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**The American-Arab Political Relationships:
Cooperation or Domination**

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Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization**

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Dedication

I dedicate this humble work:

To the candles of my life, my mother "Khadija" and my father "Khaled", the words cannot express the extent of my pride in you, and my pride for being your daughter, may Allah protect and save you.

My love and gratitude .

To the light of my eyes, my brothers: Ahmed, Mohamed, Abdallah .

To my brothers' wives Ikram and Chaima

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To everyone who stood by my side, and helped me in my study career

To all who have even a small piece of love to me.

To all people I love....

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For my little angels Rahaf and Haïthem

To my little and the only sister Siham

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To all my friends and old teachers

To all my family members each one with his name

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Abstract

The American-Arab relationships are manifested in so many fields such as economic, political, cultural, etc. This research makes an insightful look at the political relationships between Arabs and America. It attempts to reveal some of the strategies and policies that USA adopts in its relations with the Arab world. The research aims to show the real nature of these relations, whether they reflect collaboration or hegemony. The method that has been followed in this research is descriptive-analytical through which a comparison between two variables which are cooperation and domination relationships is held, and analysing some historical events in order to find answers for the research questions and confirm or disconfirm the hypotheses. This research project is very susceptible, and important, because this issue has concerned the public opinion for many decades.

Keywords: American-Arab, Arab world, collaboration, cooperation and domination, hegemony, political relationships.

List of Abbreviations

AAI	The Arab American Institute
ACS	The American Community Survey
AS	Arab Spring
CNN	Cable News Network
DOD	The Department of Defense
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
IS	Islamic State
ISIL	Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
JASTA	Justice Against Sponsors of Terrorism Act
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nation Security Council
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USCB	the U.S. Census Bureau
WMD	Weapon of Mass Destruction
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

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General Introduction

General Introduction

The American-Arab political relationships were not that evident at least until the mid-1960s, because Arabs as people were not interested in political issues concerning their own countries, therefore they were not interested in the US politics, these relations have had much interest by researchers and historians. The American-Lebanon Professor of Semitic Literature at Princeton University Philip Hitti (1924) stated, "Syrians cut not figure in the political life of this nation. Very few of them interest themselves in politics or aspire to office" (p. 89), he gave an example about the Syrian people as Arabs. These political relationships have had their ups and downs, from the end of World War II until now, each conflict changing the relations. It has varied between friendship and tension, especially after the events of September 11th.

The US used its varied policies to create a sense of cooperation with Arab regimes, and consolidate relations with them aiming to achieve mutual interests, also, as their assumption to spread peace and stability around the world. Its intervention in the Arab region appeared in many issues such as supporting Arab people to change their regimes (AS) and make numerous agreements in different fields.

America implemented different strategies in order to impose its presence in the Arab world; it has made many interventions such as the military intervention in major wars as the Gulf War, all of this was to impose a military presence in the Arab region, and control their properties. US has possessed many military bases in many Arab countries (Saudi Arabia, Emirates, Iraq, etc), in addition to the economic power that allowed it to control the Arab oil and its price in the OPEC. This control over different areas in the Arab region has turned its relationship with the Arabs into domination.

The last event that was announced by the American president Donald Trump regarding the Palestinian Capital, Jerusalem, and his recognition of it as the capital of Israel is one of the most remarkable events in the history of these relationships.

1. Research Problem

In recent years, the USA has become the ruler of the world, and for sure it has various types of relationships with different countries. The Arab countries and America have established relations in most aspects; the big and obvious ones were and are in politics. In the light of the current situation in the Middle East, and North Africa during the previous decades, it is difficult to decide if there is a collaboration between them, or it is only a form of American control and domination.

2. Research Questions

1. Are the US administrations cooperating with Arab countries in order to achieve stability and security in the region?
2. Do the policies that the US adopts towards the Arab countries aim to control the Arab region in different aspects such as military, economic, etc?

3. Research Hypotheses

1. If the US policies establish stability and security in the region, US-Arab relationships are based on cooperation.
2. If the US policies do not serve the interests of Arab countries, US-Arab relationships are based on domination.

4. Aims of the Study

The study aims to examine the political relationships between America and the Arab countries. Moreover; it aims to investigate the nature of these relations whether they are cooperation or domination.

5. Methodology

In this work, the descriptive-analytical research design is adopted which relies on qualitative research that is based on the collection of data through reading books, websites essays, Journal articles, governmental, and historical documents, etc. This research methodology is thought to be one of the best ways for this type of research as it highlights the nature of Arab American political relationships through the provision of relevant and pertinent evidence.

6. Structure of the Dissertation

This work is divided into three chapters. The first two chapters are theoretical whereas the last one is a chapter of findings and discussion. The first chapter clarifies the strategies and policies that the US used towards Arab Countries in order to help them to change their regimes and systems under the umbrella of political cooperation. In the second chapter We tend to give information about the American foreign policy, then explaining the meaning of domination as a term and understanding of American domination in addition to the US's hidden goals and interests in the Arab region and how they seek to control it in many aspects (political, economic, and so forth). While the third chapter aims to answer the research questions (Question1, Question2) by analyzing some data and information from the first two chapters and mentioning some events such as the Deal of the Century and so forth.

Chapter One:
Aspects of American-Arab
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1. Introduction

The United States and the Arab countries have cooperative relations dating back to many decades, and this cooperation aims to achieve mutual interests. This chapter explains the nature of cooperative relations between the United States and Arab countries in various fields, including economic, political, etc. Additionally, the effective role that America played in the Arab Spring revolutions by supporting the Arab peoples and providing military and financial assistances in order to spread freedom and democracy in the Arab region. Also, it describes how Arab Americans became part of the American political system. Furthermore, this chapter will tackle the cooperative relations between the United States and North African Countries especially Egypt, since both countries have strong and unique relations compared to neighbouring countries, and this is what qualifies them to conclude many agreements and establish many contracts. This will be followed by the strong relationships between the United States and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries in the economic field, especially the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

2. The History of American-Arab Political Relationships

The United States' relationship with the Arab League prior to the Second World War was limited because most Arab countries were colonized. However, the first country to officially recognize the US was Morocco in 1777, they have signed a friendship treaty that is still in force and it is the oldest international treaty in the history of the United States of America. George Washington wrote a letter of thanks to the Moroccan "emperor" (he called him an emperor instead of Sultan), thanking him for it and promising that the United States will be an important ally over the years. The second Arab country with which the United States signed a friendship and trade treaty was the Sultanate of Oman in 1833

(Elmasry, 2009). Moreover, in comparison to European powers such as Britain and France which had managed to colonize almost all of the Arab World after defeating the Ottoman Empire in 1918, the United States was respected throughout the region. Indeed, Americans were seen as good people and respected by Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) states, untainted by the selfishness and duplicity associated with the Europeans (Fawcett, 2016).

So, what did happen to this strong and good beginning of these relations?

These relationships between Americans and Arabs became enmity rather than friendship, especially after the events of September 11th. A study was conducted by Middle East Journal before these events, which make a kind of interview asking people to describe Arabs in one or two words, the answers were as the following (Berber, Savage, Hardness, Traitors, terrorists...) (Elmasry, 2009). The same thing in Arab societies, and as a result of these thoughts, two terms have emerged which are Anti-Americanism, and Anti-Arabism.

a) Anti-Americanism: “can be defined as any hostile action or expression that becomes part and parcel of an undifferentiated attack on the foreign policy, society, culture, and values of the United States” (Rubinstein & Smith, 1988, p. 35).

b) Anti-Arabism: is interlinking forms of prejudice and discrimination that are prevalent within the United States. These prejudices are like other forms of stereotyping that employ broad cultural and racial generalizations such as the Arabs are terrorists, savages, killers, Berbers, etc. that target a part of the population for disparate treatment on both a personal and collective level (Wolf, n.d.).

As it is mentioned above, in the political field there were no strong relations between the two sides, it approximately started with the administration of George. H. W. Bush, he faced the Iraqi invasion to Kuwait in August 1990, Bush intervened to end this invasion in 100 hours; therefore, he has built military bases in Saudi Arabia that serves as strategic goals for the US. This war was a big winning for the American military forces ("History of US President George W. Bush", 2018).

After the September 11th attacks in New York and Washington, George. W. Bush launched the War on Terrorism. In his 2002 State of the Union Address, Bush used the term "axis of evil" consisting of the three enemies of the US including Iraq (Box, 2011) .

Bush and his administration had advertised the war as necessary in order to protect their country and their allies from the weapon of mass destruction (WMD), he considered Iraq as a part of the war on terrorism, therefore; In 2003, he invaded Iraq, searching for those weapons, and this invasion led to the removal of the president Saddam Hussein from power ("Key Points From Bush Speech", 2005).

For Barak Obama, Iraq had been a disastrously mistaken war of choice, on February 27, 2009, Obama announced that the war in Iraq will end, he said: "Let me say this as plainly as I can: by August 31, 2010, our combat mission in Iraq will end" ("Obama's Speech at Camp Lejeune, N.C.", 2009). In his administration, the American troops have been decreased until the end of 2011 (Jones, 2009). As a result of these events, we can say that Obama strived to create good relations with the Arab and Islamic world.

According to Abdullahi Ayoade Ahmad, and et al (2017), “Donald Trump’s foreign policy has been an issue of observation by various scholars of history and politics as his recent political decision-makings taunted the Muslim world and the Arabs with discrimination and hate” (p. 1713). The foreign policy of Trump towards the Arab world is clearly different from the previous one. The number of the refugees has decreased compared with Obama’s presidency from 110.000 to 50.000, the five Muslim-majority countries (Syria, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen) faced a 90-day Visa suspension, the priority is only given to the diplomats, and the UN, or to the religious minorities such as Christian(Ahmad, Daoud Balogun, Bin Mohamed, & Salleh, 2017). Donald Trump has created strong relations with Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and he intervened in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

3. The Political Cooperation

3.1. Definition of cooperation: “is a group of people working together to achieve results or people helping each other out to achieve a common goal” (Corp, 2018).

3.2. Definition of Political Cooperation: is an act in which countries work together in the political field, in order to achieve their common goals and interests. It can be in different political sides such as military, making decisions, or security.

3.3. American-Arab Cooperation Policy

Us-Arab political cooperation is illustrated in the military collaboration; which aims to help each other in the crisis, in the cases of external interventions, like what happened in the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990, in the conflicts, or a given threat. Also, there is a cooperation between them to fight and reduce terrorism from the Arab region.

3.4. The Strategic Basis for U.S. Arab Military Cooperation

The Military cooperation is based on four different sets of common interests:

- 1) The US has sought to ensure the internal stability of the North African countries, largely against the Islamic extremism. Also, they have sought to protect the two regimes of Tunisia and Morocco.
- 2) Achieve the stability in the Levant, broadly including Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria. The US has sought to use the military collaboration to support the Arab-Israeli Peace Process; in addition to make military alliances with Israel, Egypt, and Jordan.
- 3) It is about the security of the Gulf. The US provided the military power to secure the southern Gulf countries from the threats that some aggressive regimes in Iran and Iraq posted, and any other threats.
- 4) The attacks of September 11th have brought a longstanding threat for American power and interests; therefore, the fourth common interest was related with checking the threat of terrorism, and asymmetric warfare (Cordesman, 2002).

4. The Political Incorporation of Arab Immigrants' Groups

4.1. Political Incorporation “refers to the process through which immigrants and their descendants have come to think of themselves as Americans with political rights and with a voice in politics, should they choose to exercise it” (Srtum, 2006).

According to Pieter Bevelander and Mikael Spång the political incorporation is a Sub-group of social integration as it also includes the participation in labour market and access to housing, education, social security, public services, and cultural life (2014).

4.2. The Incorporation of Arab Immigrants in American Politics

There are many Arabs who live in the United States of America, a lot of them were born there (their ancestors immigrated), and others are immigrants, those are called Arab Americans.

According to statistics of the U.S. Census Bureau (USCB), the Arab Americans in the United States grew from 850,000 in 1990 to 1.2 million in 2000, another estimate was conducted by The American Community Survey (ACS), in which it showed that the Arab American population became around 1.8 million in 2011 (Hoiland, 2015). The Arab American Institute (AAI) counted the U.S. Arab population to be 3.7 million (Harb, 2018), this means that their number has been grown very quickly, and the new generations consider themselves as American citizens.

Despite the fact that Arabs suffer from many issues in the US such as racism, and Islamophobia, most Arab Americans were able to gain American citizenship, and earn high positions in American politics.

Rashida Tlaib is one of the various Arab members in the House of Representative, representing Michigan's 13th congressional district since January 3rd, 2019. She is a Palestinian American politician, and a member of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) (Kelly, 2018). Rashida became the first Palestinian-American Congresswoman holding national office ("With Primary Win, Rashida Tlaib Set to Become First Palestinian-American Congresswoman", 2018).

Ilhan Omar is a Somali-American congresswoman, she represents Minnesota's Congressional District in the US, she was the first Black Arab Woman in the US House of Representative to represent Minnesota (About, n.d.). Rashida Tlaib and Ilhan Omar became the first Muslim and Arab women to serve in Congress. (Connley, 2018).

5. The American Strategies for Reforms in the Arab World

The American strategies toward the Arab World came to make some reforms in the region, such as changing governments and making new Arab allies, these reforms can be changed from time to time according to the US interests.

5.1. The US-Arab relations after the events of September 11th

5.1.1. What is September 11th Events

They are a series of airplane attacks on September 11th, 2001 targeted two places, the World Trade Centre/ the Twin Towers in New York City, and the Pentagon outside Washington D.C. They were led by the Islamic extremist group Al Qaeda consists of 19 hijackers, they were from Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries, the organization is headed by the Saudi fugitive Osama Bin Laden. The human losses were about 3000 people who were killed during these terrorist attacks that arouse Major US initiatives to fight terrorism in America, and in the Arab world, since the terrorists were Arab (Editors, 2018).

5.1.2. JASTA Law

The Justice Against Sponsors of Terrorism Act (JASTA) it is a bill created by the families of 9/11 attack victims, to allow them to take legal action toward any member of the Saudi government suspected of playing a role in the attacks.

In practice, the bill permits civil claims against a foreign state or official for injuries, death, or damages from an act of international terrorism ("What is the 9/11 Bill and Why is it So Controversial?", 2016).

- **Its Relation with 9/11 Attack**

Fifteen of the 19 terrorists who hijacked planes on 9/11 were Saudi nationals, and it has long been supposed that senior Saudi officials were in somehow linked to the attack that is why the victims' families wanted to court any Saudi officials have hands in the incident and to have a financial compensation since the death of their victims was a result of terrorism ("What is the 9/11 Bill and Why is it So Controversial?", 2016).

5.2. Support Arab People to Change the Regimes

In the last decade, many events have taken place in the Arab world under the banner of freedom and democracy in another word ‘ The Arab Spring ‘(AS). The US played a major and crucial role in these events by providing financial assistance and pushing the Arab peoples to ride and control their revolutions in order to preserve American interests in the region. After all these events, the US lost some of its allies in the Arab world, but at the same time, it has acquired new allies and friends in Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Tunisia, and others (Salamet, 2014).



Figure 1.1. The Map of the Arab Spring (Source: <https://orientalreview.org>)

5.2.1. The American Involvement in the 2011 Libyan Civil War

At the beginning of 2011, the manifestations (demonstrations) that started first in Tunisia, and Egypt led to the collapse of two repressive governments in North Africa. These events inspired the Libyans to protest against the Gaddafi government, these protests began in Tripoli and Benghazi in the early of February, and expanded among the whole country, they focused on some issues like corruption, local concerns, and desire to gain positions in the political system. The Libyan people have been repressed by Gaddafi's regime, and this repression raised; therefore, on February 18th, 2011 the United States of America intervened with condemnation of the violence and expressed their support for the democratic reforms and economic openness in Libya, and other countries that were part of the Arab Spring. Because of the Libyan population protests, Gaddafi forces advanced on Benghazi led by his son Saif al-Islam in March 16th, 2011. A day later, the United Nations

Security Council (UNSC) gave official permission to a no-fly zone over Libya. Two days later, the NATO conducted airstrikes against the Gaddafi forces with the purpose of stopping the advancement in Benghazi, and protect/defend the Libyan population from harm (Cadier, 2016). The NATO campaign against Libyan forces ended with the death of Muammar Gaddafi in October, 2011.

The president Barak Obama said in October 20th,2011, that “the death of dictator Muammar Gaddafi marks the end of a long and painful chapter for the people of Libya, who now have the opportunity to determine their own destiny in a new and democratic Libya” (Bruce, 2011, para. 1).

5.2.2. The Role of US in the Syrian Civil War

Inspired by the success of popular protest movement in Tunisia and Egypt (FORD, 2019), the Syrian Crisis, which began in March 2011 in Darra as an anti-government protest against the president Bashar-al-Assad (Karim, 2017). The Syrian people began demonstrating across their country in an attempt to demand an end to abuses among the security forces and the government's corruption. The majority of protests were peaceful (FORD, 2019). Nevertheless, president Bashar-al-Assad exercised his authority with high handedness by curbing people's liberties, limiting their political freedoms. The corruption that has occurred in the Syrian government is considered as one of the most important reasons behind these demonstrations. The Syrian government has continued to practice human rights violations such as, arbitrary arrests, exile, torture, and even death (Mahmoud & Javed, 2017).

The Syrian war has received a lot of international attention, with foreign assistance being provided to both the government of Syria and the rebels (Mariwala, 2014).

President Barack Obama said that Assad should step aside on August 18, 2011, he emphasized that the U.S. would not impose a transition on Syria and would instead leave to the Syrian people the choice of their leaders (FORD, 2019). Since 2011, the Syrian conflict has presented significant policy challenges for the United States' policy toward Syria, since 2014 the US has prioritized counterterrorism operations against the Islamic State (IS, also known as ISIL/ISIS). The United States has directed more than \$9.1 billion toward Syria-related humanitarian assistance, and Congress has appropriated more billions for security and stabilization initiatives in Syria and neighboring countries (Humud & Blanchard, 2019).

The Syrian Crisis is present until now and the US still strives to disseminate freedom and democracy and to keep stability and security in Syria.

6. The American Cooperation with Different Arab Countries

6.1. North African Countries

The US policy toward the North African countries is quietly incoherent, some of the African countries have superficial dealings, but others have deep relations compared to the former. In Morocco, the American Capital Washington D.C was dealing with a monarchy with ancient ties to the United States. On the contrary, Algeria has had anxious political relations with the United States since its independence, and in the 1990s was in the grips of a bloody civil war. Tunisia, like Morocco, has enjoyed close political ties with the US, but the difference lies in its republican, this political system presented distinctive

political challenges. Libya was treated as a rogue state. However, Egypt has strong relations and endless cooperative agreements with the US ("U.S. Policy Towards North Africa: Three Overarching Themes", 2007).

6.1.1. The U.S.-Egyptian Relations

The United States established diplomatic relationships with Egypt in 1922. The US and Egypt have a strong relationship based on mutual interests in Middle East peace and stability, economic opportunity, and regional security. Reinforce a stable, prosperous Egypt, where the government saves the basic rights of its citizens and accomplishes the aspirations of the Egyptian people, will continue to be a central objective of the American policy ("U.S. Relations With Egypt", 2019).

6.1.2. The US. Assistance to Egypt

The U.S. assistance to Egypt has long played a major role to Egypt in different fields and in furthering the strategic partnership and regional stability. Since 1980, the US has supplied Egypt with totals over \$40 billion in the military and \$30 billion in economic aids ("U.S. Relations With Egypt", 2019).

6.1.3. Bilateral Economic Relations

The cooperation between the United States and Egypt in trade was \$7.5 billion in 2018. U.S. exports to Egypt include different products and goods such as wheat and corn, mineral fuel and oil, machinery, aircraft, and iron and steel products as the US provides Egypt with different goods ,the latter also contributes in the American economy by

providing them with various imports include apparel, natural gas and oil, fertilizers, textiles, and agricultural products.

Egypt and the United States signed a Bilateral Investment Treaty in 1982 to promote and facilitate investment between both countries. Egypt and the United States have signed a trade and investment framework agreement, a step toward creating freer trade and increasing investment influxes. American companies are active in most areas of the Egyptian economy, including oil and gas exploration and production, financial services, manufacturing, construction, telecommunications and information technology, and the restaurant and hospitality industry. The US' direct investment in Egypt was \$21.8 billion in 2018 ("U.S. Relations With Egypt", 2019).

6.1.4. Egypt's Membership in International Organizations

Egypt and the US belong to a number of the same international organizations, including the United Nations, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and World Trade Organization. Egypt also is a Partner for Cooperation with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, an observer to the Organization of American States, a partner in the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue, and a non-party state to the International Criminal Court. Egypt is Chair of the African Union until February 2020. Cairo hosts the headquarters of the League of Arab States ("U.S. Relations With Egypt", 2019).

6.2. Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Countries

American relationships with the GCC states date back many decades. These relations have developed in line with the broader Gulf's geopolitical shifts in regional

power centres over time. Even before the discovery of oil in the region, the Gulf States were strategically valuable allies due to their pivotal location between Europe, Africa, and Asia. The United States deem that the Arab Gulf region is one of the most geo-strategically important locations around the world because it is the home to over half of the world's oil reserves and approximately a third of its natural gas (El-katiri, 2015).

US-GCC military ties strengthened further because of the Gulf War. Various GCC states signed bilateral defense agreements with the United States, including Bahrain in 1991, Qatar in 1992, and the UAE in 1994. Access agreements for US military forces followed or were renegotiated to tie the American military troops stationed permanently in regional military bases, allowing for the training of local military forces in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and the UAE. Since the early-1990s, the GCC states have become a major military pillar for the US' foreign policy not only in the Gulf region, but also far beyond. For instance, the GCC states also provide much of the infrastructure and transit capability essential to the US missions in the wider region, including in Afghanistan. The US' military forces have access to key bases such as Al Dhafra Air Base in the UAE, Camp Arifjan in Kuwait, Al Udeid Air Base in Qatar, and the Naval Support Activity in Bahrain. Kuwait hosts as many as 15,000 US troops; Qatar about 7,300; and the UAE some 3,000 (El-katiri, 2015).

6.2.1. Relations with Saudi Arabia

The United States and Saudi Arabia have long-standing economic and defence ties, such as their working closely to fight terrorism in the Arab region, in addition to other aspects of collaboration between these two allies (Prados, 2003).

a) Oil Production

Oil is the main reason that produces a close and cooperative relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia in the last decades. Since the award of the first Saudi oil concession to a U.S. company in 1933, both states share the same interests, especially in the marketing and acquisition of Saudi petroleum supplies. Saudi Arabia has the largest proven oil reserves (estimated at 261.7 billion barrels in January 2001), it produced an average of 9.4 million barrels per day (bp\|d) of crude oil as of May 2003. Almost 13.46% of U.S. oil imports and 7.85% of total U.S. oil consumption imported from Saudi Arabia during 2002 (Prados, 2003).

b) Counterterrorism Cooperation

Observers and analysts confirm that counterterrorism becomes an increasingly important reason for collaboration between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia. Both countries are willing to ensure that the influx of Saudi oil to international markets stays uninterrupted by terrorist groups, that the Kingdom remains politically stable, and that no more Saudi nationals implement terrorist attacks inside the United States (Derks, 2017). Besides, the US and Saudi Arabia with Italy are co-chairs of the Counter ISIS Finance Group, a broader coalition established in 2015 concentrated on disturbing ISIS finance ("Saudi Arabia And Counterterrorism", 2019). Antiterrorism cooperation is considered as a strategic feature in the relationships between the US and Saudi Arabia since both governments have worked closely together on this issue (Derks, 2017).

6.2.2. US-Saudi Cooperation in the Era of Donald J. Trump

The relations between the US and Saudi Arabia become stronger than before under the era of US President Donald J. Trump and the crown prince Mohammed Bin Salman (Alyas, 2018). The president Donald J. Trump visits the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on May 20-22, 2017, the visit aims to consolidate the relations between the two countries, however; this visit succeeded to open a new chapter in US foreign policy towards Saudi Arabia and regional partners. On May 21, 2017, various military and commercial agreements took place between the US and Saudi Arabia that can provide thousands of jobs in both countries and makes national security in the region in a better situation.

These agreements include:

- 23 new foreign investments export licenses leading to upwards of more than \$350 billion of historic direct investment.
- Economic agreements to secure Saudi investment in American infrastructure, aerospace, energy, manufacturing...etc ("Saudi Arabia And The Visit Of President Trump", 2017).

6.2.2.1. The Murder of the Journalist Jamal Khashoggi

He was killed at the Saudi consulate in Istanbul in October 2018, the President Donald J. Trump hinted that he would not take rigorous action against the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and especially its crown prince Mohammed Bin Salman. Trump said, "If we abandon Saudi it would be a terrible mistake". He means that the Kingdom's influence over oil prices (Gaouette & Collins, 2018).

Even though the strong relationships between the US and Saudi Arabia in different fields, these relations have survived grievous challenges, including the 1973 oil embargo

and 9/11 attacks, in which fifteen of the nineteen passenger jet hijackers were Saudi citizens. Successive U.S. administrations confirmed that Saudi Arabia is a critical strategic partner in the region (Alyas, 2018).

7. Conclusion

In this chapter, we endeavored to explain the cooperative relations between the United States and Arab Countries. We also clarified how Arab immigrants became a part of the American political system after America granted them political rights despite their Arab origins and identities such as the right to vote, and gain high positions in American Politics, for instance, Rashida Tlaib and Ilhan Omar who are members in the American House of Representative, and both of them are Arab women. Furthermore, we described how America interfered in the revolutions of Arab countries in another word "The Arab Spring", the United States adopted various strategies to help the Arab people to create new systems and spread democracy in the Arab region. At the end, this chapter explained the continuity of US-Arab relations even after the events of 9\11 attacks; the US has made numerous actions and agreements in several fields with different Arab countries like North Africa; especially the American-Egyptian collaboration, and the Gulf countries like the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Chapter Two:
Aspects of American Domination Over
Arab Countries

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1. Introduction

It is known that the United States is a strong country with a wide influence on the international community. This power was embodied after the end of the cold war, and the collapse of the Soviet Union. This chapter elucidates the domination aspects of America over the Arab world, this domination appears in different areas (military, economic, and ideological). First, in the military side America attempted to impose its presence through military bases by using NATO and NSA to serve their hegemony. However, the invasion of Iraq was the biggest example and evidence of American domination over the Arab region. Second, in the economic side, the United States used its strategies to get the oil with a low price by providing security in exchange for oil. By using these strategies, America aims to break the high prices of oil and control the oil market. Moreover, this part clarifies the role of OPEC and how the US controls this organization indirectly by its hidden plans. Third, on the ideological side that includes two important elements, which are language and media. America seeks to spread its language and its way of life through media, this side play an important role in American domination over Arabs. Finally, the role of the US in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is discussed, where it shows its bias to Israel from the beginning of the conflict.

2. US' Foreign Policy

The concept of foreign policy is composed of two terms, foreign and policy; both of these terms have meanings: Foreign implies those territorially sovereign units that exist outside the legal boundaries of a particular state. While the Policy refers to a leader of action or set of actions aimed to realize the objectives of an organization that it has a set for itself which involves a choice to achieve one's goals (Ghosh, 2015).

2.1. Definition of Foreign Policy

The definition of foreign policy varied from one author to another. Below there are some different definitions:

In his book *A Theory of Foreign Policy*, George Modelski (1962) defined foreign policy as “a system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states, and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment” (p. 6).

In another hand, Vladimir Benko (1997) claimed that “foreign policy is a process, and a system of activities performed by a state-organized community of people within the international arena” (p. 227).

Another definition by Peter Calvert (1986), in which he considered this concept as “decisions, and activities which largely concern relations between one state to another” (p. 1).

All the above definitions share some similarities, though the foreign policy is the activities that one state use for making relations with the other states especially in the Great Countries like the USA.

2.2. Definition of the US' Foreign Policy

“US’ foreign policy is the collection of policies that determine American relations with other nations, and entities. It includes diplomacy, military and security policy, international human rights policies, Economic policies, and Environmental Policy” (Crash Course, 2016).

In other words, the US' foreign policy is about the way the United States interacts with other nations, and they set different purposes such as building democracy, security, and stability for the purpose of the American people.

2.3. Brief History of American Foreign Policy:

The US' foreign policy has witnessed a big track and development since its independence in 1776. This started from the isolationism phase to the Global domination phase, it passed through four stages which are the following:

- **Isolationism:** after the independence of the United States, the country isolated itself from any political engagement with foreign countries especially European nations.

George Washington was the first president of the United states of America, the first who chose isolationism that helped to build a country which can provide the internal security either economic, military, or political, this stage enable the US to build internal stability and economic power; in addition to strong American Navy.

- **The Exit of Isolation:**

The exit of the US from its isolation was illustrated in their participation in WWI to end the war and reducing the global economic crisis left by the war.

- **The Cold War Phase:**

This stage was like an ideological conflict between the US and the Soviet Union to rule the world. It ends with the collapse of the later, and all nations that support it in Eastern Europe in 1990.

- **The Global Domination Phase:**

The period post-cold war, the United States of America finds itself the only and the greatest powerful country in the world in most aspects, it has started to create a new international system based on American principles which are the center around democracy, liberalism, and capitalism. Then, it imposed this model politically, and economically on all the world.

The events of September 11th made new milestones for the American Foreign Policy, after these events, the US declared the war against terrorism around the world especially the Arab region since the defendants in that events were Arabs, also get rid of the weapons of mass destruction.

Two factors are controlled the US' foreign policy in all its phases: The Interests and the Character of the President (Al-Shayeb & Nasser, 2017)

2.4. The Objectives of the US' Foreign Policy in the Arab World

The main purposes and interests of the United States' foreign policy in the Arab region are varied between the securing access to oil with low-cost, supporting and protecting Israel's security, Keeping the military bases in different Arab countries, and defending client-states and friendly regimes (Sarhan, 2017), in addition to combating terrorism or what they call ‘‘Islamic extremism’’ (Fadel, 2016).

In another hand, the character or the personality of the president impacted on the US' foreign policy, each one contributed in the foreign policy decisions (Etheredge, 1978); for instance, George H. W. Bush as we have mentioned in the first chapter, gave more attention to the foreign affairs rather than the domestic one, in which he intervened in the Iraqi

invasion to Kuwait to end the war conversely he made a military presence in Saudi Arabia that serves as strategic goals for the US.

3. Definition of Domination

“Domination” means total control, it comes from the Latin word “dominus”, which means "master" or "lord." This word conveys the idea not just of leadership, but of absolute, unchallengeable authority (Vocabulary Dictionary, n.d).

Max Weber (1968) defines domination “as the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) will be obeyed by a given group of persons” (p. 212).

So, domination is the authority of one side over another side (less power) by the issuance of laws and decisions in different fields.

4. Understanding of American Domination

After World War II, the United States played the essential vanguard of the Western World, becoming the true nucleus of global hegemony. The western world dominates the world, and the United States controls the western world. Therefore, the United States controls the world ("American Ideology and US' Claims for Global Domination", 2016). The sudden collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of the Cold War led the US to be the only Power in the world. This period was described as the American Dominance or unipolar world. In fact, this American domination did not appear only after the Cold War, but some aspects of the US' hegemony emerged during WWII in 1945 (Garg, 2019). Since the emergence of the US as a superpower in the late of nineteenth century, it aimed to preserve the US' hegemony in North America and preventing any hostile powers in the three regions outside America that consist of energy resources, Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. In both World Wars, the

American leaders sought to prevent the domination in other regions through the cooperation of the great powers in a multipolar World, not by the exclusive American hegemony. While after the Cold War, the American leaders have changed this tradition and converted this alliance system that was created in the War into purely and unlimited American domination over the World (Lind, 2006).

5. Types of American Domination

America has many types of hegemony that affect many areas such as the military, economic, and ideological. This hegemony was directly or indirectly. It exploited all sources of power, including weapons, regions, intelligence, and allies in order to dominate and to be the first and only controller in the world, especially Arab countries.

5.1. Military Domination

US military presence is unique since it has a developed force over the world. It has numerous bases and facilities around the Arab world behind that in late 2013, these bases were manned by more than 35,000 troops, including 10,000 forward-deployed soldiers. It owns advanced fighter aircraft, including F-22s, attack helicopters, heavy armor, missile-defense capabilities, and advanced intelligence, and its naval army routinely involving more than 40 ships. The US added a second battle group with the Fifth Fleet, Raleigh-Burke-class guided-missile destroyers, and nuclear-powered guided-missile submarines (Juneau, n.d.).

5.1.1. Definition of Military Bases

A base or group of installations for which a local commander is responsible, consisting of facilities necessary for the support of Army activities including security,

internal lines of communications, utilities, plants and systems, and real property for which the Army has operating responsibility ("Military base", 2005).

5.1.2. Brief History of the Emergence of American Military Bases in the Arab Region

The history of the US' bases emergence in the Arab World began in January 1983, when the most important military command established in the US air force base by the instruction of Ronald Reagan, it was created to plane and train forces in order to confront the emergencies that threaten and obstruct the path of American interests in the Arab countries. In 1983, the USA did not have a military bases or additional property in any Arab country, but by the mid-2000s it has more than 125 military bases in most Arab regions, it began forming military bases through interfering in numerous famous wars during the history to spread peace after the Arab Spring period in many countries such as Syria. It has always been hidden goals under the banner of spreading peace and global security but America has extended its roots in the Arab countries and deployed its military forces to achieve its goals (Morrissey, 2017).

5.1.3. The Military Presence in Some Arab Countries

The American military power is distinguished by being equipped in all respects. The American military properties, and facilities are distributed in many Arab countries such as the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and many others. The American military bases and properties appear in three forms: land, sea and air forms.

Land includes all military bases for combat, which housing and training soldiers, also warehouses that are used for storing and repairing military equipment. On the other hand, the

navy for miss all the ships, navy fleets, battleships, and even military docking ports. The air form is all the bases that control flights, and they contain airports for military aircraft.

Coming to the most important Arab countries that contain US military bases or property are as the following:

a) Egypt: in Egypt, there are no military bases despite the historical cooperation between the two countries, the only U.S. military facility in Egypt conducts medical research.

- **Naval Medical Research Unit Three (NAMRU-3):** It is located in Cairo; it is for conducting researches and protection, it is the biggest DOD overseas laboratory with advances global specifications.

b) Iraq: Since the removal of US forces in 2011, the US has not maintained permanent facilities in Iraq, the only presence has appeared in the al-Asad air base.

- **Al-Asad Air Base:** The only American base that works in Iraq's western Anbar province on helping and advising the Iraqi army, it was known as the cap cake army because of its luxury materials.

c) Qatar: it gathered approximately 10,000 U.S. soldiers, at Al Udeid Air Base. It was as a purpose to be present in the Gulf region after the withdrawal from Saudi Arabia in 2003.

- **Al Udeid Air Base:** it is the biggest American base in the Middle East it is the center of air operations built in 1996.

- **Camp as Sayliyah:** It is an equipment store controlled by the army, also it includes several additional climate-controlled units.

d) Saudi Arabia: After the Iraqi invasion, America withdrew its forces from Saudi Arabia in 2003, nowadays the soldiers who work in Saudi Arabia only those who have a military training mission and most of them are in Eskan village near Riyadh.

- **Eskan Village:** It is a luxury village; it works as a hotel for the American soldiers' who have a military training mission and there are no combat operations in it.

e) United Arab Emirates: The strong relationships between the UAE and the US led to make a defense cooperation agreement to receive American sliders. Even in such wars, the UAE supported America by providing it with facilities and weapons.

- **Al Dhafra Air Base:** It is such a center for the air arms that America used in order to train persons from different nationalities on fighting basics. It was not known as an American base until 2017, it is the controller of flights.

- **Port of Jebel Ali:** It is an American navy port and the largest deep-water harbor in the world that receives the US aircraft.

- **Fujairah Naval Base:** It is situated outside the Persian Gulf before the strait of Hormuz, it works as a land link to Jebel Ali if the strait of Hormuz closed (Wallin, 2018).

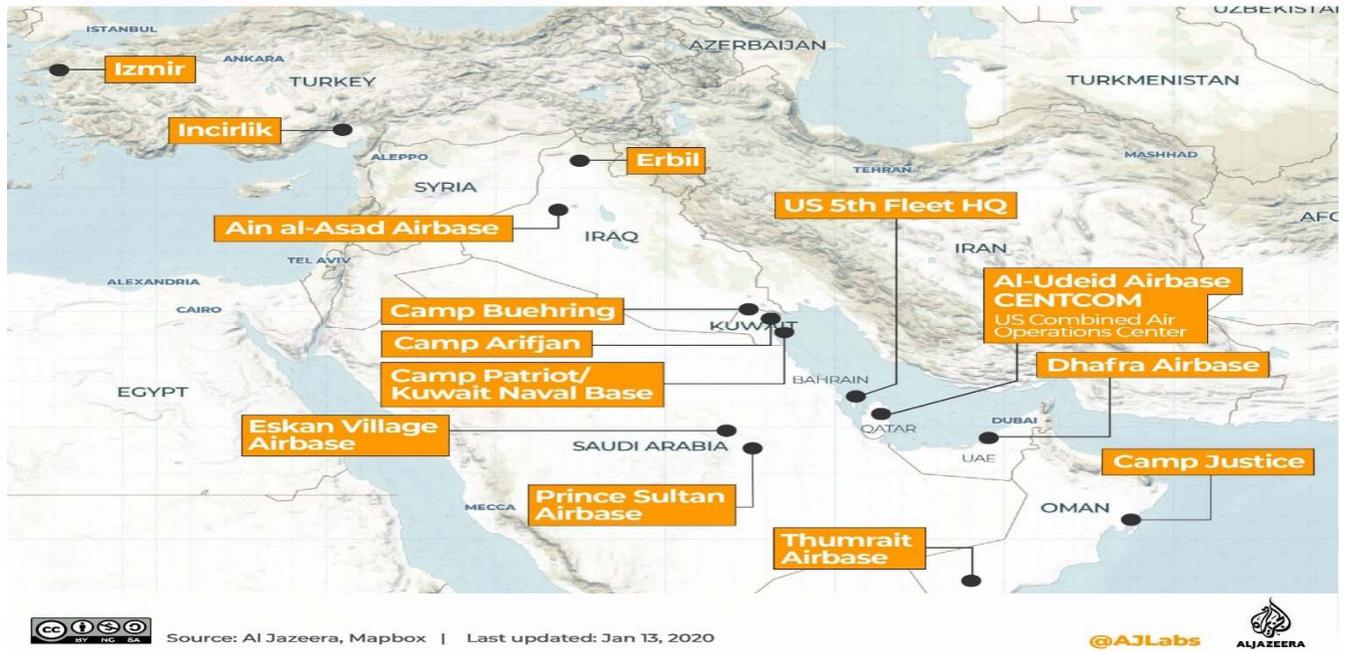


Figure. 2. 1. U.S. Military and Intelligence Bases in the Middle East

(Source: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2020/01/military-presence-middle-east-afghanistan-200113120612249.html>)

5.1.4. NATO Alliance

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance created under the Washington treaty (North Atlantic treaty) on April 4th, 1949 to counter the threat of post-war communist expansion as the Soviet Union sought to extend its influence in Europe. Its members are Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. then Greece, Turkey, West Germany, Spain, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia Albania and Croatia, and Montenegro join to the original members in different years. NATO's alliance used a special system in

emergency cases of war (in wartime). Member states participate in preparing and building the organization with all necessary equipment, infrastructure, and advanced weapons. They also prepared an early warning force to deal with wars and emergencies (Haglund, 2020).

The NATO alliance acts as a supporter multiplier of America's strength to control and dominate the world. It will serve its future purposes to be a great power and the first dominant over the world specially the Arab countries.

5.1.5. National Security Agency (NSA)

It is an agency responsible for cryptographic, communications intelligence, and security. It established in 1952 by a presidential instruction from Harry. S. Truman in which he specified its work as an organized and controller of American communication intelligence toward other countries to be under its sight and build their foreign policy. NSA is working as the hidden eyes that America uses to control all the world, they believe that communication intelligence is more important than the armed forces and other agencies (Britannica, 2018).

5.1.6. The American Invasion of Iraq

The United States occupied Iraq on 19 March 2003 under the leadership of president George.W. Bush. This invasion is considered as one of the most important events in modern history. George. W. Bush's administration has set several reasons to justify the oppressive war in Iraq, including the existence of a secret relationship between Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and AL Qaeda (support terrorism), the existence of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) in Iraq, changing the political system in Iraq, and removing Saddam Hussein from power because he oppresses Iraqi citizens (Bojang, 2016).

However, the main hidden reason for this invasion is oil, the later and the strategic location of Iraq are considered as the most important reasons that led the US to occupy it. In this context, Noam Chomsky confirmed in an interview “*On the War in Iraq*” that the real cause of this invasion is the vast oil resources that Iraq possesses in which the United States is seeking to control. This control would give the United States decisive influence over the Asian and European economies (2005).

5.2. Economic Domination

5.2.1. Security in Exchange for Oil

Oil is a prerequisite for most human activities and is considered as the resource in the economic and military security of countries. Arab countries, especially the Gulf States have the largest oil reserves in the world, which make these countries momentous by some international systems (the great powers) (Institute, 1974). Those great powers provide security to oil producers in exchange for oil, and keep the relations with them friendly, this process is called "Petro-Alignment" (Kim, 2019).

• Saudi Arabia

US-Saudi Arabia relations are described as strong historical ties, through which Washington has achieved and continues to achieve many strategic political and economic gains. America has always been keen to mislead public opinion in the Arab region that the Gulf States are surrounded by great danger, especially Saudi Arabia, in order to impose protection on them and to exploit the oil wealth they possess (Al-Hajj, 2017).

The American president Donald Trump told king Salman that he could not last for two weeks without American support. "We protect Saudi Arabia. Would you say they're

rich? And I love the King, King Salman. But I said 'King - we're protecting you - you might not be there for two weeks without us - you have to pay for your military,'" Trump said to cheers at a rally in Southaven, Mississippi (agencies, 2018, para. 1).

5.2.2. OPEC:

The Organizational of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is a permanent intergovernmental organization, created at the Baghdad conference on September 10-14, 1960 by Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela. OPEC had its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland in the first five years of its existence. This was moved to Vienna, Austria on September 1st, 1965 ("Brief History", n.d.).

• OPEC Members:

OPEC consists of 13 active members. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is by far the largest producer, contributing about a third of total OPEC oil production, and for this reason, it has more power and influence than other countries.

The following table clarifies the countries that are included in the OPEC Organization:

OPEC County	Joined	Located	Oil Produced (mbpd) 2017	Comments
Algeria	1969	Africa	1.06	
Angola	2007	Africa	1.63	
Ecuador	1973	Central America	0.53	Left in 1992. Rejoined in 2009.
Equatorial Guinea	2017	Africa	0.13	
Gabon	1975	Africa	0.21	Left in 1995. Rejoined in 2016.
Iran	1960	Middle East	3.87	Rose due to nuclear treaty.
Iraq	1960	Middle East	4.47	Increased output to fund Ira War.
Kuwait	1960	Middle East	2.70	
Libya	1962	Middle East	0.82	Returned to 2013 levels.
Nigeria	1971	Africa	1.54	
Saudi Arabia	1960	Middle East	9.96	Produces 30% of total.
U.A.E	1967	Middle East	2.97	
Venezuela	1960	Central America	2.03	Funds the failing government.
TOTAL OPEC			32.51	Less than the record 33.44 2016.

Table 2.1. The countries that are included in the OPEC Organization

Note: Adapted from <https://www.thebalance.com/what-is-opec-its-members-and-history-3305872>

OPEC's main goal is to keep prices stable, and to make sure that its members get a reasonable price for their oil (Amadeo, 2019).

5.2.3. The America's Control of the Oil Prices

Until 1970, the United States was the largest producer of oil, they had a surplus in excess of its domestic consumption, and with the surplus, it could control supply and demand to determine the price that best suited the American economy and the US oil companies. When the United States became an oil importer after that date, this task was delegated to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which is rising and reducing production in coordination with the United States. This was possible when the Soviet Union was isolated from the global market (Zalloum, 2020).

The United States of America has played over the past years to break the wave of high oil prices and it succeeded in that as prices have fallen from \$100 per barrel barrier to less than \$30 in the past few months, and it continues to press for oil prices not to exceed \$50, which is the appropriate price for them. America as the largest consumer with economic and political interests in low oil prices, where the economic factor lies in providing billions that it incurs in buying oil and directing these funds to research on extracting gas rock, and the other is hitting the economy of Russia, whose economy depends primarily on oil and has been severely affected since prices fell (Ibrahim, 2016). The bottom line is that the United States has a primary role in determining oil prices, although it is not a member of OPEC.

5.3. Ideological Domination

5.3.1. The Meaning of Ideology

Ideology as a concept was first defined during the French Revolution to mean "science of ideas". Moreover, this term was used in order to refer to a political ideology (Moazzam, 2017).

Van Dijk (1998) defines ideology as “something like a shared framework of social beliefs that organize and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups and their members, and in particular also power and other relations between groups” (p. 8).

5.3.2. Understanding of the American Ideology

The American ideology was born and developed continuously since the puritan "father-pilgrims" arrived in the US. An interesting fact is that it aimed in the beginning to the creation of “specialism”, “individualism” and even voluntary political isolation from other world nations, but then it naturally developed into foreign expansion and globalization ("American Ideology and US' Claims for Global Domination", n.d.).

5.3.3. Dominant Ideology

The dominant ideology in society is the set of values, attitudes, and beliefs that shape the way it views reality. However, sociologists argue that the dominant ideology is only one of many mainstream ideologies that its superiority is the only aspect that distinguishes it from other competing views (Crossman, 2017).

5.3.4. American Dominant Ideologies

It means how has American culture become widespread in the world in terms of customs, traditions, language, and so forth. Media and English language were major contributors to its spread within the Arab region.

- **Language**

It is known that most international agreements in various fields are ratified in the English language. The power and standing of the United States in the world are the reason behind the domination of this language (Missaoui, 2017).

Nowadays English has a unique position in educational systems in many countries, including the Arab world such as Egypt, and the Gulf countries (Al-Hassan, n.d.). The global spread of English makes it the lingua franca of the 21st century (Missaoui, 2017).

- **Media**

Recently, the media has an effective role in shaping individuals, groups, and national identities. It curtailed the world in a very small village through communication. For that, Joseph Ki-Zerbo, a historian from Burkina Faso wrote, “Our cultures are being reduced little by little to nothing. These technologies have no passport and no visa, but they are affecting us and shaping us” (Maatougui, 2014, p. 20).

Today, people from different countries in the world became aware about the American culture and its lifestyle because of the big spread of various means of communication, which means that America has succeeded in exporting the "Americanization" culture to the whole world and over the Arab World (Mega & Affes, 2019).

Various ways have helped the United States spread its ideology, notably: News channels (CNN), Movies (Hollywood, Disney), and Social Media (Google, Facebook, Twitter).

6. U.S. Role in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Israel's security has been remained as a fundamental principle throughout decades since this principle is one of the main interests of the US's foreign policy in the Arab region.

America played an essential role in settling the Arab-Israeli conflict, it was effective from the beginning of the struggle in the early 20th century, until the establishment of Israel in 1948 and remained in the present time. According to Hamdi, the foreign policy of the United States cannot be separated from Israel anyway, because the latter is considered as a strategic base for the U.S. interests in the Arab area, therefore protecting and saving Israel ensure these interests there. Also, he added that the US's foreign policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict was important for both sides to impact the conclusion of the mutual peace agreements (treaties). However, these agreements have failed to achieve an overall peace between Palestine and Israel till now. There were various reasons behind this failure; one of them is the shift in the American foreign policy, and the unconditional political, economic, and military support for the Israeli practices toward Palestinian people, in addition to the refusal to give them the right to establish their independent state in 1967 borders. The U.S. supported the British role toward Zionist Movement, which was compatible with it, also, president Roosevelt who confirmed in his letter in a conference by American Zionists in 1940 that his commitment is to reach Zionist goals, ignoring the existence of the Palestinian identity in his foreign policy toward Palestine and giving the second priority to the Palestinian issue (2018).

6.1. The American Recognition of Israel as an Independent State

The United States was the first country who recognized Israel as an independent state, since then, Israel has earned political, and economic support from the US, after that it gained security assistance in 1962 (Israel, 2013). On May, 14th, 1948, the establishment of Israel state was announced, and the president Harry Truman announced his recognition of the new country, although the US has accepted on the Trusteeship Project, which requires putting Palestine under the international Trusteeship, this came after the demand of the US to cancel the Partitioning Decision (Al-Assi, 2014).

During the Eisenhower administration, exactly in 1961, Israel became military, and economically stronger, which clarifies that his presidency was a continuity to the previous ones, the same thing with the president John Kennedy who continued also in the same path, and made the relation between America and Israel more stronger, all of them sought to protect Israel and prevent any Arab threat against it. The bias of the US towards Israel was as a result of the influence of the Zionist organization on the American administrations (HAMDI, 2018).

Thus, the relation continued to flourish with each new president until today, and the conclusion was with the president Donald Trump who recognized Jerusalem as a capital of Israel, and he changes the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in 2018. This confirmed that Trump's administration is a continuity to the previous ones, and emphasizes the American bias to Israel from the beginning of the conflict.

Osama Anter Hamdi (2018) has also mentioned a very attractive paragraph in his article *American Foreign Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Strategic Transformations*

which is: in analyzing the American policies since the establishment of Israel until January 2017, it may be noted that various American administrations have followed a strategic path which changes tactics but remains a strategic vision of the conflict. This vision places Israel's security above all other considerations this was showed in Truman and Eisenhower administrations (p. 253).

6.2. The Israeli Lobby

Mearsheimer & Walt (2007) defined the Israel lobby as “a convenient short hand term for the loose coalition of individuals and organizations that actively work to shape U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction”(p. 112). On other words, the Israeli Lobby is a group of members or organizations that have a great impact on the US foreign policy especially in the Arab region to support and ensure Israel's security, in addition to shaping the American foreign policy more than pressing it (Saleh, & Hussain, 2009).

7. Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to clarify the policies that the US has adopted in order to dominate the Arab countries, US foreign policy was defined as the collection of policies that determine American's relations with other nations, generally, the American foreign policy had developed into the global domination era where America has been the most powerful country in the world after the decline of the Soviet Union, back to its foreign policy was made to provide special interests in the Arab world. The most important goal is to dominate in different fields, using numerous strategies and policies such as the military presence in Arab countries and they made bases to save their national security. Whereas in the economic side, America applied many strategies for example giving security in order to get oil with low prices (American-Saudi Arabia relations). As we are witnessing nowadays, the US has

imposed its domination even on the ideological side through media and language. So far, this chapter has focused on the domination aspects of America over Arab countries.

Chapter Three:
Findings and Discussion

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1. Introduction

In this chapter, we tend to reform the research problem, because it is important to find responses for the research questions that are generated from the problem, to see what the extent they are linked to each other. The answers of the questions are based on the analysis of the previous information and events that are presented in the first two chapters.

To find the results of our study and determine the nature of the American-Arab political relationships (cooperation or domination), we will mention and discuss some important events that have had a major role in clarifying the relationships between them, such as the October 1973 War, the announcement of Jerusalem as a capital of Israel, and so forth. After analyzing all these events, it can be easy to decide which hypothesis is true.

2. The Findings

2.1. Arab-Israeli's Conflict (October 1973 War)

The October 1973 War also known as "the Yom Kippur War", this war continued from October 6, 1973, to October 25, 1973, this short war was of great importance for Arabs. The Yom Kippur War came as a response to the Six-Day War in 1967 where Israel invaded lands from neighboring Arab countries. It occupied a huge number of Arab lands including the Sinai Desert, Gaza Strip, the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Syria lost the Golan Heights (Bakhsh, 2020).

The Cold War played a crucial role in this event, because the Soviet Union supported the Arab countries and supplied them with Soviet weapons (Bakhsh, 2020). Likewise, The United States did the same thing with Israel at that time. The US was ruled by the president

Richard Nixon who provided support to the Israeli army during the war; he was keen on his Secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, to supply the Israeli side with weapons and military equipment (Erian, 2016). During the first week of the war, the US rushed to supply F-4 aircraft and built an air bridge to provide Israel with weapons and materials. The American air bridge was not a direct American intervention that includes the participation of US forces, but had a decisive impact on the performance of the Israeli army (Abdel Moneim, 2018).

2.2. Trump's Plans to Impose Israeli Sovereignty on the Arab Region

After declaring the American peace plan that includes many deals to increase the Zionist entity and expand its lands, such as the deal of the century represented in recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, annexing the lands of the Syrian Golan, in addition to their intention to combine the Jordan Valley (Ghor) to Israel.

2.2.1. The Announcement of Jerusalem as a Capital of Israel

On Wednesday, December 6th, 2017, the American president Donald Trump announced his official recognition of Jerusalem as a Capital of Israel, "Today we finally acknowledge the obvious: that Jerusalem is Israel's capital," Mr. Trump said from the Diplomatic Reception Room of the White House. "This is nothing more or less than a recognition of reality. It is also the right thing to do. It's something that has to be done." (Landler, 2017, para. 1).

Trump also decided to move the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem for six months, this issue was the most difficult and sensitive questions for the US in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, for many years, the US was avoiding to declare Jerusalem as a

capital of Israel (Liebermann, 2017). In the emergency meeting that held by the United Nation Security Council (UNSC), in which 14 out of 15 members of the strong countries (World Leaders) refused and criticized Trump's decision. This announcement angered most Arab people and governments, in particular the Islamic World (Fassihi, 2017).

On May 14th, 2018, the new embassy of the US was officially opened in Jerusalem (TRTWorld, 2018).

2.2.2. Combining the Syrian Golan to Israel

The Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and the US President Donald Trump worked on issuing official decisions and documents sealed by the American president about the Syrian Golan lands. This decision was announced in 1967 of Israel's sovereignty over these lands, but the signature and official recognition of this decision were by Trump in 2019 and all these deals and negotiations are considered as an American initiative to spread peace as they claim, but in fact this was for the sake of serving Israeli interests to expand its influence and control over all the countries of the Arab world, therefore, the American domination on them, perhaps indirectly, the plan to annex the Jordan Valley (Ghor) is also a justification for what was mentioned earlier about the American intentions to control and impose its decisions (Majed, 2019).

2.2.3. Jordon Valley (Ghor)

The Jordan Valley is an agricultural plain with a distinctive natural wealth belonging to the occupied West Bank. Both Netanyahu and the US President Donald Trump declared

their intention to annex the Jordan Valley, and impose Israeli sovereignty on it due to its distinction of security, it is considered as protection of Israel in the future in case of any possible war against Israelis by the Jordanians (France 24 /AFP, 2020).

2.3. The Main Research Results

The United States of America has effective and recognized decisions as it has global domination and power, especially over the Arab world, as they plundered lands, and issued decisions despite their ineligibility to interfere in the affairs of other countries, but the political domination they enjoyed enabled them to do so.

To sum up, we conclude that the US confirmed once again their bias to Israel in many events and wars such as October 1973 War, they did not help Arabs, but they were standing with Israel, this proves that they did not try to achieve the stability and security in the Arab society. “The deal of the century” was one of the American strategies to keep the Israeli control towards the Arab World, therefore the US domination for the region (Hamdi, 2018). Since the US is the ruler of the world, it is then controlling the MENA, this is evident in the fact that they are doing what they want in the region without consultation or consideration for its leaders. This is what we have seen in their decisions in different Arab issues.

3. Discussion

3.1. Reviewing the Research Problem

Recently, the United States of America has become the ruler of the world after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it has built various types of relations with different countries in

different fields (political, economic, military, and so forth), especially with the Arab countries.

These relationships are illustrated in some events, such as the first Gulf War, the 11/9 Attacks, and the Arab Spring, the US has interfered in most of them under the banner of their political relations, and their global domination.

Now, in order to see the nature of these relations, it is important to answer the research questions which are:

1. Are the US administrations cooperating with Arab countries in order to achieve stability and security in the region?
2. Do the policies that the US adopts towards the Arab countries aim to control the Arab region in different aspects such as military, economic, etc?

3.2. Response to Research Question 1

If we say that the United States of America seeks to achieve stability, and security in Arab countries through cooperative policies as what happened in the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, they ended the war in 100 hours, and removed the Iraqi troops from Kuwait, in contrast, they demanded to establish military bases in Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, the Arab Spring as one of the most important events that have taken place in the Arab world was a turning point in American-Arab political relationships in which the United States supported Arab people to change their regimes as we have mentioned in the first chapter.

According to what have been mentioned in the first chapter, America did not seek to achieve security and stability in the Arab region, because till now these two elements do not exist in the Arab World, and they suffer from wars like the Syrian case.

America had relations with the events and policies that Arabs have witnessed in the recent years, though it can be said that the United States of America was not upheld to achieve security, stability, and peace in the region, but rather was seeking for hidden goals serving its interests, according to what can be seen in most Arab countries that it suffers from wars and political, economic, military instability.

3.3. Response to Research Question 2

America is the strongest country in the world that controls and dominates it. The US has the power for making policy in every issue around the world, this global domination emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990. The USA, as a country, has a foreign policy that serves its various goals and interests in MENA, such as establishing and keeping the military bases in Saudi Arabia, saving the access to oil with low prices, and protecting Israeli's security. (Sarhan, 2016). The American domination in the Arab world is divided into 3 types: military, economic, and ideological. The first one was in establishing military bases in many Arab countries, this serves their interests to keep controlling the region. The second one is the economic domination, where the US rules and commands the OPEC and the oil prices. The last one is the ideological side by which the English language spread widely and quickly in Arab countries especially the American accent, in addition to the media and its means that its branches spread in the Arab region.

Many events that have taken place in the Arab world confirm that American-Arab political relationships are domination, and the main event which proves that is the announcement of Jerusalem as a capital of Israel.

From the previous information, we can say that the policies which are adopted by the American administrations in the Arab world were aiming for controlling it in different political fields.

4. Conclusion

To conclude, it is known to the Arabs that America has hidden goals and interests that it seeks to achieve in the Arab region. Even though the United States has always been trying to appear as a state that supports political freedoms and aims to achieve security and stability in the world in general and Arab region in particular (the Arab Spring, the Gulf War, and so forth). Nevertheless, the facts showed the opposite, and this was manifested in several events, the most important of them were: the October War 1973, declaring Jerusalem as a capital of Israel and annexing the lands of Syrian Golan and the Jordan Valley (Ghor) to Israel. As for the first event, which is the October War 1973, United States supported and funded Israel with weapons and equipment in its war against the Arabs, and this was evidence that Arabs are not a priority for the US. The second event was the deal of the century when the US President Donald Trump announced Jerusalem as a capital of Israel without consultation of Arab people, this may confirm that America controls decision making through the domination of the Arab regimes. The last event was granting Israel Arab lands, the Syrian Golan in 2019, and the Jordan Valley (Ghor) that the US intends to combine it to Israeli lands.

In this chapter, we sought to reveal the real relationships between America and Arab countries by analyzing the information and the facts that we reached in the first and the second chapters. Finally, from what we have studied and analyzed, it can be said that our conclusions could confirm the validity of the second hypothesis, like the following: If the US policies do not serve the interests of Arab countries, US-Arab relationships are based on domination.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

Since the United States of America became the ruler of the world, after the end of the Cold War, it has had the right to intervene in most issues around the world. The US has many different relationships with other nations. In this study, we have focused on the American-Arab political relationships in terms of their nature whether they were cooperation or domination. We have concentrated on the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), because the recent political changes can clarify and show the role of US in the last Arab events, through which we could reveal the real relations between the two entities.

The first chapter has highlighted the cooperative side in Arab-American relationships in various political aspects, it has also explained the political life of Arab immigrants and how the US gave them the opportunity to be a part of the US political system and to have all the citizen rights. Besides, it showed that the event of 11/9 was not an impediment to destroy relations, instead, it was a turning point for renewing the strategies and policies the United States used towards the Arab countries. In addition, this chapter described the role of America in the Arab Spring Revolutions and how they sought to spread freedom and democracy in the Arab world (the Syrian case, the Libyan Civil War, and so forth). Nevertheless, the US pretend that it helps Arab people in order to serve its hidden goals and interests in the Arab region. Furthermore, it tackled the cooperative relations between the US and North African countries (especially Egypt) in many fields. At the end, this chapter clarified the strong and unique relationships between the USA and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, especially in the economic field.

The second chapter has attempted to define the American foreign policy as a term and clarify how America uses this policy to control and dominate the Arab world militarily, economically, and ideologically. First of all, in the military field, the United States built bases and gain treaties under the reason of protecting countries and helping them in wars, for instance, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait 1990. On the other hand, America dominates Arab countries economically by imposing itself and giving security to gain oil with low prices. While in the ideological aspect, it spreads its culture by using language and media to build an atmosphere that serves its interests. At the end, America uses its domination to make decisions for instance the recognition of Jerusalem as a capital of Israel.

The last chapter has dealt with findings and discussion, in the Findings section we shed light on some important events in which the USA have interfered in them, the October War 1973, the announcement of Jerusalem as a capital of Israel (The Deal of the Century), and Granting Arab lands to Israel such as Golan and Jordan Valley (Ghor). These historical stations may show the domination of the US over the Arab people and their power to make decisions in different manners without even thinking about the Arabs and their reactions towards those decisions. Then, the discussion section consists of reforming the research problem passing through the attempts to answer the research questions depending on the information that we have reached in both chapter one and two, this was an important step to know which hypothesis is true.

Finally, the United States has become the only great power that controls the whole world with an iron hand politically, militarily, economically, and ideologically (Mega & Affes, 2019), and of course the Arab countries were a part of this global domination.

At the end, we hope that we have succeeded in shedding the light, even only partially, on the nature of US-Arab political relationships, and we were able to clarify the nature of these relations through our study of the topic and find several policies and events that opened prospects for us to know the truth, and for sure there are some closed topics that may be conducted in the future, such as "The Global Hegemony of US after Trump's administration", "The Impact of American foreign policy on the economies of the Arab oil-producing countries", and "The Nature of Arab-American relationships in the light of Trump's new changes" etc. We also hope that our study will be fruitful in the field of scientific research.

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المخلص

تتجلى العلاقات الأمريكية العربية في العديد من المجالات مثل: الاقتصادية، السياسية، الثقافية، إلخ. يلقي هذا البحث نظرة ثاقبة على العلاقات السياسية بين العرب وأمريكا، وتحاول هذه الدراسة الكشف عن بعض الاستراتيجيات والسياسات التي تتبناها الولايات المتحدة في علاقاتها مع العالم العربي. ويهدف البحث إلى إظهار الطبيعة الحقيقية لهذه العلاقات سواء كانت تعاونًا أو هيمنة. المنهج الذي اتبع في هذا البحث هو تحليلي وصفي تحاول الدراسة من خلاله المقارنة بين متغيرين وهما علاقات التعاون والسيطرة من أجل استخلاص نتيجة نهائية، وكذلك إيجاد إجابات لأسئلة البحث للحصول على النتائج من الأطروحة ومعرفة أي الفرضيتين صحيحة. وخلص القول إن هذا البحث حساس للغاية ومهم لأن هذه المسألة تمس الرأي العام لعقود عديدة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التعاون، التعاون والسيطرة، العالم العربي، العلاقات الأمريكية العربية، العلاقات السياسية، الهيمنة.

Le Résumé

Les relations Americano- arabes se manifestent dans plusieurs domaines tel que : le domaine économique, politique, culturel, etc. Cette recherche donne un aperçu sur les relations politiques entre les arabes et l'Amérique, et il vise à apparaître quelques stratégies que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique les adoptent avec le monde arabe. Cette recherche a pour objectif de montrer la vraie nature de ces relations que ce soit par coopération ou par dominance. La démarche qui est été suivi est bien l'analytique descriptif qui vise une étude comparative entre deux variables et qui sont les relations de coopération d'une part et de l'autre part les relations de dominance pour avoir une conclusion finale. La recherche permet de trouver des réponses sur les questions de recherche et de valider un des deux hypothèses de travail. A la fin, on peut dire que ce mémoire est très important car il traite l'opinion publique de ce problème depuis plusieurs décennies.

Les Mots-Clés : la coopération, la coopération et la dominance, le monde arabe, les relations américano-arabes, les relations politique, la dominance.