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**Donald Trump isolationist doctrine "America first": A case study
of the US withdrawal from Afghanistan.**

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Dedications

To my family,

My friends,

My loving parents, Ahmed and Fatiha Benziane,

My brother and my lovely sisters,

Yasmine

To my beloved parents, Mekkari Lamri and Allag chahira,

To my husband Oussama Baaloudj,

To my beloved sisters and brothers, Roumaissa, Wiam, Younes, and Mohammed.

Imene

Abstract

The US 2016 presidential elections brought Donald Trump as the 45th US President. Although the latter has been criticized of his personality and foreign intervention in manipulating the US elections, President Donald Trump has been identified of his doctrine; namely, „America first“. As a matter of fact, Trump’s Doctrine focused on amending and reconstructing the US domestic affairs, rather than focusing on foreign issues. The primary issue of in Trump’s doctrine „America first“ was resolving the issue of the US presence in Afghanistan. After fighting Al Qaeda and the Taliban there under the global War on Terror for twenty years, the US administration, under the direction of President Donald Trump, held peace talks and negotiations with the Taliban which resulted in the US withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2021. The present paper attempts to analyze Trump’s isolationist Doctrine „America first“ and how it affected the US decision of withdrawing from Afghanistan after twenty years of fighting terrorism there. In addition, the study highlights the implications of the US withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Key words: Afghanistan, War on Terror, Donald Trump, America First, US withdrawal.

List of abbreviations

CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CVD	Chemical Vapor Deposition
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation.
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force.
GSP	Good Scientific Practice
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
NSA	National Security Agency.
OODA	Observe, Orient, Decide, Act Approach.
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder.
TPP	Trans-pacific Partnership
UN	United Nation
US	United States
WOT	War on Terror.
WTO	World Trade Organization
WW1	World War One

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General introduction

1. Background of the study :

9/11 terrorist attacks had been the deadliest, bloodiest, and the most horrible event in the US history. Moreover, they were the most successful tactical attacks in the history of Al Qaida's terrorist activities, Al Qaida's original location was in Afghanistan and it had a strong relationship with country's controlling militia of Taliban. It is worthy to mention that Afghanistan had suffered a tragically violent history it considered as the most alarmed places in the world.

The global War on Terror started when the US invaded Afghanistan, since the Taliban refused to hand over Osama Bin Laden to the US authorities to face justice for their responsibility in 9/11 attacks. In reaction to Taliban's refusal, George W. Bush, US President, declared the War on Terror, by and ordered the US troops to start invading Afghanistan to fight Al Qaida.

In regard to the War on Terror, the Bush doctrine emphasized the use of unilateral power and preemptive war to fight the adversary into his own soil and to avoid any imminent attack from individuals or any group that may threaten the US security. The use of unilateral power in the US strategy made it able to react independently. In addition, this was reflected in the US National Security Strategy which emphasized that „we will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary to exercise our right of self-defense by acting preemptively against such terrorists, to prevent them from doing harm against our people and our country“ (Bush, 2002)

In 2002, Bush argued that Iraq possessed Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), and the Iraqi regime had links with Al Qaida, and; accordingly, the US invaded Iraq, a year later. The US president assumed that the invasion was necessary to preserve his nation and his people from

any threat on their security. Furthermore, he believed that the destruction of Saddam's regime would prevent terrorist groups; mainly, Al Qaida from attacking the US.

President Obama announced the end of the war on terror he tried to fix the relationships between the US and Islamic countries and to help the suffered countries from the strategy of the war on terror, Obama believed that the offense is good defense, and in protecting and keeping the rule of law rather than using power as bush did before, otherwise the united states would be a similar state of lawlessness, he announced the withdrawal of US forces from Iraq, he choose to negotiate with terrorist organizations rather than sending military forces to them.

This study attempts to analyze Donald Trump's doctrine and how brought a shift in the US foreign policy criticizing the precedent policies and strategies in War on Terror. The Trump Administration aimed to make the US greater through the famous „America first“. Trump believed that the US under Obama lost a lot of financial and economic capabilities on uninteresting issues that did not bring benefits to the US. In contrast to Obama's policies, Trump increased the number of US troops in Afghanistan in order to bring end to the war in Afghanistan, as he promised in his electoral campaign. However, after no noticeable achievements had been achieved against the Taliban, he realized that the US reached a final stage in the conflict. He ordered an official and direct US-Taliban negotiations.

However, Trump believed that there is no negotiation with terrorists, in February 2020, the US and the Taliban signed an official treaty which (1) ended the war in Afghanistan, (2) provided that the US should withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, and (3) the Taliban should prevent Al Qaida from exercising in Afghanistan. By doing so, President Trump implemented his isolationist doctrine. Trump's isolationism ended the war which lasted for 20 years in Afghanistan by holding peace negotiations that led US withdrawal from Afghanistan.

2. Statement of the problem:

After his success in 2016 US Presidential elections, Donald Trump became the 45th US President. Among his promises were to end the war in Afghanistan, which lasted for 20 years. Accordingly, it was time to think about the US and how to make it great again. His strategy was extremely different from his predecessors. Although he ordered the increase of US forces in Afghanistan, but he declared to hold official negotiations with the Taliban, major actor in Afghan political scene, which ended in signing a peace agreement and complete withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan. The main purpose was to stop Taliban from providing a safe haven to Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups.

In fact, the US withdrawal from Afghanistan illustrated Trump's isolationist doctrine which was criticized by many policies ended the war in Afghanistan, which costed a lot to the US and affected its economy.

Taking into account the US invasion of Afghanistan, the focus of this research is to analyze the main causes and origins which lead America to declare war against Taliban and occupied Afghanistan, in addition to that it highlights the measures taking in the war on terror and how the president bush use unilateralism of power and after two years the preemptive war to grant the security of his people and country, moreover it tackles with the isolationist doctrine of trump and how he was able to end a great war which was labeled as endless war in the history, also it focus on the principal causes that helped in the withdrawal of the American forces,, brought them home and signing treaties to bring peace with the hope that may change radically the situation of the alarmed Afghanistan government.

3. The literature review:

Isolationism established with the aid of the US president James Monroe posted on 2 December, 1823. This coverage based totally on non-involvement in Europe affairs and non-interference in current colonies in the western Hemisphere, in addition it averted Europe from interfering in the troubles or the independence of its nation at the equal time America would now not intrude in the European one as well, America appeared for non-involvement in Asia, middle east conflicts and non-entanglement in European dilemmas.

Isolationism commenced as an act to the horrible consequences of WW1, 17 million of death and 20 million wounded. The US entered the battle to forestall all wars round the world in 1917. After the give up of the WW1 Warren Harding was elected as a new US president. He known as back his approach and promised its people to remain away from the global issues and focal point on its inside situation, American isolationist desire to continue to be away and refuse to enter in the state league even though it proposed to create it. The US administration centered on home economic issues through supporting business growth encouraging industrial expansion, imposing tariffs on imported merchandise and limiting immigration.

From Trump's view in his speech during campaign press conference in Washington D. C. on March 21, 2016. His interview prompted by Times „David E. Sanger,“ Trump explained what he meant by the idea was that his administration would prevent other nations from taking advantage of United states. his policy was focusing on America interests and protecting his people he highlights on domestic issues rather than focusing on international

one, he applied isolationism doctrine to get his purpose he started with immigration by reducing the immigrant flow in the US, he focused on large companies and industries and reduce tax to them, not only this he prevented them to install their companies in other places. Trump worked to bring the stolen chances from Asia and China. he assumed that after the several wars and problems with terrorists America should think about its own economy and how it can develop its internal status rather than interfering in other issues and the problems of nations, and this would happened only if America reduced the obligation of protecting allies in NATO, not Only this he fought terrorism and increased the military forces in their home like Afghanistan, Iraq and the Middle east in order to protect his country especially after the horrible event of 9/11 attacks.

Going to CNN News when it made a live at 9.10 am during the inauguration of the new president Donald Trump. He assembled with his people to present a new vision of his country.

His aim is to be heard in every place in the world, his land will be gathered only under the term America First. The taken decisions in every aspect of life will be based on US interests, and its people benefits.

Katelyn Oglesby from Gettysburg college entitled her research paper under” the Trump Doctrine. America First, not exceptionalism.” Started with an introduction comparing the new president Donald Trump and the previous one Barak Obama, talking about their foreign policies.

The so-called “Trump doctrine” formed his policy over the last four years including but not his “America first” mindset. She emphasized her view depending on other researchers:

Michael Anton was one of them who described as a mindset of “let’s all put our own countries first” (Anton 2019) he argued that: it is unnecessarily and abnormal thing to put our interests and benefits on the top, thinking about our countries is nothing to be ashamed of because it will help us to make all people safer and more developed.

Other researchers claimed that trump’s doctrine is not similar to Monroe Doctrine, Denial Larson is one of them he said that there is no Trump doctrine.

Wright Thomas says that the trump doctrine reflects much of the president’s personality, he assumed that the best way to understand Trump’s foreign policy is to understand his psychology, his way of thinking, he believes that studying his administration will do nothing.

According to Max Fisher the aim behind Trump’s foreign policy is to reduce America’s role in the world. His slogan „America First“ is the exact point to break America and bring problem to the global order of this country.

Mc Nally Richard (2012) Are we winning the war against posttraumatic stress disorder? This article downloaded from Harvard university’s Dash repository, in this article the author mentioned the main results of the Afghan war on the American army, the outbreak of war in Afghanistan and Iraq prompted dire predictions about its likely psychiatric consequences. He provided that 30% of troops might develop posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). In short, this article investigated what war in Afghanistan costs the US especially the horrible events and permanent threat of death on the psychology of troops.

Bruce Riedel,2014. What we won America's secret war in Afghanistan, 1979- 1989 the author tells the story of America’s secret war in Afghanistan and the defeat of the Soviet 40th Red Army in a struggle that proved to be the final decisive battle of the Cold War. Riedel introduces and explores the different personalities a better against each other. The Afghan communists, the

Russian Afghan mujahedeen, the Saudis, the Pakistanis, and next there are the Americans in this war. In 1989, the American side of the cold war was the winner. Turning back now we can see that the global jihad started in Afghanistan since 198p. This book studies lessons from Afghan intelligence operations, while it also proves what come next in Afghanistan.

John M. Blackmar in his thesis in the field of international relations which is titled the spread of terror: A Geospatial analysis of civilian attacks in Afghanistan, 2001 to 2015. In 2018 Harvard university, this work talked the situation of Afghanistan and its tragically history and how it was marked among the most volatile places on the planet, the researcher provides in his study the invasion of America especially the NATO led and his contribution in preventing or reducing the spread of terrorism in the many provinces of Afghanistan. This study investigates many significant factors in creating modal of civilian attacks.

4. Research questions and hypotheses:

- How Trump's Doctrine was implemented?
- Was the US withdrawal from Afghanistan primarily associated with Trump's Doctrine „America First“?
- What implications will the US withdrawal from Afghanistan have on US Foreign Policy and Afghanistan?

5. The significance of the research:

Since 1839, Afghanistan was a place of wars, there was no stability or independence, the tribes of this country were fighting each other in order to control . There were many domestic problems women were enjoying no rights, they couldn't even survive without men. The domestic problems in Afghanistan helped the Soviet Union to invade it in order to make this country a peaceful place. With the rise of Russian invasion and communism a group of

Mujahedeen established their own system to protect their sharia and Islamic law. They grow up faster , they worked with united states in order to make Russia withdraw from Afghanistan. After a long fighting they claimed their purpose and communism finished in Afghanistan. Jihad was centered in Pashtun and was as a step to stop the overlapping of communism in Afghanistan. In1989 the soviet forces withdrew and Afghanistan become free .

After the Russian withdrawal from Afghanistan, Afghan leaders had problems in protecting their country which led to a civil war the thing that make Afghan fighters who known by Mujahedeen established a movement named The Taliban. They saw the previous government that controlled by the Soviet Union as a threat and would spread corruption to Afghans, to them this government was weak. The Taliban was seen as the best solution for safety.

Officially, on September 11,2001 terrorist groups attacked US and caused 3000 killed. Taliban and Al-Qaida made a series of terrorist attacks operation in the US. The American president George W. Bush asked the Taliban to hand over Al-Qaida leader Osama Bin Laden to the US to face justice. Not only this, Bush asked Taliban to stay away from terrorist planning and organization. Or they will get the same result like Al-Qaida will. On other side Taliban refused the American request. They welcomed bin laden in their lands and declared that America had not enough evidences about this terrorist attacks.

In the same year, the US made a coalition with European nations hoping to prevent terrorism from expanding more to other countries. On October 7,2001 the the US war in Afghanistan started with the coalition with other nations the war was about hunting down Osama Bin Laden, however the US invoked women`s rights as a justification for the occupation. Not only this European organizations as well reinforced this invasion under protecting, developing women and

made them independent. Terrorism was the biggest threat to the whole world especially the dominated and the powerful countries.

The US and Russia have endured major terrorist attacks by Islamist extremists and remain under threat of further terrorism, although specific groups target the two countries for particular reasons. There were no links between extremist networks that attack each country. Al Qaeda had displayed consistent interest in acquiring nuclear weapons, exploring opportunities for such acquisition in former Soviet Union and other parts of the world. Al Qaeda operative have engaged in terrorist attacks against the US and have encouraged attacks in Russia as well. In addition, Washington and Moscow shared concerns about the potential impact of terrorism in other regions, especially in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and central Asia.

The US dropped down forces in Afghanistan weeks after 9/11 attacks. By the coming of Donald Trump and his isolationist doctrine to presidency he noticed that America had spent over 8 trillion dollars for the invasion in Afghanistan, and lost many soldiers. According to Trump slogan “America First” trump declared that its time to other countries to take the responsibility of terrorism and the reconstruction of Afghanistan because it is time to focus on America interests only and highlights on the American economy. US and its allies have agreed to make a deal with Taliban in Doha this agreement called Doha agreement, it focused on The withdrawal of all American troops from Afghanistan , and to bring peace to it.

The present research is designed to investigate how America had ignored its slogan - “No negotiation with terrorists “- and signed a deal with Taliban knowing that it considered it as a terrorist organization. America had occupied Afghanistan in order to prevent terrorism. This study tackled to find out whether America achieved its declared purpose or no, and whether there are strategies or plans after the US withdrawal from Afghanistan.

6. The purpose of the research:

What inspired us to research this topic is our intention to show the long history of Afghanistan's people with violence, invasion, wars, and terrorism. Not only this, this dissertation attempts to highlight the impact of Donald Trump's Doctrine and its contribution in the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan.

The present Research is entitled under Trump isolationism doctrinal America First. The withdrawal from Afghanistan as a case of study. This study emphasizes on the isolationism of the US President Donald Trump and how it helped the US to withdraw from Afghanistan. This study highlights how Donald Trump implemented his doctrine America First in order rebuild the US and make it stronger again. Moreover, the present research highlights the history of civil wars and political instability in Afghanistan and the rise of the Taliban as a new key actor in the political scene of Afghanistan. Lastly, the research describe the US invasion in Afghanistan shortly after 9/11 attacks, and how the Taliban rose to resist the US invasion and obliged, at the last resort, the US administration to start official negotiations in order to withdraw from Afghanistan and end the war in Afghanistan.

The present research has been conducted in order to achieve the purpose bellows:

- To give a political definition of Trump isolationist
- To confirm the damaged results that occurred after 9/11 attacks in America
- To reveal the sad history of Afghanistan and show their suffer from wars especially soviet invasion, the Civil War between its leaders, the rise of Taliban and their horrible lows, the US invasion and its problem with terrorism.

- To give strong evidence against terrorist attacks and show it danger especially after killing 3000 people in USA
- To describe how Trump helped his country to negotiate with Taliban in order to bring peace, safety to USA and Afghanistan.
- To show how the US foreign policy changes its interests and focuses on increasing the global security.

7. The research methodology:

A descriptive route is pursued to achieve the objectives of the present study. Using what, where, when and how questions, the overall aim of descriptive research is to accurately and systematically describe a situation, or a phenomenon. In a descriptive research design, researchers can use a wide variety of research methods to investigate one, or more variables. However, a researcher does not control, or manipulate any of the variables, but only observes and measures them.

The present Research attempts to analyze to history of the US president Donald Trump and his isolationist doctrine, it tries to give a descriptive visions about how trump won the election of 2016 and what where the most important promises he focuses on under the slogan America First. Also, the present dissertation attempts to analyze and describe Trump's isolationist policy and how it was implemented in Afghanistan so as to withdraw the US troops from there.

The research design used in this research took its form; particularly, from the available resources; such as, articles, books, web- sites, and public records. Additionally, the present research uses qualitative historical research design which highlights on the history of Afghanistan

since the Soviet Invasion in 1979. The Civil War which broke out in 1990, shortly after the end of the Soviet- Afghan War, is taken into account, and; finally, the US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, as a primary stage in the War on Terror.

Basically, the research design in the present research is used to describe 9/ 11 attacks and how they contributed to changing the US foreign policy at a global scale. added to that, the research design describe the War on Terror and what were its impacts on both US and Afghan relations. Moreover, it describes the rise of the Taliban and how President Donald Trump implemented his isolationist doctrine to withdraw from Afghanistan.

The aim behind this design is to verify, confirm, and bring available resources to evidence this research and make it strong and worthy to study. In addition, this research design is used to synthesize evidence from the past to establish facts that defend, or refuse the hypothesis of this research.

Going to the tools used by researchers in this study, the researchers rely on analyzing documents, dissertations, and books to understand the main point that it deals with, hearing records; such as, Donald Trump's speeches during the 2016 electoral campaign to understand his promises in order to give a pure declaration and strong evidence to his hypothesis.

8. The structure of the dissertation:

The present research is entitled Donald Trump isolationist doctrine "America first": A case study of the US withdrawal from Afghanistan. It focuses on describing the US invasion of Afghanistan (2001- 2021). In addition, it seeks to highlight the main causes and origins of the war on terror from bush doctrine until Donald trump isolationist doctrine. Through this work the researchers intend to explore how the isolationist doctrine of trump was able to end a war that spent 20 years in Afghanistan which was called as endless war, and brought the American

military forces homes. Moreover, they highlighted the results of that invasion and the main causes of its withdrawal, also they tackled with the signed agreement between Taliban and US to bring peace which contained the major conditions to take out Afghanistan from the circle of terrorism and to grant success of completely withdrawal of US forces process.

The first chapter describe the isolationist doctrine of trump. First of all, the researchers in the present chapter, began with a brief biography and analyses of Donald trump personality and how did influence his principals and orders at his administration. Moreover, researchers examined the electoral process of Donald trump and the obstacles he faced, and how he won after the harsh competition with Hillary Clinton and other competitors, in addition to that they highlighted an overview of trump isolationist doctrine and how it represented a fundamental deviation from the US mainstream over the last forty years or more, taking in consideration its main pillars and elements that achieved to grant the effectiveness and the application of his promises of America first strategy.

In the second chapter, the researchers described the US invasion and its main causes. They analyzed the 9/11 attacks which was the most successful, tactical terrorist attacks in the history of Al Qaeda, and how since the independence of the US in 1783 they had been the deadliest, bloodiest, and the most horrible event in the US history. Moreover, they discussed the war on terror and it was considered as a reaction to the terrorist attacks of Al Qaeda in 11 September, after the refuse of Taliban to give the leaders that were directly responsible for those attacks. Also, the highlight the successful operation of US troops in chasing the most danger terrorist person in the world, the leader of Al Qaeda Osama Bin laden. Moreover, the researchers explained the rise of Afghan resistance and how jihad movement were planned and spread in Afghanistan with the leadership of Taliban.

Lastly, the researchers discussed the US withdrawal from Afghanistan and how trump's isolationist doctrine were the main cause of that withdrawal, when trump recognized that America did not benefit anything from that invasion rather than the huge amount of financial loses and human damages in addition to the bad view of the world on America. They highlight the impact of the war on terror in which they dealt with how was the rise of unique US foreign policy toward global terrorism and the rise of islamophobia, then the non-resolution of several world crises. They also analyzed the Doha agreement and how negotiations to the peace agreement were made, and what were the basic terms of that convention and they tackled with its results which were the completely withdrawal of NATO and US troops, closing of US military bases in Afghanistan and repeal of US economic sanction on Afghanistan, on the side of Taliban they dealt with point that Taliban must forbidden the terrorist individuals and groups including Al Qaeda, that threat the security of America and its allies from using or entering the Afghan land or to be supported by them.

Chapter One: Overview of Donald Trump's isolationist doctrine:

Introduction:

The US richest, businessman Donald Trump is described as populist, protectionist, isolationist, and nationalist. During his electoral campaign, Trump made many promises: He promised to make America great again, to protect America from illegal immigration, and to focus on strengthening the US economy.

The present chapter focuses on analyzing Trump's isolationist doctrine based on recent studies stating from 1823 till Trump's period. Added to that, this chapter highlights the pillars and principles of Trump's doctrine.

1.1. Donald Trump: A short biography:

Donald John Trump born on June 14, 1946 is an American billionaire businessman and media personality who has no idea about political life declare his ambition to be the next Us president in 2015 , he considered among the richest businessman in the world , he managed, and authorized his name to several properties comprised some 500 companies, containing hotels and resorts, residential properties, merchandise entertainment and televisions in the new work city and around the world, the famous to television personality was not satisfied to be called only as economic man but he also marked his name as political man, Donald Trump entered the American policy,¹ in 2000 he published his book, *The America We Deserve*, in which he talked about his political and economical vision of America future and his plans to develop and make America great again.²

Trump's political position have been described as populist, protectionist isolationist and nationalist, he participated in the American presidential election in 2016 as a republican and was elected in unexpected win in November 8, 2016 over democratic nominee Hillary Clinton regardless of loosing the popular vote, his winning was a big surprise to the American people because they were expected and loved Hillary Clinton.³

The US 45th president is hard to understand his personality, either as a Candidate and a president, Trump has appeared as a funny, hyperbolic, and sometimes ambivalent political leader. Donald trump is a controversial public character because of his unprecedented personality he is knowing by his aspiration, open minded, spontaneity, and even aggressive person, he is described that he has the capacity to express his kindness and munificence. Politically speaking, the 45th

¹ Duignan, B. (August, 2022). „Donald Trump.“ Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from:<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Donald-Trump>; para1.

² Duignan, B. (August, 2022). „Donald Trump.“ Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from:<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Donald-Trump>; para5-6.

³ Donald Trump.“ (August, 2022). Miller center of public affairs. University of Virginia. Retrieved from: <http://millerCenter.org/president/trump> para. 2

president have the desire to be seen as the magnanimous leader of his population specially he also proficient at modulating to his public, this justified why trump reacted energetically when media showed that fewer people were presented in his instating then Obama's.

He also described as narcissist, cussed, and nervous person the thing that affected negatively to his political career and justified his harshness with media, he use his smartness in relationships with others and influence their behaviours to act according to his needs and ideas.

The president Donald Trump has unbelievable will to win, fly-high to reach more than the top, he can hurt whoever challenging him and broke all the barriers in front of his success, he has no tolerance in his dictionary. In short, this character is mentally unstable, suffering from multiple personality disorders.

1.1.1. Electing Donald Trump as US President:

In June, 2015, Donald Trump announced his intention to participate in the US Presidential election as a Republican nominee against Hillary Rodham Clinton, the Democrat nominee. The main objective of Donald Trump was to make the US great again as a global power. He promised the US citizens to bring a new vision to America through rebuilding the country. In addition, he made other promises in relation to immigration and commerce. On other hand, Hillary Rodham Clinton, the Democrat nominee, announced in her agenda, that she would fight terrorism and rebuild the US again. At last, it was Donald Trump who was elected as the 45th US President.

1.1.2. Electoral process of Donald Trump:

Since 1980's, Donald Trump, a US businessman, started participating in US Presidential elections. However, his nomination was rejected. In 2016, he succeeded to attract the US citizens after publishing his book *America we deserve*. In June 2015, he announced his participation, and he became a Republican nominee for the 2016 US elections. Donald Trump raced against Hillary

Clinton who was a Democrat nominee and has had experience in US government, since she exercised many functions, most notably Secretary of State during the Obama Administration.¹

During his electoral campaign, Trump promised to make America great again. He promised the US citizens a new vision of the US will be born. Additionally, he promised his people that every decision on taxes, trade, immigration, and foreign affairs will be made only for Americans only. He declared that:

Your voice, your hope and your dreams, will define our American Destiny. And your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us Along the way. Together will make America strong again. We will make America wealthy again. We will make America proud again. We will make America safe again. and yes together we will make America great again.

In the previous lines, Trump was sending a message to US citizens to help each other, stay one hand together, do good things to each other in order to help America to rebuild itself again and make it great again. Trump started his electoral campaign by suggesting to build a great wall on their southern borders with Mexico and forcing it to pay for that wall. Trump assumed that immigrants who came from Mexico were bad and had a lot of problems in their country and when they come to America, they will promote drug consumption. Thus, the only solution to protect America's people is to build that wall. He stated in one of his speeches:

¹ Britannica. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/event/withdrawal-of-united-states-troops-fromAfghanistan> para1

This is tragic reality of illegal immigration on our southern borders. This is the cycle of human suffering that I am determined to end. My administration has presented Congress with detailed proposal to secure the border and stop the criminal gangs, drug smugglers, and human traffickers. It's a tremendous problem.¹

Trump assumed that illegal immigration from Mexico can bring problems; such as, drugs, human trafficking, crimes, and more and the only solution to prevent these problems coming to America by building a wall in the Mexican borders and fighting immigration. Other promise in Trump list included prevention of other countries to enter the US and stop immigration. He aimed at making the US safe and focus on its interests in different domains economically, socially, and politically. In addition, Trump promised the Americans to attack China and retrieve all the manufactures.²

Contrary to Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, a Democrat nominee, focused on health care, rights for women under the slogan *I am with her*, expending equality between USA people. She said:

We heard trump last week, he wants to divide us from the rest of the world, and from each other, we will not build a wall, instead we will build an economy where everyone wants a good job can get one, and we will build a path to citizenship for millions of immigrants who are already contributing to our economy, we will not ban a religion we will work with all Americans to fight and defeat terrorism

¹ „President Donald J. Trump“s Address to the nation on the crises of the Border.“ (January, 2019). Retrieved from:

<http://Trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-adress-nationcrises-border> para. 9

² Salvatore, B. (September, 2016). Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, and China. Al Jazeera. Retrieved from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/09/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-china->

If you believe that every man, woman and child in America has the right to affordable health care Join us, if you believe that working mother, wife, sister or daughter deserves on equal pay Join Us. That's the country we are fighting for.¹

In the above lines, Hillary Clinton tried to gather the American people and explain to Trump that isolating America would do nothing to make it great again, she declared that America needs a sufficient economy from all people. Building a wall and stop immigration will not make America strong. She promised her people to stop and defeat terrorism but not by banning a religion. She welcomed anyone can help in the development of America no matter where was he from.

When the elections were held, Trump lost the popular vote to Hillary Clinton she became the first woman to win the publican vote in the US. She entered the US history and became the first woman and lady who won the public office seat in 2016 Nevertheless this result, Donald Trump became the 45th president of America his wining was a surprise. Everyone in USA predicted the winner would be Hillary Clinton yet she lost the Electoral College with 304 votes to Trump. One of the factors that led him won was he followed what it called *OODA LOOP strategy* and applied it on US people which based on: *observation, orientation, decision, action*, and then *looping back* to observe again². This strategy was developed by Col. John Boyd, a military strategist. Trump observed what US citizens were interested in, then he oriented these issues to decide what to prepare as a suitable message that fitted with to act on them. These actions would be design to capture the media news attention as a last step he would immediately loop back to observe how

¹ Salvatore, B. (September, 2016). Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, and China. Al Jazeera. Retrieved from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/09/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-china160914114803166.html>

² Gingrich, N. (June, 2017). Understanding Trump. (1st Ed.). Nashville, NY: Hackett book group. pp. 50-53

his supporters reacted about his messages¹. Not only this OODA loop back helped Donald Trump to recognize his candidates, he used to stay calm and observe the candidates' speeches on stages and media as well, at the same time he used to figure out their weakness and strength in order to avoid them by bringing new ideas that they didn't mention before.

Moreover, other reason that enabled Donald to win the 2016 elections was media coverage. As it is known to all when someone participates in elections the TV advertising take a large part in their process, normally every candidate had his consultants that bring strategies to him and to apply his ideas that he wanted to achieve, they would go to use TV ads in order to spread the planned ideas, the surprise here was Trump had no consultant he unless was his own one. He gets benefits from his face book even his tweeter accounts as a main vehicle for media coverage, he trained his account to cover his ideas and his messages to help him to win. Other reason that enabled Trump won was The Anti-Washington appeal to white-working class voters outside major cities in pivotal manufacturing, not only this Donald became the president of united states because of Hillary Clinton secret email scandal. Before few months of Election Day, more than 80 emails that contained governmental issues and affairs were published from her personal private service. FBI opened an immediate investigation about it and blamed Clinton how could this happen, before the election Clinton was accused conspiring against the American government. Her problem considered as the most topic on media coverage.²

Trump got benefits from this situation and asked the US people how could they trust with a woman cheated her government? The doubt entered the people and became more confused about her especially after her trustworthy and honesty was questioned. Hillary apologized and said it

¹ Gingrich, N. (June, 2017). Understanding Trump. (1st Ed.). Nashville, NY: Hackett book group. pp. 56-7

² Zahra, F. (June, 2018). The impact of feminism on the American presidential election campaign the case of Hillary Rodham Clinton. Published Master dissertation. University Mohammed Boudiaf, M'sila. Retrieved from: <https://dspace.univ-msila.dz:8080/xmlui/handle/123456789/7817> .P.P 46

was in compliance with federal laws and state department regulations and should not be considered as a federal crime. According to Clinton, some factors contributed to her loss was, as she claimed that “I lost the presidency because of sexism, the media Comey, racism, xenophobia, Russia, the democratic national committee, misogyny, Obama, senders, wiki leaks, the electoral college and polling date¹.

In the above statement, she mentioned the reasons behind her lose such as; racism, her sexism. Being the first woman who participated in US election and if she won, she would be the first US woman President, it would be abnormal and bizarre for a strong country like the US to be ruled by a woman. Other reason was the Russian interference in US elections. According to FBI, CIA, and NSA, Russia interfered in the 2016 US elections in favor of Donald Trump by publishing her secret emails and made US people feel that she did not deserve to be the next president. Moreover, Russia used intelligence operations and cyber- attacks to control the electoral process from Moscow and break into the computer system of Democrat and Republican organizations to publish the stolen information to destroy Hillary Clinton’s campaign and support Donald Trump, her rival („Intelligence Report on Russian Hacking,” 2017, pp. 1- 2). This plan; in fact, worked well and helped Trump to be elected as the 45th US President on November 8, 2016. In 2017 Robert Mueller opened an investigating about a possible cooperation between Russia and Trumps” campaign. However, after two years of searching the files, Mueller submitted his findings and results to the Department of Justice, declaring that there was no evidence to prove this cooperation. Otherwise, he did not deny the Russian interference in 2016 US elections²

¹ Fisher, K. (May, 2019). Russian interference in the 2016 United States presidential election. The university of Texas at Austin pp. 1- 2

² Intelligence Report on Russian Hacking.” (January, 2017). The New York Times. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactivr/2017/01/06/US/politics/document-russia-hacking-report-intelligenceagencies.html>. , pp. 1-2

1.2. Trump's Isolationist Doctrine:

In its broadest sense, isolationism means preventing a country, or a power, from interfering, or exercising influence in other nation's issues. In addition, the term means avoiding foreign alliances and conflicts. Historically, this doctrine was founded by James Monroe, the ex- US President. It was based on non- involvement in European and non-interference in existing colonies in the western Hemisphere. In contrast, Trump's isolationist doctrine was based on protecting US interest and US citizens. He focused on domestic issues rather than seeking involvement in foreign issues through his famous slogan America First .

1.2.1. Overview of Trump Isolationist Doctrine:

It is hard to find a single definition to describe what isolationism is; however, it is seen as a national policy which avoids political or economic entanglements with other countries¹ In other words, when a nation isolates itself from other countries politically and does not enter in its entire issues, this is a state of isolationism. It is; then, a strategy to prevent the involvement in European issues and non-interference in colonies. In purest form, it is a nation's total retreat from the world stage. The term; however, usually describes a policy of noninterventionist: avoiding foreign alliances and conflicts, and waging war only if attacked². The isolationist policy can affect positively; such as, maintaining a nation's autonomy, preventing innovation and new ideas from entering a country and benefitting them.

Historically, isolationism was founded by James Monroe, the ex- US president, who initiated this policy through the Monroe Doctrine on December 2, 1823. The US President based his

¹ „Isolationism.“ (November, 2019). Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from: <http://www.britanica.com/topic/Isolationism-foreign-policy> , para. 1

² A brief history of America.“ (June.2016). The week Staff. Retrieved from: <http://theweek.com/articles/627638/brief-history-American-isolationism> para. 1

³ A brief history of America.“ (June.2016). The week Staff. Retrieved from: <http://theweek.com/articles/627638/brief-history-American-isolationism> para. 2

doctrine on two important elements: non- involvement in European affairs and non-interference in existing colonies in the Western Hemisphere. Preventing Europe from interfering in the issues, or the independence of its nation, at the same time the US would not interfere in the European one as well. The US citizens looked for non-involvement in Asia, Middle East conflicts and nonentanglement in European dilemmas. According to isolationists, interference focused only on the American continent aimed to protect the US economy and trade and population³

In his farewell address, the US President George W. Bush advocated to stay away from European problems, wars, and political conflicts. The geographical position helped it to practice what is known by “free security” and kept away from the ancient problems of the old world. Other wise during the WW1 the rise of the wars, conflicts led President Woodrow Wilson made a case for U.S. intervention in it, and a U.S. interest in maintaining a peaceful world order. Isolationism started as an act to the horrible consequences of WW1 -17 million dead and 20 million wounded-, the US entered the war to prevent all wars around the world in 1917. After the end of the WW1, the US held a new president called Warren Harding back to its strategy and promised its people to stay away from the global issues and focus on its internal situation, American isolationist preferred to stay away and refuse to enter in the nation league even though it proposed to create it. The US worked on its domestic economy by supporting business growth encouraging industrial expansion, imposing tariffs on imported products and limiting immigration¹.

WW1 caused terrible losses in Europe and obliged Europeans to rely on themselves to stop the war’s catastrophe and rebuild their economic. Although in 1941 the situation changed in which

¹ Isolationism and U.S. Foreign policy After WWI. Published research paper. Retrieved from: <http://online-norwich.edu/academic-programs/resources/isolationism-and-us-foreign-policy-afterworld-war> para. 5

its interest was needed to defend Europe and be an essential part during the WW2 the thing that helped to rise the relationship between the US and the international community. The US wanted to open door for US economy and expend its trade toward Asia they worked to develop the “Good neighbor policy” in order to improve relation between Latin American nations, they needed raw materials, different resources in the world and they wanted to sell their material product as well to other nations, the US supported capitalism and free trade, they believed that the government would protect the trade with other nations not controlling them. Going back to president Donald Trump and his achievements during his presidency, his policy was forcing on America interests and protecting his people he highlights on domestic issues rather than focusing on international one, he applied isolationism doctrine to get his purpose he started with immigration by reducing the immigrant flow in US, he focused on large companies and industries and reduce tax to them, not only this he prevented them to install their companies in other places. Trump worked to bring the stolen chances from Asia and China. he assumed that after the several wars and problems with terrorists America should think about its own economy and how it can develop its internal status rather than interfering in other issues and the problems of nations, and this would happen if the US reduced the obligation of protecting allies in NATO¹.

Trump fought terrorism and increased the US troops abroad in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Middle East. Trump’s isolationism looks clearly different. Trump’s policy of isolationism is based on selfishness, caring only about the US. He worked only to decrease immigration, banning

¹ Panda, I. (October, 2020). Isolationism in America: From the 1930 to Modern Times. Retrieved from: <http://Ivypqnda.com/essays/isolationism-in-america-from-the-1930-to-modern-times> ,Para 4-5

Muslims from entering the US, and competed with China in economic and trade issues. He used force and aggressive strategy to make the US regain its strength.¹.

1.2.2. Pillars and principals of Trump's Isolationist Doctrine:

In the last of 2017, the US policy declared its new strategy that replaced the one of 2015. Donald Trump, US President, brought his new policy which was different from the one used by his predecessor, Obama. It is unprecedented one which focus particularly on the domestic sphere in order to make US great again. This strategy favored US fusses under the concept of „America First“ and rivaling rather than collaborating, based on Four pillars of (1) Protect the country and the way of life, (2), Prioritize the flourish of the country, (3), Preserve the peace by force, and (4) Promote the US world-wide influence, interests and values.

These four pillars are related by cause-effect relationship, the first two principles are focused on the domestic sphere they begun mainly from the convective that to have a powerful America you have to begin by having an internal strength, because only with a strong economy and safety at home you can think of protecting peace through force and promote American influence in the world, thus it is necessarily that the first two pillars faced the third and the fourth one.

1.2.2.1. Protect the American country and the “American way of life”:

No one can deny the fact that American strategy benefited of a interconnected world however , its enemies took advantages of its free and democracy to hurt it for example; north Korea advance abilities that threaten millions of Americans, also china stealing intellectual property and Russia interfering in the political process or putting its infrastructure at risk critics, because of all these reasons, borders have to be controlled and the immigration system fixed which would have to litigate illegal spouts , protected critical infrastructure and fight state and non-state actors that

¹ Panda, I. (October, 2020). Isolationism in America: From the 1930 to Modern Times. Retrieved from: <http://Ivypqnda.com/essays/isolationism-in-america-from-the-1930- to-modern-times> para. 6

benefits of cyberspace to make campaigns against economic, political and security interests from America remotely without passing borders. In the defense system, missile defense would preserve the country against any attacks. Also, the strategy put all its efforts to stop the mass destruction weapons, and focused to hunt terrorists in their centers, thus they do not even reach the American lands. This last derives from the seek for the promotion of the resilience of people, their capacity to resist and quickly recapture from the deliberate attacks, accidents, natural catastrophe and threats to its economy and democratic regime it stressed that the concept of resilience has become a strong principle in the field of national and international security.

Resilience accepts the probability of disorders and crises, it is no longer about seeing “if something happens”, but about to resist and sustain when happens rather than promising a total security, which is impossible to present in the current and complex security environment.

In March 2018, the Russian president declared that his country able to out fox VS missile defense system, thanks to the technology of their nuclear weapons they have. And lest there be any doubt, it successfully launched a new hypersonic missile. The US strategy announced an announcement and action that can be considered as reaction to efforts in anti-missile defense. In the other hand the US military commanders have warned that china has one of the more dynamic and varied anti-missile program, in this program the arsenal was supported by mobile intercontinental ballistic missile, they developed them towards hypersonic capabilities that made avoid US anti-missile systems.

What should be recognized is that the technological development of these two powerful countries pose a risk to range that these developments could give the chance to other rivals to improve a more developed weapons.¹

1.2.2.2. Prioritize the prosperity of the country:

During Donald Trump presidency, he shared his goal to make America great again and this will happen if the administration rejuvenates its economy. Thus, the nation be more competitive with other nations. He focused on completeness with china and discussed again the dual agreements that effected on US competitive, the pillar two is dealing with enhancing the economic side of the country, in which can bring benefits to American workers and American companies as well, the strategy is based on the idea that administration is hereditary a nation with less productivity, low jobs creation employment. It promised to reduce regulatory barriers, promote tax reform, improve infrastructures that contain energy and digital ones and reduce the public debt by restricting federal spending. The tax reform applied to attract the multinational and large companies by reducing tax from 34% to 21%, it also affected on US large companies to bring a numerous benefit to USA. For example, IBM and Apple companies were bringing back the capital generated to USA and they were not allowed to deport their companies outside of the nation.

The US would increase the investments in factory products that would benefit smalls projects. In infrastructure side trump considered it as the main part to improve his country, to him poor state of transportation, low communication networks can damage the USA power, he invested 1,000\$ to 200.000\$ mixed between the federal coffers and public-private partnership which become “incentive program”. Trump hoped to keep the infrastructure investment and increase it

¹ Encina, C., L. (April, 2018). La estrategia de seguridad nacional de la Administración Trump. Real instituto elcano.pp.9-10.

to 1, 5 billion dollars in next 10 years. Not only that, after trump's coming to White House, he looked to withdraw from the TTP -The Trans-Pacific Partnership is a trade Agreement, signed on February 4, 2016 between the US, Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, and Vietnam because it diverted resources from US in which would affect on the competition with China and would this last be more powerful and would grow its economy. Here, he was with the idea that the TTP damages is greater that the benefits obtained.

In addition to that, in order to increase and simulate the US economy again he focused on US energy dominance in both production and innovation. The US natural resources will make America have energy independence and make it giant in export of hydrocarbon. These energy resources will be exported to European nations that depend on single energy supplier; Poland was one of these countries he declared his will to takeoff its risk of being hostage by a single energy supplier. As a result, he signed a five-year contract with polish company PGNIG to supply Poland liquefied natural gas from US. Trump signed two important orders the first one is to open the Dakota access and XL keystone pipeline, the second one is to open the opportunity to find domestic metal of subsoil that help to reduce dependence on imports of hundreds of essential raw materials. Also, Trumps highlighted in this pillar on the climate change. On December, 2018, he signed the law of National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) which authorized \$740 billion in military spending. He stated that „Climate change is a direct threat to the national security of the US and is impacting on the stability of eras of the world where the forces us navies are operating, and with strategic implication for future conflicts.¹

¹ Encina, C., L. (April, 2018). La estrategia de seguridad nacional de la Administración Trump. Real instituto elcano , pp. 10- 5

In the above lines, Trump considers the climate change as a serious threat to the USA national security and resources preparations in addition to the endangering dozens of military bases with the rise from the sea.

1.2.2.3. Preserve peace by force:

Trump's isolationist doctrine argued that peace would be preserved by strength and redevelopment of the military in way to remain permanent, dissuasion enemies, and if it is needful be able to struggle and win once again.

It is worthy to mention that after the old war America was the strongest in the whole world, Washington enjoyed for more than two decades uncontested military domination. In addition to that the favored thing was the small finance and the low price militarily in comparative with this strength. However, America had faced very hard period which was a period of this investment in defense because of the very difficult military and geopolitical challenges more than any other time. It coasted too much on US military priority, many of crisis had appeared with Washington's decreasing margins of superiority and making gap between obligations and abilities. Despite the increasing criticism of the immediate situation of the American army , the fact is that the us is still dominant and far superior to other countries; however, there has been a danger because it's power is not enough to "grand strategy "and it's wanted international order .the new strategy focused to modernize the US armed forces by increasing its quantity and improving its capacities in order to be able to face any threats from the competitors of America the main three groups Russia, China, and north Korea. Russia and China have very strong and huge military advance the thing that led America working on itself to fulfill the balance or being the strongest in order to be ready for wars against China and Russia, from other side to control lower intensity and the highly technological battles.

In recent years, its emphasis has placed on the need to invest in research and development, while it still keeping a side the idea of increasing the size of the military force that it would probably be invested in innovation, modernization and acquisition rather than in prioritize increasing the size of the force.¹

➤ Nuclear capacity:

US nuclear weapons had notable decreasing in quantity, quality and types in the US arsenal specially in the last forty years, while other adversaries such as China, Iran, and south, north Korea had a regarded advance. In 2010, the Obama administration certified the latest nuclear posture review with the declared goal not only reducing the number of nuclear weapons and given up building new ones. In trumps administration there was a different way, nuclear weapons would be used only in extreme emergency such as strategic non-nuclear attacks against the civilian population, cyber-attacks against critical infrastructure and large-scale conventional attacks.

In addition, Trump had rehabilitated submarine-launched cruise missiles, as well as the construction of low-load tactical weapons, all this concentrated on the growing rule of nuclear choices in Russian military doctrine, especially its policy of de-escalation, Moscow's violation enters mediate nuclear forces treaty (INF) and the growing nuclear capabilities of China and North Korea and nuclear terrorism. Thus, the posting of the response to changes in security conditions world. It is worthy to mention this important point to avoid any possible nuclear confrontation. To avoid miss calculation America made conversation with other nation in order to establish the relationships that might be able to diminish from nuclear dangers.

¹ Encina, C., L. (April, 2018). La estrategia de seguridad nacional de la Administración Trump. Real instituto elcano. pp.16- 9.

➤ Space:

The administration of trump focused on the strengthen space of capacities, because it is an appropriate environment to the military and economic interests due to the communication through satellite, space policy needed to look like weapons dissuasion strategy nuclear. The strategic message that Washington wanted to send to the world was that if the best approach to avoiding war was being prepared for it. The new department of trump wanted to ensure that the nation was ready to struggle again the competition in all field without forgetting space.¹

Promote the US world-wide influence, interests, and values:

The US influence in the world had been enhanced due to a world that supported US interests and reflected its values that made US safer and more flourished. Moreover, to promote in the influence of the US, it was needful to start by making wealth and generating strength at home. After the establishment of the America domestic stability and safety, the strategy paid attention to weak state declaring that the political problems were the root of fragility of several countries. despite the explicit rejection of multilateralism, the strategy announced that America continued as a leader of multilateral organizations to preserve their principals and interests, from a side this control brought advantages for every one and on the other side, not doing so would be detrimental to the US because there was a competition in the international organization, they were also obliged to protect its dominion and improve its interests and values. So, it was not able to abdicate its leadership in the international organization and also in order to avoid the benefit of its competitors.

This pillar emphasized the importance of having allies as power for the US. Despite the traditional partners it gave importance to the new countries which had the desire to be close to the

¹ Encina, C., L. (April, 2018). La estrategia de seguridad nacional de la Administración Trump. Real instituto elcano. pp. 20- 1.

US, because they are fragile nations seeking for security and advance. moreover, it favored those states that aligned with its national interest.¹

1.2.3. Elements of Trump's Isolationist Doctrine:

After the US elections were held in 2016, the US foreign policy witnessed a new shift in its strategy that was announced by the new President Donald Trump. Being unprecedented and different from the previous ones, it represented a fundamental deviation from the US main stream which focus on making the US great again and a global power under Trump's famous slogan America First.

1.2.3.1. Trade policy of Donald Trump's Doctrine:

Donald trump's trade policy represents a fundamental deviation from the US main stream over the last forty years. This radicalism composed not only in its unilateralism, but also in the systemic nature of its ambitions. Execution of Trump's trade promises will be reviewed in the same order in which he provided them in Monessen. The first point expanded to examine postwithdrawal relations with other states that parleyed the TPP. The second point will be developed by giving a general view of trade policy formulation in the Trump Administration. The third point will be widened to deal with all relations and agreements that the US excepts from with TPP countries and China. Trade relations with NAFTA countries will be discussed, too. Trade relations with China will be covered, with focus on currency manipulation. Finally, intellectual property and US relations with the WTO will be examined.²

¹ Encina, C., L. (April, 2018). La estrategia de seguridad nacional de la Administración Trump. Real instituto elcano. pp. 24- 6

² Gibbon, P & Vestergaard, J. (May, 2022). „Unilateralism in practice: implementation and effectiveness.“ JSTOR. Retrieved from: p. 43 <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep17382.7>

➤ **Withdrawal from the trans-pacific partnership agreement:**

As soon as he began executing his duties as a President of the US, Donald Trump withdrew from the twelve- nation trans-pacific partnership agreement without further reference. Trump's intention was obviously to rise US influence power over certain TPP countries with which it lacked pre-existing free trade agreements. As result, this left American Trade with six of the states who had discussed the TPP enduring to be guided under the rules of pre-existing free trade agreements, including NAFTA. In addition, the US prioritized and focused on Japan for negotiation of a free trade agreement; however, its suggestions in this regard have so far been rejected.

➤ **Appointment of trade negotiators and reconstituting trade policy- making:**

Trump's second promise was to hire a team of professionals who could agree with his agenda and apply his schedule assertively and effectively. Light Hizer was the head of this cadre; he worked in the transition team since November 2016, and gave his advice in choosing other members. Its three senior members were professionals and specialists who shared Trump's views on China and trade litigation. The head of this cadre has also been a consistent unilateralist critic of the World Trade Organization. Trump's trade program emerged to drive growing bipartisan backing. This has certainly helped isolate the department from the open antagonism of most trade lobby groups to its policies.¹

In July 2017, new political scheme launched by Democrat leaders in congress titled by "A Better Deal". It contained a specific section for trade policies and jobs promised to suppress foreign states that tamper trade rules and punish companies that outsource US jobs:

¹ Gibbon, P & Vestergaard, J. (May, 2022). „Unilateralism in practice: implementation and effectiveness.“ JSTOR. Retrieved from: p. 44 <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep17382.7>

- Nomination of an independent prosecutor of trade who would control and challenge injustice practices by strange countries, for instance China ..., without relying on the world trade organization approach.
- Renegotiation of NAFTA to insert controls on coinage jugglery and digital trade, to make discipline strong on state-owned corporations and subsidies, also introduce disciplines on work and the environment into the main convention.
- The obligation of defining the coinage manipulation in USA law as a government imposition of countervailing duties.¹

➤ **Identification of trade agreement violations to end abuses:**

The third promise of Trump was to recognize and finish infringement of trade conventions by the US's trading partners using agencies and all obtainable materials. The US has started rising number of CVD and AD inquiries, two safeguarded realizations, the first for several years and out of cycle reviews of the competence of four states for its trade preference agenda. Furthermore, using a more systematic approach to study GSP competence in general. IN addition to that the USA has also used bilateral negotiations to put south Korea in compression that led it to renegotiating KORUS and Mexico into de facto willing inhibition on its sugar exports.

➤ **Renegotiation of NAFTA or withdrawal if Mexico and Canada disagree:**

Trump's fourth promise was to review and discuss the North American Free Trade Agreement or withdraw from it, if there were no benefits to the US favor. The US hardly raised its requests to Mexico and Canada on government procurement and basics of root. Moreover, it made totally new orders on clothing and textiles, poultry and dairy, conflict adjustment, and renovation of

¹ Gibbon, P & Vestergaard, J. (May, 2022). „Unilateralism in practice: implementation and effectiveness.“ JSTOR. Retrieved from: p19
<http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep17382.7>

NAFTA. In fact, these demands looked explicitly impossible; the thing that suggested that they were put in order to oblige Canada and Mexico to reject. Thus, the US found an excuse for its secession: the convention now looked to have no scope in future, but Mexico and Canada preferring to make these negotiations a little longer.¹

Light Hizer launched his own statement declaring first that, Mexico and Canada rejected rules that already agreed in the trans-pacific partnership on anti-corruption digital commerce and telecoms. Second, with serious tone, he claimed that their partners had no intention to make changes that may help in rebalancing and reducing in big trade deficiency after several years of one-sided advantage their corporations have. Moreover, he mentioned that hugely dependent on exports to the US cannot long carry on unless with balance also it was analogical for America to keep encourage and guarantee US corporation to monopolize in Mexico and Canada for export to the US for most. Light Hizer concluded his statement with implicit threat, „we should take all the time between now and our next round to reasonably assess what can now be done to arrive at a balanced, modern agreement.

➤ **Labelling China a currency manipulation and taking sharp counter-**

measures: The next move President Trump had to deal with was to cite China for coinage manipulation and transact with this by using tariffs and taxes. In April 2017 there was the US treasury report stated that China stops trying to make the value of the renminbi in foreign reciprocity markets.

Trump took responsibility himself for making China behave although the USTR is still having the idea of containing sections forbidding coinage manipulation in the bilateral trade agreements of the US, Trump's first president timed to include new CM programs in trade treaties.

¹ Gibbon, P & Vestergaard, J. (May, 2022). „Unilateralism in practice: implementation and effectiveness.“ JSTOR. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep17382.7> : pp. 44- 5.

➤ **Bring trade cases against China:**

The sixth promise of Trump was fetching issues against China and to bring the World Trade Organization on vast diversity of cases. Since Trump's inauguration, there was a big number of AD and CVD export's investigations and subsequent application of duties against China companies in absolute and relative way. However, in the mid November 2017 the main process taken by America to deal with China had been to mix bilateral negotiations with threats to take unilateral measures against exports of China generally. It is worthy to mention that the USA consider China's complaint against it by the World Trade Organization as test situation to confirm its continuity in its DS mechanism and may be even in WTO itself. In this regard, Light Hizer stated in congress 21 June 2017 that DS515 was the most danger and seriously litigation that the US has at WTO. Also, he declared that it would be catastrophic fault for WTO to grant the economy status of China markets.¹

➤ **Using every legal presidential power to solve trade conflicts:**

The next step in Trump's agenda was to introduce lawful ways and approaches to remedy trade disputes. There was a random application of section 232 which resulted in international trade struggle; thus, the US trading partners had taken US tariffs seriously. Moreover, hiring Light Hizer and company and shelling trading associates with trade treatment issues would oblige waivers from them; also, the result of withdrawing from TPP lead Japan and others to make bilateral agreement and negotiating plan. In addition, executing the two sections 232 and 301 would explode consequences of the policy from China. It is worth to mention that the shortage of success of Donald trump department in gaining significant waivers and privileges from the US big trading partners was due to internal adversaries by trump and his closest.

¹ Gibbon, P & Vestergaard, J. (May, 2022). „Unilateralism in practice: implementation and effectiveness.“ JSTOR. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep17382.7>. pp. 38

1.2.3.2. Trump's doctrine and Climate Change:

Climate change is a concept that describes a transit in world weather patterns in relation with a rise in global level temperatures. This global warming is generally referred to as the greenhouse effect, where particular gases mixed with the atmosphere stop the earth's heat from going out to space.

The major greenhouse gases are Nitrous oxide, Methane and Carbon dioxide, the most dangerous and important greenhouse gas is Carbon dioxide, which is considered that 81 percent of US.¹

The president Trump worked hard and seriously to withdraw America from Obama's climate agreements, he was asked outside the White House about the results that unchecked global warming would bring to the US economy, he declared, „I do not believe it“. In October, Donald Trump indicated scientists of climate change of having a political plan. He reported to Fox News that he did not believe and was unconvinced that humans had the main responsibility for the earth's increasing temperature.

Joel Clement, senior fellow at Harvard University's Belfrage Center for Science and International Affairs and at the Union of Concerned Scientists, told EOS that „the Trump Administration has been silencing science for two years, and pretending that climate change does not exist, despite the excellent work of its own scientists. Trump SOTU was more of the same.“ President Trump has declared a desire to undo from the Paris Convention, and his appointments in the agency of Environment Protection have started measures for withdrawal from major climate-related regulations.

Trump's measures in the climate change have resisted from the state, court, local governments and major companies. Moreover, the president has the biggest capacity to act in foreign issues

¹ „Trump on climate change report: „I don't believe it“.“(November, 2018). BBC NEWS. para. 2- 3.
Retrieved from: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-46351940>

independently. So, ex- President Obama signed the Paris Convention without asking, or taking the opinion of the US Congress while at that time was controlled by the opposing party. All the world's nations gave their commitments to the Paris Agreement to minimize their productions of greenhouse gases to fighting climate change. Donald Trump has declared his decision of united states withdrawal from Paris agreement; however, he was not able to completely this undo until near the end of his period in the presidency. This danger step has been strongly criticized from other nations and left the worldwide attention.

There was also a huge reaction against trump decision. Despite this decision, the great US companies; such as, APPLE, GOOGLE, MICROSOFT, FACEBOOK, CONOCO, PHILIPS, and NIKE, still worked under the Paris Agreement to lower the emissions of carbon in the atmosphere to keep the temperature of the earth under 2c° to preserve the globe. In addition, other reactions emerged in the area refused Trump's policies and illogic actions, there was many states opposite to his decision and decided to combat climate change taking in consideration the drawbacks and costly results that hurt human being existence and the planet as whole for example New Jersey, California, and New York. Moreover, there were even more steps to take in regard to renewable energy policies.¹

In short, President Trump argued that he wanted to discuss a new fair treaty which would not back negatively to US workers and businesses². In fact, he has already destroyed US climate efforts and activities and he would not stop doing so, but America would continue to flourish in some areas.

¹ Farber, A., D. (2018). US climate policy: Obama, Trump, and beyond. University of California. Retrieved from: <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/ descarga/articulo/6673442.pdf> . pp. 96- 7

² Pagliarulo. D. (June, 2017). „The Trump primer: Ideology, style, and personality.“ International policy Digest. Retrieved from: <https://intpolicydigest.org/trump-primer- ideology- stylepersonality/> para. 20

1.2.3.3. Donald Trump's Doctrine and the Immigration Laws:

After Trump's inauguration, there occurred changes in the US which affected laws and legislations. In fact, immigration was tied to these policy changes. Trump's Administration declared immigration reform issues through enacting 472 acts which contained refugee resettlement admissions from Islamic. The US- Mexican borders became closed, and legal immigration became hard to achieve. These changes were classified under three main different orders: (1) Executive Order on Border Security, (2) Executive Order on Interior Enforcement, and (3) Executive Order on Refugee. According to the US President, legal immigration effected US economy. He considered people who came to the US a threat to the safety and the security of the US. He ordered the US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) and the Department of State to control immigration seriously. In order to protect the US, President Trump ordered to create a US wall along the borders with Mexico.

The first order entitled „Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvement“ contained the following sections:

- **Construction of a border wall and additional border patrol personnel:**

This section ordered the DHS to build a 2,000-mile border wall starting from Mexico borders and take the total responsibility of controlling, planning, designing, the wall funded from unused money. DHS was undertaking the comprehensive study on the security of the southern border within 180 days not only this it also employed 5,000 patrol agents to confirm the safety of America.¹

- **Increased construction of detention facilities and detention of immigrants:**

This section gave the order to DHS to build two buildings to control the immigration process the first one was under the detention facilities term in southern borders while the second one was to create asylum officers and immigration judges the thing that assume asylum interviews and hearing for those who came to the US. Not only this section gave DHS the order to arrest noncitizens according to the extent permitted law².

- **Sanctuary Cities and Local-Federal Immigration Enforcement:**

This section did not allow the jurisdictions from receiving federal grants, it ordered DHS to accept only the special ones with their necessary enforcement purposes. It also asked DHS to enter into Section 287 agreement, this section allowed the state and local law enforcement to work as immigration agents to control immigrants. Not only this it canceled the previous program of Obama's administration which named by Priority Enforcement Program. In this order trump

¹ President Donald J. Trump's Address to the nation on the crises of the Border." (January, 2019). Retrieved from: <http://Trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trumpaddress-nation-crises-border/> para. 3

² President Donald J. Trump's Address to the nation on the crises of the Border." (January, 2019). Retrieved from: <http://Trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trumpaddress-nation-crises-border/> para. 6

asked to open the Secure Communities program which gave the chance to jurisdictions control unauthorized immigration status.¹

- **Enforcement Priority:**

This section was Interested in noncitizen people who lived in United States. It gave the authority to administration to deport the people who had made criminal problems such as fraud, poses a risk to public safety and to subject to a final removal order.

- **Increase in ICE Agents:**

The US asked to increase the numbers of the U.S immigration and Customs Enforcement. The aim behind this increasing was to protect America and its people from the cross-border crime and illegal immigration that concerned as a threat to the national security and public safety. No one can deny the sad story that happened in 2001 when a group of terrorists attacked the US which caused more than 3000 killed. The reason that led Trump to sign the third executive order and name it by Protecting the Nation from Terrorist Attacks by Foreign National.²

- **Suspension of Visas to Certain Countries and Extreme Vetting:**

This section listed Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Syria, Libya, Somalia and Yemen among the dangerous countries to the US safety and its interests. Trump ordered his administration to suspend its issuance of visas for 90 days, he asked also the government to rescan the immigration programs and people who demanded visas to check whether these people are worthy to come to this country or not, and if they will bring benefits to America and protect its safety., the US president thought to bring only the positive peoples who have the ability to make America great again.

¹ President Donald J. Trump's Address to the nation on the crises of the Border." (January, 2019). Retrieved from: <http://Trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings/statements/president-donald-j-trumpadress-nation-crises-border/>, para. 12

² President Donald J. Trump's Address to the nation on the crises of the Border." (January, 2019). Retrieved from: http://Trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings/statements/president-donald-j-trumpadress-nation-crises-border. para. 17

- **Suspension of the US Refugee Program and the Ban on Syrian Refugee:**

In order to give an enough time to the US Government visas programs rescanning and the peoples who asked, trump ordered to close the activity of US resettlement programs for 120 days. The programs would return to work again only if the Secretary States, the Secretary of DHS, and the Director of National Intelligence agreed that sufficient safeguard is in place. Not only this, Trump reduced number of refugees from 110,000 to 50,000 in order to take each case separately for better scanning and check the individuals and their situations. Added to that trump had forbidden the Syrian refugees to enter the US indefinitely¹

Conclusion:

The year 2016 witnessed the emergence of a new US President; namely, Donald Trump with a new character and personality. He gave a new vision to the US. His isolationist doctrine related to his personality which is hard to understand either as candidate, or president. According to Trump, in order to make the US great again, it is necessary to focus on domestic issues first through strengthening the US economy. His promise to make the US great again made him rely on the famous slogan of America First.

¹ President Donald J. Trump's Address to the nation on the crises of the Border." (January, 2019). Retrieved from: <http://Trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trumpadress-nation-crisis-border>. para. 23

Chapter Two: the US withdrawal from Afghanistan

Introduction:

The US invasion of Afghanistan lasted for twenty years; it was the longest war in the US history. It started shortly after 9/11 attacks, which had been the deadliest, bloodiest, and the most horrible in the US. In retaliation, the US President George W. Bush declared the War on Terror in order to punish Al Qaeda and arrest its leader Osama Bin Laden.

The coming of US President Donald Trump made the US foreign policy toward the Afghan issue divert from war escalation to negotiations with the Taliban which resulted in signing agreements that brought peace in the country. The US and the Taliban signed the Doha Agreement to officially end war, provided that the US would withdraw its troops from Afghanistan.

2.1. Overview of the US invasion of Afghanistan:

To speak about the US invasion in Afghanistan, it is necessary to speak about this country first and know about its geographical, cultural, and demographical side. As it is known to all, Afghanistan is smaller than Texas. It has 647.500 square kilometer. It's capital city called Kabul. It has \$ 1 trillion to \$ 3 trillion in mineral wealth, it has borders with Pakistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan. It contains 34 provinces.¹

No one can deny the fact that this country has tragically suffering from conflicts, poverty, and especially terrorism the led Afghan people live in horror and suffer and that's return to the

¹ The US War in Afghanistan. (n. d.). Retrieved from: <http://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-war.afghanistan> para 1-3

different invasions from different nations, the thing that effected on it and made it poor, underneath the most country that faced foreign invasions. Afghanistan started its problem with the Anglo-afghan war or what called Afghan wars which had three conflicts (1839-1842, 1878-1880, 1919). These three wars were between Great Britain, Russia or the Soviet Union as it was known.¹

Afghanistan became a geopolitical pawn and it was known as the „Great Game“ between the two empires. For the Soviet Union wanted to expand its power to central Asia; however, Great Britain fought these three wars in struggle with the Russian encroachment. The internal problems between Afghans people gave the chance to the Soviet Union to invade the country in 1979. The administration of the Soviet Union put Karmal Banner Babrak on the administration thus they can control Afghanistan.²

During the soviet invasion a group of Muslims emerged to fight this invasion. This group called Al Mujahedeen, they established their own strategies with the help of Pakistan and US in order to defeat the Russian troops. After a long fighting between these two groups the number of soviet troops raised, which caused many deaths, injuries, not only this the situation in Afghanistan effected on the economy of Soviet Union ran to \$ 1 billion, which led Russia to take the withdrawal decision from Afghanistan.³

In 2001, expected attacks of 9/11 caused 30,000 killed in the US. The attacks targeted New York Towers of Trade Center, the Pentagon in Washington D. C., and Pennsylvania. These attacks were planned by Al Qaida. In retaliation, the US President George W. Bush alerted the

¹ Britannica. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/event/withdrawal-of-united-states-troops-fromAfghanistan>. para. 2

² Mc Gee, S. (March, 2022). Why the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan? History. com. Retrieved from: <https://www.history.com/news/1979-soviet-invasion-afghanistan>. para. 1- 3

³ Mc Gee, S. (March, 2022). Why the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan? History. com. Retrieved from: <https://www.history.com/news/1979-soviet-invasion-afghanistan>. para. 3

emergence situation and announced the attacks acts of war, since Afghanistan was the basic camp for terrorist organizations.¹

2.1.1. The causes of the US invasion:

The US invasion of Afghanistan was not the first one in the history of Afghanistan; it is considered among the most alarmed countries in the world. Since 2001, terrorist attacks had been the most horrible event in the US history, cause by Al Qaeda, which resulted in huge human and economic losses in the US. In revenge, the US President George W. Bush announced the beginning of the War on Terror starting from Afghanistan, which hosted Al Qaeda, the US first enemy.

2.1.1.1. 9/11 attacks:

Since the US independence in 1783, terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 had been the deadliest, bloodiest, and most horrible event in the US history. The attacks which were conducted by 19 militants of Al- Qaeda caused the deaths of 3000 persons. Basically, the attacks were series of airlines hijackings and suicide attacks in New York city and Washington D.C., which caused a horrible disaster. Planned earlier under the supervision of Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, it was suggested to use hijacked planes to achieve the aims of the attacks² (Bergen, 2022, para. 5). On September 11, 2001, the hijackers controlled four domestic aircrafts at three east coast airports. The first plane crashed the north tower of the world trade center in New York City at 8:46 a. m. The second plane crashed the south tower 17 minutes later. At this point, they were certain that their country is under attack. The third plane struck the south west side of the Pentagon at 09: 37 a. m., and at 10:03 a. m. the Fourth plane struck near Shanks Ville in Pennsylvania. Almost 3,000

¹ The US War in Afghanistan. (n. d.). Retrieved from: <http://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-war.afghanistan> para. 3

² Bergen, P., L. (August, 2022). „September 11 attacks.“ Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/event/September-11-attacks> para. 5

people were killed some 2,750 died in New York, 184 at the Pentagon and 40 in Pennsylvania in other side all 19 terrorists were killed: Some 2,750 died in New York, 184 at the Pentagon and 40 in Pennsylvania in other side all 19 terrorist were killed¹.

Before the attack, Osama bin Laden addressed to the US with a letter which spread quickly to all countries. The main purpose of Bin Laden was to make the US people feel that the US is not able to protect them, making them angry and protesting. In this letter, he mentioned the US unhuman crimes in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan and highlight the dark side in those invasions, killing women and children. Moreover, Osama argued that killing of non- Muslims like American is sacred act, and to be killed was like pray in that war. It is worth to mention that Bin Laden stated that the Bush Administration was involved in those wars to protect the US and exploit other countries' resources. Additionally, Bush had come with a promise to gain victory in Afghanistan, but he did not. With delaying the withdrawal of troops, it costed hugely the US financial, and human dangers, without benefits or clear purpose of combating. He clearly threatened the US by endless and hard costs war to the US, with describing currency of his war as big storm, would damage the US economy. Moreover, the US unconditional support to Israel was one of the main causes of 9/11 attacks.²

The US military presence in the Middle East and the Gulf region angered Al Qaeda. On August 2, 1990, Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait easily. So, he took control of a big source of the world's oil supply. Meanwhile, the United Nation Security Council declares sanctions against Iraq. With the presence of US troops in the Gulf, it led to bloody war which liberated Kuwait, left many victims, and destroyed Iraq.

¹ Bergen, P., L. (August, 2022). „September 11 attacks.“ Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/event/September-11-attacks> , para.14- 5

² Bin Laden, O. „May, 2021). (2nd Ed.). Biography.com editors. Retrieved from: pp. 1- 2. <https://www.biography.com/crime-figure/osama-bin-laden>

The 9/11 commission used Al Fatwa's text of February 23 as proof to associate Osama Bin Laden, Ayman AL Zawahiri, and Al Qaeda to the 9/11 attacks. That Fatwa was against the US; it was published in Al Quds Al Arabi newspaper. It declared that Muslims should kill US citizens, whether militant or civilian, everywhere. They declared Jihad against the US and its allies.¹

2.1.1.2. 9/11 Aftermath:

9/ 11 attacks were the most successful tactical attacks in the history of Al Qaeda's terrorist activities and attacks. The raids were highly coordinated; they destroyed several targets in the US. The attacks' news spread quickly in the world thanks to media coverage. The emotional distress due to the attacks was flooding and massive, at that moment the people were surprised did not understand what happened to them. They suffered horror and fear. Following the events, investigations started, looking for possible leads to the attacks.

The US had gathered evidences of the terrorist attacks; they were convinced that those attacks related to Al Qaeda. The US reacted severely by attacking Afghanistan in a coalition war to destroy Al Qaeda in the War on Terror. In the same time, the US put strict security measures in such places as government buildings and airports. The Congress passed the US Patriot Act which expanded seeking and oversight of other law-enforcement agencies, in vast extent but cotemporary, extra to that a cabinet-level department of homeland security was founded. In January 29, 2002, President George W. Bush declared new strategy of preemptive war, it based on the principle that the USA would launch war to stop an enemy attack that imminently threatened the safety of American people and country. "Axis of Evil" that was the sentence which described those dangerous regimes, it was identified by president George Bush, that axis included

¹ Odle, R., T. (1997). UN sanctions against Iraq: their effects and their future. A researchreport , para. 9.

Iran, Iraq, and North Korea. In addition to that Bush believed that the destruction of Saddam's regime would prevent any groups like Al Qaeda or any person had the desire to attack the US¹

2.1.1.3. The War on Terror:

9/11 attacks which hit the US inland made a direct cause to the US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. Accordingly, the US engaged in the War on Terror. The latter caused several changes in the US foreign policy when it addressed to a new enemy; namely, global terrorism. Originally derived came from the Latin word „terrere“ which means „to frighten“, terrorism is defined according to Meriam Webster as the systematic use of terror; especially as a means of coercion. Seen as method of violence. terrorism had taken new forms, as terrorist group made new ways to express their goals which based on spreading violence. Some analysts assumed that globalization and modernity are amongst the causes of terrorism.

Terrorist groups are characterized by their network organization and structure which spread and diffused around the world. The most commune terrorist groups that spread fear and threats around the world is „Al Qaeda“, founded and led by former leader Osama Bin Laden. This terrorist organization, which was founded under Sharia laws and Holy Quran, aims to make people fight for Islam through great Jihad in order to defend AL Ummah and to build a whole Muslim nation. Al Qaeda conducted 9/11 attacks in the US as a result of US unconditional support to Israel in the Middle East. The attacks caused 3000 deaths and damaged lots of facilities in the US. As a result, the US declared Al Qaida a terrorist organization responsible of 9/11 attacks, and engaged in the War on Terror on September 20, 2001.

The War on Terror is a global counterterrorism campaign led by the US in order to end terrorism and exterminate terrorist groups. In reaction to 9/11 attacks, the War on Terror was a

¹ Bergen, P., L. (August, 2022). „September 11 attacks.“ Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/event/September-11-attacks> , para. 18- 28

global cooperation of military and political fighting against terrorist organizations. It is an organized cooperation to present a new phase in global politics of International Relations. Additionally, governments of other countries accused of supporting terrorism were subjected to the War on Terror, too. Its most important aim was to exterminate Al-Qaida and arrest its leaders; namely, Osama Bin Laden and Ayman Al Zawahiri. Moreover, one staple of the War on Terror is to use unilateral power and pre-emptive war against countries and governments that have links with terrorist organizations; such as, Afghanistan and Iraq.

The US invasion to Afghanistan began when the US President George W. Bush asked Mullah Mohamed Omar, Leader of the Taliban, to hand Osama Bin Laden, Ayman Al Zawahiri, and all Al Qaeda's leaders to the US to face justice for their direct responsibility in 9/11 attacks. Mullah Mohamed Omar refused, and; accordingly, the US started the War on Terror by invading Afghanistan, fighting the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Began on September 26, 2001, with CIA efforts with anti-Taliban allies, the US established a new regime in Afghanistan under the leadership of President Hamid Karzai. The US and British forces joined CIA team in Afghanistan to target the Taliban. In late October, 2001, both US and Northern Alliance Treaty Organization (NATO) troops took control of major Afghan towns and cities which were controlled earlier by the Taliban. On November, US and NATO troops took control of Kabul, the Afghan capital city, with the Taliban retreated easily. On December 6, the city of Kandahar, Taliban's heart beats, fell down to the US and NATO troops.¹

In 2002, the US President Georg W. Bush argued that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, and supported terrorist groups of Al Qaida. The UN Security council focused to disarm Iraq via resending UN inspectors to verify Iraq's nuclear program. In March, 2003, the

¹ Witte, G. (August, 2021). Afghanistan War. Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Afghanistan-War>, para. 6

US President announced that Iraq was interrupting the operation since it had proscribed weapons. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was given an extra time to extend UN inspection teams and to comply with UN resolutions. On March 17, President Bush declared the end of diplomatic means, and gave the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein 48 hours to leave the country; but unfortunately, Saddam did not accept the offer. On March 20, both US and allied troops started officially the invasion of Iraq¹. According to Bush's declaration, the reason behind this invasion was to help the Iraq's people he assumed;

At this hour, America, and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger.²

In order to fight terrorism, the later US Presidents successfully followed their own strategies in conducting the War on Terror. President George W. Bush, a new legislation; namely, US Patriot Act. It aimed at „Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism.“ Signed on October 26, 2001, the act brought many changes to strengthen the US and amended eavesdropping on telephone, electronic communication computer which can help terrorist crimes. The main aim behind this act was to secure US first freedom and security of the nation Gorge W. Bush declared about the act that it:

Gives law enforcement officials better tools to put an end to financial counterfeiting, smuggling, and money laundering. Secondly, it gives intelligence operations and criminal operations the chance to operate, not on separate tracks, but to share vital information so necessarily to disrupt a terrorist attack before it... . This new law that I sign today will allow surveillance of all communication used by terrorists, including e-mail, the internet and cell

¹ Iraq War.“ (March, 2022). Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Iraq-War> . para. 4

² A brief history of America.“ (June.2016). The week Staff. Retrieved from: <http://theweek.com/articles/627638/brief-history-American-isolationism>. para. 1

phones... . And finally, the new legislation greatly enhances the penalties that will fall on terrorist or anyone who helps... . This legislation is essential not only to pursuing and punishing terrorists but also preventing more atrocities in the hands of the evil ones.¹

The US President assumed that was necessarily to protect his nation and his people and this will happen if his administration ends the terrorist financial side , prevents counterfeiting and smuggling; also his administration would make eavesdropping and would follow the terrorist phones, emails, and any technological means to readied any other unexpected terrorist attacks. Through intelligence-gathering problems made by NSA (National Security Agency) and FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) to increase protection and security for borders, airports, and public events. Additionally, under his request, the Congress authorized the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security on November 25, 2002, which aimed to build a central security ministry to protect USA from terrorist attacks.

When he was inaugurated in 2009, President Barak Obama brought new changes and a new different policy and strategy from the one used by former President Bush. President Obama announced the end of the War on Terror. He looked to fix the relationships between the US and Islamic countries.²

In December 2011, President Obama announced the withdrawal of the US troops from Iraq. Moreover, he announced financial and economic aids to help the countries who suffered from terrorism. President Obama aimed to replace the previous strategy which was based on military intervention methods by the idea of domestic policies that based on diplomacy, negotiation channels. In other words, President Obama had negotiated with terrorist organizations rather than

¹ Statement of President George W. Bush on passage of the bill to authorize the US Patriot Act. (March, 2006). Retrieved from: <https://www.justice.gov/archive/ll/archive.htm> , para.15.

² Jackson, R. (May, 2020). War on terrorism. Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/war-on-terrorism> . pp.362-367

sending military troops to them. Not only this, he shifted the interest from fighting terrorism to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict issue.¹

In spite of the changes made, the successive 45 US President Donald Trump criticized the previous president's administration strategies in the War on Terror. According to him, it was time to think about America. Using his slogan „America First“, President Trump assumed that the US under Obama's Administration lost lot of money and power on uninteresting issues that did not bring any benefit to the US. Opposing Obama's strategies and policies, President Trump expelled all illegal immigrants in the US, attacked Muslims and banned travel from – to some Islamic countries. He believed that terrorism is related to immigration, and Islam does not exist in the US. He believed that extermination is the key end to terrorism. Trump initiated his military strategy in Afghanistan, and declared Obama's policy in Afghanistan is unworthy since a multi-year timetable would do nothing. He supported to rise the US troops in Afghanistan to coerce the Taliban to come to bargaining table. Added to this, he was looking to bolster Israel and Saudi Arabia and isolate Iran. However other critics argued that the US invasion on Afghanistan was not to end terrorism, or to protect international security because, according to him, „No negotiation with terrorist“. However, the US, at final stage, negotiated with the Taliban. They assumed other reasons for this invasion and the most important one is to control the global oil reserves.

¹ Huffman, B. (Mars, 2010). A counterterrorism strategy for the Obama administration. Terrorism and political violence. pp.362-367

2.1.1.4. Chasing Osama Bin Laden:

Bin Laden was the seventh of 50 children son of wealthy Saudi businessman, he was born in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1957.¹

In 1979, bin Laden associated the Afghan resistance against the Soviet invasion („Bin Laden“, 2021, para. 1), after that with the help of his partner Muhammed Atef, established AL Qaeda, an international terrorist Islamic network in 1980, its main purpose is to put an end to non-Islamic states with power and violence. AL Qaeda had strong links with other terrorist groups that operated under the same purpose which is fighting against their common adversaries in the west, especially the US.

Osama was the head of AL Qaeda, he provided camps of training and many houses for his guests in different places, such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kenya and Somalia for the service of AL Qaeda and its associated terrorist groups, moreover he supported by providing coinage, weapons and war equipment to his terrorist members throughout the world, in addition to that he founded several businesses, containing an agricultural company, two investment corporations, transportation company and construction business, all those series of businesses were operated to provide currency and permanent income to support his terrorist organization and also in order to cover warranty of explosives, chemicals, and weapons, and for the operative journeys of AL Qaeda.

There were a number of Fatwahs issued by Bin Laden declared that the presence of America forces in many Islamic countries such as, Saudi Arabia and Yemen, also the horn of Africa including Somalia, must be attacked.

¹ Bin Laden, O. „May, 2021). (2nd Ed.). Biography.com editors. Retrieved from: <https://www.biography.com/crime-figure/osama-bin-laden> , para. 2

Due to those Fatwas, Bin Laden launched many attacks against America with the help of his partners, for instance an explosive attack that smashed and demolished the embassies of the US in Nairobi, Kenya¹, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, also a suicide attack in in Aden, Yemen against the US warship Cole

In September 11th,2001 huge and bloody attacks committed by 19 militants related with the Islamic Front or Al Qaeda against America. They were the most fatal terrorist attacks in history. Those fatwas were used as evidence to prove that bin laden was the main responsible for those attacks Thus, US President Bush declared that he wanted Osama Bin Laden captured in any way dead or alive, moreover he promised to give 25 million as gift for information help in the hunting of Bin Laden.

Taliban militia had strong relations with Bin Laden, it provided him with protection after those attacks, it absolutely refused US request to receive Osama and to end Al Qaeda presence in Afghanistan. America as reaction and penalty had launched strikes against Taliban, and invade Afghanistan .

On May 2nd, 2011the US military forces killed Osama Bin Laden, they found him living in safe compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan. After Bin Laden's death, US pre announced his death. Barak Obama, described the operation as a major successful operation in the history of struggling with Al Qaeda.

On June 16th ,2011 Al Qaeda announced a statement declaring that Ayman al Zawahiri has been replaced Bin Laden as the leader of the terrorist organization Al Qaeda .

¹ „Hunting Bin Laden.“ (n. d). PBS.org. Retrieved from:
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/who/alqaeda.htm>. para. 6- 11

2.2. The rise of Afghan Resistance:

After the Soviet invasion and the end of the Soviet- Afghan War (1979- 1989), the Taliban rose to power Afghanistan in 1992, which comprised mainly of Afghan fighters, known as Mujahedeen. It consisted from Muslim students and clerics who studied in Pakistan. With the expansion of the Taliban's power and Al-Qaida, the US President George W. Bush asked the Taliban to hand over Osama Bin Laden to face justice in the US for 9/11 attacks. However, the Taliban refused to handle him to the US.¹

In response, the US made a coalition with European nations and invaded Afghanistan, hoping to prevent terrorism from expanding to other countries. On October 7, 2001, the cooperation between the US and European countries started airstrikes in Afghanistan on Taliban targets and closed support for the northern alliance.

On December 5, 2001 the US invited Afghan leaders, northern alliance that had a great role through its collaboration with America to determine Taliban and Al-Qaida. The invitation was organized in Bonn, Germany. They were invited to attend conference which resulted a signed agreement endorsed by UN Security Council Resolution 1383. This agreement aimed to provide Afghanistan with interim administration head. The best choice to apply the American goals was Hamid Karzai he rolled for six months, he had a solid base among the dominant Pashtu ethnic group he also had a worthy international exposure. His studies outside his mother country made him fluent in English; he seemed at ease with U.S. and other Western leaders. And he appeared reasonable and moderate, in contrast to the Taliban's extreme .the conference was created to focus on Afghanistan destiny from many sides political, administrative security side that allows to design a new path to Afghan people in order to establish their own political government, America

¹ Abbas, H. (2014). The Taliban Revival Violence and Extremism on the Pakistan- Afghanistan Frontier. p. 53.

hoped to show the way to Afghanistan thus can chose its own future political ways based on their Islamic, democracy, pluralism and social justice principles.¹

Moreover, the US created an international peacekeeping to confirm security in Kabul. On December 20 the UN Security Council followed the agreement by another resolution that was under 1386 reference. This resolution aimed to establish an International Security Assistance Force or what is symbolized by ISAF.

On 17th April, 2002. The US President George Bush called for rebuilding Afghanistan and reconstructed its infrastructure after the horrible damages that caused by Taliban. In the Virginia military institute speech, he demanded to apply the Marshall plan in order to bring the same European result after the WW2. The American Congress spent over \$38 billion to reconstruct Afghanistan and help its people.²

In addition to the financial aids America increased the number of its military troops in Afghanistan. They were almost 8.000 one and were considered as a part of international security assistance force Not only this, America thought to win the heart of Afghans after them suffer they supported schools and education; they helped women to learn and to build themselves.²

In June, 2002 the Loya Jirga had chosen again Hamid Karzai to lead the country for another two years, he had proven his ability and his sense of responsibility during his 6 months of presidency. The US kept its troops in it to protect afghans and they were training afghan solders at the same time.³

¹ Abbas, H. (2014). The Taliban Revival Violence and Extremism on the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier. p. 83 ² Fieldstone, S & Brechnmacher, S. (October, 2018). „Trump“s War on terror.“ National Interest. Retrieved from: <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/trump-war-terror-22783>

² Connah, L. (2021). US intervention In Afghanistan: Justifyingthe Unjustifiable?, SAR p. 75

³ Fieldstone, S & Brechnmacher, S. (October, 2018). „Trump“s War on terror.“ National Interest. Retrieved from: <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/trump-war-terror-22783>

The US troops kept working in Afghanistan until Trump coming to presidency in 2016. Trump declared that its time to another country takes care of Afghanistan since its time to see America's needs, he declared that America spent too much time, money on Afghanistan and its time to take care of its soldiers and its own people, on 30 August 2021 the American forces complete their withdrawal from this country announcing the end of war, this withdrawal came after a US-Taliban deal in Doha, Qatar. After the agreement between the two sides America started to withdraw its soldiers slowly then reduced the air attacks in Afghanistan to make this country free and decide its own future.

2.3. The US withdrawal from Afghanistan:

2.3.1. The causes of Trump's isolationist doctrine:

Donald Trump considered the Afghan war as the major example of the forever war, he gave promise to put an end for it, a prominent and main promise of his America First electoral operation (Elving, 2021, para. 2). In January 2017, the president Trump took his office, by the beginning of his doctrine the number of the American forces were reported almost 11000 soldiers, and in June 2017 the president gave an order to secretary of defense James Mattis in order to increase the level of troops in Afghanistan, thus he deployed nearly 3500 extra forces in September 2017, which led to rise the number of US forces in Afghanistan around 1400 and 1500 by the end of 2017.

In the mid 2018, Trump was very demoralized because there were no military advance against Taliban even with the increasing number of troops and he ordered an official and direct US-Taliban negotiation without the presence of Afghan department for the first time. Zalmay Khalilzad was the representative of the Taliban side. In 2019 Trump stated his desire to withdraw US troops as rapid as he can. In February 2020, America and the Taliban militia signed an official

treaty, which helped America in its troops, non diplomatic people, and contractors“ withdrawal from Afghanistan with decreasing in power to 8600 by mid July 2020 and total withdrawal by the end of April 2021. In the other hand, Taliban must stop any terrorist group like AL Qaeda from attacking the US or its followers by not giving permissions for those groups to be present in Afghanistan under any reason.¹

The Withdrawal agreement did not contain any conditions that oblige Taliban to decrease violence and attacks against the afghan department, making waivers in intra afghan negotiation or taking other measures. In addition to that, the treaty stated that, the nearly 5000 prisoners from Taliban Militia in afghan government prisons and almost 1000 person from Afghanistan in the hands of Taliban Would have been free in march 2020 moreover , according to the agreement, intra afghan talks were also to start that month, but negotiations did not have a particular date or schedule for months among conflict around releasing prisoners, the American department declared that Taliban were not completely applied the agreement conditions and rules, the dropdown of American forces continued to reach 8600 before one month from the deadline of the agreement. On November 17th ,2020 Christopher Miller an Acting Secretary of Defense stated that the orders of president trump would be applied to continue the operation of bringing back their forces from Afghanistan, and that 2500 US troops would stay there by January 15th,2021²

By the end of president Donald trump doctrine in January 2021, the decreasing of US troops number in Afghanistan reached almost 2500 solder, although there was no effective progress in peace negotiations between the afghan department and the militia of Taliban.

¹ Soviet begins withdrawal from Afghanistan.“ (May,1988). History. com. Retrieved from: <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/soviets-begin-withdrawal-from-afghanistan>. p.10.

² Soviet begins withdrawal from Afghanistan.“ (May,1988). History. com. Retrieved from: <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/soviets-begin-withdrawal-from-afghanistan> p. 11.

2.3.2. The costs of the War on Terror:

The attacks of 9/11 which hit the US in the cities of New York, Washington D. C., and Pennsylvania gave rise to a new US foreign policy directed towards global terrorism. Using both unilateral power and preemptive war, the US administration and its allies started the War on Terror to target terrorist organizations all over the world. In an addressed televised speech, George W Bush, the US President, announced that „America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism.

The target of the War on Terror are the countries and organizations which provide support and feedback to terrorist organizations; namely, Al Qaeda and the Taliban. Waged in order to eliminate global terrorism and terrorist organizations, the War on Terror has had some economic and human costs.

Economic side:

From September 2001 until the end of 2007, military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan increased under what the War on Terror, which affected the US economy. Accordingly, 09/11 attacks costed \$8 trillion .

This total amount concerted on the Department of Defense Overseas Contingency Operations funding; the Department of State War Expenditures and Counterterrorism War-related Costs, including war-related increases to the Pentagon's base budget; care for veterans to date and in the future; Department of Homeland Security spending; and interest payments on borrowing for these wars.

The US Congress spent \$ 602 billion. During States spent \$2 billion by the department of veterans' affair for medical care. Additionally, \$533 billion were financed on several military

operations and other defense activities, and \$16 billion were spent on reconstruction funds. Not only this, the sum of \$39 billion was spent on diplomatic activities and foreign aid to Iraq and Afghanistan.

□ **Human damages and psychological costs:**

The War on Terror used many tools and materials to prevent terrorism and achieve its ends. One of the most tools used are; bombs, fire, bullets. They caused large deaths, which amounted between 897,000 to 929,000- including, US Military, opposition fighters, civilians, and journalists. They were listed among direct results. Not only this, many people died as a result of diseases, displacement, lack of food, and drinking unclear water.

At first, military troops which were deployed in Afghanistan and Iraq amounted to 200,000 personnel.

Despite the huge number of participated people in this war, the US relied on diplomacy and negotiations to limit the costs of the war. However, their experience in War on Terror affected their mental and psychological health. According to the Time magazine, mental disorders of Soldiers, servicemen, and women who served in Afghanistan and Iraq were described as „the US Army“s third front.

The Center for Disease Control and Prevention declared that more than the number of suicides increased from 30,000 increased to 20 percent each year.

Barak Obama, the US President, declared that the soldiers who had post-traumatic stress disorder can get federal health benefits. Promoted amongst US soldiers who fought in Iraq and Afghanistan, these solders faced many challenges and saw deaths and injured people, which affected their minds and raised the suicide rates and PTSD. A recent study declared that 26 percent of US soldiers who served in the War on Terror in Iraq and Afghanistan suffered from mental health; such as, depression, drug, alcohol, dependency, homelessness, or suicide.

2.3.3. The impacts of War on Terror:

9/11 attacks changed the global interest through its dramatic results. The US President aimed global collaboration of the international community to deter global terrorism, which was led by Al-Qaida and its affiliated- groups. President Bush said „we will be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on event, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as perils draw closer and closer. The US will not permit the world's dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world“s most destructive weapons.“

Moreover, President Bush declared in the above lines that he will do his best to protect his country and to prevent terrorists to enter his country again. In his speech at West Point Academy that his acts on terrorists under what it called “War on Terror” is a normal thing, according to US President the battle obligated to the enemy in order to put limits to his plans, war on terror aimed to stop the terrorism threat before it expands more to the rest of the world. Bush stated that:

The war on terror will not be won on the defensive we must take the battle to the enemy, distribute his plans, and confront the worst threat before they emerge. In the world we have entered, the only path to safety is path of action. And this nation will act.¹

After 2001, the US focused on Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran. These countries were seen as host countries for terrorist groups. The aim behind looking to Middle East is to end Baathist regime in Iraq and depose Saddam Hussein from power, defeat Al-Qaida, and punish the Taliban. The US invasion on Iraq led to increase the number of military forces which effected and helped the western free market democracy. since the US reinforced its army in Afghanistan to build peace and stability. The US gave the light to its army to control Persian Gulf and the Arabian sea which effected on oil and gas reserves. When US control the raw materials, it would control the market

¹ Rogers, P. (November, 2009). Global security after the war. p. 4

which effected on China, Russia's need for imported oil. Not only this they would be constrained by the new presence of America in Afghanistan.

The US foreign policy based on being new Era of American leadership in which such threats could be controlled, enabling free market liberal democratic model to deliver peace and security for the global community.¹

With the increasing of military forces in the Middle East especially Afghanistan, the number of jihadist organizations which called Salafi Jihadist increased as well. Led by Osama Bin Laden, they strictly followed the Islamic laws and make people fight for Islam. Accordingly, Jihad means fighting to protect Islam and defined their Ummah no matter the toll used. Jihadist do not take into consideration the result claimed after this fight, they think only to achieve their purpose. 9/11 attacks were a true illustration of Jihad.

However, 9/11 dramatic results affected on Muslims as well. 9/11 attacks led to rise of Islamophobia. According to European Commission Report by Joselyne Cesari et al (2006), Islamophobia is a modern and secular anti-Islamic discourse and practice appearing in the public sphere with the integration of Muslim immigrant communities and intensifying after 9/11. More precisely, the term refers to racism, racial discrimination, barbaric, irrational, violent, aggressive, threatening, supportive of terrorism, and ranged in clash of civilization.²

Islamophobia resulted marginalizing Muslims all over the world, although they constitute 25 percent of the global population. They are described as "Others". Muslims around the world have become victims of human rights violation.

¹ Rogers, P. (November, 2009). Global security after the war. p. 5

²Zeidan, A. (August, 2022). „Withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan.“ Encyclopaedia Britannica. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/event/withdrawal-of-united-states-troops-from-Afghanistan> para.6

2.3.4. Signing The Doha Agreement:

The US and Taliban signed an agreement to bring peace in Afghanistan on February 29th, 2020. It was determined for a completely withdrawal of US forces in period of fourteen months on the condition that the Taliban must forbid the terrorist groups including Al Qaeda and ISIL from presenting and operating within Afghanistan, the agreement did not state that the Taliban must reach convention with the afghan department², but it was among its purposes to make talks between Taliban and afghan department easy, so that a power sharing convention between them might be accepted in Afghanistan. After nearly twenty years of war , Taliban and the afghan government negotiate and met for the first time in Doha to achieve their similar desire to bring peace and safety to Afghanistan and improve a program for Afghanistan people after the US troops“ withdrawal.¹

The Doha peace agreement was made of four basic terms :

- Securities and enforcement mechanisms that would stop the use of Afghanistan land by any group or individual that may threat or against the safety of USA and its allies.
- Guarantees, enforcement mechanisms, and announcement of a timeline for all foreign forces withdrawal from Afghanistan .
- After those two announcement, the Taliban and afghan government would begin intraafghan peace negotiations on March 10th, 2020.
- A permanent ceasefire would be discussed in the intra-afghan peace negotiations, they would discuss the date and shapes of comprehensive and remaining ceasefire, including

¹ Debnath, A. (May, 2022). „The Doha Agreement.“ Rachit Garg. Retrieved from: <https://blog.ipleaders.in/the-dohthe-doha-agreemen.> ,para.6.

share application mechanisms, which would be declared along with deal over the political map of Afghanistan in the future.¹

The united states in fourteen months following declaration of the Peace agreement, had to withdraw all military troops of the united states, its allies, and coalition partners, including advisors, trainers, non diplomatic civilian persons moreover the private security contractors and helping services personnel from Afghanistan, under particular measures which were; the united states of America and its allies, also the coalition decreased the number of troops in Afghanistan to 8600, and withdraw all them from five bases in the first one hundred thirty five days , in the first part from the agreement. In the second part, the rest US troops would complete withdraw within the last nine and half months and would withdraw from all the rest bases, in addition to that America commits to start working with all partners of this agreement to free the 5000 prisoners of Taliban in the afghan hands and also 1000 persons from afghan government in the hands of the other side by March 10th ,2020, that measure was dealt to build mutual confidence between all the related parts to that peace agreement, the Taliban grant that those prisoners would follow the rules of the agreement in order to did not threat the security and the safety of the united states and its allies. In addition to that by the beginning of intra afghan talks, America would start reviewing the American penalty and the list of reward against Taliban members in order to remove those penalties on August 27th, 2020, it also would begin diplomatic correlation with other members of American security council and Afghanistan to take out Taliban from penalty list by May,29th ,2020.² the last measure of the first part from the peace agreement was that

¹ Department of State. (January,2009). Fact sheets the charges against international terrorist Usama Bin Laden. Retrieved from: https://1997-2001.state.gov/regions/sa/bin_laden_charges.html. p.1

² Department of State. (January,2009). Fact sheets the charges against international terrorist Usama Bin Laden. Retrieved from: https://1997-2001.state.gov/regions/sa/bin_laden_charges.html,p.2

America and its allies would stop threatens and using power against afghan territorial safety and its political independence moreover, it would not involve in its local issues and affaires .

In the second section of that agreement, Taliban would stop the using of the afghan land to serve any group or individual including Al Qaeda, that threaten the safety of America and its allies ; there were particular steps in order to achieve that:

First, Taliban would refuse the use of afghan land by its members, other groups or individuals including Al Qaeda to grant the safety of America and its allies. Second, the Taliban would send a clear message to those groups that threaten the security of US, telling them that there is no place in Afghanistan for their services, and it would forbid its members from cooperating them. Third, Taliban would prevent those threatening groups from mobilization, training, also from hosting them in conformity with obligation in that convention. Fourth, Taliban would apply the international migration law and the obligations of that agreement for those searching residence in Afghanistan. Fifth, Taliban would not give visas, travel permits, passports or any other legal documents to those who threaten the safety of US and its allies to enter Afghan land.

According to that convention, the US would search economic collaboration for rebuilding with the modern afghan Islamic administration as it decided by the intra-afghan talks, and would not involve in its domestic businesses.¹

Conclusion:

Lastly, Trump"s isolationist doctrine was the main cause of the US withdrawal from Afghanistan, since Trump recognizes that the US did not benefit much from that invasion. Rather, the US suffered huge lose and the bad reputation of the US in the global community. Trump intended to end the war; that was the main promise he made during his electoral

¹ Department of State. (January,2009). Fact sheets the charges against international terrorist Usama Bin Laden. Retrieved from: https://1997-2001.state.gov/regions/sa/bin_laden_charges.html, p. 4

campaign. In order to achieve that goal, he negotiated with the Taliban for the first time in history. The result was an agreement which brought peace to Afghanistan. The US withdrawal from Afghanistan was an implementation of the isolationist doctrine of President Trump, which ended the war in Afghanistan.

General Conclusion:

The present study attempted to show how the isolationist doctrine of trump was able to transformed the most alarmed country of Afghanistan, which considered as the origin source of violence, conflicts, terrorism, and wars. Moreover, this doctrine grant safety of America and its allies from terrorism group including Al Qaeda, and brought the American forces to their homes to live in peace and leaving the horrible nightmare they were live in Afghanistan.

In 2016, Donald trump took his office as the US 45th President, according to him and to his isolationist doctrine *America First*, it was time to think about America at first and how to make it great again, this strategy represented a fundamental deviation from the US mainstream over the last forty years or more, it always trying to favor US fusses under the concept of America First and of rivalling rather than collaborating, based on four pillars:

- Protect the country and the way of life
- Prioritize the flourish of the country
- Preserve the peace by force
- Promote the US world-wide influence

Thus, could justify his electoral campaign promises and his major promise which was to end the endless war in Afghanistan that lasted for 20 years (2001- 2021) and to get out from war that it costed a lot to America rather than its benefits, human damages and economic loses.

The 9/11 attacks on the US which was operated by Al Qaeda, resulted in a global war on terrorism under the bush doctrine. By going deeply in discussing Bush's policy in fighting terrorism, the invasion of Afghanistan was the most controversial and momentous foreign policy decision, the bush doctrine is considered as the American most response to the attacks based on

democracy, unilateralism, pre-emptive preventive war, and American hegemony those were the essential pillars of Bush's agenda in his war on terrorism

Donald trump considered the invasion of Afghanistan as the major example of the forever war, he gave promise to put an end for it, a prominent and main promise of his America First electoral process, by the beginning of his doctrine the level of US forces increased in Afghanistan, after the bad results and no military advance against Taliban, he declared his desire to leave Afghanistan. In addition to that official negotiations with Taliban were held, major actor in Afghan political scene.

The US Taliban negotiations finished by signing an agreement to bring peace in Afghanistan on February 29th ,2021 it determined for a completely withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan, on the condition that Taliban must not providing a safe haven to Al Qaeda and other terrorist individuals and groups. Among the purposes of this agreement were to make talks between Taliban and Afghan department easy, so that a power-sharing convention between them might be accepted in Afghanistan.

In short, the US withdrawal from Afghanistan was an implementation of the isolationist doctrine of trump, it illustrated his isolationism which was criticized by many policies, finished one of the most hard and expensive wars on the people and the economy of America the war on Afghanistan.

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الملخص

أخذ دونالد ترامب منصبه الرئاسي كالرئيس الخامس والاربعين للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية عقب الانتخابات الرئاسية الامريكية لعام . 2016 بالرغم من الانتخابات الاخيرة التي حصلت بسبب شخصيته و التدخل الاجنبي في التلاعب الانتخابات الامريكية ، إلا ان ترامب حدد مذهبه الانعزالي تحت شعار " امريكا أولاً "الخدمة دولته و شعبه . في الواقع ، ركزت عقيدة ترامب على تعديل وإعادة بناء الشؤون الداخلية للولايات المتحدة ، بدلاً من التركيز على القضايا الخارجية .كانت القضية الأساسية في عقيدة ترامب " أمريكا أولاً " هي حل قضية الوجود الأمريكي في أفغانستان .بعد قتال القاعدة وطالبان هناك في ظل الحرب العالمية على الإرهاب لمدة عشرين عامًا ، أجرت الإدارة الأمريكية ، بتوجيه من الرئيس دونالد ترامب ، محادثات سلام ومفاوضات مع طالبان أسفرت عن انسحاب الولايات المتحدة من أفغانستان عام.2021

تطرقت الدراسة الحالية لتحليل عقيدة ترامب الانعزالية" أمريكا أولاً "وكيف أثرت على قرار الولايات المتحدة بالانسحاب من أفغانستان بعد عشرين عامًا من مكافحة الإرهاب هناك .بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، تسلط الدراسة الضوء على أسباب الاحتلال الامريكي لأفغانستان و تداعيات إنسحابه منها .

الكلمات المفتاحية: أفغانستان، الحرب على الإرهاب، دونالد ترامب، أمريكا أولاً، الانسحاب الأمريكي من أفغانستان.