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**MANİSA CELAL BAYAR UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF EDUCATION DEPARTMENT**



**MASTER OF ARTS THESIS DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**The American Strategy towards the Middle East during the
Arab Spring Revolutions.**

Izzeddin Al-Masri

SUPERVISOR

ASSOC. PROF. DR. BUĞRA ÖZER

MANİSA, 2024

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Bu tezin Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsü Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Ana Bilim Dalında akademik ve etik kurallara uygun olarak yazıldığını ve kullanılan tüm literatür bilgilerinin referans gösterilerek tezde yer aldığını, tamamen kendi çalışmam olduğunu, her alıntıya kaynak gösterdiğimi, tezin yazımında akademik ve etik kurallara aykırı herhangi bir yapay zeka ve program kullanmadığımı beyan ederim.

Izzeddin Al-Masri



ÖZ

Arap Baharı Devrimleri sırasında Amerika'nın Ortadoğu Stratejisi

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

Izzeddin Al-Masri

**Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsü, Siyaset
Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı**

Danışman: Doç. Dr. Buğra ÖZER

Amerikan dış politikası, Arap Baharı'na yönelik olarak siyasi, sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik değişimlerden etkilenmiştir. Arap Baharı'nın yaşandığı ülkelerin incelenmesi bu bağlamda büyük önem taşımaktadır. Amerikan dış politikasının ve genel olarak dış politikanın etkisi, 2011'den itibaren Arap ülkelerinin stratejik ve ekonomik öneminden kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu araştırma, Arap ülkelerinin Amerikan politikası üzerindeki önemini ve Mısır ile Libya'daki siyasi ve sosyal durumu ortaya koymayı, bu iki ülkede gerçekleşen devrimlerin nedenlerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Bu çalışmada tarihsel ve betimleyici yöntemler, vaka çalışması ve karşılaştırmalı yöntem kullanılmıştır. Araştırma, Arap Baharı devrimlerini farklı açılardan ele almaktadır.

Yeni hükümetlerin halkı, Amerikan politikasıyla başa çıkma yeteneğine sahip değildi. Amerikan politikası ile uygulamaya çalıştıkları gerçek politika arasında büyük bir fark vardı. İslami hareketler, Arap Baharı'nın başarısında önemli bir etkiye sahip olmuştur. Araştırma, Amerikan dış politikasının, İslami devrimin ilke ve etiklerine aykırı olduğunu belirtmektedir. Bu nedenle, araştırma Arap hükümetlerine adalet ve eşitlik ilkelerine dayalı kurallar koymalarını tavsiye etmektedir.

6 Eylül 2024

ABSTRACT

The American Strategy towards the Middle East during the Arab Spring Revolutions

Master of Arts Thesis

Izzeddin Al-Masri

Manisa Celal Bayar University Graduate School of Education Department of
Political Science

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Buğra ÖZER

American foreign policy has been affected by political, social, cultural and economic changes in response to the Arab Spring. Analyzing the countries where the Arab Spring took place is of great importance in this context. The influence of American foreign policy and foreign policy in general is due to the strategic and economic importance of Arab countries since 2011. This research aims to reveal the importance of Arab countries on American policy and the political and social situation in Egypt and Libya, and to examine the causes of the revolutions in these two countries.

This research utilizes historical and descriptive methods, case study and comparative methods. The research examines the Arab Spring revolutions from different perspectives.

The people of the new governments were not capable of dealing with American policy. There was a big difference between American policy and the actual policy they were trying to implement. Islamic movements had a significant impact on the success of the Arab Spring. The research states that American foreign policy was contrary to the principles and ethics of the Islamic revolution. Therefore, the study recommends Arab governments establish rules based on the principles of justice and equality.

September 6th, 2024

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Chapter I-Introduction

1.1. Background and Definition of the Problem and Purpose and the Scope of the Study

American foreign policy toward the Arab Spring revolutions was heavily influenced by the profound political, social, cultural, and economic changes these countries were experiencing. The sudden revolutionary changes exposed vulnerabilities in the United States' ability to adapt to these changes, especially given the previous success of American interventionist policies in the region. Political analyses often characterize the U.S. response as hesitant and unclear, struggling to process the new realities brought about by the revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria. Despite the complex political landscape of the Arab region, the overarching goal of American foreign policy was to contain the impact of these revolutions and protect its strategic interests. This policy manifested itself in several ways, including through Washington's intervention in Libya, which contributed to the overthrow and death of Gaddafi, and through the pressure exerted on Mubarak in Egypt, which led to his resignation.

American setbacks in the Arab Spring countries began with a miscalculated alliance with Islamic political movements that were seen as potential alternatives to toppled regimes. That has proved misguided as Islamist rule faced major challenges, ultimately leading to the fall of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and continued chaos in Libya, a country now on the brink of splintering. The American intervention in Libya further aggravated the situation and focused on reshaping the country's political map. American foreign policy remains a controversial and fascinating topic due to the continued dominance of the United States as a superpower and leader of the new world order. This research is particularly important because of the profound impact of American foreign policy on the world stage and the strategic, political, and economic importance of the Arab region. This is particularly true in Egypt, a major Arab power, and Libya, a country rich in oil resources that has become a battleground for competing global interests.

The purpose of this study is to comprehensively analyze the nature of American foreign policy and examine its origins, formulations, instruments, goals, and guiding

principles. It will further examine the determinants of American foreign policy and its subsequent effects, including the influence of interest groups. The research will then address the development and significance of the Egyptian and Libyan states in the context of American politics and highlight the broader importance of the Arab region to the United States. A detailed analysis of the political and social landscapes of Egypt and Libya is conducted, including the causes and results of their respective revolutions, as well as likely future developments. American policy towards both nations is examined considering historical, present and future instruments, goals and influencing variables. Finally, a comparative assessment of American policy toward Egypt and Libya before and after the revolutions is provided.

The research problem focuses on the inconsistencies in American policy responses to the Arab Spring revolutions, particularly the different approaches to Egypt and Libya. It also examines the challenges faced by new governments and populations in navigating the complexities of American politics. The study aims to uncover the contradictions between the professed democratic and reformist ideals of American politics and its interventionist measures, which often exacerbate chaos and instability in the Arab region.

The fundamental task of the study is to find an answer to why there is a discrepancy between the stated principles of American foreign policy and their actual implementation. Such an investigation will also attempt to determine whether political Islamic movements contributed to the success of Arab revolutions. If so, the way civil society and humanitarian organizations in Egypt and Libya refused and failed to fulfill their tasks would be a further problematization for the study and another attempt to address the needs of Egypt and Libya in their relations with the United States to respond to the Arab Spring and to locate the indicators of success and failure of American foreign policy towards the Arab world. The effort will also address the question of whether the political changes in Egypt and Libya reflect genuine popular will, with opportunities for democracy and stability or more chaos and confusion, including a discussion of what the future of American policy in the Arab world will look like could look like in the long term.

There is a significant gap between the stated principles of American foreign policy and the mechanisms used to implement them. While political Islamic movements indirectly influenced the success of the Libyan revolution, they played a

more essential role in the Egyptian revolution. Gaddafi's regime actively repressed civil society and humanitarian organizations in Libya, leading to a collapse in civic engagement following his overthrow. Arab countries must develop new paradigms for their relations with the United States that reflect their interests and aspirations. There are clear indicators of the success of American policy in Egypt and Libya compared to indicators of failure. American foreign policy in Libya relies on a strategy of creative chaos, while in Egypt it pursues a policy of economic incentives and disincentives in the context of counterterrorism. The United States has played a direct or indirect role in the design and implementation of these policies to achieve specific objectives.

1.2 Research Methodology

This methodology section provides additional detail on the research design, data sources, and analysis techniques, ensuring a clear and comprehensive approach to studying the impact of American foreign policy on the Arab Spring revolutions. In such regard, this study employs a historical case study approach as its primary research method, using qualitative analysis to delve deeply into complex social phenomena within their real-world contexts. Historical case studies are instrumental for understanding specific events, individuals, groups, or institutions over time, as they offer a comprehensive view of the dynamics at play. This method involves examining a range of evidence to construct a detailed and nuanced picture of the phenomena being studied.. This approach allows for a thorough exploration of how historical contexts and policies intersect and influence each other. The case studies will include pivotal moments such as U.S. interventions in Libya and Egypt, providing a basis for understanding broader patterns and implications. The study will also analyze official records, government reports, and diplomatic cables to gather firsthand evidence of policy decisions and actions. These documents will shed light on the internal workings and motivations behind U.S. foreign policy. A comprehensive review of academic literature will provide theoretical frameworks and historical analyses that contextualize the case studies. This includes both historical accounts and contemporary critiques of U.S. foreign policy. Analysis of newspapers, magazines, radio broadcasts, and satellite channels will offer a view of public and media reactions to U.S. interventions and policies. The study will also incorporate digital media and online resources to capture contemporary perspectives and discussions.

Chapter II: American Foreign Policy: Understanding Constants and Variables

2.1. The Emergence and Formation of American Foreign Policy

This very section will explain and problematize the basic determinants of the emergence and formation of American policy in terms of the actors and dynamics involved in the making of American foreign policy. While undertaking the task in question it will elucidate the historical background and relate the actors and the dynamics the dynamism in the processes in question.

2.2. The Genesis of American Foreign Policy:

Foreign policy has evolved from a straightforward concern with security to a complex, multidimensional phenomenon encompassing social, economic, and cultural functions. As global issues multiply and more entities operate internationally, the complexity and significance of foreign policy increase. Studying the foreign policies of major countries is crucial, particularly considering historical and contemporary contexts, due to changes in foreign policy tools, their implementation, and the impact of a globalized economy on international relations. Historically, foreign policy has undergone significant transformations aligned with the development and status of nation-states and their roles in global politics.

Foreign policy consists of actions taken by a specialized apparatus within a country to manage its relations with other nations or international bodies. It is part of the country's general policy framework, shaped by decision-makers who represent the state. These decisions are influenced by interactions between decision-makers and their internal environments, aiming to achieve national political goals. The formulation of foreign policy involves translating national interests into specific decisions, implemented through diplomacy and, when necessary, military strategy. Diplomatic tools include traditional diplomacy, economic measures, and propaganda, while war serves as a last resort.

Efforts to provide scientific frameworks for understanding foreign policy have emerged, with significant contributions from researchers like Harold and Margaret Sprout, Richard Snyder, James Rosenau, and Charles Herman. These frameworks have resulted in comprehensive literature that explains foreign policy across various dimensions.¹

Mohamed El-Sayed Selim defines foreign policy as the program of public actions selected by a country's official representatives from available alternatives to achieve specific goals in the international environment. This policy includes political, economic, social, and cultural interests, aimed at protecting national interests, security, ideological objectives, and economic prosperity. The state may pursue these goals through peaceful cooperation or, if necessary, war and exploitation. Over the twentieth century, the importance of foreign policy increased, with countries adopting diplomatic strategies to manage international interactions. The president or prime minister typically determines a country's foreign policy.²

Marcel Merle describes foreign policy as the portion of government activity directed externally, which interacts with the foreign policies of other states, forming international relations. Foreign policy mechanisms include political, economic, military, and cultural actions to safeguard national interests and sovereignty. Both foreign and domestic policies contribute to national sovereignty and state identity.³

Foreign policy regulates a state's activities in its relations with other countries and international organizations. It involves balancing external commitments with the power needed to fulfill them, addressing actions and reactions in the international environment to achieve national goals and adapt to changes. This definition highlights the various levels of the international environment and the factors that policymakers must consider.

¹ Ismail Sabri Makled and Muhammad Mahmoud Rabie, *Encyclopedia of Political Science* (Kuwait, Kuwait University, 1994 ed), p. 92.

² Walid Abdel-Hay and others, *Horizons of Contemporary International Transformations*, Amman, Dar Al-Shorouk for Publishing and Dissemination, 1st edition, 2002, p. 35.

³ Ghazi Faisal, *American Policy Between Hegemony and Exporting Violence*, Umm Al-Ma'arik Magazine, (Baghdad), Issue 11, 1995, p. 16.

Vladimir Sojak defines foreign policy as activities defending a state's interests abroad through relations with other countries or international entities. Kent Thompson distinguishes between ideological and analytical views, noting that foreign policy reflects prevailing political, social, and religious beliefs and includes historical traditions, geographical location, national interest, and security needs. This perspective underscores the internal factors influencing foreign policy.⁴

The United States' geographical position and vast territory allowed it to maintain isolation since gaining independence from England in 1776. The Atlantic Ocean separates the U.S. from Europe, and the Pacific Ocean separates it from Asia. With Canada and Mexico posing no significant threats, and no powerful neighbors within the Americas, the U.S. focused on domestic development, benefiting from abundant resources and industrial progress. Early U.S. foreign policy aimed at gaining international recognition and legitimacy. Until World War I, American foreign policy was simple, influenced by its size, distance from the Old World, and economic self-sufficiency. The isolationist spirit led to internal focus, with foreign policy managed by the President and the Secretary of State.⁵

The U.S. Constitution, a political and legal document adopted in 1789, defines the political system, guarantees public freedoms, and distributes powers among state agencies. It established a federal system with a strong executive authority centered on the President, who combines the roles of head of state and head of government. The Constitution delineates powers for the national and state governments, ensuring a balance between legislative and executive branches and prioritizing the Senate's authority over the House of Representatives.⁶

The Constitution grants specific powers to the national government, such as monetary policy, declaring war, regulating trade, and overseeing foreign policy. Other powers are shared with state governments or restricted from both levels. Each state has its own constitution, consistent with the federal Constitution, outlining its powers

⁴ Ismail Sabri Makled and Muhammad Mahmoud Rabie ; p 101.

⁵ Ishtiaq Hussein and Mohsen Salih, *American Foreign Policy and the Islamic World* (Beirut, Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Consultations, first edition, May 2009, p. 12

⁶ Kenneth Thompson, *Foreign Policy Theories and Their Dilemmas* (Beirut, The Franklin Corporation, contributing to printing and publishing, 1961, pg. 451.

within the national framework. The Constitution emphasizes the separation of legislative and executive powers while ensuring their balance and equality. The President, as the executive authority, cannot dissolve Congress or propose legislation directly, and Congress cannot dismiss the President or cabinet members for political reasons. This structure maintains the balance of power and ensures the effective functioning of the government.⁷

2.3 Formation of American Foreign Policy

In dictatorial political systems, foreign policy decisions are typically concentrated in one leader, allowing for swift and decisive actions, such as using military force, without fear of internal opposition or loss of political position. However, in democratic and pluralistic political systems, such as the United States, the process is more complex, with significant checks and balances in place. These systems involve multiple institutions and actors, resulting in a more constrained decision-making process but with a larger margin of freedom for the government to make and implement decisions.

In democratic systems, political opposition plays a crucial role, monitoring government policies and influencing decision-making. In the U.S., the separation of powers between the presidency, Congress, and the judiciary ensures that no single entity has unchecked authority over foreign policy. While the executive branch manages foreign policy, Congress wields major influence through financial control, treaty ratification, and oversight powers, restricting the president's ability to act unilaterally.⁸

Understanding U.S. foreign policy requires analyzing the roles and interactions of various institutions and interest groups. Key institutions influencing U.S. foreign policy include:

⁷ Qahtan Ahmed Suleiman Al-Hamdani, *Contemporary Political Theory*, Amman, Dar Al-Hamid for Publishing and Dissemination, 2003, p. 212

⁸ (Muhammad Abdel Aziz Rabie, *American Foreign Policy: The Historical and Legal Background for Political Decision-Making*, *The Arab Journal of International Studies*, Washington, No. 1256, 1990, p. 73.

2.3.1. The President

The U.S. President, often seen as a charismatic leader, plays a vital role in foreign policy as the country's chief diplomat. The president negotiates international agreements and treaties, and his personality can significantly impact decision-making, especially in critical situations. The president's authority stems from the Constitution and the practical experience accumulated over years. As the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, the president has substantial influence over military actions, although this role is balanced by Congress's powers.

The president's relationship with Congress is complex. Presidents must navigate the legacy of their predecessors and work within established traditions, while also leaving their own mark on the office. They are expected to lead actively and engage with the public, especially during crises. The president relies on various specialized agencies, such as the CIA and the NSA, to make informed decisions. While primarily responsible for foreign policy, the president is assisted by the Secretary of State and, typically, operates with minimal congressional interference unless necessary.

2.3.2. Congress

Congress, the second most influential institution in U.S. foreign policy, consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Although its primary powers are domestic, Congress plays a crucial role in approving or rejecting foreign policy initiatives proposed by the president. The U.S. Constitution grants Congress significant legislative powers, including:

1. Treaty Approval: The Senate must approve foreign treaties by a two-thirds majority.
2. Appointments: The Senate approves the president's appointments of ambassadors and foreign affairs officials.
3. War Declaration: While the president is the supreme commander of the armed forces, only Congress has the authority to declare war, as outlined in the War Powers Act.

4. Government Departments: Congress establishes government departments related to foreign policy, such as the State Department and the National Security Council.

Congress's influence on foreign policy has increased since the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal, marked by the War Powers Act of 1973, which aimed to limit the president's ability to engage in military actions without congressional approval. Congressional committees, particularly those on foreign affairs and defense, play a vital role in shaping foreign policy by reviewing, modifying, or blocking proposed actions.

Committees are a defining feature of Congress, with 17 in the Senate and 19 in the House, each specializing in areas like foreign affairs, defense, and trade. They review legislation and determine its progress, making it nearly impossible for a bill to reach the floor without committee approval. The significant role of these committees underscores the intricate checks and balances within the U.S. political system, ensuring a collaborative approach to foreign policy decision-making.⁹

By focusing on the critical roles of the president and Congress in shaping U.S. foreign policy, this text provides a clear and organized overview of the key players and processes involved. Congressional committees begin examining proposed draft resolutions, whether within foreign or domestic policy, after the House of Representatives refers them. The head of the relevant committee then sends the draft to specialized subcommittees. These committees collect information by soliciting testimonies from government agencies, conducting research, and seeking opinions from interested parties. They often refer the subject to an executive branch entity for feedback. An executive official may attend committee meetings to present the executive authority's view and answer questions. Media attention can be attracted when opposing parties are given the opportunity to express their views. After hearings, committees may take one of the following actions:

1. Drafting a report in favor of the project and recommending its approval.
2. Drafting a report on the project after modification or change.

⁹ Fenno, Richard F. *Congressmen in Committees*. Little, Brown and Company, 1973.

3. Submitting a new bill to replace the original bill.

Congress has noteworthy influence over U.S. policy towards the Arab region, driven by American interests such as oil, the Arab Israeli conflict, and aid to Tel Aviv. Congress controls foreign aid allocation, with American aid to Israel reaching approximately \$3 billion annually, often increased under congressional pressure. The organized Jewish lobby wields considerable influence, limiting the president's ability to use foreign aid as leverage. For example, despite efforts within the administration to improve relations with Iran, Republican congresspeople launched a campaign against Iran, leading to legislation punishing foreign companies investing in Iran's industrial and oil sectors.¹⁰

2.3.3. American Intelligence

American intelligence services play a crucial role in shaping U.S. foreign policy by providing the executive branch with information and analysis. The most effective presidents in foreign affairs are those who establish good working relationships with intelligence agencies. The U.S. intelligence community comprises 41 agencies, with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Security Agency (NSA), and the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) being the most prominent. The CIA, with about 61,500 employees, serves as the main source of information for the executive branch.

The Truman and Eisenhower administrations utilized the CIA to address complex foreign policy issues. Eisenhower, for instance, authorized the CIA to overthrow the governments of Iran and Guatemala through propaganda and sabotage operations. However, the CIA faced failures, such as the unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Syria's national government in 1957 due to Egypt's support for Syria, the failure to protect Iraq's monarchy from a military coup in 1958, and the failure to predict the 1979 Iranian revolution due to neglecting internal opposition to the Shah's regime.

¹⁰ Ebrahim taheri; Review of US Foreign Policy in the Middle East Looking to the Future, Geopolitics Quarterly, Volume: 13, No 4, Winter 2018, p235.

By focusing on the roles of congressional committees and intelligence agencies, this text provides a detailed and organized overview of the key players and processes involved in U.S. foreign policy decision-making.

2.3.4. The Ministry of Defense (Pentagon)

The U.S. Department of Defense, headed by the Secretary of Defense (whether civilian or military), organizes and plans for the U.S. Armed Forces. It advises the president on military matters and national security. The department includes various branches—economic, industrial, cultural, media, and military—that play significant roles, especially during wars. Its role became more pronounced with the Cold War's onset and further expanded after the September 11, 2001, attacks. The Pentagon provides military capabilities and advice, influencing national security policy and public opinion. Although advisory, the Defense Department remains under the president's authority, the supreme commander of the armed forces.¹¹

2.3.5. The Media

The media is integral to the American political process, influencing and contributing indirectly to U.S. foreign policy. It reflects the political leadership's sentiments and often downplays opposing opinions. This was evident during the Gulf War, where media support for government objectives avoided controversial investigations, maintaining public support. Media coverage, particularly negative portrayals of the Arab region by media outlets with significant orientalist influence, shape's public opinion and policymakers' perceptions of Arab and Islamic societies. The media's impact was substantial during the Iraq War, with outlets like CNN shaping domestic and international opinions to support the war, providing the administration with global legitimacy. The media plays a vital role in informing decision-makers, but it can also challenge them if not managed well. The Bush administration effectively

¹¹ Vasilache, A.; (2022). The Rebalance to Asia Policy of the Obama Administration (2011-2017): Diversifying the United States Security Design in Asia-Pacific. *Perspective Politice*. XV (1-2), pp. 89-90.

aligned media support with its policies, recognizing that public opinion often follows media narratives, which can either support or threaten foreign policy directions.

2.3.6. Public Opinion

Public opinion, the collective sentiments of ordinary citizens, has become increasingly influential in foreign policy since World War I. It expresses itself through organized channels such as parties, interest groups, and the media, or manifests in public moods and demonstrations. In the U.S., public opinion significantly impacts foreign policy decisions, especially when it supports the president's agenda. Surveys by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations indicate strong public and leadership support for an active U.S. role globally. For instance, a survey found that 61% of the general public and 96% of leaders supported an initiative-taking international role for the U.S. A majority anticipated increased U.S. involvement and viewed terrorism as a primary threat to national interests. To garner public support for the Iraq invasion, the U.S. administration engaged public relations firms, like the contract with the Panador Company, to prepare and mobilize public opinion.¹²

2.4 The Objectives of US Foreign Policy:

US foreign policy objectives are closely tied to constitutional principles but are flexible and evolve with successive administrations. These objectives reflect a mix of clarity and ambiguity, influenced by both the nobility of goals and political savvy. Generally, they can be categorized into three main patterns over time:

1. Basic Objectives: These include safeguarding national security, preserving American independence, and maintaining economic strength.

¹² Holsti, Ole R. *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy*. University of Michigan Press, 2004.

2. Medium-Term Goals: These aim to bolster the US reputation through aid, hosting conferences, cultural exchanges, and space exploration. They often serve the primary goal of national security.

3. Long-Term Goals: These involve spreading American ideologies like capitalism. However, prioritizing ideology exportation can be costly and may backfire, as seen in the collapse of the Soviet Union due to its insistence on exporting Marxism.

US foreign policy prioritizes preserving its interests and global influence, maintaining leadership in politics and economy, and staunchly supporting Israel. Other goals include preventing a Palestinian state, containing Arab regimes, and reshaping the region to align with US and Israeli interests.¹³

Recent administrations have introduced new public goals while maintaining hidden objectives. These include non-interference in other countries' affairs, promoting regional cooperation, prioritizing Israel's security, and avoiding confrontation with another superpower. In the Gulf and Arab region, US policy focuses on stability without explicit military intervention. This involves close relations with Saudi Arabia and Türkiye, implementing the "Twin Pillars" strategy to support regional cooperation and protect American interests.

2.5 Principles of American Foreign Policy:

The United States of America, as the world's largest and most influential country, adheres to a set of guiding principles that shape its foreign policy. These principles, rooted in American philosophy and ideology, draw from historical documents such as the Philadelphia Constitution of 1789 and Wilson's Fourteen Points of 1918. They reflect both ethical values and the evolving culture of the nation:

1. Right to Self-Determination: The US champions the rights of oppressed peoples, stemming from its own struggle against British colonialism. This stance has

¹³ Abdel Moneim Emara, *The American Strategy in the Middle East after World War II*, Cairo, Al-Mahrousa Center for Research, Training and Publishing, 1st edition, January 1997, p. 21

garnered international sympathy and positioned the US as a global advocate for the disenfranchised.

2. Promotion of Freedom and Democracy: Upholding freedom and democracy is central to American foreign policy. This commitment, stemming from America's unique history, is pursued through both hard and soft power, often leading to interventions aimed at spreading American ideals globally.

3. Protection of Human Rights: The US presents itself as a defender of human rights, leveraging its status as a non-traditional colonial power to advocate for oppressed minorities worldwide.

4. Non-Interference in Internal Affairs: While historically championed by President Monroe, this principle has become increasingly at odds with humanitarian interventions. The US has intervened in numerous countries, often overthrowing regimes, under the guise of protecting human rights.

5. Confrontation of Dictatorial Regimes: The US has a history of opposing tyrannical regimes, a role amplified during the Cold War and expanded to include "rogue" or failed states post-Cold War.

6. Promotion of International Peace and Security: The US, often through organizations like the UN and NATO, seeks to maintain global peace. However, its approach may prioritize its own interests over diplomatic resolutions.

7. Respect for International Law: While proclaiming respect for international law, US actions sometimes diverge from this principle, leading to criticism of its disregard for legal norms in international affairs.

8. War on Terror: Post-9/11, combating terrorism has become a central tenet of US foreign policy. This principle has broadened the scope of intervention, targeting not just regimes but also non-state actors.

9. Freedom of Global Trade: The US advocates for open markets and the removal of trade barriers, benefiting its economy but often at the expense of other nations' competitiveness.

10. Separation of Religion and Politics: Despite a tradition of secular governance, religious influences, particularly from the extreme right, have become increasingly evident in American political rhetoric.

These principles, while guiding American foreign policy, are subject to critique and adaptation based on changing global dynamics and domestic political priorities.¹⁴

2.6 Tools for Implementing US Foreign Policy:

As for diplomatic instruments, Secretary of State and diplomatic missions abroad serve as primary diplomatic instruments. Diplomats negotiate, take part in international conferences and represent the country's interests. Despite its importance, diplomacy has somewhat diminished in crisis situations compared to other tools such as economic and military strategies. When it comes to military tools, the United States has historically relied on its military might to assert its dominance around the world. This belief in the effectiveness of military force is based on a postwar security doctrine and a sense of superiority. Military interventions are often used to protect national interests, with deterrence and intervention being the key strategies. Meanwhile, economic aid, including grants and loans, is an important tool in shaping U.S. foreign policy. Originally, economic aid through initiatives such as the Marshall Plan was aimed at rebuilding Europe after the Second World War. Today it serves political purposes by fostering dependency and furthering American commercial interests. On the other hand, the CIA plays a leading role in covert operations, both overt and secret, in furtherance of U.S. foreign policy goals. These operations, which are often undisclosed and multifaceted, complement other tools to achieve strategic objectives. In terms of innovation, leveraging scientific knowledge such as satellite programs and technical assistance enhances U.S. international capabilities. These tools facilitate communication, espionage and information sharing on a global scale.

Propaganda serves as a complementary tool to promote U.S. ideology and foreign policy goals. Through the use of communications technology and trained personnel, platforms like Voice of America spread American ideals and influence

¹⁴ William Nassar, The National Interest between Liberalism and Realism, a comparative study between the foreign policy of George Bush Sr. and Bill Clinton, International Policy Journal, (Doha) Issue 111, 2010, p.

global perceptions. However, unlike diplomacy, which relies on informed dialogue, propaganda is susceptible to distortion and manipulation. These tools, though varied in nature, collectively support the implementation of US foreign policy objectives. While diplomacy remains foundational, other tools like military force, economic aid, covert operations, and propaganda play essential roles in advancing American interests on the global stage.¹⁵

2.7. Determinants of US Foreign Policy

Understanding the determinants of American foreign policy involves a nuanced examination of both internal and external factors that shape decision-making processes. These determinants function as independent variables, influencing the overarching pattern of US foreign policy. Strategic analyst Samuel Huntington identified several crucial determinants, each reflecting a distinct aspect of American strategic thought:

1. Incorporation of Central European Countries into the European Union: This reflects America's interest in promoting stability and economic integration within Europe, aligning with broader goals of transatlantic cooperation.

2. Westernization of Latin America: Seeking to foster democratic governance and market-oriented economies in Latin America aligns with US interests in promoting stability and economic growth in the region.

3. Limiting the Military Capabilities of Islamic Countries: Recognizing the potential security challenges posed by certain Islamic states, the US aims to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and mitigate security threats in strategically significant regions.

4. Attracting Japan to the West, away from China: Strengthening ties with Japan serves both economic and strategic interests, enhancing US influence in the Asia-Pacific region while countering China's growing influence.

5. Recognizing Russia as a Pivotal State for the Orthodox World and a Major Regional Power: Acknowledging Russia's geopolitical significance, the US seeks to

¹⁵ What do you know about the US Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives, and what are their goals? Published on 9/13/2013

engage constructively with Russia while addressing areas of disagreement, such as arms control and regional conflicts

6. Maintaining Western Civilization's Technological and Military Superiority: Upholding technological and military dominance is essential for safeguarding American interests and deterring potential adversaries.¹⁶

These determinants are deeply rooted in historical and contemporary American strategic thought, reflecting core principles of national security, governance, and economic interests.

Understanding the determinants of American foreign policy requires a thorough examination of both internal and external factors influencing decision-making. These determinants, as identified by strategic analyst Samuel Huntington, shape the overarching pattern of US foreign policy.

The incorporation of Central European countries into the European Union reflects America's interest in promoting stability and economic integration within Europe, aligning with broader goals of transatlantic cooperation. Similarly, the Westernization of Latin America seeks to foster democratic governance and market-oriented economies, promoting stability and economic growth in the region.

Recognizing potential security challenges, the US aims to limit the military capabilities of certain Islamic states, thereby preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and mitigating security threats in strategically significant regions. Furthermore, attracting Japan away from China and strengthening ties serves both economic and strategic interests, enhancing US influence in the Asia-Pacific region.

Acknowledging Russia's geopolitical significance as a pivotal state for the Orthodox world and a major regional power, the US seeks constructive engagement while addressing areas of disagreement. Finally, maintaining Western civilization's technological and military superiority remains crucial for safeguarding American interests and deterring potential adversaries.

¹⁶ Majid Arsan Al-Kilani, *American Decision Making*, Amman, Dar Al-Furqan for Publishing and Distribution, 2nd edition, 2005, p. 44.

Understanding the complex interplay between internal and external determinants is essential for comprehending the evolution and dynamics of American foreign policy.

2.8 . Lobby Pressures:

Non-governmental organizations, including pro-Israeli lobby groups, exert noteworthy influence on US foreign policy decisions, particularly in contentious areas such as the Arab Israeli conflict. These groups leverage their political and financial resources to shape public discourse, influence policymakers, and advocate for policies aligned with their interests. While their influence may not always be visible to the general public, policymakers are keenly aware of their impact, often shaping their decisions to accommodate the preferences of influential lobby groups.¹⁷

2.9. Strength Determinants:

In the contemporary geopolitical landscape, military strength remains a critical determinant of a nation's foreign policy posture. The United States, with its unparalleled military capabilities, occupies a position of strategic preeminence, allowing it to pursue its interests and objectives with a degree of confidence unmatched by any other nation. From its advanced weaponry and technological superiority to its global network of military alliances and forward-deployed forces, the United States possesses the tools and capabilities necessary to project power and influence on a global scale.¹⁸

Moreover, America's economic and industrial prowess underpins its military strength, enabling sustained investment in defense capabilities and the maintenance of a robust military-industrial complex. By leveraging its economic resources and technological innovation, the United States reinforces its military dominance, ensuring

¹⁷ Muhammad Abdel Aziz Rabie, *America's Foreign Policy: The Historical and Legal Background for Political Decision-Making*, The Arab Journal of International Studies, Washington, Issue No. 1256, Winter 1990, p. 73

¹⁸ Abdel Moneim Emara, *The American Strategy in the Middle East after World War II*, Cairo, Al-Mahrousa Center for Research, Training and Publishing, 1st edition, January 1997, p. 21.

its ability to respond effectively to emerging threats and challenges in an increasingly complex and competitive international environment.

Public opinion also plays a significant role in shaping US foreign policy priorities, with domestic concerns often influencing policy decisions. Americans' views on issues such as military intervention, international engagement, and economic prosperity inform policymakers' decisions and shape the contours of US foreign policy. By understanding and responding to public sentiment, policymakers can ensure that foreign policy initiatives align with the broader interests and values of the American people.



Chapter III: A Succinct Political Geographic Analysis

3.1 The Location and the Strategic Importance of the Arab Region.

The Arab region, also known as the Arab world in Arab politics literature, occupies a vast area in the heart of the Afro-Eurasian world. It covers approximately 14 million square kilometers, which is nearly a tenth of the world's area. With an estimated population of approximately 400,652,486 million people in 2013, it accounts for about 4.2% of the world's total population. The Arab region extends between latitudes 2C to 38U and two longitudes 13C, and it dominates an area larger than the United States of America and exceeds the continent of Europe. It stretches approximately 6,000 km from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Arabian Gulf in the east, and slightly less from the south in Somalia to the northern edges of the Iraqi Syrian border with Türkiye.¹⁹

The Arab world forms a compact spatial unit with clear natural geographical and cultural features. Two-thirds of it is located on the continent of Africa, while the remaining third is on the continent of Asia. The borders of the Arab world are mostly well-defined and align with various natural and human features such as rivers, highlands, languages, religions, and cultures.

In West Asia, the political borders of the Arab world start at the head of the Arabian Gulf, where the Shatt al-Arab meets the waters of the Arabian Gulf. The eastern border reaches 1,235 km, running through a mountainous area that starts at the Haji Bey Valley and continues westward with the valley extending to the Warkchok Valley. From there, it heads north, passing through the highlands that separate the Warkjuk and Shamdinan Basin, and further west, it crosses the Great Zab Valley along the Zizi and Zozan ranges. Continuing to the north, it crosses the Khabur River until it reaches the border with the Hazel River, then heads west along the Hazel River until it meets the Tigris River north of the village of Fishkhabour.

In Africa, the Arab political borders are long and penetrate the continent from west to east. In a large part, they extend into the heart of the desert and are based on various natural features

¹⁹ Fouad Haider, Development and Underdevelopment in the Arab World, Development Theses on Underdevelopment, Beirut, Dar Al-Fikr Al-Arabi, 1990, p. 28

such as the Al-Hajar Heights, Tibesti, Tasili, Al-Aouinat, and others. The border then extends south to form the water dividing line in some tributaries of the Nile River in the Ghazal River basin on one hand, and between the river tributaries in the Chad and Ubengi basins on the other hand. From there, it extends east towards the slopes of the Lakes Plateau, then turns north to align with the border separating the Ethiopian plateau from the Arab lands and continues south-east to include Somaliland. It then turns southwest, acting as a dividing line between the Ogaden Desert and Somalia, before heading south along the 40th meridian to separate Kenya and the Arab world. Finally, it heads southeast, where it meets the Indian Ocean.

Strategic geographical location: The Arab world extends from²⁰:

1- The Mediterranean Sea and the Taurus Mountains in the north to the heart of the African continent and the Indian Ocean in the south.

2 From the Arabian Gulf and the Zagros Mountains in the east to the Atlantic Ocean in the west.

3.2 The Importance of Astronomical and Geographical Location

The astronomical location of the Arab world has resulted in the diversity of climatic regions, as it lies at the convergence of two hot tropical zones in the south and the Mediterranean zone with its warm and cold yields in the north. The Arab world serves as the land bridge connecting three continents: Asia, Africa, and Europe. Asia is known for its high population density, economic resources, and vast area. On the other hand, the Arab world overlooks three significant bodies of water that are crucial for global navigation and international trade. These bodies of water converge within the Arab world and are connected to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. They facilitate trade between Asia, Europe, Africa, and the Americas. The three arms of water are:²¹a. The Mediterranean: It extends from west to east as an arm of the Atlantic Ocean. The southern coasts of the Arab world overlook it, while Europe overlooks its northern coasts. It is connected to the

²⁰ Mustafa Tolba and others, *The Future of Environmental Work in the Arab World*, Abu Dhabi, National Publishing House, 2001, pp. 20-21.

²¹ Op.cit ; *Development and Underdevelopment in the Arab World*; p 29

Atlantic Ocean through the Strait of Gibraltar, enabling communication between Arab countries and southern and western Europe.

b. The Red Sea: It extends from the northwest to the southeast, forming a purely Arabian lake as it is surrounded by Arab countries, except for Ethiopia. It is connected to the Indian Ocean through the Bab el-Mandab Strait and to the Mediterranean Sea via the Suez Canal²².

c. The Arabian Gulf: It borders the Arab world to the east and is a longitudinal bay. It is connected to the Gulf of Oman, the Arabian Sea, and the Indian Ocean through the Strait of Hormuz. After the discovery of oil in the countries along its coast, it became an essential trade corridor and the only maritime outlet for these countries. It separates the Arab world from the other Asian countries.

The Arab world overlooks three important sea straits: the Strait of Gibraltar, the Bab al-Mandab Strait, the Strait of Hormuz, and the Suez Canal.²³ The Strait of Gibraltar is the only western gateway to the Mediterranean Sea and connects the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. It is considered the closest point of contact between Africa and Europe. The strait's width ranges between 12-36 km, separating Spain and Morocco. Due to its strategic importance, Britain still controls it. More than 80% of the global trade volume passes through it.²⁴

The Bab al-Mandab Strait connects the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean through the Gulf of Aden and Perim Island. Control of the southern entrance to the Red Sea lies with Perim Island. The strait is considered a purely Arab strait, with Yemen controlling it from the Asian side and Somalia from the African side. It played a significant role in the 1973 war by closing to Israeli ships.

The Strait of Hormuz connects the Arabian Gulf, the Gulf of Oman, and the Indian Ocean. Iran overlooks it from the north and northeast, while Oman overlooks it from the south and southwest. It serves as the oil outlet for Arab countries, including the Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. Some important islands near it include Qeshm and Abu Musa. Its importance increased after the discovery of oil in the Arabian Gulf region.

²² British documents, from the British Foreign Office to Bahrain (London) dated September 11, 1951, p. 66.

²³ **Kennedy, Paul.** *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*. Penguin Books, 1983.

²⁴ **Chisholm, Hugh.** "Gibraltar." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., Cambridge University Press, 1911.

The Suez Canal is the most important navigational road linking the East and the West. Digging on the canal began in 1859 and it was opened for navigation in 1869 . It was a factor in England's occupation of Egypt in 1882 . The canal is 195 km long and 19.5-20 meters deep. It is entirely located in Egypt. It is an important source of national income for Egypt and is the shortest sea route between East and West. Its excavation led to the establishment of new cities such as Port Said, Ismailia, and Qantara, as well as the development of ancient cities like Suez.

Demographically speaking, the Arab world's population is constantly changing, with varying growth rates in different regions. In 1996, the population exceeded 261 million people, a significant increase from 20 years prior when it was at 80 million. The estimated population of the Arab world is expected to reach 489 million people in 2025. This rapid growth rate exceeds the global average. Currently, the population of the Arab world represents about 4.1% of the total world population .The population is distributed across the Arab world as follows: 68.6% in the Arab African world and 31.4% in the Arab Asian world.²⁵

3.3. Geopolitics and Energy Politics

The location of the Arab world is strategic and has historical significance. Major countries have made attempts to control it due to its wealth and control over trade routes. The Persians, Greeks, Romans, Mongols, Crusaders, and Ottoman Empire have all sought to dominate the region. The Arab world is also the birthplace of three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and it has been a source of ancient civilizations that influenced Europe and Asia. Economically, it has served as a crossing point and link between distinct parts of the world, including the Damascus Road and the Arabian Peninsula route from Southeast Asia.²⁶

The Egypt route involved unloading cargo from ships at ports in the Red Sea or the Mediterranean, and then transporting it overland by caravans or by boat in the Nile River to Europe or Southeast Asia.

²⁵ Azmi Bishara, *The Reality of Arab Citizens in the Territories Occupied in 1948/ or Palestinians in Israel*, Arab Center for Policy Research and Studies, (Doha), 2008, p. 34.

²⁶ Op.cit ; *Development and Underdevelopment in the Arab World*; p 44.

The Sahara Road connected North African ports on the Mediterranean Sea to West African countries through land caravans across the Sahara. This road played a significant role in spreading Islam beyond the Sahara.

The Arab world is rich in energy sources, with oil being the most prominent. The primary oil production areas in this region include the Arabian Gulf, the Sahara region (encompassing Algeria and Libya), and the Gulf of Suez. Natural gas production in the Arab world is significant, with Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Kuwait, UAE, Iraq, Bahrain, Egypt, Qatar, Syria, Tunisia, Oman, and Morocco accounting for more than 50 percent of global production.

3.4. The Economic Importance of the Arab Region in American Policy.

The importance of the Arab region increased due to the rise in Arab oil production after World War II. Before that, Europe and Japan relied on coal for 85% of their energy needs, but local production could no longer meet the demand. In addition, starting in 1948, the United States shifted from being an oil exporter to a net importer. The international oil companies owned by advanced industrial countries had complete control over crude oil production, marketing, and pricing. These companies were connected to a vast network of European and American transportation, insurance, refining, and service firms. With the support and oversight of advanced industrial countries, these companies worked to lower the prices of crude oil in order to ensure a steady supply of cheap energy for industrial countries. This played a crucial role in rebuilding war-torn nations and achieving prosperity for Western European countries and Japan.²⁷

In addition to the United States, the exporting countries paid a royalty of 10 to 30 cents per barrel to the giant oil companies for each barrel produced. When the companies reluctantly accepted profit parity as a principle in 1950, they took advantage of their control over production, export, and pricing to minimize prices. Under the Western strategy, led by the United States, the flow of Arab oil increased from approximately 1.1 million barrels per day in 1950 to 15 million barrels per day in 1970, and then to 22.5 million barrels per day in 1979, which was the peak year.

²⁷ **Cleveland, C. J. (2005).** "The Rise and Fall of Arab Oil Production: Economic and Geopolitical Implications." *Energy Policy*

The Arab region's share of global production, excluding the Soviet Union and self-sufficient planned economies, increased from around 10% in 1950 to 37.5% in 1970, and reached roughly 45% in 1979.

The oil-exporting countries began to feel the injustice caused by the control exercised by industrial countries and their partners over their wealth. In response, they established OPEC in 1960 as a means of unifying their positions and demanding fair treatment from the oil companies. However, this organization struggled to achieve tangible gains for its member countries. The outbreak of the October War in 1973 marked a turning point for the Arab region and its oil industry. Global oil markets shifted, giving producers a greater role in controlling oil decisions after the Arab producing countries used oil as an effective weapon in their conflict with Israel and its supporters..²⁸

The pressures exerted by the United States on Arab regimes and the policies pursued by industrialized oil-consuming countries were successful in neutralizing the use of the oil weapon. In the years that followed, control over oil production and marketing was restored, allowing these countries to safeguard their interests and maintain their influence in this volatile region. Arab oil has been and continues to be a focal point of Western European and American policies. It stands as a key pillar of American foreign policy, particularly in relation to the security of Israel. It is within this context that American and Israeli initiatives converge, forming a cohesive strategy toward the Arab region. To ensure the success of this strategy, efforts have consistently been made to:

- Keep the Arab nations weak, fragmented, and divided.
- Underestimate the resources, tools, and leverage available to the Arab countries, with oil and its revenues being of utmost importance.
- Impede the progress of individual Arab countries, hinder their unity, and obstruct their development.

²⁸ Prepared by a group of researchers, the interests of the United States of America towards the Arab world, goals and tools, King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, Research and Studies Department, Arab World Studies Unit (Riyadh), - 2010, p. 24.

- Deplete their wealth, divert attention from critical issues, and promote a culture of consumerism that prevents true progress.

- Integrate the individual Arab economies into the global capitalist system while imposing practical barriers to prevent them from operating as a unified bloc in global markets and international economic alliances.

The importance of the Arab economic region to the United States of America is evident in the following aspects:

1. The crucial role Arab oil plays in the global economy.
2. The ongoing debate surrounding the significance of Arab oil and the potential use of oil as a weapon.
3. The distribution of oil revenue and its impact on oil prices.²⁹

3.5. The Importance of Arab Oil in the Global Economy

Since the discovery of oil in Arab countries, there has been an international struggle for control over these oil-rich nations. The importance of Arab oil grew significantly after World War II, when it became evident that Europe and Japan lacked sufficient energy resources to meet their rebuilding needs. Prior to this, coal accounted for approximately 85% of these regions' energy requirements, but local production no longer sufficed. Additionally, the United States transitioned from being a net exporter of oil to a net importer starting in 1948. Western and American companies held complete control over the exploration, production, and pricing of crude oil, allowing them to expand exploration and pumping operations while exerting pressure to keep prices at their lowest levels. Consequently, the flow of Arab oil rose from 1.1 million barrels per day in 1950 to 15 million per day in 1970, reaching a peak of 22.5 million barrels per day in 1979³⁰.

²⁹ **Yergin, D. (1991).** *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*. Free Press

³⁰ **Harrison, G. (2001).** "The Transition from Oil Exporter to Importer: The Impact on U.S. Energy Policy.

The world's oil production steadily increased during this period, with Arab production growing at a faster rate. The Arab region's share of global production (excluding centrally planned economies) rose from about 10% in 1950 to about 37.5% in 1970, then to about 45% in 1979.³¹

Statistics indicate that crude oil reserves in Arab countries account for 62% of the world's reserves, and they produce about 28% of the world's total oil production in the 21st century. The demand for energy is closely tied to economic activity and its growth rates, and prices also play a significant role in influencing this demand. Specifically, the prices of petroleum derivatives in Western countries include a large amount of consumption taxes, which can negatively impact consumer demand. There are also other factors that affect demand, such as the level of technology, energy efficiency, and various political and economic factors.³²

One of the biggest and most important problems facing the Arab world is the availability of exceptionally large reserves of oil and natural gas on its territory. This led to the major colonial powers coveting this particular wealth. This led to the almost complete occupation of his country in the 19th century, even after the Arab countries gained independence, and they are still economically, and security dominated by the large countries. Its importance for the Arab countries is expressed in several considerations, the most important of which are:

1-It is the main source of energy :

The Arab world does not produce significant quantities of coal and is also poor in the production of firewood due to its natural nature presented previously Conditions. This is because most of its lands are located in arid and semi-arid areas and the possibilities for generating hydroelectric power in its areas are limited. Thus, oil becomes the main source of energy in its countries and is even considered the only source for many of its countries. Its share of total energy consumption is over 90% in many Arab countries. This and the Arab world's oil consumption will double year after year, just as its urban projects in agriculture, mining and transport are completed. Even if today, it consumes only 4% of its huge production, this situation will change in the future.

³¹ **Mitchell, T. (2011).** *Carbon Democracy: Climate Change and the Politics of Fossil Fuels*. Verso Books.

³² **U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA). (2023).** *International Energy Outlook 2023*. U.S. Department of Energy.

All Arab countries are developing countries that are currently trying to compensate for the stagnation and backwardness that has befallen them due to their known political circumstances .³³

2- It provides the raw material necessary for the establishment of multiple industries:

The importance of petroleum as a raw material for the petrochemical industry became evident in the third quarter of this century. The beginnings of this industry date back to 1942 , when American scientists managed to produce synthetic rubber from petroleum and its waste. Since that date, this industry has evolved, its products have diversified and the scope of application has expanded to various industries and economic establishments, so it can be confirmed that today in the world there are at least four thousand products that rely on petroleum, from crackers to proteins. The scale of the Arab world's oil production makes it necessary for oil to become the major Arab industry. It is exported in the form of various industrial products, so that the greatest benefit goes to its Arab owners, and not to the Europeans, Americans and Japanese, as is the case today. If today the refining industry does not consume more than 10% of the Arab world's total production, this will change in the near future,

As most Arab oil-producing countries have begun to wake up and build factories for the production of fertilizers, pesticides and other natural gas liquefiers in their territories, in addition to the continuous expansion of the construction of refinery plants. Later we will come into contact with oil-based industries in the Arab world.³⁴

3- Provides capital and foreign currencies for Arab countries:

The discovery and exploitation of oil in the Arab world led to a major revolution in the lives of the residents of all the countries where it was mined. Today, oil revenues are the main source of income for most Arab countries, as their contribution to national income reaches 90% in many of these countries. This return means what the concession companies pay the government in return for the exploitation of their country's oil, and there are two types of this return that the companies are obliged to pay: a specific type and a variable type. The first is acting they are

³³ Luciani, G. (1990). *The Arab State*. University of California Press.

³⁴ Muhammad Raeeef, Contemporary Economic Issues, (Cairo, Cairo University, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, 2009), pp. 26-27.

specific payments that do not change, and they are amounts that the company is obliged to pay upon signing the contract.³⁵ Payment can be made annually or limited to the period between the signing of the contract and the start of production in certain quantities. The second type is variable yields, as production volumes and prices change every year. Since 1950, these returns have been 50% of profits. This led to a significant increase in the income of oil-producing and exporting Arab countries. Then revenues increased again and significantly after the October War of 1973, when Arab incomes reached astronomical heights due to the rise in the price of crude oil. Arab oil has many advantages that have led Western countries to control the Arab world. The inflow of barrels of oil is plentiful and the quantities of oil reach the consumer at a price lower than the price of a barrel from other countries or regions, especially in developed countries.

³⁵ **International Energy Agency (IEA). (2023). *Oil Market Report - August 2023*. IEA.**

Chapter IV : The Concept of Revolution in Political Science

4.1 Definitions and Usage

The term "revolution" in political science describes a range of phenomena, from armed movements against regimes to efforts to overthrow and replace governments. This broad application can make the term difficult to verify. Historically, the Arabic language used "revolution" to describe various popular movements, such as the Negro and Qarmatian revolutions. Influenced by 20th-century revolutions, Arabs retrospectively applied the term to past struggles, linking them to a supposed revolutionary legacy of the oppressed classes. Examples include the Omar al-Mukhtar revolution, the Rif revolution led by Muhammad bin Abdul Karim al-Khattabi, and the Algerian and Palestinian revolutions.

Karl Marx extended the term to movements like Thomas Müntzer's peasant revolts, while European historians often categorized these within broader religious and social reforms. This highlights the difference between the perspectives of thinkers and historians. In the 20th century, the concept of revolution evolved, especially in Latin America, becoming central to leftist intellectual politics in the Third World.

4.2 Historical and Linguistic Perspectives

In ancient Rome, revolts like Spartacus' slave rebellion were termed revolutions. In Latin, "revolution" originally described the circular motion of stars, signifying repetitive movement rather than violence. This term gained its political meaning around the French Revolution in 1789.

The closest Arabic term to contemporary revolution is "to go out," symbolizing the transition from private dissatisfaction to public protest, as seen in the Arab Spring revolutions.³⁶

4.3 Theoretical Approaches

Revolution in political theory signifies the emergence of a new social class capable of displacing an existing one. This class struggle is evident in historical examples like the bourgeois revolutions in Europe, which introduced significant political, economic, and philosophical changes. Philosophers like Plato and Aristotle studied political upheavals, while modern thinkers such as Crane Brinton, Harry Ellstein, and Peter Ammann have defined revolution in terms of social structure changes, violence, and the state's loss of power monopoly.

4.4. Causes and Dynamics

Revolutions are driven by accumulated economic, social, and political pressures. Hobsbawm highlighted crises like tyranny and loss of legitimacy as triggers, paralleling the Arab revolutions' context. Psychological factors, as discussed by Gustave Le Bon, also play a role, with revolutions seen as mass psychological expressions against perceived injustices.

4.5. Types of Revolutions

Revolutions can be political, social, or scientific. Political revolutions, like the French, Russian, and Chinese revolutions, led to radical social structure changes. The American Revolution focused on national liberation without major social restructuring. Scientific revolutions, such as the Industrial Revolution, gradually transformed societies without immediate political changes. Laurens von Stein and Rudolf Heberle expanded the definition to include social movements aiming for systemic changes, encompassing peasant, national, and fascist movements.

³⁶ Salah Al-Imam, *The Most Famous Revolutions in History*, (Cairo, Jazirat Al-Ward Library, 2012), p. 32.

Modern revolutions often seek liberation from oppression and fear, aiming for political and social freedom through participation in self-determination and decision-making.³⁷

Historically, successful revolutions, even those ideologically driven like the Russian or Cuban revolutions, often began as responses to specific injustices or colonialism, with ideological unity forming only after the fact as power was consolidated. Popular revolutions are generally non-partisan, but post-revolution narratives may attribute ideological coherence retrospectively. Understanding revolutions involves examining their diverse definitions, contexts, causes, and outcomes, as they represent fundamental societal changes influenced by economic, social, and psychological factors. Revolutions are marked by mass participation, seeking radical, swift transformations rather than gradual reform, and involve a shift in values to align with new societal norms. They create new foundations, setting the stage for different societal structures, and often inspire similar movements globally.³⁸

4.6 Forms of Revolution

Revolutions can be categorized based on their impact and objectives. Revolutions with Radical Changes include the French Revolution (1789), which ended King Louis's reign and reformed the judiciary; the Russian Revolution (1917), which overthrew the Tsar and transformed society; the Chinese Revolution (1949), which implemented land redistribution; and the Eastern European and Ukrainian Orange Revolutions (1989 and 2004), which overthrew authoritarian regimes and triggered significant societal changes. Liberation Revolutions without Social Structure Changes, such as the American Revolution (1773-1775) and the Latin American Revolutions, focused on independence or removing corrupt rulers without altering social structures. Liberation Revolutions with Social Structure Changes, like the Algerian Revolution (1954-1962), achieved national independence and societal transformation. Bourgeois Revolutions, led by the emerging bourgeoisie, aimed to abolish feudalism and establish new systems, exemplified by the Peasants' War in Germany (16th century), the Japanese Revolution (1867), and the Russian Revolution (1905). Socialist Revolutions seek comprehensive changes to create

³⁷ Heberle, Rudolf. *Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology*. Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951.

³⁸ Salah Al-Imam, an article entitled: The time of tyrants has passed, published electronically on 5/13/2013, website: <http://www.masress.com/author>

socialist states, driven by Marxist ideology. Political Revolutions, such as the Egyptian Revolution of January 25th, focus on changing the ruling class without broader social changes. National Liberation Revolutions aim for political and economic changes in formerly colonized nations, leading to independent states, as seen in 20th-century movements. These diverse types of revolutions, marked by mass participation and significant transformations, help us understand their varying impacts across history and societies.

Indicators of Imminent Revolutions would be signified by the emergence of Civil Society: In the 1990s, civil society organizations began to rise in the Middle East, focusing initially on marginalized groups such as religious and ethnic minorities, women, and youth. The proliferation of technology and the internet allowed these groups to express their ideas freely and mobilize. Previous Movement have also been good underliers : The Cedar Revolution in Lebanon (2005) and the Green Revolution in Iran indicated growing discontent and the capacity for large-scale mobilization. These movements, characterized by mass demonstrations, highlighted the potential for youth and technology to challenge political regimes.³⁹

³⁹ Rosen, Nir. *The Cedar Revolution and Lebanon's Future*. Middle East Report, no. 236, 2005.

4.7 Understanding the Libyan and Egyptian Arab spring: Causes of and Results of the Egyptian Revolutions

The Arab Spring revolutions in Egypt and Libya led to significant political upheavals, but their aftermaths have been markedly different. In Egypt, the revolution ousted President Mubarak, yet the transition to democracy has been fraught with instability, fluctuating between military and civilian rule. While the revolution sparked greater political awareness, particularly among the youth, it also exposed deep societal divisions. In contrast, Libya's revolution toppled and killed Muammar Gaddafi, but the country has since descended into chaos. Competing factions, including Islamist and secular groups, have battled for control, leaving Libya in a prolonged state of conflict and fragmentation.⁴⁰. The Arab Spring revolutions, exemplified by the uprisings in Egypt and Libya, were driven by a complex interplay of social, political, and technological factors. While they succeeded in toppling longstanding regimes, the long-term outcomes have varied, with both countries continuing to navigate the challenges of post-revolutionary transitions.

Key aspects of the Egyptian revolution included:

- **Religious Tensions:** The bombing of a Coptic church ignited anger among the Christian community, prompting protests that eventually merged with broader demonstrations fueled by economic and political grievances. This highlighted the religious tensions existing within Egyptian society.
- **Political Discontent:** Widespread frustration with government corruption, lack of transparency, and the absence of democratic governance served as the

⁴⁰ Ghonim, W. (2012). *Revolution 2.0: The Power of the People is Greater than the People in Power: A Memoir*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

primary catalyst for the uprising. Egyptians were fed up with decades of authoritarian rule under President Hosni Mubarak.

- **Youth Leadership:** The Egyptian revolution was notably characterized by the active participation and leadership of young people. Utilizing social media platforms, they mobilized massive protests, highlighting their awareness of the country's problems and their desire for change.

These factors converged to create a powerful movement that toppled Mubarak's regime. However, the path towards a stable and democratic Egypt has proven challenging, marked by periods of political turmoil and ongoing struggles to address deep-rooted societal issues.

The Libyan Revolution was characterized however by diverging factors.

- **Anti-Gaddafi Sentiment:** A diverse coalition of groups opposed Gaddafi's regime, ranging from students and professionals to jihadist militias. The initial US failure to differentiate between these groups inadvertently empowered extremist elements, leading to the rise of organized Salafist-jihadist militias.
- **Civil War Escalation:** Missteps in US foreign policy, including the lack of understanding of the complex dynamics on the ground, contributed to the rapid escalation of the conflict. The power vacuum following Gaddafi's fall allowed various factions to compete for control, leading to a protracted and devastating civil war.

This underscores a crucial point: while the Arab Spring revolutions shared a common desire for freedom and democracy, the specific dynamics and outcomes in each country were shaped by unique factors. In Libya, the confluence of anti-Gaddafi sentiment, the rise of extremist groups, and international missteps led to a particularly tragic and complex aftermath.⁴¹

Common Factors Across Arab Spring Revolutions depict the following points: Revolutions often arise from the collapse of the ruling regimes' ideological

⁴¹ Azmi Bishara, *To Be an Arab in Our Days*, Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies, 2nd edition, 2011, p. 64.

justifications and a growing rejection of obedience to oppressive rule. Citizens increasingly seek a political role and demand better, more transparent governance. Rampant corruption and governmental incompetence exacerbate public frustration. Specific catalytic incidents can spark broader movements, sometimes supported by the military, as seen in Egypt and Tunisia. Persistent demonstrations and widely resonant demands for freedom and justice are driven by effective communication technologies and youth leadership. Governments' use of violent suppression tactics across the region highlights common revolutionary experiences.⁴²

4.7.1 Developments surrounding the Egyptian Revolution of January 25th.

The Egyptian Revolution of 2011, which began on January 25, was a significant and largely peaceful uprising against the regime of President Hosni Mubarak. The revolution was spearheaded by various opposition parties and youth movements, notably the Kifaya+ Movement, the Muslim Brotherhood Youth, the April 6 Youth Movement, and Facebook groups like "We Are All Khaled Saeed." The protests were strategically planned to coincide with Police Day, symbolizing opposition to the regime's corruption and police brutality. Main reasons for the Outbreak would include the following highlighted turning points.

Emergency Law and Police Brutality: The Emergency Law, in effect since 1967 with a brief break in the early 1980s, granted extensive police powers, curtailed constitutional rights, and imposed censorship. It restricted political activities, led to the arbitrary detention of approximately 17,000 people, and resulted in significant human rights abuses, including torture and imprisonment without trial. A notable incident was the killing of Khaled Mohamed Saeed by police in 2010, which spurred public outrage and led to the condemnation of police brutality by figures like Mohamed ElBaradei. Police violence during this period caused around 350 deaths.

⁴² Ali Mabrouk, Arab Revolutions: The Founding Speech, Rawd al-Farag, Cairo, Dar Al-Ain Publishing, 1st edition, 2013, p. 34.

Presidency of Hosni Mubarak: Hosni Mubarak's long rule, starting in 1981, was marked by corruption, dissent suppression, and alignment with Western interests, especially maintaining peace with Israel. Despite Western support, Mubarak's tenure saw rising unemployment, declining education standards, and increased crime, fueling widespread dissatisfaction.

Corruption and Poor Conditions: The Mubarak regime was plagued by corruption, particularly within the Ministry of the Interior, which engaged in arbitrary detentions and operated illegal detention centers. Economic hardships were severe, with a large portion of the population living below the poverty line and relying on state subsidies. Transparency International's 2010 report highlighted Egypt's poor corruption ratings.

Exporting Gas to Israel: Since 2004, Egypt's export of natural gas to Israel at below-market prices led to accusations of corruption and mismanagement. Despite judicial rulings against these contracts, the government persisted with the agreements, exacerbating public resentment.

People's Assembly Elections: The 2010 People's Assembly elections were widely criticized as fraudulent, with the ruling National Party winning 97% of seats. The lack of opposition and judicial oversight, coupled with government control over the electoral process and media restrictions, intensified public frustration.

Local and International Reactions: Locally, various societal segments joined the revolution despite government attempts to counter it through media manipulation and hired thugs. Internationally, there was significant support for the revolution's goals, with calls from the U.S., European Union, Germany, and Türkiye for Mubarak to relinquish power swiftly.

The Egyptian Revolution of January 25th was driven by a combination of longstanding grievances, including the oppressive Emergency Law, police brutality, Mubarak's autocratic rule, widespread corruption, economic hardships, controversial gas exports to Israel, and fraudulent elections. These factors collectively ignited the populace's desire for change, leading to a historic uprising that aimed to end decades of autocracy and pave the way for a more democratic Egypt.

4.7.2 Developments surround Libyan revolution (February 17, 2011):

Despite improvements in the Human Development Index, Libya faced significant socioeconomic challenges, including discontent from Gaddafi's mismanagement of wealth, focus on weaponry, and financial assets abroad. His neglect of smuggling and money laundering issues, along with rising prices, corruption, and fears of privatization, fueled societal dissatisfaction and protests. Historical tensions between eastern and western Libya and the erosion of Gaddafi's regime's legitimacy, which claimed continuity with Nasserist principles, further worsened the situation. Libya's foreign policy missteps and the inspiration from Egypt's January 25, 2011, revolution ignited the February 17 uprising, particularly in Benghazi. These factors combined to drive the revolution against Gaddafi, marked by deep-seated socioeconomic grievances, political tensions, and historical disputes.

4.7.3 The results of the Egyptian and Libyan revolutions.

4.7.3.1 Egyptian Revolution:

The Egyptian revolution of January 25, 2011, highlighted Egyptians' unity across religious and societal divides, despite earlier tensions from a church bombing. Marked by a deep love for their country and a commitment to peaceful protests, demonstrators used slogans like "Peaceful...Peaceful" and "Do not break or destroy" and formed committees to protect public spaces. Tahrir Square became a hub of creativity and joy with banners, weddings, and dances. As the revolution's goals evolved from removing President Mubarak to calling for political reforms, challenges appeared after his resignation on February 11, 2011. The political landscape became complex with alliances between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Supreme Military Council, raising concerns about Egypt's democratic inclusivity. The revolution ended over 30 years of National Democratic Party rule, highlighted corruption, and led to significant changes, including the trial of key figures like Mubarak. Dr. Mohamed Morsi's 2012 election marked progress but increased Muslim Brotherhood influence stirred debate. Despite revitalized media and a new activist generation, Egypt faced economic issues, security problems, and sectarian tensions, reflecting the revolution's significant but complex legacy.

4.7.3.2. The Outcomes of the Libyan Revolution

The outcomes of the Libyan revolution and its future trajectory are subject to diverse interpretations. Some view Libya's Transitional Council with skepticism, claiming it relied heavily on Western and NATO support and suggesting that Gaddafi, despite his flaws, might have been more honorable. Critics argue that the revolution replaced one oppressor with another, leading to widespread destruction, displacement, and loss of life. They believe the revolution served Western interests, perpetuating regional divisions and bolstering external powers like Israel.

Key aspects of the Libyan revolution were:

- **Defections from Gaddafi's regime:** This significantly weakened Gaddafi's hold on power, as key military and political figures withdrew their support.
- **Collapse of state structures and emergence of parallel governance:** As the revolution progressed, the existing government institutions crumbled, leading to the formation of the National Transitional Council (NTC) as a rival governing body.
- **Violent protests:** The initial peaceful demonstrations quickly escalated into violent clashes between protesters and government forces, setting the stage for armed conflict.
- **Transition from peaceful demonstrations to armed conflict:** The brutal crackdown on protests led to the formation of rebel groups, ultimately resulting in a full-fledged civil war.
- **NATO's military intervention:** The international community, led by NATO, intervened militarily to protect civilians, providing crucial air support to rebel forces.

These factors combined led to the overthrow and death of Muammar Gaddafi, marking the end of his four-decade rule. However, the revolution also plunged Libya into a state of ongoing instability and conflict, with various factions vying for power in the aftermath.

Post-revolution, Libya faces challenges in setting up a stable government amid Islamic movements and managing economic development despite oil wealth. The revolution's aftermath saw weakened security, porous borders, and rising terrorism. Instability has turned Libya into a battleground with ongoing disputes over oil and weak governance structures. This fragmentation, coupled with factionalism and external interference, complicates efforts to restore order and stability.

The challenges facing post-revolution Libya can be summarized into two primary areas: Post-revolution Libya grapples with significant political, security, and economic challenges. The political landscape stays divided between religious and civil elements, with Islamic movements heavily influencing the new order. Security is precarious, with remnants of Gaddafi's forces and rebel militias posing ongoing threats. Despite substantial oil wealth, Libya faces economic isolation and mismanagement, worsened by NATO intervention and internal conflicts. Key developments include the transition of power to the General National Congress in 2012 and the formation of a Constitution Drafting Committee, but instability persists with porous borders, weakened security, and rising terrorism. Tribal conflicts and power struggles, including over oil resources, have led to a dramatic drop in production, while mismanagement and disruptions have severely impacted revenue, with protests and blockades causing further economic strain. The government's difficulty in addressing these issues perpetuates a cycle of revenue loss and political paralysis.

Libya faces severe political instability and institutional challenges following decades of Gaddafi's rule. The absence of modern political and civil structures has left a governance vacuum, with no established institutions or experienced leaders to manage the state effectively. Political fragmentation, inefficiency in legislation, and debates over the role of Islamists further complicate governance. The emergence of Saif al-Islam Gaddafi as a presidential candidate highlights the ongoing influence of former regime elements and external actors like Russia, potentially shifting Libya back to pre-revolutionary politics. Overall, Libya struggles to build functional institutions, manage political divisions, and address the potential resurgence of former regime figures, reflecting the fragile state of its post-revolutionary transition.

Libya also confronts escalating risks of federalism and civil war, with political instability and security issues worsening since Gaddafi's fall. Citizens wield weapons,

tribal factions vie for power, and ongoing violence includes bombings and assassinations. Recent protests and Cyrenaica's unilateral federal declaration underscore the growing Islamist influence. Government failures and jihadist activities, such as the Benghazi attack and In Amenas hostage crisis, further destabilize the country, affecting neighboring regions and prompting international responses. NATO's intervention has not stabilized Libya, which is now plagued by armed militias and lawlessness, leading many Libyans to long for Gaddafi's era. The international community has been criticized for inadequate support, and Libya's suffering includes security issues, internal strife, regional tensions, and social disintegration, with lawlessness and armed groups complicating efforts to restore order..⁴³

The future of Libya is fraught with complexity and uncertainty, with several potential scenarios on the horizon. The country might experience a transitional period of ten to fifteen years, aiming to build a new democratic state with support from Algeria, Türkiye, and the European Union. Alternatively, increasing regional and tribal divisions, compounded by external backing of figures like Field Marshal Khalifa Haftar from the U.S., UAE, and Russian militias, could lead to civil war. However, recent signs of unity between Eastern and Western Libya offer a glimmer of hope. A more optimistic scenario involves political factions coming together to set up a cohesive government, rebuild state institutions, and strengthen civil society, paving the way for long-term stability and prosperity.

⁴³ Sawani, Youssef, "Dynamics of Continuity and Change:", in, Jason Pack (ed.), the 2011 Libyan Uprisings and the Struggle for the Post-Qadhafi Future, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) pp.54-68

Chapter V: American Policy towards Egypt Post-Arab Spring:

American interest in the Egyptian revolutions of January 25th and June 30th was influenced by various considerations and interests, shaping American responses and future strategies towards Egypt. The following key points characterize American policy towards Egypt after the Arab Spring:

5.1. Approach during the Revolution:

The U.S. response to the Egyptian revolution was marked by a strategy of delay and cautious assessment of events. There was a delicate balance between supporting the regime and acknowledging the demands of the revolutionaries. This approach was characterized by fluctuations between advocating for regime survival with reforms and considering options for a peaceful transfer of power.

The American response to the Egyptian revolution can be divided into three phases: the first phase, from the revolution's outbreak until the camel battle on February 2nd; the transition phase, from the Battle of El Gamal until Mubarak's resignation on February 11th; and the post-resignation stage, beyond Mubarak's departure. During the uprising, the American position was shaped by three main scenarios: supporting Mubarak to preserve his political system, deposing Mubarak and installing Omar Suleiman while maintaining the existing political structure, or replacing Suleiman with a soft military coup that made partial changes to Egypt's constitution without altering fundamental foreign policies, particularly regarding the Camp David Accords.

There was overlap between the phases and scenarios, with the U.S. initially delaying its response to gauge the situation. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton emphasized stability and gradual reform, showing a nuanced approach to avoid exacerbating tensions or resorting to violence.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Paul Kennedy, "Paul Kennedy Says New World Order Will Emerge: Year in Review http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=newsarchive&sid=aV9_ZOMJf14s

5.2. American Policy towards Egypt Post-Arab Spring:

During the critical stage of Mubarak's regime, Washington aimed to preserve stability in Egypt while avoiding a sudden leadership vacuum akin to the Tunisian model. There were speculations that Washington pressured Mubarak to appoint Omar Suleiman as his deputy, both to placate protesters and to maintain stability, allowing for a smooth transition of authority if necessary. This was clear in Mubarak's final speech on February 10th, signaling his resignation.

5.2.1 Key Phases and Developments:

The infamous Camel Battle, where pro-Mubarak forces attacked protesters on camels, marked a turning point in the Egyptian revolution, prompting a shift in American stance towards Mubarak. Increasingly, the US called for his departure, though without specifying a successor, potentially leaving room for figures like Suleiman to assume leadership.⁴⁵ This pressure, coupled with growing public discontent and international calls for change, intensified demands for Mubarak's resignation and potential military intervention. As American public opinion overwhelmingly supported the revolution, Washington aligned its stance with these sentiments.

⁴⁵ Al-Hussein Al-Zawi, an article entitled: The Arab Revolutions and the Limits of Expectations, published electronically on 7-15-2013. <http://www.alzamilmagazine.com>

5.2.2 Future American Vision:

Washington aimed to extend Egypt's transition period to engage with new political forces and keep influence, aligning with American and Israeli interests while managing the revolution's impact. Although predicting future American policy is difficult, past actions suggest several likely approaches: strengthening military ties, especially with figures like Sisi, to ensure stability; covertly supporting certain candidates to influence Egypt's next president while avoiding public backlash; and discreetly assisting in the formation of new political parties while supporting traditional secular forces and excluding groups like the Muslim Brotherhood. Overall, Washington looks to balance support for Egypt's democratic transition with its strategic interests and political stability.

5.3.American Tactics to Influence Political Landscape in Egypt:

The US has adopted a multifaceted approach in Egypt, attempting to counteract the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood by raising concerns among secularists and Copts about potential policies such as the application of Sharia law. Concurrently, they have covertly supported regime change through non-violent means, backing civil society organizations, media campaigns, and leveraging international communication. Following the Muslim Brotherhood's removal from power, the US initially tried to reinstate them as a political force, yet subsequent actions like freezing military aid suggest ongoing tensions in the US-Egyptian relationship. This reveals a complex and at times contradictory American policy aimed at shaping Egypt's political landscape while balancing various interests and concerns.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Didi Ould Salek, Political Polarization of the Tribe and Tribal Phenomena in Libya During the Revolution, Arab Center for Policy Research and Study, (Doha), peer-reviewed scientific paper, published on: 7/16/2012, p13.

5.4.Challenges in U.S.-Egypt Relations:

The shifting dynamics in American policy toward Egypt are becoming increasingly complex in the post-Al-Sisi era. Despite its regional significance due to its population, strategic location, and control over the Suez Canal, Egypt's democratic trajectory has stalled, and authoritarian tendencies have resurfaced, leading to economic and social instability. The turbulent political scene, marked by events since the January 25 revolution, including the overthrow of Mubarak and the rise of General Sisi, underscores the volatility and challenges the U.S. faces in navigating its foreign policy toward Egypt. While Egypt's internal challenges persist, its strategic importance in the Middle East and North Africa necessitates continued U.S. engagement..⁴⁷

5.5 Challenges and Priorities During Sisi's Presidency:

Following the Muslim Brotherhood's electoral victories and the subsequent lack of consensus among political forces, tensions and protests escalated, ultimately leading to military intervention and a crackdown on the Brotherhood. President Sisi now faces daunting challenges, including economic issues and the ongoing threat of terrorism, requiring difficult reforms and a delicate balancing act between security cooperation with the U.S. and maintaining Egypt's sovereignty. In light of these complexities, the U.S. must recalibrate its relationship with Egypt, focusing on security cooperation while respecting Egypt's autonomy and avoiding entanglement in its internal political disputes, ultimately prioritizing stability and security in the region..⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Michael Singh "It's Not Just the Sparks that Caused this Fire in the Middle East," Foreign Policy 18/9/2012, http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/09/18/its_not_just_the_sparks_that_caused_this_fire_in_the_middle_east.

⁴⁸ Stephen M. Walt "U.S. Middle East Strategy: back to balancing," Foreign Policy, November 21, 2013, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/11/21/us_middle_east_strategy_back_to_balancing

5.6. American Policy Towards Libya After the Arab Spring

The Arab Spring, which began with protests in Tunisia in late 2010, soon spread to Libya, where initial demands for economic and political reforms escalated into calls for regime change. This upheaval challenged the United States, which had previously maintained a stable relationship with Libya under Gaddafi. Initially, U.S. policy appeared disjointed and lacked clear strategy, conflicting with the Obama Doctrine, which aimed to leverage regional protests for American interests. The U.S. quickly condemned Gaddafi's regime and supported its overthrow, framing its intervention as a defense of civilian protection and democracy.

This stance initially improved U.S. standing in the Arab world. However, after the intervention, the U.S. adopted a "leading from behind" approach, leading to minimal further involvement as Libya descended into violence and instability. Despite significant American losses, including the Benghazi attack, Libya's ongoing chaos and the failure of transitional authorities reveal the limits of external intervention and underscore the risks of destabilizing genuine local movements. The U.S. response to Libya reflects broader uncertainties and the challenges of navigating complex foreign policy landscapes amidst internal regime failures and regional turmoil.⁴⁹

5.6.1. American Controversy Over Intervention in Libya

In 2011, the U.S. faced significant debate over its intervention in Libya, revealing complexities in American foreign policy. Controversy emerged among policy experts and officials, with some opposing intervention on the grounds that Libya did not significantly affect U.S. interests and that a no-fly zone could lead to further military involvement and potential collapse. Others criticized President Obama's rationale, arguing it mixed American interests with human rights concerns, and some felt his delays could worsen the humanitarian crisis. The consensus favored a strategy where the U.S. led by encouraging allies to share the costs and

⁴⁹ **Dorman, S. (2014).** "The Fragility of Regime Reform in Libya: Economic and Institutional Challenges." *Contemporary Politics*, 20(1), 75-90. [DOI: 10.1080/13569775.2014.871618]

responsibilities of intervention. President Obama's decision reflected a balance of principles and national interests, aligning with a 2010 strategic vision that emphasized multilateral diplomacy and rebuilding international confidence. His approach aimed to avoid unilateral action and foster a cooperative international effort, proving a commitment to both American and global interests.⁵⁰

5.6.2. The United States' Renewed Intervention in Libya

The United States returned to intervene in Libya in a way that seemed to emphasize its concern for international legitimacy. This intervention aimed to counteract the negative image created by earlier disregard for such legitimacy. By acting decisively, the U.S. sought to present itself as morally and legally justified, having learned from the lessons of Afghanistan and Iraq. The situation in Libya also reinforced the impression that the United States supports Arab uprisings, making these movements appear ascendant and continuous.⁵¹

5.6.3. Impact on Arab Public Opinion

Post-2011 Arab opinion polls indicated a significant shift in perceptions towards America. The intervention in Libya helped dismantle the stereotype of the U.S. as a brutal, imperialist force that supports aggression and authoritarianism. Notably, Libyans held a higher regard for Americans than for Canadians. This shift in Arab public opinion was crucial for breaking the hostile stereotype and reducing the tendency for anti-American sentiments targeting U.S. citizens and interests. However,

⁵⁰ James Joyner, Libya War: An Obama Doctrine?, <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/libya-war-an-obama-doctrine>

⁵¹ Nina Hachigian and David Shorr, "The Responsibility Doctrine," The Washington

Quarterly 36, no. 1 (Winter 2013), pp. 73-91, <http://csis.org/publication/twq-responsibi>

the U.S. stance on Bahrain and Syria was seen by some as hypocritical, indicating a selective approach to supporting uprisings and democracy.

5.6.4. Realpolitik and Energy Interests

From a realist perspective, the American position was influenced more by strategic interests in oil and gas than by values or ideals related to supporting revolutions or democracy. The U.S. largely ignored these values when it rejected President Obama's initiative for a partnership in the Middle East that included a democratic component. Despite stopping oil imports from Libya, the U.S. has significant interests in securing energy sources for its European allies, which is essential for NATO's cohesion and strategic role.

The U.S. intervention in Libya was a complex interplay of moral justification, strategic interests, and efforts to reshape its image in the Arab world. While it helped improve America's reputation among Libyans and some other Arab populations, it also highlighted the intricate balance between idealism and realpolitik in American foreign policy.

5.7. Strategic Implications of U.S. Intervention in Libya

The United States also aims to prevent competitors, such as China, from accessing resources that could enhance their global competitiveness. This strategic consideration highlights the significance of Libya within the broader U.S. global strategy and its regional policy in Africa. Libya's geographical position connects critical parts of North and Sub-Saharan Africa. Early on, the U.S. attempted to persuade Gaddafi to support or at least not oppose its Africa policy, particularly regarding AFRICOM. However, Gaddafi openly and covertly rejected these efforts, opposing U.S. goals of controlling African resources and preventing competitors from accessing them.⁵²

⁵² Jacob Stokes, "After the Awakening Future Security Trends in the Middle East", http://www.cnas.org/sites/default/files/publications-pdf/CNAS_MiddleEastMegatrends_Stokes.pdf

5.8.Changing Global Dynamics

The current international system is characterized by uncertainty regarding major powers, their relationships, and the patterns of power and influence among them. While the United States remains the most powerful global actor, it cannot enforce its will on all issues and parties. This context is crucial for understanding U.S.-Libya relations and American foreign policy towards Libya within the broader strategic framework of the American vision in contemporary international relations.⁵³

5.8.1. The Role of the Security Council

The Security Council's adoption of Resolutions 1970 and 1973, which imposed sanctions, established no-fly zones, and aimed to protect civilians, reflects the nature of the current international system. This system is marked by a lower degree of American hegemony compared to the post-Cold War era and the collapse of the Soviet Union, indicating a shift towards a more multipolar world. In this post-American world, as described by Fareed Zakaria, the U.S. is less inclined to intervene both voluntarily and out of necessity.

5.8.2. Transitional Period in International Relations

This transition period in international relations, described by Paul Kennedy as the gap that separates strategic eras, is characterized by blurred rules and determinants of international behavior and ambiguity in the structure of international relations. Predictions about the actions of various actors become more challenging as emerging economies actively seek to exploit new strategic opportunities to advance their influence and interests.⁵⁴

⁵³ Nina Hachigian and David Shorr; *ibid* ; pp 73-91

⁵⁴ Hugh L. Atkinson, "Strategic Implications of U.S. Military Action in Libya

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/03/10/how_not_to_intervene_in_libya

The U.S. intervention in Libya is part of a broader strategy to maintain its global influence, prevent competitors from gaining strategic resources, and adapt to the evolving multipolar international system. Libya's strategic location and resources make it a significant focus within U.S. regional policy in Africa. Understanding these dynamics is essential for situating U.S.-Libya relations within the broader context of shifting global power structures and the strategic framework guiding American foreign policy.

5.8.3. The Contradiction Between U.S. Democratic Values and Strategic Interests During the Arab Spring

The Arab Spring, particularly the situation in Libya, highlighted the tension between the democratic values and strategic interests of the United States. Initially, the U.S. government appeared reluctant to engage with the events of the Arab Spring, which began in Tunisia and then spread to Egypt. This hesitation was clear in the American response to the protests in Egypt against the Mubarak regime. The U.S. administration only took a definitive stance after Mubarak's resignation, with Hillary Clinton emphasizing the importance of an orderly transfer of power. President Obama called for a serious and peaceful transition of power only when it was evident that Mubarak's regime was collapsing.

5.8.4. Economic and Political Constraints

The financial and political stress from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan significantly influenced the U.S. withdrawal from active involvement in the Middle East. These wars had a substantial impact on American public opinion, leading to a reluctance to bear the excessive costs of foreign engagements. This sentiment resulted in severe restrictions on the U.S. defense budget. Despite these pressures and concerns about rising Chinese power in Asia, the U.S. did not entirely withdraw from the Middle East⁵⁵.

In 2012, the Obama administration's defense strategy document reaffirmed the importance of the Middle East as a focal point of American policy and interests.

⁵⁵ Lesser, I. O. (2011). *The United States and the Middle East: Policy Shifts and the Impact of the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars*. Rand Corporation.

President Obama identified the Middle East and North Africa, along with the Asia-Pacific region, as the two most critical areas for U.S. political interest. The document emphasized maintaining a strong military presence and supporting allies in and around the Middle East. It outlined ten tasks for the U.S. armed forces, at least eight of which were related to American interests in the Arab region. Thus, the Middle East and North Africa remained a priority in U.S. policy to protect its interests⁵⁶

5.8.5. Energy Security and American Strategy

American strategy in the region is closely tied to energy security, often described as the "new oil imperialism." This strategy is central to the U.S. approach in the era of globalization, despite its apparent reliance on liberalized international trade and market economies. The importance of energy resources, particularly Libyan oil and gas, underscores this strategy. Changes in the global energy sector, including the rise of shale oil and gas, have not diminished the importance of the Middle East and North Africa. According to the International Energy Agency's chief economist, the region could become even more crucial by the mid-2020s and will remain the heart of the global oil industry.⁵⁷

5.8.6. Strategic Context and International Relations

The significance of Libya within U.S. global strategy and regional policy in Africa cannot be ignored. Libya's geographical position connects critical parts of North and Sub-Saharan Africa. Early on, the U.S. attempted to persuade Gaddafi to support or at least not oppose its Africa policy, particularly regarding AFRICOM. However, Gaddafi openly and covertly rejected these efforts, opposing U.S. goals of controlling African resources and preventing competitors from accessing them.

⁵⁶ Jack Holland & Mike Aaronson, "Dominance through Coercion: Strategic Rhetorical Balancing and the Tactics of Justification in Afghanistan and Libya", *Journal of Intervention and State-building*,
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17502977.2013.856126#.UzaauM4SBRc>

⁵⁷ Alan Kuperman, "Lessons from Libya: How Not to Intervene"
http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/23387/lessons_from_libya.htm

The current international system is characterized by uncertainty regarding major powers, their relationships, and the patterns of power and influence among them. While the United States remains the most powerful global actor, it cannot enforce its will on all issues and parties. This context is crucial for understanding U.S.-Libya relations and American foreign policy towards Libya within the broader strategic framework of the American vision in contemporary international relations.⁵⁸

5.8.7. Shifts in International Dynamics

The Security Council's adoption of Resolutions 1970 and 1973, which imposed sanctions, established no-fly zones, and aimed to protect civilians, reflects the nature of the current international system. This system is marked by a lower degree of American hegemony compared to the post-Cold War era and the collapse of the Soviet Union, indicating a shift towards a more multipolar world. In this post-American world, as described by Fareed Zakaria, the U.S. is less inclined to intervene both voluntarily and out of necessity.

This transition period in international relations, described by Paul Kennedy as the gap that separates strategic eras, is characterized by blurred rules and determinants of international behavior and ambiguity in the structure of international relations. Predictions about the actions of various actors become more challenging as emerging economies actively seek to exploit new strategic opportunities to advance their influence and interests.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Florence Gaub, "A Libyan Recipe for Disaster", *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, 56:1, p.101

⁵⁹ Sam Raphael and Doug Stokes, "Globalizing West African oil: US 'energy security' and the global
ation/227720229_Globalizing_West_African_oil_US_ehttp://www.researchgate.net/public/economy"
nergy_security_and_the_global_economy.

5.8.8. U.S. Intervention in Libya

The U.S. intervention in Libya, in contrast to its non-intervention in Syria, underscores the complexities of American foreign policy. The decision was influenced by Libya's strategic importance due to its oil reserves and geographical location, humanitarian concerns about protecting civilians from Gaddafi's violence, broad international support from European allies and the Arab League, and the feasibility of a low-cost, NATO-led operation. Additionally, historical animosity towards Gaddafi, who was seen as a regional destabilizer, further motivated the intervention.⁶⁰

5.8.8. 1. American Intervention in Libya: President Obama's Justification

As criticism of the President's solo military operations against the Gaddafi regime grew, Obama considered it appropriate to pressure allies to take on broader responsibilities and greater tasks in the military operations, which were subsequently transferred to NATO, the American military arm.⁶¹

Despite the transfer, the American armed forces were practically responsible for and conducted the decisive military operations. President Obama was clear about the U.S. being the main actor, outlining the components of the military action conducted by the U.S. armed forces in his March 28, 2011, speech. These actions included:

- Destroying Gaddafi's forces on the road to Benghazi

⁶⁰ Lorenzo Vidino, *The Arab Spring Did Not Begin Islamically: In Western Governments and Political Islam After 2011*, Dubai, Misbar Center for Studies and Research, 2013, p. 20

⁶¹ Amr Sarhan, *They Made Him a Ruler: A Reading of the Consequences of the Egyptian Elections*, Cairo, Dar Al-Ahram for Publishing and Distribution, 2013, p. 125.

- Destroying Libyan government forces in towns near Benghazi, west of Ajdabiya
- Eliminating Libya's air defenses
- Destroying tanks and military resources in overcrowded Libyan towns and villages
- Disrupting most supply lines

5.8.8.2 Cost and Congressional Opposition

Although Obama claimed the U.S. military role was limited, the operation's announced cost to American taxpayers was more than \$1 billion. Despite widespread congressional opposition to military interventions and actions in Libya, the United States remained the critical and decisive partner throughout seven months of military operations.⁶²

5.8.8.3 The Broader Context of U.S. Policy

President Obama's response to the Arab Spring, especially in Libya, was characterized by a cautious and pragmatic approach, often seen as circumstantial rather than strategic. This stance was shaped by the broader context of the economic crisis, the Iraq War, and the general crisis of confidence in the U.S. and Europe. Analysts suggest that the intervention in Libya was driven by a desire to secure political influence and limit opposition. During the Libyan crisis, U.S. Secretary of State's actions clearly supported the effort to remove Gaddafi, with diplomatic efforts focused on this goal rather than alternative solutions. Despite portraying the intervention as a humanitarian effort to protect civilians, evidence, including a 2013 International Security study, indicated that the uprising involved violence from the start and that

⁶² See Max Fisher, "Libyans Now Like America Slightly More Than Do Canadians," TheAtlantic, August 13, 2012, <http://www.theatlantic.com>

NATO's primary aim was to topple Gaddafi, even if it meant increasing harm to Libyans.⁶³

5.8.8. 4. Consequences of NATO Intervention

NATO's actions prolonged the war in Libya, resulting in a significantly higher number of casualties and human rights violations. The city of Misrata, for example, experienced extensive casualties and destruction from Gaddafi's forces. However, analysis by the Human Rights Watch organization revealed that regime forces primarily targeted fighters rather than civilians.⁶⁴

While Gaddafi's forces avoided indiscriminate use of force, NATO attacked regular forces indiscriminately, even in areas where civilians were not at risk. This included attacks on withdrawing forces and cities like Sirte, Gaddafi's birthplace. NATO's continued support for rebels, despite the regime's offer of a ceasefire and negotiations, further exacerbated the conflict and prolonged the war.⁶⁵

NATO's intervention disrupted the conflict when the regime was close to regaining control, prolonging the war for another seven months and causing thousands of additional deaths. While intervention may have prevented further repression by the Gaddafi regime, it also enabled rebel attacks and prolonged the conflict's duration and severity.⁶⁶

⁶³ Mustafa Alawi, How does the world deal with the Arab revolutions, International Politics Magazine, Issue 184, April 2012, pp. 39-40.

⁶⁴ Alawi Mustafa Ahmed, American Foreign Policy towards the Soviet Union (1953-1959), Master Thesis, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University 1989

⁶⁵ Alvin Toffler, Civilization of the Third Wave (Tripoli, The Jamahiriya House for Publishing, Distribution and Advertising, 1990.

⁶⁶ Ali Harb, Soft Power Revolutions in the Arab World: Towards Dismantling Dictatorships and Fundamentalism, Cairo Boxstream Library, 2013

5.8.8. 5. Approaching the Failure of US Foreign Policy in Libya

The sixth anniversary of Security Council Resolution No. 1973 of March 17, 2011, which authorized NATO's intervention in Libya, passed without much mention in Western capitals. The resolution aimed to prevent civilian casualties and protect Benghazi, leading to NATO's war against the Gaddafi regime on March 19, 2011. However, in the years following Gaddafi's fall, Libya has failed to realize the aspirations of its people. Instead, it faces further failure, confusion, and threats to its unity and stability.⁶⁷

Libya's post-Gaddafi trajectory, shaped by external interventions, has turned into a recipe for disaster rather than a model for political transformation. The country grapples with inherited structural weaknesses, post-conflict challenges, and the consequences of regime change. Ill-advised policy decisions have exacerbated these issues, pushing Libya towards violence, lawlessness, and political fragmentation.⁶⁸

Analysts like Richard Haass and Robert Kaplan have warned of Libya's dire situation, which now leads to despair. Reports from Libya, including those from the government, highlight the need for international assistance to address the crisis. The Rome Conference in March 2014 underscored the implications of the US and its allies'

⁶⁷ Ali Mabrouk, *Arab Revolutions: The Founding Speech*, Rawd al-Farag, Cairo, Dar Al-Ain Publishing, 1st edition, 2013.

⁶⁸ Ambassador Richard and James Pack "the Role of Outside Actors" in, Jason Pack(ed), *the 2011 Libyan Uprisings and the Struggle for the Post-Qadhafi Future*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)

involvement in Libya in 2011. It revealed the inadequacy of the prevailing approach and the necessity of reevaluating the root causes of Libya's failure.⁶⁹

5.8.8. 6. Consequences of External Intervention

The fall of Gaddafi's dictatorship in Libya has led to troubling consequences, with the rise of armed militias posing a significant threat to stability. American intelligence, including from the Defense Intelligence Agency, has highlighted the ongoing risks, reflected in President Obama's extension of the state of emergency in February 2014. Libya's post-Gaddafi trajectory illustrates the shortcomings of U.S. foreign policy and underscores the need for a reassessment of intervention strategies. The country faces a vicious cycle where security cannot be achieved without disbanding militias, but militias' power persists due to weak security institutions. Understanding Libya's transition requires looking beyond surface appearances to grasp the persistent dynamics of the past. The consequences of U.S. and Western interventions, coupled with ongoing external influences, raise questions about Libya's future stability. The tragic assassination of Ambassador Chris Stevens and reliance on extremist militias for protection highlight the challenges ahead. Breaking this cycle requires a nuanced approach that considers Libya's history, internal issues, and external impacts, demanding coordinated efforts from both Libyan stakeholders and the international community.

5.9. The Somalization of Libya: A Consequence of Western Intervention

The Rome Conference of March 2014 aimed to address the deteriorating situation in Libya and foster national reconciliation. However, Western officials' attempts to pressure Libyan representatives into dialogue proved ineffective. Instead, Libya continued to spiral into insecurity and political deadlock.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Azmi Bishara, *On Revolution and the Susceptibility to Revolution*, Arab Center for Policy Research and Studies, (Doha), Doha Institute, Series of Studies and Research Papers, August 2011,

⁷⁰ Carl Smith, Marcotte Light, *Ethics and Foreign Policy*, translated by Fadel Junker, (Riyadh, Obeikan Library Press, 1st edition, 2005,

Western officials failed to grasp the dynamics governing Libya's internal landscape. The NATO intervention inadvertently created conditions akin to Somalia, leading to the "Somalization of Libya." This manifested in the proliferation of weapons and the rise of competing militias, mirroring the chaos in Somalia.⁷¹

The demand for militias to disarm faced significant challenges. Militias were reluctant to relinquish their weapons as long as their rivals retained power and influence. This reluctance perpetuated the cycle of violence, with militias growing stronger and garnering external support, including from state and non-state actors.⁷²

The repercussions extended beyond Libya, with the region becoming a breeding ground for weapons proliferation and militant activity. Al-Qaeda found fertile ground in this chaos, further exacerbating the security situation.⁷³

The period from 2011 to 2017 prompted a reassessment of US policy towards Libya. President Obama's remarks at the UN General Assembly underscored the region's significance to American interests. Key priorities included safeguarding allies, ensuring energy security, combating terrorism, and preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

In conclusion, the "Somalization of Libya" underscores the unintended consequences of Western intervention. Addressing Libya's challenges requires a

⁷¹ Carl Smith, Marcotte Light, *Ethics and Foreign Policy*, translated by Fadel Junker, (Riyadh, Obeikan Library Press, 1st edition, 2005,

⁷² Didi Ould Salek, *Political Polarization of the Tribe and Tribal Phenomena in Libya During the Revolution*, Arab Center for Policy Research and Study, (Doha), peer-reviewed scientific paper, published on: 7/16/2012,

⁷³ Douglas Barrie, "Libya's Lessons: The Air Campaign" *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, 54:6.

nuanced understanding of its dynamics and a concerted effort to promote stability and reconciliation.⁷⁴

5.9.1. Reevaluating US Policy Towards Libya

The United States must evaluate how to craft a new policy towards Libya that aligns with its core goals beyond the rhetoric of democracy and human rights. The intervention in Libya, initially justified on humanitarian grounds, has revealed limited gains and significant setbacks. The portrayal of Gaddafi's regime as a villain by American propaganda has impeded Libya's democratic transition by fostering division and hindering reconciliation. The Western-led intervention, once seen as a success, has instead highlighted the shortcomings of using humanitarian justifications for regime change. This underscores the need to reassess international intervention models to avoid repeating past failures.

Similarly, the future of U.S. policy towards Egypt is debated. Some advocate maintaining current aid levels to counterbalance adversaries and address regional instability, citing limited U.S. involvement in conflicts like Syria and Yemen. Others argue for a reevaluation of aid, suggesting that it hasn't led to significant improvements under President Sisi's leadership. They propose redirecting aid towards military modernization and contingent upon genuine democratic reforms. Balancing support for strategic allies with promoting democratic values will be crucial for shaping effective future policies.

5.9.2 Future Vision for American Policy Towards Egypt:

The future of American foreign policy towards Egypt presents divergent views. Some advocate reducing U.S. aid, concerned it might strengthen America's adversaries in the Arab world, citing the U.S.'s limited role in conflicts like Syria and Yemen and the Iran nuclear deal. They suggest increased security cooperation with Arab nations could address these issues. Conversely, others support maintaining current aid levels,

⁷⁴ Ebrahim taheri; Review of US Foreign Policy in the Middle East Looking to the Future, Geopolitics Quarterly, Volume: 13, No 4, Winter 2018.

viewing President Sisi as effective in combating extremism and implementing economic reforms, particularly his call for a "religious revolution" against extremism.

The main concern with restructuring U.S.-Egypt relations is the risk of Egypt becoming less cooperative, potentially undermining U.S. influence in the region. Past delays in Egyptian permits for U.S. military operations raise concerns, especially given ongoing counterterrorism efforts. U.S. military aid to Egypt has not effectively built a professional army, aligned Egypt with U.S. strategic goals, or advanced democratic reforms. Therefore, some argue aid should be redirected towards military modernization and contingent on Egypt pursuing these reforms. The Obama administration suggested future aid be tied to counterterrorism and security goals, but enforcement remains uncertain. A proposed reduction in aid from \$1.3 billion to \$500 million aims to balance dissatisfaction with maintaining security commitments. This reduction could be reversed if Egypt commits to necessary reforms, thus strengthening relations and supporting regional stability.

In the context of Egypt's political turmoil, the January Revolution faced a critical choice between Ahmed Shafiq, a remnant of the Mubarak era, and Mohamed Morsi, representing the Brotherhood. Despite initial fears of regression, Shafiq's election led to the realization that the Brotherhood's true agenda was to seize power rather than advance the state. The Brotherhood's dominance was short-lived, ending with the removal of Morsi on June 30, 2013. Atef Al-Ghamri's book, *Hijacking the Revolution*, challenges the notion that the January Revolution was an American plot, revealing that the U.S. was surprised by the scale of the uprising, which disrupted their plans for a controlled demonstration.⁷⁵

Initially, the U.S. had a "Plan A" for Egypt that aimed to control the Arab Spring through a dependable ally, the Muslim Brotherhood. When this strategy faltered, they switched to "Plan B," turning to the Brotherhood due to their long-standing ties. Western studies suggest that this approach, termed "Hijacking the Arab Spring," was designed to maintain U.S. influence in the region. During the Egyptian

⁷⁵ Ishtiaq Hussein and Mohsen Salih, *American Foreign Policy and the Islamic World* (Beirut, Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Consultations, first edition, May 2009).

revolution from January 25 to February 11, 2011, President Obama held numerous meetings with advisors to navigate the balance between supporting democracy and safeguarding strategic interests. Critics, like Barry Rubin, argue that Obama's support for the Brotherhood was a deliberate strategy to maintain control.

U.S. foreign policy, which includes actions like inciting unrest and supporting coups, has a long history, extending beyond the 20th century. Reports, such as one from The Telegraph in January 2011, reveal that reshaping the Arab world was planned well before the Arab Spring, with strategies dating back to 2001. Michael Ledeen's ten-year plan to transform the region, and President George W. Bush's vision of Iraq as a model for other countries, underscore this long-term agenda.

Preparations for reshaping Arab regimes began in earnest in 2008, confirmed by U.S. ambassador Margaret Scobey's telegrams. These documents reveal U.S. efforts to incite chaos in Egypt and use activists, including those from the April 6 Movement, to advance American policies. One specific document detailed an activist's participation in a 2008 youth movements summit in New York, where international support for democratic change in Egypt was organized.

The Youth Movements Summit, involving major organizations like Facebook and Google, aimed to use technology for non-violent advocacy rather than traditional violent methods. This approach was designed to counteract groups like al-Qaeda and promote democratic values. Training courses, including those by the Pentagon and involving Brotherhood members, focused on the Bee Swarm Method of mobilizing groups through social networks.

Professor Franco Bernardi's analysis of swarm theory highlights its effectiveness in group mobilization but also notes the challenge of dissent within such movements. The Raed Foundation's guidelines for preparing activists suggest a structured approach to instigating change, with recommendations for NGOs and academic institutions to support and manage coalitions. These insights reflect American origins of post-revolution coalitions and strategies for achieving democratic reforms.

5.9.3 A future vision for American foreign policy towards Libya:

Libya has faced ongoing instability and external interference since the fall of Gaddafi. Former Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi and Ahmed Gaddafi al-Dam have both claimed that French President Nicolas Sarkozy played a crucial role in the intervention, which Sarkozy was later accused of funding through Gaddafi's support for his 2007 election campaign. Berlusconi described the events as a French-orchestrated intervention rather than a genuine revolution.

The Arab revolutions encountered significant obstacles, including deep-rooted political and economic crises, lack of unified leadership, and weak organizations to replace the old regimes. As a result, Islamic groups emerged as dominant forces, often sidelining other revolutionary factions despite their initial promises of broad-based governance. Successful revolutions require national consensus, and a transitional period dedicated to preparing for democratic governance through electoral competition and a democratic constitution.

In Libya, despite competition between liberal and Islamist factions, real power has shifted to armed militias, creating a risk of fragmentation and chaos. The U.S. needs to reassess its strategy in Libya, focusing on long-term stability rather than purely military solutions, and addressing threats from extremist movements and illegal immigration.

To improve U.S.-Libya relations, the U.S. should expand its engagement beyond the Libyan government to include the Libyan people and societal groups. It should also rethink its approach to political Islam, viewing it as compatible with democracy rather than adversarial. Emphasizing political reform and adapting to a changing global landscape, including rising powers like China, is essential. The decline of American unipolarity and the shift towards a more cautious, resource-conserving approach in global crises, as outlined in the "Global Trends (2030)" report,

suggest that the U.S. will need to develop new strategies and alliances in the Middle East, similar to the "Nixon Doctrine" post-Vietnam War.⁷⁶



⁷⁶ Rushdie Li, The Crisis in Libya: The Future, Possibilities, and Repercussions, Chinese People's Daily in Arabic, (Beijing), September 11, 2011.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Arab revolutions emerged from long-standing political, social, and economic crises, marked by political failures, social inequities, and widespread corruption. These issues deepened wealth disparities, weakened national unity, and concentrated power among elites, while regional and international actors influenced the course of the revolutions. Contrary to expectations of a swift regime change, revolutions progress in "waves," involving periods of success and setbacks. Overthrowing a leader does not dismantle entrenched structures, and revolutionary movements often face internal divisions and lack cohesion.

American policy towards Egypt and Libya following the Arab Spring has been shaped by a complex interplay of strategic interests, regional dynamics, and evolving political realities. In Egypt, the U.S. initially adopted a cautious and reactive stance during the revolutionary phases, balancing between supporting the existing regime and accommodating the demands of revolutionaries. The U.S. response evolved from a strategy of preserving stability under Mubarak to pressing for his resignation and navigating the subsequent power transitions. Post-revolution, American policy has sought to manage Egypt's political transformation while aligning with strategic interests, particularly through maintaining military ties and countering Islamist influence. Challenges under President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, including economic and political instability, have led to a recalibration of U.S. policy, emphasizing security cooperation and cautious support for economic reforms while advocating for a balance between stability and democratic aspirations.

In Libya, the U.S. response was marked by a rapid condemnation of Muammar Gaddafi's regime and support for its overthrow, reflecting a commitment to civilian protection and democratic principles. However, the subsequent "leading from behind" approach and minimal engagement highlighted the difficulties of managing post-intervention instability. The American experience in Libya underscores the limitations

of external intervention and the risks associated with disrupting entrenched regimes without a clear post-conflict strategy.

Overall, American policy in the wake of the Arab Spring has been characterized by a focus on strategic interests, regional stability, and cautious engagement, with varied outcomes in Egypt and Libya reflecting the complexities of navigating revolutionary transitions and the limits of external influence in shaping post-revolutionary landscapes.

American foreign policy was mishandled, with late intervention in Egypt and hasty actions in Libya contributing to Libya's fragmentation. U.S. policies significantly impacted the Arab Spring, frequently empowering oppressed youth but leading to the subjugation of these groups to American interests. Islamic political movements were crucial in the revolutions but struggled post-revolution. Gaddafi's dismantling of civil society organizations contributed to ongoing chaos in Libya. U.S. strategies included creating chaos in Libya and applying incentives and pressure in Egypt. American propaganda portrayed Gaddafi as a brutal dictator to justify intervention and secure Libya's oil resources.

The Arab Spring resulted in chaos, sectarian conflicts, and the fragmentation of Arab states, with new sectarian and ethnic divisions reflecting the theory of creative chaos. To address these challenges, Egypt and Libya should develop policies aligning with Arab interests for better U.S. relations, promote justice, equality, and democracy with free and fair elections, and reform the Arab League into a confederated organization for unified political positions. Strengthening Arab nationalism, conducting comparative studies of revolutions, and raising awareness of American strategies to fragment Arab countries and control resources are also recommended.

American foreign policy towards the Arab Spring revolutions revealed a significant disconnect between its stated democratic ideals and the realities of its interventions. The U.S. aimed to contain the upheavals in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria while protecting its strategic interests. This approach led to mixed

results: successful in toppling regimes like Mubarak's in Egypt and Gaddafi's in Libya, but also contributing to further instability. The miscalculated alliance with Islamist movements and the focus on reshaping political landscapes rather than fostering stability exacerbated regional chaos. The American response in Libya and Egypt, characterized by interventionist and strategic maneuvers, often conflicted with its professed goals of democracy and human rights. The study underscores the need for a critical reassessment of American foreign policy, highlighting the discrepancies between its principles and practices. Future American policies in the Arab world should address these inconsistencies and adapt to the complex realities of the region to foster genuine stability and democratic progress.



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