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**US Foreign Policy After the Arab Spring in the Middle
East (2012-2016).**

The Egypt, Bahrain, Syria and Yemen Cases

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and English Language in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in Anglophone Language, Literature,
and Civilization.**

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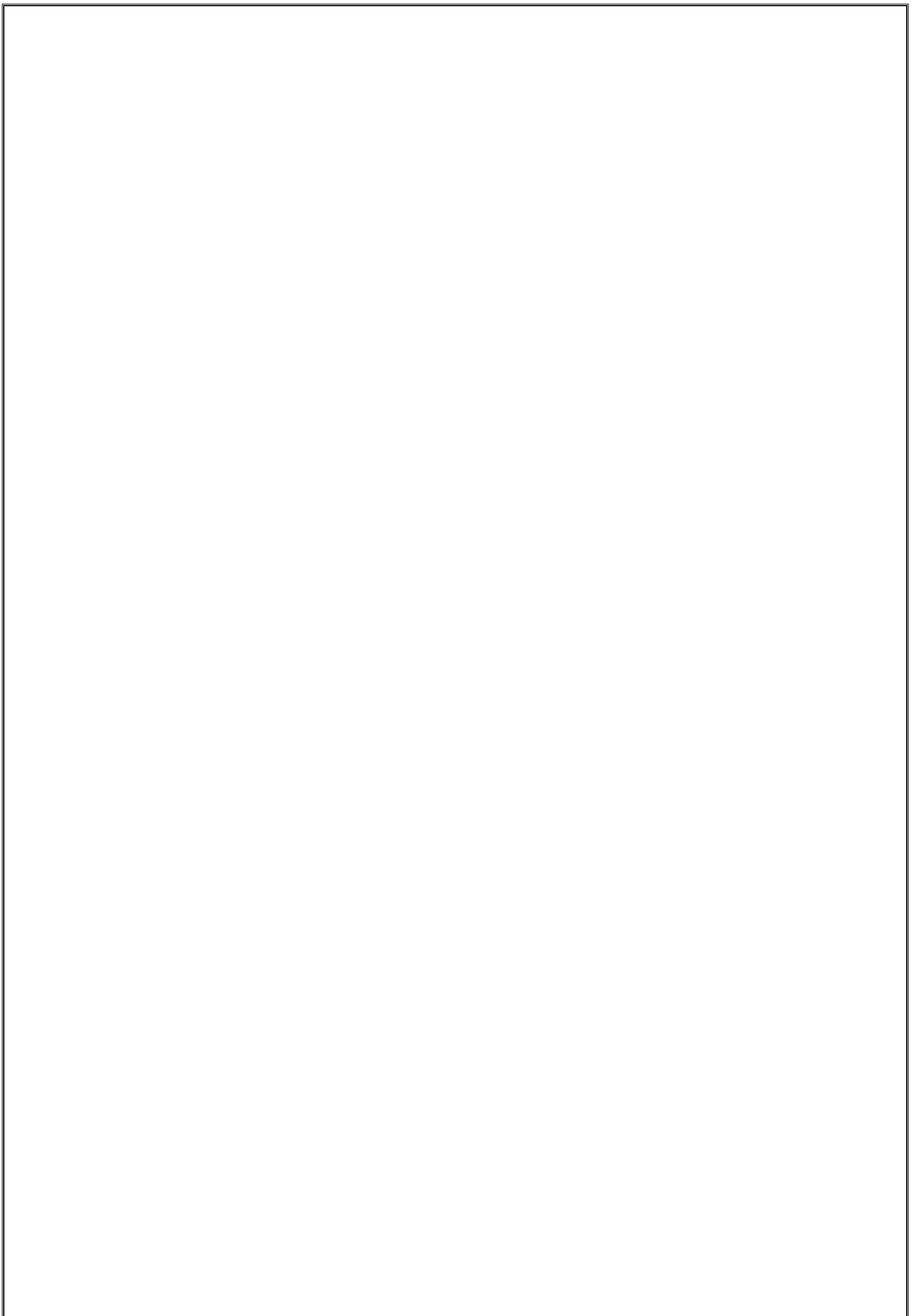
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Dedication

I would like also to thank my father who sustains me since my childhood and my mother for her kindness and tolerance. I dedicate this dissertation to my lovely sister En- ichtat said Mohamed souef and her husband. Special dedication to my grand brother Seif-dine said Mohamed souef and his wife who always provide me with great assistance during my way. I dedicate this work to all my brothers and families. I dedicate also this dissertation to all my friends.

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Abstract

This research highlights the principal interests of the United States in the Middle East and provides an overview on how the United States and its closest allies intervene in the Arab Spring in the Middle East in order to protect their mainly interests. This research provides a description, detail and clarity on the possible effect that the Arab Spring could have on the interests of the United States in the Middle East. This dissertation is largely focused on Egypt, Bahrain, Syria, and Yemen. The present topic provides a general picture on the events that swept the Middle East since the beginning of 2011. It provides the important reasons of the uprising and the different reaction of the Arabic governments on the demonstration. This work shows many violations infringed by the governments of the Middle East for the purpose of saving their regimes. It also examines the foreign policy of the United States in the Middle East especially in the Arab Spring and show the role potential played by the United States to save not only its interests but also its allies as well.

Résumer

Cette recherche examine les principaux intérêts des Etats Unis d'Amérique sur le Moyen-Orient et fourni une vision générale sur la manière que les Etats Unis d'Amérique et ces allies on intervenue dans le Printemps Arabe pour assuré leur intérêts. Cette recherche donne une intéressante description, détail et clarté sur le possible effet que le Printemps Arabe pouvais avoir sure les intérêts des Etats Unis d'Amérique aux Moyen-Orient. Ce thème est largement concentré sur l'Egypte, le Bahreïn, la Syrie et le Yémen. Ce sujet à fourni une générale aperçu sur les événements qui ont balayé le Moyen-Orient depuis le début de l'année 2011. Cette recherche montre les raisons importantes du soulèvement Arabes et la manière dont les différents gouvernements ont réagi face aux manifestations. Il démontre aussi les violations des droits humains commis par les gouvernements Arabes pour le but d'assuré leurs pouvoirs. Ce sujet à aussi montré la politique étrangère des Etats Unis d'Amérique sur le Moyen-Orient est plus particulièrement dans le Printemps Arabe et à démontré les rôles potentiels remplis par les Etats Unis d'Amérique pour assuré non seulement leurs intérêts mais aussi leurs alliés.

List of abbreviations and acronyms

ARAMCO: Arabian-American Oil Company

AQAP: Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula

FSA: Free Syrian Army

GCC: Gulf Coordination Council

HAMAS: Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya

ISIS: Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

MENA: Middle East and North African

MEPI: Middle East Partnership Initiative

PLO: Palestine Liberation Organization

SCAF: Supreme Council of Armed Forces

UAE: United Arab Emirates

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

US: United States

UN: United Nations

List of figures and tables

Table1: some basic facts about MENA Oil.....	20
Figure 1: Yemen's Political Transition.....	66

Table of contents

Introduction	1
Chapter one: US Foreign Policy toward the Middle East before the Arab Spring.....	5
1.1. Political and Economic Reforms.....	7
1.1.1. The Relationship between Politics and Economy.....	7
1.1.2. The Necessity of Globalization on the Economy.....	8
1.1.3. The Advancement of Democracy under the Presidency of George. w. Bush.....	8
1.1.4. The Blockade of Reforms in the Middle East.....	10
1.2. The Middle East Peace Negotiation.....	12
1.2.1. The Israel Quest for Statehood and the Palestinian Marginalization.....	12
1.2.2. US Support to Israel.....	14
1.2.3. The Impossibility of the Peace Agreement.....	17
1.3. The Long Term Energy Balance.....	19
1.4. Security Imperatives in the Gulf.....	22
1.4.1. The Importance of the Gulf.....	22
1.4.2. The Iraqi War.....	23
1.4.3. Iran as an Antagonist State.....	25
1.5. Consequences of the War on Terror.....	27
1.5.1. The Beginning of the War against Terrorism.....	27
1.5.2. The War against Terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq.....	29
1.5.3. The Failure of the War against Terrorism.....	31
Chapter two: The Arab Spring and its Consequences.....	34
2.1. Causes of the Arab Spring.....	35
2.2. The Arab States Government Reaction to the Revolt.....	38
2.2.1. The Response of the Government of Egypt.....	38
2.2.2. The Response of the Government of Bahrain.....	38
2.2.3. The Response of the Government of Syria	40
2.2.4. The Response of the Government of Yemen.....	41

2.2.5. The Successful Response of the Government of Morocco and Saudi Arabia.....	42
2.3. Human Rights Abuse.....	43
Chapter three: Obama Reaction to the Arab Spring.....	47
3.1. The Implication of the United States of America in Egypt.....	48
3.2. The Foreign Policy of the United States to Preserve its Interest in Bahrain.....	51
3.2.1. The United States in Bahrain.....	51
3.2.2. The GCC States and Saudi Arabia in Bahrain.....	52
3.3. US Involvement in Syria.....	54
3.3.1. The United States in Syria.....	54
3.3.2. The GCC States and Saudi Arabia in Syria.....	58
3.4. US Foreign Policy in Yemen.....	60
3.4.1. The United States in Yemen.....	60
3.4.2. The GCC Sates and Saudi Arabia in Yemen.....	62
3.4.3. The United States and Saudi Arabia in Yemen.....	65
3.4.4. The Failure of the Yemeni Transitional Plan.....	65
Conclusion.....	70
Bibliography.....	74

Introduction

The United States of America emerged as the most powerful country over the world in 1945. Since, the country dominates the world economically, militarily and politically. During the War, the United States of America became rich by selling weapon to the ally and other valuable goods. Its army plays a crucial role since they enter in the war. This was characterized as the turning point of the Second World War that brings victory to the ally forces. Since 1947s, the United Sates of America became politically influenced by capitalism and anti-imperialism. The spread of the ideologies of capitalism and anti-imperialism and the foreign policy of containment of communism over the world became the great objective of the United States. Hence, the United States of America has always occupied the first places in the international arena though it did not play any important role in the beginning of the Arab spring.

Since early 2011, the Arabic world was perturbed by many uprising that became known as the Arab spring. The Arabic youth protested against their government for more jobs, social justice, economic opportunity and dignity. While their governments was becoming richer, their population were struggling for survival in the daily live. At the beginning of 2011, the Arabic youth came together to protest against corruption, miserable live and desperate that touch every aspect of the society.

The Arab spring started in Tunisian by the act of Muhammad Al-Bouazizi who set himself on fire on December 17, 2010. Muhammad Al-Bouazizi was a seller who revolt against the Tunisian government due to corruption and poor economical condition. The sacrifice of this young man as an act of protestation against the regime of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali symbolizes the beginning of the Arab spring that swept the entire Middle East. Hence, the contagious effect of the Tunisian uprising changes the region of the Middle East in a way or another.

The year of 2011 came to enter into history as an exceptional year of the Arabic world. The youth from Arab were portrayed many times to be intellectual lazy who waste their time in the new technology. In 2011, the Arabic youth come suddenly to be interested in politics and distinguishing themselves from their previous generation as they unite their voices to say no for oppression. However, the united states of American was obliged to adjust their foreign policy to accommodate to those uprising that touch the region of the Middle East.

The foreign policy of the United States of America has changed frequently in the Middle East at the time of the Arab spring. This multifaceted policy toward the Middle East can be understood by the diverse interest that the United States of America holds in the region. In this way, president Barrack Obama had tried to accommodate his foreign policy to suit particular US interest that American hold in the Middle East. So, the Obama' administration has choose to deal differently in each country involved in the Arab spring accordingly.

The United States of America started to be interested seriously to the Middle East since the period of the Second World War. This can be understood by the vacuum left after the Second World War as many empires were left around the world. The whole Middle East did not make exception to the emptiness of a superpower for handling it. In this manner, the United States of America takes this uniqueness occasion to start in a serious way to interfere in the affaire of the Middle East. However, US foreign policy toward the region of the Middle East has always been dynamic due to the complexity of the Arabic world and the importance that the region presents to the United States of America. Therefore, the United States of America has the habit to look carefully not only on Israel and the house of saoud but the entire region of the Middle East as well.

The importance of this investigation lies in its effort to examine accurately whether the interest of the United States of America has been preserved after the Arab spring or damaged by the revolts that swept the Middle East since early 2011. This research tries to understand also the US foreign policy of Obama's administration in the Middle East during and after the period of the Arab spring. It focuses only on Egypt, Bahrain, Syria and Yemen, as the case study that lead this research. The reason behind choosing those four case studies can be explained by the different approach in foreign policy that the African American president chooses to handle each one.

This study uses qualitative method because it gives detailed descriptions and thoroughly explanations of the events that happen in the Arabic world since the beginning of 2011. This research is preoccupied to describe the events of the Arab spring and the impact regarding the interest of the United States after the Arab spring. This work is also interested to understand the policy of the United States of America during and after the revolt that touches the Arabic world. In this way, the investigation focuses only on Egypt, Bahrain, Syria, and Yemen as case study. This research requires collecting different data that mostly come from primary sources as well as secondary sources. Those data are based mainly on journal, article and books. Similarly, the content of those data will be analyzed in order to give a good interpretation that is crucial as an approach to give a valuable answer for our research's problem. It is also important to note that the historical approach is used heavily throughout of this investigation.

This dissertation is divided into three principal chapters. This is the direct result obtained by the positive endeavor to cover fully the theme. The first chapter is entitled "US foreign policy toward the Middle East before the Arab spring". This chapter examines deeply the Political and economical reform and The Middle East peace negotiation. Then, the chapter will describe the long term energy balance and the Security imperatives in the Gulf.

Finally, the chapter will tackle the consequences of the war on terror as the last part.

The second chapter is entitled as “The Arab spring and its consequences”. This chapter will survey briefly the cause of the Arab spring and the way that the different governments react to the Arab uprising that sweep the entire region of the Middle East since the beginning of 2011. The chapter will also focus slightly on the abuse of human rights. This section addresses the issue of human right abuse of the different actors who contribute to the Arab uprising.

The “Obama reaction to the Arab spring” is the title of the third chapter. This chapter will highlight the foreign policy of the United States of America toward Egypt, Bahrain, Syrian and Yemen after the Arab spring. The chapter will attempt to explain closely each major response provided by the United State of American and the reason behind such responses. It will also provide the mainly actors who help the United States of America to sustain its policy and the principal antagonists of the foreign policy of the United States of America in the Middle East.

Chapter one

US Foreign Policy Toward the Middle East before the Arab Spring

The US foreign policy in the Middle East has not always been straightforward since 1945. This can be understood by the diverse interest that the United States of America possess in the region of the Middle East. This chapter will speak in detail those different interests of the United States in the Middle East. Since 1947, the interest of the United States was based to the spread of liberalism. This entails the foreign policy of the United State to be attached mainly on containment which means to stop the spread of communism. As expressed in the book of Le Voguer, this era pave the way to the United States of America to enter in the Middle East by bringing the political liberalism which oppose directly to socialism. This was supported by the address of President Harry Truman on March 12, 1947. In his discourse that takes the name of the Truman doctrine, the president announces that the foreign policy of the United State of America will be based in creating freedom over the world.

The creation of the Jewish states in the Palestinian soil in 1945 and the end of the Cold War in 1990 brings another interest in the region of the Middle East. The United States of American was the first government to recognize the state of Israel in a short period of minuet after its creation. Since, the United States of American has been preoccupied to the security of its ally as the top of its political agenda in the Middle East despite the huge protest of the Arabic countries. In plus, the end of the Cold War allows a unipolar world controlled by the United States of America referring as a new world order. This was better understood in the book of Le Voguer which he highlight the speech of George Bush on the Persian Gulf trouble that opposes Kuwait and Iraq in 1990s. The president assert that “a new world order- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nation”. This policy was also implemented in the Middle East region. This era was motivated by the Promotion of democracy which was continuities by President Bush policy that eventually financed the

MEPI program to improve democracy in the region of the Middle East. Other important organization for promoting democracy over the world has already existed in the United States of America.

Hogan say that the discovery of oil and other important natural resources in the Persian Gulf lead to the United States of America to place the security of the region as the highest priority of US foreign policy in the Middles East. In fact, the company of the United States of America known as ARAMCO started to operate in Saudi Arabia since the early exploitation of the Saudi Arabia Oil. The United States of America has been also involved on the exploitation of Oil and other valuable natural resources in countries such as Iran and Kuwait. However, it was after the Second World War that the Oil of the Persian Gulf has become very important to the national security of the United States of America. Therefore, securing the Persian Gulf in particular and the whole Middle East in general became primordial to the interest of the United States of America. A military assistance that finally takes the form of military bases was settled in Saudi Arabia to ensure security there and the other Middle East state. The effort that the United Sate of America uses to defeat al-Qaida and the war in Iraq show the importance of securing the access of Oil. Similarly, Iran plays an antagonist role in the region by threatening the interest of the United State of America in the region of the Middle East.

The terrorist attacks on September 2001 lead the Bush's administration to consider the "war on terror" as the most crucial foreign policy in the Middle East. After the attack, the United Stated of America was find themselves involved in Afghanistan, Yemen and other Arabic country for the purpose of defeating al-Qaida and other extremist groups. However, the emergence of ISIS adds another complication on the war on terror settled by the president Bush.

1.1. Political and Economic Reforms

1.1.1 The Relationship between Politics and Economy

The politics and the economy are two inseparable entities. One cannot really talk about political and economical reform in the region of the Middle East without evoking democracy and good governance. In reality, free market economy in which prices and wages are determined mainly by supply and demand, rather than being regulated by a government depend on seven crucial factors linked to the core value of democracy. In the Middle East case, the total absence of democracy and good governance make economic reform more or less impossible (Sullivan 9).

The Middle East has chosen the policy of centralism and the military also command largely the government which created a huge business corruption. The rule of law is not enforced correctly due to the disobedience of the law, violation of the right to own property and the no respect of contract deregulate the market. In the most cases in the MENA countries, the prevention of an equal competition harm the market economy because it restrain the finance of new business, stop people from been imaginative and conceal originality. Similarly, the lacks of full participation which prevent the right to vote affect the market economy. The economies require that all people should be given the chance to participate. Transparency and accountability permit people to do well. The shortage of the previous points prevents people to finance new project (Sullivan 10).

It is also true that Freedom is the liberty to live and act as one want. This is important because it push people to search new and original thought and allow them to develop. The liberty of the economy goes hand to hand with political freedom. A well established market should adopt equality which allows people to have an equal opportunity to participate in society and be considered alike in the rule of low. Responsiveness forces the states to behave

according to the will of its citizen. In the market economy, it allows policymaker to make policies that support their respective citizens (Sullivan 10).

1.1.2. The Necessity of Globalization on the Economy

The general trend of Globalization is not totally perceived in the region of the Middle East which is partially isolated from the rest of the world. Globalizations make the world to appear as one village by allowed the absorption of the MENA region en favor of the internationality trends. This isolation can be explaining by their immense natural resources, their religion and their tradition. As a result, the economy of the region of the middles east became the worst economy which is not linked with the global economy law (Hazbun 24).

The region of the Middle East is not integrated to the worldwide market advantages. The absence of foreign direct investment in the last few years makes the region to be considered as one of the most disconnected in the worldwide economy. Although the commerce of the natural resources flourishes, the commerce has diminished exponentially by 53 percent of gross domestic product in the 1980s to 43 percent in 2000. In the same way, the commerce within the region of the Middle East has decline in 1970s. It is assumed to be situated nearly 10 percent of the global commerce (Yousef 106).

1.1.3. The Advancement of Democracy under the Presidency of George. w. Bush

The question of reform in the region of the Middle East emerges seriously after the terrorist attack in 2001. The idea pushes forward by the policymakers of the bush's administration was that the more the region of the Middle East will be engaged in the process of democratization the less terror will be in the world. The Bush's administration creates the freedom agenda as their foreign policy priority in the region of the Middle East. They assert that the region of the Middle East was suffering from socioeconomic and political problem. This can be demonstrated by the inability of the different government to integrate the region

of the Middle East to modernization and globalization. The political, social and economical problems in the MENA region give rise to extremist group and a strong hostility toward the United States of American. In consequences, the bush's administration plan to promote democracy, social and economic reform in the region of the Middle East. The administration of the United States of America started to suggest a wholly reform under the instruction of MEPI organization (Akçapar et al. 8)

The Bush's administration sustains the absolute need for democracy in the MENA region. In his foreign policy agenda, promoting democracy became the core interest of the United States of American since the event of 11 September 2001. He asserts that the terrorist attack in 2001 has showed the danger of ignoring the political and the economical reform of the region of the Middles East. He also argued that much problem of the MENA such as poverty and women abuse is the direct result of a lack of political and economical freedom in the region of Middles East (Alessandri et al 3).

MEPI is the most important group created the 12 December 2002 by the President George. w. Bush for the advancement of democracy. It is an autonomous institution that intends to address program for democratization in the MENA region and more precisely in Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, the West Bank and Gaza, and Yemen. It was designed to surmount difficulties of democratization meet by the USAID long project in a limited period of time. Their members collaborate with Arabic states to promote the right of women, encourage smaller company etc ... The objective of the program of MEPI was to sustain the goal of reform launched by the United States of America in the region of the Middle East. It was split into four major branches: Political reform, Economic reform, Education reform, and Women empowerment. For instance, it gives instruction program and support women who present themselves in the ballot box. (Alessandri, et al 5)

The MEPI organization was the result of 9/11 attacks. It is directed by the department of states of the United States of America and financed by congress. In 2005, president Bush asks \$150 million designated to MEPI program. The House of Representatives provide \$90 million in addition to \$120 million granted by the Senate in which \$4.5 million are designated for scholarship toward Arab Muslim in the Universities of the United States of America. The Senate also suggests the department of states to use some funds in West Bank and Gaza Strip in order to promote a good neighborhood with Israel (Sharp, *The Middle East Partnership Initiative: An Overview* 3, 4).

There are other organizations located in the United States of America for enhancing democracy reform around the world. In fact, The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) is an organization of the United States of America invented in 1983 that work to consolidate democracy law around the globe. NDI stand as The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. It is created by NED and has almost the same goal as NED namely the spread of democracy over the world. IRI refer to The International Republican Institute. It is also a branch of NED and work to promote democracy freedom, self-government, and the rule of law around the globe. USAID work to sustain political and economical reform in the worldwide. So, all those organizations are in some extend financed by congress and controlled by the states department of the United States of America (Sharp, *The Middle East Partnership Initiative: An Overview* 8).

1.1.4. The Blockade of Reforms in the Middle East

There are two important aspects that prevent the political and economical reform in the region of the Middle East. Firstly, the states of MENA have depended on alien income for many years which are: the oil revenue, remittance and alien aid. The homeland economy was never flourishing to the extent of satisfying the daily need of the region. The oil revenue has

sufficed to cover the gap of the undeveloped economy. Secondly, the link between political and economical reform pose a major problem to the Arabs leader. In the 1980s, many governments accepted the interventionist redistributive programs. Political and economical reform took place along the region of the Middle East. However, the shortcomings appear soon as the process of democratization lead Islamist group to gain the sympathy of the population and challenge the government authority (Yousef 109-110)

The democracy poses problem on the values of the Muslim living in the region of the Middle East. Certain Islamist groups accepted reform through election because they are powerless. Once they are elected in office they will probably opt for another system. Extremist groups are motivated to implement the Sharia and set up a caliph along the MENA region. However, they consider the Sharia as an oppressive law for the right of women, unbeliever and so forth. Although, the Islamic law presents certain democratic aspects such as the assembly body, there is a lack of procedural rules of governance. The questions of how to set up a leader or get rid of an unwanted leader stay unresolved. It also asserted that Islam is based on personhood which mean that human being are born naturally good. He just needs to follow the rule of the caliph which is an obligation for every Muslim. In contrast to the catholic view, human beings are born evil therefore they must be managed. Hence, democracy reform remains problematic to the region of the Middle East. (Knudsen 6).

The authoritarian Arab government place themselves as the only alternative to support the interest of the United States of America in the region of the Middle East. They depicted all Islamist as radical groups who threat the interest of the United States of America. The MENA region was the theatre of several bloody conflicts between the authority and some Islamist extremist group for many decades. They have been engaged on their own “war on terror” in their own country. These experiences make them to be suspicious to other peaceful Islamist

group and use it to justify their dictatorship rule and their opposition for radical reform (Sharp 4).

The Arabic intellectual who advocate political and economical reform or democracy change are both apart from each other and remain powerless. They are regarded as too friendly to Europe. This is the result of the concentration provided by the government of the United States of America and by some European association of democracy who made them lose credibility in their countries. They work also separately which make them vulnerable and allow their government to turn attention away. They did not also focus their endeavor to a specific location for change. So, the Arabic intellectual who are reluctant for reform in the region of the Middle East fail to unit and gain the sympathy of their population and their government for their demand. The Middle East is the theatre of conflicts between two different people who claim the same right for decades (Hawthorne 14).

1.2. The Middle East Peace Negotiation.

1.2.1. The Israel Quest for Statehood and the Palestinian Marginalization.

Israel was the only people on the earth without a piece of land to habit. The Zionist movements evoke three important tools as justification for their creation of the Jewish states in the Palestinian land. The Balfour Declaration of 1917, the League of Nations Mandate of 1922 and the General Assembly partition recommendation of 1947. Indeed, the Balfour Declaration of 1917 states that the government of its majesty was in favor of a creation of the Jewish states in the Palestinian soil. However, it started clearly the preservation of the right of all Palestinian. The league of the nation also expresses clearly the duty of the British government to simplify the process of the Jewish arrival in Palestine land. Nevertheless, they underline the Palestinian civilian right. The general assembly of the united nation also expresses the importance of the right of Palestinian. However, the right of Palestinian was never respected (Sayegh 25-27).

The idea of establishing a Jewish nation in the Palestinian soil was motivated by the Zionism nationalist who place a goal and justification for their quest. In fact, the Jew claim that they were in the territory know as the Palestinian soil for more than 20 centuries. The Holocaust happening in Europe and the growth felling of Jewish hatred strengthen the Zionist belief on the necessity of returning in their homeland in Palestine. Their goal was to establish a Jewish state in the Palestinian soil. They justifies their right in the land by highlight the newly arrival of the Arabs people in the land. They further reject the Palestinian right in their land because they are part of the Arabic race therefore their places can be found in Saudi Arabia, Jordan...etc (Bar-Tal, Salomon 10).

The Jewish people consider themselves as abused for their right by Palestinian people. This was happen during their first contact between Jewish and Palestinian people. The attempt by some Palestinian nationalist to refuse the Jewish people from buying Palestinian land, to make difficult their installation or trying to stop the newly arrival in mass of the Jewish were considered together as a real abuse by the Jewish people. Furthermore, the Jewish people regarded the Palestinian population as uncultivated, wild, bully, assassin...etc these false image play an important role as a motivation to the Jewish massacre against the Palestinian people as the fight intensified (Bar-Tal, Salomon 12-13).

Karsh argued that, the Palestinian people were marginalize and oppressed by the Arabic governments too. In fact, Egypt and Jordan did not permit them the right to choose their own government after the seizure of the Palestinian territory in the war of 1948. The king Abdullah of Jordan links the territory known as the West Bank to his monarchy. Nevertheless all right has been given to the Palestinian people. In plus, the act of the Egyptian government of not integrates the Gaza Strip as part of Egypt did not prove any sympathy to the Palestinian people. The Palestinian populations were clearly persecuted under the Presidency of Gamal Abdel Nasser. They were under the rigid control of the Egyptian army,

they are not allowed to have a legal status as the Egyptian population and they are forbidden to go abroad (18).

In plus, the Palestinian populations are nowadays divided in three main groups: The refugees, the population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the “Israeli Arabs”. Firstly, The Palestinian populations who are forced to move from their homeland exceed the number of 1,500,000 people. Secondly, ordinary Palestinian people inhabitant of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are regarded as foreigner, enemy and are under the harsh control of Israel army since the defeat of the Arabic forces in 1967. Thirdly, the “Israeli Arabs” are the small portion of the Palestinian people who have been authorized to live in the States of Israel. They are living under the prejudice and oppression of the Israel population. The poverty pushes them to bear the burden of shame by working as maneuver for the construction of Israel colony (Sayegh 19).

1.2.2. US Support to Israel.

Goussot affirmed that, the population of the United States of America is dominated by the protestant, catholic and the religion of Judaism. Indeed, the half of the population adhere the Protestantism religion which is derived from the Christian religion. It is classified as the first greatest religion of the country. The Catholicism which is an extract of the Judaism religion has become the second largest religion of the United States of America with 67 millions of believer. The Judaism religion is practiced largely by the Jewish people who immigrate to the United States of America for a long time ago. The Jewish people have success to integrate to the main stream of the country. Though they keep some of their culture, tradition and custom and transmit it through the next generation. Hence, many Presidents of the United States consult the church before taking a major decision (154-157).

Further, the United States of America and Italy were a strong support for the establishment of the Jewish state despite the hostility of many countries since the existence of the League of Nations. In fact, the Vatican was preoccupied on the control of the saint area of Palestine. They view the Jewish people as the only one who can safeguard the Christian sacred area that is located in Palestine. Moreover, The United States of America insisted to be including in the consultation process regardless to the regulation of the League of Nations (Beckerman-Boys 93).

The Zionist idea of forming a state did not gaining a rapid support in the United States of American. In fact, the Zionist suggestion has been faced a strong rejection from the Jewish of higher rank. The Jewish who embrace the political system of socialism also accused the Zionist member of been “bourgeois nationalists”. However, their idea wins the support of the Christian majority from the United States of American. The important figures of the Christian religion believed that the Jewish people are the sole legitimate and fateful people to rescue the holy land of Palestine. Therefore, the Christian religion accepts the Zionist quest for the establishment of the Jewish states in the Palestinian soil (Murphy 8).

As affirmed by Richman, the mutual cooperation between the governments of the Unites States of America and the states of Israel was strengthening under the administration of Eisenhower. After the Suez crisis, the United States of America felt the need to counter the gradual power of President Nasser due to the effect of communism in the region. The United State of America was pushed by the foreign policy of containment of the political system of socialism. They have also a great interest to secure the oil of the Middle East. If the regions fall under the communist bloc therefore their interest on the supply of Oil will be touched. The newly states of Israel was designed to be armed to became the most powerful army in the region in order to act as the policy of the region of the Middle East (14).

Israel remains the only country that receives the greatest amount of money from the United States of America. Nadav Safran wrote that "During Israel's first nineteen years of existence, the United States awarded it nearly \$1.5 billion of aid in various forms, mostly outright grants of one kind or another. On a per capita basis of recipient country, this was the highest rate of American aid given to any country." In 1949 to 1965, the United States of America granted nearly \$63 million per years to the Jewish state which is destined to the growth of the economy and for alimentary purpose. 1966 to 1970, the amount of money granted to Israel increase to \$102 million per years. The defense has also granted a colossal amount of money from the United States of America. The year of 1965, the Israel state has borrowed \$13 million. In 1966, they borrowed \$90 million. The amounts of money that the united states of America authorize to the Jewish state to loan grow exponentially until to reach \$1.8 billion in 1987 to 1989. In 1989, the amount of money granted freely for economic purpose reach \$1.2 billion too (Richman 14-15).

The United States of America has usually protected Israel from Arabic threat. Indeed, Israel has the right to buy heavy weapon at a reasonable price to the United States of America. A mutual relationship between companies for military armament has also risen for the progress of Israeli army. The department of defense of the Unites states of America provides huge money to strengthen the Israel army. In 1984, army training operation started between the two sides on the air and the sea. The amendment of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, allow the congress to give a special favor to Israel in dealing with defense agreements and accept that Israel can be granted a large amount of different arms with a cost that is cheaper. In 1986, a mutual cooperation between the two countries was launched on the progress of the ballistic missiles. The Security Cooperation Act of 2012 and the Strategic Partnership Act of 2014 allow them to work together on a large issue such as on the armed forces, commerce...etc. the second act target Israel as a «major strategic partner». In 2008, congress

passes a law to prohibit any sell of weapon to the Arabic world without their consultation. It should be specified on the agreement that such weapon would not be used to jeopardize Israel security. As a result, the Israel army became the most modern army over the world (Zanotti 19-20).

1.2.3. The Impossibility of the Peace Agreement.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflicts occur between two different people who claim the same piece of land. The one who will recognize the legitimacy of the other people would eventually jeopardize its own right to exist as an independent state. In fact, the partition plan proposed by the UN was rejected by all the Arab countries because the Jewish people did not have any real connection to the land. The only way to exist is to continue the massacre of the Palestinian population forever. In this respect, only one nation and one people could assert its existence in the land. Nowadays, the Jewish people are stronger than the Palestinian one. So, the existence of the Jewish state is automatically legitimizing by the Arabic nation in order to reduce the endless massacre. The lacks of a strong solidarity among Muslim nation contribute strongly the legitimacy of the Israel state as well. The day that the Palestinian people will be stronger, they will take back their territory which is their right (Kelman, 288-289).

The weaknesses of the Jewish state provoke the outbreak of the Palestinian massacres in the beginning of its creation. This can be better understood on the terrorization theory. Indeed, the Palestinian populations were outnumbered Jewish populations when the Jewish proclaim their state. Therefore, many difficulties arise especially on the effectiveness of the implementation of the rule of law in the country. One solution to ensure security there and make the government more authoritative was the use of terror and massacre because the majority of the Arab nation refuses to recognize the new state. The governments opt for violence as a method of strengthens the new state. However, there is another solution which is

similar to the Lebanon case but refused by the Arabic governments. In fact, in a fragmented society the best way to ensure security and render the government powerful is to include all the different people that compose the society in the decision-making process. In the Israeli-Palestinian case, the good solution was to create a single state which represents the different fragmentation of the society. This solution was strongly objected by the Arabic nation since Israel did not have any real root to the Palestinian soil (Munk School of Global Affairs 3).

The first real initiative for the settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was taken by the administration of Jimmy Carter. In fact, the Camp David peace settlements take place with the meeting that joint President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt and Israeli Prime Minister Begin in the Catoctin Mountains in 1978. After several discussions, the two side success to agree on two important issues which are the complete autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza Strip and to invite Jordan and Palestinian leaders in the next meetings. Then, Egypt must accept formally the existence of the Jewish state and in return; Israel will render to Egypt the lands it takes starting on the year of 1967. In 1979, the big three Presidents signed officially the peace treaty of the consented points of the Camp David discussions. At the time, the PLO was not yet introduced in the formal talk (the Information Resource Center U.S. Consulate General, 13-14).

The accords of Oslo that take place in the city of Washington fail to bring a total peace in the region of the Middle East. The Oslo accords that start formally in 1993 success to enhance the process of peace in the battle between Palestine and Jewish people. Though the PLO was recognized officially by the Arab league with its president Yasser Arafat, it was the accords of Oslo that officially recognize the PLO and its president Yasser Arafat in the international realm. Furthermore, the agreements of Oslo allow the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority which is a grand peace toward self- determination claimed by Palestinian people. Yasser Arafat became the first president of the new committee of

Palestine. However, the partial unsuccessful of the Camp David negotiations and the appearance of the intifada in 2000 bring the Oslo accords down. The MENA region is also valuable to the western nation in reason of its Oil (the Information Resource Center U.S. Consulate General, 15-16).

1.3. The Long Term Energy Balance.

The involvement of the United States of America in the exploitation of oil in the Middle East can be dated in the period of the First World War. At the time, it was Great Britain and France who monopolize the market of oil in the region of the Middle East. Though the two superpower struggle to exclude the united states of America in the region, the later fight to introduce the program of Wilson which advocate free trade. In plus, The Secretary of Commerce Hoover protest against the 1920 San Remo agreement passed by France and Britain which limited the exploitation and sale of Mesopotamian oil. Eventually, the American company wins a great victory when it was introduced to the Turkish Petroleum Company. In 1931, the administrations of the United States of America make significant progress by involved the Standard Oil of Southern California in Bahrain. The United States of America also operates in Kuwait since 1933 after a series of trouble caused by Gulf Oil. The governments of Britain open the door to the united states of American in order to prevent an “oil War” (Murphy 5).

After the Second World War, the Oil of the Middle East became vital to the interest of the united states of American and to the world equilibrium economic market. In fact, the economy of the united states of American is linked to the oil of the region of the Middle East which is estimated as 66 per cent of the reserve in the worldwide. The importance of the Middle East energy is nowadays kinked to the American way of life. The United States of America use 25 percent of the oil fund in the world and 60 percent come from import. Saudi

Arabia assures alone 20 per cent of the petroleum used in the United States of American.

Moreover, the whole planet shifts from used coal as energy to oil. Kenneth Pollack note that:

The reason the United States has a legitimate and critical interest in seeing that Persian Gulf oil continues to flow copiously and relatively cheaply is simply that the global economy built over the last 50 years rests on a foundation of inexpensive, plentiful oil, and if that foundation were removed, the global economy would collapse.

Hence, the demand of oil and other valuable natural resources is expected to increase in the following years (Hassan 39-40).

The continuation of the flow of petroleum in the region of the Middle East is necessary for the stability of the world market economy. In 2010, The Middle East is classified as the first production of petroleum in the globe. Indeed, it retain 816 billion of barrels in reserves with 20 percent of the reserves of the world been attributed to the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In 2010, The Middle East assures the production of 29 million of barrels everyday which exceed one third of the world production and its exportation exceed 40 percent of the total exportation of petroleum in the world. The majority of the petroleum consumed in the world came from the GCC. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia takes the first seat in the petroleum production which allows them to be able to fill the gaps of petroleum in time of shortage (Darbouche and fattouh 2).

Table1: some basic facts about MENA Oil

	Level (2010)	Share of Global (2010)

<i>Proven Oil Reserves (billion of barrels)</i>	816	59%
<i>Production (mb/d)</i>	29	35%
<i>Consumption (mb/d)</i>	9	10%
<i>International Exports (mb/d)</i>	21.8	40.7%
<i>Surplus Capacity (2010)</i>	4	100%

Source: Darbouche, Hakim, and Bassam Fattouh. *The implications of the Arab Uprisings for Oil and Gas Market*. University of oxford: oxford institute for energy studies. 2011. Web. 3 Dec. 2016.

Any perturbation in the production of Oil or natural resources in the Middle East may lead two important results. The first result is associated to the reduction of Oil production which affects in return the Oil prices in a limited period of time. The second result is linked to the ability of Oil production which decreases automatically the amount of the exportation of Oil. The former result can be provoked by terrorist attacks and have a small effect on the world market. The later result has a long impact on the world market and it is usually provoked by international conflict and civil war (Darbouche and Fattouh 4-5).

Nowadays, The Oil of the Middle East became important to the interest of the United States of America and to the whole world. The whole planet has increased their dependency on Oil. Therefore, assuring a low price for the access of Oil is not only the benefit of the United States of America but also it is vital to the world economy market equilibrium. The blockade of the supply of Oil will disrupt not only the economy of the United States of America but also to the whole world as well (Hanson 31).

It is sure that the world market economy depends heavily to the flow of natural gas fund in the regions of the Middle East. The region alone held the largest reserve of natural gas in the world. In fact, the Middle East retains more than 84 trillion cubic meters of the gas stock of the world. This constitutes 45 percent of the stock in gas over the world and it is supposed to remain available during a period of 150 years. Much of the natural gas remains undiscovered. 87 percent of the natural gas production came from Algeria, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Iran. In 210, the region has assured 20 percent of natural gas production in the globe with 72 percent used for local needs. The exportation for pipeline gas is assumed to be situated around 12 percent and only five countries who export pipeline gas namely, Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Iran, and Qatar. The importance and dependency of the worldwide economy on the Middle East oil led the White House to consider the security of the region as vital to the interest of Washington (Darbouche and fattouh 21).

1.4. Security Imperatives in the Gulf.

1.4.1. The Importance of the Gulf

The security of the Middle East for the access of Oil especially in the Persian Gulf started since the end of the Second World War. After the war, the whole region became important for the national security of the United States of American. It was the ARAMCO Company created in 1932 which is owned by the Texaco and Standard Oil of California who started the exploitation of the Oil in Saudi Arabia. This led the administration of President Harry Truman and Roosevelt to consider the security of Saudi Arabia as vital to the interest of the United States of American. Since, an effort has been conducted to throw out Europeans superpower like Britain. The United States of America provide also a considerable effort in order to prevent the Soviet Union from gaining control of the region because the Persian Gulf Oil was important for the advancement of the Marshall Plan and for the establishment of the western Europe economy. The United States of America pleases the king Ibn Saud to accept a

military assistance in order to ensure a permanent flow of Oil there. Eventually, President Franklin D. Roosevelt visit officially the king of Saudi Arabia Abdul Aziz after the end of the Yalta conference and the question of set up military assistances in the Persian Gulf was discussed by the two presidents (Hogan 464-466).

Securing the region of the Middle East in particular the Persian Gulf became crucial to safeguard the interest of the United States of America in the region. This can be explained by the enormous reserve of natural resources fund under the ground of the region of the Middle East. In fact, securing the entire region of the Middle East was activated by the threat of the Soviet Union in the cold world war period and by the crisis of oil in the 1970s which reveal the dependency of the United States of America and the worldwide economies on the petroleum of the Middle East. President Jimmy Carter stated that: “An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.” This statement came to be known as the “Carter Doctrine”. Moreover, a “special relationship” between the United States of American and Saudi Arabia was possible because of the biggest reserve on natural resources fund in the kingdom. The deal was clear. The kingdom must provide cheaper oil to the worldwide market and in return, the United States of American would protect the country from any outside aggression (Barnes and Bowen 5).

1.4.2. The Iraqi War

The war in Iraq takes place in order to reaffirm the hegemony of the United States of America in the region of the Middle East. The really reason for the Operation Iraqi Freedom is not what has been publicly evoked by the Bush’s administration. It became clear after the downfall of Saddam Hussein that nothing of dangerous has been found in Iraq. In fact, the

Bush's administration claim that Iraq possess weapons of mass destruction that could jeopardize the security of its neighbors and the whole world. This was discovered latter that Iraq did not possess such weapons. Further, the idea that Iraq sponsor terrorism over the world was proven to be totally false. In the same way, the idea of promoting democracy in Iraq will lead to a domino effect along the Middle East was not really the aim of the war in Iraq (Hassan 196-200).

Richman say that the objective of the war in Iraq was to secure the access of Oil and to show the supremacy of the United States of America. President George. W. Bush wanted to take a revenge on Saddam Hussein. Indeed, The Carter administration supported Saddam Hussein in the Iran-Iraq war. The United States of America was engaged militarily in some extend with Iraq. They also provided billion of dollars in order to strengthen the Iraqi army. However, the United States of America was disappointed to the Iraqi aggression on Kuwait. The later was an important ally to the United States of America. In the 1990, President George Bush stops the support of Iraq and the Operation Desert Storm was launched in order to remove Iraqi forces in Kuwait. After that, Saddam Hussein was totally isolated from the rest of the world due to many international sanctions that has been imposed to the government of Iraq. This lead the relation between the United States of America and the government of Iraq to become worse and the access of oil was no longer available to the United States of America. The war in Iraq was planned in order to have control to the Iraqi Oil and to shape not only Iraq but also the indigenous people of the Middle East who are opposed too much to modernity. Without doubt, Saddam Hussein was guilty to be the greatest Demon of disconnectedness (26 -28).

Kuwait is the first country in the GCC state that has sustained largely the United States of America in the invasion of Iraq in 2003. The United States of America released the country from Iraq aggression in 1991. In fact, Saddam Hussein owed too much to the

government of Kuwait and the country did not have enough money to pay back their debt. To avoid the payment of the debt and to obtain the Rumaila oil of Kuwait, Saddam Hussein declared that Kuwait is not an independent country but the nineteenth province of Iraq. In 1990, Iraq invaded officially Kuwait. However, Iraq was not only the enemy of Kuwait but Iran has emerged recently as a major antagonist to the Middle East regimes especially the gulf state. According to many commentators, Iran was the one who benefit the downfall of the Baathist regime because it is the Shiite who controls the government of Iraq. Though the Kurd, Shia and the Sunnite have refused the partition plan proposed by the United States of America, the three main groups of Iraq have continued their bloody conflict. This growing influence of Iran provides a major fear to the other states of the Middle East. For instance, the population of Kuwait is composed of a minority who are Shia (Alterman 4).

1.4.3. Iran as an Antagonist State

Saudi Arabia and Iran are opposed in term of ideology in the Middle East. Iran is a Shia Muslim states which try to support government and groups that have the same ideology. In contrast, Saudi Arabia is a Sunnite states which is motivated to support its ideology beyond its border. These sectarianism divisions raise conflicts of interest in the Middle East because the population in MENA is composed of both Shia and Sunnite. Hence, they have continued to shape the Middle East for their own interests in Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Yemen, Syria and so on. Saudi Arabia and Iran are the two superpowers in the region that helps to stimulate many sectarian conflicts in the Middle East (Lynch 7).

Iran presents the major threat to the interest of the United States of America in the region of the Middle East. The country support terrorism for many years and its nuclear program present a real danger to the closest allies of the United States of America including Israel and Saudi Arabia. The country belongs in the list cited by President Bush as the axis of

evil. Iran was responsible of the foundation of Hezbollah which is a terrorist party located in Lebanon that calls for the destruction of Israel and the United States of America. The acquisition of the nuclear arm will lead the country to expand its terrorism network in the region and provoke the destruction of Israel and Saudi Arabia (Byman and Moller14).

Iran constitutes the main threat to the security of the United States of America and its neighbors in the region of the Middle East. The country has threatened many times to destroy the principal passage of Persian Gulf Oil known as the Strait of Hormuz. Though the Iranian army did not have the necessary equipments to destroy the canal, any military combat in this zone may lead to Oil interruption with an enormous impact on the global economic market. The Iranian government continued to develop its military programs along the years despite many sanctions imposed by the United States of America and the international community. Those programs include: nuclear weapons, chemical/biological weapons, and long-range missiles (Hanson 32).

To counter the growing influence of Iran, the United States of America had collected all the opponents of Iran together. The region of the Middle East forms a new alliance leading by Israel and Saudi Arabia against the state of Iran. However, this new alliance will imply the United States of America to grant some benefit to the new coalition such as the advancement of the peace process between Palestine and Israel and to provide help on the military sectors in order to protect them against Iran (Luomi 33).

The menace of a possible Iranian and terrorists attacks in the GCC states lead to the biggest weapon agreements between the United States of America and the Persian Gulf. The expansion of the influence of Iran leads the Persian Gulf to spend billions of dollars in order to have access to different modern arms of the United States of America. In 2010, the United States of America sale the greatest weapons along of its history. Saudi Arabia spends \$60

billion with a contract of 10 year of access of weapon. In 2011, president Obama and the congress respect their part of the bargain in allowing Boeing to sale 85 planes and upgrade 70 other planes of the present Royal Saudi Air Force fleet. This bargain cost around \$29.4 billion. However, the access of modern weapon by the Arabic states did not decrease terrorism in the region (Hanson 34-35).

1.5. Consequences of the War on Terror

1.5.1. The Beginning of the War against Terrorism

The foreign policy of the United States of America change dramatically after a terrorist groups belonging to Al Qaida killed many people by hijacking planes to hit the world trade center in New York, destroy the Pentagon, and crushed into an area in Pennsylvania. These events that take place in the day of 11 September 2001 place the governments of president George.W.Bush at war. In fact, these events confirmed the neo-conservatives assumption which warned earlier that the end of the cold world war and the new world order will not bring stability in the world. President George.W.Bush declared the war on terror over the world as his discourse in the congress on September 20 confirmed:

Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss and in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom, the great achievement of our time and the great hope of every time depends on us. Our nation, this generation, will lift the dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail (Le Voguer 312).

Al Qaida is the biggest terrorist organization over the world which is held responsible for the 9/11 events by the United States of America. Since, the top leaders of the organization Usaman Bin Laden and Aiman Al-zawahiri enters in the worldwide history as the most

wanted people of the United States of America. The head of the organization Bin Laden is a millionaire who came from Saudi Arabia. After serving in Afghanistan, The intellectual man revolt against the house of saud. He had believed that the kingdom did not respect the Islamic principles. Then, he protest strongly the growing presence of the United States of America in the Muslim territory. After his expulsion in Saudi Arabian, Bin Laden found shelter in Sudan. He eventually became friend with the President Omar al-Bashir and financed many valuable projects in the country. After the attack of the United States of America's base in Saudi Arabia in 1995, Sudan was obliged to throw him out due to many international pressures. However, it was in 2001 that the leader of Al Qaida and the number two of the organization became famous as the most tracked people over the world (Kushner 20-22).

After the events of 9/11, the Bush administrations push forward the freedom agenda as the core of their foreign policy. They argued that the Middle East dislike the United States of America because of their way of live which include freedom and democracy. The lack of universal values such as the freedom from fear and the freedom from want led the Muslim world to hate the United States of America. The President defines the war on terror as a war between good and evil. In his discourse in 2003, President Bush shows the importance of democracy in the region of the Middle East:

Sixty years of Western nations excusing and accommodating the lack of freedom in the Middle East did nothing to make us safe – because in the long run, stability cannot be purchased at the expense of liberty. As long as the Middle East remains a place where freedom does not flourish, it will remain a place of stagnation, resentment, and violence ready for export (Hashemi3).

However, Political and economical oppression do not imply violation and terrorism. Terrorist act seem to be pushed by ideology rather than poor economical condition or poverty.

Though the democracy can weaken terrorist act, it do not completely eliminate it. It is sure that the objective of a terrorist is to implement the Sharia which is the Islamic law and establish a caliphate over the world. The policy of democratization in the region of the Middle East does not satisfy Islamist demand but it may create a serious threat to them and lead them to a more violent acts. (Hassan 50-51).

Moreover, Islamist extremist groups are the only alternative to dictatorship regimes and they represent a real danger to freedom and democracy in the region of the Middle East. They represent the only voice of opposition to government dictatorial. Many Muslim in MENA are grouped themselves through charitable organization which operate almost in all publics services such as health care, education and so on. The democracy allows one person to have one vote. This poses a real threat because the majority of the populations in the region of the Middle East are opposed firmly to the interest of the United States of America in the region. Any real implementation of democracy will probably bring Islamic extremist groups to power and cause harm to the United Stated of America and Israel. After the 9/11 attack, the United States invade Afghanistan and Iraq (Hassan 46-47).

1.5.2. The War against Terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq

After the events of 9/11, the United States of America finds themselves involved in Afghanistan and Iraq for the war against terrorism. Al Qaida became the main enemy of the united states of American. The administrations of G.W. Bush suspect the Afghanistan government to have a relation with Al Qaida. Therefore, American troops invade Afghanistan and the Taliban regime was quickly removed. Furthermore, some states were designated as rogue states by neo-conservatives and G.W. Bush calls them the axis of evil which harbor terrorist groups. His government success to persuade the congress that Saddam Hussein has weapons of mass destruction and harbor Al Qaida. This is called the Principe of preventive

action which is characterized by an attack of its enemy even though the enemies did not threaten directly the national security (Goussot 251).

As mentioned by Cronin, the war in Afghanistan and Iraq had little advantage to the United States of America. The victory claimed by President Bush was illusory as the war intensified and the loss of American soldiers was quickly noticed. In fact, many rebel groups were formed as a mean of resistance. These groups success to organize murdered attack against American soldiers and they continue nowadays to provoke the loss of their citizens. The war has caused the destruction of many infrastructures, displaced thousands of families and destroys the daily lives of many local people. The war had cost a lot to the Unites States of America as well. It is the enemy of the United States of America in the region who profit the war. In 1980 to 1988, Iran enters in a murderous war against Iraq. Iran also went to a virtual war against the Taliban in 1998. The capacity of both countries to oppose the involvement of Iran in their affair is also decreased. This gives enormous forces to the government of Iran to spread their influence in the region (197-198).

The effort of the Operation Enduring freedom set up by United States of America to remove completely Al Qaida in Afghanistan did not fully succeed. Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan, Afghan Taliban and the Haqqani Network and the Lashkar-e-Tayyiba continued to threaten the interest of the United States of America in the area of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Indeed, the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan group shows a total allegiance to the Al Qaida leader Ayman al-Zawahiri who encourages the group to expand its operation beyond the local border including the United States of America and western countries. In plus, the Afghan Taliban and the Haqqani Network are dangerous groups who continue to lead serious attack in Afghanistan and killing people from the United Sates of America. They are now motivated to attack the United States of America and the European countries as well. Moreover, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba is the greatest terrorist organization that operates in South Asia. In 2001, the organization led

a bloody attack in the parliament of Indian. In July 2006, the organization attacked many train in Mumbai. This terrorist organization enhances hostility between India and Pakistan. The group is also operating in Afghanistan and their leaders start to plot operation beyond their regional border. Thus, the war on terror has little positive effect in the Middle East because terrorist seem to be active (Olsen 3). Thus

1.1.5.3. The Failure of the War against Terrorism

Although Al Qaida has been weakening since the death of Usama bin Ladin in 2009 and its deputy Atiyah abd al Rahman in 2010, the organization still the principal voice for global terrorism. In fact, the Al Qaida organization encourages publicly to attacks western countries every year though they did not success to plot serious attacks since the terrorist attack of 2005 in London. They use largely the media to attract and encourage new people to defend the main cause of the organization. After the assassination of Usama bin Ladin, Ayman al-Zawahiri was appointed as the new leader of the organization. Terrorist people quickly show unconditional loyalty to the new leader and the organization continues to operate and defend its ideologies around the globe. The desire to destroy the United States of America and its key allies around the world remain the principal objective of the organization (Olsen 2-3).

Furthermore, the different objectives of Al Qaida are very far from being satisfied by the authority of the United States of America. Osama bin Laden and his deputy Ayman Zawahiri advocate three mainly objectives namely: the removal of western army in the MENA region, the stop of western support of Arabic government and the establishment of a Caliphate around the MENA area. Though, the army of the United States of America has been reduced in quantity from Saudi Arabia, the army of the United States of America still operate in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. In addition to those positioned in Qatar, Bahrain, Yemen, the Philippines, and many other places. The second objective poses a huge problem to the

interest of the United States of America in the region. The support of dictatorial regime allows the United States of America to keep away many Islamist extremist from power and to secure their interests. Finally, the third objective of Al Qaida is ignored by the majority of the demonstrator of 2011. The majorities who protest were secular and they claims more liberal values which is close to western principles (Cronin 201-202).

Boko Haram emerges as the most dangerous terrorist group that operates in Nigerian which adds another puzzle to the war against terror. The objective of the group is to implement the Islamic law around the area of Nigeria. The group successes to implement the sharia in nine states and they administered almost the half of the territories of other three states in the north of Nigeria. In 2009, the head of the group Abubakar Shekau announce a holy war against the government of Nigeria. The organization also announced the jihad against the United States of America in 2010. Boko Haram is associated to Al Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb and to ISIS. In 2014, the organization cross their border and assassinate 520 citizen of Cameroon and 6 people in an attack in Chad. In 2015, the group plot several murdered strike in Chad which cause the loss of 53 people in the capital of N'Djamena (institute for economics and peace 41).

ISIS is the most dreadful terrorist organization affiliate to Al Qaida which emerges as the result of the war against terror in Iraq and the endless civil war in Syria. Although the organization does not threat directly the United Sates of America, the organization challenges its mains interests in these fields and presents a real threat to its closest allies in the region. In a long period, the organization may plot to strike the ground of the United States of America. President Obama did not see the fight against the organization as a national interest but perceived its actions as bad for the mind of human being. He cut the costly plan set up by President Bush for the war against terror and use the air as a major asset to support the army of Iraq and the Kurdish Peshmerga (Barnes 15-16).

Despite the effort provided by the United States of America to counterterrorism over the world, terrorist activities continue to increase along the years and reach its peak in 2015. In 2014, the whole numbers of death from terrorism increase than the previous year and come to its peak. This year note 80 per cent of death compared to the previous year and 78 per cent of them come from Iraq, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Syria. Furthermore, terrorist attack has been recorded in many new countries. In 2013, 88 countries were targeted by terrorist attack. In 2014, 93 countries were attacked by terrorist groups. Moreover, there are many countries that record an augmentation in the number of death by years. It increases from five countries in 2013 to eleven countries in 2014 (institute for economics and peace 9).

Although political and economical reform was always in the foreign policy agenda of the United States, the later fail to really sustain it due to the others interests. The security of Israel, the access and security of the Middle East oil and the war on terror made the United States of America to support and protect dictatorial regimes along the Middle East. The United States has never supported democracy or a true reform in the Arab region, rather it has helped the dictators to consolidate their power in order to secure its interests. The fear to some extremist groups and the influence of Iran provide an excuse to the United States of America to backed dictatorship regimes for decades.

Chapter two

The Arab Spring and its Consequences

The year of 2011 entered into history as an outstanding year for the Arabic world. The regions of the Middle East have experienced a significant political change. The Arab spring started in Tunisia on the 17 December 2010. Then, the cancer of the revolution extends its contagion effect to the entire Middle East. The dictator of Egypt Hosni Mubarak was forced to give his resignation after thirty years of rule. Likewise, the powerful man of Yemen Ali Abdallah Saleh was obliged to step down after a tough revolution in his country. However, many other countries in the Middle East were submitted to political reform and more rights have been given to the people while others fall in a bloody civil war.

The outbreak and the spread of the Arab spring were unpredictable for many regimes in the Middle East. The majority of petromonarchy and non-petromonarchy in the Arab world believed that their societies were relatively stable. This was proved not to be the case, as the youth of the Middle East descend in the streets to protest against their miserable lives. Kuran writes in his book that:

If we could know exactly how the members of a given society would react to any given structural shock, we could foretell the society's political future. In practice, however, such knowledge is unobtainable. And an important part of the reason is precisely that individuals often conceal their political desires and motivations.

When the wind of change starts to blow the region, the Arab leaders were surprised and most of them try to use violence in order to cancel the uprising. However, their luxury lives were ended when armies ultimately refused to support them as the case of Egypt. The devotion of the military forces or the small portion of the army who remain loyal after its fragmentation caused a bloody conflict that engendered the violation of human rights as the case of Syria,

Yemen, and Bahrain. Disappearances, assassination and the restore to torture were commonly used in order to save their absolute reign.

2.1. Causes of the Arab Spring

In the end of 2010, a young Tunisian man living in Sidi Bouzid set himself on fire. The act to commit suicide was motivated after being humiliated by the local authority. In fact, the clash that appeared between Mohamed Bouazizi and the policewoman push the later to throw out publicly the vegetable merchandise of Mohamed Bouazizi. The young man was full of shame of being aggressed by a woman. Touched in his Self-esteem, the young man decided to burn himself in the municipality. Many people who assist the scene took picture and published it in the internet. The horrible act of Mohamed Bouazizi activates many manifestations in Tunisian as well as a series of demonstration that touch the entire Middle East (Abdulsattar34).

In fact, the Tunisian demonstration spread in the Middle East because The MENA region is strongly connected together than other state outside the region. The entire region shares the same worship, language and custom. This makes the MENA region to be considered as apart from other state in the world. Although imperialism succeeds to split the region into smaller country, many families still have their relative outside their border. These contribute to consolidate the links that already exist in the MENA region (Elhousseini7).

The events known as the Arab spring that was triggered by Mohamed Bouazizi creates the modification of the political and institutional system of Tunisia as well as the entire Middle East. The contaminations of the Tunisian revolt reach Egypt when Asma Mahfuz posted her picture in you tube. She convinced hundreds of thousands of Egyptian in a meeting of manifestation at Tahrir Square the 25 January 2011. The Egyptian revolutions start in

peaceful way and finish with the removal of Hosni Mubarak in power within a few days (Abdullah 4).

In February 2011, the landscape of Bahrain was affected by mass protest who demands democratically constitutional reform. Although the Bahraini opposition claims earlier more reform, the revolution of Tunisian as well as of Egypt galvanize tens of thousands of Bahrain youth to go in the symbolic places of Pearl Roundabout in order to press for democratically reform. After, the Bahraini opposition al-Wefaq and the Islamic National Accord Association highlight some bribery and corruption within the monarchy, the bad situation between the Sunnite minority and the Shia majority became worse. Further, the opposition condemned the refusal of the monarchy to hire shia people in the army forces. All of this, make the royal family to delay all reform proposed by the National Assembly in the period of 2006 to 2010 in reason of a lack of unanimity. It was the revolution that outbreak in Tunisian and Egypt which motivated the Bahraini people to go in Pearl Roundabout to demand more political freedom and equality for all citizens. Again, poor Socio-economical condition, a high level of unemployment and discrimination against the Shia push Bahrain toward trouble. The authority responds to the demonstrator by the allowance of \$2,700 to be given to all people. However, the uprising was intensified as the army forces use a massive violence and left on dead in the first day of the demonstration. In the burial ceremony, the army forces use violence again and caused the death of another protester. After that, the demonstration became more radical and demands the removal of the king as well as the establishment of a democratic republic. After spending \$10 billion to restore order in Bahrain, the GCC forces enter in Bahrain and soon the country regain it tranquility (Hanson 53-55).

The Arab spring touch Syria when a small group of schoolboy was held in detention and tortured by the regime of Bashar Assad. The young pupils were tired to praise every day the President Bashar Assad in their school. The regime reacts violently to the hostile words written by the schoolboy in their school wall. Soon, an uprising that calls the liberation of the schoolboy in the town of daraa was violently repressed by the Syrian regime in March 2011. The widespread of the cruelty of the regime caused hundreds of thousands of Syrian to descend in the street in the town of Homs, Hama, Latakia, and Der el-Zor. The deaths among protestors intensify the revolts and the promise made by Assad to negotiate with the opposition was proven to be false (Aftandilian, *United States policy towards the Arab Spring* 21).

The Yemeni uprising was conducted by a group of students in the capital of Sana'a in January 2011. Over 16,000 protesters descended in the street to protest against unemployment, corruption, poor economical condition, and the demand of the Saleh regime to change the constitution. In fact, hundreds of thousands of Yemenite started to protest in the biggest cities of Sana'a and Aden. Soon the uprising was spread in Yemen and important town such as Taiz and Al Mukalla start to protest against the Saleh regime. In March 2011, the demonstrators began to call the resignation of President Saleh. More than hundred protesters were killed during the Yemeni demonstrations as the Saleh regime responds violently to the peaceful demonstration. This caused the desertion of many officers and soldiers. They were also some important members of the Saleh government who give their resignation. In the end of 2011, President Saleh agree to go after been seriously injured in assassination attempt. His vice president led the transitional government. In 2015, the actual civil war of Yemen explodes and the Houthis rebel seizes many important cities including Sana'a. The south raises their concern about their independence and Al Qaida carry on its military operation against the authority while controlling many area of Yemen. Thus the Arabic uprising of 2011

was caused by various problem faced by the population while their governments was not only fail to address those issues but most of them react violently to the peaceful demonstrations as well (The Choices Program 39-40).

2.2. The Arab States Government Reaction to the Revolt

Many grand revolutions over the world follow some basically patterns. These regular patterns can lead to the removal of a dictatorial government. In fact, there are popular manifestations against an unfair government. The authority then uses violence to stop the manifestation. However, the unsuccessful attempts to eliminate the manifestation lead it to become more radical and the collapse of the government are quickly noticed (Biscop et al 13).

2.2.1. The Response of the Government of Egypt

When protest broke out in many important towns of Egypt including Cairo, the secret police of Egypt react wrongly by trying to crackdown the uprising. This incites the demonstrator to demand the immediate departure of President Hosni Mubarak in power. As the situation become worse, President Mubarak urges the army to use violence in order to restore order. The disobedience of the army lead the Mubarak's regime to lose its legitimacy as the Egyptian army came to back up the revolution. In attempt to save his presidency, Hosni Mubarak gave a public speech on February 11, 2011 that call for political reform as well as a complete chagement of his government. Meanwhile, the demonstrator in Tahrir Square carry on to complains as he did not speak something related to his resignation. Eventually, President Hosni Mubarak was forced to go within a period of 18 days after the beginning of the Egyptian revolution. It was the Egyptian SCAF that assures the transition of the Egypt government (Hanson41).

2.2.2. The Response of the Government of Bahrain

The reaction of the royal family was completely violent to the demonstrator that began in February 2011 in Bahrain. The uprising was strongly repressed by the king Hamad bin al-Khalifa with the assistance of the Peninsula Shield Force of the GCC. In fact, the peaceful crowds who are located in the historical place of the Bahraini protest movement in Pearl Roundabout was harshly crushed by the monarchy. The army shoots on the demonstrator in the half of the night and followed immediately by many personnel that invade the road of the capital of Manama. As a result, more people join the demonstrator held on February 25, 2011. Though the majority of the demonstrator was Shia who claims the end of their discrimination and equality under the law, and they were a small Sunnite Muslim minority as well as some members of the royal court. However, as the situation became worst and start to escape the Bahrain authority, the monarchy advocates the interference of Iran in their internal affair which allowed the king to have the assistance of the Peninsula Shield Force. Without doubt, the 1,000 Saudi Arabian forces with the 500 police officers from UAE permit the royal family of Bahrain to save their kingdom (Rózsa 10).

In plus, the Bahrain army is very loyal to the monarchy. The royal family enrolls only the minority Sunnite Muslim in the army forces. Since, they bear the responsibility to safeguard only the Sunnite monarchy including Sunni political and business elites. The royal family prohibits compulsory enrolment for national service for the purpose to keep away the Shia majority. Furthermore, the army is well formed and well paid. They have also various modern weapons due to their collaboration to the United States of American. Similarly, they authority engage some foreign military senior to ensure that their army receives the best formation and have the perfect structured aides to the commander. As a result, the army proves their loyalty to the royal family since the beginning of the Bahraini demonstration. They crackdown successful the Bahraini uprising that was dominated by the Shia majority (Barany 35).

2.2.3. The Response of the Government of Syria

In the beginning of 2011, the Arab spring that swept Tunisia and Egypt reach Syria in the month of March. The wind of change blow Syria when the youth descend in the street to manifest against desperation, corruption and more democracy from the government. The regime of President Bashar Assad reacts violently to the manifestation and proceeds immediately to a systematic detention of the protestors. This enraged the manifestation and brought Syria to the actual disorder. The lack of an effective negotiation between the various concerned groups drawn Syria to an endless conflict between sectarian and religious groups. In this way, the Syrian regime is no longer exerting its authority to the whole territory. Further, the growing implementation of the law of the jungle in the territory, mass murders and the use of torture by the Syrian government as well as the opposition make any conception related to democratically reform impossible (Lilli 22).

The peaceful Syrian uprisings that start in March 2011 in Deraa open the door for Syria's Bloody Civil War. The manifestation demands President Bashar Assad to reform not resign. However, the Ba'athist government ignoring the opposition and was not engaged in a serious reform. On the eve of the manifestation in Syria, President Bashar Assad speak openly in the media as a reaction to the unrest of Tunisia and Egypt that his citizens are calms and they are able of waiting for governmental reform. He adds that the Arab spring will not touch Syria because the country is stable. His speech was proven to be completely false as Syria enter among the most dangerous country over the world. This is the result of the repression led by the army forces on the commencement of the revolt which sends hundreds of live in the grave. As the manifestations intensified, President Assad try to restore order and resort to a legal system applying to military personnel. In July 2011, the insurgent known as FSA was invented and since Syria have fall in an absolute chaos (Benoit 3-4).

The Syrian armed has continued to show an absolute allegiance to the Bashar Assad regime. The majority of the Syrian army is Shia including the commanders of the units of the army forces. In this manner, they are no chance that the Syrian army will stop their support to the Baath Party. They are largely implied in the Syrian economy, politic and they benefit a high status in the Syrian society. The Alawite sect are also aware that they are less numerous than the Sunnite Muslim and if they cede power, they will probably find difficult if not impossible to come again. Additionally, the young brother of President Bashar Assad who is called Maher controls the Presidential Guard, the Republican Guard, and the Fourth Armoured Division. These are the key units that form the security backbone of the state. The Alawite control also the secret police Mukhabarat. Further, the Syrian army possesses great skills of fighting and it is structured enough to resist the disorganized Syrian opposition. Since the beginning of the revolts, the Syrian army uses various armaments to crackdown the peaceful demonstration as well as the insurgency. In spite the fact that they are many people who deserting from the army and some clash that occur within units, the Syrian army is not only united and loyal but also possess the necessary arms to suppress the opposition. Since 2011, the use of biological weapon and other dangerous weapons ha being noticed by many nongovernmental organizations (Barany 36).

2.2.4. The Response of the Government of Yemen

President Ali Abdullah Saleh chose to crush the protestor down when the Arab spring reaches Yemen in 2011. His decision was unpopular to the elite group and conducts him to give up the presidential chairs. Many soldier and officers followed General Ali Mohsen Al-Ahmar to the opposition when the army open fire and cause the death of several protestors on March 18, 2011. This intensified the existing clash between the elite groups who disagree on Saleh decision to give more power to his relative. Moreover, General Ali Mohsen Al-Ahmar was a key element in the military forces. He was responsible to counter the insurgent of the

Houthi in the North of Yemen. The general also recruit many people in his country to fight in Afghanistan in the conflict of the 1980s. His separation with president Saleh discredits not only the government but also the military forces of Yemen and shifts the balance of power to the opposition clan. Hence, the divisions of the army precipitate the fall of president Saleh (Berger et al 6).

The strong man of Yemen takes radical measurement and many promises in the hope of saving his kingdom. When the uprising broke out in 2011, President Saleh pledge the mob that he will not run for another presidential term and his child Ahmed will not replace him. Further, he eliminates taxes, increase the government provision on the alimentary services and promise to increase the payment of civil-service. However, those proposal were too weak to meet the really need of the mobs which is influenced by educated people. The protestors claim the departure of President Saleh from office. As the revolt growth and become stronger, the regime's security forces violently attacked the manifestation and 52 people loss their live in March 2011. This event divides the ruling elite of Yemen more than ever. Sale's tribe elite stops their support to the president and demands him to cede the power. General Ali Mohsen al-Ahmar joint the opposition clan followed by many soldier and more than twelve generals of the army forces. General Abdallah al-Qahdi joint also General Ali Mohsen al-Ahmar to the opposition clan after dismissed by the regime because he did not accept the utilization of violent (Barany 33).

2.2.5. The Successful Response of the Government of Morocco and Saudi Arabia

When the Arab springs reach Morocco in February 2011, the king Mohammed VI immediately calls for political reform. This succeeds to weaken the protestors and the opposition. In fact, the king Mohammed VI took several initial that satisfy some of the needs of the protestors including a referendum on the constitution on July 1. The king makes a

compromise in which he accepts to release some of his power to the people and in return, he will remain the head of the state. He also calls for parliamentary vote in advance of the fixed legal date. He also agrees the formation of a government based on the will of the dominant party regardless its ideologies. The king Mohammed VI decided too not to crackdown the protestors and they were none violation of human right there. This help the protestors to sympathizes later with the king. Similarly the exhibition in public of his wife in European mode plays a crucial role as it give satisfaction to the protestors who were largely secular (Hassan, *the Arab Spring a Struggle on Three Fronts* 4-5).

In the beginning of 2011, a small mass of protest was witnessed in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. However, the royal family succeed to conceal the anger of the demonstrator by proposed many important reforms. In fact, the demonstrators were poorly organized and lack of teeth. This allows the monarch to spend billon of dollar in different social projects in order to calm the protestors. The monarch improved the payments of the jobless peoples and the official wages. The kingdom ameliorates also the condition of housing as well as the educational one. In the end of 2011, the monarch permits the suffrage for women in the first time. In the same year, the king announced that women could be candidates in the county or local election starting in 2015 (Choices Program 40).

2.3. Human Rights Abuse

It is almost impossible to mention the term Human rights without evoking democracy and the individual liberty of expression. The principles of democracy work effectively with the guarantee of human rights and the Middle East is well known for its lack of such universal principles. In fact, the Middle East is ruled by tyrannical regime that commonly monitored the mass media. The shortage of economical independence of the mass media allows the government to grant money and to be able to control largely the political information that

should be published. This harm the process of democratization as their citizen is not well informed. The governments are free from accountability because their actions are not criticized. This causes the dysfunction of the institutions and weakens the capacity of the government to delivers good public services. In 2011, many journalist and activist were in jail because they criticize the government. Without the internet, the Arab spring would not have happened. Further, all the powers are handling by a single person. The notion of Check and balance of the power did not exist in the Middle East. This permit largely the abuse of the right of their citizens (Panos Paris Institute and Mediterranean Observatory of Communication228-230)

Hassan wrote that the power vacuums left by the fled of President Hosni Mubarak provide the opportunity to the SCAF in Egypt to control the government. The opposition was surprised to the speedy resignation of President Hosni Mubarak in only 18 days. In fact, the SCAF of Egypt tried after the resignation of the President to obtain a total control of the political situation in the country. This entails the SCAF of Egypt with the help of the security system to try to suppress the protestors for all means. The new authority starts to abuse some basic rights from the protestors including the use of forces to bring civilian to military trials. The army did not hesitate to use live ammunition and rubber bullets to the crowd. The protestors were displaced in a secret place and they are portrayed by the media as traitor who accept to be manipulated by alien enemies. Yet, women were largely degraded by the authority including the use of massive drag in the road or the removal of their clothes by forces. Again, women in detention were forced to undergo “virginity tests”. They were accused of been prostitute. Thus, the efforts lead by the new Egyptian authority to crackdown the revolt involve much bloodshed and the loss of more than hundreds citizens (*the Arab Spring a Struggle on Three Fronts* 9-10).

Unfair trials in Bahrain were held against protestors who practice their rights to freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. The majority of the protestors were judged without lawyers in a military tribunal known as the National Safety Court. In fact, Twenty one of the protestors were accused by the National Safety Court. Seven of them were absent and the fourteen people who attend the trial receive severely condemnation. Seven of them were condemned to remain in jail for the rest of their lifetime and the others receive condemnation of two to fifteen years. Moreover, the National Safety Court judged 'Ali 'Abdullah Hassan al-Sankis and 'Adbulaziz 'Abdulridha Ibrahim Hussain to death despite the international denouncement of any capital punishment. Furthermore, many demonstrators who were held in custody were tortured and prohibited from seeing their relatives. Hence, many condemnations in Bahrain were very far from being fair (Auken, Margrete, et al. 5).

The Syria army has recorded the greatest crackdown during the Arab spring. In the mid of 2011 until the year of 2012, nearly 60,000 persons were slaughtered and 36,000 civilians gone abruptly in the year of 2012. The Syria regime used force and torture to the peaceful demonstrators as if it was a foreign force dealing with another population which does not belong to their own nation. The Syria forces employed large-calibre weapons and they had resort to all their armaments against their own populations. The army continued to explode many public housing, hospitals, and slaughtered many innocent people. Arbitrary arrests without trials became common in Syria and many people in custody are dying either by execution or by bad humanitarian conditions. Those who desert or shift to the opposition have seen their families targeted by the regime. Many journalists or other human rights activists were imprisoned and slaughtered cruelly. During the conflict, the world witnessed the worse actions of the Syrian regime as they use chemical or biological weapons against civilians in the town that is near of Damascus. Syria is among the most dangerous countries over the world as the state of anarchy is reined nowadays and various groups with various ideologies continue to control the

majority of the Syria territory. Daily explosion and suicide attacks still ravaged everyone without distinction and became the frequent sound of the Syrian population (Hassan, *Delivering Democracy: Repercussions of the 'Arab Spring' on Human Rights* 20-21).

The departure of President Ali Abdullah Salah raised the struggle for power of the traditional political, tribal, and military elites. The transitional government was never succeeding to control the whole territory of Yemen and violence continued to occur every day. Indeed, the army force is divided than ever. The mainly security forces of the country which is the Central Security brigades, and the Republican Guard are at the hands of the former President families. The First Armed Brigade belongs to a general who switch to the opposition clan. Tribal insurgency groups are also fighting with different enemies. The situation of Yemen became worse when many attack conducted by Al-Qaida affiliation were intensified in Yemen. The Huthis insurgency of the north launches many military actions in Yemen. Some members of the southern movement switch to military action and they started to lead many huge military interventions against the government of Yemen. The Ansar al-Shari'a groups are trying to enforce their own Islamic view on the southern region. Many civilians are also killed by random explosion lead by the authority against Ansar al-Shari'a groups or they are slaughtered by US exploded campaign against al-Qaida base (Hassan, *Delivering Democracy: Repercussions of the 'Arab Spring' on Human Rights* 26).

Hence, the Arab spring that begin in Tunisian were spread in the entire Middle East. Poor human right conditions push the population of the Middle East in the street in order to protest for brighter future. However, their government uses massive violence to the peaceful protestors in order to safeguard their absolute reign. This entails the violation of human rights as the government use violence in order to assert it authority again. However, the approach of the United States was changed frequently by Washington in order to suit particular US interest

Chapter three

Obama Reaction to the Arab Spring

When the Democratic candidate took the presidency position in January 2009, he was motivated to change the foreign policy of the United States of America. The 44th African American President favored a multilateral approach instead of unilateral position supported by the administration of George. W. Bush. This new approach will imply all the allies of the United States of America to share the burden of the intervention of the United States of America. The implication of the United State of America was modified from direct confrontation to action known as “leading from behind”. Le Voguer affirmed that the African American President struggle to construct a new relationship in the Middle East as his speech in Cairo confirmed:

To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society's ills on the west – know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy. To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history; but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your first⁶².

When the Arab spring broke out in 2011, the United States of America was surprised. The White House hurries up to build a framework policy that would eventually protect the various interests of the United States of America. In Egypt, the United States was obliged to make compromise in the beginning of the revolt for the goal of saving their general interests. They finally succeed to influence the trajectory of the uprising there and push away extremist groups from power. In Bahrain, the principle of the United States which is claimed by the demonstration was not aligned with the interest of the United States. However, the United

States had succeeded to save the fail of the king and protect the various interests of the country in the Persian Gulf. In Syria, the united States protect themselves from being ahead of the Syria people because the country has not a significant value to Washington.

Unfortunately, the Syria conflict will probably last for a long time and the United States will not be the loser anyway. Similarly, the civil war in Yemen is too far from harming US interests. The United States are the only superpower who is involved seriously in Yemen. Any peaceful solution or progress to the unity of Yemen will forcedly require the genius talent of Washington.

3.1. The Implication of the United States of America in Egypt

The foreign policy of President Barrack Obama in Egypt was too hesitant. The 44th president of the United States of America was sandwiched between the cry of the uprising in Tahrir Square and rescued the regime of Hosni Mubarak. Although promoting democracy was not the top priority in the agenda of the Obama administration, the Egypt uprising who advocate more liberty and social justice to the people present a uniqueness opportunity to do so. However, Hosni Mubarak was a long standing ally to the United States of America since 1981. Once an American official made public Comments that the United States of America cannot make war in the Middle East without the help of Egypt. The regime of Hosni Mubarak succeeds to keep out the Muslim Brotherhood in power and secure a secular regime in the country. The administration of Jimmy Carter succeeds to secure a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel and the government of Mubarak develops a good relation with Israel. Furthermore, Egypt was useful to the advancement of the peace process in the Middle East and indispensable to counter the influence of Iran in the region (Demant and Finguerut 14).

The obstinacy of the United States of America to take part immediately on the two sides that advocate its support in Egypt was done as a valuable strategy. Washington was

motivated to control the next political events that will occur. Indeed, three groups claim the power including the liberal youth who conduct the revolution, the two branches of the Muslim Brotherhood namely reformist and conservative one and the Egypt military. After democratic elections, the freedom and justice party of the Muslim brotherhood won the presidential election and their candidate Muhammad Morsi became the first civilian president of Egypt the 30 June 2012. After many manifestations demanding his resignation, General Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi who embraces the policy of Washington upset him despite his plan of a formation of coalition government. Further, President Morsi attempt to prevent the judiciary and the military from undermine his presidency while the Egyptian army was also preoccupied to safeguard their interest namely the budget of the defense and the aid of the United States of America. In 2015, president Morsi was sentenced to death for treason and in 2016, he was condemned to live. In August 2016, all his goods have been frozen and latter seized. It was not inconceivable for the white house that Egypt could become hostile to the interest of the United States of America. After all, Egypt takes the lion's share of the foreign aid of the United State. Thus, the Egyptian revolution changes nothing as the old regime institution and bureaucracy remain the same (Demant and Finguerut 14).

Hamid argued that the United States of America influences the political landscape of Egypt after the Arab spring. The Obama administration backed the Egyptian SCAF during the transitional phase of 2011 and after the overthrow of President Morsi in 2013. In fact, the White House confirmed that the Egyptian army will simplify the process of democratization and assure the protection of the interests of the United States of America. Similarly, the United States of America cut their aid during the era of president Morsi. After the coup d'état, Washington hurried up to release the foreign aid toward the Egyptian army which assure the 1979 peace agreement with Israel. The United State of America enjoys also the success of the coup as the Secretary of State John Kerry confirmed that the military was "in effect ...

restoring democracy” and prevent a civil war. Nothing has being said about the assassination in mass of Morsi supporters. Thus the foreign policy of Obama knows as “leading from behind” was useful in Egypt (6-7).

The interests of the United States of America were threatening under the presidency of Morsi. The Muslim Brotherhood was known to be a terrorist organization and President Morsi did not bring the United States of America in his heart though he study and spend some of his lifetime in the United States of America with his wife. Indeed, the Islamic leader who studies genie civil viewed that the events of 9 September 2001 was nothing more than a masquerade. He affirms that: “When you come and tell me that the plane hit the tower like a knife in butter,” “then you are insulting us. How did the plane cut through the steel like this? Something must have happened from the inside. It’s impossible.” He also appeals Zionists “descendants of apes and pigs.” When he became president, he cut the Egyptian gas destined to Israel with the claim that Israel profit of an illegal Egyptian gas during the reign of President Mubarak. He also supported Hamas which is viewed as a terrorist organization by Washington. Moreover, the Muslim Brotherhood had never acknowledged the existence of the Israel state and they will destroy it if they have the chance to do so. After have being removed to power, many allies of the United States of America in the region was take great delight in promising \$12 billion to the newly Egyptian government namely Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Kuwait (Hamid 8-9)

In the mid of 2014, General Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi took power after gaining the presidential election despite some objection. The new Egyptian president considers the United States of America as a natural partner. In fact, the General Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi had forbidden forever the Muslim Brotherhood in the political participation of Egypt. The United States of America continued the profiteer of the Suez Canal and Egypt remains among the closest ally of Israel in the Middle East. The new government assists Israel in order to reinforce its

security in the Gaza Strip. The peace agreement signed by Anwar al Sadat and Menachem Begin continued to be honored by the new Egyptian government. In this respect, the Egyptian president General Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi continued to enjoy nearly \$2 billion of annual aid for his support of the Jewish state. Hence, the United States succeed to manage the political landscape of Egypt. However, the case of Bahrain is somewhat different as the country represents the center of US interests in the Persian Gulf (The Choices Program 37).

3.2. The Foreign Policy of the United States to Preserve its Interest in Bahrain

3.2.1. The United States in Bahrain

The African American President was totally quiet when the uprising started to shake the small petromonachy of Bahrain. The kingdom represents the heart of the interests of the United States of America in the Persian Gulf and in the entire Middle East in general. Unlike the Egyptian case where the army can protect the interest of Washington, the United States of America did not have a similar alternative in Bahrain. The monarchy hold the US Navy's Fifth Fleet and the royal family has always collaborate with US officials for the access and security of the gulf petroleum in the region. If the United States of America ceases its support to the kingdom of Bahrain, extremists may takeover and threat its interests in the region (Pinto117).

Luk affirmed that the elected members of congress ignored deliberately the trouble that shake Bahrain since early 2001. The congress of the United States of America never expresses the need to throw out the King Hamad bin al-Khalifa. In fact, the majority of the congress did not give too much consideration to the Bahraini unrest despite the huge quell of the Bahraini authority. The elected members of congress carry on backing up the al-Khalifa regime and refused to take the necessary penalties to the Bahraini royal family. In this way, President Barrack Obama did not find any domestic difficulty that will push him to stop the support

provided to the Bahraini royal family. In 2012, the Secretary of Defense Robert Gates travel to Bahrain in order to reassure the monarchy about the continuation of the support of the United States of America to the Al-Khalifa regime. Likewise, the Secretary of State Hilary Clinton recognizes publicly the legitimacy of the royal family of Bahrain (63-64).

Moreover, the sectarian divide among Shia and Sunnite permit the United States to support the royal family of Bahrain. The majority of the populations in the kingdom are Shia which is ruled by the Sunnite minority. In fact, the United States of America and the kingdom of Saudi Arabia are the closest allies of Bahrain. Yet, the kingdom of Saudi Arabian is engaged in a cold war with Iran since many years in the region and the United States of America viewed Iran as hostile to US interests. The overthrow of the kingdom of Bahrain will probably bring Shia in power and promote the influence of Iran in the region of the Middle East. In this way, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United States of America will lost their prestigious ally in favor of Iran. Though there is a lack of information about the potential involvement of the Iran government to the Bahrain opposition, the united states of American are inclined to follow the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in order to avoid unnecessary risk (Katz 3).

3.2.2. The GCC States and Saudi Arabia in Bahrain

The increased situation of Bahrain force the GCC states to react. In March 2011, the UAE and Saudi Arabia army cross the border to crackdown the Bahrain revolt while the United States of American pressed for political reform. In fact, the operation was simplified by the secret cooperation conducted by the old Prime Minister Khalifa bin Salman Khalifa. After many secret meetings between the United States of America and Saudi Arabia, both countries agree on the importance of not allowed the reduction of the power of King Hamad bin al-Khalifa. The political reform proposed by the Obama administration would lead to a

strong constitutional monarchy and increase the political position of the successor Prince Salman bin Hamad al-Khalifa. It also promote the right of the greater number of Shia people living in Bahrain (Pomeps 44).

The GCC states intervention in the kingdom of Bahrain was justified by the call of the king Hamad bin al-Khalifa. The most important benefit and advantage of the GCC states is the assurance of security and protection from Iran threat or attack among its members. This was the bases that lead the funding principle of the creation of the GCC organization. As the majority of the population of Bahrain is Shia, the GCC state profit to argue that Iran was trying to overthrow the Bahrain monarchy. The demonstrator was largely Shia and the most protest focus principally in the biggest area predominates by Shia population. In this regard, the GCC state considers itself as it has the duty to counter the Iranian involvement in Bahrain. This gave a plausible reason to the intervention of the GCC organization in Bahrain (Hanson 45).

The GCC intervention in Bahrain was decisive to the restoration of order in the whole territory. Despite the argument that the presence of the GCC forces in Bahrain was a necessity to protect the kingdom from outside threats, the GCC intervention play a key role in the suppression of the Bahrain uprising. Indeed, The GCC force was controlling important governmental zones that allowed the Bahrain army to be free and able to crush the uprising easily. It gave the Bahrain army the possibility to provide more materials and troops to disperse the uprising in Pearl Roundabout and allow the royal family to regain the capital. This reality was denied by General Mutlaq Bin Salem al-Azima who explained that the presence of the GCC force in Bahrain was not caused by domestic reason but by a potential foreign menace. In his interview, the commander of the Peninsula Shield Force Major General Mutlaq Bin Salem al-Azima certified that their intervention was motivated to secure the Bahraini border. Unlike Bahrain where the salient of Washington was useful to the interests of

United States. In Syria, the silent of Washington was done in order to avoid unnecessary problem. (Hanson 46-47).

3.3. US Involvement in Syria.

3.3.1. The United States in Syria

The uprising of Syrian presents a complex opportunity to the multiple interests of the United States of America. The call of the Syrian population to the end of the authoritarian rule of President Bashar Assad is a real chance to get rid of the Ba'athist government which is unfriendly to the multiple interests of United States of America. However, the 44th President of the United States of America finds little difficult to support the popular uprising in Syrian and to impose economic and diplomatic sanctions to the Ba'athist government. Syrian was a key player in the process of peace in the Middle East. In the past, Washington claims that they cannot negotiate peace in the Middle East without the involvement of Syrian in the table. Moreover, the implications of many Islamist extremist groups in the Syrian conflict complicate the respond of the United States of America. Though the 44th President of the United States of America was aware that the Ba'athist government has lost his legitimacy, a major preoccupation about the substitution of the Syrian government occur. All of these sustain the unwillingness of the United States of America to take a radical position to the Syrian conflict and to send troops in the ground (Lilli 23).

Chikh-Ali claims that the importance of the Syria regime in the Middle East complicates the respond of the United States of America. The Syria regime present a various function to the key partners as well as the main opponent of Washington and many governments of the United States of America succeed to isolate Syria from the rest of the world. Indeed, Syria is beneficial in matter of security to Turkey because the Syria regime has keeping their broad Kurdish people. The Syria regime is a key partner to Iran in the Middle

East. This allows Washington to enter in dialogue with Iran through Syria. Syria represents also a strategic separating area for the influenced of the Shia of Iran to Riyadh and the GCC states. Finally, Syria has a crucial function to Israel because the country assures a political opposition of equal forces to the Middle East. Moreover, Syria did not harm openly at any time in the past the interest of the United States of America as Iran did and Syria is not a terrorist country but simply back it. In this way, Washington succeeds to solve the Syria problem by isolate it since the presidency of Hafez Assad. The United States of America weaken the Syria regime by arranged the Egypt -Israel Peace Treaty of 1979 without including the Syria regime. Since, undermine the peace process in the Middle East became the new objective of Damascus. However, Washington succeeds to reduce the development of the Syria army and weaken their economy as well. Similarly, UAE and Qatar emerged as powerful economic countries which counter Syria in the Middle East and the Golan Heights was save from Syria invasion. Washington could preserve a national security while assured cheaper petroleum from his important allies such as Saudi Arabia (26-27).

Further, the United States of America is worried to the alternative that can replace the Ba'athist government. The removal of the current regime may lead the Muslim Brotherhood or others Islamist extremist groups to power. In fact, the Syrian people are constituted of a collection of various kinds of sects and ethnicities which is not strong enough to counter the Muslim Brotherhood or others Islamist extremist groups from power. The absence of a believable liberal tendency will push the Muslim Brotherhood in the Syria political arena though the degrees of the compassion of Syrian people to the organization remain unknown. In contrast to Egypt where the army took power after the departure of President Mubarak, the United States of America did not have the Syria army in their side and the later remain very loyal to the Ba'athist government. The Muslim Brotherhood can take power by creating disorder and confusion to the various groups that constitute Syria. This scenario could threat

the security of the Israel states and jeopardize key allies of the United States of America such as Turkey (Chikh-Ali 28).

Despite the atrocities committed by the Syria President, the Obama's administration was not yet ready to intervene directly in the Syria conflict. This can be understood by the involvement of many international actors such as Russia, Iran and Hizbullah. Indeed, the crackdowns of the peaceful demonstrators by the regime of Bashar Assad animate a movement of rebellion in the end of 2011. In the beginning of 2012, the majorities of the urban area fall in the opposition forces except Damascus. The regime has answered by sectarian slaughters. The Special Forces of Bashar Assad was launched for the objective of slaying all the movements of the opposition which he views as terrorists. This trigger the opposition forces to slay a huge number of people that belong to the Alawites sect. the ongoing bloody civil war was already began in Syria. In this moment, the world discovers the loyalty of the Syria allies. As the regime started to lose the control of the country, the allies of Damascus intervene to rescue the regime. Russia in particular has a long-standing strategic relationship with Syria, which hosts Moscow's only Mediterranean naval base. This allows Moscow to provide many weapons to the Syria regime and they vetoed with China many resolutions in the UN Security Council that are linked to the Syria conflict. They also led an enormous campaign of bombing against the Syria rebel. The government of Teheran supplies its ally by sending many specialists in Damascus. The Hezbollah also sent many soldiers for the goal of helping the Syria regime to regain the control of the country (Demant and Finguerut 15- 16).

The Obama's administration did not have a crucial interest in Syria. This is why they profit the strong opposition of Russia in the international realm to justify their reluctance to intervene militarily in Syria. The United States of America did not accept to provide the FSA a great numbers of weapons assistances and they show a poor diplomatic support to the

opposition insurgency. The Obama's administration felt that they are not responsible of the current Syrian conflict and they did not possess the necessary ability to resolve it. They rely on the restriction of the internal conflict as well as the chance to decide the result of the conflict. Hence, Syria did not have any real benefits to Washington. This is why the Obama's administration did not intervene directly in the conflict (Demant and Finguerut 17).

The interventions of the Obama's administration in Syria remain historically the inexpensive War that the United States of America has supported along of its history. The Obama's administration has come out strongly against the regime of Bashar Assad only in rhetoric. In spite of the fact that Russia and China vetoed military action in Syria in the UN, the United States of America provide little efforts to equip and train cooperative Syrian opposition forces is only slowly taking shape and it will need many years to bring the opposition forces to match with the Damascus forces. It is the Islamist extremist groups who succeed to engage a real fight with the Assad regime while moderate opposition remains weak and poorly supported by the West. The United States of America has only supported the decision of the Arab League to suspend Syria from the organization and welcomed the sanctions taking against Damascus. The US and the European Union increase also the sanctions against the Syria regime. Washington supported also the Israel campaign of bombing Syria in order to prevent Hezbollah from acquire arms. However, Washington affirmed that the use of chemical weapons by the regime of Bashar Assad would be crossing a red line and would entail US military action. This was proven to be meaningless and weaken the serious engagement of Washington in the Syria conflict as the confirmation that Damascus use chemical weapon was publicly known on August 2013. In January 2014, the discussion between Washington and Moscow to find a peaceful solution on the Syria crises end up without a serious resolution. Nevertheless, the entire Syria chemical weapon was destroyed according to Washington source (The Choices Program 38).

The country of Uncle Sam is reluctant of supporting troops in the ground in Syria than they did in Libya. A direct confrontation between US troops with the Syria army will bring various problems to the government of President Obama. In fact, the US public opinion is not willing to see their country in a war in the Middle East. This was activated by the result of the expensive war of Iraq and Afghanistan. Further, an open war between the troops of the United States of American with the Syria army will be more deadly to the United States of America. The Syria army is more powerful, organized and the air defense apparatus is more sophisticated. Thus, the United States of America did not wish to be engaged in another expensive war in the Middle East and the administration of Obama try also to avoid the loose of US soldiers in a conflict without significant interests. However, its allies remain seriously involved in the Syria conflict (*Aftandilian United States Policy towards the Arab Spring 24*).

3.3.2. The GCC States and Saudi Arabia in Syria

Piotrowski certified that the government of Iran and Syrian constructed a strong relationship along the years. The strategic alliance between the two governments was destined to surmount the split that rise in the Middle East especially the sectarian one. The President of Syrian Hafez al-Assad accepts rapidly the legitimacy of the Iranian government after the revolution of 1979. Teheran also had acknowledged the Alawis as one of the most important element of Shiism. In 1982, both countries signed the base of their alliance in the military and economic field. In 2004, they signed a pact on strategic cooperation and an agreement on military assistance in 2006. Iran and Syrian also support Hezbollah and Hamas in order to resist the United States of American. Syrian and Iran are the main actors who supported Shiism in the middles east. With the help of Iran, Syria still involved in the Lebanese internal affair though they remove their army in Leban in 2005. The government of Syria also recruit volunteer to fight the United States of American in Iraq which is also welcomed by Iran (1-2).

However, The GCC states have always supported Sunnite Islam regime to the detriment of Shiite regime and Syria does not make any difference. This push the petromonarchies countries of the gulf, especially Riyadh to supports strongly the Syrian opposition in the actual civil war. In fact, Saudi Arabia sees itself as a defender of Sunnite Islam over the world. The town of Mecca and Medina are considered as the cradle of Islam. These push Riyadh to draw a foreign policy that supports the Sunnite Islam regime as the case of Bahrain. The GCC states opt for military action in order to save the royal family of Bahrain. They blame the Bahraini demonstrator to be the result of the economical inconvenient of the Shia majority and influenced in somewhat by Iran. They also consider the Bahraini demonstrator to be responsible for trying to safeguard the interests of Iran. The GCC states have formulate the opposite or the contrary arguments in the Syria case as the Syrian regime is controlled by the Shia minority. They condemned the Ba'athist party of trying to crackdown a pro democratic Sunnite insurgency. As the opposite case of Bahrain, the GCC states have criticized the use of massacre by Damascus and they back up the Syrian uprising with the hope to switch Syrian relationship from Iran (Colombo 12).

The inconvenient of supporting blindly the Syria opposition by the United States of American, especially Saudi Arabia and the GCC states give rise to the dangerous terrorist groups. The funding provided by Saudi Arabia and the GCC states to the Syrian insurgency contribute to create three affiliation groups of al-Qaeda that operates mainly in Syria namely The Nusra Front, the Islamic Front, and ISIS. In fact, the desire to get rid of the Assad regime by Riyadh and the GCC states push them to encourage some Islamist extremist groups who come now to threat not only the Arabic countries but also the Western state as well. Many people over the world were volunteers to join the opposition insurgency. Although they regain many important territories especially in the Northeast Syria, they create a dreadful authority that is worse than the Ba'athist authority or the Iran government. Their authorities deny the

majorities of the inner principles defended by western nations. There are not real consensuses about how to consider those foreign fighters when they return home. Many of them are already revolted against their own nation when they come back at home and plot serious terrorist attack against their own nation around the year of 2016 and 2017. Washington started to evaluate many Syrian opposition clans and considers many radical Islamist as a potential menace to the United States of America. Many Western nations apologize and recognized also some offense as well as many crimes which they made against the Assad regime. Damascus and Washington are nowadays fighting some extremist including ISIS. However, the Yemeni case is too different to Syria as the united states was already involved in Yemen before the Arab spring (Demant and Finguerut 17).

3.4. US Foreign Policy in Yemen.

3.4.1. The United States in Yemen

The fights against terrorism push the United States of America to be highly interested in Yemen after many years of inattention. After many investigations, the United State of America discovers that the terrorist Anwar Al-Awlaki had a strong relationship with Major Nidal Hassan. The former was responsible for the assassination of 13 persons at the Fort Hood military base in Texas. Major Nidal Hassan was also linked to Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab who recognizes his culpability of trying to hijack plane and attack Detroit on Christmas Day 2009. These events make Yemen as a new threat to the national security of the United States of America. Since, Washington increases the foreign aid on the army forces in Yemen that eventually pass to \$5 million in 2006 to \$150 million in 2010. Nevertheless, president Saleh had deviate too much the aid to counter the Houthi insurgency in the north and to defeat the southern inspiration for independence. Thus, the fight against AQAP has been to certain extend neglected by the Saleh regime (Berger et al 5).

The United States of America has obliged to spend a plenty of energies, technical expertise and aid in Yemen. The Obama's administrations are engaged in a policy aimed to eradicate AQAP in Yemen. Indeed, the governments of the United States of America struggle to build a strong connection with the government of Sana along the years. The sudden uprising in Yemen was perceived by Washington as dangerous because it could put an abrupt end on the collaboration between Washington and Sana. In this way, the whole systems for counterterrorism and their respective institutions could be damaged. Similarly, the revolution could be able to destroy the association and relationship between these two countries as well as the inner principles that constructs it. The whole process of gathering relevant information on the fight against terror could be demolished too. In this kind of circumstances, the Obama administration was left without many choices in Yemen. They press strongly for governmental reform while they persisted on the importance of keeping some members of Saleh relative in power. The security systems such as the Special Forces or the Presidential Guard are totally remaining on the hands of Saleh lineage (al-Ahsab 15-16).

The foreign policy of the Obama' administration in Yemen is often concentrated to the unification of the whole country that is crucial for the blockade of international terrorism. The Obama's administration provides many endeavor to bring peace in Yemen. This will make a good environment for counter terrorism that threat western and Riyadh interests. The United States of America continued to promote unity in Yemen. They are also engaged to the policy of transferring some power from the central government to regional and local governments. The country of Uncle Sam backed up a National Dialogue Conference for the goal of encouraging political reform in the years of 2013 to 2014. The meetings focus on important subjects including federalism, division of resources and the reorganization of the military. In 2014, the White House affirmed that:

We call on all parties, to participate peacefully in Yemen's transition process, which offers a historic opportunity to build an inclusive system of governance that ensures a stable and prosperous future for all Yemenis. The United States remains firmly committed to supporting President Hadi and all Yemenis in this endeavor and to our enduring partnership with the Yemeni government to counter the shared threat from al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula.

However, the unification of Yemen will remain problematic as Yemen was never fully unified in the last decades even before the Arab Spring protests arrived in Yemen, Saleh's authority did not extend much beyond the major urban areas, making Yemen an essentially failed state. Moreover, the Houthi insurgency and the southern secessionists argued that the transition process is not benefiting to them and therefore rejected it. The White House appeal the insurgent of the opposition to "cease efforts to take territory by force," to render "all medium and heavy weapons to the State," and to stop all the combats (Sharp 24).

The Obama's administration had considered two important strategies in Yemen. The United States of America provides some endeavor to prevent the ancient regime from coming back in the political arena and to counter the new Sectarian conflict that rise in Yemen. In fact, the association formed between the ancient President Saleh and the Houthi insurgent play a prominent role to the weakening of the Hadi's government and precipitate his departure to Saudi Arabia. Although the ancient President Saleh stays a crucial element in the political arena of Yemen, any political reform in Yemen will probably fail unless the old regime is totally eradicated. Furthermore, the recent sectarian struggle between Riyadh and Teheran provide an advantage to AQAP. It will be very hard if not impossible to fight terrorism in a country where anarchy became a permanent situation. The United States of America should work to form a coalition government that bring all the different opposition in

the decision making process. This will sustain the peace in Yemen and the war on terror could be conducted effectively (Aftandilian, *U.S. Policy toward Arab Transition Countries* 10-11).

The Arab spring in Yemen did harm neither the United States of America, nor its strongest allies in 2011. The departure of President Ali Abdallah Saleh did not have any important effect in the international real as the United States press Saleh to transfer the presidential power to his vice president Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi in February 2012. In fact, the new President of Yemen Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi continued the same domestic and foreign policy set up by the ancient President Ali Abdallah Saleh. The new President of Yemen Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi perceives the United States of America and Saudi Arabia as a natural partner. He considers the same political enemies at home of the former President Ali Abdallah Saleh as his enemies too. After he took the power, the new President continued the fight against the Houthi Shi'ites insurgent in the north and maintain that Iran is the main actor who back up the Houthi insurgency. In this way, the United States of America and its closest allies continue to back up the government of Sana. Likewise, President Hadi accused the southern movement for independence as originated from the terrorist organization known as AQAP though there is no evidence about the possible relationship between the restive southern secessionists and the AQAP. The fact that the AQAP operate in the south had permitted the allegation of President Hadi and allows the support of Washington and Riyadh. Thus, the government of President Hadi associates the main enemies of Yemen as unfriendly to the interests of the United States of America and its closest allies. This permits the United States and especially Saudi Arabia to carry on their back up to the new Yemeni President (Katz 2).

3.4.2. The GCC States and Saudi Arabia in Yemen

Saudi Arabia is highly concerned with the political stability of Yemen. The latter share the same boundaries with the former. Since, the House of Saud is devoted to the harmony of the different society that constitutes Yemen. In fact, the southern side of Saudi Arabia is without adequate protection and Yemen play a key role as a defensive wall against multinational as well as the surrounding regional people who may threaten its security. Furthermore, a peace in Yemen would eventually facilitate the functioning of the port of Aden which is a crucial passageway for the petroleum of Saudi Arabia to transit toward the world market. In this manner, Saudi Arabia would be free from the constant menace of the destruction of the Strait of Hormuz by Iran (Berger et al 2).

The GCC states have a strong interest in the control of the political landscape of Yemen. The GCC states, especially Riyadh spend a lot of energy in order to fight terrorism in Yemen. In fact, the most dangerous terrorist organization namely Al Qaeda operates in Yemen. This country provides a main shelter to the most deadly terrorist affiliation of Al Qaeda known as AQAP. As a consequence, the GCC states have developed a strong relationship toward the government of Yemen and provide no support to the Houthi insurgent that started since 2004. In this manner, the government of Yemen combating terrorism in their country as an act of sympathy to the support of the GCC states on the Yemen government. However, when the Arab spring break out in Yemen, President Saleh fight to keep his power intact but the uprising was strong and the GCC states viewed President Saleh responsible for the chaos. Similarly, the GCC states consider the effort of President Saleh to fight against terrorism as ineffectiveness. President Saleh use some budget reserved to the combat against terrorism to fight the Houthi insurgent and to cut the trouble that emerge in the south. Hence, the GCC states chose to throw out President Saleh from power and attempt to supervise the political event of Yemen. Washington and Riyadh have also in involved in Yemen for many years (Colombo 9).

3.4.3. The United States and Saudi Arabia in Yemen.

Unlike the other Arab spring, Yemen presents a special case to the United States of America and Saudi Arabia. The demonstrator who claims the ouster of the corrupted regime of President Saleh received little support in the international community. Indeed, Washington and Riyadh push pressure in Yemen for the purpose of influencing the political outcome and little has been done to condemn the violence used by the Saleh regime. The situation in Yemen forced Washington and Riyadh to support political reform but the two superpowers were in favor of the system set up by the Saleh regime. They present the revolution in Yemen as a simple internal crisis and their implication in Yemen was conducted for the purpose of keeping the same ruling elite in power as well as the same political system (al-Ahsab13).

Moreover, al-Ahsab claims that Washington and Riyadh are the biggest mediators of Yemen in the international arena as well as in the regional one. The two superpowers are the grandest political donors in Yemen. This allows them to have the capacity of influencing the politics of Yemen. There is a demographic explosion in Yemen which is accompanied with lower natural resources. The economy is not strong and the country depends heavily on the two superpowers for its survival. The two superpowers are formally invested on many vital projects in Yemen and they provide an enormous aid which is destined for the public treasury shortfall. Moreover, the shortage of a perfect connection and unity in the country make it vulnerable and open the door in an informal way to the interference of those great powers. The population of Yemen is composed of many different tribes which disrupt the country to have a strong national identity and allow those great powers to interfere easily in the internal political affairs of Yemen. As an illustration, the House of Saud provides three billion of dollars to important Yemeni figures including the sheikhs (14).

3.4.4. The Failure of the Yemeni Transitional Plan

The GCC plan fails to assure a permanent peace in Yemen. The plan proposed by Washington and backed by the GCC states was supposed to bring a political reform that would satisfy the major political figures of Yemen but the violence witnessed in 2015 show the defects of the GCC plan. In fact, the GCC plan solves some important political issue of Yemen. Firstly, the plan had pushed President Salih to step down and allow the only candidate in the ballot box, namely the vice president Hadi to be voted. Secondly, the plan suggested the creation of a political alliance between the ancient ruling party and allied opposition parties to rule the country. This association unit the party known as General People's Congress and the Joint Meeting Parties which is influenced by Congregation for reform. Thirdly, the plan proposed a National Dialogue Conference in order to write a nouveau constitution. Nevertheless, the GCC plan contains many majors defect. As fist point, the former President Salih could remain in Yemen and be the leader of the General People's Congress with immunity from prosecution. As second point, little has been done to end the patronage networks in the military field. This allows the military commanders to continue their allegiance to the former President Salih. As third point, the political alliance constructed to rule the country did not include the Huthis and the Movement of the South. As fourth point, international donors did not respect their engagement and they provide little aid than they should do (Brehony 3).

Figure 1: Yemen's Political Transition



Source: Sharp, Jeremy M. *Yemen: Background and U.S. Relations*. Congressional Research Service. 2015. WEB. 15 May. 2017.

According to this Figure, Yemen was supposed to follow a perfect transitional plan proposed by the United States of America and submitted by the GCC states in Yemen. As affirmed by sharp, the Yemenite political figures did not succeed to address all the crucial issue that was supposed to be reached in the beginning of 2014. In fact, the former President has finally accepted the GCC plan in November 2011. In 2012, his Vice President was voted as the new President of Yemen after the former President remains in power almost three month as agreed by the GCC states plan. In 2013, the national dialogue started as it was planned. However, in the first month of 2014, the National Dialogue Conference ended without a concrete accord between the various parties. The main figures of the north and those of the south fail to agree on the implementation of the federal system that should regulate the political structure of Yemen. The different meetings became strained as many issues such as the question of how the government should be run in an equal way became a problem. The south also supported the split of the country in two parts because they think that it will end the unfair influence of the north on the government and protect their petroleum while the others groups supported the split of the country in six different administrative unit. The national

meeting ended with the continuation of president Hadi until 2015 with a special council that have as mission of settling those differences. As it was mentioned by the Special Adviser of the UN Jamal Benomar that “The old regime is still very deep and some elements feel that they have been induced to give up a lot....They have a lot of resources and believe they can turn back the clock. The gains achieved in this transition could easily evaporate.” In 2015, the country falls in a bloody civil war (32-33).

The fail of the plan submitted by the GCC states conduct the country toward a bloody civil war. This entail the United States of America and it closest allies to sustain Saudi Arabia in leading the coalition forces in the actual conflict of Yemen. In fact, the Huthis insurgency forces succeed to capture Sana’a in 2014 and oblige President Hadi to step down in January 2015 before placing him in custody. Then, President Hadi succeeded to escape and annuls his resignation as well as all the new action taking by the Huthis government before to find shelter in Saudi Arabia. This permit Riyadh in March 2015 to lead the alliance forces against the insurgency while Washington, London and Paris supply Riyadh with logistic and strategic military information. The GCC states also help Riyadh with many soldiers and military planes except Oman. Egypt has also provided assistance to Riyadh as well. Although the UN Security Council Resolution 2216 did not support the strike of the coalition, they forceful request the retreat of the insurgency to all the territory it has taken including Sana’a and to render all its arms as well as an immediate recognition of the government of Hadi. Meanwhile, the collaboration between the Huthis and the Saleh rebels became more strengthen and both militias launch an enormous campaign to conquer all the territory of Yemen including the south. In this way, the strong man of Yemen, Saleh, prove that his is indispensable to the political arena of Yemen. Thus, any political dialogues will probably need to include the strong man of Yemen as well as the Houthis who emerge as an important force in the politic of Yemen (Brehony 3-4).

Thus, the foreign policy of the United States after the Arab spring was directed to rescue their interests. In Egypt and Bahrain, the White House controlled the political outcome of the uprising. Although, they lost their ally, the new governments of Egypt consider Washington as a natural ally too. Similarly, the demonstration of Bahrain fails to overthrow the royal family though the kingdom undertakes significant reform that was claimed by the demonstration. Moreover, the United States and Saudi Arabia remain implicated in Syrian and Yemen. Syria remains too weak due to the civil War and the Assad regime could no longer jeopardize the interest of Washington. In Yemen the United States prove to be highly involved in the political realm.

Conclusion

The foreign policy of the United States of America in the Middle East has never being constant. Since the end of the Second World War, the region of the Middle East came to be considered as very crucial to the United States of America. In fact, the cold world war pushes the country of Uncle Sam to be involved in the Middle East in order to counter the communist ideology supported by the Soviet Union. This led the preoccupation of the capitalism system as the highest priority of Washington to the Middle East. After the fail of the Soviet Union, the United States of America emerged as the single superpower over the world. In this era, the promotion of democracy became important to the US foreign policy in the Middle East. Since the presidency of George Bush, the United States of America has always place the advancement of democracy as its principal foreign policy in the region. However, the promotion of democracy in the region has always being in somewhat neglected to the White House due to the others crucial interests of the united states of America in the Middle East. Those crucial interests allow the White House to support many dictatorial regimes to the detriment of political and economical reform in the region.

Before the Arab uprising in 2011, the United States of America has considered some basic interests in the Middle East. Its foreign policy in the Middle East is constructed to defend many important interests including, the support of the Israel states, working to ensure Western access to Gulf oil, securing the states of the Persian Gulf, counter the influence of Iran and fight against terror since 2001. Indeed, the United States of America has always protected and supported the Jewish state since its creation. The security of the Israel state will remain among the top priority of the United States agenda. The White House is also motivated to counter the influence of Iran who is hostile to the multiple interests of the United States. Moreover, the foreign policy of Washington is emphasis on the permanent flow of the Middle East oil which is vital to the worldwide economical market equilibrium. The United

States also came to replace the United Kingdom as the main security patron of the Persian Gulf states in the 1960s and 1970s. The United States foreign policy add the war against terrorism since the 9/11 attacks of 2001. However, the effort leads to defeat terrorism remain vain over the world as many groups emerge and number of terrorist attack increase dramatically in the last years despite the failure of those extremist to commit terrorist attack in the soil of the United States.

The Arab spring start in Tunisian before to spread in the entire Middle East. Country such as Egypt, Bahrain, Syria and Yemen were touched by the Arab spring in 2011. Lack of equal opportunity, dignity, democracy and social justice push the MENA population in the street to protest for better life. However, the violence used by the regimes precipitate its downfall while others countries such as Syria and Yemen fall in a bloody civil war. The army forces play a crucial role in the Arab spring. The Egyptian tyrant Hosni Mubarak was forced to step down after the army refused to use more violence and support the revolution. The strong allegiance of the Bahrain army with the help of the GCC states allow the royal family to remain in power while the loyalty of the Syria army contribute to bring the country in a absolute chaos. The split of the Yemeni army, the ruling elites and tribal rivalries bring Yemen to a bloody civil war. Moreover, massive human rights abuse was common during the Arab spring. Arbitrary arrest, systematic killings of protesters and military trials without adequate legal defense as well as a no respect of international standards of a fair trial were common in Arab spring period. Further, torture, violation of women right and the use of heaven weapon on peaceful demonstration were also recorded by many human right organizations.

Although the United States of America did not take any crucial part in the activation of the Arab spring, they succeed to influence its trajectory in order to suite its interests in the region. In Egypt, the Obama's administration was obliged to abandon its ally. However, they

support the SCAF who led the transition and General Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi who is loyal to the United States. Further, the old regime of Mubarak was never fully dismantled. Similarly, the royal family remains in power in Bahrain and the reform proposed by Washington in Bahrain strengthens the position of the prince on the throne. The United States welcomed the actions of the GCC states and Saudi Arabia in order to save its strongest ally in Gulf. Likewise, the United States has nothing to lose in Syria. The Obama' administration has poorly supported the opposition and avoids an insignificant costly war. In Yemen, the United States is not directly involved in the conflict but they provide a strategic support to the coalition forces led by Riyadh while bombing terrorist bases. The possible return of Saleh will not harm the fight against Al Qaida. The former president was an important ally to Washington and he always believe that the interest of Washington go hand to hand with Yemeni interest.

To conclude, the interests of the United States in the Middle East were not touched after the Arab spring. The new Egypt government remains loyal to the interests of Washington, the demonstrations of Bahrain fail to jeopardize the interest of the United States and the White House will not be the loser of the civil war of Syria and Yemen. In fact, General Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi continued the same foreign policy as President Mubarak and the peace process between Israel and Egypt continue to flourish. In Bahrain, the regime survives to the Arab uprising due to the United States and Saudi Arabia and the interest of the United States remain intact as Egypt. The United States provide little resources and energy in Syria because the country is not crucial to the interest of the United States. This is why the United States closes their eyes of what happen today in Syria. Although the war on terrors is weaken in general by the rise of some Islamist extremist groups over the world, those terrorist fail to plot in serious strike in the United States especial Syria extremist. Similarly, the interest of the United States is preserved in Yemen. The United States provides considerable resources in Yemen and international actors such as Russian are not attracted in Yemen as in Syria. As a

result, the United States will be the only mediator in Yemen. This will allow them to support a regime that is not hostile to US interest. Hence, the Arab spring that start in 2011 did not harm the interests of the United States in the entire Middle East.

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