nations that were formerly part of the empire, such as the North African states except Morocco and Mauritania, European colonized countries, and the vast majority of the Arabian Peninsula (7-8).

Based on this assumption the assistant professor of political science Bosko Picula clarifies that:

It is thus made up of Israel with the Palestinian Authority, then of the countries of the so-called Fertile Crescent - Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq, the countries in the Arab peninsula - Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Kuwait, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Qatar, and Egypt, which has been included in the region even by the opponents of the extension of the concept onto Africa, because it belongs to the Asian continent with its north-eastern part - the Sinai Peninsula. (9)

According to Picula, all of these countries were chosen remarkably since the vast majority share the same religion and have mostly the same ethnicity, yet, all of these traits do not necessarily represent all of them taking "Israel" as major example, which is a non-Arabic Jewish Middle Eastern "country". And If this is the standard through which those countries were picked, other countries such as Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Libya in North Africa, as well as some Muslim countries like Turkey, Iran, Sudan, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, must be added to this geographical segment (Picula 9). In short, the term Middle East cannot be generalized based on the stated shared aspects, since there are many countries that can be either added or removed from the region.

1.1.2 The New Middle East

The Middle East is one of the most crucial regions in all over the world primarily due to its richness of oil, and being a strategic geographical area. This region therefore, is a sort of key element that serves for dominating the world, in other words, the superpower that would control

this region will control the globe. Before WWI, the Ottoman Empire was most likely to fall apart as it was called the sick man of Europe, posing the so-called “Eastern Question”, that is to say how European countries, particularly Britain and France, would divide the empire’s territories causing the region’s borders to shift. After WWI, the Ottoman Empire fell apart, and its territories were distributed to both Britain and France under the Sykes-Picot Agreement (Brown 4-5, 32; Loevy 122). As a result, Great Britain and France became the region’s dominant superpowers

Later, after the WWII, when the Cold War took place, the US, in the name of democracy, became the region’s new controller, as it implicitly controlled the region’s economic and political development, aiming to guarantee its interests in the area. Therefore, the US made many attempts to resolve the various crises and disputes that occurred in the region by providing military and economic assistance to its countries (Latif and Abbas 26-28). Within the same line, the American Professor and scholar of the Middle Eastern history, James L. Gelvin clarifies:

Great Britain was the predominant power in the region past the end of World War II. That status was not to last. In the aftermath of the war, the United States, which had never before had an equivalent stake in the region, took Britain’s place as the predominant power. In part this had to do with British economic weakness and American economic strength. (16)

In other words, this shift of powers led to the creation of a new middle east that continues to be ambiguous, in terms of its unclear borders and changed to have a new understanding, so the new Middle East was defined according to Gelvin as:

“Middle East” refers to the territory that stretches from Morocco in the west to Iran in the east. It includes Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt (but not Sudan—boundaries have to be drawn somewhere) in North Africa, and

Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Oman, and Yemen (but not Armenia— again, for the same reason) in southwest Asia. It also includes Turkey, which straddles Europe and southwest Asia. (1-2)

The concept of “the New Middle East” then emerged after WWII, when the US dominated the region. Particularly, under the Bush administration, the US worked for changing this geographical portion through intervening in its nations, throughout spreading the American vision of democracy. The first country they intervened in was Iraq, which served as the starting point for this change (Ottaway et al 1). In this regard, the American President George W Bush on November 6, 2003 declared, “The establishment of a free Iraq at the heart of the Middle East will be a watershed event in the global democratic revolution” (“President Bush Discusses Freedom in Iraq and Middle East”).

In this sense, the American researcher Marina Ottaway clarifies that the Middle Eastern destiny was officially determined by the US, in which it promoted and sponsored a policy that calls for making the Middle East a full democratic area. Consequently, the Middle Eastern nations were in a way obliged to work with this decision and if not, they were going to face numerous restrictions from the US (Ottaway et al. 1). This implies that, the American policy of democratizing the Middle East was in way forced rather than suggested or negotiated.

The Middle East is a complex notion with no defined borders and no precise definition. Scholars have updated its nomination over time in accordance with its social, geographical, and political significance, in addition to the main powers that ruled it, beginning with the Ottoman Empire, then the European countries; particularly Britain and France, and lastly the US.

All of these factors and historical events have shaped the Middle East of today, “the New Middle East”, which became a zone of conflicts. That is to say, the followed American policy

was a huge failure, since it caused many troubles, like increasing sectarianism, leading the US to stop promoting for democracy. As a result, the New Middle East was defined as follow, “The three clusters of countries— Iran–Iraq, Lebanon–Syria, Palestine– Israel— and three critical, cross- cutting issues— nuclear proliferation, sectarianism, the challenge of political reform— define the new Middle East” (Ottoway et al 2, 4).

2. The Importance of the Middle East

The Middle Eastern significance lies mainly in its unique location, which connects three main continents: Asia, Africa, and Europe, and hence serves as a sort of mediator through which all three continents pass by. Moreover, this region is regarded as one of the wealthiest oil areas, making it extremely important owing to the importance of this raw material in the world's survival and stability. Therefore, it was highly wanted over time due to its valuable geostrategic position, since it was clear that whoever controlled this area would indirectly control the world. For this reason, throughout time, several powers were planning and aiming to dominate it either via occupation or via establishing appropriate policies. In this respect, following the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Eastern Question was raised, with the goal of determining who among the Europeans would dominate this territory, which was ultimately divided between France and Britain according to series of treaties and agreements, until the US appeared as a major power in the world.

According to the former Prime Minister of Great Britain, Tony Blair, the significance of the Middle East lies on four major aspects. First, it is considered as one of the world's largest oil producers, and the stability of many developed countries is dependent on its oil. Second, the region's geographical proximity that is threatening the stability and security of most European countries, namely the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), as well as, the Syrian crisis and the resulting migration flows to Europe. Third, for Blair the region's importance is also

determined by the strategic alliance between the Middle Eastern Filo-American/Western ally, which is “Israel” and the US, and the necessity of supporting this American ally. Finally, the area’s political growth is critical since it is a key criterion for predicting the global fate of radical Islam, which is expansionist in nature and opposes other sorts of political and ethical systems (Tony Blair’s Speech on the Middle East: Full Text).

Therefore, the importance of this area is summarized in its strategic location, raw materials, and the need to support the Israeli occupation in order to lay hand on the region. In addition to the extent to which politics is improving and impacted by Islam, and finally the afterwards of the region crises like the immigrations.

2.1 The Importance of the Middle East to the US

According to the American history in the Middle East, the importance of this area to the US was mostly related to the existence of oil. In this sense, Noam Chomsky in response to the editor Stephen R. Shalom question about the driving dynamics of US policy in the Middle East. He explained that the very first American involvements in the region were for oil purposes, even before the US appearance as a major power in the globe as it consists of the largest oil supplies in al over the world (Chomsky and Achcar 53). To sum up, the Middle East was a targeted destination for the US prior to WWII.

He also clarified that by the end of WWII, the US initiated a plan seeking to find raw material sources and markets, in order have a sort of dominance over most of the globe. Then, it realized the Middle East, which contains oil and could be a targeted market, as President Dwight D. Eisenhower called it: “the most strategically important area in the world” (qtd.in Chomsky 18). As a result, the US started bit-by-bit dominating this region and getting access to its oil until it accomplished its goal there (Chomsky 17-18). The Middle East therefore was so significant for the economic growth of the US.

Within the same line President Ronald Ragan, stated that the Middle East is one of the most important regions of the Eurasian landmass that can largely affect US national security. Based on the assumption that if any nation or nations would be able to dominate it, the world balance of power will radically shift and negatively affect the US, implying that it will no longer be considered a major power. For this reason the US fought two world wars in addition to the conflict of the Cold War that have started since 1945 against the Soviet Union to primarily prevent the Soviet Union from exploiting its geostrategic advantage to control its neighbors in Western Europe, Asia, and the Middle East (Reagan 1).

As the Middle East produces one of the most vital resources in the world, oil, in addition to its geostrategic location, it is considered as one of the world's most critical and strategic areas. As a result, the nation or nations that dominate this region will implicitly direct the world that is why America placed and still places such a high value on this region, as the American policy makers worked so hard in processing a strong and effective foreign policy in the area.

3. The American Foreign Policy Objectives in the Middle East

3.1 The Cold War Era

After WWII, a new conflict appeared to the surface, named the Cold War, in which the world was exposed to a threat of a possible nuclear war between two major powers: the US and the Soviet Union. In this regard, the two powers were competing each other in the sake of having just one dominating power in the globe. One of the things that they sought for is dominating the wealthiest regions of raw materials, especially petroleum due to the significant role it plays in the political and economic growth, as well as the stability of any country. Based on this notion, the Middle East was one of the most attractive oil regions, therefore, during the Cold War, it was targeted to be dominated by one of them. In addition, because the Middle East is proximately near to the Soviet Union, the US feared losing this region. Thenceforth, the US made its best to

establish an appropriate foreign policy in the Middle East that would serve for accessing and dominating the region effectively.

Based on this notion, the US set a list of objectives to achieve this end during the Cold War. In this sense the American scholar and professor of the Middle Eastern history, James L. Gelvin, argues that in the Cold War period, the Middle East was vital for the US, whereby it worked on preventing the Soviet Union's dominance over its territories, in order to limit the communist spread. He adds that accessing the region's raw materials was one of the American primer objectives that required the US gaining the support of the Middle Eastern nations throughout serving them, in terms of resolving their conflicts and ensuring a peaceful atmosphere between the region's countries, in addition to assisting the states that are in full support of the American government. Moreover, he states that backing "Israel" was quite necessary to gain an American ally in the area. Securing all of the sea and land lines existed in the region is also important to ensure having access to the whole globe (17).

American' intentions in the Middle East are well summed up by the Egyptian journalist, editor and commentator Muhammad HassanainHaikal:

the protection and security of Israel; ensuring the continued availability of Arab oil at a reasonable price; the expulsion of the USSR from the region; the restoration of American influence in the area, if possible, as the sole influence operating from outside; and the prevention of the emergence of a major Arab power in the area by suppressing the natural role of Egypt and employing all means to impede the establishment of Arab unity. (167)

The US interests in the Middle East are in a way interrelated, each of which serves the other one. The leading one is having full control over the Middle East, aiming to ensure the American and European access to its oil with lower prices, which requires the elimination of

communism and the creation of an American democratic ally in the area, that can be funded and supported by the US, mainly “Israel”. Moreover, and since the Middle East joins most of the Arab Muslim states, the US aims to prevent the creation of any Arab unity, in order not to have any kind of obstacles.

However, the American objectives could not be achieved easily, because one of the most predominating conflicts in the Middle East is the Arab-Israeli conflict, in which the Zionists, by the support of the American government, occupied Palestine and considered it as their homeland. Logically speaking this support contradicts with the American other objectives since Palestine is an Arab state of its own and obviously, the other Middle Eastern nations would side with Palestine against “Israel”. This state means that Arabs would stand against the US and that the oil flow in the US will disappear and the reserves of the government will run out causing an economic crises. In this regard, Professor David S. Painter clarifies that the Organization of the Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) in 1973 opted to place an oil embargo on the US shipments and reduced the oil production as a response to the American financial and military backing to “Israel” during the Arab-Israeli war (190).

Because European countries and Japan were largely dependent on the American oil exports, they got affected and found themselves obliged to pressure the US to change its attitude towards the Arab-Israeli conflict. Consequently, this behavior was a turning point that led to a catastrophic oil crisis, where prices were rapidly increasing, whereas production was insanely decreasing. However, after numerous meetings and careful analysis, the US was able to eliminate the embargo, when it served as a mediator in the negotiations of ceasefire agreements between “Israel”, Egypt and Syria. It also obtained Saudi Arabia’s approval to give up the embargo based on a set of agreements signed with the US that sought to reinforce military and economic relations. Thus, other Arab members of the OAPEC followed the preceding members and

removed the embargo in March, then Libya joined them in July when the production began to increase and flow normally again, indicating that the problem was successfully solved (Painter 189-194).

The fact that most of the Middle East's states share language and religion was a sort of threat to the American policy makers, in terms of establishing an Arab unity that would kick the US out of the region. This means that all their objectives will never be fulfilled.

Therefore, the US found out that the most effective way to be used in the sake of achieving its goals is supporting the autocratic regimes. Based on the assumption that the people will have no ability to impose their opinions concerning the actions taken by the US in the Middle East, since the absolute power is in the hand of the autocratic president who can be convinced easily compared to his people, the US can successfully realize its objectives. The US assistance to the 1963 Syrian coup d'état, which sought to topple the elected democratic government was a good example (Gelvin 17). One of the strategies followed by the US to achieve its ends in the Middle East is backing the autocratic regimes there to make things easier.

3.2 The Post-Cold War Era

The end of the Cold War was marked by the defeat of the Soviet Union and the victory of the US, which becomes the only predominating power in the globe generally and in the Middle East particularly. Furthermore, and despite the obstacles that the US encountered throughout the Cold War, it was able to overcome them and achieve all its goals.

The US kept backing the autocratic regimes to preserve the same level of strength and to make a sort of power balance in the region, like when it helped Kuwait in 1991 to drive Iraq out of the Kuwaiti lands. Accordingly, the same goals of the Cold War era were supposed to be preserved in the post-cold war era, but policymakers realized the necessity to add a new goal in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, which was proclaiming a Global War on Terrorism

(GWOT).

Therefore, the US requested several Middle Eastern countries to cooperate with it in fighting this war on their territories. The cooperation would be whether through allowing the American forces to intervene in their countries, as what happened in Yemen; or through pursuing and questioning suspected terrorists, like what Hosni Mubarak and Bashar al- Assad did; or through supporting the US militarily, as Muammar Qaddafi did when he gave up his mass-destruction weapons (Gelvin 18). This means that most Arab, Middle Eastern leaders accepted to assist the US in achieving its goal

3.3 The Globalization Era

Globalization was a turning point in the world, as it served to change and facilitate many things like trade and politics as well as influencing the world's identity and cultural criterions. Its emergence was marked with a linkage of world economy; as a result, every striking events anywhere in the world could cause a global crisis. Globalization in the Middle East started gradually during the Cold War, when multiple changes occurred on the regional level of the Middle East especially after the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait (LeVine 401, Nikfar 2).

Within this era, the US was planning to spread democracy and transform the political systems in the region, while several Middle Eastern countries wanted to establish an economic and political regime of their own based on their cultural, ideological and religious beliefs. They also wished to create an Arab and Islamic unity in the region (LeVine 401, Nikfar 2). In short, there was a sort of clash between the American interests in the region and its nations' goals.

According to the professor of Middle Eastern history, culture and Islamic studies, Mark LeVine, the US used globalization as a new means to ensure the American dominance over the area, as well as practicing imperialism in the region in order to gain more control over its resources and labor. In this sense British geographer David Harvey states, "globalization

represents the 'new imperialism' (qtd.in LeVine 396), hence it promoted a model known as "Washington Consensus," which aims to improve the economy through liberalization, or in other words to open up to foreign capital and investment while privatizing public infrastructures and programs (396). Hence, the US took advantage of globalization to spread its political and economic ideals aiming to globalize them in the area.

Furthermore, globalization made it easy for the US in a way to repress the Middle Eastern identity including culture, ideology and even religion. The US, therefore aimed to promote for a globalized political and economic culture, in the sake of overthrowing and repressing the original Middle Eastern identity, so that it can impose implicitly the American materialistic notions and manipulate the region easily according to what suits its needs and objectives (LeVine 400-401). The US realized that its aims could not be accomplished only if it represses the Middle Eastern identity.

4. Historical Background on the American Foreign Policy in the Middle East

Before WWII, the US did not have much interest in the Middle East since it was primarily dominated by Britain except its membership in the Iraq oil concession with Britain, France and Germany in 1928. Unlike other groups, who have shown from the very beginning their interests in this region like the Protestant missionary organizations that played a major role in establishing an educational system in the Levant from the early nineteenth century, as well as the national Zionists community, who were craving for having a Jewish homeland in Palestine (Fraser x, Alnasrawi 59). The time when other organizations and countries were thriving to have access to the Middle East, the US almost had no significant role in the region.

Nevertheless, during WWII the US and its European allies reconsidered the region's long-term relevance, seeing that its oil wealth would aid them in the process of rebuilding their countries in the post-war era. Following WWII, Britain was mostly damaged; therefore, it lost

control of the Middle East, allowing the US to easily interfere in the region (Alnasrawi 56). To sum up, within and after WWII and by the beginning of the Cold War, the US emerged as a power, and started to gradually interfere in the region.

4.1 The American Oil Companies' Involvement in the Middle East

4.1.1 The Red Line Agreement

At a policy forum hosted by the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs at the St. Regis Hotel in Washington, D.C., the American historian Edwin Black covered the topic of his book, *British Petroleum and the Red Line Agreement*. He clarifies how the Red Line Agreement came to the world, stating that the construction of the Turkish Petroleum Company, the TPC, traces back prior to WWII, when the Middle East was ruled by the Ottoman Empire, the sick man of Europe, that was about to collapse due to the tough circumstances it was passing through. Thus, the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire gave the citizens of the empire's territories the right to own their lands, except for Mesopotamia, now known as Iraq, whereby this land was registered as his own property, mainly due its richness of oil (*British Petroleum and the Redline Agreement*). Due to the importance of Iraq, the Sultan insisted on preserving it aiming to take advantage of its benefits.

However, since the empire was falling apart or rather, was bankrupt, the Sultan negotiated a pact with the Deutsch government to build a railroad that links Berlin with Baghdad, so that they can seize control of the region's oil, in the sake of exploiting, developing and transporting it commercially. Consequently, the Deutsch Bank held this railroad as a Deutsch military asset for transporting forces, as well as an oil company known with the Berlin to Baghdad railway Oil Company. Suddenly, during that time the British government realized the value of this oil, whereby it requested or in other words obliged the Sultan to break up his deal with the Deutsch, and to give this oil to the British. After few years of pressure, the British could persuade him.

This persuasion took place primarily, since the National Debt of the Ottoman Empire was owned by the International Debt Commission, which was controlled by Britain and France (British Petroleum and the Redline Agreement). This means that Britain had a complete authority over the Ottoman Empire.

In this sense, on 1909, the Sultan broke up his deal with them and granted it to the Anglo Persian oil company, which was the first oil company in the Middle East to get access to Iran's oil in 1908. However, the Sultan and the British were unable to sign the papers because of the Turkish revolution that led to the murder of the Sultan. Hence, the issue of who owns the oil of Mesopotamia became problematic, as it was risen to the international law, with each one claiming ownership. The Deutsch bank claimed ownership based on the pact of 1903, the British believed it belonged to them since they were about to sign the papers, and the land where the oil existed is the murdered sultan's property. As a solution, the Turkish national bank was created, to include all of the Anglo Persian oil company, the Deutsch bank and an Armenian businessman called C. S. Gulbenkian owning 5% of the whole company (British Petroleum and the Redline Agreement). The clash of who has authority over the oil of Iraq lead to negotiating an oil monopoly between all of them.

On 1913, Britain determined that the entire company must be its own property and that everyone has to become British, but Mr. Gulbenkian refused to do so since he was an independent businessman. Then the WWI came on 1914, in which Britain insisted on controlling all of the country during the war, and indeed it was able to occupy Mesopotamia, renaming it Iraq and gaining Palestine, while France gained Syria and Lebanon. After the war, the Turkish Petroleum company was rebuilt, with a French oil company joining Britain, so when they were asking for the League of Nation permission, the League of Nation agreed, imposing that this company cannot discriminate against minorities. In this respect, and based on the Open Door

Policy, the American President Woodrow Wilson asked for joining Britain and France in this monopoly. Implying that the US must also have access to Iraq's oil as a minority, in addition to Mr. Gulbenkian who asked for his partnership right, as he owned 5% in the prewar era (British Petroleum and the Redline Agreement, Alnasrawi 59).

As a result, on July 31, 1928, the very first American involvement has been created among the first oil corporation in the Middle East. It included British, French, American, and Deutsch companies, in addition to Mr. Gulbenkian, under a signed agreement called the Red line Agreement where he drew a red line around the former borders of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East, which was approved by all of the chair holders. The agreement imposed a set of conditions to prevent the members from pursuing personal interests, the major one was that no one of the TPC members has the right to develop oil inside the region surrounded with the red line, unless in the name of the TPC by getting the approval of all members (Stivers 23-24). To sum up, this condition agreed upon was the reason of terming the agreement as the Red Line Agreement. As the American researcher William Stivers states:

The prewar Turkish Petroleum Company (TPC) was reconstituted, joining together the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC), the Royal Dutch Shell Company, the Compagnie Française des Pétroles (CFP), and a five-member American consortium headed by Standard Oil of New Jersey. The four parties each took a 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ percent share, with another 5 percent going to C. S. Gulbenkian, an Armenian entrepreneur who had vested rights in the company predating the First World War. (23)

4.1.2 SOCAL's Involvement in the Middle East

4.1.2.1 SOCAL's Involvement in Bahrain

The Standard Oil of California (SOCAL) at the beginning was a very successful American oil company, which owned one of the largest oil reserves that any US oil company had. However,

due to the US demands during WWI, the flow of oil started decreasing, and the Company could not find other supplies, which led to weakening the company, therefore, it was not called to join the Red Line agreement (Mcmurray 25-26). This condition was difficult for the company to meet.

Based on the Red Line Agreement's restrictions, the oil companies within the agreement cannot exploit oil elsewhere only if they got the approval of the whole members. Therefore, SOCAL found it easy to explore Oil in the Middle East, since it was not part of the agreement. SOCAL wanted first to explore Oil on Bahrain, since there were many researches that proved the existence of oil in the country, as a result, it asked the British for permission to explore oil there. It is worth mentioning that at the very beginning the British refused but later on, within the American pressure they accepted based on the assumption that it would be better for their navy if they let the Americans to do so but under the British supervision (Mcmurray 26-27). SOCAL was given the British permission to exploit oil from Bahrain but at the same time, this operation was restricted by the British direction.

Hence, SOCAL ultimately gave the concession to the Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO) on August 1, 1930, to be its first minted subsidiary in the Middle East. Furthermore, the exploratory drilling started on October in which the very first well outside the US was drilled and in May 1932, SOCAL's BAPCO could extract oil. So, the establishment of this new subsidiary was so beneficial to the company, since it was a depression year where the global economic activity was in a deep decline (Mcmurray 28-29). Therefore, BAPCO succeeded in extracting oil from Bahrain and achieved several accomplishments especially during the depression year.

4.1.2.2 SOCAL's Involvement in Saudi Arabia

After having the first subsidiary in Bahrain, SOCAL wanted to explore other oil supplies, where its geologists found Saudi Arabia as a probable region, as a result SOCAL asked King

Abdal-‘Aziz to explore oil in his kingdom. The king in fact liked the idea, since he knew that this offer would certainly help his country’s growth, as he was in touch with the British exploitation of the Iranian oil as well as the one in Iraq and lately the Bahraini oil discovery (McMurray 29, 53-55). The king believed that the foreign capital and expertise are highly essential for developing the oil potentials.

Therefore, after having a lot of negotiation the King genuinely accepted the offer, on May 29, 1933, in Jeddah at a meeting of King Abd al-‘Aziz privy council in Makkah, where, the Finance Minister ‘Abd Allah Al-Sulayman and SOCAL attorney Lloyd N. Hamilton signed a 60 year concession agreement. This agreement enabled SOCAL to explore oil in the area that stretches from the border of Iraq in the north, stretching as far west as the Dahna sands and south to the Rub‘al-Khali. Thus, the collaboration between SOCAL and the Saudi government eventually grew into something spectacularly called now the Arabia American Oil Company (ARAMCO). As a consequence, in 1935, the drilling process started, and on 1938 the company found oil (McMurray 56). The King signed this agreement with SOCAL since he highly trusted SOCAL’s skills and equipment aiming to get advantage of oil in terms of improving the Saudi Arabian economy.

4.1.3 The Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement

Before the American involvement in the Middle East, the US was mostly reliant on the oil of the west i.e. the oil of Latin America. However, during WWII, the US began to lose control over the country’s oil flow, which was primarily due to the enormous amounts of oil consumed by the US in wartime, in addition to the support it gave for both its combat troops abroad and its allies. This put the US in a very anxious situation that demanded finding an urgent and assured oil supply, which would provide the country with the needed oil flow in the long-term, since the US leaders knew that without oil they could not remain stable or succeeded (Feis 1174-1175). As

the world became highly dependent on oil the US started looking for oil supplies in all over the world.

American leaders were so afraid of having another war before being prepared. As a result, the US started to look east, when it realized the Middle East as the wealthiest regions of oil. The region at that time was primarily dominated by the two major powers Britain and France who were processing an agreement called the Sykes-Picot Agreement that seeks for dividing the Ottoman Empire territories between both Britain and France, which was highly logical for the US since it can help the country get the hunted supplies the country was looking for. So, it started to plan for having access to the region in the sake of guaranteeing a new oil supply, in doing so the US knew that they must negotiate this issue with Britain and France rather than taking them as its competitors (Feis 1176-1178). In short, the Middle East was a very attractive region that could effectively meet the American interests getting advantage of the region's oil.

According to the Red Line Agreement, there was a list of independent American oil companies in the Middle East, that is to say the US in a way was already involved in the region. Henceforth, when the government started issuing the region's oil, the American oil companies were in full support in the sense that the government will support them, however the idea seemed so risky particularly due to the region's dominating powers who had the ability to control the world's markets and the fear of not being able to achieve equality. Thenceforth, the US after making a long analysis it posed a notion of establishing a partnership deal with Britain based on the assumption that Britain had the same oil interests as the US, this partnership was thought to be in form of agreement called the Anglo-American Agreement that seeks for dividing the middle eastern oil between both countries (Stoff 69). To sum up, the US saw that in order to facilitate its integration in this region, it must cooperate with Britain leading to negotiating the Anglo-American Agreement.

The Anglo-American agreement was subjected to a lot of crises; it had been refused on 1944 and returned back to the State Department. However, the American government despite all of its fears and expected future problems did not give up the whole notion since the Middle Eastern oil supplies were vital for the stability and growth of the country. Furthermore, the government made a list of adjustments that were proposed again to Congress on 1945 but as the oil industry is composed of a lot of segments, the whole agreement could not be achieved unless the whole segments accept it. This was not an easy procedure since it was impossible to get the approval of the whole American delegates particularly the American domestic producers even after adjusting it. As a result, the agreement was refused by the Senate (Stoff 69-70). Therefore, this agreement was not validated by most of the American leaders.

Due to the agreement's strong rejection, US oil companies owned by independent oil men grew and established a large presence in the Middle East, where they assisted the American government, particularly in the postwar era, but the US was afraid of losing their support if their own interests ran counter to the government's. Therefore, they had no choice but to take the risk and provide diplomatic backing to those independent oilmen when necessary (Stoff 71-73). The American oil companies refusal to this cooperation obliged the US to back them hoping that they would assist the country.

4.2 The US and the Birth of "Israel"

During WWI Britain planned to eliminate the existence of the Ottoman Empire that was already weakened due to its alliance with Germany. Hence, and in order to gain much support to do so, Britain made a lot of agreements, the most known of which is the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement that divided the Ottoman Empire territories between France and Britain, in which Britain took Palestine. Meanwhile they also promised Palestine for both the Zionists in 1917 under what is known the Belford declaration and to Sharif Hussein the ruler of Mecca in 1915

(Kramer, Bâli 116).

After the end of the war, the Ottoman Empire did fall apart, and Britain dominated Palestine temporarily, where it facilitated the Jewish immigration to the Palestinian lands to be the initiative step to the Israeli occupation. As a result, the Palestinians started pissing of the British existence in addition to the uprising tensions between them and Jews and they revolted against the British in 1936, but it ended up by the British victory thanks to the Jewish assistance. After this revolution, the British stopped the Jewish immigration and called for establishing a new state that includes both Palestinians and Jews (Best et al 120-125).

The outcomes of WWII played a major role in the US intervention in the Middle Eastern countries. First, Britain was mostly broken, so it left the Palestinian territories aiming to focus more on its recovery and domestic policy and passed the Palestinian problem to the UN. Second, as Hitler murdered and oppressed the European Jewish, the Zionist movement, which calls mainly for providing the Jewish with their proper homeland in Palestine, became stronger and more serious and they gained the support of the American Jews, with putting a higher stress on the American government. As a result, the American President Roosevelt on 15 October declared:

I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give them their support to this aim. If reelected I shall help to bring about its earliest realization. (qtd.in Fraser xi)

However, this issue of providing the Jews with Palestine as a homeland was so problematic for both the Middle Eastern countries as well as the American government. For the Middle Eastern countries, it was obvious that they would not agree with this decision since Palestine was an Arabic country that already had its own government and political system that

was run by the Palestinians themselves who owned most of these land territories. Concerning, the American government it was complicated as well , since it had its own interests in this region that was primarily oil which means the US was supposed to maintain friendly relations with the regions countries and by agreeing on the Jewish request, it would lose the trust of the middle eastern nations . President Roosevelt therefore was obliged to make many discussions with Ibn Saudi, the king of Saudi Arabia to solve this issue and he ensured that nothing would be done without having a deep conversation between both the Arabs and the Jews (Fraser x-xi).

Ibn Saud, however, insisted on rejecting this idea and believed that the Axis are the only responsible for solving this issue not the Middle East. Later on, the American President Roosevelt died on 1945 and was succeeded by Truman who played a major role on providing the Jews with the homeland they asked for. Consequently, in 1947, the UN tackled the issue of Palestine and they decided to divide the country into two parts: one for the Palestinians and the other for the Jews. The plan was rejected even by Great Britain but it was obliged to accept due to the economic pressure applied by the UN. Therefore, on 14 may, this decision took place in Palestine (Fraser x-xii).

Since the UN was responsible for the Palestinian issue, it established a commission called the UN Special Commission on Palestine (UNSCOP), which started analyzing the problem as a result, it posed two major options to vote for. Either the partition of Palestine between the Jews and Palestinians or establishing a federal union of an Arab state and a Jewish state with a common foreign and defense policy under a central power-sharing government. Consequently, on November 1947, the vast majority including the US that was headed by Truman voted for the partition that is why Palestine had been parted as suggested (Best et al 128-129).

Even though there was a kind of clash concerning siding with “Israel” and the American interests in the Middle East. After the death of President Roosevelt, the US insisted on supporting

the creation of “Israel” and funding it to become latter its Middle Eastern ally, which can help the US to balance its power in the area aiming to prohibit the emergence of any other power. This was mostly done by the American President Truman and continued till nowadays. However, it is worth mentioning that the US did not have official domestic relationship with “Israel” until the Six Day War in 1967.

4.3 The 1953 Iranian Coup D’etat

The political scientist Mark J. Gasiorowski discussed one of the key events that occurred after WWII, which is the 1953 Iranian Coup d’etat, where he explained the American and British role in this regime change operation. In this regard, he clarified that the Anglo American cooperation to overthrow Mohammed Mossaddeq has been primarily requested by Britain as a result to Mossaddeq nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company that eliminated the British partnership from the company, which was regarded as one of the major economic bases in Britain. As a result to this decision, Britain attempted to compromise the issue with Mosaddeq, but he refused. Later on, Britain terminated diplomatic relations with Iran, and considered overthrowing him as the only option to secure its interests in Iran. Therefore, it sought the need to discuss this issue with international organization like the UN, in addition to asking for the American assistance (Gasiorowski 261-263, Zahrani 95).

In response to this request the US under Truman administration refused to cooperate with Britain and advised both sides to negotiate, since it had no interests in Iran, moreover Truman saw supporting Mosaddeq administration as an efficient strategy to block the Soviet meddling in Iran (Zahrani 95). Hence, Mosaddeq administration was fully supported by the US. By 1951, however the US reconsidered this issue, believing that it needed to get involved in Iran's politics in order to contain the communist spread in Iran, as well as enabling American oil companies access the Iranian oil. In this regard, the US’s Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) launched an Operation

called BEDAMAN. The goal of this operation was to undermine the Soviet image and weakening the Iranian political basis. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the National Front leaders were having a sort of civil war between the pro-Mosaddeq group and the Anti-Mosaddeq group associated primarily by Zahedi, who wanted to succeed Mosaddeq (Gasiorowski 267-271).

The CIA therefore was not satisfied with Truman's viewpoint; as a result it planned even during his administration to reverse the strategy and to oust Mossadeq. However, its plans were not practiced yet. In addition, the Iranian political state was not stable as there were many civil disputes within the members of the National Front. On February 3, 1953, barely two weeks after Eisenhower's nomination, British and US officials convened to assess the situation (Gasiorowsk 271-275, Takeyh and de Bellaigue 165).

At this meeting, it was decided that the two spy agencies; the CIA of US and the MI6 of Britain, devise and carry out a plot to remove Mosaddeq and install Zahedi. Consequently, the CIA and the MI6 discussed the plan to be applied after having multiple meetings and got the approval of both sides on 25 July 1953, as well as the Shah's approval. The CIA used multiple strategies to overthrow Mosaddeq as he had many sympathizers. After several attempts, on August 19, 1953 he was dismissed and replaced by Zahedi (Gasiorowsk 271-275, Takeyh and de Bellaigue 165-166).

The US involvement in Iran was one of the major applied policies in the Middle East during the Cold War era. The plan of overthrow played a major role in reflecting the American objectives in the region, as the US wanted to gain the country to be a Western ally, prevent the communist spread, obtain access to the region's oil and implicitly control the oil market. Consequently, the US followed a pure realistic belief in Iran.

4.4 The American Mutual Defense Assistance in the Middle East.

The Cold War played a major role in developing the American foreign policy in the Middle East. In this respect, according to James W. Spain, during the 1950s, the American policy makers thought about utilizing new strategies in order to obtain more allies, to have control over maximum countries. Policy makers also aimed to have a sense of solidarity and corporation with the Middle Eastern nations, block the Soviets, protect the nations and guarantee American long-term interests. In this sense, the policy makers proposed a strategy that calls for providing a defense assistance to the Middle Eastern nations called Middle East Defense Organization (MEDO) as it did in both Greece and Turkey when it backed them against the Soviets, in addition to helping them to join the NATO as official members. Consequently, both Greece and Turkey formed an alliance with the West. Moreover, in the mid1951, the US also signed a list of agreements with Iran, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, “Israel”, Jordan, and Lebanon (Spain 252).

One of the strategies followed by the American policy makers in the Middle East, in order to secure its interests and achieve its goals in this area, is providing military assistance to its nations throughout establishing military bases in most of them.

During WWII, when the US and Britain were having a conflict concerning who would control Saudi Arabia, Undersecretary of the Navy William C. Bullitt raised President Franklin D. Roosevelt awareness in 1943 to the British behavior who were manipulating the US through the concession of the American oil company SOCAL in Saudi Arabia . For this reason, and in order to eliminate the British existence, President Roosevelt suggested to Saudi Arabia to establish a Military defense base in its lands that included an army, navy and air forces claiming that “the defense of Saudi Arabia is vital to the defense of the United States” (qtd.in Chomsky and Achcar 53). Consequently, on June 18, 1951, they signed the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement,

which sought primarily for protecting Saudi Arabia and securing the American oil interests (Chomsky and Achcar 52-53). In short, the US in order to secure and defend its realistic interests in Saudi Arabia established one of its strongest military bases in the country implying.

However, It's worth mentioning that not all nations were motivated for this idea, one of them is Egypt which was totally against establishing an ally command or having any sort of alliance with the west. As a reaction to the MEDO, Arab countries proposed the so-called The Arab League Collective Security Pact, which represents their solidarity and the desire to defend themselves by themselves. This pact was mainly approved by most Arab countries, whereas, it was rejected by the US based on the assumption that whoever wants strength, he just needs to ask the US to provide it with minimum conditions (Spain 252-253). Even though, some countries accepted the construction of an American military base in their countries, most Middle Eastern nation refused to do so since they wanted to establish a defense system of their own without the intervention of the West.

4.5 The US and the Suez Canal Crises

The Suez Canal was constructed in Egypt to link between the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean by way of the Red Sea, to be one of the most vital waterways in the globe that connects Europe, Africa and Asia. Moreover, since the early ages, this Canal was highly significant for the British and the French owing to its Strategic location that enabled them to connect with the globe, especially in terms of trade i.e. it was an international waterway by which Britain, France and other countries were transporting goods and raw materials mostly from Asia. Dating back to 1856, the Egyptian government granted for France a concession to build, develop and manage the canal as a result, the Suez Company was created. Later on, Britain joined the company in 1875 (Piquet107-113). This means the Suez Company was under the control of France and Britain.

Afterward in 1936, the Egyptian government signed with Britain the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty that called for the construction of military stations network along the Suez Canal whereby the British forces can protect the canal. However, this treaty was removed in 1954 because of the dissatisfaction of the Egyptian people, hence it was replaced by another treaty that sought for the removal of the British troops (Piquet107; Selak 487). In short, Britain failed to establish a military base in Egypt.

Following his election, the new Egyptian President on June 1956, Jamal Abdel Nasser issued the Aswan Dam project to the World Bank, which accepted to fund it. Both Britain and the US were ready to give him loans after having the approval of the legislature, but due to Nasser's attitude towards the west, the US government feared that Nasser would not pay the loan. After having many negotiations, the US decided to not support this project anymore, two days later Britain as well declared its departure from the project (Almog 75). Thus, the Aswan Dam project was not financially backed.

As a response, Nasser announced on July 1956, the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company aiming to have full control over the Canal's income in order to fund the Aswan Dam project. This reaction was so shocking to the British and the French since the canal was not considered international anymore, which obviously contradicts with the British and French interests. As a consequence the British and French governments decided to take military actions against Nasser hoping that the US may join them, but it was not the case since the American President Eisenhower in addition to John Foster Dulles were totally against having a war with Egypt(Almog 76-80; Varble 9).

Later on, "Israel" joined Britain and France, based on its alliance with France. Attacking Nasser was quite important for "Israel" mainly due to the 1955 Egyptian blockage of the Tiran Straits that prevented "Israeli" ships and aircraft from passing by and over it, and the threat that Egypt

would attack “Israel” with the developed arms provided by the Soviets. As a result, the attack started primarily by “Israel” on October 29, then on October 31, Britain and France followed “Israel” where they bombed the Egyptian airfields (Almog 76-80; Varble 9). Therefore, Nasser’s decision contradicted with the British and French interests leading to the emergence of one of the major crises in the Middle East that was organized by three major powers Britain, France and “Israel”.

According to Professor Peter L. Hahn, from the very beginning of this attack, the US that was under Eisenhower administration, was totally against the intentions of its allies. President Eisenhower sent Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Robert Murphy and Dulles to London during the British preparations for the war in order to convince the British to solve this problem peacefully, since the US believed that this issue can be solved diplomatically without using any sort of military actions. Further, one of the reasons that encouraged the US not to support its allies’ military attack was the threat of the Soviets as the US was not willing to give the Soviets any opportunity to gain influence in the region. Even though the US was not satisfied with Nasser’s attitudes and point of view, supporting Egypt was vital for the American position and interests in the Middle East since the US has struck a compromise in its Middle East strategy, supporting the power of its allies but also acknowledging local nationalistic goals (“The United States, Great Britain, and Egypt” 211-215). This attack therefore was opposed by the US.

After the meeting held between the US and Britain, Britain agreed to try to solve the problem diplomatically, which was not the case because both Britain and France insisted on having a war. According to the meeting’s decision, the US organized an international conference in London to discuss this issue in the sake of stopping the nationalization of the canal. As a result, Nasser refused the invitation since the US did not consult with him before the conference believing that the decision of this conference was already made in the advantage of Britain and France (Hahn “The United States, Great Britain, and Egypt” (215-223).

Furthermore, another conference called the Suez Committee was made to persuade Nasser with diplomatic resolutions. Whereas, he insisted again that he would never back off and make the canal international. Despite, the complexity of this issue Eisenhower insisted on finding a peaceful solution as he declared in a press conference on 31 August: “We are determined to exhaust every possible, every feasible method of peaceful settlement and we believe it can be done” (qtd.in Hahn 218). As a result, he made many other attempts, but they all were refused. As a result, he made many other attempts, but they all got refused (Hahn “The United States, Great Britain, and Egypt” 215-223).

At first, the American meddling in the conflict was in away subjective and biased leaning to Britain and France, therefore the attempts made to solve this issue peacefully during the first conference was a huge failure. Even, the further attempts were all refused, hence it was obvious that all of the negotiations were just a failure since Nasser was committed to eliminating the British interference

On October 29, the first day of the attack, President Eisenhower declared that this behavior was not accepted and must be stopped as soon as possible. He also announced that he will impose sanctions and go to the UN to end all of this chaos. In this sense, Eisenhower and Dulles asked the organization for a cease-fire resolution but both Britain and France vetoed this suggestion. Afterward, Eisenhower attempted, when he issued the Cease-fire to the General Assembly, on the assumption that they cannot veto the decision of the General Assembly.As a result the vast majority agreed on the resolution, and a United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was created to stop the attack (Hahn “The United States, Great Britain, and Egypt” 224-232). The US was totally against these organized attacks as it tried every means to stop its allies.

Meanwhile, the oil flow was decreasing in Europe bit by bit since Nasser had blocked the canal, as a solution the US and Britain thought of transporting oil from the Western World to West Europe in case of having a crises . This was an advantage to the US because Eisenhower was the only

one who can decide upon this issue, in addition if an economic crisis took place in Europe certainly the British will be obliged to end the attack. Further, the British economy was in full damage as the US pulled deposits from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and refused to cancel this decision only if Britain halted the bombing. The Soviets intervened in this war on November 5 as they threatened Britain and France to bombe their capitals if they did not stop this attack. At the same time, the US funded UNEF seeking for Anglo-French evacuation from Egypt. All of these aspects influenced Britain to give up the attack and to leave Egypt on 3 December, France as well followed Britain's decision and left the country, later on "Israeli" forces succeeded them on March 1957 (Hahn "The United States, Great Britain, and Egypt" 232-235, 240). As this crises started to impact the world's oil supplies international community including the US started to pressure these three countries to withdraw their forces from Egypt.

4.6 Iconic American Doctrines in the Middle East

By the end of WWII, American administration shifted its attention to the Middle East in order to contain the spread of communism. Later on, attempts were made by presidents to preserve the American interest in the region. The following is an attempt to capture the most important presidential doctrines that adopted special and iconic foreign policy towards the Middle East.

4.6.1 The Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957

According to the professor Peter L Hahn Following President Eisenhower's reelection in 1956, he thought that he needed to strengthen American-Middle Eastern ties, thus he established in 1957, just after the Suez crises, a doctrine that seeks to bring peace and safety to the Middle East by offering economic and military aids. In fact the major goal of this doctrine was as usual blocking the Soviets, particularly after the Suez Crises which was an opportunity to show the significant role Gamal Abdel Nasser was playing, in addition to his widespread reputation among Arab countries. Furthermore, with the fall of both Britain and France, the Middle East was

critical to be under US control (“Securing the Middle East” 38-39).

This doctrine was the most important in terms of American foreign policy in the Middle East, since it came primarily as a result to a lot of efforts made by Eisenhower. Beginning with his ultimate support for Egypt in the Suez Crisis in order to gain Middle Eastern trust, and continuing with his sharp attitude toward his allies, so it is worth noting that he was highly successful in achieving his goal in the Middle East.

4.6.2 Gorge W. Bush Doctrine

Following the Cold War, the American foreign policy in the Middle East gradually took a new form. During the administration of George Herbert Walker Bush, the 41 American president, the American goals in the region remained the same based on his New World Order concept. The major event that took place was the backing of Kuwait in the 1991 Gulf War, to evacuate the Iraqi forces from Kuwaiti lands. Then came, Bill Clinton as the 42 American president, to carry on the same line of providing peace and security in the region. Later, on 2001 Gorge W Bush was elected to be the 43 American president, his presidency was highly significant especially in terms of policy in the Middle East, due to the turning point event of 2001, namely 9/11 attacks.

The 9/11 attacks were alleged to be organized by Osama Bin Laden, the head of Al-Qaeda causing murder and damage, in which two commercial airliners were hijacked and smashed straight into the World Trade Center twin towers in New York. Another attack on the Pentagon House in Washington, D.C. followed, and ultimately a fourth jet landed in a field in Pennsylvania. Osama bin Laden was clearly angry by the US for seeking to pervert Islamic rules and backing the Saudi royal family during the Gulf War. As a reaction, President Bush initiated a war against Al- Qaeda in Afghanistan and declared on September 20, his doctrine that called for a Global War on Terror (Ezeibe and Ogbodo146).

On Thursday, September 20 in his TV speech, President Bush declared his doctrine, a

new guiding principle in foreign policy, in which he announced a Global War on Terror, when he stated, “Our grief has turned to anger and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done”. Moreover, he announced his willingness to start with Afghanistan, based on the assumption that the Taliban rulers of Afghanistan were considered the major supporters to Osama Bin Laden and his terrorist organization (Bush).

The 9/11 attacks, were a strong shock to the American community, as it in a way destabilized the American pride and strength. For this reason the US rapidly took an action in which President Bush launched one of the most strong wars in the world history, the Global War On Terror, which did not target just one country, but it caused two major post-cold war wars, the one in Afghanistan and the other on Iraq. All of these decision lied under the preemptive doctrine headed by Bush.

Renée de Nevers, associate professor in the Department of Public Administration and International Affairs at the Maxwell School at Syracuse University, states that the multiple terroristic attacks that took place in Saudi Arabia in 1996 and in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 raised the threat of terrorism globally. As a result, and by the end of the 1990’s, terrorism had become a central focus of NATO. However, for the US, it was not a major issue until the 9/11 attacks. As a reaction to the attacks, NATO activated its fifth article, declaring that attacks on the US represent an attack to the whole alliance. Following this announcement, plans and programs to assist the US War on Terror and the operation of October 2001 in Afghanistan to fight the Taliban and Al Qaidawas made by NATO, in which these plans included strategic and military assistance (35-37). The US operation in the Middle East to fight terrorism was backed by its closest allies, which were all gathered in the NATO.

From the early ages, the Middle East is considered one of the strategic regions in the

world, this explains why the US gave and still gives it a high value. Although, the US established an official foreign policy in the Middle East by the end of WWII as it emerged as a superpower, its first entrance to the region was in 1928, indicating that it was involved in some way even before WWII.

When several American oil companies took part in the Red Line Agreement following WWII, American policy makers focused their attention particularly on analyzing the events occurring in the Middle East, so that they can take advantage of them to process effective strategies. In the sake of, accomplishing their objectives there, which call primarily for spreading the American dominance and covering as much countries as possible. In this regard, the major strategy used was promoting safety and security in various Middle Eastern countries through negotiating agreements, treaties, and concessions, among other things. Hence, until the early Post-Cold War era, the US succeeded in attaining its aims, but the arrival of George W Bush transformed American strategy in the region from alliances and providing security to the War on Terror, resulting in the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars.

Chapter Three

Case Study: The American Foreign Policy towards Iraq wars.

The American foreign policy towards the Middle East in general was so crucial and complicated, especially in Iraq, as it received more attention. Accordingly, many scholars do consider Iraq the heart of the American foreign policy in the Middle East. In this chapter, an attempt is made to examine the history of relation between Iraq and the US, starting with the American reaction to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait of 1991, first by detecting the American reaction to the Iraq-Iran war, then comparing it to the war of 1991.

Afterward, a study on the American-Iraq War of 2003 is provided, through mentioning the motives of the war, and the role of the American congress, as well as the role of both UN and NATO in the war. An analysis concerning government and media influence on the public opinion reaction to the war is also given. In addition, there is a highlight on its consequences, after tackling the major events that took place during the war, concluding with Iraq's importance to the US.

1. The American Reaction to the Iraq-Iran War

In an article by Dorothy Parvaz, journalist and senior producer for the Human Rights section at Al Jazeera English, the Iranian revolution of 1979 changed the regional alliance system, where the ex-regime was an important partner for the US in the region. However, the Islamic revolution made a radical change in the area, in which Iranian citizens' rejection of the American intervention in the region put the surrounding countries and the US in a critical situation.

Furthermore, there was a rising concern that the revolution might spread to the neighboring countries menacing the American interests in the area, especially oil interests (El Moubarak 431). The end of the 1970's was critical, in which the tension between the Soviet

Union and the US was at its peak, so, losing an ally in the Middle East doesn't serve the US intentions and goals in the region.

As a response to the Iranian attempt to take some Americans as hostages, President Carter initiated the Eagle Claw operation, which aims to liberate them. The latter utterly failed leading to a very stressful and unstable relation between the two countries, in the other hand, the CIA notified their president of Saddam Hussein's intentions to start an operation against Iran (Chaffan and Farhad 232-233). In this respect, Iraq's leader launched an attack on Iran on April 22, 1980, arguing that Iran violated the border lines agreed upon in the 1975 Algiers Accord, where they partitioned Shat Al Arab. In addition, Hussein accused Iran of supporting extremist Shi'a groups in the borderlines and providing them with arms and supplies, which was considered as a threat to their national security (El Moubarak 431). The purpose of Saddam behind this operation was to have more access to water surface, where in the other hand Iran attempted to take full control over it, leading to a conflict between the two.

In general, the US administration appeared to be busy trying to take back its hostages, and as always, remained neutral to this war because, obviously, it represents no threats to its physical or economic security. However, and according ChaffanMouhamed Khalid, and Mohamed Ahmed Farhad, the Iranian president alleged that the assaults on his country were prepared in conjunction between the US and Saddam Hussein, in order to reinstall the former system. Within the same line, President AbolhassanBani-Sadr stated in 1980 that a covert meeting took place in Jordan between Zbigniew Brzezinski (the US national security advisor from 1977 to 1981) and one of Iraq's leaders. Confirming this claim, the New York Times, reported that Brzezinski met an important figure, who was Saddam Hussein. But, this claim was rejected by Brzezinski and his assistants, who declared that they did not see Saddam but met King Hussein in the company of a high-ranking Iraqi envoy (233).

Furthermore, on July 9, 1980, a secret meeting between American and Iraqi intelligence was held in Carthage, Spain, where it was claimed that Iraq had obtained critical information about Iranian military bases and that the US had agreed to establish a base in Jordan to supply Iraq with intelligence information about Iran (Chaffan and Farhad 234). Concerning this issue, the US administration appeared to be satisfied with where the conflict was going, in fact, there were even some claims that the US secretly supported the war. Consequently, it ended up to be the longest war in the region during the 20th century.

The connection between this war and the Iraq-Kuwait war may appear hazy, however, historians and scholars used this war to criticize the US for having double standards, when it came to two identical concerns or situations. George A. Kourvetaris, an editor for the Journal of The Political and Military Sociology, was one of these historians, claiming that the fall of the Iranian Shah, the representative of western capitalist interests in the region, and the rise of the Islamic State in Iran, created a tremendous gap that threatened American and Western interests in the region. As a result, with the exception of Syria, the Arabs and the US backed Iraq in this assault to prevent the revolution from spreading, in which Saddam Hussein claimed to have completed the task. However, as Iraq's authoritarianism was based on Pan-Arabism and nationalism, it posed a threat to the US and the western world's oil supplies, therefore, the US reacted differently to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait (72).

2. Iraq-Kuwait War of 1991

2.1 Motives of the War

According to the Indian Professor Ammaar H. Abidi, Iraq justified its invasion of Kuwait by claiming that ever since the Ottoman Empire, Kuwait was not an independent country of its own, since it was part of Iraq. However, historically speaking, Iraq was founded during 1936-1941, whereas Kuwait was only established in 1961, as a response, there was a repeated call to

annex Kuwait to Iraq, yet obviously this would not be established unless by a military operation. Moreover, Iraq is almost a land locked country, with only 40 kilometers of water surface, which is also blocked by the Kuwaiti island of Bubiyan from one hand and pressured and menaced by Iran in the other hand. For this reason, Baghdad thought about this annex as a chance to flourish and boost its trade and get more access to Shatt Al-Arab (129).

By the 1980, oil prices started to drop, where occasionally, the countries that rely on oil as an income usually start to reduce their budget and work on creating and investing in alternative economic incomes. With the long exhausting war that Iraq took lately, in addition to the debt it had to Kuwait, this was a strong hit to the economy (Chaudhry 14). In order to control oil prices, there was the 1986 October Accord, which clarifies that, all OPEC countries must manage and agree upon oil production. The accord aim was to prevent other countries from pumping more oil, which would drop the prices causing a problem to the rest of the countries. However, United Emirate and Kuwait did not stick to the agreement and their actions made oil prices drop to its lowest at 20 dollars, leading to damaging the Iraqi economy. As a reaction, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein issued a chilling warning at the Arab Emergency Summit Conference in May 1990, criticizing oil policies that resulted in lowering the prices and harming the Iraqi economy. He also accused Kuwait of utilizing diagonal drilling to pump oil from the part of the Rumaila oil field that was within Iraqi borders (Alnasrawi 207-208).

Observing the context of the war, Iraq was facing an economic crisis, hence, it was drowning in debt with Kuwait, facing Shi'a threat from Iran, having almost no water surface to help its commerce, the absence of foreign exchange that the country was highly in need for, finally, and most importantly, oil prices that drastically dropped. Therefore, for Iraq it was only logical to invade Kuwait, since it would secure bigger water surface, more access to Shat Al-Arab, more oil and also enlarge its territories. Furthermore, Kuwait is a small country, so Iraq

considered the annexation an easy task. The following chart represents oil prices from 1980 to 1994, the critical period that represents the context of the war

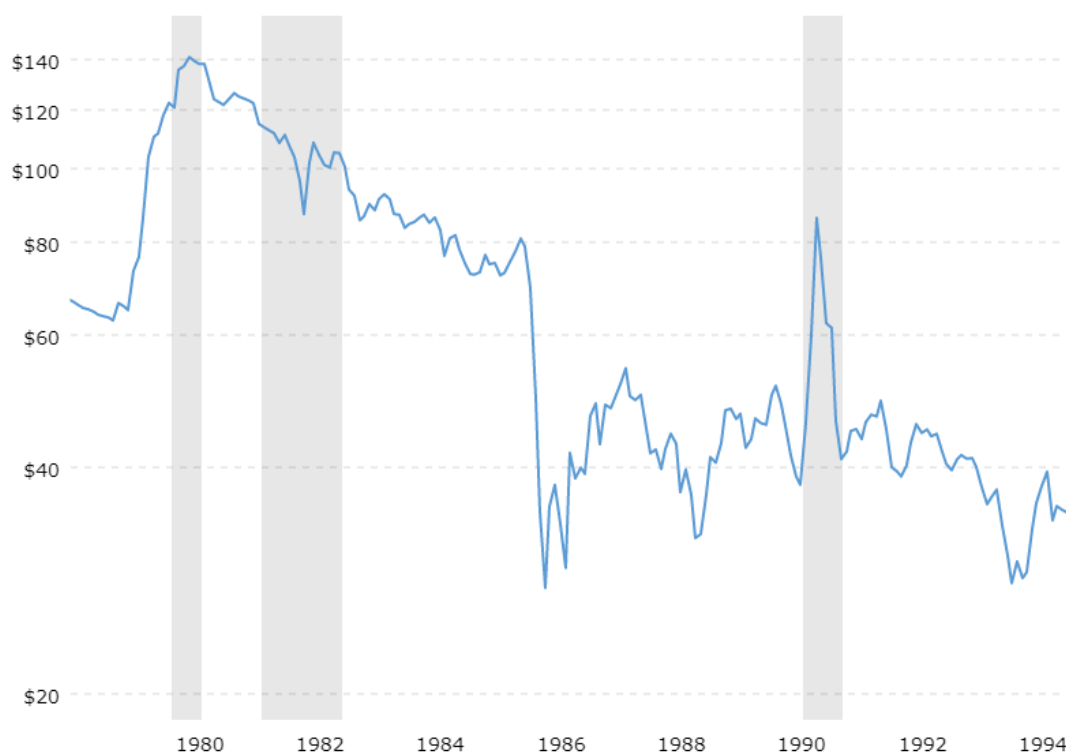


Figure 1: Oil Prices from 1990 to 1994.

Source: 2010-2022 Macrotrends LLC direct Link:

[Source](https://www.macrotrends.net/1369/crude-oil-price-history-chart)

The chart represents and clarifies how oil prices dropped from its highest price 140.98 dollar in 1980 to its lowest 27.69 dollar in 1986. This means that within 6 years oil lost more than 80% of its value, causing a huge damage on Iraq's economy, which is mostly based on oil incomes. The prices continued to escalate until 1990, the year the war started with Kuwait, but it continued to drop again. The high prices of 1980 gave an economic boost for Iraq, which have been used to found its military operation against Iran, but the war was unexpectedly long, leading to exhausting the economy.

2.2 The Outbreak of the War

The era before the invasion witnessed a tension between Iraq and Kuwait, where several Arabian countries attempted to settle the conflict peacefully. In this concern, the then president of Egypt, HousnyMoubarak, in an interview aired in Al Arabiya news channel, with the journalist SaadSilawi, declared that he had a meeting with Saddam Hussein a while before the invasion, where the latter confirmed that he was not planning to make any military reaction against Kuwait, requesting him not to tell his opponent. As a result, they both agreed on sending a commission to Saudi Arabia to discuss and solve the conflict peacefully. The Egyptian president continued saying that he directly headed to Kuwait to inform them with the progress, therefore, the meeting was held in Jeddah on July, 1990, where the two parties did not reach an agreement and right after each of them head back to their countries, the invasion started (Silawi 9:00-12:57).

The attacks on Kuwait were a surprise, not only for Moubarak and the Arabic world, but also globally. Professor Colin Warbrick confirmed that there were various attempts from Arabs to relieve the tension after the outbreak of the war, yet these attempts failed, and Iraq claimed that its intervention was based on the request of Kuwaiti citizens. Thus, Iraq by the 28th August 1990 annexed Kuwait and declared it as a part of El Basra province (483). ObviouslyArabs, especially Egypt were against this invasion from the very beginning, and continued to contain and solve the problem peacefully without using force or making military intervention.

In the same interview, Moubarak stated that he sent numerous letters to Saddam trying to convince him to back off, and even warned his ambassador that the world would not accept these actions. In the president words, this war is so risky, as it will affect all Arabs not only Iraq. He continued that Egypt was a part of the forces that gathered to defend Kuwait based on the Arab League Collective Security Pact (Silawi 15:34-17:17). As mentioned before, this pact is a reaction to (MEDO), the US version of the pact, yet it was rejected because the Arab leaders of

that time did not want to have a foreign intervention in the area, or at least to be under their guidance.

At the international level, things as well were against Iraq, the Security Council passed Resolution 660, which declares that there is a clear violation of the international peace and security. Based on this, and according the Articles 40 and 39, Iraq was asked to instantly and unconditionally surrender and back off its position of August 1. Furthermore, the Security Council did not validate the annexation of Kuwait, and called countries and organizations to do the same, demanding both parties to begin negotiations to solve the conflict peacefully. It is worth noting that the United Kingdom gave a special attention to the conflict and worked on making sure that the Resolution 660 is respected and followed (Warbreak 483). Saddam was not only fighting Kuwait, but the whole world, which stood against him. The US reaction was not different as well, where it used every possible tool to pressure him.

According to the American historian, Henry William Brands, in reaction to the operation that started on August 2, 1990, where Iraq succeeded within 24 hours in taking control of this small country. President Bush, within less than 24 hours, went out and called for Iraq's forces to back off, where he stated implicitly, that there could be a military intervention if Iraq continued its actions. Therefore, by October, American forces were ready to fight as they settled in Saudi Arabia, in addition, the US launched large sanctions against both Iraq and Kuwait. In fact, these actions were intended to express the US and its allies' seriousness concerning the case. Finally, after some discussion, the UN Security Council (UNSC), followed by the Congress, agreed to start military operations against Iraq, uniting with many other allies. Hence, on January 16, 1991, Bush ordered his military forces to start working on ending the Iraqi existence in Kuwait (113). Obviously, Saddam did not act upon the 660 Resolution, putting more pressure on the country's economy. The US in this war did not only interfere militarily but also took many economic

measures and decisions against Iraq, such as imposing economic sanctions.

2.3 Economic Sanctions Against Iraq

Thomas Biersteker, an honorary professor in international relations and political science at the Graduate Institute, defines sanctions as official orders issued by a state, a group of states, or the UNSC to restrict commercial activities, in order to influence its behavior. In this respect, sanctions are an extremely powerful foreign policy tool, and they are frequently imposed by multiple sources with specific goals. Some countries impose trade restrictions only when permitted by regional organizations such as the European Union (EU) or sub-regional groups such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Other countries such as the US use unilateral sanctions as a tool of international policy. The UNSC is the key exception, for its ability to authorize global sanctions if world security was threatened (Benaini 17). In short, sanctions are decisions made against a country or a government in order to stop and redirect its actions. They are also an instrument of the American foreign policy used to restrain and limit its enemy and those who it considers them a threat to the national and international security. Historically speaking, the US used sanctions numerous times. The following chart represents the sanctions imposed by the US since 1990.

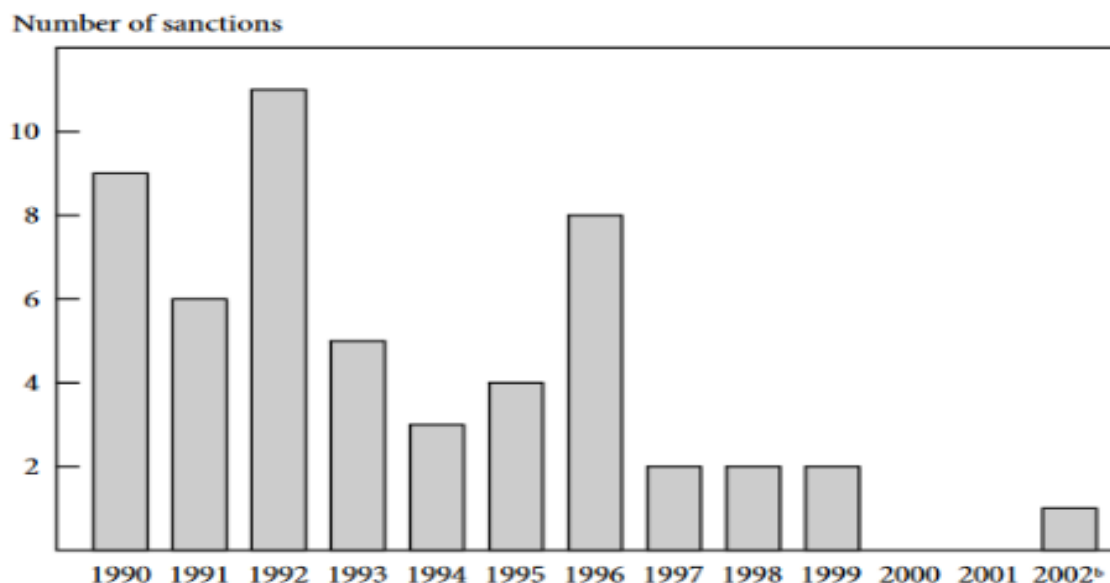


Figure 2: Sanctions imposed by the US.

Source: O'Sullivan, Meghan. *Shrewd Sanctions: Statecraft and State Sponsors of Terrorism*
Brookings Institution Press, 2003

The figure represents the use of sanctions by the US from 1990 to 2002 i.e. after the end of the cold war, where it reached its peak in 1992, with more than 10 sanctions per year. Since August 1990, the UNSC activated Resolution 661, followed by 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670, 674, 677, and 678 in 1990, 686 in 1991, 687 in April 1991 and 985 in April 1995. The sanctions aim was to cut Iraq out of the world economy, as it consisted of an oil embargo, freezing of Iraqi government financial assets abroad, an armament embargo, suspension of international flights, and the prohibition of financial transactions. Members of the UNSC were also asked to enforce naval and air blockades on Iraq. In addition, it insisted on removing all Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) and banning Iraq from acquiring or developing nuclear weapons or nuclear-weapons-usable material. Finally compensate Kuwait for its loss. Consequently, these decisions against Iraq caused food crisis and was the reason of many deaths especially among women and children (Alnasrawi 208-212).

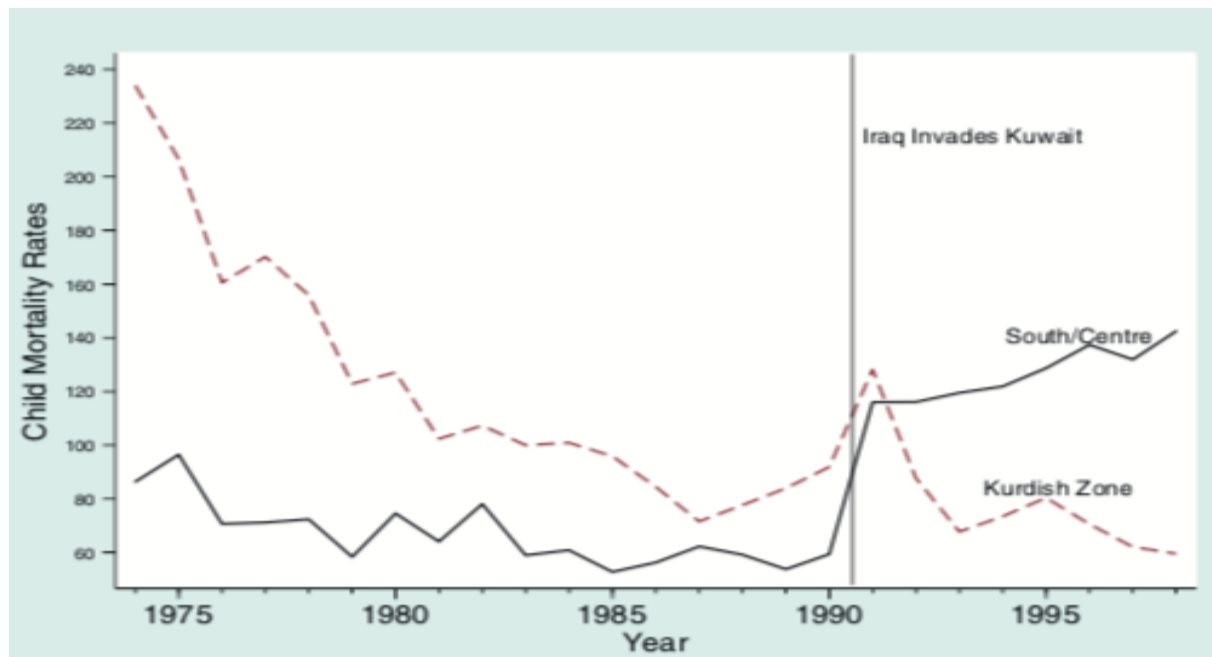


Figure 3: Iraq Child Mortality Survey.

Source: Economic Sanctions Against Iraq- A Humanitarian Perspective.

The chart represents statistics of children's deaths in Iraq from 1975 to 1995. In the period right before the war on Kuwait, statistics were stable and reasonable. However, by the beginning of the war and since 1990, the rates have reached a peak that the country has not witnessed before, at least in the last decade before the war. This means that sanctions affected the lives of citizens causing a food crisis, leading the country into a dark long tunnel of famine and starvation. Events escalated fast, concerning the case of Kuwait, compared with the latest case of Iran, which somehow raised many questions, including why the US reacted immediately? Why it reacted in that manner? And what is the different between the two cases?

2.4 American Foreign Policy towards the Iraq-Kuwait War

In this regards, Kourvetaris makes a comparison between the American reaction toward the Iraq invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1975, claiming that the US reaction was different concerning these two. Moreover, he states that in one hand, despite the

fact that Turkey violated more than 20 US Congressional Expressions of Opposition, the US allowed it to occupy Cyprus and even backed it with military aids. In the other hand, Iraq violated only two Congressional Expressions of Opposition and was faced with a huge alliance and sanctions. He further criticizes the US duplicity and going against the American principles that the state always fought for, which are, democracy, liberty and justice by accepting to protect Monarchies, mocking Al Ash-Sheikh calling them “Oil Shiks”. He continues claiming that the US did not give any chance for pacific solutions to take place, and used the war as a chance to provide jobs for low and middle class citizens (69-73).

This war was a clear and obvious violation of many international laws and American principles, created and backed by the US itself. The radical change in reactions put the American policy and administration under critics and accusations of duplicity and double standard. The end of the Cold War caused a gap in the American economy, where numerous citizens lost their jobs, especially those who were linked to the military sector. As a result, the government considered this as chance to reduce unemployment. In addition, it is remarked that the US administration here worked and used the realistic approach, rather than the idealistic one, which means that the US did not really follow a strict and stable approach, but took different ways and used different methods to achieve its aims, and protect its interests.

3. The American Iraqi War 2003

The end of the Cold War was like a new birth for the US, as it became the unchallenged predominant superpower in the globe. Therefore, its foreign policy became way and way stronger than before, especially in the Middle East, since it was the only super power controlling the area whether explicitly or implicitly. The American foreign policy in the Middle East during the very first years of this era kept calling for security, safety and democracy. However, after 9/11 attacks the whole policy in the region shifted, as it marked the declaring of a Global War on Terror by

President George W. Bush, based on his Preemptive Doctrine. This Global War on Terror resulted in urging several wars in a variety of countries, starting with Afghanistan then moving to Iraq.

3.1 Motives of the war

In fact, the War in Afghanistan was in a way reasonable, since the attacks were said to be organized by Al-Qaeda that was based primarily in Afghanistan and highly supported by the Taliban regime. Whereas, the war in Iraq was not justifiable, since this war normally took place as a result to the terrorist attacks, and Iraq had nothing to do with terrorism or Al-Qaeda, yet, President Bush insisted on having this war.

Therefore, after the success achieved by the US in Afghanistan, in his speech on January 28, 2002, President Bush announced that Iraq will be the next destination to carry on the War on Terror, stating that “our war on terror is just starting”, that is to say more is yet to come. In this regard, he stated two primary objectives: first, the US will close terrorist training camps, block their plans, and bring them to justice wherever they were. Second, the US will use every possible means to prevent terrorists and the regimes supporting them from obtaining Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) aiming to prohibit them from threatening Western security. North Korea, Iran, and Iraq were among the regimes Bush mentioned in his address, calling them the “Axis of Evil” (January 29, 2002: State of the Union Address).

This speech was like an introductory statement to have a war in Iraq, in which President Bush gave the reasons why he was going to fight terrorism there. Further, he explained that those terrorist organizations could not function efficiently without the help of other regimes. By saying regimes, he included Iraq to be one of them, based on the assumption that Iraq possessed WMDs and was assisting those terrorist organizations, in this sense Bush stated within the same speech:

...Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax and nerve gas and nuclear weapons for

over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens, leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections, then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world. (January 29, 2002: State of the Union Address)

Obviously, Bush's statement clearly blamed Iraq, with Saddam being accused of having links to terrorism, as well as owning WMDs and refusing to allow the UN mission to look for them, posing a threat to the US and allied security. Yet, these accusations were not new, Nancy Pelosi on December 19, 1998, made a similar statement "Saddam Hussein has been engaged in the development of weapons of mass destruction technology which is a threat to countries in the region and he has made a mockery of the weapons inspection process" (qtd.in Archer 138). Pelosi statement shows that even before the attacks, Iraq was accused with acquiring MAD weapons, in addition to not taking the investigations seriously.

These were President Bush's stated motives. Despite his best efforts to rationalize his action and promotion as a means of achieving idealistic ends, such as security, democracy and safety, it still does not make sense. Bush was able to go with other pacific and diplomatic options, hence this war was obviously based on other realistic demands, as though the US took advantage of these attacks to get access to Iraq, seeking to achieve other undeclared ends, especially that there was no specific evidence that Bush's supplied justifications were right. Furthermore, according to the UN report of June 5, 2003, up until March 18, inspections found no evidence that any sort of WMDs were possessed by Iraq (UN Inspectors Found No Evidence of Prohibited Weapons Programs as of 18 March Withdrawal, Hans Blix Tells Security Council). Briefly, the WMDs were just the big lie Bush tried to convince the world with, to justify his invasion of Iraq.

Moreover, according to Carlos L. Yordán, an Associate Professor of Political Science and International Relations, the American foreign policy that followed 9/11 attacks, was already planned by Bush and his advisors' prior the attacks, following a theory called neo-conservatism, based on the assumption that Clinton's presidency undermined America's global reputation. As a result, the plan was to reshape the globe to suit American interests while blocking the growth of possible competitors. This was achieved through utilizing the American military force, that is to say, the followed American foreign policy in Iraq after 9/11 attacks was just a revised and extended version of the preplanned one before the attacks (Yordán 126, Mearsheimer "Hans Morgenthau and the Iraq War: Realism versus Neo-Conservatism"). Therefore, the decision of launching a war against Iraq was already part of Bush's foreign policy Agenda.

In fact, the undeclared motives were in a way obvious, since the foundation of the American foreign policy in any area is to expand its domination and gain more control over its domestic and international affairs, another aspect is to eliminate any threat that can menace the American security, which was the case in Iraq. Before the administration of Gorge W. Bush, these goals were achieved peacefully, unlike Bush who directly used force in Iraq as the American political scientist, Robert Jervis stated: "he has enunciated a far-reaching program that calls for something much like an empire" (365).

In this regard, Dr. BledarPrifti stated that, the American foreign policy in Iraq was primarily based on five concepts. First the international chaotic state with no superpower in charge of Iraq, second the threat posed by the Iraqi military base, third the likely assault Iraq could launch against the US, fourth the preservation of American stability and survival, and finally, maintaining hegemonic dominance over the Middle East as a core region in American foreign policy. All of these aspects in a way reflected the Bush Doctrine primer aims in the

country, leading to launching a war in Iraq (95-96). In short, Bush's vision indicates that the American stability and powerful image required urging this war.

According to Ahsan Butt, an Associate Professor at the Schar School of Policy and Government at George Mason University, the war in Iraq served as a show off to the American capabilities, as well as a warning message to other rebellious nations aiming to demonstrate what the US can do to maintain its dominance. Further, the first war in Afghanistan was not enough for the American reputation, as the Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld stated after the attacks "We need to bomb something else to prove that we're, you know, big and strong and not going to be pushed around by these kinds of attacks". Thus, Iraq was the targeted nation that can strengthen the American foreign policy and provide it with more power.

Other researchers as well stated that this war was a manifestation of imperialism, and that America was only fighting for Iraq's oil. As the American economist, Alan Greenspan stated, "The Iraq war is largely about oil" (463). Within the same line, Joshua Holland stated that the Washington post reported that even before the attacks, Bush and his advisors were planning to get advantage of the Iraqi oil. This implies that Bush and his advisors obviously used 9/11 attacks as an easy strategy to achieve their aim, especially that Iraq is considered one of the largest oil producers in the Middle East. Moreover, what clearly proves that the Iraq war was for oil purposes is the privatization of oil companies that followed the war, as Antonia Juhasz stresses in her article "*Why the war in Iraq was fought for Big Oil*", "Before the 2003 invasion, Iraq's domestic oil industry was fully nationalized and closed to Western oil companies. A decade of war later, it is largely privatized and utterly dominated by foreign firms". As stated previously in the second chapter, oil was one of the ultimate bases of the American foreign policy in the Middle East, which was the case in Iraq; hence, oil was a greater motive for the Iraqi war.

Consequently, the political strategy followed by Bush in Iraq was extremely realist, as the focus was on securing the American domestic and international needs, while neglecting Iraq's state. In this respect, the American political scientist and international relations scholar, John J. Mearsheimer, theorized this strategy under the name of "offensive realism". So, offensive realism means in his words: "my theory sees great powers as concerned mainly with figuring out how to survive in a world where there is no agency to protect them from each other; they quickly realize that power is the key to their survival" ("The Tragedy" 21). Therefore, as a result to the international system's insecurity, the US moved offensively and used force against Iraq in order to expand its dominance, ensure its powerful state and survival, and obtain greater power.

3.2 Congress Reaction to the Iraq War

As mentioned in chapter one, declaring wars and using military force was and still a tool for the US foreign policy, where the government uses its army when it detects a threat to the country's safety. According to the first article, section eight, clause 11 of the American constitution, the power to declare wars belongs to the Congress, however, and also according to the second article, section two, clause 1, the president is the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the US (Constitution of the United States: Analysis and Interpretation). To sum up, the position of the president authorizes him to use the army, yet the congress is the institution constitutionally capable of declaring war.

In this regards, according to Cyrus R. Vance, who served as Secretary of State in the Carter administration from 1977 to 1980, when it comes to military and foreign affairs, neither the congress nor the president has full power to declare war. In order for the president to locate the army and launch an operation in foreign territories, first a resolution from the Congress is required, which seeks for making a procedure that allows both the Congress and the president to practice their rightful powers (84-85). In other words, the special distribution of power in the

American government allows its branches to check the others, aiming to achieve a balance of power. In this regard, declaring wars is one of the example of this system, neither the president nor the congress acquire the full authority to declare war and control the army, but both participate in the decision making process.

In the case of the Iraq war, the Congress did not declare a war on Iraq. According to the specialist in international security, foreign affairs, defense, and trade, Catherine Dale, the Congress passed resolution for President Bush in October 2002, allowing his administration to use power in order to oust Hussein's regime, in addition to achieving the other intended aims of the Operation Iraq Freedom (OIF), which officially started on March 20, 2003 (summary). By passing the resolution, the Congress agreed to fund the operation and increase the budget of the army, furthermore, the Congress required the president to provide reports about the operation, which includes operation's updates and details, at least every 60 days (Public Law 107-243 5). The debate in the Congress when passing the resolution was hot, where numerous members believed that the war is not necessary and it is just a waste of souls, equipments and money.

An example of those who voted against the resolution, was the democratic representative, Bernie Sanders, who argued that the war is unnecessary and would only cost America human costs and a huge budget, which instead of this, could be used in solving deferent domestic problems that the country was facing (01:11-05:59). In the other hand there were more members who voted for the resolution, a good example is the current American President, Joe Biden, where in an article published by New York Times in January 2, 2020, Katie Glueck and Thomas Kaplan, confirmed that he was among the 77 senators, who voted in the favor of President Bush. After a long debate, the final result of the votes was for the resolution, as in October 11, 2002, House Speaker, Dennis Hastert, announced vote results with 296 representatives voted "yes", and other 133 voted "no" (AP Archive 01:50-02:06). As a result of this vote, President Bush claimed

the right to initiate a military operation in Iraq, in order to overthrow Hussein's regime, and destroy its WMDs.

3.3 The Role of the UN in the Iraq War

Following President Bush's accusation of Iraq, the UNSC issued Resolution 1441 on November 8, 2002, authorizing inspectors from the UN Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to return to Iraq to see if Bush's suspicions are valid. In addition, the commission aimed to confirm whether Iraq was properly respecting the settled post-Gulf War restrictions that it would not possess any sort of WMDs or not (Holsti 86; Byers 165; UN Inspectors Found No Evidence...). The UN by this resolution wanted to make sure, if this invasion would be legally right.

In fact, this resolution was interpreted differently, as the Canadian scholar Michael Byers stated. For both the US and Britain, it was like an official permission to use force against Iraq, however, for other ones like France and Russia it was not. Commenting on this issue Byers said, "I conclude that the potential for dispute over the resolution was not an accident, that the document contains intentional ambiguities, in other words, that the Council members negotiated and agreed to language that they knew could be used to support arguments on both sides", then he added, "Instead, they were simply agreeing to disagree" (165-166).

The UN as an international peaceful entity, it could not go with a war, meanwhile the US craved for striking Iraq based on the motives mentioned previously. Therefore, the US ought to use this resolution according to what suits its needs without being illegal, through considering it as an international approval to attack Iraq. Yet, logically speaking, the American interpretation was totally wrong, based on the notion that the 1441 Resolution was like a testimony to reach a diplomatic compromise between the US and Iraq not the vice versa.

According to the UN reports, the sent inspector's prior the invasion of Iraq found no proves that the Iraqi Regime owns WMDs, as the Commission's Executive Chairman, Hans Blix, stated (UN Inspectors Found No Evidence of Prohibited Weapons Programmes as of 18 March Withdrawal, Hans Blix Tells Security Council). Moreover, as Elisabeth Bumiller states in an article, when Bush declared "the game is over", and he is going to have a war in Iraq anyways, the UN weapons inspectors requested additional months to finish their mission in Iraq (Threats and Responses: White House memo; War Public Relations Machine Is Put on Full Throttle). However, he asked for a second resolution that would put an end to the Iraqi regime, otherwise the US would move unilaterally as he said, "The United States, along with a growing coalition of nations, is resolved to take whatever action is necessary to defend ourselves and disarm the Iraqi regime" (qtd.in Dakss). Long story short, the US was doing its best to justify the Iraq invasion and used every tool to achieve its end.

As stated before, one of the factors that permitted the US to initiate a war in Iraq was the chaotic state of the international entities. In this regard, John J. Mearsheimer states that the UN was one of those international entities, which were in charge of maintaining a peaceful environment across the world. Accordingly, he states that during the Iraq war the UN, as an international security institution, failed to bring peace, security, and to solve of the conflict diplomatically, since it made no significant efforts to stop the war in Iraq ("The False Promise" 33, 34). Hence, the US opted to neglect the UNSC and act unilaterally against Iraq, in order to protect its national security and geostrategic interests (Prifti 98). To sum up, the UN was mostly passive in the Iraq war, as it did not pose any sort of official opposition to Bush's decision, which totally contradicts with the organization's promoted beliefs and values. Therefore, the US moved unilaterally without negotiating the issue internationally.

3.4 The NATO Role in the Iraq War

According to the American political scientist and academic, Ole R. Holsti, following the 9/11 attacks, NATO as an organization, suggested military aids to the US, based on the fact that the attacks had an impact on all NATO members, not only the US. However, the American administration harshly refused this offer, as the Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld argued, “The mission determines the coalition, the coalition does not determine the mission” (qtd in Holsti 26). As a result, the United States depended heavily on its armed troops to fight the first war on terror in Afghanistan, and even though the US refused the offer of the NATO organization, but it was assisted by some of the NATO allies such as Denmark, France, Germany, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. Therefore, it succeeded to withdraw the Taliban regime within five weeks (Holsti 26, 27; Renée de Nevers 49). In short, the US intended to be in charge of the entire mission, and run it according to on its own norms, in order to project the strength of the American military.

This unilateral victory demonstrated the powerful capabilities the US possessed, leading to weakening the NATO authority, as the American political columnist and conservative political pundit, Charles Krauthammer claimed, “The proximal cause of NATO’s death was victory in Afghanistan—a swift and crushing U.S. victory that made clear America’s military dominance and Europe’s consequent military irrelevance” (qtd.in Holsti 28). That is to say, the NATO played no role in the Afghanistan war. Even in the Iraq war, the US was mostly reliant on its own military troops, noting that the NATO allies were least helpful in dealing with terrorism. Moreover, as the NATO during that time was deeply divided, it did not even discuss or mention the issue of Iraq, consequently, the NATO did not take part in the war. (Holsti 28; Renée de Nevers 52).

Within the same line, the official website of the NATO declared that, the NATO did not take part in the Iraq war as stated, “The March 2003 campaign against Iraq was conducted by a

coalition of forces from different countries, some of which were NATO member countries and some were not. NATO as an organization had no role in the decision to undertake the campaign or to conduct it” (NATO and 2003 Campaign against Iraq). In short, it was clear that the US desired to expand its domination without receiving any support, in order to avoid any association with any international institution. Taking all the benefits for its own sake without sharing them with anybody. Based on this notion, the NATO had no engagement in the Iraq conflict.

To conclude the US was only focusing on how to manipulate the world and looking for means to achieve its goals, rather than yielding to the international opinion, even if these aims seem impossible. It further just utilized the international entities for its own interest. As the Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Alyson J.K. Bailes argued, “the US does not at present feel any compulsion or see any reason to operate through international institutions – be it the UN, G8 or NATO – except to the extent that these can bring the practical benefits it is looking for at any given time” (5,6). In other words, although the US is the one who initiated the attempts to create the UN, UNSC, and even the NATO, the US did not rely on any of them in its operation in Iraq.

3.5 Public Reaction and the Role of Media

America is usually described as the country of rights and freedoms, as stated in the first amendment of the Bill of Rights, freedom of speech, press, assembly and religion are constitutionally preserved and protected (The White House). For America, public opinion really matters; in fact, it is the core of the government policy, so, logically speaking Bush’s administration would not take actions without considering public reaction. In this regard, numerous polls were made to detect public real attitudes towards the expected war with Iraq.

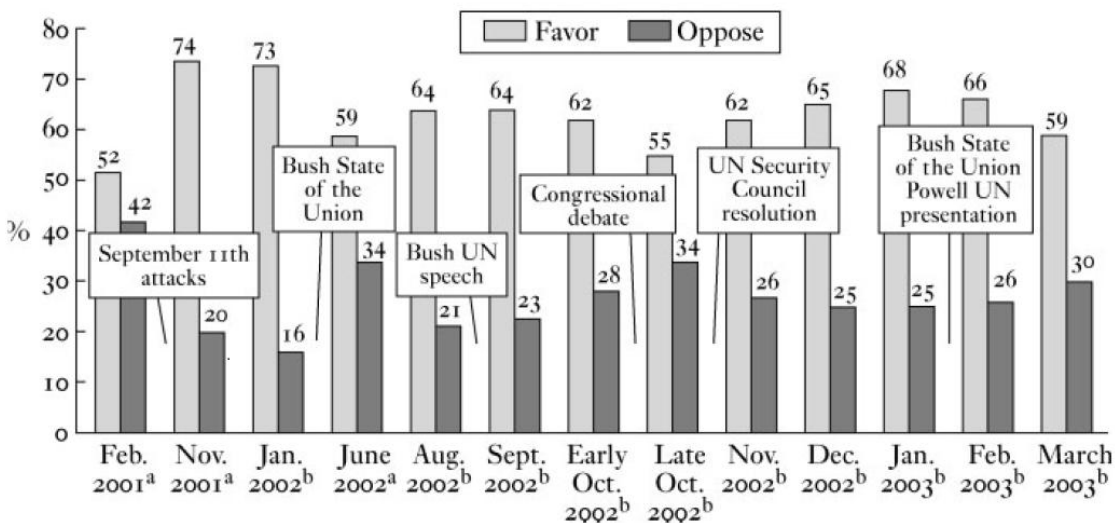


Figure 4: Support for Use of American Troops against Iraq.

Source: Douglas C. Foyle, *Leading the Public to War, the Influence of the American Public...*

Opinion on the Bush Administration Decisions to Go to War in Iraq

The polls show how within 10 months, the public support for war against Iraq went from 52% to 74% to reach its peak. This considerable rising, that was up to 22%, almost one fourth, was due to the attacks of 9/11. Further, the voices against the war on Iraq halved from 40% to 20% and even went lower in January 2002, by the time Bush addressed the congress, and accused Iraq, as previously stated. Thus, up until March 2003, public opinion was for the war with Iraq.

Ole R. Holsti stated that the period between the attacks and the war on Iraq witnessed numerous attempts from different institutions, organizations and journals, such as CNN, Pew Research Center, the Gallup Organization, New York Times... etc. The results of these surveys were consistent and stable; public opinion supported the government to initiate operations in Iraq, in order to withdraw Saddam's regime (30). In this concern, media played an important role in detecting public opinion and reaction to the war.

	Mar. 13–16, 2003	Feb. 2003	Jan. 2003	Dec. 2002	Nov. 2002	Late Oct. 2002	Early Oct. 2002	Sept. 2002	Aug. 2002	June 2002	Nov. 2001	Feb. 2001	Mar. 1992
<i>Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule? If favor, should we attack Iraq only if our major allies agree to join us, or attack Iraq even if allies do not want to join us?</i>													
Favor	59	66	68	65	62	55	62	64	64	59	74	52	55
<i>Even if allies won't join</i>	38	38	26			27		33	30				
<i>Only if allies agree</i>	16	22	37			23		25	30				
<i>Don't know/ refused</i>	5	6	5			5		6	4				
Opposed	30	26	25	25	26	34	28	23	21	34	20	42	40
<i>Don't know/ refused</i>	11	8	7	10	12	11	10	13	15	7	6	6	5

Table1: Statistic on Whether the US Should Go to War in Iraq Alone or with Allies.

Source: American Public Opinion on Iraq War.

The table represents results of surveys conducted since 1992, where there was a considerable decrease in the voices against the operation, in the other hand, concerning the ones supporting the war, there was almost an equal percentage when it comes to going to war with or without the allies. However, days before the beginning of the operation, public support for going to war without allies reached its peak. Significantly, the results reflect the public anger and eagerness to war, and to end Saddam's regime in Iraq.

After 9/11 attacks, Andrew Kohut, director of the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, was invited to Brookings Harvard Forum twice; first on November 28, 2001, and then on March 27, 2002. Kohut, along with some important figures from major magazines, journals, and organizations such New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Washington Post, Time magazine, and Weekly Standard, went to discuss the conducted surveys findings (Hess and Marvin 250).

Media during war on Iraq played a linking role between the government and the public, since the

government used polls and surveys conducted by private journals and organizations, in order to detect public reaction and then decide its next move.

No doubt, media played an important role during state of war, where history shows how it was able to shape public opinion towards war. As mentioned in chapter one, Yellow Journalism played an important role in gathering public support for the government in its war with Cuba, and the case with Iraq might not be that different. Ted Galen Carpenter, a senior fellow for defense and foreign policy studies, argued that press with its irresponsible statements and headings had and has the ability to influence, drag and shape public opinion to support “unnecessary” and even “immoral” wars, such as the case with Cuba and Iraq. In this regard, in the case of Cuba, both William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer misled and formed the public opinion, aiming to support military actions. “You furnish the picture and I will furnish the war”, was Hearst response to one of his reporters that did not detect a trace of an upcoming war in Cuba months before it officially began. Mass Media here played a major role, as if it was one of the government influential entities that participated in the decision making process.

In an article published by New York Times in May 26, 2004, an official apology was given to its readers for the journal editor’s mistake in confirming information before publishing it, concerning Iraq war, calming that they were “perhaps too intent on rushing scoops into the paper”. In the article, there is an admission of using statements and information given by Iraqi people who were sent to exile by Saddam Hussein, which might have made them subjective about the topic. The journal also admitted that it overplayed the story of WMDs (From the Editors; The Times and Iraq). The false information reported by this famous journal about the non-real Iraq WMDs gave the public a wrong image about the war, making them support an unnecessary and unjust war against Iraq.

Howard Kurtz, CNN journalist, reported that from August 2002 until March 19, 2003,

there existed more than 140 front page stories that promoted for Bush's administrations arguments with headings as: "Cheney Says Iraqi Strike Is Justified", "War Cabinet Argues for Iraq Attack", "Bush Tells United Nations It Must Stand Up to Hussein or U.S. Will", "Bush Cites Urgent Iraqi Threat", "Bush Tells Troops: Prepare for War." Where in the other hand, articles that stated different rhetoric were embedded in the rest of the journals and put in small panels.

In the same line, Thomas Ricks attempted to cite some Pentagon officials, retired officials and outside experts, who were against the war, in a story entitled "Doubts", but it was rejected by the editor of National Security Matthew Vita. Concerning this decision, Ricks claimed that editors did not see the point in sharing opposing rhetoric when the country was already engaged in war against Iraq (Holsti 135). The former claims highlight the government major influence on journalism and media in general, seeing that the majority of articles and headings only carried the government claims and arguments, leaving almost no stage for different opinions and points of views to appear.

As previously mentioned, withdrawing Hussein's regime was taken into consideration even before the attacks. In fact, and according to Holsti, president Bush junior top three advisors, who also served during his father's presidency; Cheney, Rumsfeld, and Wolfowitz, joined a new conservative group named "Project on a New American Century" during the eight years gap between the two presidencies. The major goal of the group founders, William Kristol, editor of The Weekly Standard, and Robert Kagan, contributing editor of The Weekly Standard, urged President Clinton to withdraw the regime in Iraq, claiming that he represent the greatest threat to the US since the cold war. Holsti further argued that the government would have gone to war against Iraq with or without public support (24, 135).

3.6 The Outbreak of War

After gaining resolution from the Congress, and having allies by his side, Bush launched his attacks on Iraq on March 2003, where he ordered American Air, Navy and Land forces to start the operation OIF. In a paper prepared for Public Administration, professor of public policy James P. Pfiffner, stated that one month and a half prior the beginning of the operation, the American and the British forces were locating themselves in the borderlines of Iraq, to initiate OIF. Bush's first move was in 17 March at 8 am, when he announced that Saddam Hussein and his sons must leave the country within 48 hours. Otherwise he would use force in order to dissolve the regime. Hussein and his sons of course did not obey the order, which led to the beginning of the operation officially. The invasion started with 130,000 American and British troops leading a land invasion to arrive to Baghdad, in which within only three weeks the forces achieved to take full control over the capital and the country as a whole.

As mentioned before, President Bush chose not to wait for the result of inspections and rushed for the war, ordering the forces to initiate OIF. By March 20, 2003, the US launched an air strike against Iraq. Amy Belasco, specialist in US defense policy and budget, stated that in addition to the troops existed in Iraq, there were other more 46,000 in Kuwait supporting them, and 15,000 Navy personal on ships in the region. Furthermore, American forces were located in different Middle Eastern countries in the region; there existed 4,800 Navy personnel in Bahrain, 2,000 Air Force personnel in the United Arab Emirates, and other 8,000 personnel in Qatar, and also several troops in 'Israel' and Turkey. In addition to other non-declared locations for 15,000 troops (6-7). With this huge army forces supplied with high quality intelligence information, and developed weapons, as well as the sanctions that were imposed on Iraq, and the difficult political and economic situation, there was almost no chance for Saddam Hussein to defend himself, and got defeated in no time.

In his very crucial book, *Mother of All Battles*, Jeff Archer stated that by May 2003, President Bush announced his victory in Iraq, after he participated in a staged event and appeared on an aircraft carrier, the USS Abraham Lincoln, where a huge banner appeared proclaiming “Mission Accomplished”. In this way, Bush celebrated his success in taking control over the country, and achieving his intended aim of taking down Hussein regime. The latter was captured on December 2003, whereas his sons Uday and Qusay and their families were captured and killed on July 22, 2003 after six hours’ operation, and later on their pictures spreader in the media and TV Channels around the world, except for one fourteen years old boy who his body was completely shattered (8; 36; 135). Finally, on December 30, 2006, Saddam was sentenced to death, the execution was aired on all TV Channels over the world, in the morning of Eid al-Adha (Mackintosh and Atassi).

The invasion on Iraq was cruel, bloody and brutal; the US showed no mercy and even killed innocent children. The way the US showed off its power and its ruthless actions indicates that its approach to the war in Iraq was completely realist, as stated before, it utilized an offensive realism, in which its aim was to satisfy its needs and urge of superiority, since it is all about glory, reputation and safety. In other words, Bush administration was only craving for its own interests while neglecting the other side.

As the war continued to rage in Iraq, public support for Bush and the war kept declining. According to professor of political science, Gary C. Jacobson, public support for the war dropped from 73% on April 2003, to 33% five years later. Furthermore, Bush’s popularity dropped from 71% to 28%, as a result support for republicans also decreased, leaving the democrats a head. In the Democratic Party there was Barak Obama and Hilary Clinton, competing to lead the party, yet Obama won the position due to his early rejection of the war in Iraq, where he voted against the resolution in 2002, whereas Clinton supported Bush in his war. As a result, Obama

participated in the presidential election in 2008, against his republican opponent McCain. Obama was the one to win the election, due to his attitude towards the Iraqi war, where he was against it, and also promised a change in the American policy and to deal with the economic Depression of 2008 (208-212). Obama's doctrine was different, he promised a change and he actually made a change. By December 15, 2011, Obama successfully ended the war in Iraq, brought back home thousands of American troops, and killed Osama Bin Laden (Byrd and Murty 153).

3.7 The Consequences of the Iraq War

As mentioned earlier in the second chapter, the major American involvement in the Middle East during the post-cold war era started with the war in Iraq, which was a huge failure, as it turned to be a zone of conflict. Hence, the Iraq war in 2003 was just the starting point for one of the most catastrophic wars in the post-cold war era, as Saddam Hussein stated, "the mother of all battles has begun" (Archer 8).

Commenting on the outcomes of the Iraq war, Andrew Flitbort, an associate professor of political science, explains that, the US through the invasion of Iraq was aiming to make a radical change in the country. Thus, it planned to destroy all signs of the Hussein governmental authority, in the sake of establishing an alternative that would go with its interests. In this sense, the very first actions made by the US during the invasion, was to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime, by saying that, the US ousted the strong and well-trained Iraqi army, in order to establish its proper military base in Iraq and to repress Hussein's ideology (68). To sum up, the US was consistent to eliminate any traces of Hussein's regime, so that it can run Iraq as it wants.

As a response, the Iraqi military was so furious, and due to the chaotic state in the country, Al-Qaeda was able to get access to Iraq. Therefore, Al-Qaeda was supported by the dissolved Iraqi military to be gathered under the so called the Islamic State of Iraq, and then nominated the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, to be finally termed the ISIS, in order to rebel

against the US (Geneva 6). As a result, the US was having another war against the ISIS. It also eliminated all the Iraqi institutions that were responsible for maintaining security and stability, including administrative, judicial, and financial entities, in order to create a new democratic regime of its own (Flibbert 68, 69; Geneva 7). The US opted to destroy everything in the sake of starting from the very beginning. Consequently, the policy followed by the US was a huge failure, since it had to reestablish a secure and stable state i.e. to create new political, governmental and economic systems within the country's chaotic state.

In response to this failure and radical shift, the Iraqi people dispersed through joining various sectarian militias seeking protection and safety. This reaction made things worse as it raises sectarianism within the Iraqi people. It further made it very hard to accomplish security and safety (Flibbert 69). In short, the US made a terrible decision as it opened the door for internal conflicts. As a result, the external meddling and civil conflict made it in a way impossible to establish a unified and secure country. Therefore, Iraq was mostly destroyed, that is why it was described as Flibbert said "Iraq state failure", by failure here, he means an American failure to reestablish a stable and secure Iraqi country, within the same line he added, "...states are easier to break than to make, even for the dominant actor in a unipolar" (78-79). Even for the US as a major power, it was so hard to overcome the destruction it had caused.

Concerning financial costs spent in the Iraq war, the American taxpayers spent over 2 trillion dollars on this war (Cachero), hence this war was one of the costliest wars the US has ever fought, as seen in the graph below.

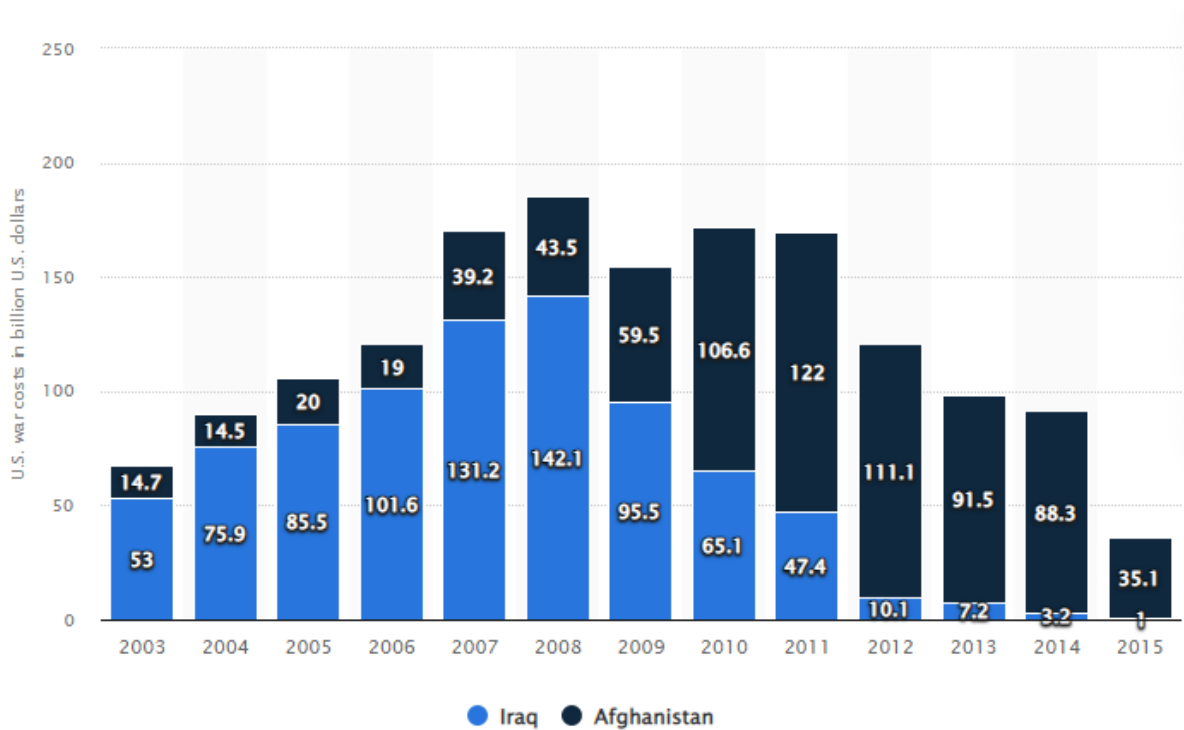


Figure 5: U.S. War Costs in Iraq and Afghanistan from 2003 to 2015.

Source: Statista stable URL: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/271526/us-war-costs-in-iraq-and-afghanistan/>

This graph projects the costs spent by the US in both Afghanistan and Iraq. Following the history of the costs spent in Iraq, it is obvious that the 2003 war itself did not cost the US nearly as much as the subsequent years, as shown in the graphic, costs rose year by year until they peaked in 2008, when the US spent 142.1 billion dollars. Remarkably, after 2008, just after Barak Obama took office, the costs decreased gradually until they reached just one dollar in 2015.

In terms of human costs, there is no accurate number that tells the exact deaths since there were a lot of deaths that were not registered, what is pretty known is that there was between 184,382 and 207,156 civilian deaths from 2003 until October 2019 (Iraqi Civilians Costs of War). In this respect, the graph below depicts the evolution of the documented civilian deaths starting from 2003 to 2021.

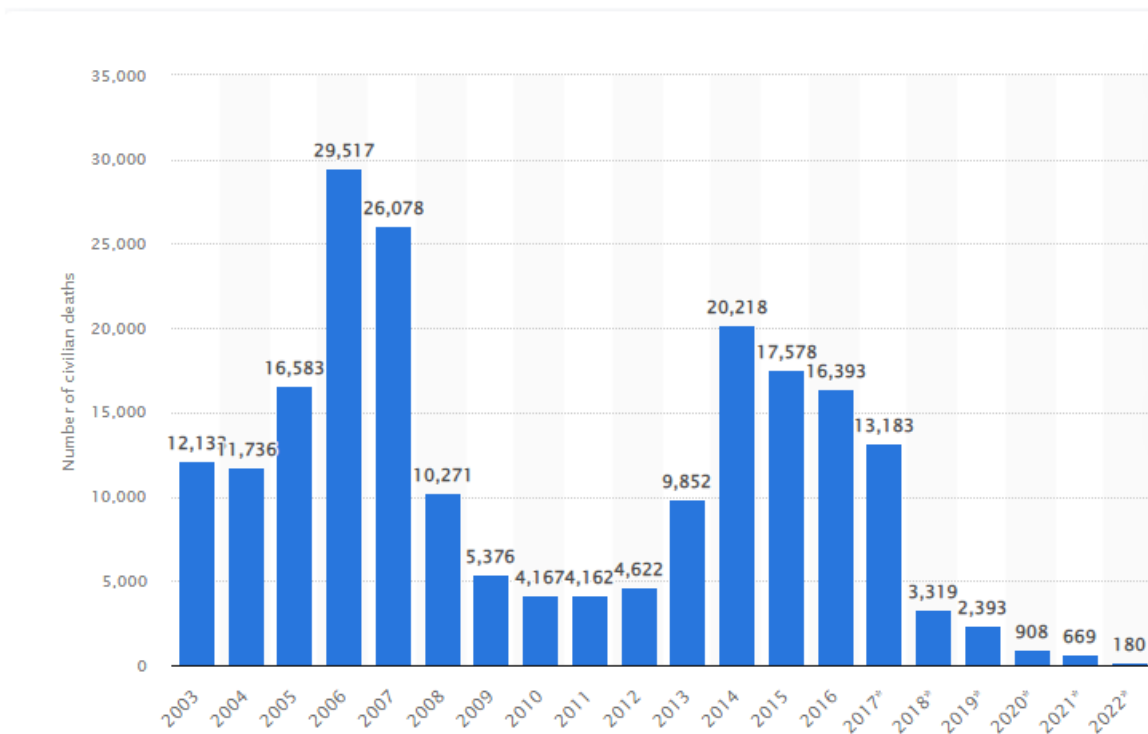


Figure 6: Number of Documented Civilian Deaths in the Iraq ar from 2003 to April 2022

Source: Statista stable URL: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/269729/documented-civilian-deaths-in-iraq-war-since-2003/>

The graph shows the progression of civilian deaths' reordered numbers, between 2003 and 2022. Therefore, the number of civilian deaths began with an average of 12.133 people. Then it reduced somewhat in 2004. Following then, the number rapidly increased, reaching its peak in 2006 at 29.517 civilians. Later on, the number gradually decreased until it arrived at 4.162 people in 2011, the year the war ended. Afterward, the number increased again until it reached 20.218 civilians in 2014, then the number reduced again up to 2022, when it got to 180 civilians.

4. Iraq at the Heart of the American Foreign Policy

Observing history, Iraq has always been a central focus of the US foreign policy. The following table reports statistics of how many times Iraq was mentioned in the presidential

programs since 1987:

Year	President	Number of Mentions of Iraq	Iraq Emphasis or Relevance
1987	Ronald Reagan	4	End Iran-Iraq War; stabilize Middle East; stop terrorism; block Iran
1988	Ronald Reagan	6	End Iran-Iraq War; stabilize Middle East; stop terrorism; block Iran
1990	George H. W. Bush	0	No mention of Iraq in March; Iraq invades Kuwait in August
1991	George H. W. Bush	19	Stop Iraq WMD; Iran complies with UN resolutions; refugees
1993	George H. W. Bush	2	Non-proliferation; UN mission in Iraq; forward deployed U.S. forces
1994	Bill Clinton	10	Dual containment of Iraq and Iran; stop Iraq WMD; stabilize oil; OSW
1995	Bill Clinton	12	Iraq threatens Kuwait; stop Iraq WMD; continue dual containment
1996	Bill Clinton	17	Stop Iraq WMD; dual containment; Iraq-Iran-North Korea key threats
1997	Bill Clinton	11	Stop Iraq WMD; Iraq on par with North Korea; OSW and ONW
1998	Bill Clinton	23	Stop Iraq WMD; sanctions; forward deployed troops, OSW and ONW
1999	Bill Clinton	22	Stop Iraq WMD; UN resolutions; sanctions; Operation Desert Fox
2000	Bill Clinton	25	"Country of particular concern"; containment of Iraq; stop Iraq WMD
2002	George W. Bush	1	One passing reference to Iraq; United States invades in 2003
2006	George W. Bush	57	Success is "vital"; defeat terrorism; stable Iraq; strong security forces
2010	Barack Obama	33	Transition; enduring relationship; stable Iraq; strong security forces
2015	Barack Obama	14	Decrease U.S. troops; "professional and accountable security forces"
2017	Donald Trump	6	Defeat the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant; stop terrorism; long-term strategic partner with Iraq

Table 2: Iraq in U.S. National Security Strategies, 1987–2017.

Source: BEN CONNABLE Iraq at the Heart of American Foreign Policy: 1979–2019 RAND Corporation (2020) Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep26550.7>

Notes: "Number of Mentions of Iraq" does not include mentions of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant; WMD = weapons of mass destruction; UN = United Nations; OSW = Operation Southern Watch; ONW = Operation Northern Watch.

Observing the table, each president, presidential program and administration since 1987, included Iraq in its national security program or strategy. That is to say, Iraq was not a topic that emerged by 1991 when it started to represent a threat to the US interests, but way before.

According to Professor Ben Connable, among the indications of Iraq importance to the US, is the great budget spent on collective operations such Desert Shield, Desert Storm, Provide Comfort, Desert Thunder, Desert Fox, Northern Watch, Southern Watch, Vigilant Warrior, Desert Strike, Iraqi Freedom, New Dawn, and Inherent Resolve. In this respect, since 1990, the US spent 1 trillion dollars, in addition to maintaining a military engagement since then (9). The US gave special attention to Iraq, where it allocated special and huge budget to fund its operations there. The military engagement in the area as well proves that Iraq is an important country that the US government cannot risk any unexpected events.

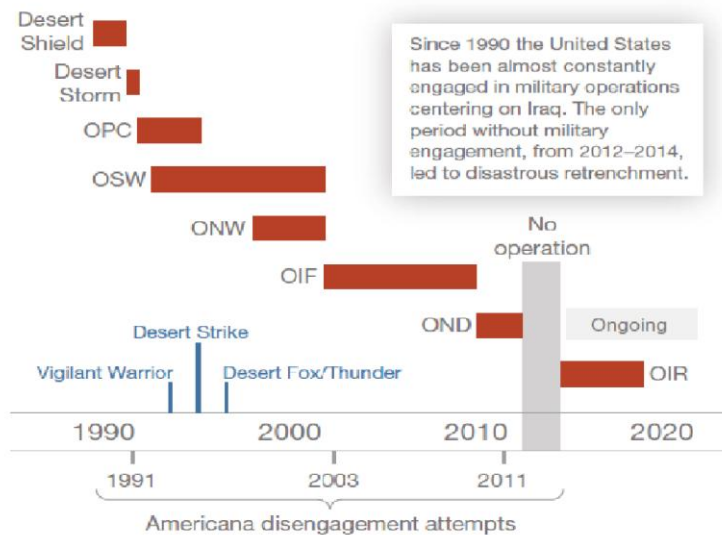


Figure 7: Constant Engagement in Iraq and Centered on Iraq, 1990–2019.

NOTE: OPC = Operation Provide Comfort; OSW = Operation Southern Watch; ONW = Operation Northern Watch; OIF = Operation Iraqi Freedom; OND = Operation New Dawn; OIR = Operation Inherent Resolve; DoS = U.S. Department of State.

Source: BEN CONNABLE Iraq at the Heart of American Foreign Policy: 1979–2019 RAND Corporation (2020) Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep26550.7>

The chart represents the US constant military intervention in the territories of Iraq. The

American government provided huge budget, in addition to performing numerous operation in the area. This indicates that the US pays a special attention to Iraq, as a sensitive area that represents the heart of the Middle East.

Observing the chart, two contradicted hypotheses can be made; one is that the US attempts to fight terrorism and ensure security in the country failed since there is no progress, and the conflict did not stop, because the US until 2019, remained militarily engaged in the area. Two, is that the US refused to get out of Iraq, due to its importance and in order to ensure that its interests in the area are saved and protected, i.e. Iraq is the heart and the focus of the US foreign policy that cannot let go off.

Historically speaking, the US gave much importance to Iraq than other countries in the Middle East, as it took a huge part in the American foreign policy agenda for years. Prior the Iraqi invasion to Kuwait, the two countries witnessed a collaboration and fought together against the Iranians, However, the year 1991 witnessed a shift in the American foreign policy towards Iraq, where the US considered Hussein attempts to annex Kuwait illegal and used different methods to make him back off, from the using force to imposing sanctions and no fly zones.

Moreover, Iraq appeared clearly as a major focus of the US foreign policy after 9/11 attacks, where the US claimed that Saddam Hussein and his regime were allies to terrorism in the region. Based on this claim, and more hidden motives, the US initiated the OIF on 2003. It is worth noting that the US over years adopted a pure realistic strategy in dealing with the country, since it highly focused on achieving its aims without paying attention to the impact it may cause to Iraq and its citizens. Even though the US constantly claimed that its ultimate goals regarding the country were totally idealistic, as well as seeking to ensure security and promote democracy, it was obvious that its aims were ultimately and purely realistic. As a result, it ended up creating one of the most chaotic states over the world, which reflects an American huge failure.

Conclusion

The governmental system of any country in the globe is based on several spheres, each one tends to serve the other one. One of them is foreign policy, which plays a crucial role in maintaining the country's stability and securing international interests, and the US is no exception. Based on this notion the American policy makers gave much value and importance to shaping an appropriate foreign policy. Historically speaking, it has been proved that even before independence, the founding fathers succeeded in forcing Britain to sign Paris Treaty due to their strong and strategic international relations. The questions, on which the research is based on, were directed to understand the American foreign policy towards the Middle East, by taking Iraq as a case study, in which the three chapters were dedicated to answer them and to test the study hypotheses.

Foreign policy in simple words is the set of decisions the government takes and the actions it puts into practice to govern and control its relations and affairs with other countries. Thorough history, the US foreign policy went through many eras and stages, from being Isolated, closed and distant from the world to being open and becoming a major power that dominates the world. Prior to WWII the general attitudes of foreign policy was mainly isolation, however by its end it changed its attitudes to eliminate communism, and protect the American interests oversea. The change in American foreign policy attitudes usually begins with the change of the doctrines.

Historically speaking, the Middle East was given special value and attention by the US. Even before appearing as a major power, the Middle East was regarded as one of the most strategic regions in all over the world due to its crossroad location that links Africa, Asia, and Europe, as well as the wealthiest resources it has especially oil. Later on, when "Israel" was given the approval to settle down in Palestine, the US insisted on backing and gaining it as an ally, in the sake of spreading its dominance in the region.

The American meddling in the Middle East at first was based on oil purposes; however, through time the US became more interested in its politics. As a result it interfered many times in international decision making, in terms of resolving the disputes and conflicts that took place there, it even impacted the national decisions of several nations either by providing military and economic assistance, backing regimes, overthrowing them, or imposing economic restrictions.

The Iraq-Iran 1980 represents the first American intervention in the Iraq, where it worked on backing up Iraq in its war, because the regime in Iran was against the American intervention in the region, and represented a threat to the American interests. After the end of this war in 1988, Iraq directly initiated another invasion to Kuwait by 1990. However, this action was against the American will and does not serve the US aims in the area, so, it initiated a military operation in order to make Saddam Hussein back off, in addition to imposing large and harsh sanctions on the country, destroying its economy.

The 2003 American Iraq war has been subjected to many analysis and perceptions, since it is considered the most controversial war in the post-Cold War era. However, it is obvious that this war has catastrophic consequences as it urged another costly war financially and humanly speaking. In addition, it led to the rise of sectarianism and the emergence of ISIS threatening the whole region's security.

After analyzing the American history, the hypotheses of the study has been proven, foreign policy is an important element of the American institution, because it is linked to its physical and economic security. Through history, the US established several policies such as the Open Door Policy, to secure markets and spheres of interests overseas and signed treaties and agreements to protect its interests. In addition, it interfered militarily in some regions in the world, especially the Middle East to support regimes, oust them and finally to fight terrorism.

The US on its war on terror aimed to eliminate terrorism and to preempt attacks before it

reaches its land, by attacking the major claimed allies of terrorism. Saddam Hussein was considered a major ally for terrorism; therefore, the US interfered in order to end his regime existence, spread its political ideals, exploiting its natural resources as well as supporting its major ally in the region the “Israeli occupation”. The American intervention in Iraq was rough, violent and characterized with the use of power.

Throughout the study, it has been proven that the US managed its foreign policy swinging and shifting from idealism, to realism, to *realpolitik*. However, when it comes to Iraq, and especially after the 9/11 attacks, the US foreign policy radically shifted to a preemptive realistic extreme, where it launched major war on terror and announced Hussein’s regime an ally to terrorists in the area

By answering the study question, and proving its hypotheses, through examining both, the American foreign policy, and its history of intervention in the Middle East, in addition to studying its foreign policy towards Iraq, the study concludes with the notion that the American foreign policy clearly failed in Iraq. Hence, this study provided the groundwork to further studies to focus on the future policy of the US towards the Middle East and Iraq, whether it will continue on the same path or it will be adjusted.

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