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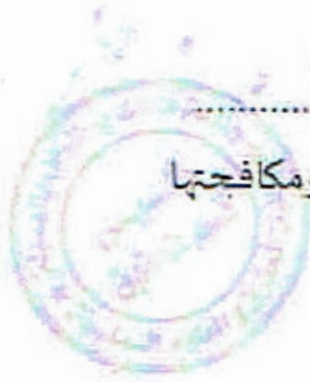
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## The US Foreign Policy towards the Islamic World; Trump VS Biden

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement  
for Master Degree in English Literature and Civilization

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## **Dedications**

To all my family members I dedicate my work

To my dearest father, the light of my life. To my beloved mother to my pillar my sister Houda, who were supporters to me every time. To my teachers, to my best Friend Rima to all who gave me energy to complete my master study.

Special dedication to my supervisor DR. Bounaas Chaouki Who guides me in this work. "To the difficult moments that made me strong"

Thank you all.



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With our humble gratitude to Allah, this work is genuinely dedicated to my beloved parents who have been the source of success and strength, to my sister and brother who were and are always there for me.

My husband for his advice, his patience

To my lovely friends for their generous support

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We would like to thank the English Department for letting us fulfill our dreams of being  
a student here.

We would like to thank all our friends.



## **Declaration**

We hereby declare that this work is composed entirely by ourselves .All sources we use it is quoted and is cited in the references .we declare that this dissertation is our investigation in agreement with the disciplinary regulations for the faculty of Letters and Languages at the University of Mohamed Boudiaf of M'sila

## **Abstract**

The foreign policy is commonly known as the rules that are applied by a country leader to achieve its interests, such as the United States. The policies that were adopted by the different leaders of US differ from one period to another and from one president to another. This research tried to shed a light on the history of the U.S. foreign policy towards the Islamic World before the cold war till the administration of Biden. And how the U.S. is still highly influential in the world. In the other hand, it seeks to examine the comparison between the presidents Trump and Biden in different regions in the Islamic World. As well as, this research explores the factors that would drive campaigns if they emerge as the two presidential contenders on major US foreign policy issues most regarding the Islamic World. The importance of this study lies in tackling an issue that is sensitive for the Islamic World as well as to differentiate between the strategies taken by the presidents Trump and Biden. Thus, the policies adopted by Trump's administration were from the standpoint of managing the problem rather than resolving it. But in contrast, Biden tries to reshape US foreign policy in the Islamic World putting a premium on promoting democracy. It presents the theoretical background of US foreign policy, the evolution and the landmark events of the conflict.



## List of Acronyms

<i>CIA</i>	Central Intelligence Agency
<i>CENTO</i>	Central Treaty Organization
<i>MCC</i>	The Millennium Challenge Corporation
<i>NATO</i>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<i>NSC</i>	National security council
<i>PLO</i>	Palestinian Liberation Organization
<i>UAR</i>	United Arab Republic
<i>USA.</i>	United States of Americ
<i>UNSCOM</i>	United Nations Special Commission
<i>USSR</i>	Union of Soviet Socialist Republican
<i>WMD</i>	Weapons of Massive Destruction

**Key words:** Abstract, US Foreign policy, Islamic world,9/11 terrorist attack, containment policy, Interventionism, Biden administration, Trump administration, Islamic's regions.

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# **General introduction**



## General introduction

The Foreign policy is commonly known as the rules that are applied by a country leader to achieve its interests, like the United States.

The US turned its attention to the Middle East. Therefore, this region became an important venue. At first, the US followed a foreign policy of isolationism and maturity whereas during the 20<sup>th</sup> century it followed a more imperialistic foreign policy to protect its interests.

When observing the transformation of US foreign policy, every president tried to set goals and strategies to achieve interests, managing the problems in the Middle East not carries to resolve it. The real nature of US foreign policy refers to ideologies and doctrines that were adopted by each president from the cold war till the current president.

This work demands an analytical historical approach, by Using the historical documents, websites and articles also newspapers. This study intends to describe a historical events and attempts to clarify the US foreign policy towards the Muslim countries in general as well as to differentiate between the strategies adopted in this region.

The purpose of this study was to demonstrate how it was the US foreign policy towards the Muslim countries during and post the Cold War.

Our Research is made to answer the questions: What were the distinctive foreign policies that followed by the US in the Middle East and How were the relationships between the American government and Middle East during Biden and Trump's presidential terms?

The present study is composed of two chapters, in chapter one which is the core of this dissertation we have presented the US foreign policy during and post the cold war and how the presidents adopted distinctive policies and principles to achieve interests and pointing out how the events of 9/11 terrorist attacks influence adversely the international relationships today. Chapter two covers the two recent presidents Donald Trump and Joe Biden complains and decisions that were taken by both of them towards the Islam world. Especially relationships with Saudi Arabia, Iran and Iraq. The chapter which comes up to identify the policy that taken by the two presidents Donald Trump and Joe Biden in different regions in the Islamic World. When the president Donald Trump was elected as the 45<sup>th</sup> president in the US, he came to define the US foreign policy as" America first". His administration appears to have made extensive

changes towards many of the conflicts and issues plaguing the Islamic World connected to Iran. As well as how the Trump administration have affected the countries of Saudi Arabia, Iran and other regional states.

In other hand, President Joe Biden has taken steps to renew US democracy and alliances, protect the United States economic future and have once more have America lead the world. When he took the office in January 20,2011, he faced many problems as failing states terrorism, Iran's nuclear program, Israeli-Palestinian- Arab relations. Among his goals, he traveled to Saudi Arabia justify his meeting by stating that the United States will support and strengthen partnerships with countries that subscribe to the rules-based international order, and he spoke explicitly about American commitment to upholding Saudi Arabia's security and defense.

**Chapter One:**  
**The American foreign policy**

# Chapter one: The American foreign policy

## 1-Introduction

The cease of the second world hostilities marked the establishing of a new generation in the international relations. The U.S.A and the Soviet Union have been viewed as two of the most effective forces in the world. They have been working toward preserving their hobbies in the Middle East. America has been making an attempt to take over the Muslim world, and it has been a struggle in opposition to the Russians. Each president makes a change to world position.

The present chapter aims to give an explanation to the concept of U.S foreign policy throughout history. It provides an overview about the nature of U.S foreign policy towards the Islamic world over the presidents, and how the us Foreign policy has slowly been changing throughout the presidential terms. The American -Muslim relationship is a complicated story, since the events of 9/11 that was a turning point in the history of US -Muslim countries during and post the cold war The Middle East was a significant, strategic region to the United States.

### 1- An overview of US foreign policy before cold war

After the end of first and second world war, the international system has witnessed an increasing growth in the development of nation states . According to Joseph Frankel, « Foreign policy consists of decisions and actions, which involves to some appreciable extent relations between one states to another (Bojang AS 2018).

Through the historical perspective, U.S.A has adopted several policies including isolation and intervention policy. This coming section is just an overview about the most notable policies.

### 2- The Us Foreign policies:

#### 2- 1 - Geopolitical Isolationism

On the first one hundred fifty years of its history, the U.S.A tried to continue to be geopolitically far-off from its neighbors in Europe. To American leaders like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, links to the European motherlands could solely result in protracted wars and change issues that would pit the new U.S.A. Towards one European country after another.

Following the signing of The Treaty of Paris that ended the U.S. War of Independence, signed by diplomats of both countries (U.S.A and Great Britain) in November 1782, the U.S.

## **Chapter one: The American foreign policy**

quickly turned inward, anxious to keep away from the prolonged and ingesting wars that had plagued the European continent for the previous three centuries. In his farewell speech, George Washington, the country's first President from 1783-1791, counseled his countrymen to "steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world," and recommended them to use "temporary alliances for remarkable emergencies." In other words, the U.S. have interaction for trade and commerce with other countries however avoid alliances that may draw the country into conflict or make it a target of a powerful colonial powers competing for European continental dominance. The U.S. ought to use its geopolitical advantages – two large oceans and pretty vulnerable neighbors – to remain distant from quarrelsome European states (Paterson 4).

### **2- 2 – Interventionism**

In response to the growing threat of Nazi Germany, the congress had passed a series of neutrality acts 1935/1937, that were intended to keep the U.S.A out of a European conflict and it was only after the break of the second World War (September 1939) that the president Franklin Roosevelt was able to shift the American Foreign Policy to aid allies with Japanese attack on Harbor 1941 the U.S formally joined the Grand Alliance of Britain, Free France ,Soviet Union and China.

After the Second World War, the United States take the policy of Interventionism in order to cut off the expansion of communism influence , such form of Interventionism includes giving aid to European nation to rebuild, having an active role in the NATO and place action around the world and involving the CIA in several coup take over Latin America and the Middle East(Cavalli 335).

The next coming section is going to deal with the U.S foreign policy towards the Islamic world during the cold war. Nonetheless the US relations with the Islamic world after the end of the Second World War.

### **2- 3- Containment policy**

The American response to the expansion of communism and the influence of the union was the containment policy, the term was coined by the State Department staffer George Kennan and it was based on the premise that the US must apply a counter force to any aggressive moves.

## **Chapter one: The American foreign policy**

This policy was reflected in the creation of a network of political and military alliances such as North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), The Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) (Cavalli 335), both of Truman Doctrine 1947 which committed the US to protect free people in Europe from any attack and Korean war are examples of the containment policy in practice. In addition to this policy the US recognized the importance of economic assistance to prevent the communism from gaining any kind of support (Yergin 1978)

### **3- The interests of US foreign policy**

The US policy makers have adopted it upon the principal of protecting the interests of the nation. The interests have varied from one country to another according to the needs, ideologically, economically and politically.

#### **3-1-security interests**

Security threats and risks at the international level take many forms, they might be in the form of military threats from other countries or from terrorist, or economic threats resulting from boycott and high tariffs on trade. The meeting of these interests requires confronting these potential security threats as well as the priority of safeguarding of the US and the lives of its citizens whether they were inside America or abroad. The US works to protect the allies and the supportive countries within the framework of these interests (Krutz, 629). The security interests have explored the necessity of preserving the balance of power in the world, meaning that no country could possess a region of more military power than the US. Due to the connection of the history of the American continent with the European continent, the United States sought to prevent the emergence of this dangers in Europe, thus the policy of preserving the balance of power in Europe become a fundamental security interest in US foreign policy and stability was achieved during the Cold war through the balance of nuclear horror between the two great powers; the US and the Soviet union. After the end of the war and the receding of fear about nuclear war, new challenges have emerged such as the vote of the UK to leave the European Union, the ongoing debate over the debt crisis in Greece, the Middle East issues and the terrorist activities in the United States (Krutz 630).

## **Chapter one: The American foreign policy**

### **3-2-Economic interests**

Economic interests play an important role in the politics of the American foreign economic policy; these interests include achieving a major goal for US foreign policy which lies in ensuring the united states' access to major resources around the world, including natural resources such as oil, as well as investing foreign capitals for domestic infrastructure projects such as building bridges and weapons systems. The US works to preserve these interests through the access to global markets in which it seeks to sell the local products in the international market and to support the economic development in the world especially, in the developing countries (Krutz 629).

### **3-3-Ideological interests**

Under these interests, there is a combination of principles and values adopted by the United States of America. They are a mixture of historical legacy that appeared with the emergence of the American culture, as it includes in addition to those related to the American way of life, its ideals and worldviews principles such as the right for self-determination, freedom, protection of human rights and democracy as well as promoting the value of liberalism and capitalism. It is known that the US entered into conflicts during the Cold war due to Ideological concerns, thus it used this principles and ideals to strengthen its hegemony in the world and to expand its military geo-political interventions as in the case with the slogan of the war on terror (Krutz 630).

## **4-The tools and methods of US foreign policy**

As it is known, the US foreign policy is set up to achieve a set of goals and needs at the expense of other countries. Therefore, it depends on various tools and instruments such as diplomacy, military force and foreign aids in order to realize those interests.

### **4- 1 The military force**

Militarypower is the principle instrument of a sovereign state to protect and defend its national interests, especially its security interest's vis a vis foreign powers, unless a country has a credible military deterrent about which the other side is aware, the latter could tempted into launching an attack. US military force is an essential tool and the most prominent tool in its foreign policy since it has fought many wars and engaged into many interventions to promote its foreign objectives. US government officials have been exhibiting as surprising willingness to use military force as an instrument, the strategies

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called for and the capabilities sought by the president and high national security officials constitute more than a response to terrorist threats against the US homeland. Previous strategies that would restrict the use of military force to situation in which the country's vital interests or the lives of its citizens are threatened are giving way to force use doctrine premised on the need to counter a wide range of threats to the country global interests. To demonstrate the importance of this tool, it is necessary to refer to the total military expenditure of the United States as it always first in the military spending in which in 2018 it reached 610 billion dollars equivalent to seven countries combined together (Edward and stephen, 1997).

### **4-2-The trade and economical policies**

From the earliest history of the US, the welfare and the prosperity of America has been based on economic growth and trade with other countries, a reality which shows that the United States has always engaged in internationalism (Mead, 2002). The underlying assumption is that through exchanging trade with other countries, the US will benefit and the productivity of the country and the wealth of the citizens will increase. From the early beginning American presidents have acted to ensure that US business would have access to markets to help promoting growth in the American economy. Following the Second World War, the government had focused on building strong economic linkages between countries to prevent a future economic collapse of the level of the great depression and a future conflict between the trading partners.

While modern foreign policy continues to show the importance of protecting American interests, US foreign policy seeks to sustain economic growth by finding foreign markets for local products and goods ,the most important tool for trade policy is tariffs and trade agreements to bargain with countries in order to obtain concession in the other regions, as an example , the Clinton administration in the 1990s had used customs tariffs and had gave preferential treatment to China to urge it to reduce its human rights policy (Bianco and Canon 469).

### **4-3- Foreign Aids**

In its broadest sense, US foreign aid is defined under the Foreign Assistance Act 1961; the primary legislative foreign aid program as; any tangible or intangible item provided by the United States Government [including "by means of gift, loan, sale, credit, or guaranty to a foreign country or international organization under this or any other Act, including but not limited to any training, service, or technical advice, any item of real,

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personal, or mixed property, any agricultural commodity, United States dollars, and any currencies of any foreign country which are owned by the United States Government (Marian and Emily2019).

In other words, foreign aids can be defined as money, technical assistance and commodities that the US provides to other countries in support of common interests of the United States and that country. Typically, the support goes either to a government entity or to communities in the foreign country, such support falls into one of three categories; humanitarian assistance for life-saving relief from natural disasters, development assistance that promotes economic, social and political development of countries and communities, and security assistance which helps to strengthen the military and security forces in countries that are allied with the US.

The US government has been using this instrument in foreign policy and domestic policy as well to achieve a variety of national purposes including furthering diplomatic goals and to promote democracy and democracy abroad (Carolina 2010).

### **4-4-Treaties and agreements**

International agreements and treaties represents another of the broad-based foreign policy instrument, the United States finds it important and helpful to enter into international agreements with other countries for a variety of reasons and on a variety of subjects. These agreements run to gamut from bilateral agreements about tariffs to multilateral treaties among dozens of countries about the treatment of prisoners of wars such as Geneva agreement in 1949 , human right, one recent multinational pact was the seven country nuclear agreement in 2015 that intended to limit nuclear development in Iran. The format that an international agreement takes has been the point of considerable discussion. In the recent years, the US constitution outlines the treaty process in Article 02 in which the president negotiate a treaty then the Senates consents to the treaty by two-thirds vote and finally the president ratifies it, despite that constitutional clarity, today over 90 percent of international agreements into which the united states entered are not treaties but rather an executive agreements that are negotiated by the president (Kruz 637 -638).

## Chapter one: The American foreign policy

### 5-The US Foreign policy

#### **US policy towards the Islamic world during the Cold War: The Middle East at the centre**

During the Cold War American, effort was to develop its presence in one-of-a-kind components of the world inclusive of Muslim countries to comprise the Soviet Union, and to obtain its international objectives. Chipley among them was the Middle East as a fundamental section of the Islamic World.

The Islamic world was once important to the United States for a number of reasons. First, the massive oil and gas reserves of this region should play a sizeable role in the US industries. Second and greater necessary used to be the strategic place of the region, which should assist America to protect communist development. In addition to these two factors to Washington, the Middle East was necessary due to the Arab-Israel dispute.

Simultaneously, the Soviet authorities also desired to advance its impact in this essential region. S. Ambrose points out that both the United States and Soviet Union have been attempting to impose on the scene the Cold War competition habits – motion and response bluff and counterbluff- as every superpower has tried to achieve a temporary gain in many areas, which include the Middle East. Of course, it has to be cited that in addition to the Arab international locations of the Middle East non-Arabs countries of the region such as Iran and Turkey were also at the Centre of US interest due to their strategic position that helped the United States to block the Soviets from developing toward heat waters. Meanwhile, Iran's oil sources had been very huge to the United States.

During the invasion of Afghanistan by way of the Soviet Red Army (1979-1989), the US used to be a supporter of the warring parties (Mujahedin) against communists. Washington tried to arm the Islamic companies in the country. Some of the corporations such as Bin Laden that were hostilities towards the Soviet invaders firstly received their education from the CIA throughout that period.

Briefly, as Wesley M. Bagby has argued US countrywide hobbies in the Middle East appeared to require except for Soviet power, retaining secure access to the region's oil and maintaining strategic change routes open. For these purposes, the United States had to assist pro-Western Arab and non-Arab international locations to continue their independence during the Fifties and 1960s in order to give a boost to their ability to withstand Soviet expansion. (Yazdani38) .

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### ➤ During the cold war

Most presidential doctrines seem to be focused around overseas national security interests. For example, presidential doctrines may be focused on assistance to allies (in Truman's case), protection of strategic national assets (as in Carter's case), or a shift of strategic focus, as in President Obama attempt to "pivot to the Pacific." Perhaps the most influential Presidential doctrines were from the first U.S. Presidents. George Washington's warning about "permanent alliances" (though never labeled the Washington Doctrine) guided national diplomatic behavior for the next 150 years. James Monroe's declaration that Western Hemisphere nations were off-limits to European colonial powers initiated a period of U.S. hegemony that persisted well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. (Paterson 14).

### 5-1- Eisenhower Doctrine

While Truman had been concerned about Soviet influence in the Middle East, Dwight D. Eisenhower was much more so, which inevitably led to a more interventionist policy. Eisenhower made use of covert operations to ensure favorable outcomes in Middle Eastern countries, and employed economic assistance to develop beneficial relationships in the region. Early in his administration, Eisenhower received a report from the National Security Council (NSC) stating that the greatest challenge to policy for the region was the perception that the U.S. was just another imperial power like Britain and France. This attitude would open the region to Soviet influence and Eisenhower believed this threat justified a more active role in the Middle East.

While at least verbal support of Israel continued, Eisenhower cultivated a favorable relationship with Abdener of Egypt in order to increase American influence with Arab states. Nacer was the recognized leader of the Arab League and the instigator of the "Pan-Arab Movement" aimed at creating a union of Arab states. Such a union would resist outside control from either east or west. While he had several rivals during his lifetime, no single Arab was better situated than Nasser to create good relations between the United States and the Middle East.

One of the first issues Eisenhower faced was the situation in Iran. For the previous two years, Muhammed Mussadeq had served as Prime Minister and the standoff between the Anglo-Iranian Oil company and his government continued fear of a communist takeover led the U.S. to conclude that the Shah represented the only real source of stability in Iran and that Mossadeq had to go. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and the CIA's Middle East specialist, Kermit Roosevelt, informed Eisenhower of a plan for Mossadeq's overthrow.

## Chapter one: The American foreign policy

The British had originally devised the plan and the U.S. needed their help. The plan called for the Shah to fire Mossadeq and replace him with Fazollah Zahedi, who, unlike his predecessor, would follow closely the directives of the monarch. (Summitt 17-18)

### 5- 2- Kennedy Administration 1961-1963:

President Kennedy's residence in the White House coincided with tensions in the Middle East among radical and conservative governments. Egypt's President Gamal Abdul Nasser was the key figure behind Arab radicalism in the region. "Thus relations with Cairo by the time Kennedy came to power have been aptly described as being in a "deep freeze". President Kennedy approached the Middle East cautiously. He made clear his intentions of protecting Israel, with the sale of weapons. Additionally, President Kennedy changed the United States' relationship with Israel by expressing his intentions of forming closer ties with Israel. This "was illustrated by the comprehensive political guarantees that were made to Israel. These guarantees did not only include security, but also extended to such specific matters as interpretations of territorial boundaries and water allocations from the Jordan (Miglietta 2002, 133)." However, he was able to thaw the United States' relationship with Cairo, by treating President Nasser as an important ally. Thus, Kennedy informed President Nasser about the United States' deals and intentions at certain times in order to keep the Egyptian president informed. The greatest act of goodwill in the United States-Cairo relationship during the Kennedy administration was the PL-480 Food Program, which provided wheat to Egyptian citizens (Lenczowski 1990, 76-77).

In 1962, Yemen had a coup d'état. The Yemen monarchy was overthrown and replaced by revolutionaries who claimed that Yemen was a republic. President Nasser of Egypt assisted the republican movement, in the spirit of Pan-Arabism. Saudi Arabia gave refuge to the overthrown king. Saudi Arabia and Jordan assisted the royalists in a counterrevolution (1990, 79-80). However, the revolution was upheld and President Kennedy recognized the Republic of Yemen. It was a delicate situation in the Middle East for the administration. The United States did not want to turn its back on Saudi Arabia, or appear to give in to Nasser, most importantly it did not want to appear to not support modernizing movements in the Middle East (1990, 84).

The Kennedy administration abruptly ended November 22, 1963, when the President was assassinated in Dallas, Texas. President Kennedy's foreign policy in the Middle East did not achieve in dramatic success, however he did prevent crisis in the Middle East from becoming debacles.

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### 5-3- Johnson Administration 1963-1969:

President Johnson early in his administration did little to stray from the previous Middle East policies of Kennedy. The Johnson administration had other foreign policy goals taking precedent over the Middle East, such as escalating problems in Vietnam. However, a crisis did occur on the island of Cyprus in the Mediterranean Sea. The islands' Greek, and Turkish heritage, were having disputes across cultural backgrounds. It was imperative for President Johnson to bring a diplomatic end to the crisis in order to prevent Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey from going to war over problems stemming from Cyprus. Preventing war was essential to containment. War would allow Soviet influence into the Middle East, and Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus' President Makarios was close with the Soviet Union, and in 1964 "called for military intervention by the Soviet Union (1990, 103)." Fighting continued on the island of Cyprus, as well as bickering between Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey, then the conflict on Cyprus took less precedence with the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli War of 1967.

The United States popularity in the Middle East since the end of World War II had gone from moderate and impartial, but during Johnson's administration the United States leaned pro-Israeli, so "from 1967 on the United States emerged as the most distrusted if not actually the most hated country in the Middle East (1990, 105)." President Johnson's policies towards Israel led to the sale of offensive military weapons, assuring Israel's military superiority in the Middle East (Miglietta 2002, 139).

The Six-Day Arab-Israeli War of 1967, stemmed from disputes between Israel and Arab nations. Water rights on the Jordan River were creating tensions in the Middle East in the 1960's, then President Nasser of Egypt proclaimed a blockade of Israeli shipping on the Strait of Tiran, and sought the removal of United Nations troops in Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, thus moving the region closer to war.

Israel took President Nasser's actions as an opportunity for a preemptive attack on Egypt, thus Israel mobilized its military (Lenczowski 1990, 107). On June 5, 1967, the Israeli military attacked Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq. The Israeli military conquered the Sinai Peninsula up to the Suez Canal, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. After the war "six Arab states—Egypt (U.A.R.), Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Algeria, and Sudan—broke diplomatic relations with the United States (1990, 112-113)." Additionally, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Algeria, and South Yemen strengthened economic and military connections with the Soviet Union.

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President Johnson's foreign policies towards the Middle East did not create stability in the region. His administration set a precedent for a United States-Israel support. The United States' support for Israel and the proven effectiveness of its military helped create a balance in the Middle East against the developing alliances within the region with the Soviet Union. The result of President Johnson's administration and the "1967 war was to intensify regional instability (Miglietta 2002, 138)."

### 5-4- Nixon doctrine 1969-1974

In 1969, newly elected President Richard Nixon laid the cornerstone of his presidency's foreign policy when he announced an initiative which would become known as the Nixon Doctrine. Aimed at reducing the United States' military commitments in Southeast Asia, the Doctrine called on America's allies to provide for their own defense, rather than depending solely on the United States for their security. Breaking with the past containment strategies that engaged American forces in long and costly conflicts in Korea and Vietnam, the new doctrine stipulated, in cases involving other [non-nuclear] types of aggression shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested and as appropriate. But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defense. "The United States would become the arsenal rather than the policeman of the non-Communist world," providing weapons and training to regional allies to contain the Soviet threat.

"Eventually, his ambitions became 'considerably more grandiose' as the Shah began to see himself as the regional hegemony 'the ruler from whom all had to seek permission and indulgence.'" Though this course of action was originally framed as a shift in U.S. policy towards Southeast Asia, the Nixon Doctrine had its real roots in Tehran. There, in 1967, former Vice President Nixon met with the Shah of Iran, who argued that it would be "better for U.S. to have Iran able to defend [it] self than have [a security] guarantee and another Vietnam. "This counsel from America's foremost Middle Eastern ally predates the Doctrine by over two years and undoubtedly played a critical, formative role in the development of Nixon's foreign policy. In making his suggestion, the Shah was not merely offering advice, but was also seeking American support for his ambitions to play a more dominant role in the Middle East, especially in the Persian Gulf. Such ambitions were long in the making and were the product of the Shah's ardent Persian nationalism and distrust of "the motives of his American admirers. "Muhammad

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Reza Pahlavi knew he had only come to the Peacock Throne after his father was deposed by the Allies in 1941.

His restoration by the CIA in 1953 further added to his insecurity by demonstrating the influence that outside powers wielded over his kingdom. It was in this vein that the Shah's early military goals started as being defensive, "seeking to deter a Soviet invasion" so that he may "ultimately become strong enough to with - stand any foreign pressure." However, as the Iranian economy developed in the mid-1960s, "Iran's growing oil wealth . . . allowed [the Shah]to think about playing a bigger role in the Middle East." Eventually, his ambitions became "considerably more grandiose" as the Shah began to see himself as the regional hegemony "theruler from whom all had to seek permission and indulgence. "When Great Britain announced that it would withdraw its forces "east of the Suez" by 1971, the Shah did not pass up the opportunity to replace Britain as guardian of the Gulf. Speaking with Nixon in 1967, the Shahmade a thinly veiled comparison to Britain's imminent withdrawal and America's problems in Vietnam, telling Nixon that "the British are spread too thin to be strong enough everyELEMENTS SPRIN. (Al-jiboury 8).

### 5-5- Ford Administration 1974-1977:

After abusing presidential power Richard Nixon resigned as President of the United States, leaving Gerald Ford as President. President Ford continued most of Nixon's foreign policy plans. Ford attempted to continue Nixon's détente strategy for guiding United States-Soviet Union relations. However, United States-Soviet Union relations became strained due to crises in Africa, and the Cubans getting involved internationally aided by the Soviet Union. The United States' détente policy had one exemption; it specifically wanted to keep the Soviet Union out ofthe Middle East negotiations after the Yom Kippur / Ramadan War of 1973 (1990,141).

During President Ford's administration tensions in Cyprus erupted again. Turkey invaded Cyprus after Greece orchestrated a coup d'état of the Cyprus government. The new Cyprus government asserted its intentions to join Cyprus with Greece. The new government on Cyprus was weak, and ineffective due to political instability on Greece. Turkey thus extended its occupation ofthe eastern Mediterranean island so it controlled forty percent of Cyprus (1990, 143). In response to Turkey's aggressive actions the United States Congress banned arms sales to Turkey. Turkey's reaction to the United States was swift and acute. Turkey banned the use of United States military bases in Turkey, sought arms deals via the Soviet Union; Turkey

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banned United States ships access to Turkish ports and military flights, lastly permitting Soviet military vessels to pass through the Turkish Straits (1990, 144-146). The tensions between the United States and Turkey were not resolved during the Ford presidency.

President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger attempted to bring peace to the Middle East, specifically between Israel and Egypt. President Ford grew increasingly frustrated with peace negotiations, due to Israel's belligerence. Ford then ended new aid to Israel until it became open-minded towards meaningful negotiations. An agreement was reached between Egypt and Israel on September 1, 1975 (1990, 151-152). The agreement "provided for an expansion of United States military and economic aid, as well as agreeing to supply Israel with the oil it would lose from giving back the Sinai oil fields (Miglietta 2002, 142)."

The Ford administration left problems with Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus unresolved. However, despite tensions between the United States and Israel during his administration, Israel became one of the world's most formidable armies.

### **Carter Administration 1977-1981:**

President Carter's initial foreign policy focused on human rights issues, bringing peace to the Middle East, and supporting détente. President Carter believed the Arab-Israeli conflict had been stalemated to long. He wanted to bring a peaceful end to the conflict before tensions sparked in the Middle East again, or the Soviet Union got involved in the situation. President Carter "stroved to have a peace that would be based on UN Resolution 242 of 1967 (Lenczowski 1990, 160)." The Egypt-Israeli tensions thus became a focal point for the Carter administration. President Carter invited Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat and Israel Prime Minister Menachem Begin to Camp David Maryland, where he would lead negotiations between the two nations. After several days of secret negotiations, a framework for peace in the Middle East, and between Egypt and Israel was signed. "The Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel" had several key principles: Egypt would regain full control of the Sinai peninsula; freedom of Israel's use of international waterways and overflights in previously restricted Egypt territory; Egypt and Israel would begin normal relations after signing a peace treaty. The Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty was signed on March 26, 1979.

During the latter half of the 1970's the United States' policeman of the Persian Gulf, the Shah of Iran was ousted from power and an Islamic fundamentalist became Iran's new leader the Ayatollah Khomeini. His Islamic republic caught United States foreign policy officials off-guard (Gerges 1999, 64). As leader of the new Islamic Republic of Iran, Khomeini confiscated

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private property, occupied private homes, changed women's dress, and redistributed wealth among the poor (Lenczowski 1990, 198). The impact of the Iranian revolution was seen throughout the Middle East region. "United States diplomats and embassies were attacked and burned in Pakistan, Libya, Kuwait, and Afghanistan (Gerges 1999, 66)." The Iran hostage crisis left them United States and Carter administration feeling frustrated and powerless. "The hostage crisis revealed an element of vulnerability in the United States and other democracies, demonstrating that terrorists' methods could be used successfully to achieve their objectives (Lenczowski 1990, 203)."

President Carter during the second-half of his term in office faced many challenges coming from the Middle East. The Iranian revolution, and Iranian hostage crisis were serious threats to United States national interests, but the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 was viewed as one of the biggest crises of the Cold War. The Soviet Union was impending on the Middle East and upsetting the sensitive balance of power in the region. If the Soviet Union could gain a foothold in the Middle East through conquering Afghanistan it potentially could gain access to the oil rich Persian

Gulf region. President Carter in his 1980 State of the Union Address espoused the United States foreign policy response to the Soviet Union's advance in Afghanistan. The Carter Doctrine stated: "Any attempt by an outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force (Ohaegbulam 1999, 41)."<sup>1</sup>

President Carter during his administration was deeply involved in the Middle East. However, his administration never developed clear foreign policy towards the Middle East (Gerges 1999, 68). The Carter Doctrine was aimed at the containment of communism, and United States oil interests not the Middle East. "In the American mind, populist, revolutionary Islam came to be associated with terrorism and the promotion of subversive activities (1999, 69). It is not surprising that with the foreign policy issues faced by President Carter he was replaced after one term in office.

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### 6-U.S. foreign policy after the end of Cold war:

#### 6-1- Clinton foreign policy, 1993-2001

In assessing U.S. policy toward the Middle East in the first two years of the second term of President Clinton, several conclusions can be drawn. First the clear-cut policy direction, evident in his first term of office, has now fallen into disarray. Second, while Clinton secured a number of Middle East policy successes during his first term, his second term has been marked by some significant failures. In the Arab-Israeli conflict, Clinton's effort to promote the peace process has run into serious problems as negotiations between Israel and the PLO virtually ended between February 1997 and September 1998, and the limited progress he achieved in the fall of 1998 in the Wye Agreement, which quickly ran into trouble, pales into insignificance when compared to the issues that still need to be negotiated between Israelis and Palestinians. While in Clinton's first term, Israelis and both Palestinians and Jordanians did most of the negotiating themselves, with the U.S. essentially standing on the sidelines as a cheerleader, during the American leader's second term the lack of trust between Arafat and Netanyahu necessitated a much more active role for the U.S. Yet the American effort, at least at the top level (President and Secretary of State) seemed disjointed. The newly appointed Secretary of State,

Madeline Albright, did not even make a visit to the Middle East until eight months into her term and then only after a series of terrorist bombings. For his part, President Clinton, apparently exasperated by Netanyahu's policies, publicly snubbed the Israeli leader during his November 1997 visit to the United States and then -- through Albright -- gave an ultimatum to Netanyahu six months later only to prove unable to enforce it. Given the history of high level U.S. activity in the Arab-Israeli conflict, something regional leaders have come to expect, Clinton's policy of apparent benign neglect followed by frenetic activity raised serious questions about U.S. policy, and the freezing of the implementation of the Wye agreement by Netanyahu in December 1998, despite Clinton's protestations, could only raise further doubts about U.S. policy capability.

If Clinton's policies toward the Arab-Israeli conflict have had, at best, limited success during the first two years of his second term, U.S. policy toward Iraq has been even more problematic, and the degree of success the U.S. achieved in its zero-sum game conflict with Iraq was, in large part, due to Saddam Hussein's mistakes. During this period U.S. strategy evolved from supporting UNSCOM, despite numerous infractions of U.N. resolutions by Saddam Hussein

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who sought in every way possible to impede the UNSCOM inspectors, to a policy of working with Iraqi opposition groups under the Iraq Liberation Act to overthrow Saddam, a policy that was stepped up following Clinton's decision in December 1998 to belatedly bomb Iraq. This action, while it was aimed both at weakening Iraq's WMD capability and striking at the major supports of Saddam's regime like the Republican Guard, also led the Iraqis to prohibit the return of UNSCOM inspectors. In an effort to demonstrate to the Arab world that the U.S. was only opposed to the regime of Saddam Hussein, not to the Iraqi people, the U.S. also pioneered the "food for oil" agreement, although the impact on the "Arab street" of this measure did not seem significant. Meanwhile, beginning in the summer of 1998 the Republican-led Congress began to urge Clinton to take ever stronger measures against Iraq, although several of these Republican hawks, like Senator Lott, did not choose to support Clinton when he finally attacked Iraq in December 1998 -- on the eve of the House impeachment vote. Fortunately for Clinton however, Saddam's heavy-handed attempts to overthrow opposing Arab regimes led to his isolation in the Arab world, while his efforts to belatedly challenge the U.S. and British planes in the no-fly zones of Northern and Southern Iraq led to the further degradation of his military capacity. Finally, his main ally on the UN Security Council, Russia, was far too weak economically and politically, let alone militarily, to take action to protect him. In the case of Iran, U.S. policy has had more of a mixed result. The old policy of dual containment pursued so strongly during Clinton's first term seems now to have been jettisoned with the U.S. now seeking to improve relations with Iran while keeping Iraq isolated. The U.S. embarked on a policy of rapprochement with Iran following the election of Mohamed Khatami as Iran's President in May 1997. Yet the policy of limited rapprochement, replete with positive oratory and symbolic actions by both sides, seems to have run its course and it remains to be seen if the U.S. and Iranian leaders, each of whom is beset by domestic opposition to the limited rapprochement, can push the process much farther. (Freedman 74)

### **6-2- George W. Bush foreign policy, 2001-2009**

Less than nine months into President George W. Bush's first term, the United States suffered the worst attack in the country's history. The attacks of September 11, 2001 on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington DC killed nearly 3,000 people, including 372 foreigners from 61 countries, demonstrating the ability for terrorists to launch overseas attacks in a globalized world. One hundred thirty-eight of the victims were from Latin American and Caribbean nations.

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Americans found themselves asking difficult introspective questions about U.S. foreign policy after the atrocities on that day. Why do they hate us? Was it the fanatical ideology of Muslim extremists or the basing of U.S. soldiers on sacred Muslim territory in Saudi Arabia after the 1991 Gulf War? Was it the support Washington provided for repressive regimes? Or was it the perceived unconditional support of Israel that somehow made the United States complicit for human rights violations in the Occupied Territories of the Gaza Strip and West Bank? Was it the sanctions against Saddam Hussein's government in Iraq that allegedly resulted in thousands of deaths from starvation as the Iraq government neglected its citizens? The President had another explanation. "They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other," he told a Joint Session of Congress just over a week after the attacks.

The fear in the corridors of Washington following the 9/11 attacks were of an impending second attack. For many, it was not *if* a second attack was coming but *when* it would come. Bush and his cabinet secretaries believed that to stop future attacks, the U.S. needed to go on the offensive, not remain in a defensive posture and wait for the attackers to appear. To be successful, Bush needed to be preemptive, to beat the terrorists to the next event. "We cannot wait for the final proof-- the smoking gun -- that could come in the form of a mushroom cloud," he said.

The 9/11 attacks prompted a quick change for U.S. foreign policy. The President formally unveiled his new national security doctrine at the June 1st, 2002 commencement ceremony at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. The Bush doctrine would draw upon elements of American primacy, assertive realism, selective multilateralism, and democratic transformation. It consisted of four core elements: first, a renewed emphasis on unilateralism, not multilateralism; second, preemptive attacks, if necessary, would be employed to protect the U.S. homeland and interests abroad; third, the promotion of democratic practices in the Middle East that would counteract extremist groups; and, fourth, the use of military force in lieu of diplomacy to protect Americans and U.S. interests.

Less than a month after the attacks in Washington and New York City, the U.S. launched its offensive against Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. The strange juxtaposition of Air Force strategic bombers flying overhead while U.S. Special Operations soldiers rode horses alongside Northern Alliance surrogate forces below indicated that 21<sup>st</sup> century conflict would be a mix of old tactics and new technology. In just three months, the U.S. and its coalition allies

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drove the Taliban from power and began a long, costly effort of nation-building effort in the country.

Paradoxically for a Republican president, President Bush foreign policy channeled a bit of Wilsonian idealism. Bush's discourse after 9/11 included lofty, liberal aspirations in which the U.S. would export American-style democracy and individual rights to the Middle East and Southwest Asia. In the President's perspective, it would make the governments of the region more responsive to citizens' needs and thereby subvert the recruitment propaganda of the terrorists. "Our nation's cause has always been larger than our nation's defense." He called the confrontation with Islamic extremists "the great ideological struggle of the 21<sup>st</sup> century." This newly established strategy was to be formally known as Bush's Freedom Agenda. Afghanistan and Iraq became the laboratories of the new experiment.

The Bush Administration also increased foreign assistance to help struggling governments who may be vulnerable to extremist ideology. Failing or weak states, such as Afghanistan, can become terrorist and criminal safe havens and might be pathways for the proliferation of dangerous weapons. On March 14, 2002, the President announced a significant increase in development aid for partner nations. To spread democracy through politically stunted countries, the President was intent on a nation-building effort that surpassed Clinton's efforts. On April 17, 2002, at the Virginia Military Institute, the President committed the United States to "lead the international effort to rebuild Afghanistan on the model of the Marshall Plan for Europe after World War II. Bush administration officials saw the Afghan assistance program as a catalyst that might lead to democratic reforms in neighboring Pakistan and Iran.<sup>2</sup> His administration established the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), an independent agency overseen by the Department of State and USAID, and promised to double the amount of overseas foreign assistance by 2004. Foreign assistance eventually tripled under the Bush Administration, from \$9.1 billion in 1999 to \$26 billion in 2008. "We must include every African, every Asian, every Latin American, every Muslim, in an expanding circle of development. By offering hope where there is none, by relieving suffering and hunger where there is too much, we will make the world not only safer, but better," the president said.

In Afghanistan, it worked. Temporarily. Less than two years later, perhaps flush with success from the victory in Afghanistan, U.S. forces invaded Iraq. Again, the initial conflict was over quickly; Saddam Hussein's forces dissipated into the Iraqi desert after being pounded by air

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strikes. However, the nation-building and security assistance programs in both countries proved frustrating. Government corruption, poor professionalism of the security forces, and a resilient enemy hindered much of the foreign development efforts of the Bush Administration. (Paterson 32-33-34).

### 6-3- Obama Foreign Policy, 2009-2017

Barack Obama's election as President in 2008 coincided with a multitude of complex foreign policy challenges. Security conditions in Iraq were fragile, the Taliban had reappeared in Afghanistan, and North Korea and Iran had continued to resist efforts to curtail its nuclear arms program. Public opinion polls strongly supported a withdrawal of U.S. forces and a more restrained overseas military strategy. After five years of violent struggle in Iraq without any apparent end in sight, a war weary public wanted to see less American adventurism overseas.

After mixed successes in Afghanistan and little return for its investment in Iraq, Americans were ready for a change in the foreign policy status quo. Political pundits encouraged a more selective U.S. foreign policy, what some called restraint and retrenchment. More accurately, the Obama foreign policy strategy was best described as "offshore balancing." The U.S. would withdraw from direct intervention in overseas conflict and instead rely on securing U.S. interests from outside the country. Obama would leave Afghanistan security problems to the Afghans and keep Al Qaeda from reconstituting itself with Special Forces and attacks from their. This would slow what many saw as the U.S. overstretch of the Clinton and Bush Administrations. The U.S. would pull back, be more selective in its overseas engagement, and return to the continental isolationism that was the trademark of U.S. foreign policy prior until 1945. Obama's campaign promises in the 2008 Presidential election included a promise to (1) end the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, (2) repair international relations damaged during the eight years of the Bush Administration, and (3) to comply with domestic and international law. Internationally, Obama's arrival was widely welcomed, especially by foreigners who had tired of President Bush's unilateral policies. Obama's Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, said "There is a great exhalation of breath going on around the world. We've got a lot of damage to repair." Just eight months after he entered the White House, Obama won the Nobel Peace Prize more for his embrace of multilateralism than for any significant accomplishment in his short time in office. The citation read, ". . . for his extraordinary efforts to strengthen international diplomacy and cooperation between peoples. Multilateral diplomacy has regained a central position, with emphasis on the role that the United Nations and other international institutions can play. His

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first National Security Strategy in 2010 promised, “we will seek broad international support, working with such institutions as NATO and the UN Security Council. With regard to international institutions like the United Nations, Hillary Clinton said that one of her goals was to “anchor [American alliances] in multilateral institutional regional organizations so that they would be there for the long run.”

Obama was a pragmatic internationalist who recognized the limitations of U.S. power overseas. Unlike his predecessor, Obama believed he could not rely principally on military firepower and hegemony to achieve foreign policy objectives. From his perspective, unilateralism was too risky, too costly, often counterproductive, and unattractive to many Americans weary of U.S. troops fighting and dying in two Muslim countries. “Since World War II, some of our most costly mistakes came not from our restraint but from our willingness to rush into military adventures without thinking through the consequences, without building international support and legitimacy for our action, without leveling with the American people about the sacrifices required,” he told West Point cadets in 2014. Obama would reject unilateralism, embrace multilateralism, rely on diplomacy and development as well as defense, and seek to improve U.S. relations with the Muslim world. A low-cost, light footprint approach, in his opinion, would generate less “anti-American sentiment, or anti-Israel sentiment, or anti-Western sentiment.”

An example of Obama’s promise to confer with the United Nations emerged during the Libya crisis in 2011. Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi launched a scorched earth campaign against his political opposition using mercenaries and indiscriminate bombing against civilian populations. Obama’s foreign policy team was reportedly torn.(Paterson,34).

### **7- 9/ 11 Terrorist attack**

On 11 September 2001, 19 terrorists on a suicide mission took over control of 4 passenger airplanes and used it as bombs on several targets in the United States. Two of the airplanes were used in an attack on the “Twin Towers” of the World Trade Center in New York, resulting in their total destruction. Another airplane was crashed into the Pentagon, the Headquarters of the US Ministry of Defense. The fourth plane crashed near Pittsburgh without hitting any particular target (possibly due to some resistance from crew members and passengers). This tragedy took the lives of 2,973 people (Goodrich, 2001). The attacks can be considered as one of the most horrible and tragic terrorist acts in the history of humankind due to the number of irreplaceable losses, as well as the level of impact it had globally. The cumulative loss in terms of rebuilding was estimated at 105 billion US dollars in 2001 (Goodrich, 2001).

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### 7-1-US foreign policy towards Muslim countries in the aftermath of 9/11attacks events:

The 9 /11 attacks forever changed the US relations with the Arab and Muslim world and have defined them for the past two decades.The terrible events of sept.11,2001 shifted relationships based on energy security , bilateral interests and the maintenance of Israel's military supremacy and made them largely about the goal of countering islamist terrorism .(Mina,2021) .

With regards to US relations with the Islamic World, the 9/11 attacks have created a new wave of anti-Islam movement in the USA and even other Western countries. More importantly these events led the US officials to believe that American policy in the Muslim world should include a commitment to deeper, more sustained, and better-coordinated engagement on the full range of issues upon which [they] agree and disagree. In fact, the events confirmed the importance of the Islamic World to US vital interests. Accordingly, the US policymakers came to believe that the deeper their presence, the more likely they were to achieve their objectives. This new approach has necessitated new US steps in engagement, significantly reorientating its foreign policy, and attempting to enhance involvement with the Muslim world.(Yazdani 42).

This section has presented the US foreign policy and has outlined How was the involvement of it in Islamic world dynamically affected by 9/11 events which has made a great change in international relationships.

## Chapter One: The American foreign policy

### Conclusion:

The Presence of the US in the Islam World since the cold war demonstrates why it has pursued different policies towards the Islamic countries. The importance of this Islamic world especially economic and strategic interests led it to take control all over and involve immediately, so to achieve a different needs and interests it follows a numerous policy during each presidential period. furthermore, the timeline of events 9/11 make a change and anew perspective in the international relationships. In other words, the US relationships with Arab and Muslim world will never be the same. All the Presidents' endeavors were in the same direction of achieving goals and being able to get rid of Communism and control of the world, especially the Middle East. In general, the involvement of Us in the Islamic world has strongly created a destabilization in the Muslim countries nonetheless internal conflicts.

**Chapter Two:**  
**US foreign policy towards the Islamic**  
**World**

## Chapter two: US foreign policy towards the Islamic World

### Introduction

US foreign policy has not kept a single policy towards the Islamic nations during and after the cold war.

American foreign policy has become stagnant and stubborn, as the politics and society of the Islamic World change, these changes have brought into existence new, unfamiliar policies from regime that rejected old alliances and demand new solution.

The United States needs a major change in approach if it is to maintain both its leadership and credibility in the Muslim World.

President Biden proposed different changes from that of the Trump administration in the Islamic World because Donald Trump represent Islam and Muslims in a negative manner, while representing himself as a very patriotic to the country.

### 1- An overview of the presidents Donald Trump and Joe Biden Policy toward the Islamic World

In 2016, then-candidate Donald Trump campaigned heavily on border security and immigration issues. He promised to build a border wall, rescind the Obama Administration's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, and enforce America's immigration laws. Many Americans voted for Donald Trump because of his immigration promises.

The contrast between Trump and Biden's immigration policies is stark. If Biden becomes President, expect a return to many Obama-era immigration policies.

Candidate Joe Biden intends to roll back immigration changes made during the Trump Administration. This would make a Biden Administration look much like the Obama Administration on immigration matters (Lora Ries October 21,2020).

In its first term, the Trump administration largely continued the coalition strategy laid out by the Obama-Biden administration, culminating in Iraq declaring the defeat of ISIS in December 2017.

The president of the United States Donald Trump represents a new dimension of US foreign policy after eight years of the Obama administration that sought equal partners around the global. He was expressed as an enemy to Muslims, with suggestions that his first priority as

## Chapter two: US foreign policy towards the Islamic World

president will be to attack Arabs and Muslims. Besides, Trump has been widely criticized locally and internationally for discrimination and against religion on most of his foreign policy. (Abdullah AYOADE)

It is additionally significant that Trump's election has not led to a significant growth in right-wing populist candidates, so it is notable that most elected Republican have chosen not to object to president Trump's anti-Muslim rhetoric.

On the other side, Biden's policy toward the Islamic World was based toward engaging the wider Muslim world. His opinion was based that America was not at war with Islam; that all religions share many "noble" ideas of justice, tolerance, and that people in different societies, regardless of race, religion, should be able to select their governments freely. (Emile Nakhleh)

Joe Biden voted for the Iraq War. He later lied about it, falsely claiming that he came out against the war "immediately, the moment it started.

Biden opposed President Trump's decision to kill notorious terrorist Qasem Suleiman, claiming it would cause a " major conflict across the Middle East. This major conflict never materialized. (October ,2022)

He pushed through the Iran Nuclear Deal, which supercharged Iran's ability to fund around the world and did not stop Iran for obtaining a nuclear weapon.

## **Chapter two: US foreign policy towards the Islamic World**

### **2- Comparison between the two presidents Trump and Biden in different Islamic region**

#### **2-1 Trump's foreign policy and its impact on US-Saudi relation**

Since U.S. President Donald Trump took office, he has yet to put forward a clear foreign policy framework for U.S.-Saudi relations. Instead, observers must wade through a bog of comments. Trump made his view clear that Washington should not offer free protection to Gulf states ( Rasheed March16 2017)

The relationship between the two countries has remained cozy throughout his administration. Earlier this month, Saudi Arabia's 31-year old Deputy Crown Prince and Defense Minister, Mohammed bin Salman, became the first Saudi royal to visit President Donald Trump in Washington since his inauguration. (Cafiero).

The delay was not unexpected. Amity between the two countries had grown especially warm under Trump and Saudi Arabia's. From his presidency, Trump cultivated Saudi Arabia and placed the kingdom at the heart of his Islamic World policy. (Saphora Smith)

There is no secret that the Saudis were thrilled to see Barack Obama's presidency end. Despite the last administration's military sales to the Kingdom, which at \$110 billion far exceeded those of any previous administration, and Washington's support for the Riyadh-led coalition in Yemen, the Saudis felt betrayed by Obama on numerous fronts. Unsettling for Saudi Arabia was Washington's calls on Bahrain's Sunni leaders to make concessions to the archipelago kingdom's Shi'ite opposition, U.S. support for former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's departure from power amid the country's "Arab Spring" uprising of 2011, Obama's reluctance to take decisive action against the Syrian regime in the Fall of 2013 following Obama's "red line" warning to Damascus, and the administration's diplomatic overtures to the Islamic Republic which manifested in the JCPOA's watershed passage in 2015.

The alliance between the United States and Saudi Arabia's absolute monarchy, however, has always built on a pragmatic bargain: The Saudi ensure a stable supply for oil for the global economy in return for U.S security guarantees.

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Trump's new administration's foreign policy has made Riyadh cautiously positive about Washington's shifting approach to Middle Eastern security crises. In Yemen, the U.S. is stepping up its support for the Saudi-led coalition's military campaign against the Tehran-backed Houthi rebel movements well as Salafist-jihadist actors, chiefly al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). The Trump White House's rhetoric on Iran has become increasingly aggressive, as most underscored by former National Security Advisor Michael Flynn's putting Iran "on notice". Beyond rhetoric, after Trump's inauguration the U.S. quickly imposed sanctions on Tehran for its ballistic missile testing and the president signed an Executive Order to ban Iranian citizens (and those from six other Muslim-majority countries) from entering the U.S., which, before the judiciary voided it, had received public and private support from some in the GCC (Trump's foreign policy and its interest on Saudi Arabia)

### **2-2 Trump's and its impact on US-Yemen relation**

The recent botched raid on al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula in Yemen is emblematic of Trump's governance style: bold, impulsive, and with a very certain disregard for consequences.

Trump's policies are best explained by a version of chaos theory, largely attributed to the work of chief political strategist, Stephen Bannon. The first weeks' policies seek to create as much chaos as possible, provoke a liberal backlash that discredits its participants and (so the theory goes) fully consolidate the support of Trump's base. For others, the first two weeks have been trial by fire, reflecting an untamed narcissistic desire to generate attention and affirmation, and made possible by creating an inner circle that has seemingly removed apolitical expert oversight. (Vinjamuri)

Among days of taking office, Trump had agreed to the Yemen raid. Even after a very thorough vetting, Obama had deferred a similar raid. Trump's decision on the raid came the day before he announced an executive order banning immigrants and refugees from seven Muslim-majority countries and just days before his dramatic reorganization of the

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National Security Council, which saw Stephen Bannon appointed to the Principals Committee and both the director of national intelligence and joint chiefs of staff chairman removed as regular participants.

The time when the US has made eradicating radical Islamic terrorism its number one priority, the consequences of such an obvious failure so early in Trump's presidency are likely to be considerable, raising fundamental questions about America's role in the Middle East.

President Donald Trump's Yemen approach appears to be clear break from Obama, his administration appears to view Yemen as more than just an opportunity to act against an increasingly strong al-Qaeda. Trump appears to be subscribing that Yemen's conflict is a proxy war reflecting geopolitical rivalries between the Iran and Saudi Arabia, a rival which is a conflict between Shia and Sunni Islam. (Happer)

### **2-3 Trump's foreign policy and its impact on US- Iraq relation**

U.S. troops are on their way out of Syria. In Afghanistan, a similar drawdown, perhaps even a permanent exit, is in the offing as peace talks with the Taliban continue. On February 2, U.S. President Donald Trump turned his attention to a third crucible of conflict in the region.

President Trump's focus in Iraq has been through smart power, an approach that stresses the need for robust military presence and invests in political relationship to expand influence and establish its legitimacy. Trump's focus in pursuing US interests in Iraq while curbing Iran, despite focusing on US troop withdrawal, Trump will maintain US involvement in Iraq and contain and deter threats to US interests in Iraq. (Chinar)

### **2-4 Trumps foreign policy and its impact on US- Iran relation**

US-Iranian relations have entered a phase of uncertainty after the election of Donald J. Trump, who has pledged to revoke the nuclear states and Iran during his campaign, as the US President.

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The debates about possible changes in domestic and foreign policy are proceeding with the results of the presidential elections leading to Donald Trump's triumph that has been highly contentious across the United States and contrary to the expectations of many observers. Trump's harsh criticism of Barack Obama's foreign policy during his election campaign, his declaration of implementing significant changes in this area, and especially his determination to tear apart the nuclear deal. (Uygur)

The Barack Obama administration's policy of engagement with Iran has been undone by the Donald Trump government. Various factors influenced both strategies including internal and external enablers and constraints that are part of any foreign policymaking process. (Trumps policy towards Iran)

### **2-5 Trumps foreign policy and its impact on US- Afghanistan relation**

Although considerable security, political, and economic progress has been made in Afghanistan, much remains to be done to attain long-term stability and extinguish the Taliban insurgency. In this respect, while the conflict in Afghanistan is no longer consistently in the public eye, it remains of great importance to the United States. Going forward, U.S. policy should aim to protect the integrity of the Afghan state and, toward that end, attempt to end the conflict in ways that mitigate the threats of terrorism, instability, and conflict in the region. (ASHLEYJ TELIS JEFF EGGERS)

US President Donald Trump's new 'Afghanistan and South Asia' policy identifies Pakistan and India as key players but ignores or minimizes other influential regional actors with vested interests in Afghanistan, including China, Russia, Iran and Saudi Arabia. Unless the US better integrates their interests, any regional approach to Afghanistan's stability and security is unlikely to succeed.

US president Donald Trump's new Afghanistan strategy for America's longest war has potential to drastically alter existing regional relations. He attempts to give a new direction for future US involvement in Afghanistan, trump's Afghanistan policy has been well-articulated and appears to address the contemporary realities by taking account of past inadequacies (Akshay).

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### **2-6 Trumps foreign policy and its impact on US-Palestine relation**

Israelis and Palestinians have clashed over claims to the Holy Land for decades, a conflict that has long been one of the world's most intractable. Although the United States is a strong supporter of Israel, it has traditionally tried to advance a diplomatic solution that would reconcile the competing claims of the two parties.

Multiple U.S. administrations have proposed road maps for a peace process that would result in two states, one Israeli and one Palestinian. However, critics say prospects for a two-state solution dimmed under President Donald Trump, who implemented controversial policies regarding core components of the conflict. Though the Joe Biden administration has reiterated U.S. support for a two-state solution, it has reversed only some of Trump's changes while leaving others in place, including the decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital (Robinson)

During his campaign for the presidency, Trump adopted a very strong pro-Israel position- not exactly unusual for ambitious American politicians. He promised to move the US embassy to Jerusalem (William).

As well as, during his controversial presidential campaign he made a number of statements that suggest Trump voiced his ambitions to succeed where so many people before him had failed. He would like to bring peace to the Islamic World, his wish is to settle the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Raphael)

### **2-7 Trumps foreign policy and its impact on US-Morocco relation**

The outgoing US President Donald Trump recognized Morocco's sovereignty over the disputed Western Sahara in exchange for Morocco normalizing relations with Israel.

Donald Trump's unilateral decision to recognize Morocco's sovereignty over the contested territory of the Western Sahara was a game changer in the decades-long conflict. While inconsistent with international law, paradoxically, it could open up a way for international actors to press Morocco and pro-independence Sahrawi's to negotiate a lasting political solution. (Werenfels)

### **3-1- Biden's foreign policy and its impact on US- Saudi relation**

President Joe Biden and Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman took a step to mending their troubled relationship with a fist bump, but the U.S. leader left the kingdom on Saturday with few big successes and doubts as to whether the visit was worth it.

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Biden's four-day trip to Israel and Saudi Arabia, his first to the Middle East as president, aimed to reset ties with the Gulf Arab oil giant, demonstrate U.S. commitment to the region and counter the rising influence of Iran, Russia and China. (Renshaw)

During his presidential campaign, Biden made several promises among them he promised to treat Saudi Arabia as the “pariah” he considered it to be. His trip to Saudi Arabia was motivated by two main goals: convincing Saudi Arabia to increase its oil production and creating a NATO-like Arab-Israel air defense alliance. In fact, Saudi Arabia did agree to open its air space for Israeli civilian planes in exchange for the recognition of complete Saudi control over the islands of Tiran and Sinafi(Hesham)

### **3-2 Biden’s foreign policy and its impact on US- Yemen relation**

When Joe Biden included ending the war in Yemen as a key goal during his first foreign policy speech as president, he was breaking with his predecessors. Donald Trump had backed the Saudis and Emiratis, even using a presidential veto to stymie a congressional attempt to end U.S. involvement in the war. When Mohammed bin Salman, then Saudi defense minister, launched his military intervention in Yemen 2015, Barack Obama decided to provide assistance — a Faustian bargain aimed (unsuccessfully) at tempering Saudi criticism of the Iran nuclear deal. Biden’s decision to prioritize Yemen by appointing a special envoy — as well as reversing Trump’s designation just before leaving office of the Houthis as a foreign terrorist organization — raised hopes that a greater emphasis on diplomacy from the U.S. might finally move the devastating war towards resolution. Yet almost eight months later, little has changed (Sheline)

### **3-3 Biden’s foreign policy and its impact on US-Iraq relation**

The White House meeting between President Biden and Iraqi Prime Minister Mustafa al-Kadhimi was primarily framed around the future of U.S. military forces in Iraq, but in addition to the destabilizing threats of ISIS and Iran-aligned militias, Iraq is also struggling with a deep economic crisis and need for significant political reforms. Ranj Alaaldin details Kadhimi’s efforts to address Iraq’s interconnected crises and how the U.S. is still critical to Iraq’s future. (Adrianna)

Having gone through the same failed policies of three consecutive US presidents since 2003, many Iraqis are cautious about expecting much from the upcoming Biden administration. The Iraqi Kurds are probably the most optimistic about his presidency. They

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hope he could be” America’s most pro-kurdish president”, given his past statements on Kurdish statehood and ties with Erbil’s leadership(Alkinani)

Iraq’s Sunni Arabs, who once denounced the US occupation because of their marginalization on the political scene, are now in favor of a US military presence against the enormous Iranian influence. Biden’s willingness to expand the deployment of US troops will probably be welcomed by Sunni Arab political circles.

### **3-4 Biden’s foreign policy and its impact on US-Iran relation**

Shortly after major U.S. news organizations called Joe Biden’s victory in the 2020 U.S. presidential election, eighty-one-year-old Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who has been ruling the country since 1989, issued a characteristically harsh statement:

“The situation in the US and what they say about their elections is a spectacle! This is an example of the ugly face of liberal democracy in the US. Regardless of the outcome, one thing is absolutely clear, the definite political, civil, and moral decline of the US (Sadjadpour)

### **3-5- Biden’s foreign policy and its impact on US- Afghanistan relation**

Dozen years ago Afghanistan was sliding into carnage. The Taliban, who had scattered back into their villages after the American invasion in 2001, had regrouped and were launching attacks daily on American forces. America was split. President Barack Obama argued that Afghanistan’s elected rulers, though deeply flawed, were much better than the jihadists they had replaced, and should be protected. His vice-president, Joe Biden, wanted to draw down troops, leaving only a small counter-terrorist force. Biden lost the argument; an extra 17,000 American troops flew into Kabul to prop up the government. (Apr 15<sup>th</sup> 2021)

Biden is president, he faces a similar dilemma. The Taliban are as strong as they have been since 2001. The Afghan state, backed by America and its NATO allies, is tottering.

The Biden administration’s decision to withdraw all US troops from Afghanistan by September 11, 2021 is a wise strategic choice that took significant political courage. The administration correctly assessed that perpetuating US military engagement in Afghanistan has become a strategic liability and a futile investment that lost the capacity to alter the basic political and military dynamics in Afghanistan. The basic wisdom of the administration’s decision is the realization that perpetuating US military engagement

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would not reverse these dynamics and that US military, financial, diplomatic, would be better spent on other issues, even the administration made some serious tactical mistakes in its announcement. (Vanda Felbab)

### **3-6 Biden's foreign policy and its impact on US- Palestine relation**

While it is still early, there have been numerous moments where the Biden Administration has had an opportunity to weigh in on matters relating to Palestine. In each situation, these positions suggest there is little reason to expect significant change from the decisions of the Trump Administration when it comes to America's policy toward Israel/Palestine. (Muayyer)

Last May, over a working lunch with the Palestinian President, Mahmoud Abbas, at the White House, President Trump vowed to broker the final, elusive phase of the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians. "It's something, frankly, maybe not as difficult as people have thought over the years," the new President opined. Trump said that his Administration had a "very, very good chance" to get it done. "And I think you feel the same way," he told Abbas. The Palestinian leader responded, "We have hope." He praised Trump for his "courageous stewardship, wisdom[and] negotiating ability." (Wright)

### **3-7 Biden's administration and its impact on US- Morocco relation**

The Biden Administration does not have a clear or articulated "Mediterranean policy," at least — to be fair — not yet.

This is partly because the Mediterranean is not a high priority for this new administration, which would demand the President's overall attention, but rather it falls between several state department and defense department regional bureaus — e.g. Europe, Near East and Africa for the State Department, and EUCOM, CENTCOM and AFRICOM for the Pentagon — and it is impacted by various and often disconnected policy baskets (Salem)

### **4-Trumps Term in his first year towards the Islamic World**

Before he took office in January 2017, Trump had vowed to dismantle the Iran nuclear deal, one he regularly called the "worst deal in history indicator of his Islamic World policy was his attempt to dispel Iran's influence the biggest foe of Israel and Saudi Arabia". He travelled to Saudi Arabia to galvanize support against Iran's activities in the region, leading to a crisis between Qatar and Gulf countries. He also announced that he would broker the "ultimate deal" between Palestine and Israel, putting an end to the decades-long-term US policy on the conflict in regards to a two-state solution. (Taskomur)

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### Trump's term in his first year towards the Islamic World

If Donald Trump defies the odds and wins a second term, the next four years will likely be more disruptive to U.S. foreign policy and world affairs than the past four have been. Think of his reelection as a pincer movement, an attack on the international order from had two sides. Trump will consolidate his control over the institutions of government, bending them to his will, removing any lingering resistance from the Republican Party. Meanwhile, by confirming that the United States has rejected its traditional leadership role, a second Trump term would make a lasting impact on the world right when it is at a particularly vulnerable moment. U.S. alliances would likely crumble, the global economy would close, and democracy and human rights would be in rapid retreat. (Wright)

### 5- Prediction of Biden in the next three years

Biden came to office promising to restore America's world role. In a *Foreign Affairs* article, he had written, "I will take immediate steps to renew U.S. democracy and alliances, protect the economic future, and once more lead the world."

Expectations about Biden foreign policy were also bolstered by the presence of a deeply experienced foreign policy team and by the fact that Biden himself, with thirty-six years of experience as a senator followed by eight years as vice-president, came to the presidency with more foreign affairs background than anyone since George H.W. Bush in 1989. (Lieber)

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### **Conclusion**

US efforts to fight terrorism, promote democratic change, and improve America's image in Muslim countries are insufficient because they do not pay attention to the religious debate in the Muslim world. Policymakers should take into consideration differences among Muslim states and societies, as well as the varying degrees of religious sensitivity. The history of US policy towards Muslim societies shows that America has not pursued a specific policy. The US engagement with Islamic World was strongly affected by the events of 11 September 2001 which changed the international context, with a direct and profound impact on its foreign policy in Muslim societies. The administration of Biden in the Islamic World has inherited the Trump administration's policy, but it is more of a change. Judging from the current information available, it is difficult for the United States to leave the Middle East, and it is also difficult for the United States to make greater achievements and breakthrough progress in the Middle East

# **General Conclusion**

## **General conclusion**

The foreign policy of the United States is the policy by which the United States deals with foreign countries. Among the goals of the United States is to create a secure and democratic world for the American people. The United States has had a greater impact on the world.

This study focuses on the US foreign policy towards the Islamic world before and after the cold war. The Islamic World was important to the United States for several reasons, first the large oil and gas reserves of this area could play a significant role in the US industries. The second one, which is the most important, was the strategic location of the region.

United States and Soviet Union were trying to gain a temporary advantage in many regions: including the Islamic World. In the other hand, with the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 ended the cold war. This left the United States as the only superpower in the global system.

There are views in the age of post-cold war, among them the neo-isolationists, which suggested that the United States pay more attention to its domestic issues.

US policy toward the Muslim countries in the wake of the cold war has been formed in the theory of “clash of civilization”, which included the clash between the Islamic World and the west in general and the US in particular. The US engagement with the Islamic World was strongly affected by events of 11 September 2001.

The president Donald Trump restores his anti-Muslim rhetoric both before the presidential election of America (2016) and after to reinforce the shared conception of America identity with his people. Researchers concluded that Trump intentionally uses a dehumanizing perspective for Muslims to create a façade that Muslims are invading America and have measure to take against them. He represents a new dimension of US foreign policy after eight years of the Obama administration that sought equal partners around the globe. He was known as an anti-Islamic figure. His nomination exposed his stand as an enemy to Muslims. His victory has resulted in massive political implications for Arab and Muslim societies.

President Biden proposed a Middle East policy different from that of the Trump administration in the 2020 American Presidential Election. Biden declared that he would correct Trump's mistakes in his campaign press release.

The Biden administration puts more emphasis on values such as democracy and human rights in allied relations, not only because of the change in Biden’s diplomatic philosophy, but also because of the value of human rights as a tool in foreign policy.

The Biden administration announced that the 2,500 American troops stationed in Afghanistan would be withdrawn by September. Unlike prior presidents who considered and then failed to end America’s longest war, president Biden stuck to this commitment. He said that he cannot and will not ask American soldiers to “fight on endlessly in another country’s civil war.

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## ملخص

تعرف السياسة الخارجية عموماً بالقواعد التي يطبقها زعيم الدولة لتحقيق مصالحها، مثل الولايات المتحدة، فقد اختلفت السیادات التي اعتمدها مختلف قادة الولايات المتحدة، من فترة إلى أخرى، ومن رئيس إلى آخر. من خلال هذه الدراسة نحاول توضیح السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه العالم الإسلامي، والرئيسین الأمريكيین دونالد ترامب وجو بایدن بشكل خاص، من خلال تسليط الضوء على ما تناوله اتجاه دول العالم الإسلامي.