

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
N°:.....



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES
STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE
OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

**Reassessing the US Presence in the Maghreb from a
Military Intervention in Morocco and Libya to
Withdrawal**

**Thesis Submitted to the Department of English Language in Partial Fulfilment of
the Requirements for the Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization**

Submitted by:

Mr. BELADJAL Rami

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Supervised by:

Mrs. LAOUIDJI Karima

Academic Year

2022

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DECLARATION

we hereby declare that we are going to present in this thesis, “Reassessing the US Presence in the Maghreb from a Military Intervention in Morocco and Libya to Withdrawal”, is the product of our own research efforts and all the source we quoted from have been duly acknowledged by means of references.

Signature:

Date:

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to our family, friends and teachers

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

At the outset, we have to express our sincere gratitude to Allah, who has given us the strength and the patience to undertake and complete the work.

We would like to thank our supervisor Mrs. Laouidji Karima for her great encouragement, advice, and support throughout all the stages of the research.

We would like to thank our teachers, and colleagues in the Faculty of Letters and Languages, Department of Letters and English Languages, University of M'sila.

Finally yet importantly, we are heartily thankful to our family: our parents, our brothers, our sisters, and close friends, for their loving and guidance.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

US: the United States

CIA: the US Central Intelligence Agency.

UNAMIR: the United Nations Assistance Missions for Rwanda.

GCC: the Gulf Cooperation Council.

JMP: the Joint Meeting Parties.

MEPI: The Middle East Partnership Initiative.

UN: the United Nations.

FBI: the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

NATO: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

ABSTRACT

The Arab region is still witnessing many coercion, which sometimes come in the form of direct intervention by foreign countries that are looking for a guarantee and security of their interests in the territory, even if by illegal ways. Thus, Arab national security has been subjected to many concussion and challenges as a result of the direct intervention in its internal affairs; This exacerbated the economic, security and political troubles in these countries in a very worrying manner. The states of Morocco and Libya are among the most Arab countries that witnessed political and security instability due to the foreign intervention imposed on them under the subterfuge of finding a solution to the crisis, however, with the increase in the foreign intervention, matters became more intricate. The Arab governments failed to find urgent solutions to this dangerous crisis, this is what prolonged the crisis, and thus Morocco and Libya became among the failed states in the Maghreb region.

Key words: Morocco, Libya, Intervention, Instability, Maghreb Region.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

The follower of the security and political developments in the Arab countries will notice that the latter has been witnessing states of instability in addition to the spread of chaos, unrest and security disturbances in some of them, such as the countries of Morocco and Libya. They are two of the Arab countries that have known a serious security chaos. If we consider the reasons for this insecurity for the two countries, we will find that the direct intervention of some Western and foreign countries was the main reason- knowing that there are other reasons that can be included among the internal causes- for worsening the security situation in these countries.

In these two cases in particular, many fallacies and manipulations were made by the interfering countries in Arab affairs, such as spreading international peace and security, protecting human rights and finding peaceful and secure solutions to what the Arab countries are witnessing. However, reality proves the exact opposite, and look, for example, how the United States of America and Russia manipulated critical decisions related to ending the security and political crisis in Syria.

The same about the states of Morocco and Libya, as it was the policy of double standards by Western countries, especially on its head France is among the reasons that fueled the conflict between the conflicting parties in Libya. It was also a reason for the delay and failure of the solutions proposed by the Libyans themselves. The point is that the national security in the Arab countries has witnessed - as a result of the foreign interference - several serious challenges, which made it one of the most targeted countries before for terrorist groups and countries that have ambitions in the wealth and bounties of this country. Because the Arab

countries - including the states of Morocco and Libya – are the richest countries in the world without a doubt.

Thus, it appears that the national security in the Arab countries has actually been affected by the issue of foreign interference, regardless of the reasons behind the interference in the affairs of the Arab countries. From this point of view, we can say that the issue of the foreign interference can be considered as the most important security challenge that the Arab countries have witnessed since the nineteenth century.

Foreign intervention in Arab countries has a long and extended history, but interests and goals have not changed, rather, it will remain as it is. Perhaps we do not exaggerate if we say that the cause of the ruin of the Arab countries is the Western and foreign countries interfering in the affairs of the Arab countries.

In the past, destruction was one of the types of direct intervention in the Arab countries, while today we find the umbrella of human rights and political freedoms is the umbrella behind which the foreign countries hide their ambitions in the Arab countries, establishing that famous principle, the end justifies the means. This is one of the forms of the new imperialism in its alleged human dress.

Statement of the Problem

By extrapolating the history of foreign intervention in the Arab countries and the security and political situation after that. Therefore, what are the most prominent repercussions and manifestations of the foreign interference on the issue of the Arab national security, especially in the States of Morocco and Libya being the Arab countries most affected by the foreign interference in its internal and local affairs?

Questions

This study aims to answer these questions:

1. What are the main reasons and repercussions that made the foreign countries intervene in the Arab affairs, including Morocco and Libya?
2. To what extent has the foreign interference contributed to destabilizing the security and stability of the Arab countries?
3. What are the main reasons that led to the failure of peace and agreement initiatives between the conflicting Libyan parties?

Hypothesis

1. The Foreign interference in the Arab affairs led to the destabilization of the national security in most Arab countries, as well as the failure to achieve the Arab unity in various fields.
2. The pursuit of the foreign countries to achieve their interests in the Arab countries is the main driver of the foreign policy of those countries, which made finding urgent solutions to the security crises that some Arab countries are witnessing a fantasy.

Significance of the Study

This study of the American intervention in the states of Morocco and Libya is significant in the sense that the US interventionism is one of the most dynamic foreign policies all over the world. The exploration of the US interventionism in the Arab world especially in Morocco and Libya would help the students and researchers whose areas of interest are history or international relations to understand this complicated issue.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to find out whether the American intervention has a great impact on the Arab national security especially on the states of Morocco and Libya. The research intends to explore the nature and the history of the US-Moroccan and US-Libyan relations. Added to this, this study aims to unveil the truths about the reality of the American intervention.

Methodology

Concerning the method used in this study, we have used the descriptive analytical method, through which we tried to describe the phenomenon of the foreign interference in the Arab world and the repercussions of that on the Arab national security. The case study approach was also used, through which we shed light on the Moroccan and Libyan crises and all their related developments and developments. Our intention behind this is to know the effects of the foreign intervention on resolving the security and political crises that some Arab countries have known after the events of the Arab Spring, and this is so that we can know the background of any foreign intervention, whatever the reason for the intervention.

Structure of the Research

To answer the aforementioned problem and its sub-questions, and verify the validity or incorrectness of the hypotheses used, we divided this study into two main chapters. In the first chapter, we dealt with some of the reasons that prompted these foreign countries to intervene in the Arab affairs, the history of the American intervention in African and the whole world and presenting a glimpse about the Arab spring. As for the second chapter, we discussed the impact of the foreign interference on the issue of the Arab national security especially Morocco and Libya starting from the NATO. Added to this, we discussed the reality of the national security in the Libyan state.

Chapter one: A Date with History

Introduction

This chapter deals with the historical background of the American interventions in the whole world in general and the African nation in specific. It is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the intervention of America in the world i.e. in Japanese, Korea, Iran, Cuba, Vietnam, Chile, Nicaragua and Tehran. While the second section covers the USA and the African Nations, it deals with the Afro-American relationships from the 17th century until the Joe Biden presidency. The third section deals with the Arab spring. It purports to examine the role of the United States in the outbreak of the Arab Spring and the course of its subsequent paths.

1. The USA Intervention in The World

In the early 21st century, if there was any power that sought to dominate the world, coerce others, and violate the rules, it was the United States."(New York Times, 2020)

Since declaring the independence in 1776, the United States has been intent on expanding its territory and influence. Since the end of the World War II, the United States has spared no effort to seek and maintain a global hegemony. The United States harnessed its absolute superiority in the military, economic, science, technology and culture domains in order to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, looted and controlled other countries under the slogan "freedom, democracy and human rights".

In the post-war era, successive US administrations pursued hegemonic strategies. From the Truman Doctrine, also famously known as the containment policy, to the foreign policies of the modern US administrations, including Barack Obama's "smart power" strategy, Donald Trump's "America First" policy, and the "Build Back Better" plan that Developed by Joe Biden, which their primary goal is always to maintain and safeguard the American hegemony.

The United States has stoked tensions around the world by waging wars, provoking confrontations, overthrowing foreign governments using the armed forces, and fomenting wars and turmoil in many countries and regions. By embracing the so-called "the American exceptionalism," the country has overused double standards in the disregard of the international laws and rules. It has severely hampered the international cooperation by making use of the international organizations and conventions to suit its needs, while abandoning what is in conflict with its interests; By manipulating the international financial system, the US acquired a vast wealth while turning a blind eye to greed and speculation, which led to the global financial crisis. The United States has blatantly imposed long-arm jurisdiction, igniting trade disputes with many other nations, and has stopped at nothing to suppress those it considers

adversaries. It tried to manipulate the world public opinion while trying to export its values to other countries and Americanize them.

America was and still considered as the greatest spoiler of the international rules and the international order, and the source of growing uncertainty and instability in the world. The hegemony and power politics pursued by Washington have undermined the world order, threatened the human peace, and caused disastrous consequences for the world. Consequently, this hegemony and politics has become the greatest challenge to the progress of the human society and civilization, as well as the peaceful development.

The United States has a long history of the interference in the internal and external affairs of the other countries, many of which have been undoubtedly recorded through the official records of various countries. There are many means of the American intervention, from the covert operations to the military operations.

America entered World War I on the side of the Allied Powers against the Germans, Austrians and Turks under the slogan of granting the right of self-determination to the people and nationalities that were under the control of these ancient empires.

Since that date, the US intervention in the countries of the world has been entrenched under the various slogans. Sometimes America raises the slogan of "Defending Democracy", and sometimes the slogan of "Repelling the Communist Threat", and once raises the slogan of "The Domino Theory" (proclaimed by the President Eisenhower in 1954, which means that if any country in the Pacific falls into the hands of the Communists, other countries will fall sequentially as a fall domino). America also raised the slogan of “the Evil Empire” in the early eighties against the Sandinista revolutionaries in Nicaragua, and finally “the Dual Containment” of Iran and Iraq, and “the War on Terror” after the September 2001 attacks, then the slogan of confronting “the Axis of Evil” meaning Iraq, Iran and the North Korea.

In the 06th august 1945, The Japanese city of Hiroshima was bombed by the US with the first atomic bomb in the history, which is a uranium bomb weighing more than 4.5 tons. The Ayoji Bridge, which connects with other bridges, was the target point. The bomb was dropped at 8:15 a.m. It missed a little bit and fell 800 feet from it. At 8:16, 66,000 people were killed and 69,000 wounded due to the 10,000-ton explosion. The bombing of the city of Nagasaki, just like the city of Hiroshima, followed this except that the one that was dropped was a plutonium bomb, and it missed its target by about 2.5 km, yet it fell in the center of the city. 39,000 were killed and 25,000 wounded in a split second.

In 1951, The Americas entered in a massive war against Korea to repel the communist tide. The war started between the North Korea and the South Korea, The war reached the international proportions in June 1950 when North Korea, supplied and advised by the Soviet Union, invaded the South. The United Nations, with the United States as the principal participant, joined the war on the side of the South Koreans. After many battles, the war finally ended in 1953 where The number of the human losses between dead, missing and wounded reached about four million people, and the civilian casualties were twice doubled the casualties of the military.

In 1953, the overthrow of Mosaddegh's government in Iran was orchestrated by the US intelligence after the Shah's powers were reduced and Mosaddegh nationalized the Iranian oil. According to Lawrence Wu and Michelle Lanz, they mentioned that:

Mohammad Mossadegh was a beloved figure in Iran. During his tenure, he introduced a range of social and economic policies, the most significant being the nationalization of the Iranian oil industry. Great Britain had controlled Iran's oil for decades through the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. After months of talks, the prime minister broke off negotiations and denied the British any further

involvement in Iran's oil industry. Britain then appealed to the United States for help, which eventually led the CIA to orchestrate the overthrow of Mossadegh and restore power to Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the last Shah of Iran. (Jackson, no)

Notably, Britain is considered as the main responsible for the US intervention in the Iranian coup d'état.

In April 1961, the US was engaged in a Military intervention against Cuba in the Bay of Pigs during the presidency of John Kennedy. Fidel Castro sets up a revolutionary socialist state in Cuba after he and a group of guerrilla warriors successfully rebelled against the President Fulgencio Batista, who had been propped by the U.S. government for his anti-communist attitude. Castro gradually innervates his relations with the communist Soviet Union, which made the US leaders worried. They mentioned:

The fact that the U.S administration and Fidel Castro saw each other as rival enemies made things worse. America saw Castro as a direct threat to American interests in the sense that Castro did not accomplish his promised reforms; for the USA, Castro is "a fateful challenge to the inter-American system" (qtd. in Mezhoud 32). Added to the fact that Cuba is the nearest communist threat to America (90 miles far from the shores of Florida), Castro's regime functioned, according to America, as model for other communist movements in the Americas.(qtd. in kabach and benelbar. 29)

Therefore, The US leaders wanted to overthrow Castro from power and establish of a non-communist state cordial to the United States. They failed miserably in the Bay of Pigs. The invasion is considered as part of the Cold War because the United States was trying to prevent

communism from taking hold in the Americas. After three years, the US again was engaged in a new war that was known by the Vietnam War.

In 1964, America interfered in the Vietnam War. Within a year of the Geneva Accords, the US followed their domino theory policy and began to exhibit support and assistance to the anti-communist politician Ngo Dinh Diem. With the US support, Diem gripped the south of Vietnam government in 1955, declared the Republic of Vietnam, and cancelled the elections that were planned in 1956. Diem’s regime proved mangle, iniquitous, and extremely unpopular. Nonetheless, the US continued to support it, in fear of the mounting communist resistance activity in the south of Vietnam. Therefore, an impedance against Diem was organized. In 1962, JFK sent American “military advisors” to train the South Vietnam army. The US swiftly recognized that the Diem regime was falling down. The people there did not like him because he was musty and discriminatory against Buddhists the prime religion. In 1963, the US backed a coup that overthrew Diem and nominated a new leader, who were just as corrupt and ineffective as Diem. In 1964, North Vietnamese forces allegedly attacked US Navy ships in the Gulf of Tonkin. This led to the Gulf of Tonkin Resolutions, which gave Johnson authorization without a formal declaration of war by Congress, for the use of conventional military forces in Vietnam. LBJ began to send US troops to Vietnam. During the eight years of the war, the Vietnamese lost two million dead, three million wounded, and nearly 12 million refugees. As for the Americans, their losses are estimated at 57 thousand dead, 153,303 wounded and 587 prisoners, between civilians and military.

In 1973, America was the only responsible behind the coup of the General Augusto Pinochet against the Chilean President Salvador Allende. Aaron Reed explains the fear of the American leaders from Allende, he clarifies:

U.S. fear of Allende came out as a result to his open rejection of any form of Western, especially American influence in Chile. On occasion, Allende maintained that "my studies taught me that Socialism was the only solution to these problems and that Chile had to find its own road" In addition, he is self-proclaimed as "a Marxist Social President". In similar occasions, Allende expressed as clearly as he could his opposition to Western values in which upon taking office, he exclaimed that "the president of the republic is a socialist ... I have reached this office to achieve the economic and social transformation of Chile, to open the road for socialism, Our aim is Marxist Socialism, total and scientific (qtd. in Reed 142-143).

Therefore, the Americans made a coup that led to the death of the president and the deaths of thousands of Chilean citizens, Europeans and even Americans in the "field of death", and that was in order to change the left-wing government.

In 1980, the US was engaged in an Intervention in Nicaragua, one of the Central American countries, for its attempt to pursue an independent policy by aiding the opposing forces known at the time as the Contras, which eventually led to the overthrow of the Sandinista government. Nicaragua is considered as one of the countries that witnessed the American direct interventions in Latin America more than others.

In April 1980, American commandos attempt to rescue the hostages of the American embassy in Tehran, the attempt failed in the Iranian deserts after a helicopter collided with a tanker plane, killing eight Americans.

Briefly, two hundred and fifty years is the age of the United States since declaring its independence from the European kingdoms in 1776, however, despite the relatively short

period, the United States of America is considered one of the most war-torn countries in the history. Added to this, the limited interventions and extraordinary raids like the bombing of Syria and Somalia, the United States will become the world's most battle-fighting country overall.

The common link between these battles is that none of them took place on American lands, as the lands of the other were always the theater of American wars. Despite the apparent difference between the countries of the world in religion, political doctrines, color, and in dealing with the United States, The United States brought them all together in common, the enemy. Everyone outside the United States is its enemy, and its military invasion is possible if the American leadership sees an interest in that.

2. USA and the African Nations

Virtually everything that has gone wrong in Africa since the advent of independence has been blamed on the legacies of colonialism. Is that fair? Virtually all colonial powers had “colonial missions.” What were these missions and why were they apparently such a disaster? Did any good come out of the African “colonial experience”? (Khapoya,99).

The first contact between Africa and America was outside the African continent. The American settlers needed slaves to exploit and advance the wealth of the new country. The first consignment of slaves reached the United States at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Although the United States imported only 6 percent of all slaves that were sold, Africans with roots in America became in some American regions equivalent to 65 percent of the population.

Shortly before the independence of the British colonies (June 4, 1776), the abolitionist movement was established. At that time, some cities and northern regions in the United States began to gradually abolish slavery until it was finally abolished in 1865. The status of the

liberated blacks among each other remains unequal, depending on the areas they inhabit. In 1820, a group of liberated black colonists settled in Monrovia, the capital of present-day Liberia. They gave this name to the city as a tribute to the American President James Monroe (1817-1825).

The movement to return to the motherland, i.e. the African continent, began to take a direction among the black Americans. Some of them want to stay in the American society and struggle for equal rights with the whites, while others wanted to return to the Promised Land that they claim as their right. The small group that were sent by the American Colonial Society, which had been established in 1816, had begun to impose its presence on the local population on the shores of the "Gran". In 1847, when Liberia became an independent country, the African Americans were in leadership positions in this country.

At the beginning of the 1870s, Liberia was forced to resort to the European and American loans. The colony became prosperous after that, but at the beginning of the First World War, it chose to be on the side of the Allies, forgetting that Germany was its first economic partner, which caused its bankruptcy after that. Added to this, the discovery of the precious metals and the incitement to colonialism that took place after the Berlin Conference by the Europeans to share the African continent, develop farms in it, and strengthen the infrastructure and trade, was a strong incentive for the American businessmen to take an interest in the African continent.

In 1920, Liberia signed a contract with the American company "Firestone", Which rented from the Liberian government more than half a million hectares of land in order to plant the rubber tree and exploit the minerals that it may discover from afar, including diamond mines. In return for a loan, it provided to the government, which was in a financial state close to bankruptcy.

President Roosevelt left the US presidency in March 1909; in the same year, he made a trip to the East of Africa and was accompanied by many "scholars" and experts. The United States did not give importance to the African continent before, and its interest was folkloric and perhaps religious at times. However, this new interest awakened, albeit slowly, the ire of the black American associations that struggle against racism and the pan-Africanist movements. An intellectual current began to emerge represented by the black missionary priest William Shepard, who was denouncing the abuses carried out by the Belgian whites against the population in the Congo. His reports on the situation in Africa had a great resonance in the United States of America.

After the end of World War I, the United States decided to form its Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, which indicates the new importance it gives to the African coasts. An American military base was established in Monrovia at the end of World War II, and then followed by the Massawa Naval base of Eritrea, which was annexed by Ethiopia in 1962. The Europeans allowed their American allies to set up bases in Morocco, southern Africa, Madagascar and Egypt, making them the road to oil wells in the Middle East and Asia. In their book, *Oil and Terrorism in the New Gulf: Framing U.S. Energy and Security Policies for the Gulf of Guinea*, James Forrest and Matthew Sosa mentioned; the beginning of the American intervention in Africa was in 1960, when huge oil fields were discovered in the Ghanaian Gulf, which was nicknamed the New Gulf. At that time, the United States of America emerged as a new player in Africa after France and Britain, whose presence on the African continent focused on their interest in minerals known for their presence in the western and southern African countries in the continent.

In 1958, he established the Africa and Middle East Business Bureau and was affiliated with the US State Department. Africa became for the United States of America a pawn used to combat Soviet influence. The African countries were closely watched by Washington,

especially by the CIA. When President John F. Kennedy came to power in 1961, who supported the civil rights for the blacks in the United States and was well acquainted with the African issues and understanding of the African countries. After his assassination in 1963, the idea of fighting communism was the only idea that preoccupied those who took turns ruling after him, and the idea of promoting the African continent remained far from their preoccupations.

This was the beginning of a period of the American interventions in Africa in the name of combating communism. The United States made dubious alliances, provided military aid to the rebels, and helped some African dictatorships stay in power. This American intervention generated, in this way, the bitterness of the Africans. According to documents that were recently published by the CIA, after they were declassified, it was reported that the President Eisenhower (1953-1961) was involved in the assassination of Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba.

In 1992, the actual military intervention of the United States began in Africa, when it sent 28 thousand soldiers to help Somalia end the civil war that was burning at the time. After two years, the American presence in Somalia ended in a tragedy, when the incident of capturing a number of American soldiers, mutilating their corpses and publishing their pictures in the international newspapers, prompted the American government to end the military intervention due to the state of confusion and panic that hit the American street at that time.

In 06 April 1994, after the death of Rwandan President Habyarimana. "The Hutu-dominated Presidential Guard began their systematically killing of critics of the regime and members of the Tutsi minority. The UN reacted by inconceivably reducing its presence from 2 500 to 270. Apprehensions of another Somalia initially deterred the Western powers from acting and one million people had to die before France finally offered to undertake a „humanitarian intervention“ in

mid-June 1994. The Security Council accepted the offer and French troops entered Rwanda to set up a humanitarian protection zone in the border area. The French force handed over the operation to the United Nations Assistance Missions for Rwanda (UNAMIR) on 21 August 1994”(Ramuhala, 39). When the war broke out in Zaire in 1996, President Clinton formed a "cell" to follow up on the crisis. The US administration decided to abandon the support of General Mobutu in Zaire and support Uganda and Rwanda to strengthen its military presence in these two countries.

In 1998, Bill Clinton made the longest tour of an American president to the African continent. He visited five countries, including Rwanda, which was considered one of the most important stages during this tour. During this visit, Clinton said about the civil war that Rwanda experienced in the early nineties of the last century, that he "regrets that the United States of America and the international community did not do everything they could to control the situation in Rwanda." During this historic visit, more than a thousand people accompanied Clinton from different economic sectors and a large number of African Americans. One of the objectives of this visit was to improve the Americans' view of this continent and help the African countries to keep pace with the train of globalization and get out of the economic backwardness by their own means and not be satisfied with the foreign aid. Bill Clinton tried to rely on what he called the "new leaders", among whom we find Rwandan President Paul Kagame and Ugandan Museveni.

In the same year, The US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were targeted by a terrorist explosion. The United States then bombed the chemical facilities in Sudan on August 20, 1998. This is clear evidence of Washington's intention after these explosions.

In 2002, an Israeli plane was attacked at Mopsa Airport in Kenya, and this attack was near to a US military base. After the attack, the United States sent a corps of its soldiers, which

is now about 1,600 soldiers, to station in Djibouti in order to monitor the situation in Somalia, where many Islamic groups are present. Added to this, to monitor the entrance to Bab Al-Mandeb, which connects the Red Sea with the Indian Ocean, which is one of the most important places that oil tankers pass through.

The United States recently established a special military command for Africa, headquartered in Stuttgart, Germany. This initiative comes to combat the potential terrorist attacks that may occur in the African countries. The United States is also training the forces of some of the African countries to combat terrorism, in an attempt to avoid the direct military intervention.

Another reason why the United States is interested in Africa now is its concern about China's trade expansion in this continent. In less than five years, the President Jintao visited the African continent on four occasions and met many of the continent's leaders, even those who were shunned by the Western countries. Americans are increasingly concerned, especially since China is exchanging raw materials for commodities with the African countries, and this is consistent with the African impact. China also plays a big role for the Africans in the United Nations, as it is a permanent member of the Security Council and has the right of veto, which helps it to defend its allies from African countries.

The US intervention in Africa is continuing until nowadays, because the US still looking forwards to achieve prosperity and manipulating the public opinion especially during the presidency of Biden. He declares that America is back and it is ready to lead the democratic world for a major confrontation against authoritarian China. Nevertheless, the question that poses itself is that Is America still in a position to lead? With power and wealth, China is now greater than ever. The United States is also deeply exhausted, with failed wars abroad and failed policies at home.

3. America and The Arab Spring

*If, one day, a people desire to live, then fate will answer their call.
And their night will then begin to fade, and their chains break and
fall. For he who is not embraced by a passion for life will dissipate
into thin air, At least that is what all creation has told me, and what
its hidden spirits declare (the Tunisian poet Abu al-Qasim al-Shabi).*

The Arab revolutions, the Arab Spring, or the Arab Spring revolutions are huge peaceful protest movements that started in some of the Arab countries during the late of 2010 and early 2011, influenced by the Tunisian revolution that erupted as a result of the burning of Mohamed Bouazizi and succeeded in overthrowing the former President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. Among main causes of the Arab spring revolutions were the spread of corruption, economic stagnation and poor living conditions, in addition to political issues, security restrictions, and unfair elections in most of the Arab countries. Lieutenant Colonel El Hassane Aissa mentions:

For more than a year now, the Arab world has been the scene of epic paroxysm; the greatest wave of empowerment the world had seen in the last twenty years. 2 From the Atlantic to the Pacific, young people moved by decades of disappointment with their elite and rejecting the violent approach to improving their daily life, have chosen to unravel the dust of submission. They have attempted to shake the status quo, which has kept their situation miserable not only since their grandparents threw off the brutal yoke of colonialism, but has also worsened their economic, political, and social conditions. (03)

This movement is still going on until this moment. The revolutions have succeeded in overthrowing five regimes so far. After the Tunisian revolution, the Egyptian revolution in 25

January succeeded in overthrowing the former President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak. Gamal M. Selim clarifies that :

In Egypt, the United States sought to secure the Mubarak regime during the January 25 mass uprising. In the early days of the protests, the Obama Administration supported the official position of the Mubarak regime by making lukewarm statements about the need for reform from within the regime, and by calling for the need to give the government an opportunity to deal with the revolt. However, after it became clear that the revolution was gaining momentum, the United States changed sides and openly endorsed regime change in Egypt. It also began implementing a new strategy to influence the course of events in post Mubarak Egypt, which was centered on creating an alternative client regime. (261)

Then the Libyan revolution in 17 February with the killing of Muammar Gaddafi and the overthrow of his regime. Selim again explains the case of Libya by the following:

In the case of Libya, the United States moved quickly to act and to seize the moment which it had seemed about to miss in Egypt, as it had long-standing bitter memories with Qaddafi. It took advantage of the Libyan uprising, which erupted on February 17, 2011, and strove to position itself at the heart of the crisis in an attempt to secure its interests in the oil-rich country, and to divert and block the revolutionary mass movements that only weeks earlier had toppled the US-backed regimes in Tunisia and Egypt. (263)

The Yemeni revolution that forced Ali Abdullah Saleh to step down, and then the Sudanese revolution in 2019 managed to overthrow the former President Omar al-Bashir. As for Yemen Selim adds:

In Yemen, the United States worked closely with Saudi Arabia to abort the mass uprising which broke out in February 2011 demanding the ouster of President Ali Abdullah Saleh, a close ally of the United States in the war on terror. In April 2011 and following a series of government massacres against the revolutionary forces, the Saudi-influenced Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) negotiated a power-sharing deal between the Saleh regime and the opposition forces, represented by the Joint Meeting Parties (JMP). The American-backed GCC initiative aimed to preserve Saleh’s military and security apparatuses, which had developed close ties with the United States over the past decade, and to end the mass anti-government protests. It stipulated that Saleh hand over his powers to his deputy Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi and form a unity government chaired by the opposition for formulating a new constitution and conducting elections. The initiative also granted Saleh and his family immunity from years of corruption charges and human rights abuses. (266)

As for the protest movements, they reached all parts of the Arab world, and the largest of them was the protest movement in Syria. These revolutions were characterized by the emergence of an Arab chant that first appeared in Tunisia and became popular in all of the Arab countries: “The people want the downfall of the regime”. In their article, “An Empirical Look to the Arab Spring”, Muhammed Kürşad Özekin and Hasan Hüseyin Akkaş Explain the protest movements as follow:

...The situation in Syria has gradually deteriorated with the escalating repression by the security forces and the rising number of civilian casualties since the uprising began. The political crisis in Yemen has also not abated, even after the end of Ali Abdullah Saleh's 33-year rule, which merely set the stage for the transfer of power but created even more uncertainty regarding Yemen's southern question and the potential risk of an escalation in the Salafi-Shiite conflict. It seems that more severe political turmoil and violent conflict is not off the political agenda of the latter two cases in the forthcoming months. Other parts of the region have experienced relatively more limited forms of protests. The GCC states, with the exception of Bahrain, have faced relatively small-scale protests, which did not coalesce into a countrywide movement for social change. While in Morocco and Jordan, the ruling monarchs have undertaken reforms measures to prevent further political upheavals, in Saudi Arabia the regime raised social welfare spending and applied more repressive measures against protests primarily confined to the eastern province.(76)

The great historian d. Assem El-Desouky, professor of the modern history, recipient of the State Appreciation Award in Social Sciences and the Republic Medal for Sciences and Arts of the first class, emphasized that “America” is the head of the Great Satan, which means that the Americas is the only responsible for these revolutions in the Arab world. It is the one that created the Arab Spring revolutions in order to secure its interests and protect Israel until it becomes a Jewish state and takes on a religious character instead of being a secular and democratic state.

America has been seeking to implement its plan, which is the new Middle East, after the disintegration of the major Arab nationalities and entities. Hence, it actively sought to encroach the Arab countries into the trap of the Arab Spring to turn the tide upside down on the Arab rulers, despite their loyalty to it, but they do not accept the implementation of its scheme and agenda, which is why it worked to replace them with other rulers and set the peoples against them.

At the beginning of 2014, an American organization, called the “American Pools of Expertise,” leaked a very dangerous document that deals with the reality of the so-called the Arab Spring. According to the French “Valmy Campaign”, which published on its website what the American organization dealt with regarding the Arab Spring, which it considered as a movement far from the spontaneity of the Arab people thirsting for the political change in their countries. On the contrary, it is an American plan to reshape the Middle East according to a deliberate project by the American administration, which was pioneered by Robert Ford, the head of the intelligence team in charge of the Arab region.

The report leaked by the organization is based on an official report of the US government about the reality of what is happening in the Arab world. The report showed the involvement of the White House in the Arab revolutions that engulfed several countries in the Middle East and North Africa, as the mentioned document, dated October 22, 2010, was called “**the Arab Spring Initiative in the Middle East, an overview**”. A secret document was accessed by the organization thanks to the Freedom of Information Act. The United States of America, according to this document, has put in its internal plans many strategies to overthrow and destabilize the regimes in the targeted countries by relying on the civil society after paving the ground for that through several substantial works based in particular on the work of non-governmental organizations.

The American approach adopted and used these non-governmental organizations in a manner consistent with the American foreign policy and its goals, especially with regard to the internal security. The Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI) comprises a regional program that empowers the citizens of the Middle East and North Africa for the development of the pluralistic, participatory and developing societies.

It is clear from the figures in this assessment, according to the same source, that the Middle East Partnership Initiative has evolved since its launch in 2002 to become a flexible tool in the region to provide a direct support that is integrated into these indigenous civil societies driven by the US government diplomacy in the region. This support is palatable by reading the content of the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs report, which uses and deliberates a diplomatic language carefully to hide the nature of this hegemony that came with the initiative.

According to the report, The US administration, led by Obama, did not skimp on granting the necessary capabilities to succeed in interfering in the internal affairs of the countries included in the US initiative. These local grants provide a direct support to the groups of the local residents, which represent nearly half of the MEPI project estimates.

In this context, the United States viewed the Arab Spring, which saw in its first wave the collapse of two pro-American Arab regimes, as a direct menace to its strategical interests in the area. Selim explains that fear by the following:

...It worried about losing its Arab client regimes in the Middle East and the damage revolutionary regimes could do to American strategic interests in the region, including possible setbacks for the US led war on terror, potential volatility in energy markets, and endangering the security of Israel. Michael Scheuer, a former officer in the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), expressed some of these

concerns when he admitted that the Arab Spring represented "an intelligence disaster" for the United States and other Western powers. "The help we were getting from the Egyptian intelligence service, less so from the Tunisians but certainly from the Libyans and Lebanese, has dried up... and the result is blindness in our ability to watch what's going on among militants," (qtd in. Selim 260)

The effects of the Arab Spring movement were felt elsewhere throughout the Middle East and North Africa as many of the countries in the region experienced at least minor pro-democracy protests. In Algeria, Jordan, Morocco, and Oman leaders gave a assortment of privileges, ranging from the ejection of the unpopular officials to constitutional shifts, in order to head off the propagation of the protest movements in their countries.

Briefly, the Middle East witnessed popular revolutions that caused the rapid collapse of the regimes from which it seemed impossible to get rid of, and awakened the dreams of democracy and freedom. This political and geographical phenomenon that shook the region starting in 2011 was called the "Arab Spring", and it led to mixed results. Massive popular demonstrations in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Yemen and Syria were followed by disappointing reforms at best, repressive responses from the dictatorial regimes, but also bloody conflicts. However, the spirit of the revolution has not yet died, which was evident eight years later in the outbreak of a second wave of popular uprisings in Sudan, Algeria, Iraq and Lebanon.

Conclusion

The United States of America is the largest economic and military power in the world, with interests that extend to all parts of the earth and the ability to intervene in all parts of the world. After the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States became the sole superpower. Despite its financial crisis, the US Army is still the world's most powerful armies and spending on armaments.

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Introduction

The Arab region is still witnessing many pressures, which sometimes come in the form of direct intervention by foreign countries that are looking for a guarantee and security of their interests in the region, even if by illegal means. Thus, Arab national security has been subjected to many shocks and challenges because of direct intervention in its internal affairs. This exacerbated the economic, security and political problems in these countries in a very worrying manner.

This chapter will shed light on the states of Morocco and Libya among the most Arab countries that witnessed a political and security instability due to foreign intervention imposed on it under the pretext of finding a solution to the crisis.

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1. The USA Intervention in Morocco

After the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, The United States of America was able to extend its hegemony over the world, taking advantage of its military and economic superiority, which allowed it to adopt a policy of interference in the sovereignty of the other countries. Especially when it comes to one of its economic, military and strategic interests.

The United States of America pursues the policy of interfering in the policies of states, whether directly or indirectly, by supporting forces opposed to the target state’s regime, or by applying political and economic pressures on it, or by using weapons to grant concessions and financial aid to that country. This intervention does not necessarily have to be military, as it may go beyond that and even reach the interference in the internal politics of the concerned country by directing its policy with the directions of the American policy, and it may even reach to interference in the educational and educational curricula of the state.

Morocco, like other countries, is among the countries targeted by the US intervention, as Washington exercises several influences on the Moroccan policy, which is considered an interference in the Morocco's internal political affairs. It started when the first series of agreements intended to thwart piracy against U.S by the African nations. Ships on the high seas emanating from the North African Barbary States and, by the end of another decade, the United States had concluded similar treaties with Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis. Even so, Morocco was the only one of these states to cease the practice of piracy, and “the Treaty serves to underscore the early and continuous strategic importance of Morocco to the United States. The United States” agreement in the Treaty to pay \$10,000 in tribute annually may be viewed as the first U.S. foreign assistance to Morocco” (Migdalovitz 4).

Migdalovitz declares again that:

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The 1787 Treaty was reaffirmed and the renewal accorded extraterritorial privileges (capitulations) to American citizens, including the right to be tried only by courts established at U.S. consulates in Morocco. These rights were held until after Morocco gained independence in 1956, long after other governments had relinquished theirs. The United States appears to have been a passive observer to developments in the late 19th century, when France and Spain endeavored to gain control over Morocco and, subsequently, when the 1912 Treaty of Fez transformed much of central Morocco into a French protectorate, while granting Spain similar rights over the northern and southern regions of the country. (04)

The importance of Morocco for the United States of America is strongly present in the official political discourse and among the American political class, which always praises in its meetings with the Moroccan officials the democratic transition that Morocco is experiencing, and the reform efforts made to advance the development. Added to this, also the right decisions that the Moroccan leadership are adopted to support the directions of the American policy on the strategic issues such as peace in the Middle East and the fight against terrorism. Thomas Carothers argues in his book *“U.S. Democracy Promotion During and After Bush”*, that:

Democratization under Bush administration will get rid of the roots of the terrorism in the region. President Bush, in his second inaugural address, set the “Freedom Agenda” policy; an ambitious policy to improve the long-term stability of Arab States and eliminate the appeal of extremist ideology by advancing democratic transformation in the region. As he declares, “America is a nation with a mission, and that

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mission comes from our most basic beliefs....It is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture” (qtd in. Naghmouchi and Fatmi 14)

The Bilateral relations between Rabat and Washington are taking a new turn. The republican administration has a clear conviction of the strategic role of Morocco and its political leadership in managing the most important files in the region due to its weight, vision, and stability.

The US administration and the pentagon recognizes the new choice of governance in Morocco, especially with regard to multi-partyism, liberalism and freedom; The American political class sees this as an important indicator in the direction of adopting true democracy, which is considered as a model to be followed in the region.

The goal of the Pentagon is to be represented by an American geographic map in the policy of the international expansion to ensure the liberalization of the market and its restructuring to suit the long-term situation. Morocco, in this partial perception of the Pentagon, will enter the area of vital neutrality, at least for the coming years, without only forming a new spread for it in the movement square (Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Mali).

It should be noted that the military landing of the Allied forces and the American forces in particular was in the Moroccan city of Casablanca, which was considered the official beginning of the American military presence in the region, as its scope expanded after that, especially in the Far Maghreb to become in the possession of the United States of America military bases and airports under its direct authority. These bases continued until the end of the war, And even after the countries of the Maghreb region gained their political independence,

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especially the American bases in the cities of Quneitra, Ben Slimane, Ben Jarir, and other cities in Morocco.

For the United States of America, Morocco is an important factor in North Africa, given its strategic location, and its openness to the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, which is the gateway for the passage of American ships, whether military or commercial, to the Middle East and the Gulf region. In addition, it is considered closer to Europe, as well as to the Horn of Africa, which some economic analysts see as rich in energy sources, especially petroleum energy.

All these factors make Morocco an important transit point for the United States of America by deploying its military bases in the region, and conducting joint military exercises with Morocco, especially in the southern region of Tan-Tan, the last of which was a military maneuver named "African Lion Maneuvers".

In general, the goal of the military presence in the Arab region is not in fact directed against a foreign military power, as much as it is directed against the Arab military forces themselves and the people of the Arab nation, whether by the possibility of using this presence against them, or by depleting their resources or by gaining international prestige at their expense.

Security assistance was one of the elements that tempted the military presence, and there is no doubt that the desire to obtain this assistance was behind the acceptance of a foreign military presence in Arab countries suffering from economic crises. The review of the American security assistance program shows the extent to which the United States of America exploits the economic crises in the Arab countries to achieve a military presence, so that the aid escalates with the Arab countries accepting the American military presence. America has taken advantage of the economic crises in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Somalia, Sudan and

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Tunisia, while it does not grant aid to Arab countries that suffer an economic crisis if they do not allow an American military presence, or if they oppose American policy in the Arab world, as is the case in Syria. The American aid stops in the event of a change in the state's policy, as was the case in Sudan after the fall of the rule of Numayri, who was loyal to the American administration.

The Economic and military aid is one of the most effective tools in spreading American influence in the Arab region. The United States of America has used foreign aid as a tool to influence the internal and domestic policies of the country. Dean Rusk, former US Secretary of State, said of US aid:

“Aid is a two-way street, as it opens the doors of the donor’s products and investments to the receiving state, and its acceptance is a partial waiver of sovereignty, as it is a benefit that can be developed over time to become a major influence”

If Morocco accepts American aid, this means - according to what the US Secretary of State says - that it is giving up part of its sovereignty in favor of the American administration. Although this assistance is not up to the size of that provided to America's strategic allies in the Middle East (Egypt and Israel), it is not insignificant. Between 1956 and 1991, for example, Morocco received about \$2,000, 50% of which was in the form of a gift. As for the amount of aid provided, it was not fixed, according to the ebb and flow of bilateral relations, and according to the importance that the United States of America gives to Morocco in its general strategy.

Years later, a treaty was signed between Morocco and USA, called Free Trade Agreement. It is an economic and commercial agreement in the first place, as it will regulate the development of exchanges, whether it is related to goods or services between the two countries. It will allow more openness for Moroccan exports to the American market as well as facilitate the entry of the American investments into the Moroccan territory.

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During the course of the negotiations, a working group was formed that amounted to 13 groups that include each sector separately (agriculture, services, health ... etc.), working in coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, which was the official negotiator for this agreement. These negotiations took seven rounds, ranging between Morocco and the United States of America, before reaching their current form.

The draft agreement was announced on January 23, 2004 during the visit of US Trade Representative Robert Zoellick to Morocco to discuss the elimination of customs barriers between the two countries. The activation of this agreement began on January 1, 2006. The content of this agreement is that the dominant principle in its various contents and in various economic sectors is to work to abolish the slightest barrier restricting economic and commercial activity.

In fact, the goal of this agreement is nothing but an American mechanism to impose the American project in the region. Washington has relied on imposing it with the power of the economy and the power of arms, considering that the undeclared goal is to besiege the sources of terrorism in the American belief, by passing the "Greater Middle East Project" and the project to rehabilitate the Arab and Islamic world according to the American size.

As for the objectives of this agreement on the Moroccan side, Moroccan officials said that this agreement falls within a holistic path chosen by the government to open up to the world. According to Tayeb Fassi Fihri, the agreement would integrate the Moroccan economy into the international economic system, adapt it to the ongoing process of globalization, push for the pursuit of economic and social reforms, improve the legal environment for economic transactions, rehabilitate Moroccan companies, support their competitiveness and attract foreign investments, Intensify the technological transformations.

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In fact, economic analysts see that one of the strong motives that made Morocco accept the signing of the free trade agreement with the United States of America, despite the fact that the economy of the former is equivalent to only 0.6% of the economy of the United States of America, is to bet on winning a positive position on the Sahara situation. At a time when America is betting on the Moroccan soil to open new outlets for the disposal of goods and to bring in the needs of raw materials in Africa, Europe and the Middle East, given the strategic location of the Kingdom of Morocco. Morocco is well aware that it will be affected economically by this agreement, yet it sacrificed what is economic over what is political.

The United States of America has been neutral since 1977 in the conflict in Western Sahara, even though it was the one who facilitated and supported the tripartite Madrid Agreement in 1975, in an attempt to avoid the outbreak of war between its two main allies in the region. Despite all the Moroccan attempts he made to break the American neutrality in the conflict, including Morocco's participation in defending the interests of the Western camp, where it cooperated with the United States of America in its struggle against the expansion of Soviet and Cuban influence in Africa, by providing support, training and arms to Jonas Savimbi, leader of The Angolan opposition movement, which was in conflict with the Marxist regime supported by Cuba. Morocco also participated on two occasions, in April 1977 and May 1987 in the defense of Western interests in Zaire by sending two military divisions.

However, all these ideological proofs employed by the Moroccan diplomacy and the Moroccan willingness to participate in supporting the American interests, did not succeed in removing the United States of America from its neutrality in the Sahara conflict during the Carter rule. Although this neutrality decreased somewhat in 1980 after America provided weapons Morocco had demanded it to counter the guerrilla war.

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The United States remained neutral regarding the final status of the territory of Western Sahara, while expressing its readiness to support all serious efforts to launch a negotiating process that might lead to a quick and peaceful solution to the conflict. Washington remains more influential in any future solution to the Sahara issue. This is why the Polisario is very close to the American political class, and Morocco, in turn, is trying to gain Washington's sympathy of Washington, and to adopt a policy of making concessions after another, including hosting people who are supposed to be terrorists to be interrogated at the headquarters of the Civil Intelligence in Témara in the Rabat region. Added to this, supporting the policy of the Greater Middle East by hosting a symposium in this regard during December 2004 and the signing of the Free Trade Agreement despite the European Union's objection, and the approach to the Israeli policy in a striking way. For example, receiving the former Israeli Foreign Minister Shalom, and issuing a statement about the health of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, and among other concessions facilitating the presence of the United States of America in southern Morocco, within what is rumored about Fight against the penetration of al-Qaeda in the Sahara.

However, the current Moroccan initiative based on adopting the option of autonomy within the framework of the Moroccan sovereignty as a platform for negotiation, was able to take the American position out of its neutrality and move directly towards declaring a middle position based on considering the Moroccan project as a serious and credible project, and it could constitute an opportunity for the direct negotiation between Morocco and Polisario.

It should be noted that America and France are the ones who insisted that the formula in which the Moroccan autonomy initiative will be written should be general and subject to more than one amendment without removing its structures. In other words, France and America have suggested to the Moroccan party not to come up with the autonomy proposal in a detailed

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and scrutinized form that would close the way to convince the rest of the major countries of the importance of what the Kingdom has reached as a negotiable political solution.

France and America also played a strategic role in bringing out the UN Resolution 1754 in the form that was unanimously approved. This means that the two countries have contributed to persuading the rest of the permanent members of the Security Council of the draft resolution after some amendments were made to it to create a kind of balance between the approaches of the concerned parties. This is considered an interference in Morocco's sovereignty and its policy to address its national issues.

Years later, The United States of America revealed its strategy after September 11, which adopts, in large part, the issue of terrorism as a priority that imposes a preventive and unilateral intervention by adopting military force and war, and then restricting the Islamic countries as areas of export of terrorism and important spaces within which it clearly grows. On the other hand, the traditional allies were adopted to confront it, such as Britain and Israel, and then a call to mobilize the world to confront this issue.

The process of mobilizing the countries of the world included the involvement of some moderate Islamic countries that have relations with the United States, and in this regard, Morocco was included after September 11 within a new security and strategic arrangement that takes into account the close bilateral relations and the interests dimensions of the two countries. In several official statements, the American diplomacy emphasized the good response of the Moroccan leadership to the calls of the American administration to combat terrorism and its clear sympathy with the victims, as it is a terrorist act that contradicts the principles and values of the Islamic religious faith.

The frank and direct condemnation of this terrorist act and solidarity with the victims by holding a religious mass attended by members of the Moroccan government and calling for

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an international conference to combat terrorism were considered correct and courageous decisions taken by the Moroccan leadership. Since September 11, 2001, Morocco has slipped into an excessive dependence on the American position, and tried to assume a leading Maghreb role within the American campaign, while wrapping that up with positions against violence and extremism. The outcome of this was the landing of American and European intelligence security in Morocco, benefiting from what Michael Sheehan revealed in his report to the Subcommittee on Near East and South Asian Affairs on 11/2/1999 - where he mentioned the existence of regular rules for cooperation between Morocco and America in the field of combating terrorism.

Morocco, by setting the Terrorism Law, has firmly entered the era of globalization of terrorism on the American road. The law is nothing but a belated echo of what the United States of America has been involved in since the September incident disastrous results appeared in the conditions of Arabs and Muslims within them, as hundreds of cases of physical assault, property damage, sending messages of hate and racial discrimination in airports, workplaces and educational institutions were recorded, an echo that did not take into account the slightest privacy of Morocco, but the American model was reproduced and translated with some modifications. The danger of this law is reflected in the completion of a number of gains that Morocco has known in the field of freedoms, and brings it back to the era of exceptional circumstances in which the authorities allow the sanctities and rights of citizens under the pretext of applying the law.

Therefore, it appears clearly that Morocco is subject to American dependence through its rapid adoption and adoption of the Terrorism Law following the repercussions of the events of September 11, 2001. This indicates that the political pressure of a security nature exerted by Washington on Morocco, in return for the latter enjoying its blessing and support it in the file of the Sahara issue and with the financial and military aid.

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Therefore, it can be said that the September 11 attacks convinced the Americans of the need to change the Arab region. Added to this, increasing the sense of threat among Arabs about what they see as targeting by the United States of America to the Arab region since these events, in an attempt to change the cultural, economic and political values and conditions in the Arab world, as there is a system of structural changes taking place in the Arab-American relations, including:

1. The tendency of the United States to use the term “Middle East” to talk about the Arab region instead of the term Arab world.
2. Attempting to create a kind of congruence between what is Arab and what is Islamic as strategic concepts with regard to interests, threats and possibilities of work and the integration of the Arab and Islamic countries in a large Middle East extending from Morocco to Indonesia.
3. Penetrating the borders with the American influence in the course of affairs inside the Arab world and not from outside it.
4. Changing the mechanisms of the required American change so that the United States of America no longer excludes the use of force to change the political systems in the Arab world.

In addition to the American political pressures that led to Morocco’s adoption of the Terrorism Law, and the economic pressures that resulted in the Free Trade Agreement with all its economic repercussions on Morocco, the American administration did not stop at this point, but rather became even interfering in Morocco’s internal politics. This is clearly represented in the abuses of its ambassador in Rabat, Thomas Riley, and among the interventions and abuses carried out by this ambassador, is his saying that the Polisario is the only representative of the Sahrawi people. He excluded the Royal Consultative Council for the Saharan Affairs in the upcoming negotiations between Morocco and the Polisario.

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This is not the first time that the American ambassador has interfered in purely Moroccan affairs. He had previously gone to the office of Mohamed Bouzaba, Minister of Justice, and warned him against prosecuting Nadia Yassin. The government was forced to withdraw a draft law from Parliament on opinion polls, because the ambassador objected to it before the people's representatives discussed it, as this ambassador told Moroccan journalists who met with them, he informed the Minister of Communication, Nabil Benabdallah, of his reservations about some provisions of the draft amendment to the press law, which is still under discussion.

As for the political parties, including the Justice and Development Party, which was boycotting all the activities of the American embassy in Rabat, they do not hesitate to allow Riley to discuss their electoral programs even before she presents them to her constituents.

Morocco also lived in the rhythm of talk about an American penetration of one of the largest religious institutions concerned with the graduating scholars, and it comes to Dar Al-Hadith Al-Hassaniya. They had been entrusted with the task of reviewing the educational curricula of the institution towards introducing lessons in the approach to religions in English. Mustafa Al-Khalafi said, “The problem of Dar al-Hadith al-Hasaniya is greater than the presence of an American. It is a path to change curricula in a way that leads to the graduation of frameworks capable of engaging in the interfaith dialogue initiative” (No)

America has benefited during the last five years from all the privileges it requested:

1. Tougher punishment for piracy of her films.
2. Issuance of the terrorism law with all the flaws raised by jurists.
3. Deducting Tan-Tan from the national territory and placing it at the disposal of the US military to dispose of it as it pleases, while wrapping the matter up with "joint maneuvers".

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4. Transforming Moroccan airspace into a safe passage for the American planes that transport the kidnapped or take them to secret prisons for torture.
5. Opening the Moroccan markets to America in accordance with the free trade agreement, which was an unfair agreement for the merchants, manufacturers and farmers of Morocco.

Morocco has turned into something like an annex to the American intelligence, as only generals and chiefs of staff of the American army or officials of the Ministry of Defense, the FBI and the CIA can be found in this country. All these concessions and abuses made by the United States indicate that the Moroccan national sovereignty is being infiltrated by the American administration. It can be said that the Moroccan government, despite all these interferences by the ambassador of the United States of America in its internal policy, has not taken any measures that would limit these American abuses.

Therefore, it appears in general that the American strategy does not differentiate between an ally and an enemy in its approach to the policy of interventions. If it is an enemy, it intervenes in it by military force and resorting to war, but if it is an ally, it interferes with it by resorting to political and economic pressures, in order to serve its strategic interests.

In sum, the United States of America, which calls for freedom, democracy and respect for sovereignty, is the first to violate these principles, through its political, military and economic interventions and pressures exerted on the weak countries in return for the latter obtaining financial aid and economic privileges. Thus, it was not surprising that Morocco, like other countries, was subjected to the political and economic pressures exerted by Washington, pressures that Rabat may respond to in order to obtain the support of the United States in the file of the Sahara issue.

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2. The USA Intervention in Libya

The Second World War was a turning point for the policy of the United States of America towards the Middle East, after the collapse of the war alliances, the spread of the Soviet Union in the region, the weakness of Britain, as well as the Zionist practices that began to put pressure on the White House to increase the American interventions in the Palestinian issue.

In this context, the United States has put itself in the leading position to protect the smaller countries from the "communist penetration" plan, and its leadership of the world's march after its leadership of the Western alliance. It adopts a comprehensive policy that is closely linked in the eyes of its authors to the American national security.

Nevertheless, the direct intervention of the United States in many countries under the pretext of the war on terrorism, such as Afghanistan and Iraq, and the political and economic crises it faced after that, had a significant impact in changing the shape of its foreign policies towards any international conflict. As America adopted a policy in which it does not bear the main responsibility. However, it allows the regional crises to play its role until a new regional balance occurs, ensuring that the basic American interests are not threatened, and so that it avoids the direct interference with its military power, and the resulting burdens.

The United States did not want to get involved in direct intervention in the Libyan conflict. Since 1998, the United States has been trying to focus its attention on South Africa in the south, Nigeria and Senegal in the west, and Ethiopia in the east, choosing one or more countries to play the leadership role. But under the influence of the European pressure, especially France, with the necessity of confronting the Gaddafi's regime, and after a French plane infiltrated the Libyan airspace, the United States found itself in a position that required it to clearly define its position regarding the decision to military intervention in Libya, and then

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decided to participate in the European campaign (its strategic allies). In their attack on Gaddafi on the pretext of protecting the civilians against the human rights violations being practiced against them.

In addition, the United States was apprehensive about the threat posed by the Gaddafi’s regime to its interests in the region, foremost of which are the oil interests. Despite the resumption of the diplomatic relations between the United States and Libya in 2006, Washington kept waiting for the opportunity to overthrow the Gaddafi’s regime, until the opportunity came with the outbreak of a revolution in February 17, 2011.

2.1. The Berlin Conference on Libya

The German Government and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations for Libya, Ghassan Salame, launched the consultation process on Libya in September 2019. The Berlin Process is the second step of the three-step initiative announced by the Special Representative in his briefing to the Security Council on 29 July 2019. The United Nations participated in the process alongside the Government of Germany, which generously hosted the event and provided a strong diplomatic support.

On January 19, 2020, the Berlin International Conference on Libya, at the invitation of the Chancellor Angela Merkel, brought together the governments of Algeria, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Turkey, the Republic of the Congo, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and representatives of the United Nations, including the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Libya, the African Union, the European Union and the League of Arab States.

The main objectives of the conference were to reach a consensus among the member states concerned with the Libyan crisis and to secure an international umbrella to protect the Libyan dialogues on the future of the country. It called on all local parties to refrain from any

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actions that would obstruct the work of the interim government throughout the country and disrupt the political process.

2.2.NATO Military Intervention in Libya: A Hit and Run Campaign

In the beginning of 2011, Libya has witnessed drastic and rapid transformations that led to a boom at the various political, security, economic and even the humanitarian level, at the internal and regional arenas. The beginning was with the Gaddafi regime’s use of violence to quell the movement of the Libyan people, who adopted purely political demands represented in the overthrow of the regime. This ended up by the NATO's intervention under the "responsibility to protect" principle.

The Resolution No. 1973 issued by the Security Council represented the legal cover that NATO relied on to give legitimacy to the military intervention in Libya. The resolution condemned the gross and the systematic violations committed by the Gaddafi’s regime against the civilians, including the execution and the enforced disappearance of the civilians. It defined the stated objectives of the NATO campaign as "to protect the civilians and the civilian populations at risk of attack, including Benghazi".

The military intervention of NATO in Libya was distinguished from the rest of the interventions carried out by the alliance previously, in that it was limited to carrying out air strikes against the Gaddafi’s regime without carrying out a ground landing on the Libyan soil. Karl Mueller described these operations as "limited in scale, Short in duration and inexpensive” (Engelbrekt, Mohlin and Wagnsson, 221). Statistics indicate that the NATO coalition forces launched their military air operations on 6000 targets during the period of the military campaign.

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On the other hand, the NATO countries allied themselves with the various “revolutionary” groups and militias spread across the Libyan soil by arming them, providing them with the logistical support as well as the intelligence coordination in order to carry out ground work while ensuring the alliance forces with air cover that allows these militias to achieve their military objectives by land. France is among the most important countries that have contributed greatly to arming the militias. For example, France has provided these militias with Milan anti-tank missiles.

The major powers tended to exaggerate the extent of the "danger" to which civilians in Libya were exposed. The military intervention also contributed to the growing role of the Salafi-jihadi groups that were among the militias that were fighting against the Gaddafi's regime. In addition, the major powers that led the NATO intervention repudiated their responsibilities in rebuilding the state in Libya after 2011. This period witnessed an economic and political collapse and a fighting between the various militias and tribes, which led Libya to be in a state of "civil war."

This collapse was embodied by the growth of a wide range of indicators, including the growing chaos of the spread of weapons, especially after the collapse of the Gaddafi's regime and the spread of the regular army's military arsenal to various tribes and militias. The humanitarian situation has worsened and the rates of the illegal immigration are high, the widespread violations of the human rights in Libya, The growing strength of the terrorist groups, which is an inevitable result of the security vacuum and the benefit of this group from the chaos of the spread of weapons in the country.

2.3. US calls for withdrawal of Russian, Turkish forces from Libya

On Thursday, the United States asked Turkey and Russia to immediately begin withdrawing their forces from Libya, including the military forces and the mercenaries, during

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a meeting of the UN Security Council on the Libyan conflict. The acting US ambassador to the United Nations, Richard Mills, called for "the respect of the Libyan sovereignty and an immediate end to all military interventions in Libya." This American position, under the new administration of Joe Biden, dispels the ambiguity that has surrounded Donald Trump's policy on Libya for years.

In December, the United Nations estimated at about 20,000 the number of mercenaries and foreign military personnel deployed in Libya in support of the two conflict camps. The United Nations counted 10 military bases that partially or completely house the foreign forces in the country.

Under the ceasefire agreement reached by the two parties to the conflict on October 23, the foreign forces and mercenaries must leave the country within the three months following the signing of the agreement, that is, by January 23. No mercenary forces have withdrawn in Libya despite exceeding the deadline stipulated in the agreement.

The Turkish military deployment in Libya, which includes especially combat drones, followed the signing of a military agreement between Ankara and the Government of the National Accord. The Turkish parliament extended its validity on December 22 for 18 months. For its part, Russia continues to deny any military presence in Libya, whether direct or through mercenaries.

During the virtual conference of the UN Security Council, the majority of its members, including India, China and the United Kingdom, demanded the withdrawal of all the foreign forces and mercenaries from Libya and respect for the arms embargo imposed on the country since 2011.

During his intervention, the Russian ambassador to the United Nations, Vasily Nebenzia, did not mention the foreign military presence in Libya. The diplomat recalled what

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he called the "Western aggression" against Libya in 2011, which led to the overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi, and only noted that Russia "has always advocated a peaceful settlement of the Libyan crisis by political and diplomatic means."

The Russian diplomatic mission later reported that Russia "has no soldiers or people in uniform on the Libyan soil". The mission spokesperson added, "Therefore, there is no Russian military intervention in Libya. If there are Russian citizens as mercenaries, which we cannot completely rule out, those who used them should be asked to withdraw them".

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Antonio Guterres, also called during a press conference, for the exit of the foreign forces from Libya. "It is necessary that all foreign forces and all foreign mercenaries go first to Benghazi and Tripoli, and from there they leave and leave the Libyans alone, because these have proven that they are able to solve their problems on their own," he said.

Nevertheless, despite the violations, the ceasefire remains in place and is adhered to by the two parties to the conflict, who have committed to holding the general elections on 24 December and have called on the United Nations to provide support in organizing them.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The US, the Moroccan and the Libyan relations remained tense for several decades. This tension resulted in Morocco and Libya being subjected to the political and economic pressures, which led to the further deterioration of the countries' situation, despite their economic and political characteristics. The relationship between the countries was characterized by a permanent rivalry calling for Morocco and Libya to contain terrorism, and it was not at all a relationship of cooperation for advancement, as the United States claims.

The bloody events in Morocco and Libya represented an appropriate excuse for the US interventions in the Moroccan and the Libyan affairs, achieving its political and economic goals in the North African region and getting rid of the Arab regimes for the last time.

The American interventions within the international forces in Morocco and Libya had many dire consequences, which the Moroccan and the Libyan people are still suffering from so far. The most prominent of these consequences: the continuation of the state of insecurity, and the violations of human rights despite the declaration of the Western powers that their primary goal is to protect the civilians and ensure the protection of human rights .

However, this did not result in stability or achieving democracy and providing an appropriate amount of security and political stability. Rather, there was more violence, economic decline and insecurity.

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ملخص

لا تزال المنطقة العربية تشهد الكثير من الإكراهات التي تكون أحيانا في شكل تدخل مباشر من قبل الدول الأجنبية التي تبحث عن ضمان وأمن لمصالحها في الإقليم، حتى ولو بطرق غير مشروعة. وبذلك تعرض الأمن القومي العربي للعديد من الارتجاجات والتحديات نتيجة التدخل المباشر في شؤونها الداخلية. وقد أدى ذلك إلى تفاقم المشاكل الاقتصادية والأمنية والسياسية في هذه البلدان بطريقة مقلقة للغاية. وتعد دولتا المغرب وليبيا من أكثر الدول العربية التي عانت من عدم الاستقرار السياسي والأمني بسبب التدخل الأجنبي المفروض عليهما تحت ذريعة إيجاد حل للأزمة، ولكن مع زيادة التدخل الأجنبي، أصبحت الأمور أكثر تعقيدا. حيث فشلت الحكومات العربية في إيجاد حلول عاجلة لهذه الأزمة الخطيرة، وهذا ما أدى إلى إطالة أمد الأزمة، وبات المغرب وليبيا من بين الدول الفاشلة في منطقة المغرب العربي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المغرب، ليبيا، تدخل، عدم استقرار، منطقة المغرب العربي.