

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

**FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN
LANGUAGES**

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

N°:



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES

STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE

OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

Blair's Reforms and Impacts on The Middle East

**Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master**

By:

Miss. NAIT SEGHIR Mebarka

and

Miss. DJERRAZ Dalal

2016 /2017

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Board of Examiners

Mr.	University of M'sila	Chairperson
Mr. Thameur Abdelatif	University of M'sila	Supervisor
Ms.	University of M'sila	Examiner

2016 /2017

Dedication

To the memory of my father

To all my family

To my husband Ibrahim

To all those who love me

Mebarka

Dedication

Every challenging work needs self-efforts as well as the guidance of many persons especially those who were very close to our heart.

My humble effort I dedicated to:

My mother Khalisa

A strong and gentle soul who taught me to trust in Allah, believed in hard work and that so much could be done with little

My father Layachi

For earning an honest living for us and for supporting and encouraging me to believe in myself, for his patient and help, I would like to say really

I love you dad

My sister Fatima, brothers (Amar, Abdkarim, Salah Eddine, Islam), my sister in law Rima and her little son Ishak.

Whose affection, love, encouragement and prayers of days and night make me able to get such success and honor.

My husband Hicham

For his advice, his patient, and his faith because always he understood

My lovely friends

Mebarka, Fatima, Khadija I love and I will miss you.

Dalal

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Last but not least, we would like to thank all our friends.

ملخص

نحاول من خلال هذا البحث تسليط الضوء على الشخصية السياسية توني بلير ،رئيس وزراء بريطانيا لثلاث فترات رئاسية من سنة 1997 إلى سنة 2007

اتفقت سياسة بريطانيا تحت قيادته مع السياسة الأمريكية خاصة فيما تعلق بالحصار على العراق في 2003 وقبلها أفغانستان في 2001 ،لذلك ينظر إلى بلير على أنه السبب في تورط بلاده في الحرب على العراق بحجة مكافحة الجماعات الإرهابية .

Abstract:

This research tried to shed light on the political personality of Tony Blair, The British Prime Minister for three terms, from 1997 till 2007.

Britain agreed under his premiership with American policy, in particular to what was related to the Iraqi blockade of 2003 and before that Afghanistan in 2001; Blair is viewed to be the reason that led his country involved in the war in Iraq by using the pretext of fighting terrorist groups.

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Introduction

In order to understand some historical events in Britain, we start by talking about the worth of learning history in general. We need to study history because it allows us to understand our past, which in turn allows us to understand our present.

If we want to know how and why our world is the way it is today, we have to look to history for answers. As it is stated by U.S. historian: ***"the value of history is, indeed, not scientific but moral: liberating the mind, by deepening the sympathies, by fortifying the will, it will help us to control, not society, but ourselves-- a much more important thing; it prepares us to live more humanely in the present and to meet rather than to foretell the future"***(Becker, 9). If we study the successes and failures of the past, we may be able to learn from our mistakes and avoid repeating them in the future, because we know the consequences already, as Santayana believed: ***"those who cannot learn from history are doomed to repeat it"***(284). This idea was also proved by Churchill who said: ***"those that fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it"***(490).

The most important reason to study history is teaching us to think in all parts of the world, whether in America, Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, etc. This research will deal with UK history with the aim to enlarge our understanding of the British country during a sensitive period from 1997 to 2007, which was characterized by many events.

When Britain gained victory in the World War II, the "labour party" under Clement Attlee became powerful and he started to improve the social conditions of British people, all British citizens enjoyed the services of free healthcare due to the founding of the "National Health Service", he added other reforms that are: the old age Pension, free education at all levels, sickness benefits and employment benefits. Under "Beveridge report" most of these reforms were covered by the newly introduced "National insurance" paid by all workers. The bank of England, railways, heavy industry, coal mining and public utilities were all nationalized. During this period British colonies such as India, Burma, and Ceylon gained independence and Britain was a founding member of "NATO" in 1949 (Jerry H, 175-188).

The "Conservatives" spring back to authority in 1951; they accepted most of the labour's postwar reforms (in particularly, the National Health Services) and controlled economic stability. Though, the Suez Crisis of 1956 perhaps ended British's rank as a superpower (Kyle, 53). In addition, some other colonies such as Ghana, Malaya, Nigeria, and Kenya were granted independence.

Afterward, a sequences of strikes have taken place by the trade unions in the winter of 1978 -1979 that was recognized as a “Winter of Discontent”, this event happened after a labour party returned to control in 1974 but these strikes make the country Feeble as well as the labour lost its majority in parliament. Margaret Thatcher came to power after the general election that was called in1979, this period occupied 18 years of conservative government (Moor, 758).

Under New labour Britain was witnessing a new era of neoliberal consensus on economic and social policy. New labour is the new ideology, it is the 90s being in opposition for 18 years and the labour party was forced to undertake some fundamental changes in order to become the governing party. Thus, Blair sought to break the rules of the traditional labour party. Britain has become more bourgeois, individualist and middle class less than 18 years of conservative government. It was eventually Tony Blair, who epitomizes new labour like nobody else with 1996 labour party manifesto. It was new labour and new life for Britain (Driver, Martell, 13).

One may have the curiosity to give an explanation why the UK supported the US which led to invade Iraq in 2003; we can identify two sets of general arguments. The first reason is that the Prime Minister Blair, in particular, had in fact claimed that the regime changed was the only possible solution to prevent the threat faced by Iraq.

The second set of arguments sees UK support as a consequence not so much of its policy towards Iraq but more directly related to its policy on Bush’s America, this illustrates the connection of Blair with Bush, that is what this research will explain through the two chapters, this policy also may be regarded as a part of imperialism, likewise, UK had strong desire to gain UN authorization for such actions. Of course, the British government went to war claiming that they had such authorization and that the war was indeed legal (Ralph, 1).

Blair established a correlation with Bush the president of USA and committed the crime against peace and humanity for their 2003 engagement in the Iraq war. The decision to invade Iraq is the most contentious of Blair’s wars, and one of the most causes that led to the instability of the Middle East which was taken without public support (Riddle, 15).

This work aimed to answer the following questions: Did Blair introduce reforms that were different from the old reforms? To what extent did Blair’s reforms change the United Kingdom? What was the bound that linked Blair’s doctrine with G.W. Bush in the Middle East?

The path of this study includes two main chapters. The first chapter begins with some historical events in the Middle East from the beginning of the First World War, in addition to the history of the labour party by giving examples of a number Prime Ministers before 1997, after that the chapter moved to determine facts about the labour party under Tony Blair and his new style of government, we also shed light on his victory in 1997 general election and his strategy as Prime Minister, we gave as well a detailed analysis of how modernization takes its path by putting the “New” into “New Labour” in order to create a modernizing governance.

The second chapter of this research which comes up to identify the threat faced in the Middle East, where we focus on British military intervention in Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, and the question of Palestine, showing Blair in a sensitive position at the center of many critics furthermore, the impact of the intervention both on the Middle East and Britain.

Concerning the sources that we used in this research for the study contain books, articles published in magazines, journals, and newspapers, in addition to speeches of Tony Blair, essays, documents, and dissertations.

In short Tony Blair is a controversial character and the Middle East is a strategic location that is what we aim to discuss throughout this study which is entitled: "Blair's reforms and impacts on the Middle east" .

CHAPTER ONE:
Tony Blair's New Doctrine

Introduction:

Britain supported the Middle East riot against the Turkish Empire, which resulted from the collapse of the Arabs Union Since the First World War, Britain and France agreed to make a secret convention (the Sykes-Picot Agreement) to subdivide the Middle East grounds, The British became more interested in the Middle East especially by the end of 1920; thus the link between them turned out to be more complicated. The Suez crisis of 1956 was also a major event which represented the real British plans toward the Middle East; Britain had seen different labour Prime Ministers where each one of them introduced different political, economic, and social reforms in order to be popular and to construct a correlation with American presidents. In the second part of this chapter, we will discuss Tony Blair, the key leader who defined Britain times; his leadership in 1997 marked a seismic shift in British politics. Within a few short years, he had transformed his party and restored the country; he was a Prime Minister in 1997 and the dominant political figure of the last two decades, he took Labour to a historic three terms in office. The last part of this chapter will be about evaluating the achievements of Tony Blair which were really efficient.

1-The Middle East is the Centre of Greediness

The political conflict in the Middle East in 1914 could not have been more different to what it had been ten years before. Most countries of the region were under the rule of Britain and France, the Middle East was the course of the British imperialism greed.

Britain and the Middle East relations lasted to 1914, when the British Empire started to set schedule to detach the Ottoman Empire¹ and affixed strategies to turn the Arabs subjects against the Turkish government; in which they found support from Hejaz and the western region of the Arabian Peninsula. Amir of Makah Sharif Hussein Ben Ali² made an agreement with Britain in order to rebel against Ottomans; moreover British Empire assured to help Arabs in doing the revolt against their mother country with weapons and money, in addition, Britain promised to give him the opportunity to make his own Arab kingdom including Syria and Iraq (Alkhateeb, 1).

The following sentences are part of the official letter of Sir Henry McMahon³, 24 October 1915 who was British High Commissioner in Egypt to Hussein Ben Ali Sharif of Mecca during the First World War: ***“On the other hand, it is understood that the Arabs have decided to seek the advice and guidance of Great Britain only, and that such European advisers and officials as may be required for the formation of a sound form of administration will be British”*** (Ibid, 1). These lines seem like an incitement against the

Ottoman Empire and a chance to gain Arabs trust additionally, it is a strategy to divide the Middle East countries.

In 1916 Britain fulfilled its promises and help sheriff Hussein and his army with weapons, soldiers and created a flag which called “the flag of Arab revolt” consequentially, it became as the model for other countries such as Jordan, Palestine, Sudan, Syria, and Kuwait(Ibid,1), despite that those assistances could cause economic problems to Britain but this last preferred to engage on venture which had no clear future.

Between 1915 and 1916 Britain and France divided Arab lands secretly in skyes-picot agreement. The British took control of Iraq, Kuwait, and Jordan. The French dominated Syria, Lebanon, and southern Turkey but, in 1917 the two powers announced the agreement which aggravated tension between Britain and Arabs. Moreover, between 1917 and 1918 Arabs captured some cities from Ottomans. As well as, the British advanced into Palestine and Iraq capturing cities such as Jerusalem and Baghdad (Ibid, 1, 2), so it is noticeable that in each time Britain made new efforts, tactics, and plans to annex the Middle East to Britain.

A new group of Jewish known as the Zionists intended to establish their own political land in Palestine and pressured Britain. Arthur Balfour (foreign secretary of Britain) who was one of the supporters of this movement sent a letter to Baron Rothschild, a leader of the Zionist movement On November 2nd, 1917. The letter declared the British government’s official support for the Zionist movement’s⁴ ambitions to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, this was a part of Balfour declaration in which the British government gave the opportunity for the Jewish to reside in Palestine:

*His Majesty’s government view with favour the establishment
in Palestine of national home for the Jewish people, and will
use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this
object, it was clearly understood that nothing shall be done which
may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish
communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed
by Jews in any other country (Ibid, 2).*

Therefore Palestine seemed like a solution for Britain in order to avoid the risk drawing by the Zionists which became as an obsession that threatened Britain security.

In 1918 when the first world war ended, the Arabs situation was still unclear because it was restricted by three sides (Britain, Ottomans, and Zionist) besides that, Britain and France established a system known as the mandate system that divided the Middle East without any consideration to the ethnic, religious, geographical boundaries which led to the troubles between Arabs themselves (Ibid, 2).

With the end of the First World War, the greed of Britain toward the Middle East was shown, that is what Winston Churchill wished to express in few lines of his letter to the Prime Minister David Lloyd George⁵ which represented the real concerns of Britain toward Iraq.

I am deeply concerned about Iraq I think we should now put definitely, not only to Faisal but to the Constituent Assembly, the position that unless they beg us to stay and to stay on our own terms in regard to efficient control, we shall actually evacuate before the close of the financial year. I would put this issue in the most brutal way, and if they are not prepared to urge us to stay and to operate in every manner I would actually clear out (qtd in Harrison, 1).

As result, in 1920 the British army occupied Iraq and enforced mandate all over the era, then it provided the country with a constitution and nominated Faisal Ibn Husain⁶ the son of Sharif Husain of Mecca as the king of the state (Harrison, 1). Britain's direct intervention in Iraq lasted 18 years, but the events took another path which led to the creation of "the Arab Nationalism"⁷ by an urban population of Iraq chiefly against the new blossoms and contradiction of British policy , in 1932 Iraq entered into the league of nation which granted its independence and self-determined (Dodge, 3, 4, 5). Again the British army invaded Iraq in May 1941 to 1947 when the Arab nationalism established a special link with Germany and initiated a pro-German government to gain help for independence (Simkin, 1).

The neighboring Arab States became involved in this conflict on the side of Palestine Arabs in the 1930s, till the creation of the state of Israel in 1948; in 1967 the conflict was

further complicated by Israel's capture of the West Bank from Jordan, the Golan Heights from Syria and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt (Ibid 1).

Soon after, Faisal's rule was weakened from the events of the Suez Crisis as it was said: *“The crisis was a turning point in the modern history of the Middle East”* (qtd in Tazir, 8). Jamal Abdel Nasser the president of Egypt looked for nationalizing the Suez Canal because it will help them to finance the Aswan Dam but, Anthony Eden the Prime Minister of Britain saw it as threat and preparation for cutting out the oil supplies for Europe through establishing an Arab Alliance. Britain, France, and Israel discussed the problem thus; Egypt was invaded by Israel on 29th October 1956 followed by Britain and France after two days (Simkin, 2).

people in Iraq forced King Faisal to sustain Egypt which demanded help from soviet in the other hand the US put an end for Anglo –French alliance in Egypt, UN drew the British and French troops on 22 December, then Israeli forces withdrew in 1959 (Ibid,2).

So it is clearly that British strategy to exploit the Middle East was not something new and the conflict that pervaded the region in recent time was just continuation of the previous conflicts and plans, and many British leaders through time tried to impose their control in this area. The dominant leader Tony Blair, for instance, aimed to rebirth the ancient political domination of the early Prime Ministers of Britain in the Middle East but under the ribbon of “the war on terror”.

2-Prime Ministers Prior to Tony Blair

The Labour Party was British political party which was created in opposition to the conservative party⁸; it was known for its historic link with trade unions which led it to promote an active role for the state in the creation of economic prosperity and in the provision of social services. The labour party has been the major democratic socialist party in Britain, which saw different leaders with different policies and reforms (Webb, 1).

2.1- Clement Attlee Labour 1945 - 1951

Clement Attlee was the longest figure of the labour party whose career can be summarized into two periods first as leader of the Labour Party from 1935 to 1955, second as Prime Minister from 1945 to 1951. When a general election was called, Attlee led the Labour Party to a surprising landslide victory, winning 394 seats to the Conservative's 259 (Morgan, 41).

As Prime Minister, during his office he ameliorated social services and the public sector in post-war Britain, creating the National Health Service, nationalizing hospitals, major industries and public utilities (Ibid, 40).

Attlee's era as Prime Minister also saw an intense foreign policy activities. He placed great faith in Ernest Bevin, his Foreign Secretary, and then together they granted India independence. Attlee's government saw the creation of Israel state upon Britain's withdrawal from Palestine, American loans and 'Marshall Aid' to rebuild Britain and Western Europe, the Berlin airlift and Britain's commitment to the United Nations. He had also a strong personal relation with the president Harry Truman⁹. In fact he was a strict man who kept the decision of making the atomic bomb secret. In 1950 the Labour lost its majority when the general election was called, in the following year the Labour government had been exhausted (Ibid, 41, 42).

2.2- Harold Wilson Labour: 1964 -1970 and 1974 -1976

His first election victory as Prime Minister was from 15 October 1964 to 1970, his main plan was modernisation. Wilson's government gave an impression for laws of censorship, divorce, abortion, and homosexuality; he was the Prime Minister who abolished capital punishment. Harold Wilson made decisive steps to stop discrimination against women and ethnic minorities, also created the Open University for the mature student in order to give funding for art; his government faced early economic problems attached with political crisis comparing to Attlee's government. To resolve these problems, Wilson set a Defence Review from 1964 to 1965 and created the Department of Economic Affairs, which sought to achieve an ambitious National Plan; he cared to resolve the troubles between the nationalists and unionists in Northern Ireland but was ultimately unsuccessful (Morgan, 43).

Wilson was forced to devalue the pound in November 1967, which raised discontent among population especially, after his unwise interview response for television broadcasting where he stated: ***"the pound in your pocket has not been devalued' was to be held against him for years to come"*** (qtd in Ibid, 43).

Despite that; Wilson recognized the value of membership of the European Economic Community (EEC), but his 1967 application failed. His popularity again had increased; Wilson called a general election in June 1970. He paved the way for James Callaghan, leader of the Labour Party, succeeded him to the role of Prime Minister (Ibid, 44, 45).

2.3-James Callaghan: 1976-1979

Harold Wilson resigned in 1976 and Callaghan won the leadership election at the age of 64 years old; he had a long concern to the parliamentary reforms, James Callaghan's years as Prime Minister also saw the introduction of the Police Act of 1976, which configured Police complaints procedures, in addition; to the Act of 1977 which gave the local authorities the responsibility to supply housing for homeless people. The Education Act of 1976 which maintained schools in any one area, and put an end to the great debates over the standard of the education system (Morgan, 45, 46).

Harold was not different from the previous labour Prime Ministers; he had the ambition to build a flourishing foreign policy in particular with the US and President Carter. Kenneth O. Morgan described Harold Wilson in his *Comparative Study of Labour Prime Ministers* like a servant as the bridge between Europe and US (Ibid, 46).

Despite this success, across the winter of 1978 to 1979 which later on known as "the winter of discontent" by public sector workers who uphold a series of strikes which in turn led to the opposition of the MPs in the parliament in 1979 (Ibid, 46, 47). The following general election in May 1979 was won by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative party.

2.4- Margaret Thatcher :(the Iron conservative Women)

The United Kingdom's first and the only female Prime Minister served from 1979 until 1990. During her time in office, she worked to reduce the influence of trade unions, privatized certain industries, returned public benefits and changed the terms of political debate. Nicknamed the "Iron Lady," she opposed the Soviet communism and fought a war to maintain control of the Falkland Islands. The longest-serving British Prime Minister of the 20th century; she faced economic difficulties, as result she sought to find an economic solution starting with a theory known as "Monetarism". However, all her programs were less successful; her curriculum created high unemployment to almost three million, also increased class differentiation (New York Essay.com, 2).

Margaret Thatcher and her government are best identified with a set of policies, practices and ideals known as "Thatcherism" which was defined by Roger Bootle as : "***it was just the traditional liberal economic agenda, developed in the 19th century – free markets, free trade, competition, a small state, requiring only low levels of taxation, and financial probity***"(1).

She enhanced political allies with Ronald Reagan as a result; they together put an end to the Cold War and realized victory for the Free World. She pushed the President George Bush to send troops to Saudi Arabia right after Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990 (Ibid, 3).

The office of Prime Minister returned once again to the labour party under the leadership of the statesman Tony Blair, the initiation will be about the early life of Tony Blair to recognize the features that led him to be a great political man.

3-Tony Blair: a Prime Minister

Tony Blair, (Anthony Charles Lynton Blair) was born on May 6, 1953, in Edinburgh, Scotland. Even though he was born in Scotland, Blair expanded a big part of his childhood in Durham, England, where he attended the Chorister School (Biography.com 1).

Blair's father, Leo Charles Blair, also was a political man who worked hard to be as a Tory¹⁰ for parliament in 1963, Blair at that time was just 10 years old. Before the election, Leo received a stroke which unable him to speak for three years. Blair and his older brother Bill and younger sister Sarah faced financial difficulties and felt responsible since the early age to adherent his political father's steps (Ibid, 1).

Blair's grandparents were actors, so at his early life he started to inherit their talent for entertainment beginning from Fettes College to ST. John's College at Oxford University, when he was a leader of rock squad which called Ugly Rumors, the band performed several songs by the Rolling stones, the Doobie Brothers (Ibid, 1).

In 1975 he graduated with the law degree from the law school at University of Oxford, in the same year his mother Hazel Corscadden an Irish butcher's daughter died of cancer. After graduation he started to work under Queen's Counsel Alexander Irvine, Blair was a smart learner and gained a lot of knowledge over the local politics. During that period of internship he met his future wife Cherie Booth, who graduated from the London School of Economist; the couple married in March 1980 and went on to have four children: Euan, Nicholas, Kathryn and Leo (Ibid, 2).

There are many different personality types, and it is difficult sometimes to classify a person into a single type as there are many different personality traits you can possess. As it was supposed by some experts: ***“Blair is distinctive from comparable political figures, his internal locus of control, low conceptual complexity, and high need for power”*** (Dyson,

294). This quote represent the strong personality of Tony Blair, he is Decision-maker, an innate leader since his early life and developed over times.

A lot of questions can be asked about the origins and the ambition of the strong charisma of Mr. Blair but the entire questions befallen in one answer that is the difficult circumstances that Blair had experienced during his early time which affected his political future life especially the formation of his strong personality and his poignant decisions.

Politically, Tony Blair was one of the youngest and the longest serving Prime Minister of Britain from 1997 to 2007, belonging to the Labour Party. Under his leadership, his party came to be known as the 'New Labour Party'. He applied several socio-economic reforms to remit poverty and bring down unemployment as a correction of Margaret Thatcher economic faults while focusing on improving the living standards of people. However, his decisions which led Britain to several wars, especially the 'War on Terror' declared by the U.S, which put him at a sensible position with his party as well as his citizens. He was often criticized for his illogical support to the invasions carried out in the Middle East by the US. But this decision made both, his party members and the public disaffected to engage England in the wars, which, not only violated human rights and disrupted peace, but also exhausted a substantial amount of Britain's financial reserves (Famous people, 1).

He went into the political world by joining the Labour Party, in 1982 he was chosen to represent the party in the parliament but he lost his first election. In 1983, he won the election, earning a seat in the parliament. After his election, he affected the party members by his hard work. Later on, he was appointed as the assistant Treasury spokesman in 1984; one of his remarkable policies was the opposition to Margaret Thatcher and her conservative Party. In 1987, he was pitched to be as the spokesmen of trade and industry. In the next year in 1988, he kept a close eye on the government policies through the creation of the Shadow Secretary of Energy by the Shadow ministry which formed by members of the opposition. But in 1992 Blair established the shadow Home Secretary serving under John Smith who died in 1994 then, Blair was elected as the leader of the opposition. As well as, when he reached his hope to be as leader of the labour party in the parliament, he started to suggest policies concerning several domains (Ibid, 1, 2).

In 1997 Tony Blair led the labour party to victory and broke the routine of 18 years monopolism of the conservative party. With little change inside government of his party toward new labour party (Pettinger, 2), he stated in 1994 when he took office: ***"We must transform Labour from a party of protest to a party of government"*** (qtd in Ibid, 2). Blair

realized his dream of generalship step by step, which give him the full responsibility of leading the United Kingdom.

4-New birth of labour party: life after death

The British Labour Party under Tony Blair won a massive victory in 1997, after eighteen years in opposition. Labour party had been in power for an exceptional thirteen successive years. It is undoubted that Tony Blair has been a great figure in Britain and Labour party politics. He led the Labour party to three successive general election victories. His government was one of three flourishing and emergent administrations since 1906. He has been a successful Prime Minister, who has placed a new path for the public services and put Britain in a better situation than he found it in 1997. All the previous governments from (1945, 1951, 1964, 1970, 1974 to 1979) none was fortunate as Labour in 1997. Practically all were in an inferior position, they were characterized by a weak economy and a few or non-existent majority in parliament, but in 1997 Tony Blair set a strong economy and gain the large majority in the House of Commons (Seldon, 3), Blair's coming to power can be considered as a new dimension in all the domains who speedily became the centre of wonderings of many politicians.

When Labour came back to the political center, Blair affirmed in his speech: ***“I didn't come into politics to change the Labour party. I came into politics to change the country”*** (Tony Blair, speech at Labour party annual conference.1995). This explains that Blair and his allies projected not only to win the election, but also to make it once a stable party of government in the eyes of electorate, and they affirmed that Britain is worthy to be in a superior state, especially with Blair leading the party, “New Labour” was going to make Britain greater again (Bewes, 33).

Tony Blair began the premiership on 2 May1997 and ended on 27 June 2007. He served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, at the same time he was the First Lord of the Treasury, the Minister for the Civil Service, the Leader of the Labour Party (until Gordon Brown took his position on 24 June 2007), as well as a member of parliament for the constituency of Sedgefield in County Durham. The Labour Party under Tony Blair was really new labour; it was the only Labour Prime Minister to serve two full successive terms and has led the party to three following general election victories (New world encyclopedia, 1).

In home government policy, Blair significantly increased public spending on health and education additionally; he introduced momentous reforms in these areas. In adding up Blair's

term saw the introduction of a minimum wage, schooling fees for higher education, constitutional reforms such as devolution in Scotland and Wales, and growth in the Northern Ireland peace process. The British economy made Britons grew eighteen percent during 1997–2006, Blair also promised to increase rates of employees to decrease income tax in the first term. He also performed a significant extension of the welfare state during his time in office, which led to a significant decrease in poverty. Blair supported US foreign policy with high enthusiasm, particularly by participating in the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. September 2006 Blair declared in public that he would step down as party leader by the time of the TUC conference in September 2007; on 27 June 2007 he affirmed his decision to resign as Prime Minister (Aspinall, 18).

4.1-First term :(1997-2001)

Blair won a 179 seat majority in the House of Commons; it was the largest parliamentary majority in the history of the Labour Party and the biggest majority of any party since 1935. He claimed that his policies were planned to enable social democracy to counter the challenges of the worldwide market economy and to provide citizens with elements that help them to cope with what was called the major revolutions of our time, including globalization (Giddens, 51).

A major realization of Blair's first term was the signing of the Belfast Agreement, on 10 April 1998, which was generally known as the Good Friday Agreement. In the Good Friday Agreement, most Northern Irish political parties joined with British and Irish Governments, they agreed upon a "totally peaceful and democratic" construction for the governance of Northern Ireland and a new set of political institutions for the province (Ali, Craig, Dalton et al, 13, 14).

Blair's first term saw an extensive program of changes to the constitution. The Human Rights Act was introduced in 1998; a Scottish Parliament and a Welsh Assembly were set up; most hereditary peers were standing apart from the House of Lords in 1999; the Greater London Authority and the post of Mayor of London were established in 2000; moreover, the Freedom of Information Act was passed later in the same year, with its provisions having many effects in the following years. This last Act disappointed campaigners, whose hopes had been raised by a 1998 White Paper which had promised more vigorous legislation (Gallagher, 2).

During the first term as Prime Minister, Blair raised taxes; he introduced a National Minimum Wage and some new employment rights and signed treaties integrating Britain

more closely with the EU. He introduced huge reforms in education and health sectors, add to this he established student tuition fees; he sought to reduce certain categories of welfare payments and set up as well a harsh anti-terrorism and identity card legislation. Under Blair's government the amount of new legislation increased which paid attention to criticism. What is more, Blair imposed compulsory DNA recording (Biography.com, 7).

Another significant change in 1997 was the creation of the Department for International Development, shifting global development policy away from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and independent ministry with a Cabinet-level minister. Additionally, in 1999, Blair was awarded the Charlemagne Prize by the German city of Aachen for his contributions to the European ideal peace (BBC News, 1).

Blair intended and took the chair over the declaration of the Kosovo War In 1999. Whereas in opposition, the Labour Party had criticized the Conservatives for their apparent weakness during the Bosnian war, as well as Blair was among those who influenced a strong line by NATO¹¹ against Slobodan Milošević¹². He was criticized both by those on the Left who opposed the war in principle and by some others who believed that the Serbs were fighting a legitimate war of self-defense. One month into the war, on 22 April 1999, Blair made a speech in Chicago setting out his "Doctrine of the International Community"¹³, this later became known by the media as the "Blair doctrine", it played an important role and has a part in Blair's decisions, subsequently; he ordered the British military to intervene in the Sierra Leone Civil War in May 2000 (Daddow, 549).

Likewise, considerable changes took place to legislation giving rights of lesbian, gay and transgender people during Blair's period in the office. During his first term, the age of consent for homosexuals was equalized at 16. Consequently, in 2005 a Civil Partnership Act came into effect, allowing gay couples to form legally recognized partnerships. At the end of September 2006 more than 30,000 Britons had entered into Civil Partnerships as a result of this law. Transgender people were given the right to change their birth certificate to reflect their new gender as a result of the Gender Recognition Act of 2004 (BBC news, 5).

Blair during his first term was working to gain as much as population by introducing different reforms in many fields, he was accented on domestic affairs as a corrector for the previous mistakes done by different Prime Ministers.

4.2-Second term: (2001-2005)

Blair second term was exceptionally different from the first one perhaps because he earned more confidence by his population those who trusted him after his immense changes

and once he proved that he was a man of responsibility, so he started to put Britain in a sensitive position with the US in the Middle East .

Blair Faced an extremely opposition by people even though, he was easily reelected in May 2001 and got a 167 seat majority in the House of Commons, which was the largest ever second term majority in British electoral history, his second term was dominated by international affairs. In the late 1990s, he had won the reward for peacekeeping operations in the Serbian province of Kosovo and in Sierra Leone. After the 9 /11 attacks on the United States in 2001, Britain played a key role in forming an international alliance that was successful in driving the Taliban from power in Afghanistan, which had been allowed to become a safe haven for Islamic militants such as Osama Ben laden¹⁴, the mastermind of the attacks(Gallagher, 10).

Despite deep divisions within the Labour Party (several ministers' resigned and 139 Labour members of Parliament voted in support of a movement which opposed the government's policy). In October 2004 Blair announced that he would seek a third term as Prime Minister but would not stand for a fourth term (Tapsfield, Spillett, 1, 4).

Blair leadership period saw also much other social improvements under his years of Administration; social services were greater than before, while various anti-poverty dealings were launched. From 2001 to 2005, public spending enlarged by an average of 4.8 percent in real terms, while expenditure on transport went up by 8.5 percent per annum, health by 8.2 percent per annum, and education by 5.4 percent per annum. Between 1997 and 2005, child poverty was halved in absolute terms as a result of measures such as the extension of maternity pay, increases in child benefit, and by the growth in the numbers of people in employment. During the same period, the number of pensioners living in poverty fell by over 75 percent in absolute terms as a result of initiatives such as the introduction of Winter Fuel Payments, the reduction of VAT¹⁵ on fuel, and the introduction of a Minimum Income Guarantee. To reduce poverty traps for those who make the transition from welfare to work, a minimum wage was established, collectively with a Working Tax Credit and a Child Tax Credit. Together with various tax credit schemes to supplement low earnings, Blair's Government policies significantly increased the earnings of the lowest income decile. In addition, under the Working Time Regulations of 1998, British workers gained a statutory entitlement to paid holidays (Powell, 235). These were just a small number of ideas about the period of Tony Blair leadership.

4.3-Third term: (2005 -2007)

Despite the public dissatisfaction which contrasted Blair policy in Iraq, he led the Labour Party to another third successive election victory in May 2005, but with a sharply reduced majority. Enormous revolt in the Labour Party over both Iraq and Blair's policies led him to present promise that he would resign before the next election (Gallagher, 3). Thus Blair's popularity, with both the general public and the Labour members of Parliament, declined after the election.

Many people in Britain felt that the country was in the grasp of a serious depression. Social cohesion seemed to be collapsing in much of urban Britain, as shown by the rise of violent crime and open drug dealing. Public officials in the police, civil service, and education sectors seemed to be unable to wrestle well with the social crisis as they struggled to meet bureaucratic targets. After Islamic extremists exploded bombs in London on July 7, 2005, killing 54 people, Blair began to emphasize the need for a common public culture, and former multicultural policies that encouraged ethnic groups to separate into different communities were repudiated (Davis,4).

Blair's government suffered its first defeat in the House of Commons in November 2005, when 49 Labour members of Parliament joined the opposition in voting against antiterrorist laws. Subsequently, many Labour members of Parliament called for Blair to announce a date for his removal as Prime Minister hence, before the next general election; following a series of resignations by junior ministers, Blair declared in September 2006 that he would stand down within a year. On May 10, 2007, one week after Labour was defeated by the Scottish National Party in elections to the Scottish Parliament and suffered major defeats in English local elections as well; two days after Blair announced that he would officially tender his resignation, afterward he was succeeded as a leader of the Labour Party and as Prime Minister by his long-serving Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown (Gallagher, 12).

Thanks to Tony Blair's leadership, his priority for the first, the second and the third term was to increase the pace of public sector reform, which took shape in the Prime Minister's Delivery Unit, bills on Foundation Hospitals, Academy Schools and university tuition fees, and the increasing "choice agenda"(Ibid, 13).

Tony Blair lost his popularity after his illogical decisions of military interventions which later on menaced the British security but at first he gave his public a lot of services which no one can be denied.

5-The third way

Many historians have been widely discussed the idea of “the third way”¹⁶ in politics over recent time, this term is not only found in the United Kingdom but also in the United States, Continental Europe and Latin America. Anthony Giddens¹⁷ shows that developing a third way is not only a possibility but a necessity in modern politics (Benmachri, 23).

Giddens said that the third way’s task was to provide the British Labour Party and other European social democrats with the theoretical form to cover the bad effects of their policy making. Though his book, later on, became a central reference point for scholars of New Labour, what it really hinted is that the Third Way’s achievement becomes buzzword status (Atkin, 1).

There are numerous examples of political leaders and movements that declared their loyalty to a Third Way both historically and in the contemporary world, in the contemporary world, the best- known exemplar of the Third Way is British Prime Minister Tony Blair, though a number of other political leaders in Europe and elsewhere have expressed support for the style of Blair’s adaptation of the Third Way (Labour, 3).

The Western European version of the Third Way specifically Tony Blair account begins by elaborating of what they describe as free market capitalism¹⁸ and state socialism. They argue that free market capitalism is inhumane, restricted and based on the idea that denies equal opportunity to all classes and social groups. On the other hand, the followers of the Third Way claim that socialism denies the individual freedom of choice and motivation to engage in entrepreneurial activity. The Blairites and their followers claim that they are in favor of an economy and society that combines the individual choice of the marketplace and the social opportunities of the welfare state. Underlying the Third Way is a set of sociological assumptions that provide the theoretical liars of Blair’s political directives (Petras, 1, 2).

The idea of the third way was found because of the need to create and promote productive debate between left and right, between who supports either the state or the free

market. In other word, the image of a Third Way was used in order to modernize the social democracy and to modernize governance (Trumen, 2).

The Third Way means the possibility of combining social solidarity with a dynamic economy, but to achieve this contemporary goal the social democrats should strive for it and pursue it, Blair asserted that ***“we will need fewer national governments, less central government, but greater governance over local processes”*** (Giddens, 5).

In October 1998, when Tony Blair gained victory in the previous elections, the British sociologist Anthony Giddens published his famous manifesto, The Third Way. In just over 150 pages, the book announced to the world a new political faith. Appearing in an era when the mental state of socialism and communism still follow the Left, Giddens’s call for a “renewal of social democracy” was meant to close the book on the past and begin a new page in the history of social progress. Everything was new, the new economy, New Labour, New Democrats, and the New Middle. The electoral left had been adapting itself to the neoliberal world of free markets and privatization (Ibid, 4).

The Third Way was also linked to the United States Democratic Party in the era of Bill Clinton as a result of the dialogue which was in Washington in April 1999 about the Third Way politics. This was declared by Curtis Atkins who states ***“Throughout the 1990s, Bill Clinton and other Democratic Leadership Council figures launched a movement to take their third way ideology global”***. When Clinton came to power with high energy to rebuild society promoting his DLC¹⁹ in a post-Clinton world, people worldwide embraced the New Democrat message of opportunity, responsibility, and community (Atkins, 1).

People become responsive with the policies of the president, so the organization began to imagine itself as a participant in a global revolution in the politics of the Left. The DLC was eager to explain its image as something more serious than simply an electoral vehicle for conservative minded Democrats or Clinton supporters. It began to see itself as the American franchise of a worldwide movement, the pioneer of the new ideological project for the center-left (Ibid, 2).

Though it had been one of the first of the new breed to use the phrase “Third Way,” placing it into the Democratic Party platform as far back as 1992, the DLC had rarely employed the term as a descriptor for its politics up to this point. The New Democrats had assembled a rich conceptual map, with a number of domestic policy achievements under its

belt, the DLC promoted its role as the leader of an international Third Way project but they had not often applied a distinctiveness to the ideology they created (Ibid, 2).

Among the reasons that participate in the emergence of the third way's idea are: The political context of the United Kingdom is the dominance of class politics, the rise of Thatcherism, the conflict between the state and trades unions in the 1980s, and the long failure of Labour to gain electoral success shaped Labour's attempt to build a new political decision. Here, the Third Way can be viewed as an effort to disconnect “new” from “old” Labour. The Origins of a Third Way expected to overcome the old ideologies and marking out a new political area, it was used widely by Blair to distinguish new Labour from the positions it was before (Possel, 5). Some intellectuals asserted that the third way is something completely distinct from social democracy and new liberalism for Blair it would be a true third way. On the other hand, it seemed to obtain a compromise between both ideologies, a particular combination of their values, Blair said: ***“our task today is not to fight old battles but to show that there is a third way, a way of marrying together an open, competitive and successful economy with a just, decent and humane society”*** (Blair's speech to a meeting of the European Socialists conference in Malmo, Sweden, June 1997), Blair is very intelligent man who suggested a new political ideology to abolish the conflict over the different theories and views that was established between the two main dominant political parties in Britain.

Subsequently; the Third Way represents progress to these old politics and also put improvements. Modernisation and moderation went hand in hand with Labour's vision of reform, symbolizing a non-ideological, realistic approach to the use of markets and put new language of partnerships and new contractual forms, i.e. The Third Way thus acted as a surrounding device through which the variable field of welfare policy was ordered and organized in the search of the main position for the new Labour program (Atkins, 3). Blair set out a number of oppositions that the Third Way sought to reconcile in his speech on March 25, 2000: ***“My vision for the twenty-first century is of a popular politics reconciling themes which in the past have wrongly been regarded as antagonistic, patriotism and internationalism; rights and responsibilities; the promotion of enterprise and the attack on poverty and discrimination”*** (qtd in www.theguardian.com, 3).

We think that we will have to find what has often been called the third way, a way that requires governments to empower with tools and conditions necessary for individuals, families, communities, and nations to make the most of their human potential.

The socialist party candidate for president of France in the elections of 1995-2002 criticize the third way and declared in a pamphlet issued just days before the election, he confirmed that he was for “modern socialism” but not the Third Way and he stated: ***“The Third Way lies between old and new, it is merely a new name for democratic socialism strange to the British. On the other hand, the Third Way includes finding a middle way between social democracy and neo-liberalism, so there is no longer a role for such a politics of in-betweens ”***(Jospin,4-5).

In short, the Third Way can be observed not as a logical political program but as a changeable strategy that aimed to build new coalitions and establish a compromise around new labour as a political party and government.

6-New labour performance since 1997

With the declaration of: "New Labour Because Britain Deserves Better", it appeared that new labour would give new way of life and new promises for Britons to gain their vote for the new term, it is said that the New Labour won the election, because Blair and his members have tried to understand what British people needed, in fact, the New Labour was simply the follower of Margaret Thatcher’s achievements. Moreover, Tony Blair and his assistants have constantly used Thatcherism expression to make his new credentials stronger such as the use of ‘No turning back’ and ‘No, no, no.’(Thatcher and Blair." 123HelpMe.com, 1, 2).

Everything achieved by Tony Blair cannot be forgotten. The early years in power were defined by brave liberal and social democratic reforms, the introduction of the minimum wage, the windfall tax on the privatized utilities, devolution in Scotland, Wales and London, the Human Rights Act and independence for the Bank of England (Baines, 1).

Several mistakes were done by John Major (the previous Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1990 to 1997) led to his unpopularity as Conservative leader; this gave the opportunity to Blair to prove his advantageous. In1999, general elections of the Labour Party achieved extensive victory over the Conservatives. On May 2, 1997, he promised to build New Britain (Ibid, 5).

As the new PM, he raised taxes, implemented new employment rights, introduced new privileges for the homosexuals and signed several treaties in his pursuit to unify Britain with the European Union (Famous people.com, 4).

Not only this but numerous realizations, in health and educational sectors as well, he introduced countless reforms, canceled many categories of welfare payments, he employed rigorous anti-terrorism measures and passed legislation regarding the issuance of identity cards to the citizens. He legislated the police force with more power which consequently increased the number of punishable offenses and he also made DNA recording mandatory (William, 3).

His government, in fact, carried out several initiatives to reduce the level of poverty and increase the number of social services in Britain. Poverty diminished to a great extent and the overall health conditions of people were improved during his tenure. Nearly 1.7 million under-paid workers were benefitted from his minimum wage policy and over 2 million people were rescued from poverty (Thorpe, 270).

He made an effort for the revival of the environment; furthermore, while addressing the United States Congress assured about 20 percent reduction in carbon dioxide emissions. He stated: ***"about 10 of the energy required by Britain would be obtained from renewable resources"*** (Ibid, 272).

He aimed to increase childhood participation in sports activities, especially in the North East of England, where a larger section of children are socially excluded, he tried to promote overall health and prevent childhood obesity, by setting up "Tony Blair Sports Foundation" in 2007, a nonprofit organization to encourage understanding and tolerance among people belonging to different faiths, lastly and after his retirement, he dedicated most of his time to charitable works (Bogdanor, 78).

During his tenure, the United Kingdom participated in five major battles: 1998, when England joined hands with the U.S to attack Iraq but she failed because of the UN²⁰ prevention, in 1999, the Kosovo War, in 2000, Sierra Leone Civil War, in 2001, the 9/11 terror strikes in the US in which America declared "War on Terror" and Britain joined hand with the U.S. by sending troops into battle against Afghanistan and Iraq (Burton, 6).

Even though; his foreign policy, especially, concerning the U.S. was harshly criticized as a result, his popularity as the PM soon started to fall. Due to the rising victims of British troops in Iraq war, Blair's popularity dropped completely and he was accused of misleading Parliament. What is more, the Labour party's overall majority in the 2005 general election was reduced to 66 seats. In view of this situation, Blair was forced to resign (Power, 2).

He has been viewed as criminal by many human-rights activists; his achievements were less than he hoped or promised including Desmond Tutu, Harold Pinter and Arundhati Roy who have demanded his trial in the International Criminal Court for giving his approval to wars and invasions (Ibid, 3).

The day he resigned, he was appointed as the Special Envoy for the United Nations, European Union, United States, and Russia to the “Quartet on the Middle East” to help the region facilitate its peace process(William,1,2).

On 13 January 2009 President George W. Bush awarded Blair the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his extensive support in the “War on Terror” and also for playing a fundamental role in reaching peace in Northern Ireland²¹, and On 13 September 2010 he was awarded the Liberty Medal at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia, by the former U.S. President, Bill Clinton (Burkeman, 1).

Tony Blair believed that standing shoulder to shoulder with the American administration would serve British interest, despite the resulting unpopularity at home and in Europe, he declared any criticism Washington should be taken into consideration rather than in public(BBC News, 2).

Tony Blair’s foreign policy can be divided into two major parts, the first one can be regarded broadly successful and the second one is a failure. The Labour government’s Northern Ireland peace settlement and the formation of Blair’s “humanitarian interventionist” doctrine in Kosovo and Sierra Leone can be considered as successful. The five years followed 2002 were unsuccessful for the reason provided help to George Bush’s invasion of Iraq and for the whole “war on terror” agenda.

Conclusion

To sum up, one can infer that there are various reasons that caused war in the Middle East. The rapacity of super powers (America, Britain, and Israel) especially, keeping eye on oil wealth and other natural resources always kept this province in problematic, one can infer that it was the general wish or need of westerns to divide the Middle East countries to get their things done. Many British statesmen contributed to the instability in this region; we aimed to draw attention to the Middle East which occupied a central position in the history of British external relations in the twentieth century. Tony Blair, for instance, was considered as a new category of politician and significant leader of recent times; he has a huge charisma with a wave of optimism. The slogan of “New Labour, New Britain” came with the objective to improve both the party and the country; the Labour party has been able

to follow a more traditionally social democratic plan. His reforms were a meaningful step towards giving a consistent push to the UK's role in international development. But he was accused of being criminal; he took the country to the war because he believed it is the right thing to do. The aim of this chapter is to focus on Blair's personality and his reform in the UK.

Endnotes

¹The Ottoman Empire: was an empire created by Turkish tribes in Anatolia(Asia Minor) that grew to be one of the most powerful states in the world during the 15th and 16th centuries.

²Hussein ibn Ali al-Hashimi: (1853/1854 – 4 June 1931) was a Hashemite Arab leader who was the Sharif and Emir of Mecca from 1908 till the proclaiming the Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire, King of the Hejaz from 1916 to 1924.

³Arthur Henry McMahon: Lieutenant Colonel Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, was a British diplomat and Indian Army officer who served as the High Commissioner in Egypt from 1915 to 1917.

⁴Zionism: a political movement that supports the maintenance and preservation of the Israel state as a Jewish homeland, originally arising in the late 1800s with the goal of reestablishing a Jewish homeland in the region of Palestine.

⁵David Lloyd George: also called (1945) British Prime Minister(1916–22) who dominated the British political scene in the latter part of World War I.

⁶Fayṣal I : (born May 20, 1885, Mecca—died Sept. 8, 1933, Bern), Arab statesman and king of Iraq(1921–33) who was a leader in advancing Arab nationalism during and after World War I.

⁷The Arab Nationalism: a movement asserting the political and cultural unity of Arab states and people and advocating their self-determination and independence from Western influences.

⁸Conservative Party, by name Tories, in the United Kingdom, a political party whose guiding principles include the promotion of private property and enterprise, the maintenance of a strong military, and the preservation of traditional cultural values and institutions.

⁹ Harry S. Truman: (born May 8, 1884, Lamar, Missouri, US-died December 26, 1972, Kansas City, Missouri), 33rd president of the United States (1945–53), who led his country through the final stages of World War II and through the early years of the Cold War, vigorously opposing Soviet expansionism in Europe and sending US forces to turn back a communist invasion of South Korea.

¹⁰Tories is the colloquial word for supporters of the conservative party in the UK. Historically, the word Tory has also been used for those who support the British monarchy.

¹¹NATO : (The North Atlantic Treaty Organization) is an alliance of 28 countries bordered in the North Atlantic Ocean.

¹²Slobodan Milosevic, (born Aug. 29, 1941, Požarevac, Yugos. He was found dead March 11, 2006, The Hague, Neth.), politician and administrator who was Serbia's party leader and president 1989–97, pursued Serbian nationalist policies that contributed to the breakup of the socialist Yugoslav federation. He subsequently embroiled Serbia in a series of conflicts with the successor Balkan states.

¹³Doctrine of the International Community: was a speech which he delivered in April 1999. In this speech Mr. Blair asserted:

"Today the impulse towards interdependence is Immeasurable greater. We are witnessing the beginning of new doctrine of international community. By this I mean the explicit recognition that today more than ever before we are mutually dependent, that national interest to a significant extend Governed by international collaboration and that we need a clear and coherent debate as the direction this doctrine takes us in each field in international Endeavour. Just as within domestic politics, the notion of community- the belief that partnership and co-operation are essential to advance self-interest- is coming into its own; it needs to find its international echo. Global financial markets, the global environment, and global security and disarmament issues: none of these can be solved without intense international co- operation "

¹⁴Osama Bin Laden: was born into a wealthy Saudi Arabian family in 1957 and grew up in a privileged world, he left it in the 1980s to fight the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and formed Al Qaeda. He declared war on the USA in 1998 and is believed to be the mastermind behind the 9-11 attacks, he was killed in May, 2011 by US forces in Pakistan.

¹⁵VAT:(The Value Added Tax) in the European Union is a general, broadly based consumption tax assessed on the value added to goods and service. It applies more or less to all goods and services that are bought and sold for use or consumption in the European Union.

¹⁶The Third Way philosophy seeks to adapt enduring progressive values to the new challenges of the Information Age. It rests on three cornerstones: the idea that government should promote equal opportunity for all while granting special privilege for none; an ethic of mutual responsibility that equally rejects the politics of entitlement and the politics of

social abandonment; and a new approach to governing that empowers citizens to act for themselves.

¹⁷Anthony Giddens: born in 18 January 1938 is a British sociologist who is renowned for his theory of structuration and his holistic view of modern societies.

¹⁸Free Market Capitalism: Is an economic system that has played a dominant part in building the world in which we currently live.

¹⁹DLC: (The Democratic Leadership Council) was found in 1985 by a group of minded politicians and strategists in which they advocated a political "Third way" as a method to achieve the middle way.

²⁰UN : (The United Nation) is an organization which came into being in 1945, following the devastation of the second world war, with one central mission: the maintenance of international peace and security.

²¹The President George W. Bush on Tuesday praised the three "**The true friends of the United States**", he awarded the nation's highest civilian honour Tony Blair, John Howard and Colombian leader Alvaro Uribe. The three men were given the Presidential Medal of Freedom at a ceremony at the White House in the final days of Mr. Bush's presidency, He declared: "***This afternoon I'm pleased to award the Medal of Freedom to three extraordinary leaders," he said of his Colombian counterpart, former British Prime Minister Blair and former Australian leader Howard. Each of the men was "a true friend of the United States who met historic challenges with great tenacity, and who provides a lasting example of statesmanship at home and abroad".***

And added: "Mr. Blair and Mr. Howard were Bush's staunchest allies in the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq, and the outgoing president paid lengthy tribute to each of them and their "firm adherence to the principles of freedom and democratic value."

*"They're the sort of guys who look you in the eye and tell you the truth and keep their word" he said.*10:54PM GMT 13 Jan 2009.

CHAPTER TWO:

Blair's policy in the Middle East and the war on terror

Introduction

The Middle East has always been the richest region of the natural resources, which made the western countries compete to establish and maintain their colonies since the twentieth century. Much of the British foreign policy in the last three decades has centered on the Middle East because this area is wealthy in oil, which derived the Americans and the British to be present there, fighting terrorism and preserving peace was the main invasion pretext. So the aim of this chapter is to explore the underlying causes of the largest category of Middle Eastern wars: the Anglo-American military intervention in Iraq, in Afghanistan, and Iran, additionally; within the scope of this chapter we will briefly discuss the Arab-Israeli war and the role of Blair in this war.

1-The special relationship: UK and US

There were great debates over the real meaning of the special relationship created by UK and US presidents especially during Tony Blair office. For Americans the origin of this relation is related to certain factors, including a sense of shared history, values, and culture, as well as wide range of foreign policy and security issues for the two great countries but for the British this relation was a kind of bridge between the US and Europe as whole then, as the key to enhance the UK's role in the world comparing to the United States (Lunn, Miller, Smith, 3).

In fact, the two nations (America and Britain) are bound together by common features. Through the time of war and rebellion they became friends and Allies, Britain and US smooth deeply the roots of this relation during the world war two into what is known as a "special relationship". It seemed that they were real friends but both powers had something to gain from each other.

Tony Blair proclaimed when he delivered his first major foreign policy speech at the Mansion House in November 1997 that: ***"Our aim should be to deepen our relationship with the US at all levels. We are the bridge between the US and Europe. Let us use it"*** (Ibid, 5).

Blair's premiership was known for his passion to create an excellent relationship with US governments first with Bill Clinton¹ (1997-2001), second with President George W. Bush (2001-2007) particularly to what was related to the Middle East issues, he sought to rebuild the ancient relations especially the alliance of the Second World War.

After the presidential election in 1992 the American president Bill Clinton intended to strengthen the relationship between US and UK, following by the labour party winning the national election in Britain in 1997, the Prime Minister Tony Blair and the president Bill Clinton created a new political philosophy known as “The third Way”, thus there were fixed meeting between the two leaders for discussing the new political theory and for international movements (Lunn, Miller, Smith, 20). The two men believed that Iraq contained manufactures of Mass Destruction and argued the importance of sending UN weapons inspectors access to the areas of Iraq (Gidda, 1). The reality is that during the Iraq-Iran war and after Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait both US and UK claimed that Iraq acquired WMD, the real reason of American and UK's invasion of Iraq was not because they were concerned about his weapon but indeed, Iraq was fueled by oil and money adding up, just Saddam Hussein stepped out of American line -regarding that America is the leader of the world- so these reasons are enough to justify the presence of both powers in the Middle East.

Regardless of the political distance between the Republican US President, and the labour Prime Minister, Blair and Bush proved the reverse, specifically after the 9/11 attacks which united them under the league of war on terror² and later on, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq (Lunn, Miller, Smith, 22), the U.S. commentator's described Bush and Blair relationship as: ***"The Prime Minister and the President were like two men looking through different ends of a telescope. To Blair at one end, Bush is a huge figure, right in the middle of the picture. To Bush, looking through the other, Blair is smaller, less significant. Still in his eyeline, but not taking up all the space"*** (qtd in Coutts, 6).

The two leaders eventually empowered the system of military intervention which they supported in their own Doctrines, just after hours of the fall down of the World Trade Center³, Tony Blair promised his solidarity with the United States and he said: ***"Here in the United Kingdom, we stand shoulder to shoulder with our American friends in this hour of tragedy, and we, like them, will not rest until this evil is driven from our world."***(qtd in Ibid,7)

After one day Blair sent a note for Bush in which he confirmed the importance of unique and immediate response against terror, he also proclaimed that: ***"There are states and governments that either harbour or turn a blind eye to these groups. What sanctions and/or action do we take in respect of them?"*** (Rayner, Dominiczak, 2).

Mr. Blair invited his close friend Bush to take this attack as an evidence for their ideologies of interventions in the Middle East, the following quote is the best example of Blair's future vision toward the Middle East ***"Some of this will require action that some will baulk at. But we are better to act now (underlined) and explain and justify our actions than let the day be put off until some further, perhaps even worse catastrophe occurs"*** (Ibid, 2). Blair pushed Bush to act in the nearer time writing that he will sustain him whatever and that the UK would do anything the US asked including war, in the same time Blair warned him about the dangers of attacking Iraq without UN and international support, he supposed: ***"this is not Kosovo. This is not Afghanistan. This is not even the Gulf War"***(Francois, 4).

The 9/11 attacks alarmed the political approaches of the US and UK, which caused the war in Afghanistan in the early of 2002, as a punishment to the Taliban government which supported al Qaeda organization⁴ (Samakkeenit, 65). The war illustrated the coalition between the two countries against the Middle East under the new language created by Tony Blair "war on terror". By 2003 the war in Afghanistan was still, and lives of the alliance were lost but Blair decision to help US immobile (Laidlaw, 36).

Together Bush and Blair desired to intervene in Iraq through the UN after their decision taken in the meeting at Camp David in September 2002, Blair and Bush aspired to gain the approval of the UN by giving facts that Saddam Hussein⁵ had WMD and he intended to begun wars against their neighborhood nations, they also tried to convince everyone around them that the Article 51 of the UN (dealing with national self-defense) somehow justified the Iraq war, the first resolution prepared by the UN negated their claims (UK essays,3).

The two statesmen met again in Washington D.C. with the confidence for another resolution that gave them the opportunity for military intervention in Iraq; however, the three permanent members of the UN rejected their question but Blair sent military troops to Iraq without the second UN resolution, The tanks of US went through Baghdad on April 9, 2003, then destroyed the giant statue of the president Saddam Hussein in central of Baghdad, they argued that destroying Saddam Hussein is evading the threat of WMD and guarantee more peace in the region (Ibid, 5, 6).

Blair saw some similarities between the United States and Britain, and express this resemblance in the following quote: ***"The reason why we are with America in so many of these issues is because it is in our interests; we do think the same, we do feel the same, and we have the same sense of belief that, if there is a problem, you've got to act on it"***(qtd

in Coutts, 6). In these moments we can describe the relation between the two men as “Brilliant” because Blair sent to Bush 31 notes for the first time showing his closeness and trying to plan for the war in secret as well as he assumed that the goal of the war was to create the true post- cold war order. Blair was a real shoulder for Bush, he promised him six weeks before he left his office that even if he goes, he will offer aids in any way he can.

We can extract that the benefit received by the US from its special relationship with the UK have been successful, they worked jointly in military sphere, the UK has been special assister for America in opposition to terrorism as it was claimed, the two nations united to develop their nuclear prevention thus it is important to note that military and defense collaboration have been the most visible aspect of the special relationship.

2-The Middle East is under threat

For most of us, the Middle East is a synonym of tragedy, death, war and terrorism. This region is so different and complicated, so great and so suffering; it is the center and the corner stone of the world. "*The sun never sets on the British Empire* " (Oliver, 896), this phrase was often used to describe the British Empire at the peak of its power as the largest empire in history. Despite its numerous accomplishments⁶; the imperial empire was also responsible for sowing the seeds of global tension, conflict, and wars, which still continue to rage on. Many historians also said that Britain bears historic responsibility for several regional disputes in the Middle East, including the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the war in Iraq (Mascarenhas, 1).

While it is near-impossible to summarize the entire history of the Middle East in just some elements, with all of its complexities, here are brief modern history points on how Britain basically screwed up in the region.

2.1-The 9/11 attacks – Iraq War

“September 11, 2001, was the deadliest day in history for New York City firefighters: 343 were killed” (Sabang, 1). In the events of September 11, 2001 the Islamic extremist group al-Qaeda tied with 19 militants, they captured four airliners and carried out suicide attacks against the targets in the United States. Two of the planes flew above the towers of the "World Trade center" in New York City, a third plane stroke the Pentagon in Washington D.C. and the fourth plane crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. It was often called critical date, the 9/11 attacks caused death and destruction, prompted US to combat terrorism and proved the true attentions of George W. Bush. Over 3,000 people were killed

during the attacks in New York City and Washington D.C. including more than 400 police officers and firefighters (Smith, 1).

The attacks left disasters; hundreds of people were killed, television cameras broadcasted live images of what happened, the crash caused a massive explosion that burnt the buildings and the streets below, America was under attack and under real threat. It was argued by the American authorities that the origins of the attacks were Islamic terrorists from Saudi Arabia and several other Arab nations, supported financially by Saudi fugitive Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda terrorist organization. Americans declared that these acts were for the sake of retaliation from their support of Israel, their involvement in the Persian Gulf War⁷ and its military existence in the Middle East (Lansford, 1, 5,9)

The President George W. Bush, had spent the day being shuttled around the country trying to provide security, he returned to the White House, then he delivered a televised address from the Oval Office, declaring: ***“Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America, These acts shatter steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve”*** (qtd in Hudson, 86). Bush tried to act as nothing had happened and accused directly the Islamic groups, after the US military response he declared, ***“We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them”*** (qtd in Baderoon, 7).

Taliban⁸ wanted to get their freedom from America, but the American-led international effort trying to overthrow the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and destroy Osama Bin Laden's terrorist network based there, a few months later the US forces had effectively removed the Taliban from power, but the war continued, as the US and coalition forces attempted to defeat Taliban insurgency campaign based in neighboring Pakistan. Osama bin Laden-the mastermind behind the September 11th attacks-stayed in power until May 2, 2011, when he was finally dropped down and killed by US forces. In June 2011, the American President Barack Obama⁹ announced the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan (Van Schaack, 4).

The United States responded to the attacks of September 11, 2001 by initiating an international military operation known as the War on Terror, with the support of the United Kingdom and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The War on Terror was initially

against al-Qaeda and other militant organizations but soon expanded to include Saddam Hussein and Iraq.

In March 2003, the war began with an air campaign directly then ground invasion. The administration of Bush asserted that the invasion had been authorized by U.N. Security Council¹⁰ Resolution 1441, in December 2003; Saddam Hussein was captured by US forces and was detested by some Iraqis in 2006. In the following year, the insurgent forces grew stronger, and then the United States attacked cities like Najaf and Fallujah (Hall Jamieson, 249).

Some historians said that the former Prime Minister Tony Blair became very steely after the 9/11 attacks on the US, Jonathan Powell told BBC that according to Blair the attacks changed everything, after the second plane crashed into the twins towers, he knew it was terrorist attack and he was the first who express the British sympathy on television for the US. Powell said: ***"Many Americans still remember what he said at the time and that's why still quite popular in the US because he stood out there and said what the world thought about it"*** (qtd in O'carrol,2). Blair was unable to contact President Bush until the day after the terrorists struck, he said about Bush: ***"he was shaken man, he was not sure what to do, his voice was quavering, he was in state of shock"*** (qtd in Ibid, 3).

In a separate interview with the Radio 4 program on Saturday, Blair admitted that it was "significant blows" but, he confirmed that the terrorism threat would only end when they defeat their ideology (Ibid, 4), he maintained: ***"I think it will take a generation, but the way to defeat this ideology ultimately is by a better idea, and we have it, which is a way of life based on openness, democracy, freedom and the rule of law"*** (qtd in Ibid,4). George Bush and Tony Blair aimed to promote democracy in the Middle East and encouraged political reforms that will lead ultimately to democratic governance particularly after the terrorist attacks with many transformations as essential to the regional stability and international security. The Anglo-American promotion to maintain democracy in the region is generally characterized by many strategies, for example, the direct military engagement as the case of Iraq.

The Prime Minister Tony Blair described the terrorist attacks in the US as a "new evil in the world". To the shocked audience, the astonished Mr. Blair said that he sent Britain's condolences to the US president, George Bush, and the American people. He said in this context: ***"There has been a most shocking event in the US in the last hour or so including***

two planes which flew into the World Trade Centre (qtd in Matthew, 1). He added: "***This mass terrorism is a new evil in the world today***" (qtd in Ibid, 1). He then told delegates of his determination for all democracies to come together to remove this evil completely from the world, he insisted that this operation is dangerous, and when he remembered watching live television coverage of the September 11th attacks he stated: ***I was preparing to give a speech to the Trade Union Congress in Brighton. I was in my hotel room. I was then interrupted by one of my aides who said, 'come and see what's happening on the television.' The first plane had already flown in and hit the tower***". The former PM consolidated US President George Bush in his response to the attacks when he launched the "war on terror", by sending troops to support both the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003. ***"I was actually very, very clear right from the very outset that this was not just a terrorist attack of an extraordinary magnitude but one that had to change global policy," Mr Blair said: "Everything that followed from that, in a sense, followed from that event"*** (qtd in the telegraph.com, 1).

While the US expended many years after 2001 considering its place in the world and certainly seeking to extend her ideas of democracy to other countries, the British were forced to simulate the American culture and assist her, the government of the time was deeply involved in the same war on terror as the US, but this path was a risky choice for Britain.

Thursday, July 7, 2005 regarded by historians as one of the darkest days in British history since the Second World War. At least 55 people were killed in a series of bombard explosions in the heart of London, and several hundred were injured (Phillips, Gardiner, 2). London seemed an obvious target and a scene for terrorists attack particularly after British involvement in the war in Iraq, the attack was several years after the war on terror, it was a surprise for the all the world and people were already concerned about whether the reasons for invading Iraq and Afghanistan were legal.

The July 7 suicide bombings were passed out by four British Muslim extremists: three of the bombers received terrorist training and religious lessons in Pakistan several months before the bombing; the fourth is believed to have association with Islam in Afghanistan, the attacks were carried by al-Qaeda operation masterminded by experienced international operatives with local extremists. The fact that the attack is a wake-up call for Britain where the British learned how to deal with Islamic extremists, the British authority designed not to act as haven for Islamic militants and terrorist groups across the Middle East, they set a tough anti-terrorist legislation immigration and asylum laws to prevent further terrorist attacks on the British grounds, the government started to be intolerant with Islamic

extremism, Furthermore; the British authority stressed that Foreign Islamic clerics should be deported from Britain, and the suspect terrorists must be sent back to friendly countries that asked for it, especially the United States (Ibid, 3).

The UK has applied severe strategies to put an end terrorists spread thus, she has earned reputation of being among the very best in the world, it is vitally important to note that British politicians considered the attack on London not different from the attack on Washington or New York, and it requested a dynamic joint response, so they argued that all options must be on the table including air strikes and special-forces operations and affirmed that they must revenge with force, the war in Iraq and Afghanistan must be pursued aggressively, additionally; the terrorists must be rooted out and destroyed, Blair declared in this context: ***"This is a global conflict that is as much Britain's war as it is America's"*** (qtd in Ibid, 4).

But the fact that the terrorist attacks on both US and London were a direct result on the Anglo-U.S. alliance, by this operation we can debrief that al-Qaeda hoped to achieve three main points: First, it planned to disrupt the Group of 8 (G-8) meeting (it is an annual meeting between leaders from eight of the most powerful countries in the world, their aim is to tackle the global problems by discussing the big issues and planning what action to take),it is a symbol of the most powerful Western leaders in the world, but that aim failed, second it hoped to destroy the alliance of US and UK, once more this aim have strengthened the position of British Prime Minister Tony Blair, the third hope is to force Britain and America to withdraw its 8,500 troops from Iraq, again this strategy failed (ibid, 4). Without doubt, the US and the UK will not leave Iraq until they devastate terrorism in the country. Iraq today is the middle battlefield in the war on terrorism, above all their aim is to dissolve away the hatred "Islam", the terrorist bombings in London and the attacks of 9/11 in, in fact, were not an end result of the Anglo-American foreign policy, but a part of the constant conflict between the powerful and feeble countries.

From the preceding analysis we deduce that the terrorists who were responsible for the London bomb attacks have not succeeded in changing the decision of British policy to create troubles in the Middle East. The attacks increased the resolution of the British government to keep on Iraq and construct an extension of British military operations in both Iraq and Afghanistan.

The United States stood shoulder to shoulder with the British hours of need; this latest terrorist attack have succeed only in bringing the British and American people closer

together, we reduced that The terrorist attacks strengthened Anglo-American resolve because they were both great warrior nations and responded aggressively to the threat faced by its citizens, The two nations have fought alongside each other in seven major wars in the past 90 years, from World War I to the Iraq war, basically, they were intelligent and powerful enough to create a story to deceive the world that they are the perfect nations.

Is true to say that George Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair shared a certain moral faith about the way the world is going. For instance, we saw this with Tony Blair in the case of Kosovo, he was extremely convinced that it was necessary to intervene, basically for humanitarian purpose and President Bush clearly has the same feeling in relation to Iraq and in relation to terrorism, in addition to national interest and their strong impulse to lead the world (Powel, 2).

George W. Bush called Israel to withdraw from the Palestinian cities which were occupied. He tackled the Palestinians and the rest of the Middle East for the need of keeping and lasting peace but excused Israel's violence, ***"The storms of violence cannot go on, Enough is enough"***, said Bush (qtd in Johnpiller.com, 1). The contrary is correct, while he talked about peace in the Middle East, he is secretly planning for massive attack on Iraq, The Bush administration was gritty to attack it and seize a country that is the world second largest source of oil.

After the 9/11 attacks Blair sent to Bush a detailed paper setting titled *'The War on Terrorism: The Second Phase*, he said: ***"Iraq is a threat because "it has WMD capability"*** but he confessed that links to 9/11 are mysterious and most countries will be disinclined to go through an invasion. So Blair tried to soften the public opinion by drawing attention to Saddam's infringe of UN resolutions and demanding a return of weapons inspectors, he called for a strategy based on military reaction and he added: ***"We need to be clear that if an uprising occurs, we are willing to act militarily in support."*** The PM also asserted: ***"My strategy is to build this over time until we get to the point where military action could be taken if necessary"***(Sculthorpe, Spillett, 3).

Blair is worried about the public opinion therefore, a month before the invasion he wrote a note on February 19th, 2003 informing Bush that people in the UK and Europe are still against them, Blair said that people are not against conflict in all circumstances, what they fear is that we are playing with fire in this war; we recognize that Blair is aware about the hazard costs in engaging in the war but still claims that this idea is "absurd" and this war is required because Saddam is preventing the inspectors from doing their job. So he wished

to convince the UN that the invasion in March is a need, he stated: ***“We have to find a way of re-focusing the issue on the threat of Saddam Hussein– and do so in a way that pulls public opinion and the UN Security Council waverers with us.”*** For a second time a panicked Blair told Bush the losses in Iraq and the failure to find WMD are leading people to question whether the invasion was the right thing to do, as a result he urged Bush for both of their sakes to keep making the case that “Iraq is better without Saddam” and he signed in this perspective: ***“By this time next year it better be going right, not wrong, for us and for the world!”*** (Blanchard, 1,2,3,4,5). We realize that Blair is trickster, besides the confusion he produced in the Middle East, he also called for other interventions in neighboring such as Syria, warning that inaction would result a threat to UK soil.

Six days after the war begins Blair justifies the invasion despite the lack of weapons of mass destruction he stated: ***“Though Iraq's WMD is the immediate justification for action, ridding Iraq of Saddam is the real prize. ... The real prize is reaching the fundamental goal.”*** (Jones, Thompson, Healy,4). Tony Blair was the most successful and the most controversial Labour Prime Minister in UK history. His foreign policy, which made him a unique leader, his wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have led to call for him to be regarded as flunkey; Blair pointed ***“I will take full responsibility for any mistakes without exception or excuse. I will at the same time say why, nonetheless, I believe that it was better to remove Saddam Hussein”*** (qtd in, Watson, Wilkinson, Boyle,1).

2.2-Why has the UK been in Afghanistan and Iran?

The conflict in Afghanistan¹¹ began in 2001 as a result of September 11 attacks, it included three phases: The first phase was brief, it lasted just two months when the United States tried to fall the Taliban, The second phase, from 2002 until 2008 which was marked by US strategy of defeating the Taliban militarily and rebuilding core institutions of the Afghan state. The third phase was a turn to classic counter insurgency doctrine began in 2008 and speed up with US President Barack Obama's 2009 decision to increase the US troops presence in Afghanistan. The larger force was used to execute a strategy of protecting the population from Taliban attacks and supporting efforts to reintegrate insurgents into Afghan society. The strategy planned a timetable for the withdrawal of the foreign forces from Afghanistan; beginning in 2011, the new approach largely failed to achieve its aims. Insurgent attacks and civilian casualties remained obstinately high, while many of the Afghan military and police units taking over appeared not prepared to hold off the Taliban. By the time the US and NATO combat mission formally ended in December 2014, the 13

years Afghanistan War had become the longest war ever fought by the United States(Britanica.com, 1).

On 19 September 2001, the Taliban's leader Mullah Mohammed Omar¹² asserted that the US was using Bin Laden in 9/11 as a pretext for removing the Taliban from power, and pointed that the Taliban were ready for discussion. The US government swiftly rejected Mullah Omar's offer (BBC news, 1). In response to this rejection The White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said: "**president's message to the Taliban is very simple -it's time for action, not negotiations**" (qtd in Howard, 1).

When the US refused to negotiate, Bush told reporters on the White House lawn: "**This is non-negotiable. There is no need to discuss innocence or guilt; we know he's guilty. Turn him over. If they want us to stop our military operations they've just got to meet my conditions**" (qtd in Hammond, 4). This quotation clarifies that Bush refused to provide evidence of Bin Laden's guilt, and restate the U.S. ultimatum: "**If they want us to stop our military operations, they've just got to meet my conditions, when I said no negotiations, I meant no negotiations**"(qtd in Ibid, 4).

After Taliban leaders had rejected Bush's ultimatums¹³ on October 7, the US and the British aircraft gave a free rein to a massive bombing attack on most Afghan cities. Afghan capital of Kabul fell by the mid of November. By the next month, air attacks, the ground forces took place that included troops from the United States, allied countries, and anti-Taliban Afghan militia fell over the Taliban regime. It was believed that Osama Bin Laden has escaped to Pakistan during the battle of Tora Bora in December 2001 (McManus, 2).

On 6 November, the British Prime Minister Tony Blair also, speaks on CNN's Larry King Live and affirmed: "**The Taliban regime and the al-Qaeda network have virtually merged now. Their forces are the same; probably their military structures are virtually the same, So there's no negotiating with them**" (qtd in BBC News, 3).

The British Prime Minister Tony Blair invented a threat from al- Qaeda to Britain after the 9/11 attacks which justify the war in Afghanistan. In order to achieve the world opinion, UK and US just before few days of the attack published a document under the title "Responsibility for the terrorist atrocities in the United States, 11 September 2001" which was based on two statements said by Bin Laden, the first one contained the declaration of war against US presence in Saudi Arabia in 1996 and the second enclosed the issue of Fatwa of 1998 which called Muslims to fight US troops and the supporter alliances , but in 13

October 2001 Britain earned more evidence when Osama Bin Laden described Blair as one of the “arch-criminals from among the Zionists and Crusaders” and notified British Muslims not to use aircraft to travel (Morrison, 4, 5). Consequently, it is clearly that Britain was under real al-Qaeda threat what made Blair stand with Bush against the Taliban and entered into Afghanistan under the claim of self Defence.

The goal of the United States since Sept. 11, 2001, has been to prevent further attacks by al-Qaeda in the United States. So Washington has used two means toward this aim: One was defensive, aimed at creating the difficulty of al-Qaeda operations. The second was to attack and destroy al-Qaeda prime, the group around Osama Bin Laden that organized and executed 9/11 and other attacks in Europe, these were the target of the United States, because it is the group that had threatened the political strength of the United States (Friedman, 1).

For 13 years, between 2001 and 2014, the UK was involved in the conflict in Afghanistan against Taliban and fighters from al-Qaeda. The conflict was glowed by the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the US accused Taliban then Osama Bin Laden and declared war. Britain follows the same way and involved in November 2001, starting to deploy ground troops, the early stages of the campaign saw a massive bombardment of Taliban and al-Qaeda targets, while Special Forces went on in the ground to fight alongside the Afghan Northern Alliance which opposed Taliban, this shows that inside Afghanistan itself there were many disputes, Kabul was the first city captured by the Northern Alliance, on 13 November (BBC news, 1).

On 7 December, Taliban withdrew from its last stronghold after the fall of Kandahar¹⁴. Then British Prime Minister Tony Blair flag down it as a victory, calling it ***"a total vindication of the strategy we have worked out from the beginning"***. Meantime, Afghan groups decided to establish a treaty for the division of power-sharing government and Humid Karzai¹⁵, a former mujahedeen spokesman worked for the sake of United States (Ibid, 2).

By 2011, calls were growing for the British to pull out, and Prime Minister David Cameron¹⁶ pledged to end combat operations by 2015, saying: ***"I believe the country needs to know there is an end point to all of this"***. The last UK combat troops left Afghanistan in October, about 450 troops remained their role to train, advice, and assist local Afghan forces (Ibid, 7). The British soldiers departed from Afghan areas, with this demise Britain's 13 years war in Afghanistan ended. Yet this war considered as one of the longest campaigns in

British military history, which has claimed the lives of 453 British servicemen and women (Watt, 1).

In short Barack Obama Said on the 2nd of May: ***“The American people did not choose this fight. It came to our shores, and started with the senseless slaughter of our citizens”***(qtd in Mickolus, 185). The death of Osama Bin Laden, in fact, was the start of the "end" of the war on terrorism. In the other hand, 99,000 US troops still exist in Afghanistan, what are they doing over there in the dessert of the Middle East? They are persisting for the war on terrorism but the real world does not want to accept that fact because no one is convinced that the war ended, it will not be over, and cannot be over.

Iran was also a country which was exposed to interventions, the 2001 US invasion of Afghanistan can be considered as a port of relations between Iran and Afghanistan. Iran contributed to the construction of post-Taliban government in the Bonn Conference in December 2001 and contributed to reconstruction efforts with the plan to establish friendly bonds with Kabul, while the Iranian leaders welcomed the fall of Taliban, they also saw the presence of American troops in neighboring Afghanistan as a national security threat. Iran played a key role in Afghanistan's state-formation and reconstruction process in the immediate aftermath of the Taliban's ouster. Tehran participation in Bonn Conference was an instrumental to the final agreement which established a temporary Afghan authority in December 2001. Iran subsequently pursued a sophisticated policy towards Afghanistan; it has a greater influence over the government in Kabul and remained cautious of the US and NATO presence in the country (Milani, 3).

Iran used terrorist tactics which led to the death of thousand American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan over the last decade and a half, which made her a nuclear power. Anti-Americanism helped fuel the 1979 Islamic revolution¹⁷ in Iran. A violent anti-American doctrine that challenges any role for America in the Middle East has been and remained the central focus of Iranian foreign policy. Since the revolution, Iran has waged and continued to wage war against the United States and its allies. Iran saw the conflict in Iraq that began in 2003 as a part of its war with the Middle East allies against the United States. During the conflict, Iran arranged weapons, ammunition and other equipment of the extremist groups, both Sunni and Shia which were attacking US and Coalition forces (Kemp, Williams, 2, 5).

What is more, Iran's support for Iraqi insurgents led to the death of an estimated 1,100 US soldiers as well as other Coalition troops in Iraq including British forces. Former US

ambassador to Iraq from 2010-2012, James Jeffery, said: *“Up to a quarter of the American casualties and some of the more horrific incidents in which Americans were kidnapped...can be traced without doubt to these Iranian groups”* (qtd in Spector, 5). He believed that the groups sustained by Iran were responsible for a quarter of US casualties in Iraq war but he maintained that Tehran was not as influential in Iraq as it desired.

2.3-Blair and Palestine

The conflict between Israel and the Palestinians is complex to understand. At the heart of this conflict both sides claimed that the land was their own, the Israelis believe that they are entitled to the land now known as Israel, while the Palestinians believe that they are entitled to the land they call Palestine. In 1948 the Jews declared the foundation of the new State of Israel¹⁸ after British departure from the area, the neighboring Arab nations of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq assisted the Palestinian Arabs, but they failed and the Palestinian suffering began, as result a Palestinian political and military group was established in 1964 which was led by Yasser Arafat¹⁹ (<http://www.historyguy.com/>).

In 2006, the Palestinians tired of the corruption and ineffectiveness of the moderate ruling Fatah party thus they elected the hardline Islamic group to power in the 2006 parliamentary elections. Nevertheless, the new Hamas Palestinian Authority government was targeted by Israel because the United States, Canada and many Western European nations who viewed it as a terrorist organization, by the next year and after the “Battle of Gaza”²⁰ fought between Fatah and Hamas, governance of the Occupied Territories became divided. Likewise, Israeli initiated its land, air and sea blockade of Hamas-controlled Gaza, restricting the flow of goods, people into the territory and caused severe economic hardship. Some people viewed that Israel turned the territory of Gaza into the world’s largest concentration camp by its military blockade (leech, 5).

Today Israel still controls 98 percent of Palestine (everything except Gaza) and continued to expand its Jewish settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Meanwhile, according to the United Nations, there are now more than five million Palestinian refugees living in camps who hope to someday return to their land (Ibid, 6).

To understand Blair's attitude towards Israel, one has to go back to the roots of New Labour. His strong support for Israel really began in 1994 with his rebuilding of the Party as New Labour, as Guardian journalist Jonathan Freedland has observed: ***"What defines New Labour is a desire to be everything Old Labour wasn't. Part of the package was Israel."*** it means that among the principles of new labour is to establish a relationship with Israel (Porter, 1).

Mr. Blair is a wise politician who convinced Bush's mind to attack Iraq after the 9/11; he assumed keeping peace in the Middle East through American power, Likewise, he pushed Mr. Bush to initiate the quartet and the "road map for peace" to construct troubles among Arabs. The Arabs offered Israel the kindest compromise during their 2002 summit meeting in Beirut; they agreed to give the full recognition of Israel state and promised to improve the relations in return for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and a negotiated right for the return of Palestinian refugees. But Ariel Sharon, Blair and Bush put this agreement into a footnote. Finally, it was Mr. Blair who fixed himself as a special envoy for the quartet in June 2007(Bichara,1, 2).

After his resignation as Prime Minister in 2007, he was appointed to a significant role in the Middle East. Blair became the representative of the "Middle East Quartet" of the US, EU, UN and Russia, with offices and staff in Jerusalem and London. It was anticipated that he would use formidable political skills to bring solutions to the international problem of modern times, for instance Israel-Palestine conflict and assured to promote economic growth as well as improvement of the daily life in the West Bank and Gaza(Beckett, 1).

Tony Blair sought to make peace between Israel and Palestine, but Palestinian Authority members were honest in expressing distrust of him, in addition President Mahmud Abbas²¹ and the PLO (Palestine liberation organization) refused to deal with him moreover Hamas has turned down all his initiatives (Melhem, 1).

Palestinian leaders were clear in expressing hatred of Blair; he was attacked by the President Mahmud Abbas and called him a "spy" for Israel, during Nov,9 meeting with a group of Egyptian journalists in Cairo, Abbas refused to meet Blair for two years because of his positive role toward Israel and accused him of using the Quartet to achieve only Israel's demands, He also accused Blair of adopting Israel's 2011 demands and ignoring Palestinians' rights, Abbas and his supporters accused him of forbidding Palestine from joining the UN, in this context, the youth took to the streets of Ramallah on Oct. 26, 2011, and marched to demand that the PA(the Palestinian Authority) must dismiss Blair(Ibid, 2).

He said on his official website on Thursday 12, 2015: ***“There is an objective shared interest between Arabs and Israelis. The Palestinian issue is the key which opens this door,”***(qtd in the office of Tony Blair, 1), Blair's plan, which he announced on Nov, 13 in Jerusalem, uses the framework of the Arab peace initiative launched in 2002. The initiative insisted on the establishment of a Palestinian state according to the 1967 borders and Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories in exchange for a conclusive normalization of relations between the Arab states and Israel. Yet, the Palestinians still do not welcome Blair's plan (Melhem, 2). Saeb Erekat²² announced: ***“He has no longer occupies any position related to negotiations or the peace process,”***(qtd in ibid, 2), Erekat insisted that Blair did not play any role in making peace, and he added: ***“His role in the peace negotiations and process ended. Therefore, we do not deal with him anymore ”***(qtd in Ibid, 3). In addition, Saeb Erekat rejected totally to contract with Blair, however, Blair replayed in his website:

“my plan can create “trust and credibility” between Israelis and Palestinians if three Conditions are met: “First, the involvement of the Arab powers in such a process is essential and long overdue. The Arab Peace Initiative in 2002 was a landmark event. Of course it needs revision ... but its framework offers a way to negotiate where both Israel and the Palestinians have the confidence that the negotiations are supported by the region as a whole ”(qtd in the office of Tony Blair, 2).

Blair called for more than 100,000 jobs to be created every year over the next decade; However, all this speeches proves nothing, in reality Blair is vice and works for the sake of Israel, all the accuses of Arabs are right In fact, improving Palestinians' living conditions would serve Israel's security, without significant and real change in the way Palestinians live, there is no hope for a political process.

Finally, he said: ***“There will be no lasting peace without Palestinian reconciliation and unity on a basis that supports the two-state solution, where Israel is secure and the Palestinian state is viable”***(qtd in Ibid, 3), Fatah spokesman Osama al-Qawasmi; however, said: ***Blair's words are empty; Blair does not represent any official***

side [anymore]. He only expresses his own thoughts. He is now a messenger for Israel, just like he sponsored its interests in the past,” he told Al-Monitor(qtd in Ibid, 3), From preceding analysis we comprehend that Blair is a suspicious, distrust figure, and Palestinians did not welcome him at all.

The Palestine leaders thought that Blair is trying to convince them by his communicative style, he wanted to have conversations with people to make them close to him, but he could not, Arabs leaders disbelieved him. On Sept. 4, Blair proposed to ratify a long term truce with Israel in exchange for lifting the Gaza blockade and building a port under Israel’s control although Hamas refused this agreement, Hamas leader Yahya Moussa told Al-Monitor: ***“Hamas refused Blair’s efforts to conclude a truce with Israel because such an agreement does not fulfill Palestinians’ rights Blair aim was to weaken the intifada and reshuffling the Palestinian cards”***(qtd in Ibid, 4), what is more is that Ahmad Youssef, a former Hamas leader and adviser, affirmed: ***“Blair is nothing to us. Nobody is counting on him in any issue or step. Hamas does not take him seriously because he is not a decent mediator who has the Palestinians’ credibility. Blair’s efforts have gone down the drain and Hamas has shut its doors in his face”***(qtd in Ibid, 4).

To sum up, Tony Blair may have been a successful leader of the labour party but he failed in his post-premiership role as the international peace envoy to the Middle East. The man who was well known for his charisma and popularity has become a global awkwardness; he has been described as useless, useless, and useless. By any estimate, Blair’s performance has been ineffective. Hostility between Israel and Palestine is still profound, while Blair’s eager rhetoric about economic growth and investment has never been matched by reality. He was badly contaminated by his involvement in the War of Iraq, which raised the lack of confidence within Arabs. He never devoted himself entirely to the task, in one word and simply Blair’s role is ‘no longer viable’ (Beckett, Hencke, 1).

3-Critiques of Blairite interventionism:

Blair had led his country to different military interventions cooperating with US presidents in Kosovo, in Sierra Leone with the president Bill Clinton, and in Afghanistan against AI- Qaeda and with the president George Bush, he was earning the public opinion for his favor in each time, but concern Iraq Blair opened a door for many criticisms (Pullinger, Siegel, 45).

Different personalities from different domains criticized Blair intervention in Iraq war Macnab in his film review “As inscrutable and as contradictory as media baron Charles Foster Kane in Orson Welles’ film” described Blair in Galloway film as “symptom” that is personally responsible for the “killing of Iraq” which put Britain in sensitive financial position, Macnab added that Galloway also admonished Blair for the appearance of ISIS, he also said that Blair through that film is represented as a **“money-grubbing war criminal, a pariah who has left misery in his wake wherever he has gone.”**(1).

Mcanulla was another author that criticized Blair in her article “Post-Political Poisons? Evaluating the ‘Toxic’ Dimensions of Tony Blair’s Leadership” that Blair took his country to the false Ground without sufficient international mandate which led to thousands of deaths, caused instability and violence in Iraq, he also discounted the opposition of his country, the Labour Party as well as the opposition of senior cabinet colleagues which steered to the resignations of many party members also dissatisfied of many people who had placed trust in Blair’s decisions, Mcanulla reported that Robin Cook²³, the British Foreign Secretary, resigned in opposition to the war, and criticized what he saw as the ‘bad faith’ of Blair’s position of making the door open for escaping war, but all the time giving full supports to the United States(255,256,257).

Though Saddam was dictator who used harsh treatment towards his population but he had not any relation with the 9/11 attacks that led Blair and Bush to declared war against terrorist and there was no Qaeda presence in the country before the invasion of Iraq by US and UK in 2003, Saddam did not own WMD what Boris Johnson stated in his article under the title “Blair’s Iraq invasion was a tragic error, and he’s mad to deny it” (2).Moreover, Boris Johnson announced that Britain made a mistake in invading Iraq under the propaganda of self-defeating, and their trying to make the world more safety was always wrong, he concluded his article by addressing people to inform Blair that he must accept the reality of the disaster made in Iraq (3).

The leader of Blair's Labour party Jeremy Corbyn suggested that parliament should take action against Prime Minister Tony Blair for misleading it in the lead up to the invasion; he said ***"It's led to a fundamental breakdown in trust in politics and in our institutions of government. The tragedy is that while the governing class got it so horribly wrong, many of our people actually got it right,"***(Mandha, 3), hence the Parliament started to be aware about the errors made by Mr. Blair and decided it is time to put an end for his tyranny.

Tony Blair lied to his people and the entire world to support the United States of America. While Blair's strategies in Iraq were not effective at many levels, he could persuade Bush to seek out the support of the UN. The British Prime Minister did not only use his political tactics in forming a false, fabricated and negative image of Iraq and Saddam Hussein, but he sent his troops without second UN resolution and with the disagreement of the full members of Parliament (UK Essays, 5).

Clare Short²⁴ a former of international development secretary of labour faulted Blair for performing as an American neocon, Clare said about Blair constantly "wrong, wrong, wrong about Iraq", she confirmed that nothing was added to the situation of Iraq or the Middle East but creating more tension in the region, she criticized the war and said ***“was done in such a deceitful way and with a lack of preparation for what was going to happen afterwards”*** (Wintour, McVeigh, Townsend, 3).

Hundreds of thousands of people marched in the streets of London to voice their opposition to military action against Iraq, great members of the Armed Forces, clergymen and young children all combined the march to Hyde Park who carried banners with messages such as "No War on Iraq" and "Make Tea, Not War", in addition to this event huge numbers of protests were also whispered all over the country and even around the world. More than 60,000 protesters gathered in Glasgow and 90,000 in Dublin, whereas Italy had the biggest protest, which probably two million people on the streets of Rome. Charles Kennedy, the Liberal Democrat leader was one the protesters who invoked to the Prime Minister to think again about the results of the war, Kennedy said ***"This is the riskiest moment for Britain since Suez"*** (Syalm, Alderson, Milner, 1). That is to say, Britain is facing the hard political moments since the Suez crisis of 1956, the disorder in the country has pervaded over the oppression faced by Iraq.

Many British people saw that Saddam was not a threat, they thought that the Government had better to expend the funds of the war on British jobs, hospitals and the rural economy, also they acknowledged that the war is bad decision taking by Blair just to keep good relation with Bush, and Britain was fall apart, Britons considered that it is madness to send troops to kill a man on the other side of the world (Ibid, 3).

Sir John Chilcot²⁵ delivered a report of 6,275 pages, 2.6 million words that cost more than £10million about Iraq inquiry which concluded that Mr. Blair pushed his country into war without evidence or plan, he concluded that was no coming up threat from Saddam Hussein in 2003 and Blair had promised US President Bush that he would subsist him “whatever” eight

months before the invasion. The report similarly acknowledged that the UK was working to convince the UN Security Council to run up to the invasion, in which more than 150,000 Iraqis died, and more million were vagabonded, Sir John also warned that the invasion might transform Iraq's weapons and capabilities into the hands of terrorists (Bennett, Simons, 1,2).

In addition, the report indicated that Blair engagement in the war was to protect the UK's relation with the US. Chilcot criticized the argument giving by Blair about Saddam Hussein WMD was not justified "with a certainty that was not justified", adding that Iraq did not have the capacity to develop a nuclear weapon, the report says: ***"At no stage was the hypothesis that Iraq might not have chemical, biological or nuclear weapons or programs identified and examined"*** (Erlanger, Sanger, 6).

Many presidents and leaders criticized the war in Iraq, Jack Chirac²⁶ the French president and Hosni Mubarak the Egyptian President who predicted the creation of other terrorist groups, Hosni said, on March 31: ***"When completed, if it ends, this war will have terrible consequences. Instead of having one Osama Bin Laden, we will have hundreds of new Bin Laden"***(qtd in Bassil, 33); in addition, German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder criticized Blair in an interview with the New York Times, he said: ***"Germany would not support an attack on Iraq, given that it would unsettle the Middle East, destroy the coalition against terror, and perhaps even push the Iraqi dictator into the very rapprochement with Islamic extremists that the United States fears"***(qtd in Coutts, 5).

4-The impact of intervention

The decade of Blair's leadership had proved distinctive British involvement in the Middle East which influenced both the Middle East region and Britain in different spheres. Even Blair was aware of the menace that his country would be faced but he ventured by his reputation.

4.1-The impact on the Middle East

The war in Afghanistan has caused the ruination of many cities like Kabul and the destruction of the infrastructure. The war had a terrible impact on civilian life; destroying many cities as well as killing many Afghans. In addition to 3,000- 3,400 killing (both civilians and members of the Taliban), Many urban and village residences, bridges, mosques, electricity and water supplies were destroyed like the hospital in the western city of Herat was bombed where 100 people were killed. Another example is the Hospital of Kandahar which was bombed by mistake; the landscape and environment have been polluted which has caused unemployment increasing as result of country reliant on agriculture, in the other hand during

Taliban's rule Women had not neither the right to be educated nor the right to get job and those who challenge Taliban will be punished. Conversely after Taliban's collapse women's rights increased with women returning to education and employment hence education has greatly improved in Afghanistan since 2001, there were more than 5.4 million children went back to school with approximately 35 percent of them girls, refugees leaving Afghanistan who are doctors, teachers who left their country to escape the persecution from Taliban have returned (<http://www.markedbyteachers.com>)

The invasion of Iraq had a great impact on the Middle East, most Gulf state started to enhance their relation with US and UK to stay away from their attacks, Kuwait, Qatar and United Arab Emirates adopted different tactics to ensure their own security in the region which were threatened by US and UK (UK essays, 1, 3).

Likewise the war had impact on Israel-Palestine and Syria; Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon²⁷ evacuated totally the settlers and military in the Gaza Strip in the summer of 2005, consequently giving a real basis for a territorial future Palestinian state whereas Syria was suspected of supporting Hamas and having a secret relation with the infiltration of terrorists in Iraq, particularly after the death of Hafez el-Assad. Syria though was forced to evacuate Lebanon after the assassination of Rafik Hariri, Lebanese leader and former Prime Minister (Bassil, 41).

There were different estimates about the number of killing Iraqis in the war, George Bush argued that the death number was 30,000; while, the Iraq Family Health Survey Study Group affirmed that the death number was around 150,000 between March 2003 and June 2006. The British pollster Opinion Research Business also estimated that over 1 million Iraqi casualties between March 2003 and August 2007, moreover the Iraqi army and security forces lose 20,000 soldiers and police killed in early 2008, some historians believed that the number of casualties and wounded among the Iraqi civilian population were at least 250,000 injuries, the UN in April 2006 estimated about 2.5 million Iraqis have fled their country because of violence. 1million have taken refuge in Syria, 75,000 in Jordan and 150,000 in Egypt and 500 in the US, according to UNHCR²⁸ 1.8 million Iraqis were moved inside the country. The Quarter of Iraqis has been forced to escape their homes since the beginning of the war; furthermore, Saddam Hussein disappearance and the occupation of the US-British forces led to a notable increase in terrorist activity (Ibid, 37).

4.2- The impact on Britain

Blair's Military intervention in different wars of the Middle East had a great impact on Britain which in turn affected him. Taliban fighters in Afghanistan began to adopt the terror strategies in 2004 which were suicide bombings, in 2005 there were 21, and in 2006 there were 141 suicide attacks which increase the number of deaths among the British soldiers, thirty-nine troops died in 2006, compared to five between 2001 and 2005. There were 42 death in 2007 and 51 in 2008; however, 2009 was considered the bloodiest year where 456 UK troops lost their lives in the conflict, in addition to more than 100 deaths in the following year(BBC News, 2, 3).Economically the war had cost £37bn according to a devastating critique of the UK's role in the conflict, The MoD has estimated that the cost so far of conducting military operations in Afghanistan to be about £25bn as Frank Ledwidge, author of damning study *Investment in Blood* said that Britain has expended so much blood and money on Afghanistan (Taylor, 2).

The war on Iraq had caused a total of 179 British troops both- servicemen and women- were killed since the start of the war in 2003, 136 were killed as a result of hostile action and 43 died either as a result of illness, non-combat injuries or accidents (ministry of Defence,1).

Experts said Britain's economy has suffered only slightly from the secondary effects of the war on Iraq. Gordon Brown²⁹, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated in a speech in London, 10 April 2003: ***"I can confirm that I have set aside 3 billion pounds (\$4.69 billion) in a special reserve, available to the Ministry of Defence, so that our troops continue to be properly equipped and given the resources that they deserve and have a right to expect"*** adding to 240 million pounds (\$375 million) for postwar humanitarian aid to Iraqis, and 330 million (\$516 million) pounds for counter- terrorist measures at home, despite optimistic tone about economy Brown admitted that British economy was doing worse than it was predicted(Jun, 1, 2).

The Chiclot report seems to support the claims that the 2003 Iraq invasion increased the risk of terrorist attacks on the UK, the London bombings of July 7, 2005 was defined as Islamist suicide bombers killed 52 people on London's transport network by exploding devices on the Underground and a London bus(RT, 2).

The JIC³⁰ report seeped to the Sunday Times, stated: ***"There is a clear consensus within the UK extremist community that Iraq is a legitimate jihad and should be supported. Iraq has re-energised and refocused a wide range of networks in the UK."*** The JIC describes Abu

Musab al-Zarqawi³¹, the head of al-Qaida in Iraq, as an "increasingly iconic figure" who was becoming the new "bin Laden" (Taylor, 2).

Mr. Blair led his country for third successive election victory in 2005. But his majority is reduced from 167 in 2001 to 66. He promised to learn lessons from what happened and the fact that he has the lowest share of the popular vote of any Prime Minister in history. He also promised to "focus relentlessly" on the key issues affecting the public as result of his support to Bush doctrine of military intervention, in December 2006 Blair became the first serving Prime Minister to be interviewed by the police as part of a criminal inquiry(BBC News,3).

The military intervention of Blair in the Middle East touched Britain economically and threatened her security which led him to lose his popularity, as well as Blair's subordination to Bush's ambition in the Middle East created many issues in Britain and all over the world.

Conclusion

Both America and Britain in the earlier half of the 20th century in the wider Middle East region contributed to a lot of instability overall. Blair and his correlation with a number of American presidents such as Bill Clinton and George W. Bush took a major responsibility of what happened in the area. They used tactics to intervene in the Middle East countries and claimed the achievement of security and the founding of democratic governments, thus the United States assumed that sending humanitarian troops missions so as to punish the rogue states, this idea perhaps could not realized without the help of Britain as usual. Palestine question was another critical issue that shows the insecurity in the Middle East, the conflict was between Israel and the Palestinians in which Israel sought to establish its own country, in fact, some presidents have used their influence to help resolve these disputes peacefully but the peace plans have been less successful. In short in this chapter we can reduce that Greed and power led the Middle East to be in peril.

Endnotes

¹Bill Clinton: was the 42nd president of the United States, and the second to be impeached. He oversaw the country's longest peacetime economic expansion.

²The War on terrorism: an international military campaign launched in 2001 with the US and UK invasion of Afghanistan in response to the attacks on New York and Washington of 11 September 2001. The phrase War on Terror was adopted by former US President George W. Bush and other high-ranking US officials.

³World Trade Centers: a name licensed by World Trade Center Association to its members to identify any of a number of iconic buildings worldwide to promote world trade and international business relationships.

⁴Al Qaeda: a radical Sunni Muslim organization dedicated to the elimination of a Western presence in Arab countries and militantly opposed to Western foreign policy: founded by Osama bin Laden in 1988.

⁵Saddam Hussein (1937–2006): the president of Iraq from 1979 to 2003. He led Iraq in a war against Iran (1980–88), and in 1990 he tried to take control of Kuwait. This caused the first Gulf War, he was later put on trial by the Iraqi authorities for crimes against the Iraqi people because he found guilty of crimes against humanity, sentenced to death, and executed in 2006.

⁶British Empire comprised Britain, the 'mother country', and the colonies which were ruled to some degree by Britain, the British began to establish overseas colonies in the 16th century. By 1783 Britain had been a large empire, with colonies in America and the West Indies. The 'first British Empire' came to end after the American Revolution. However, in the 19th century the British built a second worldwide empire, based on British sea-power, India, and huge conquests in Africa. The Whig historians regarded the Empire as the deserved result of Britain's technological, moral and superiority. They were proud that 'a small kingdom' had amassed such a huge empire.

⁷Persian Gulf War, also called **Gulf War** (1990–91), international conflict that was triggered by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990. Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, ordered the invasion of Kuwait with the apparent aim of acquiring that nation's large oil reserves, canceling a large debt Iraq owed Kuwait, and expanding Iraqi power in the region.

⁸The Taliban ("Students of Islamic Knowledge Movement") ruled Afghanistan from 1996 until 2001. They came to power during Afghanistan's long civil war. Although they managed to hold 90% of the country's territory, their policies—including their treatment of women and support of terrorists—ostracized them from the world community.

⁹Barack Obama was the 44th president of the United States, and the first African American to serve in the office. First elected to the presidency in 2008, he won a second term in 2012.

¹⁰Under the Charter, the Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It has 15 Members, and each Member has one vote. Under the Charter, all Member States are obligated to comply with Council decisions.

¹¹Afghanistan: a landlocked country of southwest central Asia, frequently dominated since ancient times by foreign empires, Afghanistan gained full independence only in 1919. The USSR invaded it in 1979 but met fierce resistance from Afghan insurgents and withdrew its troops in 1989. The resulting power vacuum led to the rise of Taliban, which established strict Islamic rule over most of the country. The Taliban was overthrown by US-led invasion in 2001 that set up a pro-western government, although armed resistance continued in many parts of the country, Kabul is the capital and the largest city.

¹²Mullah Mohammad Omar: the former leader of the Taliban in Afghanistan, who has died aged 52 or 53, came to power in 1994 as the supposed saviour of the victims of rapacious warlords.

¹³The fifth point ultimatum:

On 20 September 2001, President Bush spoke before a Joint Session of Congress declaring a "War on Terrorism" and asked ***"Who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al-Qaeda... This group and its leader - a person named Osama Bin Laden - are linked to many other organizations in different countries"***.

The speech contained five-point ultimatum for the Taliban:

1. Deliver to the US all al-Qaeda leaders in Afghanistan.
2. Release all imprisoned foreign nationals.
3. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers.

4. Close immediately every terrorist training camp, and hand over every terrorist and their supporters
5. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps for inspection.

¹⁴Kandahar, the Taliban capital fell on 7 December 2001. Hamid Karzai, soon to be appointed Acting President of Afghanistan, said "***Taliban rule is finished. As of today they are no longer a part of Afghanistan.***" The fall of Kandahar was closely followed on 9 December by that of Zabul Province, the last remaining Taliban presence in Afghanistan. In early December, the Bonn Agreement requested the development of a security force to maintain security in key areas of Afghanistan. On 20 December, the United Nations Security Council authorised the formation of NATO-ISAF (International Security Assistance Force), who are still in Afghanistan today.

¹⁵Hamid Karzai: born in Afghanistan in 1957, he emerged as a resistance leader under Taliban rule and worked to undermine the regime. Karzai became president in 2004 after American-led forces had overthrown the Taliban.

¹⁶David Cameron: is best known for being a revolutionary leader of Britain's Conservative Party, and was elected Prime Minister in 2010.

¹⁷The Islamic Revolution was between 1978–79 and also called **Iranian Revolution** that resulted in the toppling of the monarchy on April 1, 1979, and led to the establishment of an Islamic republic.

¹⁸On May 14, 1948, on the day in which the British Mandate over Palestine expired, the Jewish People's Council gathered at the Tel Aviv Museum, and approved the following proclamation, declaring the establishment of the State of Israel. The new state was recognized that night by the United States and three days later by the USSR.

¹⁹Yasser Arafat: was a chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization from 1969 until his death in 2004, a tumultuous period in which clashes with neighboring Israel were prevalent.

²⁰The Battle of Gaza, also referred to as **Hamas' takeover of Gaza**, was a military conflict between Fatah and Hamas, which took place in the Gaza Strip between June 10 and 15, 2007. It was a climax in the Fatah–Hamas conflict, centered on the struggle for power, after

Fatah lost the parliamentary elections of 2006. Hamas fighters took control of the Gaza Strip and removed Fatah officials.

²¹Mr Abbas, also known as Abu Mazen, had already succeeded Yasser Arafat as leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), having been Mr. Arafat's deputy since 1969.

²²Saeb Erekat is the lead negotiator of the Palestinian Authority (PA) and one of the architects of the Oslo Accords. Erekat (born April 28, 1955) was born in the neighborhood of Abu Dis in Jordanian-controlled East in Jerusalem just under seven years after the State of Israel declared its independence.

²³Robin Cook:(1946-2005), British Labour politician. He became a Member of Parliament in 1983 and held several positions in the Labour Shadow Cabinet before becoming Foreign Secretary (1997-2001). He became Leader of the House of Commons but resigned in protest against the invasion of Iraq in 2003.

²⁴Clare Short: (born 15 February 1946) is a British politician, and a member of the Labour Party. She was the Member of Parliament for Birmingham Ladywood from 1983 to 2010.

²⁵John Chiclot: a career civil servant, the Cambridge-educated mandarin, now aged 77, had held a series of senior positions in Whitehall by the time he retired in the late 1990s and remains chair of independent think-tank the Police Foundation.

²⁶Jack Chirac: French politician who served as president (1995-2007) and previously as mayor of Paris (1977-1995) and Prime Minister (1974-1976 and 1986-1988). He was a strong champion of the European Union and opposed the US-led invasion (2003) of Iraq.

²⁷Ariel Sharon: wan Israeli military leader and politician who was elected as a Prime Minister of the country in 2001, serving until 2006.

²⁸UNHCR: the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, an international organization that protects refugees and helps to find homes for them.

²⁹Gordon Brown: succeeded Tony Blair as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in 2007, and served against the backdrop of a worldwide financial crisis.

³⁰JIC: a business strategy in which a company maintains high inventory at all times to compensate for sudden increases in demand. A JIC strategy incurs higher carry costs for inventory.

³¹Abu Musab al-Zarqawi: was a Jordanian militant Islamist who ran a paramilitary training camp in Afghanistan. He became known after going to Iraq and being responsible for a series of bombings, beheadings, and attacks during the Iraq War.

Conclusion

We open our work by asking two questions: Did Blair introduce reforms that were different from the old reforms? To what extent did Blair's reforms changed the United Kingdom? What was the bound that linked Blair's doctrine with G.W. Bush in the Middle East?

Tony Blair's premiership may inform us whether he was a renowned Prime Minister or he was ordinary one, it is obvious that he is the only memorable Prime Minister in the British era: he changed Britain forever; Blair's three terms were impressive and this was demonstrated in chapter one through his political, social and economic reforms.

Tony Blair was the longest serving labour Prime Minister in British history; he changed the UK welfare state by his smart strategies. Blair's project was often called "modernisation"; it would be better to describe it as setting the country at prosperity, new maternity rights, the Equalities Act, and all the ways that lead the country to new diversity, there were a total changes in the country. In 1997, new primary schools in England were placed and matched by new hospital program with the renovation of cities driven by billions of pounds of investment, this truly transformed Britain. He attempted to promote a youthful, modern image of Britain, Some of his policies were genuinely radical, especially the constitutional reforms that delivered a measure of self-government to Wales and Scotland which changed the world. In addition to many improvements in transport, education and health care. "**Education, education, education**" was how Tony Blair set out his priorities for office; his aim was to put classrooms at the top of the political agenda.

Blair was amongst the top influential leaders of the British history, the prior Prime Minister John Major spoke about the opportunity to serve the country but Blair made that possible, He renamed Labour as "New Labour" and led the party to its first election victory after 18 years of political wilderness. We believe that Tony Blair was a very good leader, his policies of giving the Bank of England unprecedented freedom led to an economic boom. Perhaps if he had not left the office right after the 2007, the Labour Party could have secured a majority in the 2010 elections because he was the right man in the right place, certainly in the early stages he brought a renewed sense of national pride to Britain, with the whole 'Cool Britannia'.

There is no doubt that Blair led his country to a better position, he gained a lot of popularity and was considered a diacritical personality. To his critics, this achievement was made at the cost of leaving the party's principles. To his supporters, he was a man who risked his public unpopularity in the pursuit of policies (most notably the war in Iraq) which he tried to justify. In 2002 - 2003 Blair hazarded his personal authority by supporting the US government's war on terror. Despite serious alarm in his own party and among the wider public, Blair was re-elected in 2005, in an unprecedented third successive term for a Labour Prime Minister, the same year he led the G8 summit and pretended on two issues –fighting terrorism and preserving peace - which had become increasing priorities for him.

Blair stepped down in June 2007 and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Gordon Brown and was accused to be criminal; he took the country to the war because he believed it was the right thing to do even if it was not legal, he came to power in 1997 obsessed with securing the voters' trust, he did all he could to do in order to build a firm bond between his government and the electorate but he betrayed people, millions have marched against the war but he was determined, new Labour was close to the US presidents because one of his most objective at the start of his second term was to prove that a Labour Prime Minister could work with a Republican president of the US, thus together the leaders looked for nonexistent WMD, a conflict that caused huge amounts of death, suffering and ultimately caused the instability seen in the Middle East today.

If we look to the adjective "good" that always comes with Blair name, we observe that Blair does not deserve to be described as a good leader because in our view he did not fulfill the criteria of a good leader, especially his implication with Bush after the 9/11 attacks in 2001 which caused later on the wars in both Afghanistan and Iraq, he became the first Prime Minister to be subjected to criminal investigation during his premiership, so if there is something to say about him it will be that Blair is tainted by crimes. We aimed through our study to focus on the Middle East which is considered as a central location in the history of British foreign policy. Ultimately, it appears that the names Blair and Bush are associated with insecurity in the Middle East; we see that right now Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine are turmoil countries.

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Appendices:

Appendix 1: Tony Blair with his wife when he won the elections of 1997.



(Blair, 290).

Appendix 2: Tony Blair entered Downing Street following labour's landslide victory in 1997.



(Naughtie,2).

Appendix 3: Blair enjoyed a close working relationship with President George Bush.



(Dominiczak, Peter, 2)

Appendix 4: Tony Blair with Addressing troops in Basra in 2003.



(Mendick, 3)

Appendix 5: Many people blamed Blair for the death of civilians and service persons during and after the war.



(Mendick, 5).

Appendix 6: Tony Blair has committed his government to treading the Third Way. Both US President Bill Clinton and German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder espouse the same doctrine.



(Dickson, 1).

Appendix 07:The New York City Fire Department rushed to the scene and suffered incredible losses of life as it tried to save people from the burning towers — 343 members were killed.



(Debord, Fowler, 1).

Appendix08:As viewers watched on television, Marine Gunnery Sergeant Leon Lambert and Corporal Edward Chin prepared to bring down the statue of Saddam Hussein Baghdad's Firdos



([Maass,1](#)).

Appendix 09: The Middle East ‘peace envoy’ has recommended that a network of sweatshops be set up in the occupied West Bank.



(Cronin,1).

Appendix 10: Tony Blair and Reuven Rivlin.



(Crowley, 3).