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**The Power of Israel in the United State: The Middle East as U.S-
Israel International Interest: Case of Syria and Egypt**

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master**

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To our families, friends and teachers

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Abstract

During the last decades, the United States of America witnessed the major expansions through its influence on the Middle Eastern countries. This was clearly seen through the smart strategies it adopted such as political backing, economic assistance it gave to these countries in order to protect its interests in the region. Furthermore, Israel support is another key factor that helped U.S. to form its foreign policy in the Middle East through making it a strong country among Arab nations.

For a better understanding of the strategic partnership between U.S and Israel, the thesis attempts to examine the American- Israeli policy and the role of the Jewish lobby in shaping the American foreign government. It provides a historical background to discuss the nature of this relationship and how U.S secures the Israeli superiority in Middle East. Then, the study examine the U.S policy toward the Middle East. The focus will be on two historical examples Egypt and Syria. In an effort to understand the current debate the study further examines the U.S. international strategies used in the Middle East includes the nuclear prevention, promoting democracy and fighting terrorism focusing largely on Syria and Egypt. The thesis concludes that the U.S-Israel relationship in the Middle East has mostly negative impacts on their interests.

Keywords: U.S- Israel Relationship, U.S- Israel national Interests, U.S. Foreign Policy in Middle East.

List of Abbreviations

MENA: Middle East and North Africa.

U.S: United States.

FLN: National Liberalization Front.

BTWC: Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention.

NPT: Nuclear non Proliferation Treaty.

CWC: Chemical Weapons Convention.

BWC: Biological Weapons Convention.

BW: Biological Weapons

CNS: Center Non Proliferation Studies

WMD: Weapons of Mass Destruction

ACDA: Arms Control and Disarming Agency

NDP: National Democratic Party

CIA: The Central Intelligence Agency

ZOA: Zionist Organization of America

IPF: Israel Policy Forum

USA: United States of America

9/11: The events of September 11, 2001

QDR: the Quadrennial Defense Review

UN: United Nations

IMD: Israeli Minister of Defense

PFLP-GC: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command

PKK: Kurdistan Workers Party

ANO: Abu Nidal's Association

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General Introduction

The United States centralized its focus on supporting Israel as a significant ally in order to fulfill its international interests. In this context, U.S. sought to make Israel as superpower country among the Arab nations. Likewise; the U.S. foreign policy toward the Middle East is surrounded inside specific conceptions. The Middle East as a result was regarded as important area for USA because of its richness (oil and gas). This study is investigating the U.S-Israel interests in the Middle Eastern countries. These last, used different strategies to protect their objectives, those strategies include; Nuclear Weapons Prevention in the Middle East, Promoting democracy in the region as well as fighting terrorism.

The purpose of this research is to gain a better understanding about the historical background of the U.S. and Israel foreign policy toward the Middle Eastern countries. It tries to provide an oversight on how Israel was created and investigate the importance of Jewish lobby in U.S. Foreign affairs as a decision-maker. It explains their relation.

It can be said that the relationship between U.S and Israel in the Middle East is based on their interests. The thesis on other hand, tries to examine their interests in the region in the two cases of Syria and Egypt. To achieve the goal, the thesis based the appraisal on three strategies in the Middle Eastern states: Nuclear prevention, spreading democracy, and fighting terrorism in order to examine if this relationship affects U.S. international targets positively or negatively. The thesis as a consequence tries to investigate the following research questions:

- ✓ What are the strategies that U.S used in the Middle East to safeguard its interests?
- ✓ What is the nature of U.S. foreign policy process in the Middle East?
- ✓ How the U.S. support of Israel effect the U.S. international interests in the Middle East?
- ✓ Why does the United States support Israel?

The handling of the central issue governing the present dissertation will be dealt with in four distinctive chapters.

This thesis is divided into four chapters. Chapter one is concerned with describing the U.S-Israel, it examines the international interests that the United States has in the Middle East and its Foreign Policy toward the region. This chapter also tries to analyze the creation of Israel, and the Israeli Jewish lobby in U.S. For detailed analysis on their relation, and investigates the evolution of their relationship and their national interests in the Middle Eastern.

Meanwhile, the second chapter is devoted to report the Nuclear weapons Prevention in the Middle East. It presents the case study of Syria and Egypt from the 1960s to the present day. Before dealing with the case studies, the Israeli nuclear power and its quest for atomic weapons will be tackled. The contextual investigations of the nuclear prevention in Syria and Egypt are each declared exclusively. Every country is displayed in a comparative way. This chapter assesses what kind of nuclear programs Syria and Egypt believes to have and be prepared to create. The states' territorial security environment based on its regional security issues. At that point, to figure out what part of nuclear plays in the states' craving for prestige, every state's craving to be a regional power is evaluated. The analysis of what threatens each state, its nuclear weapons as well as its desire for prestige are used to identify whether Israel is a main factor behind their plans for getting such weapons, and provide each country nuclear store.

Chapter three on its turn is concerned with promoting democracy in Syria and Egypt. The chapter will examine each nation's administration that reigned for a long period of time. Syria deals with both Bashar al-Assad and Hafez al-Assad administration. The identification of the difficulties of democratic reform in the regions is identified through introducing a summary of the factors that make democratic liberalization hard to be realized in the Middle East. Every state study is displayed separately, first with a depiction of the administration and its type of government, trailed by an investigation of its administration's eagerness to change.

Research on administration strategies, proclamations, and activities is displayed to figure out if the state alludes to Israel as a risk or to the Israeli type of government as a way to battle activities pushing for liberalization and legitimizing authoritarianism.

Chapter four is about how the US-Israeli international interests are influenced by fighting terrorism in Middle East particularly in Syria and Egypt. It seeks also to figure out to what extent Israel influences the achievement of U.S. goals by using the case study of Syria and Egypt and identify the different types of terrorism. The battling terrorism national interest contextual investigation is restricted to the administrations of each of the two nations, with the exception of Syria, which will deal with both the Bashar al-Assad and Hafez al- Assad administrations. Every contextual investigation examines every state's relationship with terrorism, its strategy of reflection for its position towards terrorism, and how the U.S-Israel relationship influences the state's position on terrorism.

Chapter One: Overview on Israel and U.S. Relationship

1.1. Introduction

The present chapter is related to give an overview about the United States foreign policy, and explain how that policy is processed through the executive branch and legislative branch. This chapter also clarifies the U.S. external politics in the Middle East especially during the Cold War when the U.S. made Israel as an instrument to stop the Soviet influence over the Arab nations. This section will make a concise historical overview about the creation of Israel and its military bases to fight against enemies of the Jews. The chapter will show the significance of the Jewish lobby at U.S. government to affect its foreign policy in order to fulfill Israel national interests. The chapter will be closed at the development of U.S.-Israel relationship including the U.S. financial support to Israel each year.

1.2. U.S Foreign Policy Definition and Structure

The U.S. government considered the foreign policy as the main way to realize its national interests, and it represented the process of foreign affairs. So, the foreign policy had a strong meaning at U.S.A.

1.2.1. Definition of U.S. external politics

The U.S. foreign policy might be explained as the approach of a country that included every single authority connection with different nations, and the design of the United States was to seek after national interests, anticipate situations hindering to the U.S., and keep up connections with different nations all together to make situations good to the national advantages. (Sarkesian, Williams and Cimbala 156)

The U.S. foreign policy was clarified from a judicious performer point of view regular to the realist and force governmental issues convention. The supposition was that administrations, and their political pioneers, contemplated and did in a sound way in their mission for force and request. In this way, one ought to concentrate on how the universal framework obliged foreign policy activity, regard the legislature as a balanced performing artist, and talk as far as a superseding

participated national enthusiasm for the making of outside strategy. (Neack, Hey and Haney)

Politics, legislators, and non-state performing artists contended to impact outside arrangement modes. Countries chose to enter the battle; they established exchange hindrances; they picked at what field to set up ecological benchmarks; they came in the universal assertions, or not, and picked whether to comply with their procurements. (Reus-Smit and Snidal 576) Because of the unfaltering financial development, American familiarity with the part of force in household legislative issues was obscured by the nonattendance of class struggle. Because of its universal alienation, American mindfulness of the part of force in outside legislative issues was obscured by the nonattendance of outer dangers. (Huntington 143-149)

1.2.2. Construction of U.S. government in making foreign policy

The specific structure of the U.S. government assumed an opener part in the plan and usage of foreign policy. The particular doers had colossal part in the plan of American outside strategy. In this manner, foreign policy developed out of a mind boggling interchange between the executive section and the legislative section. (Terry 4)

The topic of who made the U.S. foreign policy was a focal open deliberation between various spectators, pundits and political researchers. There were different researches keeping up that the parts and close impacts of the two sections in the arrangement setting were differentiating in certain period.

The power of making U.S. foreign policy was divided between the president and the Congress and Edward S. Corwin said:

What the Constitution does is to confer on the President certain powers capable of affecting our foreign relations, and certain other powers of the same general kind on the Senate, and still other such powers on Congress; but which of these organs shall have the decisive and final voice in determining the course of the American nation is left for events to resolve. (171)

1.2.2.1. Executive Branch

It contained the president, the Secretary of State and the national security advisers. The essential center of making U.S. foreign policy frameworks lay with official framework of offices and organizations which its origins and power were towed from starting gift of sacred energy to the presidential department. (Foley 113) According to the United States Constitution (U.S. Const., art.I, sec.8), the President should be president of the armed force and naval force of the U.S.; he might have energy to give respites and absolves for crimes toward U.S.A., and he might have energy to make settlements and name representatives. Given forces by the constitution, presidents could pick choices with regards to his individual conceptions. Thus, the conviction arrangement of presidents or their identity, previous encounters, worth's ended up being driving components of the American outside strategy.

Schmidt claims; "it seems impossible to explain the direction of American foreign policy without highlighting the personality traits and beliefs of the current President". (10)The Presidents possess looked to make unequivocal what in their perspective was certain in the formation of an official section of government. (Foley 113)

All through the development of remote strategy, the force of government organizations in the Executive section, for example, Secretary of State Department of State, Pentagon, CIA, and specifically, the National Security Council included in the outside approach making process. From the American foreign policy conduct took after from choices made by elites, the personal provenance drove us to research the attributes and peculiarities remarkable to the chiefs. (Schmidt 10)

1.2.2.2. Legislative Branch

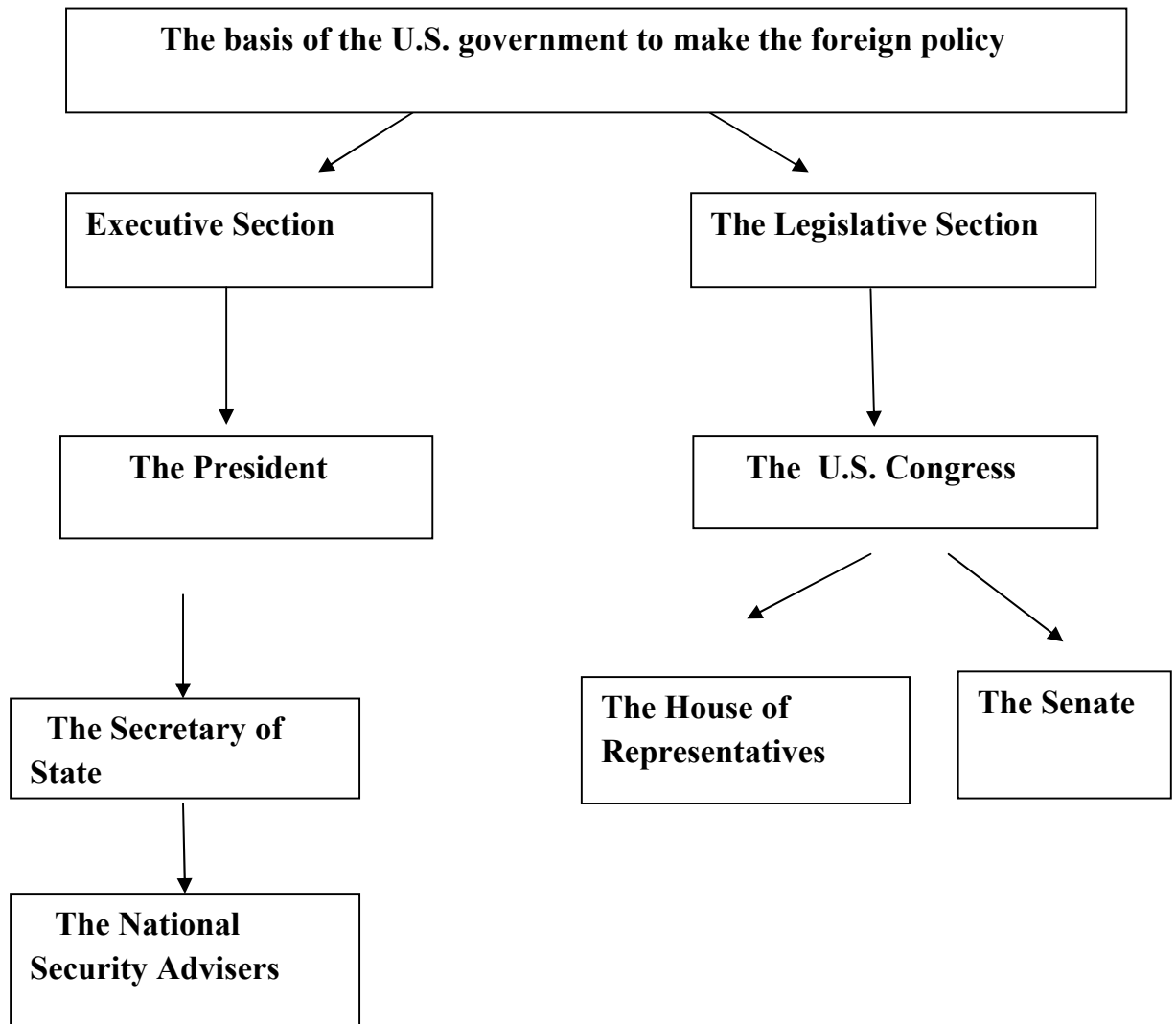
This section included the House of Representatives and the Senate that formed United States Congress¹ which was appointed obligations and commitment constructors. Based on the U.S. Constitution(U.S. Const.,art.I,sec.8),the Congress was to give and keep up a naval force, to accommodate sorting out, outfitting, and teaching, the local army and lastly to make basics for the legislature and control of the area and maritime forces. Particularly the superior house: the Senate had prerogative in the constitution to confirm or dislike all universal settlements of president's arrangements; presidents needed to designate envoys to different nations with assent of the Senate.

The two departments of the U.S. congress assumed an imperative part in the procedure of foreign policy. Because of its residential center, the Congress impact was insignificant as the legislatives section was appropriate to assent to official activities. (M. Paul and Paul 6)The Congress gave quite a bit of its remote approach power to the president amid the 1950s and 1960s, the Congress turned out to be significantly more dynamic in outside issues in the 1970s in expansive on account of the disliked Vietnam War and it stays an critical power really taking shape of outside approach. (Lindsay 141)

The Senate was viewed as more deliberative than the House. For decision purposes, representatives were separated into three parts; the first one remained for election every two years. This ensured that there were constantly expert administrators employing in Congress. The Senate should assert presidential arrangements to the Supreme Court, lower government courts, and principle offices inside the Executive Branch before the representatives took the position. The Senate also favored or refused worldwide arrangements arranged by the President. (Arnold 12)

The following scheme will be simplified the understanding of the structure of U.S. government:

¹ Congress: the legislative branch at U.S. government which contains the House of Representatives and the Senate.



1.2.2.3. Figure: The U.S. government structure

This schema shows the structure of U.S. government that controls the process of foreign policy; it depends on two main branches; executive and legislative. Each branch has own Members; the first one includes the president, the Secretary of State and the National Security Advisers. The second branch contains the House of Representatives and The Senate; both of them form the U.S. Congress.

1.3. U.S Foreign Policy in the Middle East

The United State Foreign policy saw the Middle East as “the most strategically important area in the world.” (Chomsky 18) It could be summed up that the primarily reason for its presence in the region was oil and natural gas as Truman (1945) said:

Thus the world oil center of gravity is shifting to the Middle East where American enterprise has been entrusted with the exploitation of one of the greatest oil fields. It is in our national interest to see that this vital resource remains in American hands, where it is most likely to be developed on a scale, which will cause a considerable lessening of the drain upon Western Hemisphere reserves. (Lorenza 29)

Therefore, in order to assure its interests in the region U.S. used all its political economic, military powers and sets some strategies includes: Preventing Nuclear proliferation, promoting Democracy in the region and fighting terrorism. (Blackwill and Slocombe 4-5)

United State did not benefit from the oil and natural gas in the Cold War because the Soviet Union presence in the region [neutralized] it to do so ([Rosenthal](#)). However, in the time Britain gave up its colonies in the region, The United state tried “to empower regional proxies—first Israel, then Iran, and then Saudi Arabia—to protect American (and Western) interests in the region instead. But, the Israelis were hated by the Arabs, the Saudis lacked the will or the capacity to act decisively, and then the Shah of Iran was overthrown in 1979.” ([Pollack](#) 10) Consequently, the constitution of the Arab Islamic Republic in Iran with the president Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was seen as a threat for United State. As a reaction to the matter, U.S. intervened militarily in Persian Gulf War beside Iraq and contributed in Iran’s defeat. After that, Saddam took the opportunity to conquer Kuwait, but this on the other hand, was considered also a threat for the region oil exports and U.S. used its militarily forces to solve the region problem ([Ibid](#) 11).

As a result, the American approach in the Middle East had greatly influenced the region; this was visibly seen in the Iranian circumstances during the 1950s, the Gulf War of 1991 as well as the great damage in the current Iraq, in which the US was the great manipulator of those political events. Consequently, the Middle East public opinion saw America as a hostile country and it should be stopped. ([Baxter1](#))

Furthermore, the United State's support of Israel expansion continued since the cold war to the present day, in order to make it a superpower country in the Middle East Area and in the same time to secure its interests in the region. (Miglietta 133) During Truman presidency, the regime foreign policy helped Israel financially after the establishment of Jewish State in Tel Aviv. He aimed to control the Arab's oil. On the other hand, Eisenhower was also fighting beside Israel and Jordan against Syria and Egypt since those countries were allies of Soviet Union.

Nixon s' foreign policy likewise, brought a close relationship between the United States and Israel. He aimed to put the end of Arab-Israeli conflicts by bringing peace to the Middle East as well as human rights .His policy focused on the Egypt-Israel crisis. Carter in his role, called Anwar al-Sadat and Israel Prime Minister Menachem Begin to Camp David Maryland to drive negotiations to put an end to Arab-Israeli War and the peace treaty was signed On March 26th, 1979.

Finally, it could be said that the U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East has a negative effects on the Middle Eastern countries because it created a terrorism issue and led to the Anti-Americanism in the Arab world.

1.4. Brief History of Israel Establishment

The early Zionism ² was begun in Russia which was initially lectured by Russian Jew who was named Leon Pinsker in 1882. The best political pioneer of Zionism was Theodore Herzl from Austria; he composed the book of *The Jewish State*. Herzl's different endeavors brought about the making of the World Zionist establishment Herzl's, starting offer to get Ottoman endorsement of the Zionist

² Zionism: the Jewish movement that uphold the Jews anywhere; it comes as response to anti-Semitism.

arrangement to set up a Jewish Home in Palestine did not meet with much achievement. (Samaan 51)

In 1903, England proposed a protectorate for the Africans, but that proposal was declined by the Russian Zionist Herzl; thus, it was in Palestine that they needed their Jewish Home built up. (Ibid) The U.S. provided for the creation of Israel after the Balfour Declaration³ in 1917. (Weizmann 211)

In 1922, Palestine turned into a different political substance when England got it as an ordered domain. The Jews were permitted to establish the Jewish Agency, and Hebrew⁴ turned into an official dialect in Palestine. (Samaan 53) In 1948, the president Truman of the United States declared that Israel is an official state in Palestine.

1.4.1. The grounds of Israel military

From 1948, Israeli government established sets of foundations in order to deter any attack .These foundations based on several plans; the main plans were Preventive Planning and Protective Planning.

1.4.1.1. Preventive Planning

This planning sought to prevent any attack toward Israel. Preventive was a particular forced procedure; a protector's prevention of a rival's goal to attempt or grow savage activity using inferred or unequivocal dangers. (Civcik 29)

Israeli discouragement system went for keeping a group or individual Arab assault, this was self-evident, yet her strategy for prevention is translated in two distinctive methodologies. As indicated by the main approach, Israel's military precept had been founded on the supposition that discouragement and military

³ Balfour Declaration: a British declaration was made to help the Jews for settling in Palestine.

⁴ Hebrew: the language of the Jews, they use this language in their religious practices.

choice were two parts of the same currency and subsequently Israel shapes her prevention technique by not discipline, but rather avoidance. (Tal 14)

There were different wellsprings of Preventive strategy. The primary wellspring of prevention for Israel was her vital splices with the U.S. and her endeavors to keep the Arab countries from shaping such splices with the West too to make sure that no weapons dealt to the Arab countries were finished. (Telhami 401)

The other one wellspring of prevention was Israel's atomic force, in spite of the fact that by the year 1991, she would not like to acknowledge authoritatively that it had atomic arms. All things considered, it was as ahead of schedule as 1955 that Israel began atomic tasks with the colossal backing of Ben-Gurion who trusted that lone a created science and innovation could get pivotal favorable position statements of security over her Arab foes. (Cohen, Eisenstadt and Bacevich)

1.4.1.2. Protective Planning

The Protective Planning was used against abruptness attacks. The Air Force needed to dominate activation and sending procedure by securing the powers against air attacks and backing the position military by its flame force until the primary basis powers could gather their full quality; and the Navy needed to keep up a lasting nearness adrift in wars. (Tal 46)

As per the data assembled by past cautioning and insight, the store ought to activate at the earliest opportunity, henceforth making peace was an essential variable for barrier. In any case, still progress likewise shaped one of the vital components of crime since it was fundamental amid the war not just to succeed rapidly in one territory keeping in mind the end goal to amass powers in another territory, additionally to decrease the setbacks by lessening the term of the war. (Wurmser 5-6)

Israel was required to be a piece of early cautioning and in addition to assume starting liability for safeguarding the locale pending store unities got to be

accessible, and to quit attacking Arab powers if conceivable. (Averick and Rosen 26)

1.5. The Importance of Jewish Lobby in U.S. Foreign Policy

In Ambrosio views:

The ethnic lobbies primarily seek to influence foreign policy in three ways: Framing, information and policy analysis, policy oversight. Framing refers to the attempt by interest groups to place an issue on the government agenda, shape perspectives of that issue and influence the terms of debate. (16)

The Jewish people that lived in United States are commonly used to have relations with foreign countries aiming to utilize U.S. foreign policy to Israel favor. The Jewish Lobby on the other hand, is a key through which Israel can shape the state's foreign policy and becomes the decision-maker of the U.S. foreign affairs that serve its interests.

The role of Jewish people then, came back to their history of being Jews; they have the idea that Israel is their own. The sense of being Jew intervened to their thought and beliefs of Israelis and Zionists. (Brecher 53); They considered that Israel is part from the world Jewry where it used as the defender of Jews in all the world; so they decided to support the Jews in the mother land. Gurion claimed that Israel depends on the alliance of the world Jewry, and they don't care about the nation's views. (Brecher 29-31) He asserted:

Thus, on the relationship between Israel and the Jews of the world, and the representative and catalytic role assumed by the new state, he remarked the two groups are interdependent. The future of Israel- its security, its welfare, and its capacity to fulfill its historic mission- depends on world Jewry. And future of world Jewry depends on the survival of Israel...The state ensures...A life of sovereign freedom for the entire Jewish people...the state has become the pillar on which the unity of Diaspora Jewry now rests. The state is also product of that unity. (Ibid 31)

It can be said that Israel was supported through the Jewish lobby functions in the U.S foreign affairs as Thomas argued "Israel's success in achieving American support is its separate penetration, with the help of its domestic allies, of all levels

of the policy- making process.”(253) The Jewish lobby enjoined directly to the U.S. foreign policy process through diplomatic relations and the support of the Congress (Ibid); they sought to set their purposes to benefit Israel by pursuing the policymakers, and putting Israel as the American main interest. In addition, it deals also with the viewers of government and the media that included the Middle East issues to give the control over it. (Marrar 56) As a consequence, the role of Jewish lobby in the U.S. is to help Israel economically and military.

The Jewish lobby has a great influence over the U.S. foreign policy decision-making more than any other lobbies because the Jewish communities have high skills in organizations for instance: the American Jewish Congress, Zionist Organization of America (ZOA). The Israel Policy Forum(IPF),the American Jewish Committee, the ADL, the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, Americans for a Safe Israel, American Friends of Likud and Women’s Zionist Organization of America. All this communities influenced the U.S. foreign policy.

There are different organizations that represent the president in conference such as National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, National Council for labor Zionist, and the American Zionist Federation. It is also considered as the powerful lobby in the U.S. to fight anti-Israel as Marrar noted that the critics of Israel foreign policy pushed the Jewish lobby to revenge by all ways. (57) The best image that illustrates the successful of Jewish lobby is the Arab-Israeli crisis, and they believe that any wins of Arabs against Israel will drive to the end of Israel. (Terry 28)

1.6. The Expansion of the Israel-U.S. Relationship

From 1948, the U.S. and Israel built up a dear fellowship in view of majority rule worth, alliance of religion, and safety of benefits. (Sharp) At the duration between 1972 to2006, the U.S. repealed so many decisions of the Security Council which reprimanded Israel. This adds up to extra vetoes than the consolidated aggregate of a different vetoes thrown through the residual Security Council

individuals. It likewise added up to the half of U.S. vetoes infusion amid these years. (Mearsheimer and Walt 40)

The close relationship between the U.S. and Israel was appeared in fighting terrorism. This relations hinders the Arab rulers to collaborate with U.S. in diplomatic issues.(Ibid 8)The Kennedy Department shaped the urgent administration in U.S.-Israeli connections, the pivot that vacillated definitively far from the cold relationship of the 1950s and to the whole sprout organization together as we see in the present days.(Bass 3)

In 1962, the president of the U.S.A. "Kennedy" stated that the U.S. enter in an extraordinary association with Israel in the Middle East truly practically identical just to what it has with Britain through an extensive variety of world issues, and in the event of an attack, the United States would go to the backing of Israel because they had that limit (Mearsheimer and Walt 25); this support realized when the U.S. permitted to sale arms to Israel in order to help her. (Bard 190)

Between the years 1949 and 1965, the U.S.-Israel relationship increased to become more closely; Israel was received \$ 63 million from U.S.A., and by 1966, the support raised up to \$ 102 million. Between 1971 and 2005, the U.S. assistances grew up to become \$2 billion. (Mark)This relation between the two nations was considered as a special relationship (Stephens), and alliance. (Walt)

Stein claims “alliances mark the cooperative end of the continuum of International relations” ;this means that alliance is the scope of collaboration, and the phrase “special relationship” refers to the strong and close relationship between U.S.A and Israel. (151) Snyder explained as “ formal associations of states for the use (or non-use) of military force, in specified circumstances, against states outside their own membership”.(6)

There are a several bases of U.S.-Israel alliance for example; the security collaboration and modality of collaboration. Otherwise, the close relationship between the U.S. and Israel is described by three aspects; diplomatic security, pecuniary aids, and martial collaboration.

The first aspect includes the conservation of Israel diplomacy by the U.S. .So many decisions were refused by the U.S. at United Nations Security Council because they were opposed Israel; thus, Israel doesn't worry about universal anticipations in its actions. (Thomas 5)

The second one manifested in the Israeli receiving of many supports from the cold war until present days for instance in 2008, U.S.A. helped Israel by \$176 billion. (Sharp)There are various projects in the US in order to aid Israel military as the sale of weapons and giving awarding.

The last aspect includes the martial collaboration like "Joint Politico-Military Group" which is an U.S.-Israel alliance; it is organized in 1983.This collaboration contains a military association between the two countries; they are sharing their ideas and plans, and they have the collaboration of fighting enemies.

1.7. Conclusion

It can be said that the U.S.-Israel relationship is too strong. The early beginning of this relationship was begun during the Cold War when the U.S. needed Israel as a Middle Eastern ally. U.S.A. foreign policy at the Middle East supported Israel to be a strong state. That support includes all economic and military aids; hence, the Israel has a solid defense .Because of the existence of Jewish lobby at the government of United States, the U.S. foreign policy is making to the favor of Israel. In this why, Israel and U.S. is seemed as two brothers. The amplification of the relationship between the two states refers to the same national interests for both of them. The following chapter tries to assess the U.S-Israel interest through the prevention of nuclear weapons in Middle East and how can this affects their objectives in the region.

Chapter Two: Nuclear Weapon Prevention in the Middle East

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is about nuclear prevention in the Middle East. The section provides better understanding about the influence of Israel nuclear power on the Middle Eastern nations. It demonstrates how Israel became a nuclear power emphasizing on France as a most supporter to Israel nuke accomplishment. The section likewise introduces the United States' strategy and reaction to this time period in reference to Israel's nuclear energy. It will assess Israel's reasons of for spreading such program. Afterwards talk about the case studies of Syria and Egypt, each nation's nuclear program and seek to answer the question of for what reason Syria and Egypt pursued such program. The section will finish up with an appraisal of the relationship of Israel to the spreading of nuclear weapons in the Middle East.

2.2. Israel as a Nuclear Power

Aiming at being at the head of the Arab countries, Israel sought for the help of France and US to achieve its purpose of becoming a nuclear power in the region. The current title is an attempt to clarify the way through which France assisted Israel as it desired to become a nuclear force, also how the U.S. organizations welcomed the Israeli quest for further help.

Exchanging the arm was the main deal in the arrangement that was made between Nasser and the Soviets in 1955, the deal frightened Israel as it may cause a political Disequilibrium which may threaten its security in the region, therefore; asking for the French help was its first reaction. In the same context, Israel looked for a further help from US and its demand was met when President Eisenhower was at the expectations of the Israelis, since the US became the first country which offered a military help for Israel. "We are attempting to stop an arms race in the region. Clearly 1.7 million cannot absorb arms like 40 million" was Eisenhower's reaction on the issue. (qtd. in Walzer 37)

The Franco-Israeli rapprochement is tied around the Suez War. The two countries have a common enemy: the Egypt of Gamal Abdel Nasser, which

supports one side the National Liberation Front (FLN) of Algeria against France and gun on the other, Palestinian fedayeen against Israel. The participation of Israel in the Suez crisis was at the request of Britain and France for the purpose of gaining back the Suez Canal after Egypt had seized it. Cohen has noted, “At the height of the crisis, Soviet Premier Nikoli Bulganin had warned Ben Gurion that Soviet missiles could reach Israeli targets.” (Synagogue of Satan) that’s why only after the Egyptian seizure of the Suez Canal the Franco-Israeli rapprochement took place. The nuclear matter was at the top of Peres’ and the French officials’ meetings during 1956. Finally, after a year of negotiations The EL-102 research reactor has been given to the Israel, and it was changed to become a nuclear production point with the same abilities of the France’s G-1 reactor at Marcoule has. There was many fears concerning this step one of them, was from the change of the presidency in France that may put an end the French- Israeli cooperation, the second one was the fear from US to discover the atomic preparation and to abort it, however things were not as expected since Eisenhower organization had discovered the hidden project and did no action against the Dimona reactor project.

Only with the coming of Kennedy in the American presidency, the nonproliferation and (NPT) the nuclear proliferation treaty came into exercise. “John F. Kennedy was the first president who went to the White House persuaded that the spread of atomic weapons to new countries would make a more risky world and undermine U.S. worldwide influence.” (Cohen 12) Kennedy’s thought about the nuclear weapons was clear from the beginning, in one of his speeches he said:

In an age when both sides have come to possess enough nuclear power to destroy the human race several times over, the world of communism and the world of free choice have been caught up in a vicious circle of conflicting ideology and interest. Each increase of tension has produced an increase of arms; each increase of arms has produced an increase of tension. (Kennedy Speeches)

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Kennedy's was afraid of the soviet to establish a nuclear station on the Arab lands as a reaction to Dimona nuclear reactor; as a result, he considered the Israeli issue as personal interests to investigate in, His investigation made him send air missiles to Israel with a condition that Israel should never attempt to develop an atomic weapons. (Little 568-569) Kennedy's arm offer to Israel appeared only when soviet helped Egypt with arms, however, Kennedy made it clear that the US assistance is with a condition which Israel should respect; the condition was accepting the visit of American scientists to visit Dimona reactor site, and any refusal will put an end to the American guarantee of the Israeli security. The US condition seemed to be accepted and Israel accepted to the nonproliferation course. (Cohen 68)

After Kennedy's death, a better friend came to the presidency, the President Johnson fist coming to the white house announced that "Israel has lost a friend, but has found a better one" Johnson's help touched the most important issue that Kennedy was making it difficult for the Israeli to come true " the nuclear weapon". The scientists who were sent to Dimona for investigation were obliged to not complete their work as it had to be "the visits were halted when scientists reported they were so constrained by Israeli authorities that they could not certify there were no bombs being made." (Neff)

President Johnson sought always for satisfying his Israeli supporters however; before the election of the pro Israeli lobby 70 legislator signed on the agreement of the phantoms weapons that is providing Israel with 30 A-4 Skyhawks and 50 F-4 Phantoms, the president accepted the arrangement and neglected the fact of making Israel abandon its nuclear program and sign the (NPT).

By the start of 1986, the president Johnson showed his refusal to what he was informed by the CIA that Israel is developing its nuclear weapon, and made sure that his administration had not to hear about it. By the coming of Nixon, Israel was a nuclear power. Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir in 1969 made it clear to Nixon

that his country has a nuclear weapon explaining the reasons and the circumstances, however; promised to not make it clear to the world till the present days.

This segment concludes that France offered Israel some assistance to achieve the bomb and through presidential administrations. It was President Johnson's organization that fails to make definitive action to guarantee the Center East stayed free from nuclear weapons.

2.2.1. Israeli Nuclear Store

Both of biological and toxin weapons convections (BTWC) and nuclear non proliferation treaty (NPT) were not signed by Israel in spite of the fact it has a nuclear weapon; however, it should be noted that the (CWC) was signed but not ratified. (Hart and Benjamin 114) just because Israel believed that Syria holds nuclear weapons while, it is said it possesses about 530 to 684 kilograms of plutonium and has about 130 to 170 atomic weapons. In this context, mentioned that Israel "is equipped for conveying atomic weapons via air ship, ballistic rockets, and ship-and submarine-propelled voyage missiles." (Cirincione 259)

The political ambiguity is one of Israel well know policy; therefore, it have never insurances the fact of possessing nuclear weapons. All these information about what source of atomic weapons it has, neither had it denied any report on the matter. Avner Cohen wrote about the Israeli military capacities "A near-consensus exists among experts-based on anecdotal evidence and intelligence leaks-that Israel developed, produced, stockpiled, and maybe even deployed chemical weapons at some point in its history." However, he doubts about the Israeli possession (BW) agents in the following time. He showed cautious and tentativeness as he wrote:

It would be logical-given the experience with Iraq-that Israel has acquired expertise in most aspects of weaponization, with the possible exception of testing. Although it is probable that Israel has maintained some sort of production capability, it is highly doubtful that Israel engages in the ongoing production or stockpiling of BW agents. (Cirincione 261)

Israel main concern is its security which is well addressed till the Present time. In addition to its small size in comparison to its hostility countries in the region, these concerns were the main motive behind its possession of nuclear power. In the same context, the former Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres said: We didn't build this (nuclear) option to get to Hiroshima, but rather to Oslo. We felt that the reason Israel was attacked several times, without any provocation, was because some of our neighbors thought they could overpower us, and we wanted to create a situation in which this temptation would no longer exist." (Bahgat 113)

However, Israel believed that it will join the major arms control and disarmament treaty when there will be no danger on its security. In this way, possessing nuclear weapons becomes insurance for the Israeli existing; this is what Ben Gurion explained; "believed Israel needed nuclear weapons as insurance if it could no longer compete with the Arabs in an arms race, and as a weapon of last resort in case of an extreme military emergency. Nuclear weapons might also persuade the Arabs to accept Israel's existence, leading to peace in the region." (Cohen 12) and what Einhorn wrote in relation to this topic, "As long as the Israelis face what they regard as an existential threat, they are going to be reluctant to surrender what they see as an ultimate guarantor of their security." (13)

"*Begin Doctrine*" is a known strategy named after its creator (The former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin). This strategy constrains that Israel "determines to prevent confrontation states...from gaining access to nuclear weapons." This means that Israel will prevent any hostile country from developing nuclear weapons that can menace its existence. The Begin Doctrine was implied to crush the Osirak nuclear reactor outside Baghdad during 1981, and in 2007 to attack the Syria's secret nuclear institution at Al-Kibar. This strategy also used with Iran too contends "that Tehran, equipped with such weapons, would step up its support for anti-Israel terrorism, encourage other regional states to develop a similar capacity, and shatter the nuclear non-proliferation regime." (Pomper 29) And as the apposite views: "There is no other known instance in which an anti-Israeli action was deterred by Israel's nuclear capabilities. In other words, Israel's nuclear

capability is a fine example of a successful response to a non-existent threat...Israel's image as a nuclear state has encouraged other regional powers to pursue a similar status." (Bar-Joseph 149)

In his opinion "Israel's nuclear arsenal should be eliminated, to remove the pretext for hostile actors attaining nuclear weapons." (Ibid 153)

2.2.2. Reasons of Possessing Nuclear Weapons

Seeking to possess nuclear weapons has advantages which make any nation desired to owning it. Having a nuclear weapon ensures the countries security in the region and in international rival; it ensures also a high status. (Campbell, Einhorn and Reiss 3) Nuclear weapons becomes a source of power which decreases any fear the country may confront because of the present or future enemies; while, it increases on their other hand its freedom in the world. (Waltz 08) Enjoying the prestige that accompanies the nuclear weapon tempt country to have it. (Ibid 08)

However, if any step that is wished to be realized, countries in possessing nuclear weapon may face constrains like "financial cost, technical difficulty, and domestic opposition, damage to important bilateral relationships or collective security alliances, and global nonproliferation norms." (Campbell, Einhorn and Reiss 12-13)

Seeing some countries as India and Pakistan which became nuclear state, but did not gain serious advantages may become discouraging for other countries; nonetheless, it cannot be denied that they expended their prestige internationally with United State.

2.3. Syria and Nuclear Weapons

It is said that Syria doesn't obtain a weapon of mass destruction for now. The Center for Non proliferation Studies (CNS) at the Monterey Institute of International Studies solidly concluded that Syria does not have a biological

weapon nor has the ability of delivering atomic weapon program (Jouejati). Yet, Assad's desire to obtain WMD is formed by imponderable of power with Israel and to deter Israelis threat of attacking Syria. As a consequence, Syria has master the lack of resources to produce a serious chemical weapon stockpile, improve rocket abilities and form an atomic reactor. (Elleman, Esfandiary and Hokayem 9)

"Syria has pursued development of a strategic deterrent principally based on ballistic missile, chemical, and, to a limited extent, biological warfare programs, as a means of countering Israel's conventional force superiority. ...". (Carl Levin 30). Syria's weapon projects were not created so as to have a high position among neighbors or to scare them, but instead to assure security in the region. (Jouejati)

Syria's refusal of creating conventional weapons is because the only way to deter threat in the region is producing the atomic weapons. It also reported that will not abandon its unspoken capabilities if Israel is not obliged to do that. (Campbell, Einhorn and Reiss: 86) Hafez al Assad indirectly announced his chemical weapons, "Those who have nuclear weapons do not have the right to criticize others regarding any weapon, which they possess. If they want disarmament, we should start with the nuclear ones. We, the Arabs, are ready to get rid of other weapons". (Campbell, Einhorn and Reiss: 86) From a Syrian point of views, Israel is:

a scion of imperialism, as an aggressive, expansionist, settler-colonial state: Israel colonized Palestine; tossed out one segment of its local Palestinian inhabitants from their ancestral homes; maintained a brutal occupation over the other segment and, at various times, invaded each and every one of its neighbors, occupying parts of their territory, and this in flagrant violation of international law. (Ülgen 15)

Syria still considers Israel to be a danger and attempt to protect the region by means of its WMD, although the legitimacy of Syria's perspectives is in doubt by many scholars.

Syria in 2003, frequently desired the high ground and suggested a WMD free zone in Middle East, but without any avail because the timing is not ideal for such a

move as the U.S. and different states answer. Thereafter, it sought not to abandon its chemical weapons till there was a provincial ban on atomic weapons. The U.S. has always views to Syria's chemical weapons as non essential and the only reason for its presence is a desire to be equal in atomic weapons with Israel. Hence, the U.S. relationship with Israel influenced negatively the U.S targets of nuclear prevention in Syria. Assad's most important goal to stay in force is a clandestine nuclear project as Israel's atomic plan and U.S foreign policy are both a threat for Syria.

Syria fought against U.S. colonizing of Iraq; however, it faced the fiasco of nuclear weapons and as it devoted against Israel terrorist brunches, it remained in the U.S. sights in addition to its chemical system. Syria as a result determined to obtain the nuclear to be equal against U.S. risk.

To sum up, the spread of nuclear weapons in Syria was to deter Israel, in this way the relationship between U.S and Israel and Israel nuclear program was influenced negatively the aim of nuclear prevention in the Middle East in case of Syria. Other scholars discussed Syria's desire of nuclear weapons was rather an offensive motive to be in equilibrium against Israel military and as a response to its nuclear program. Additionally, Syria's seeking of nuclear weapons was to stop the U.S. menace of Assad administration.

2.3.1. Biological and Chemical weapons in Syria

In the nineteen eighties Syria has sought to acquire chemical weapons and determine to protect its arsenal from destroying. The strong motivation behind the desire to set up such a program is to secure the area from the threat posed by Israel. Therefore, it believed to maintain a large amount of tons of mustard gas, blister agents, and nerve agents including sarin and the agent VX, possibly weaponized into bombs, shells, and missiles.

The Syrian government has announced its chemical stockpiled in 2012 for the first time. The National Director of Intelligence in 2011 reported to the congress on the maintaining of technology for Weapons of Mass destruction that "Syria has had

a chemical weapons program for many years and its stockpile is deliverable by “aerial bombs, ballistic missiles, and artillery rockets.”[2] It is dependent, however, on foreign sources for key elements of its program.”

In 1993, Syria began to create tube and rocket gunnery rounds loaded with mustard-sort rankling specialists, and dared to be the main weaponization of its kind. Syria keeps on endeavoring to obtain new supplies of chemical weapons antecedents, which are often used through non-real organizations in third nations. However, because of the chemical weapons convention that states “This convention requires its member states to eliminate all of their chemical weapon stocks, munitions, precursor chemicals, and related production and storage facilities” the majority of the nation’s weapon arsenal were destroyed or still in the way of doing so, Syria on the other hand had signed the convention on September, 14th, 2013.

The Syrian biological war-far and its capability still not known; the secretary defense Dick Cheney mentioned that Syria is among the 10 states that “have or may have biological warfare program”. Although Syria had signed the biological weapon convention but it still not approves it; the disarmament Agency in 1990 claimed that “was developing an offensive biological war-fare capability.”

It is said that Syria “has a biotechnical infrastructure capable of supporting limited agent development but has not begun a major effort to produce biological agents or to put them into weapons, according to official U.S. assessments” (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) In spite of the fact that the presence of a biotechnology modern base would propose that Syria has some valuable skill to build up a biological weapons ability, it doesn't suggest and can't affirm the presence of such a program.(NTI) In addition, the country produced large number of rockets; however, it did not have an independent technology as it needed for a foreign assistance. Thus, Syria's creation limit is restricted by remote imports, and Syria is not able to do altogether enhancing outlines or delivering more propelled rockets without help. The greater part of Syria's ballistic rockets are fit for conveying synthetic warheads.

2.4. Egypt and Nuclear Weapons

Egypt's producing of nuclear weapons is to secure the region against Israel, as well as for its prestige and status among the Middle East countries. Egypt owns both chemical and biological weapons ability. In 1960s, (ACDA) Arms Control and Disarmament Agency asserted:

The United States believes that Egypt had developed biological warfare agents by 1972. There is no evidence to indicate that Egypt had eliminated this capability and it remains likely that the Egyptian capability to conduct biological warfare continues to exist. (Dando, Pearson and Toth 64)

Egypt in its role refuted its development of Biological warfare and claimed that it even does not create it or stockpiled. However, concerning the chemical warfare program Cirincione, Wolfsthal and Rajkumar stated that "Egypt was the first country in the Middle East to obtain chemical weapons and the first to use them... It is believed to still to have a research program and has never reported the destruction of any of its chemical agents or weapons." (13)

Egypt is a member of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and had signed it in 1968, but did not approve until 1981. Deputy Secretary-General Jamal Mubarak said at a press conference on the first day of the NDP convention, "Egypt is a signatory to the NPT, like many other countries. This treaty guarantees, inter alia, the signatories' right to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, in the production of energy for development purposes and so on...." (Memri)

Egypt's political status helps in seeking nuclear weapons program in the region; although its lack of it. It argued also its capability of pursuing this program by stating:

It has fought several wars and only enjoyed a 'cold peace' with a next-door neighbor that possesses both nuclear weapons and a significant edge in conventional weapons...it was one of the first countries to embark on a civil nuclear program...Its military has played a powerful, even dominant, role in its political system...heir to a great civilization...[and] It has regarded its nuclear asymmetry with Israel as intolerable and made elimination of that symmetry a persistent, highly publicized objective of its diplomacy". (Campbell, Einhorn and Reiss: 43)

Egypt does not obtain nuclear weapons; while this, promote its status among the Middle East countries and secure the region from Israel threat. It asserted that the costs of that program exceed the advantages of owning it. As result all the presidents from 1960 till now deduced that:

it would be neither necessary nor desirable to do so [develop a nuclear weapon capability] based on three considerations: the magnitude of the technical and economic challenges involved in the development of such a program, Israel's counter-proliferation campaign against it, and most important, U.S. diplomatic initiatives toward Egypt employing both carrots (including, apparently, reassurances to Egypt that 'Israel will not introduce' nuclear weapons into the Middle East) and sticks". (Ariel E. Levite 64)

In 1960s, Egypt tries to improve such energy; but, it had not the capability to sell nuclear weapons to nations. After the war of 1967, Egypt witnessed an economical poverty, so that it can't pay much money for the nuclear anymore and stopped such a program. The needs than were centered on enhancing conventional power to recapture the land it had wasted in the war of 1967.

However, Egypt does not have money to sponsor atomic energy, some thought that it is actually ready for it and it was supported of atomic free zone in Middle East. In other hand, the president, Hosni Mubarak, proposed that Egypt will create nuclear weapons in the right time. He has not shut the entryway as he announced, "We do not think now of entering the nuclear club because we do not want war..... We are not in a hurry..... If the time comes when we need nuclear weapons, we will not hesitate." (Solingen 231)

During Nasser's reign, nuclear weapon had been obtained for fashion and for a desire to return the Arab pioneer; He pursued both chemical and biological weapons in time the spread of these energy was not prohibited. At present Egypt becomes less interesting of such energy. As result, Israel's function in preventing the nuke in Egypt had an insignificant influence on the U.S national policies.

2.4.1. Egypt's Weapons Arsenal

The Egyptian nuclear weapons arsenal contains mustard gas and phosgene and it continue to "produce VX nerve gas. These agents are probably available for delivery in munitions such as mines, artillery shells, salvo bombs, rockets, air-to-surface bombs and missile warheads" ([Webmaster](#))

By the beginning of 1990, the Defense Intelligence Agency study "Hostile Chemical Warfare Programs in the Middle East" noted that Egypt kept searching on chemical agent for several years and it is believed to work with Iraq to make and store such weapons. (Ibid) In 1993 London Time noted that "Egypt had purchased "large quantities" of chemical weapons precursors from India, including about 90 tons of trim ethyl phosphate, which is used in the production of mustard gas." (Ibid)

The explanation about The Egyptian Biological weapons is much difficult to identify it than the chemical one. The Russian Foreign Intelligence Service describes:

Egypt has a program of military-applied research in the sphere of BW, but no data has been obtained on the creation of biological agents in the interests of military offensive programs.....Toxins of varying nature are being studied and techniques....A US naval military-medical laboratory for the study and development of means of combating particularly dangerous infectious....Equipped with the latest apparatus and staffed with highly qualified American specialists. Concern is evoked by the fact that the subject matter of the research of such a facility is strictly classified. (qtd. in Shoham 13)

2.5. Conclusion

It can be said that the spreading of nuclear weapons in the Middle East is neither due to the United States' "exceptional relationship" with Israel nor the Israeli nuclear program. However, this is not the case with Syria, since the reason behind its nuclear program was its conflict with Israel. The Syrian program existed for a short period of time and didn't evolve to be a nuclear weapon. Egypt likewise did not seek to gain nuclear weapons, and its chemical weapons appeared from the time of Nasser's presidency during the 1960's when he had desired to lead the Arabs patriotism as much as his desired to secure Egypt against the enemies "Israel".

In the next section, the appraisal will be on the U.S. national interest from promoting democracy. The chapter likewise, analyzes each country regime and examines its influence of the U.S. international interests with regard to its relationship with Israel.

**Chapter Three: Promoting Democracy in the Middle
East**

3.1. Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to investigate the impact of promoting democracy in the Middle Eastern countries on the U.S. international targets in case study of Syria and Egypt. This section portrays the authoritarianism robustness in the MENA countries and examines the reasons behind its longevity in order to pave the way to the study of democracy in both Syria and Egypt. Each case study attempts to provide a better understanding about the state's regime structure and how the government went during the regime of Mubarak in Egypt as well as Bashar and his father Hafez Al Assad in Syria. Then, the analysis tackles the use of these regimes of repression and how they seek to liberalize their politics. This section on other hand assesses the relationship of Israel and United States of America to investigate if it has a negative, positive, or negligible effect on their international interests

3.1. Authoritarianism in the Middle East

The authoritarianism⁵ in The Middle East and North Africa is well established. The thesis therefore, tries to convey the main reasons behind its longevity and examine what makes it continue during a time of democratization. It indicates also to the significance of prerequisites in shaping democracy that the region lacks. This segment likewise, discusses the civil society and elections as useful features in making democracy; however, these last are lacking transparency because of electoral fraud.

The Issue of democratization in the Middle East is complicated to explain; however, many governors indicated it as, "An obstacle to the development of a more dynamic economy and a more efficient administration and of course as a threat to their power." (qtd. in Hinnebusch) Many scholars also have concentrated on the elements and factors why authoritarianism became robust in the Middle East.

⁵ Authoritarianism: Is a form of the government characterized by strong central power and limited political freedom

The major four reasons are: (1) the fiscal health of the government, (2) persistent of international supports, (3) limited degree of institutionalization and (4) the low level of popular mobilization. (Bellin 144) As a result, the security service in the country is the strongest reason because of the other factors that are previously mentioned. Bellin concluded “...while the removal of democracy suppressing coercive apparatuses is a necessary condition for democratic transition and consolidation, it is not sufficient.” (145)

Likewise, The continuity of this phenomenon in the Middle Eastern and North African countries is fundamentally due to the control over the executive branch, the military and security apparatuses, as well as the strengthening of the intelligence services by investing a large proportion of oil on these apparatuses on the one hand, and to ensure the achievement of social peace by providing social needs of its citizens through Rents economy. (Ait Tquinta) Bellin concluded that eliminating the security apparatus will not guarantee the existence of democracy; rather it might appear other sorts of authoritarianism, she added, “Authoritarianism has proven exceptionally robust in the Middle East and North Africa because the coercive apparatus in many states has been exceptionally able and willing to crush reform initiatives from below.” (144)

Hence, the absence of prerequisites such as a lack of a solid civil society, literacy levels, market-driven economy and democratic culture demonstrate the fiasco of democratization in the MENA countries. (Ibid 141)

“If steps are taken to liberalize certain policies increase the legitimacy of the authoritarian rule in the short run, it still cannot be excluded that they may destabilize the system in a long run.” (Fürting 19) It is crucial then to acknowledge that the relationship between civil society and democratization is a significant discussion for many scholars. The investigations of the civil society in the Middle East have wondered the civil society’s capability to change the political system. Langohr argues that, “It is time for scholarly and policy analysis of democratization

in the region to focus less on the role of NGOs and more on the importance of developing viable political parties.” (Posusney and Angrist 10)

Bellin furthermore, proposed that civil society is not a way to demonstrate authoritarianism in the region as she noted “civil society is weak and thus is an ineffective champion of democracy.” (139) the elections in the region stay the best resolution for political change than civil society which may cause for democratization.

While elections sit at the heart of achieving democracy and while it conducts in MENA countries, Posusney argued that, “Multiple legislative elections have been initiated by authoritarian Arab rulers not as a step toward making these changes [toward democracy] but as a means to forestall them.” (qtd. in Sater) In this way, the rulers legitimize their power indirectly. Hence, the hindrance that prevent from transition of democratization is the election fraud.

3.2. Syria and Democracy

In this section, the analysis will investigate the Syrian government structure during the presidency of both Hafez Al Assad and his son Bashar Al Assad. None of them sought to make a political reform in the country because this might threaten his maintenance of power. Al Assad’s government consists on a one-party system and one leader. The Ba’ath party is the ruling party in Syria that has a power on the political affairs in the region, this party on the other hand empowered the president Bashar Al Assad to make control over the powers [legislative and executive branches] as it happened with his father Hafez before him. He utilized all means of repression to deter any threat that would risk his position and power as a president especially the oppositions however he did not acknowledge the opposition’s ability to change the regime or make a reform.

Similarly, as the dictatorship in the MENA countries, the Assad administration also stays in force due to the backing of the security apparatuses. Assad’s foreign policy had gotten support because its position as Anti-Americanism. This segment

will finish up with a conclusion that U.S.A relation with Israel affected negatively the Syrian political liberalization⁶.

3.2.1. Syria's Government System Under Al Assad Regime

Syria is a republic; however, it exercises the authoritarian regime. In spite of the fact that the Syrian people have the right to vote on the appropriate president, they cannot change the government. The International Business Publications, United States of America (2013) stated "Officially, Syria is a republic. In reality, however, it is an authoritarian regime that exhibits only the forms of a democratic system". (31)

In 1963, the Arab socialist Ba'ath party arranged a coup and constructed a one party government. In this way, the party that is previously mentioned empowered the president, Hafez al Assad, to keep up all political and social strips as well as government branches such as legislative, judicial, and executive foundations under governed like the International Business Publications, United States of America (2013) said that president, Hafez Al Assad, has, "the right to appoint ministers, to declare war and states of emergency, to issue laws (which, except in the case of emergency, require ratification by the People's Council), to declare amnesty, to amend the constitution⁷, and to appoint civil servants and military personnel". (ibpus.com 30)

The People's council is known as legislature is elected every 4 years; yet, it has no free power, for this reason the legislators "may criticize policies and modify draft laws, they cannot initiate laws, and the executive branch retains ultimate control over the legislative process". (Ibid 32) Al Assad as a result, did the best of effort to become on the head of presidency as he brings to bear both the Ba'ath party and military as a means to reach his goal. Indicating, "He himself took the

⁶ Liberalization: liberalizing the economic, industrial, investment, financial and business policies to enhance the business of exports of nations

⁷ Constitution: fundamental law, principles that established the characters of the government in which the state is governed by.

office of the secretary general of the Ba'ath, thus combining the two roles of head of state and head of the party" (Hafez Al Assad) but portrayed Al Assad's domination as "the pillar of forces; he is the secretary general of Ba'ath party which controls the parliament, he is the head of the military, security apparatus and all intelligence services". (354)

3.2.2. Syria facing Repression, Elections, and Political liberalization

The President Obama said that, "Strong nations recognize the value of active citizens. They support and empower their citizens rather than stand in their way, even when it is inconvenient – or perhaps especially when it is inconvenient – for government leaders." (Kerry: 2013) Thus, the government provides more security to the citizens and it is regarded as a support rather than an obstacle and suppress for them. Under Hafez and Bashar Al Assad administrations, Syria witnessed a decades of repression and infringement to the human rights as Sarah Leah Whitson, Middle East director at Human Rights Watch announced:

Whether President al-Assad wanted to be a reformer but was hampered by an entrenched old guard or has been just another Arab ruler unwilling to listen to criticism, the outcome for Syria's people is the same: no freedom, no rights" and conclude "Al-Assad's record after 10 years is that he has done virtually nothing to improve his country's human rights record." (Baldwin)

As Hafez Al Assad, Bashar's bleak record also characterized by exercising torture on the public, no right to change the government, the prisoners witness a cruel torture, arbitrary arrest, no free expression. In addition to the political repression as arrest political personalities who were exiled and returned to the country while the government promised them that they are in safe, attacking people that are members in the opposition gathering. All these kinds of repression as a result of expansion of the region security and military courts use that try to stop the political and rights activists, whether freely or through their affiliations to political gatherings involved in the movement of human right. (Syria 217-220) Hence, in the report of Syria: Al-Assad's Decade in Power Marked by Repression "reviews al-

Assad's human rights record in five key areas: repression of political and human rights activism; restrictions on freedom of expression; torture; treatment of the Kurds; and Syria's legacy of enforced disappearances. The verdict is bleak.” (Baldwin)

With regard to the elections in Syria, the Ba’ath party represents the majority seats and its allies in the parliament⁸. The rules in Syria deprived the political prisoners of having the right for the elections or vote even the real independents have no choice to win, in this context the opposition make it clear that the elections has been faked and people must boycott, while the government was pushing the Syrians to vote as a way to achieve democracy. The BBC (2007) reported the dissidents arrested, “a sign of little change in Syria since Bashar Assad came to power seven years ago”. Al Assad in his role makes a speech on July, 2010 talking about the necessity of transparency and Democracy while the reality is quite the opposite or maybe it was short lived.

As Hafez al-Assad was affirmed by a referendum five times; after his death Bashar won the presidency in 2000 and was renewed in 2007 after he was approved by a national referendum. Al Assad’s administration nevertheless, sought not to tolerate the oppositions who threat his power. (The International Business Publications, United States of America)

United States Institute of Peace stated, “The Muslim Brotherhood has emerged as the most powerful opposition force, inside and outside the country. It is evolving and beginning to forge important links with secular opposition groups” they do not want an Islamic state, but They “instead proposing a modern state (dawlat hadithiyya in Arabic) that is, a “contractual” state, based on citizenship, the rule of law, representation, pluralism, institutions, and the peaceful transfer of power” (USIPeace Briefing) and they had a hand in Damascus Declaration. This is approved by the opponents cause “The authorities' monopoly of everything for

⁸ Parliament: a legislative, elected body of government. It consist on two houses; the house of representatives and house of senates

more than thirty years has established an authoritarian, totalitarian, and cliquish (fi'awi in Arabic) regime.” Therefore, it calls for a peaceful democratic government and for the unity of oppositions. The declaration thereafter witnessed an advance and gained a support of many writers such as Landis and Joe Pace who claimed “For the first time in Syrian history, an assemblage of bickering parties and scattered intellectuals representing Kurdish nationalists, Arab nationalists, Socialists, Communists, liberals, and Islamists [all] united under a single platform, for democratic change.” (57) In 2005, the dissident and the former vice president of Bashar Al Assad, Khadam, criticized the Syrian regime on Al-Arabiya. He declared his coalition with the Muslim Brotherhood and formed a national salvation front; this announcement shaped a unity among the opponents in one hand, and shakes the regime’s trust on the other hand. Unlike the other dissident struggle, khaddam “possesses a personal fortune, a wealth of important connections, and an intimate knowledge of the inner workings of a notoriously opaque regime.” (Ibid 58) as a consequence, the regime prevented the opponents from traveling abroad and does not permit them to increase their power.

Hafez Al Assad was characterized by his political wisdom and personality. In his period, the country witnessed a political instability. He dealt with that issue peacefully by reconstructed the political framework and made some changes on the regime structure as considered it as a “corrective movement”. Unlike Hafez, Bashar Al Assad doesn’t have his father’s personality; thus, he was unable to deal with the turbulent political, economic and social conditions as Rabil describe him, “Bashar is no Mikhail Gorbachev; he is not eager to introduce the Syrian equivalent of perestroika or glasnost, which could unseat him from power. In fact, he clamped down on the reform movement that he himself helped launch once he realized its ramifications for the political system” and furthermore he claimed that “the political system has undergone no significant institutional change”.

Despite of the fact that, the public’s desire for change, they do not want to repeat what happened in Lebanon and Iraq and the regime does not want U.S. intervention as Lasensky and Yacoubian asserted, “the regime believes U.S. policy

is floundering and that it can outlast Washington in the region, particularly as chaos continues in Iraq.” (45) They further added

“If the Syrian public prefers Bashar over external pressure for democracy and regime change, this does not necessarily equate with support for the regime. Genuine popular support is only generated by two issues: anti-Americanism and anti-Lebanese sentiment.” (5)

3.2.3. The Syrian Democracy Effect on US-Israel Relationship

Promoting of democracy in the Middle East, at least in one powerful state like Syria will hinder in the long term and reduce U.S. influence on the region. Then, the spread of democracy would slowly end the U.S. plays on the contradictions of religious and nationalist area (Sunni conflict Shi'a, Arab Iranians, Kurds Arabic Iranian). Thus, the country will distance itself somewhat from the arms competition which will lead to the decline of the arms trade and will increase and accelerate the growth of the state and their reliance on itself, increasing demand and its emphasis on equality in their relationships with others, and will expand its political and economic competitive position and size. This does not serve as settled by the distribution of roles and international interests in the region. As a result, it can be said that Promoting democracy in Syria would harm U.S. international interest with regard to its relationship with Israel. (Hunta)

The Syrian public is against Al Assad's regime, however they are not against its foreign policy as they shared the same hatred to Israel as well as America. Al Assad administration used to legitimize the emergency of law since 1963. This action gives the president the power to make control over oppositions that threatens his regime. Even the opponent as stated:

Any liberal opponents to the regime are weakened by the strong U.S.–Israeli relationship to a degree that if liberal opponents of the regime received aid from the West in its pursuit for democracy, they would be de-legitimized for collaborating with Syria's enemies. Because liberal democratic minded opposition cannot receive help from the West in liberalizing Syria. (Walzer 53)

In the foreign affairs Al Assad's anti Americanism⁹ is due to the U.S solid relationship with Israel because this last is considered as risk for Syria as the president Hafez al Assad asserted:

Israel was an expansionist state whose ambitions were underwritten by the United States. He believed that it was Syria's duty to resist the Israeli threat and to work in the cause of Arab unity. Al-Assad's concern with Israel reflected the opinion of most Syrians, who felt the territory that eventually became the Palestine mandate was regarded as a part of Southern Syria, and its transformation into the state of Israel stirred strong emotions among Syrians. (qtd. in Ibid 53)

Syria had removed its military to Lebanon and announced its advocating of Hezbollah in an attempt to not make a peace with Israel and aids Hafez to join its forces with Lebanon. The same thing Bashar Al Assad did in order to "forestall any move by the small Lebanese army to replace Hezbollah units near the Israeli-Lebanese border, thus helping ensure that Lebanon will be unable to make an independent peace with Israel without Syrian participation." (Ibid 54)

The Emergency of Law is a mean used by the Syrian president to suppress the political opponents. It gave the president the full powers to use the security apparatuses against the threat of Israel and to deter the opposition of the regime that constitutes a risk for president administration. Not only for opposition, but also the Islamists militancy movements¹⁰ as Walzer describes, "Syria's state of emergency and continued martial law was justified by the Assad regime with the claim that Syria and Israel were in a state of war. Despite this questionable rationale, the Emergency Laws have been a tool that has allowed the Assad regime to maintain power and repress political opponents." (54)

Washington determined to win the Lebanon and take it out of the scope of Syrian influence as major aspect of its strategy to reshape the Greater Middle East. Syria perfectly designed to prevent the exit of Lebanon. As Landis and Pace

⁹ Anti Americanism: dislike, fear and hostility toward United State.

¹⁰ Islamists militancy movements: any form of Islamic Group that opposes the rule of government by the movements they organize.

prescribes “Washington’s demands that Syria stop supporting Hamas and other Palestinian organizations, while it remains silent in the face of Israeli expropriation of Palestinian land, places the Syrian opposition in an impossible position vis-à-vis the United States.” (62) The Syrian opponents are in need to justify themselves, but they cannot ask help from United State because of its supporting of Israel. As a result, promoting democracy in case of Syria affected negatively the U.S and Israel interests.

3.3. The Egyptian Regime

The section of promoting democracy in case of Egypt, presents Hosni Mubarak’s period of presidency. It identifies the Egyptian government's form and structure; it provides a deep insight about the reforms that Egypt witnessed during Mubarak’s era for the purpose of legitimizing the government and stop the authoritarianism in the region.

3.3.1. Egyptian Government Structure and Mubarak Regime

It is important to reveal that Egypt is basically republican state and while its follow of some basic democratic principles, many spectators keep on indicating it as an authoritarian administration. After Al Sadat assassination in 1981, Hosni Mubarak, the former vice president, was promoted to be the president of the state; he ruled Egypt for a long period, he was an executive. He derives his strength from the backing of the military and the National Democratic Party (NDP) which is considered as the ruling party.

The legislative Branch in Egypt is feeble according to some Commentators because the National Democratic Party took the larger part of seats in the parliament. It is divided into two: the People’s Council and Shura Council. The role of the Egyptian people’s council according to Sharp “debates legislation proposed by government ministries and calls for amendments to government-sponsored bills but rarely initiates its own bills.” (Sharp 6) And he define The Shura Council as “an

advisory body, offering reports and recommendations on important subjects, but the Shura Council does not introduce, consider, or vote on legislation.” (Ibid 6)

The Egyptian military on the other hand played an important role in the provision of internal security and ensuring the stability of Mubarak’s regime. It provided job opportunities for Egyptian youth, and one that in turn reduce the unemployment rate. The president Mubarak keeps on imposing its control over the judiciary despite the granting of judiciary independence. In 2006, the Mubarak’s regime witnessed some protests because Some judges alleged that the parliamentary elections had been rigged by forces loyal to the government, but the finger has been directed to two of the judges, Mahmoud Mekki and Hisham Bastawisi, “who were stripped of their judicial immunity and detained after publicly charging electoral fraud during parliamentary elections late last year.” (Ibid 8)

3.3.2. Egypt in a Dilemma of Repression, Elections, and Liberalization

During the three decades of Mubarak’s presidency, The police and the security forces of the state used all different means of repression such as detention the activist and journalist as a way to deter the political dissents, using violence against minorities, arbitrary arrest, Unlawful Deprivation of Life, disappearance, miserable condition in the prison and curtail freedom of expression as United States Department of human right reported “The previous government severely restricted Internet freedom when it cut connections to telecommunication networks during the peak of antigovernment demonstrations.” (2) As a result the government did not respect human rights and the fear among the citizens continued during the 30 years of Mubarak’s presidency. According to the U.S. State Department’s 2009 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, “the government’s respect for human rights remained poor, and serious abuses continued in many areas.” (Sharp 13)

In 1990s, the period witnessed demonstrations and the government’s response was describes as “brutal, swift, and indiscriminate.” Against the Islamists Militancy; in this period, Egypt shed the light on the political repression and the

emergence of Islamist Militancy in particular as the government response “State repression encompassed not only the hard-core militants of the Gama’a and Islamic Jihad, but also supporters, sympathizers, families, and, for that matter, anyone wearing a beard with a trimmed moustache.” (Hafez, Wiktorowicz 78) and that “the violence contention was a reaction to predatory state policies that threatened the organizational and societal gains of a movement, as well as a defensive reaction against an unpredictable future created by indiscriminate repression.” (Ibid 80)

The elections in Egypt do not give the opportunity to the Egyptians to change the regime. Egypt adopted multiparty elections for about thirty years or more. The candidate that are allowed to participate in the parliamentary elections are “highly competitive as official party candidate from hegemonic regime party _ the NPD _ compete with NPD independents, from candidates legally established opposition parties and members of popular opposition group _ The Muslim Brotherhood. In addition, the regime holds municipal elections that are competitive primarily within the ruling party cadre.” (Blaydes 100)

As previously mentioned The NPD party had the majority seats in the parliament and had maintained a total power over political life. Posusney defined “Egypt as a case where the regime alters election rules when initial results prove damaging to incumbents. Nonetheless prospects sometimes arise, where one can have hopes that reform will take Place.” (Walzer 58)

The amendment, which was held by the National Democratic Party allowed the ruling party to exclude candidates from the Muslim Brotherhood, which is one of the largest opposition parties to the ruling regime and thereby ensure continuity in power and led to the difficulty of making independent candidates run

To be eligible, a candidate not affiliated with a party must obtain the signatures of at least 65 members of the lower house of Parliament, 25 members of the upper house and ten municipal council members from at least 14 provinces. Given that both houses of Parliament and most local councils are dominated by the NDP, establishing eligibility would be nearly impossible in practice....The amendment's restrictions on candidacy to the mere three weeks allotted by the government for the campaign, and Mubarak's victory at the polls is assured." (Tadros)

In addition, on September 2005 "multiparty presidential election, which was marred by accounts of voter irregularities and intimidation, had already turned heads and increased suspicion. Only Egyptian citizens who had registered to vote before December 2004 could actually vote, a clever loophole given that Mubarak did not reveal his intent to hold the election until the following February." (Lee)

Another attempt to protect Mubarak's regime, the government arrested the reformist of El Ghad (Tomorrow) party, Ayman Nour, as Lee reported "was imprisoned just weeks before the February announcement and now faces prison time on what appears to be trumped-up charges brought by the Mubarak government." (Lee)

In 20th century, the government was stated on one-party and one-man. The Mubarak government continued to weaken the remains of democratic parliamentary liberalization. (Walzer 59) The president Mubarak claimed:

I had a clear vision of future of the country that won the confidence of the people and their support last year. I have vision of a modern Egyptian society which preserves freedom, elevates the value of citizenship and strengthens the role of citizens in the political process; A modern and developed society that lays the foundations of democracy and supports its day to day practice. (Ibid 59)

In 2011, the Egyptians and the protest stand 18 days in Cairo's Tahrir Square demanding the change of the regime. Anti-Mubarak protesters chanted, "The army and the people hand in hand!" But in the wake of Mubarak's overthrow, the military makes clear that it has much less interest in dissent as protesters return to the square to demand a quicker transition to a democratic government. Security forces beat protesters and tear down their tents." (Childress) He in his role "hands power to

military ruling body, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. Mubarak's former Prime Minister, Ahmed Shafik, is tapped to lead the cabinet. The constitution is suspended and the parliament disbanded.” (Ibid)

3.4.3. Effect of Promoting Democracy in Egypt on U.S.-Israel Interests

After the Palestinian conflict with Israel, the MENA countries made some changes on the regime structure which were portrayed a movement from political forces and social impact from the hands of the old landowning-merchant classes to the Middle Classes with the important role of military forces in the case of Egypt as Luciani asserted:

The new state structures which were established in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt were diametrically opposed to any liberal or democratic tendencies in society, and sought to consolidate the authoritarian rule of army officers and their allies. Ultimately, the Palestine issue provided the new rulers with a pretext to exercise full control over society in the name of preparing for ‘the battle of destiny. (302)

The majority of the Arab states claimed that Israel and United States constitute a threat to their security on them. While the U.S. assistance to Egypt “Washington insists on a degree of supervision far stricter than that imposed on, say, Israel — a stance viewed by Egyptians as an insult to their competence.” (qtd. in Walzer 60)

Egypt assumes an essential part in the area as they are one of only a handful couple of governments that all the gatherings can converse with and, in spite of Mubarak's not exactly eager worldwide objectives, he has brought Egypt once again into the global fold after its disengagement from other Arab administrations after Sadat's peace with Israel. (Ryan)

Mubarak chose a peace with Israel rather than a war as he said “I just can't afford to take us to war.” (Walzer 61) and “Regardless of Israel's role in the resultant authoritarianism in the MENA, it does not follow that the survival of authoritarianism in Egypt is due to the continued “cold peace” between the two nations.” (Ibid 61)

3.5. Conclusion

The chapter concludes that the United States of America with regard to its relationship with Israel had a negative effects on its objectives as it seeks to promote Democracy in Syria during the regime of Bashar Al Assad and his father, Hafez; however, Egypt negligibly affects its Interests. Each of the case studies, Syria and Egypt, provides the president's tools of repression to remain his power over the political life through the use of security apparatus and intelligence services and portray how much they are interested to stay in force. In Syria, the regime, the public as well as the opponents are in the same position as (Anti-western and Anti-Israel) and they make sure that U.S do not liberalize or make a reform in the region because of its relationship with Israel. By contrast, the Egyptian opponents opposed the government regime because of the regime alliance with U.S. and Israel; this is why promoting democracy in Syria influenced negatively the U.S. foreign affairs in the Middle East; while the Egyptian affection is considered as secondary effect.

The following chapter investigates the U.S. policy in fighting terrorism after the events of 9 September 2001. It tries to explore this issue in details in both; Syria and Egypt.

Chapter Four: Fighting Terrorism in the Middle East

4.1. Introduction

The current chapter is around the terrorism as a great danger for the United States, and how the United States of America showed the anger about terrorism especially after the events of September 11, 2001 by deciding to defeat al-Qaeda¹¹ and its supporters in Middle East. This chapter explains the international kinds of responses against terrorism including the reactions of Western countries; these kinds can be a guide of how to deal with terrorism. It will give an illustration about terrorists in Middle East mainly Syria and Egypt because they have a great history with terrorism until now. The section will end by the clarification of the political instability in Syria and Egypt because of the Islamic Uprising and how the U.S.A. intervenes to fight the terrorist groups by aiding the two countries in economic and military in order to combat terrorism.

4.2. American Foreign Policy against Terrorists

The American foreign policy makers made fighting terrorists a main goal and the center of U.S. foreign policy. The U.S. had organized a wide net to control the terrorists groups behind who battered the U.S. in 9/11¹². The beating of al Qaeda and its doctrine was considered as the major aim in U.S. foreign policy to combat terrorism because it had a great strength, and it was the center of terrorists.

After the events of 9/11 attacks, the president Bush “viewed to wage war against terrorism, not simply against those who were behind assaults on New York City and Washington...he would make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.” (Hook and Spanier 317) The U.S. wide net emphasized the war against al Qaeda and Afghanistan; the net also

¹¹ Al-Qaeda: Organization of Islamists who are considered as terrorists by the westerners.

¹² 9/11: The events of September 11, 2001 when some of terrorists attacked towers in United States of America.

included Iraq, Syria, and Iran because the U.S. thought that those countries had a link in the construction of al-Qaeda.

The president Bush didn't care about the international support, and he considered the support as unessential factor to fight terrorism; according to his speech "Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists." (Ibid)The US foreign policy made difficulties for many countries to support the fighting against terrorism, and the U.S. views extended behind al-Qaeda.

In any case, worry that U.S. approaches were encouraging hostile to Americanism, and hampering the battle against al Qaeda, did not seem convincing to the organization, due to its perspectives on terrorism. The National Security Strategy expressed that terrorism did not get from either destitution, threatening vibe toward U.S. actions in Middle East then again U.S. hostile operations against terrorist bunches. (9-11) Rather, it happened through political distance, past grievances being faulted for others, connivance and deception, and a belief system legitimizing murder the vast majority of which could be counter by vote based system.

Such a point of view toward fear rejected any perspective of U.S. strategy as an underlying driver of dread. Extending the war on terrorism past al-Qaeda gave a reason to attack Iraq in light of WMD and claimed ties with al-Qaeda and to encourage confine Syria and Iran for their backing for hostile to Israeli terrorist associations.

The September 11 assaults did not decrease the American responsibility to an open worldwide economy, as the Bush Administration advanced the worldwide Open Door strategy as a method for vanquishing terrorism. (Burbach and Tarbell 128-129) George W. Bush had involved to the policy of openness; Bacevich reported "terrorism is a threat to openness –essential for American economic expansion and, for that reason, the principle according to which the United States intended to organize the international order." (239-240) after the events of 9/11,

Bush Administration authorities connected a solid American economy to overcoming the terrorists. The U.S. trade delegate Robert Zoellick noted that

Economic strength - at home and abroad – is the foundation of America's hard and soft power. Earlier enemies learned that America is the arsenal of democracy; today's enemies will learn that America is the economic engine for freedom, opportunity and development. To that end, US leadership in promoting the international economic and trading system is vital. Trade is about more than economic efficiency. It promotes the values at the heart of this protracted struggle. (Barry and Irwin 184)

Hence, the Bush's war against terrorism was in the center of the U.S. policy for making an open and incorporated world. With the continuing of the open policy, the U.S. foreign policy viewed several modifications next the 9/11 attacks; President Bush appended anti-terrorism as a very important cord, the menace of terrorism emerged from Asian countries that contain power provenances. There were three ropes such as martial progress, possession of energy, and fighting terrorists. That three ropes were integrated in one planning with consolidated purpose which ruled the foreign policy of U.S. (Klare "Resource Wars"50-51, "Blood and oil"72-73) The fourth strand was the prevention of any competition with the U.S. which was appeared in September 30, 2001; this strand was considered as a major objective of the Quadrennial Defense Review¹³ (QDR).

4.3. Types of Combating Terrorism

After the incident of September 11, so many kinds of species of replies appeared against terrorism; it was established organizations to take responsibility of that replies, and to give effective responses. The policy conversations were controlled by controversial discussions that were related with democracy, and how to deal with the threat of terrorism. (Shultz and Vogt 1-30) There are five way of counterterrorism.

¹³ Quadrennial Defense Review: The analysis of the military aims of U.S.A.

4.3.1. Forced Counterterrorism

The forced counterterrorism depended on violence; the U.S. put hard boundaries toward terrorists, and these boundaries were used by the domination of law. After the attacks of 9/11, several western nations made a specific terrorist offences as U.S. and Canada in 2001; Australia and Norway in 2002; Sweden in 2003. (Crelinsten 3) On these specific offences, the reason turned into a basic part to define terrorism legally. Offences had covered involvement terrorist actions and involvement actions to realize terrorist aims, and also enrollment in a terrorist association and giving material backing to terrorism, for example, cash, weapons or specialized mastery, and enrollment.

In 2005, United Nations Security Council Resolution invited the commissaries of the states for picking procedures endeavored in forbidding by statute and preventing solicitation to do terrorist actions. The pattern of the war against terrorism regarded terrorism as though it were a demonstration of war or rebellion. Since wars were typically battled between states, countering terrorism inside a war type infers that the terrorist bunch spoke to what might as well be called a state. Regarding terrorism as war along these lines resorted to entrusting the terrorist with the case of equivalent accomplice in a zero-aggregate clash. In this case, gangs of terrorism utilized the term army in their designations. (Ibid)

In spite of the fact that the focal component of the war model was the utilization of maximal power, intended to overwhelm the foe, the behavior of war did not happen in a legitimate vacuum. The statutes of combat put tenets for how wars ought to be battled and how no warriors ought to be dealt with. The 1949 Geneva Traditions spoke to a sort of exchange of that legitimizes homicide or confinement without judgment during the war, so long as it was coordinated at overwhelming a foe soldier. The war was that once a warrior was caught, and incapacitated, or surrenders and forsakes the fight; he should be agreed compassionate treatment, security and consideration. (Rona 157-173)

The expression "unlawful adversary warrior" endeavored to make an exemption to this tenet for soldiers who employed infiltration and didn't dress garbs or badge recognizing them as adversary soldiers, to be specific terrorists, guerrillas or radicals. In a war paradigm of combating terrorism, achievement had a tendency to be defined as far as triumph on the other hand routs. (Angstrom and Duyvesteyn 1) A "war on terror" just closed when the terrorist foe was vanquished. On the off chance that the battle was an extended one, notwithstanding spreading over eras, then counterterrorism attempts should be kept up the length of a condition of the war stay. This had driven some to contend that they were occupied with an extended war or a 'ceaseless' war with Islamist terrorism. (James 1-14)

The war paradigm was viewed as snappy, efficient and in a perfect world suited to the new sorts of danger postured by decentralized, ideologically determined terrorist arranges whose followers were not deflected by conventional criminal equity or contained by customary military force. It set awesome quality on the momentous tools that science and innovation could accomplish. Cases incorporate remote detecting, satellite symbolism, spy rambles, rocket innovation, brilliant bombs and other advanced weaponry, and facial acknowledgment and other biometrics. A portion of the abilities being talked about as of late incorporate the requirement for "birth to death" following and identification of basic targets, whether they are individuals or things, anyplace on the planet. (Zachary and Danner)

The thought that a country's military could observe, tune in, register and voice anybody or anything anyplace on the universe, and hit freely with guided, pilotless assault airplanes or area based arms was a definitive individualized war model, intended to battle an atomized scattered foe instead of the customary antagonistic state or terrorist bunch. Since Barack Obama got to be President in 2008, the military measurements of counterterrorism policy had extended further to incorporate a formally approved arrangement of insight drove ramble strikes and focused on deaths. (Aslam 313-329)

The war model conveyed a great danger of unintentional results that could raise savagery, undermine the authenticity of governments that utilized it , or drew governments along a hazardous way to hostile to vote based administration;(Parker 155-179) nonetheless, that the war model couldn't be a helpful and important instrument in an general counterterrorism technique. As in simply war hypothesis, the utilization of power could be justified under certain strict conditions. (Walzer 329)

4.3.2. Controlling Counteractive Terrorists

Controlling Counterterrorism meant the avoidance of terrorism before it occurred. Over the converging of inward and outward security, the orders of local police, security insight organizations, and outskirts and authoritative traditions had all combine around the issue of following the development of individuals, merchandise and cash. Through parasitical methods including reconnaissance, filament tapping , listening in and different methods for spy craft , operators of all ribbons had committed their powers more to ceasing terrorists before they did, and foiling terrorist conspiracies before they grew too far. These patterns had prompted the development of a half and half model of coercive counterterrorism that joined components of both the criminal equity paradigm and the war paradigm. (Pedahzur and Ranstorp 3 - 22)

The expanded spotlight on proactive counterterrorism had vital ramifications for an assortment of organizations and politics. In the region of criminal equity, it implied more controlling and knowledge drove policing, expanding utilization of twinge operations and witnesses, more dependence on protective confinement, and early captures to disturb conspiracies. In the range of insight, it implied extending observation nets, the identification of hazardous classes of individuals, expanded utilization of lateral, and expanding concentrate on radicalization to assault. (Schmid 84)

A more controlling method demanded assortment and incorporation over an extensive variety of arrangement spaces: felonious law, policing, knowledge,

finance, outskirts control, migration and evacuee arrangement, military technique and strategies, discretion, advancement, and helpful intercession. Thusly, it put a more prominent interest on government to facilitate crosswise over already unmistakable areas, wards and offices, locally, and over the inexorably hazy limits amongst residential and outside approach. This entire of-government basic could make strains between inherently conflicting objectives. (Cockayne et al 5)

The knowledge capacity was an essential component in any counterterrorist attempts. In a proactive methodology, it gets to be focal. In proactive policing and security knowledge, data was most certainly not assembled for evidentiary objectives yet for insight purposes. The extreme objective was not as a matter of course criminal indictment. Rather, the objective of insight operations was to take in more about what the terrorist suspects are up to. The requests of data social occasion could in this manner conflict with those of criminal examination and due procedure. (Crelinsten 5)

The converging of national and societal protection had prompted monstrous reconnaissance of a wide classification of people and detainment without trial of subjects and additionally inhabitant outsiders. A great part of the post-September 11 wrangle about encompassing counterterrorist efforts in the zone of knowledge and reconnaissance identifies with how wide the net should be thrown and whether lateral of special goal gatherings is vindicated or worthy.(Ibid)

Two contradicting interests underlay legitimate stresses to direct both security worries and worries about popularity based worthiness. The apprehension of wrong negatives (inability to identify a risk) could prompt extending the observation net however much as could reasonably be expected, consequently risking encroaching upon common freedoms of those focused on ; at last, encouraging the mission of human rights infringement by surveillance of specialists. The apprehension of wrong positives (focusing on honest people, associations or groups) could prompt the burden of grave legal limitations upon knowledge assembling, the production of control advisory groups with political motivation, and the production of nightfall provisions on hostile to terrorism enactment that actuated at wrong times,

subsequently risking lessening the effectiveness of knowledge gathering operations.(Ibid)

4.3.3. Convincing Defeating Terrorism

Combating terrorism included comprehension and managing the thoughts that support the utilization of terrorism in society and politics. It had intellectual, governmental, social and religious angles. Terrorists had voting demographics which incorporate devotees, supporters, and effort volunteers, dynamic or detached advocates, also country supports. Fighting terrorism had voting public which incorporate country performing artists inside government services, organizations and administrations, inclusive those of associates, and also non country on-screen characters inside common community and the special division, for example, casualties' gatherings, subjects, huge crowds and the media, both residential and universal, bosses and representatives inside commercial ventures, privately owned businesses and organizations. Fighting terrorism should be managing these more extensive groups of onlookers. (Crelinsten 6)

Purposeful publicity, mental fighting, "hearts and brains" crusades, and giving motivations to terrorists to desert viciousness and look for peaceful ways rather all alluded to this idea of combating terrorism as a type of correspondence, wherever several messages were passed on to several crowds. Pretty much as terrorist talk and publicity could dazzle adherents and enlisted people to elective passageway and choices; thus, combating terrorism talked and promulgation may daze people, and strategy elites and the media, to option method for combating terrorism. (Ibid)

In tending to terrorist's voting demographics convincing combating terrorism might attempt advancing coveted discernments between persons from terrorist associations, and their supporters. Laws that gave decreased decisions to participation with powers or that offered pardon for revoking savagery, combined with formal affirmations that leaving from the gathering was constantly conceivable and that the individuals who collaborated and who denied brutality could be acknowledged once again into community, could keep certain people from staying

caught in the independent universe of the terrorist association. Mental, substance and financial worries that made people helpless against enlistment could be tended to by making elective motivating force frames for individuals to proceed far from grasping brutality and terrorism. Conversing with one's foes and their voting demographics, however, an utter detestation to numerous legislatures, might render an imperative capacity in testing and might be disproving unwanted recognitions whose exceptionally presence could to miss without discourse and trade of perspectives. (Atran, Goerzig and Perry)

Combating radicalization attempts pointed at possibility enlisted people and groups at danger and non radicalization attempts went for present or detained individuals were a key to averting unwanted observations and conviction frameworks. (Neumann) In tending to combating terrorism's voting public, a focal component was the support of open confidence in government. Government funded training about the nature and degree of the terrorist risk, and additionally the cutoff points and achievability of strategy choices, would advance open comprehension both before and after a terrorist assault. (Crelinsten 7)

Advancing open mindfulness without tank up instability, lack of care or prejudice and abhor was a key component of this a methodology. An unequivocal strategy to make light of the effect of terrorism, whereas, censuring the terrorism itself, could advance terrorism was unsuitable in popularity based society whilst reducing the danger of open summonses, tank up by instability and dread, for abusive measurements that sapped the principle of legislation and person opportunities. Perpetual notices by government officials and security specialists about the risks of radicalization or the danger of terrorist assault could make a sort of educated powerlessness notwithstanding apparently unavoidable calamity. As the tenet of legislation and person rights were progressively scrubbed a far for the sake of expanded security, numerous subjects basically acknowledge the way that their rights must be victimized. (Guarino)

4.3.4. Guarded Fighting Terrorism

Guarded Combating terrorism accepted the inescapability of something that affected terrorist assault and got ready for it by impacting the variables that decided the way of the assault and character of its objective. There were two fundamental ways: averting assaults and moderating assaults. Anticipation plans to reduce the danger of terrorist assault in particular spots and at particular times. The second approach was to moderate the effect of fruitful assaults. (Crelinsten 7)

In the protection before assault, there were three essential methods for counteractive action: solidifying the goal, basic framework insurance, and checking and directing the flowing of individuals, cash, products, and administrations. Solidifying the goal intended to make possible goals less alluring or hard to assault. It had generally engaged on critical individuals and vital spots. (Ibid)

The basic framework insurance was ruled by the individual division. Government control was feeble or non present and manufacture imperviousness to any endeavors to reinforce protection could be serious. The vital piece of basic base insurance was to recognize productive purposes of intercession where material , basic or practical variations could be a diminish of probability assault , and the participation of the data crosswise over government offices and organizations, crosswise over several grades of government, and with partners in the personal segment.(Crelinsten 8)

The third method of counteractive action was to pass the development of individuals, cash, merchandise and administrations in an attempt to find conspiracies really taking shape and foil them or to hinder their readiness. Terrorists demanded sustenance, cover, preparing, arms, secure homes, interchanges, departure archives, enrich. Whenever, these were not accessible or hard to procure, the danger of terrorist assault drizzles. Outskirt and visa control, traditions and migration, displaced person intention, and the observing and direction of the influx of individuals and merchandise all through a nation, and also inside its outskirts, could distinguish and pursue possible terrorists and the conspiracies. The control of

keeping money and cash exchanges could affect terrorist financing that might make the execution of terrorist assaults so hard. (Ibid)

The Israeli Minister of Defense (IMD) from 1967-1974, proposed that terrorist episodes more nearly look like common catastrophes than demonstrations of war. (Bell 124) Terrorist assaults made share a significant number of the same components as any normal debacle: dead and injured persons; harmed or pulverized foundation; instability concerning what might occur after; individuals escaped in frenzy or hurrying to the place to aid; a dire requirement for salvage specialists, ambulances, transportation courses to doctor's facilities; and exceptional media scope that might meddle with salvage processes or made weight on emergency directors and other powers. Possibility arranging, set up levels of leadership and correspondence systems, stockpiles of crisis victuals, preparing of responders, and procedures for managing casualties, and the media could be organized ahead of time. All-perils or all-dangers methodology implied that it could be more taken a toll effective to get ready for a broad range of dangers. (Abbot and Hetzel 121-122)

4.3.5. Long-range Battling Terrorism

Long-range Combating terrorism alluded to activities that don't guarantee brisk reforms, yet run down in the long haul. This incorporated the domain of "underlying drivers" and the more auxiliary components that could make an appropriate atmosphere for the advancement and utilization of terrorism. Destitution, distance, identity, segregation, philosophy, were overwhelmingly either encouraging variables, which were generally auxiliary, or activating elements that were generally ideological in that they included understandings of an occasion, circumstance, or struggle. (Bjorgo)

Radicalization, preparation and enlistment forms got to be vital to seeing how the terrorist alternative appeared as the fitting instrument for accomplishing specific objectives and how it was vindicated to the individuals who were enrolled and prepared to do it. (Forest) The advancement of political and social equality could plainly affect the allure of the terrorist alternative. By offering phoneme to

disappointed or abused gatherings, different alternatives were given that made the terrorist alternative less convincing. In the short period, permitting prohibited gatherings incoming to the political procedure could increment struggle and brutality. It was just when rights were completely dug in and regulated, and connected consistently to all societal gatherings, not only the lion's share that the utilization of brutality got to be counteractive of productive. This was made horrendously by occasions in Tunisia, Egypt and Syria, wheresoever the good faith of the Arab Spring has enraged, and hence giving new impulse to al-Qaeda's radical Islamist message that terrorism and brutality, not popular government, was the best way to make an Islamic state. (Perry and Youssef)

A connected test was the issue of hostile to law based political or religious developments and whether there were adequate points of confinement to one side to liberty of expression, got together and cooperation in politics: the equalization between flexibility of expression and opportunity from expression. (Finn 51-77)

4.5. Terrorism and Counterterrorism in Syria

Syria was blamed for not forcefully endeavoring to suppress locomotion of activists and weaponry in Iraq and the U.S. purported Syria bolsters terrorist aggregates that dragged out the Arab-Israeli clash. Syria promptly confessed to help hostile to Israeli gatherings in their battle against conquest and with regards to region. Syria at first coordinated with the U.S. versus the Taliban¹⁴. Al-Qaeda by giving profitable insight in the result of 9/11; knowledge aid stopped with U.S. allegations against Syria for backing of hostile to Israel bunches and for inciting shakiness in Iraq by pitifully guarantying its fringes.

Syria stayed on the U.S. State Department's rundown of nations that supported Worldwide terrorism; Prados said "Syria has not been implicated directly in an act of terrorism since 1986, when Syrian intelligence was reportedly involved in an abortive attempt to bomb an El Al airliner in London."(11) Pillar expressed that

¹⁴ Taliban: a political movement arose in Afghanistan in order to spread the Islamic rules over the world.

Syria had formed into a state that controls universal terrorism and he said “its client groups from conducting operations aboard and prohibiting them from attacking civilians even in the Levant.”(170)

Syria had given the U.S. with important backing against both the Taliban and al- Qaeda; according to Zunes Syria had gone on to U.S. authorities many records of essential information in regards to al-Qaeda and other radical Islamic gatherings in the Middle East and CIA sources recognized that the nature and amount of data from Syria surpassed the organization's anticipation but that Syria received a few consequently for it. (52-54) The battle against terrorist has united the most eager Middle Eastern adversaries of Islamism into the naked as possible partners of the U.S. in Syria. (Huband 255-256)

The United States chose to disconnect Syria in the repercussions of 9/11 for sponsoring Israeli aims. (Smith 510-513)The relationship between the U.S. and Israel influenced contrarily the U.S. national interests of battling terrorism in the Middle East in light of the fact that the U.S. missed Syria, an important partner against the al-Qaeda danger.

The Islamic State had developed in Syria as a result of the Assad administration’s utilization of Syria’s military and Iranian backing to attempt to smother disobedience by Syria’s Sunni Arab greater part; in 2013, Abu Bakr al Baghdadi declared his aim to consolidation his powers in Iraq and Syria that was based on Syria. (Blanchard and Humud 07)

From 1976 to 1982, radical groups of the restriction were in charge of the heightening of the contention that added to the development’s inability to increase boundless backing. In any case, in the present clash the Assad administration had raised savagery, bringing about laymen and conservative Islamists to rise up weaponry by the radical components. (O’Bagy 10) The Syrian government drove by previous president Hafez al-Assad, added to the radicalization of the Muslim Brotherhood by banning the association in 1964 and filled a progression of blows

and collective exhibits that inevitably prompted the 1976 Islamic Uprising. (Batatu12-20)

At Islamic Uprising, the Muslim Brotherhood¹⁵ was divided into two groups: the first group was guided by Issam Attar in Damascus; the second group was in Aleppo-Hama that was guided by Abdel Fattah Abu Ghuddah. The group of Aleppo-Hama unsettled for a continuation of the approach of showdown with the administration, while the pioneers of the Damascus restricted such an arrangement. At last, the group of Damascus could attest their situation upon that of the Aleppo-Hama because of a bigger voting public foundation and greater financing. (Ibid)

After the failing of the group of Aleppo-Hama, Marwan Hadeed from Hama set up his own free association called Al Talia Al Muqatila, the Fighting Vanguard. Its bases were in Jordan and some organizations in Damascus, Aleppo, and Hama. (O'Bagy 10-11) The authentic broke between moderate Islamists and radical Salafists proceeds inside and between restriction aggregates nowadays.

4.6. Syria Used Terrorism as Foreign Policy Instrument

The Assad administration built up reputation of dealing with outside terrorist associations in to fulfill a scope of goals such as: guaranteeing administration continuing by centering external militancy; rebuffing Western nations and utilizing the danger of terrorist assaults as political influence; stratifying weight to its Middle Easterner neighbors; and propelling Syria's interests all through the area, with specific appreciation to Israel. (O'Bagy 13)

Syria utilized terrorism as a remote strategy instrument at the Syrian battle of fear against the Hashemite leaders of Jordan in 1960 and 1961 and in its endeavors to damage Lebanon in the 1980s. The most barefaced case was Syrian backing to the Palestinian al-Saiqa Organization. Al Saiqa was made in 1966 by the authority

¹⁵ Muslim Brotherhood: Islamic Community emerged in Egypt; they want to make the life of Muslims based on Quran.

of the Syrian Baath Party. The association addressed specifically to the Baath Party and was sponsored by the Syrian government for utilizing it against Israel. Al Saiqa demonstrated to Syria that it chose to battle versus Yassir Arafat's Fatah Association at the Lebanese civil war, and rather agreed with its Syrian benefactors (Ganor).

During the presidency of hafiz al Assad, Syria helped several Palestinian liberation parts as: the Islamic Jihad Organization (IJO), Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), the Popular Front for the liberation of Palestine, the Popular Front for the liberation of Palestine-General command (PFIP-GC), and Hamas .Those associations threaten Israel ,and they assumed an essential part in the Syrian government's system in Lebanon. The administration awarded basic backing to Hezbollah, which turned into a critical intermediary force for the Syrian government in Lebanon. Thus, the Syrian government kept up binds to the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and helped the association's endeavors to apply weight against Turkey and Iraq. (Ibid)

Captured terrorists admitted that the Syrian knowledge mechanical assembly was required in their procedures. One of them having a place with Abu Nidal's Association (ANO) asserted that the Syrian air Power's Security Directorate headed by Mohammed Al Khouli helped the terrorists who completed the assault against the Rome and Vienna air terminals in 1985.He guaranteed that he had gotten preparing in the Lebanese Bekaa valley under the control of Syrian military work force. (Erlich)

The assault in March 1986 on the West German Arab Friendship association in Berlin and the besieging after a month of a German disco was followed back to the air Force Security Directorate. During 1990s, Syria's insight inspector in Lebanon Major General Ghazi Kanaan administered terrorist assaults against the Christian south Lebanon armed force, the Israeli Defense Forces and U.S. army and regular citizen goals. (Ganor)

In 2012, Mustafa bin Abdel Qadir sitt Mariam Nasser who was called Abu Musab al Suri appeared in Syria; he was one of the establishers of al-Qaeda, and he was battling over the Assad policy from 1979 to 1982. (Haaretz) Al Suri appeared to prevent Western association in Syria when the security sources uncovered that the Syrian government had discharged many other known aggressors, with binds to al Suri and others to al-Qaeda. (O'Bagy 15)

A huge segment of the remote warriors arriving in Syria were secularists and religious-patriots, and Syria came down into Arab Spring that it was pushed by offended young men who weren't satisfy about their rights from the law. (O'Bagy 19-20) The youthful progressives from different nations in the area were entered on the battling in Syria such as; Jordanians, Tunisians, Saudis, and Algerians. (Zelin)They believed that they were aiding Muslims in Syria.

4.7. Terrorism and Counterterrorism in Egypt

The Egyptian government thought that the Islamists were the only cause of terrorism in Egypt. Their aim was to make an Islamic president who could rule the government by an Islamic way and by following the Quran; they started their movement from 1970s. (Tal 16) The activities of these Islamic classes were at educational institutions and religious institutions.

This group had a great support from 1989 to 1993 which guided by Sheik Rahman (Weaver).It raised when the Egyptian government was unsuccessful to defeat the high vac and a weak economic system (Kepel 2006).The Islamic group influenced to the youngster in order to do the military procedures against the government. (Al-Zayyat)

The American United States considered Egypt as a nearby associate in the war against terrorism; the U.S. appreciates the backing of the Egypt; however, Egyptians were less excited about American remote strategy and have transparently shown such dismay according to Goldschmidt who claimed that Muslims and

specially Egyptians clapped at the events of 11 September 2001, and the response of the Arab road was that the United States merited what it acquired. (Goldschmidt)

The Egyptian administration had been enduring with its backing against worldwide terrorism and even in Iraq, and the U.S. had the same worry about terrorism with Egypt; it could guarantee some involvement with the object after the household Islamist terrorists plan on ousting the legislature was vanquished. (Sharp)

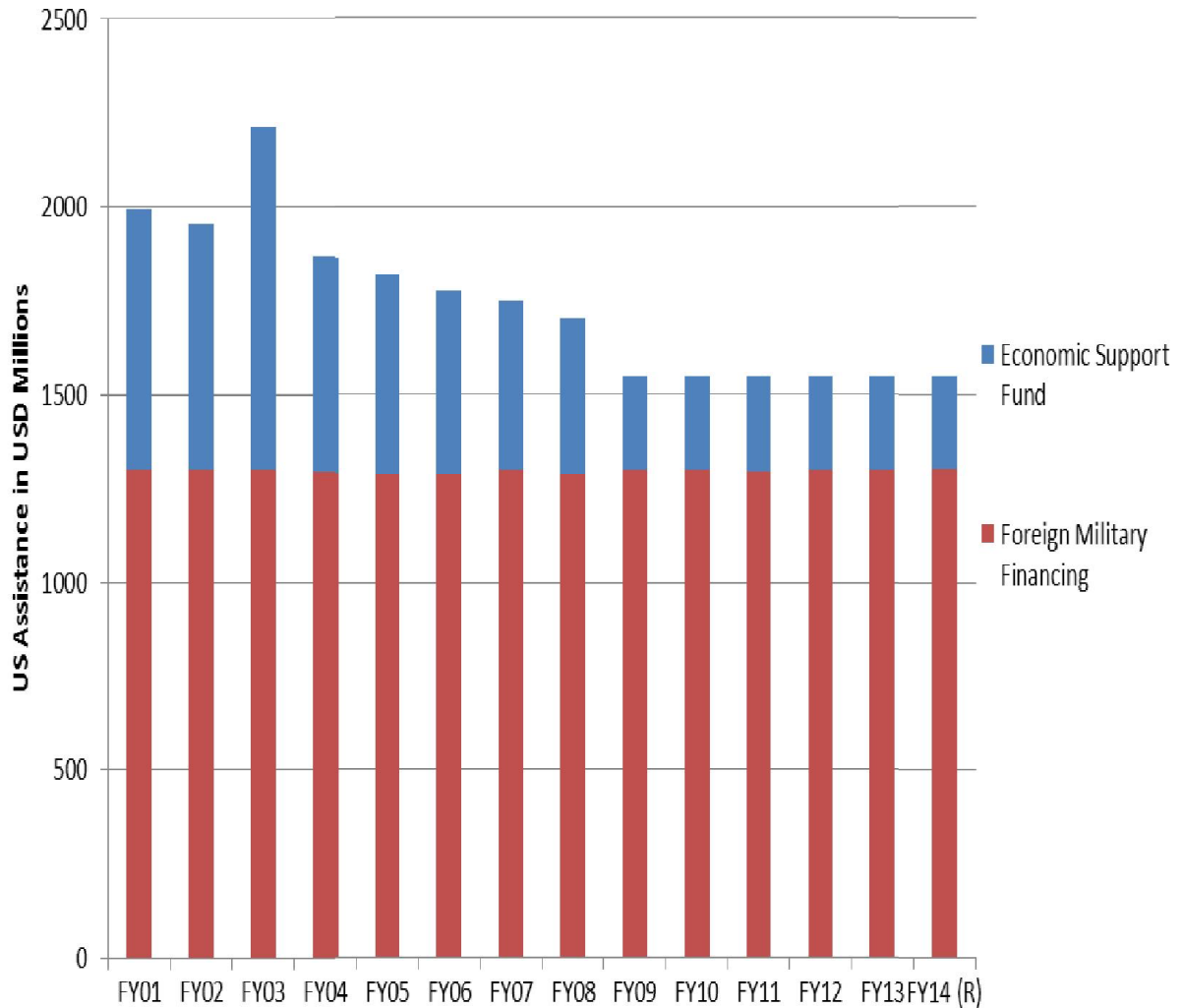
From 2007 to 2010, the terrorism activities were augmented mainly over the Christians and Israel for example; the Egyptian assaults of 2009 on synagogue in Palestine. (Aly and Feldman) In 2010, the tube of gas that related Egypt, Jordan and Israel was devastated. (Marina et al) These acts led Egypt to fell on the Arab Spring¹⁶ in 2011 when Egyptians protested against the president Hosni Mubarak who was forced by the Muslims Brothers to leave from the power.

The relations between Egypt and Israel were strengthened to fight against Islamists and the rockiness at Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip; in addition, the U.S.A. helped and supplied them with information, directing, and combating rebellion. After the Egyptian Arab Spring, The American United States made Egypt in its first foreign programs. (Sharp)

The following diagram shows the American support to Egypt in economic and military in order to fight terrorism from the year 2001 to 2014.

¹⁶ Arab Spring: sets of civil war in many of Arab countries as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria, and Bahrain.

Annual Appropriations, US Assistance to Egypt FY2001-2014 (Millions Current US \$)



Source: Annual Congressional Appropriations. “Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations” Congressional Research Service Report. 27 June 2013.

4.7.1. Figure: Annual Appropriations, U.S. Assistance to Egypt

The figure shown the rate of U.S.A. aids to Egypt in economic and in military. The military aids were stable at the number of 1300 millions\$ from the year 2001 to 2014. But the economic aids were changed from 2001 to 2008. In 2001, the support was 2000 millions\$; in 2002, it decreased to 1990 millions\$. While in 2003, the aid

increased again to become 2200 millions\$, and it decreased sequentially from 2004 to 2008 by the numbers of 1700 millions\$ to 1550 millions\$; the economic assistances ended to be stable from the year 2009 until 2014 at the number of 1520 millions\$ probably.

4.8. Conclusion

It is too possible to state that terrorism threaten the international security and U.S. support to Israel affects negatively the U.S. international interest in combating terrorism in Middle East. After the events of 11 September in USA, all Western countries make sure that the basis of terrorism is the Islamists who are from the Middle East because the major operators of those events were from Syria and Egypt, and they starts to build their defenses in order to avoid the terrorist's attacks. Likewise, the U.S.A government decides to revenge from that terrorists everywhere by fighting al-Qaeda and supporting the Arab authorities to battle against the rebellions .Because of the early conflict between Syria and Israel, and the Assad regime ,the Syrians falls into a civil war which known by Arab spring; the same case at Egypt.

General Conclusion:

The conclusion of the thesis is that the relationship between United States and Israel is a significant asset to their interests; U.S. is the most beneficial from this deep relation. They focused to maximize the advantages that can derive from Middle East. U.S. security, strategy and policy communities seriously engage on strategic aspects for this purpose. On the light of what is studied, the chapters come with the conclusion that U.S-Israel relationship mostly affected their international interests negatively.

In the wake of U.S-Israel relationship, it can be said that Israel has a weight in U.S foreign policy affairs as it is considered as the main component of shaping the policy. The history of their relation turned to the cold war period when America has recognized the country and contributed strongly in its creation. As the time passed, the relation becomes closer because of the interests they shared in the Middle East.

The nuclear prevention in the Middle Eastern nations provides an assumption for weaponization of the region in case of Syria and Egypt. Israel has announced its weapons of Mass Destruction, the reason for its proliferation is to become a superpower country among the Arab nations and to secure and protect the U.S. interests in the Middle East. Syria and Egypt does not have such a deterrent weapons and they seek to obtain such weapons in order to secure their states from the risk Israel posed. The chapter entitled above finished up with the conclusion that preventing proliferation in the region affected their interests negatively.

Meanwhile, the democracy in Syria and Egypt is characterized by the robustness of authoritarianism administrations. Each state has its own government structure; on the one hand Syria's administration based on one-party rule by contrast Egypt's government composed by multi-party rule. In spite of the fact that those nations have extremely different government structure, each of them has witnessed a demonstration against the President's regime; the protests is caused by the oppositions seeking for changing the government and demand for political liberalization and democracy

The US government makes the war against terrorism as one of its national interests in the Middle East, and this interest became an important one after the event of 11 September 2001. Americans considered these events as an Arab or Islamic attacks. So, they began to make the responses to the terrorists concerning al-Qaeda; the USA started defeating those terrorists for example in Afghanistan, and it also reflected that assaults to the Egyptians and Syrian because there were some of the prisoners of the 9/11 from these last countries. That's why, all European and American countries do a program of how to fight terrorism such as forced, controlling, and convincing counterterrorism. However, Syrian and Egyptian governments think that the Islamists are the responsible for the instability at these countries and even in the world including the events of September 11, 2001. Terrorists attacked also Israel and the relationship between US and Israel increased to realize the same interests which are combating terrorism, and even Syria and Egypt joined to U.S.A in order to fight them.

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