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**Rethinking US Democracy: How It Is Practiced and Its
Effects on the Developing Countries**

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Dedication

This work is dedicated specially to my family members, my dear parents, my beloved sisters and brothers, who have provided me with their encouragements, love, and understanding.

To my "fiancé" for his patience and care.

To all my extended family.

To all my colleagues and teachers at the university for their collaboration and support in my life.

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Abstract

This study is concerned with the American democracy promotion in the Middle East and North Africa and its effect on the region. Therefore, we have chosen two cases for this study; the American invasion of Iraq and the Arab Spring revolutions. This research work aims to investigate the motives of American intervention in Iraq, and to discover the role of U.S. foreign policy in the democratic changes in Arab Spring countries. Thus, the appropriate research method is the descriptive one in which we attempt to trace the main historical events of the democratic transitions in the region and its reasons. The results obtained in this present work demonstrate that the American intervention in Iraq was for economic reasons. Besides, the results discovered that the United States had an important role in the Arab spring uprisings, using indirect means as the media, religious minorities, and civil society organizations. Moreover, democratic transitions in Iraq and Arab Spring countries resulted in the dissociation of the Arab world as well as the classification of citizens on a sectarian, ethnic, and religious basis. In the end, we suggest some recommendations for the Arab countries in an attempt to help them resolve their conflicts which can be treated through the separation between the religion and the state as well as getting rid of American and Western domination.

Key words: Arab Spring, invasion of Iraq, Middle East, North Africa, US democracy.

List of Abbreviations

AS:	Arab Spring.
CNN:	Cable News Network.
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product.
IFES:	International Foundation for Electoral Systems.
IRI:	International Republican Institute.
ISIE:	High Independent Election Commission.
MENA:	Middle East and North Africa.
MSNBC:	Microsoft National Broadcasting Company.
NATO:	North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
NBC:	National Broadcasting Company.
NDI:	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.
NED:	National Fund for Democracy.
TD:	Tourist Destinations.
UN:	United Nations.
US:	United States.
USA:	United States of America.

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General Introduction

1. Statement of the Problem

The US has long been concerned with promoting the international spread of democracy all over the world especially in the developing countries and more precisely, in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA region). It is argued that the spread of democracy has many important benefits; it promotes international peace, enhances liberty, prevents famines, and fosters economic development. But the problem is, what is happening now in the Middle East and North Africa like the ongoing struggles in Iraq and Libya demonstrate the failure of American democratic projects in promoting international peace and in contrast, these projects lead to more risks of war.

2. The Aim of the Study

Supporting respect for human rights and democracy promotion in the world have long been the most important components of U.S. foreign policy. This study aims at determining the way in which the American democracy is practiced in the developing countries and more precisely, in the Middle East and North Africa. Therefore, our study describes both the democratic transitions in Iraq as a direct promotion of American democracy, as well as in Arab Spring countries (Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya). Moreover, this study attempts to examine the direct and indirect motives of American intervention in Iraq, as well as to discover the role of U.S. foreign policy in the democratic changes in Arab spring countries. It also aims to examine the results of these democratic changes in the Arab countries whether it was positive or negative. Finally, this study aims to suggest some recommendations for the Arab countries to increase their awareness's of effective points that help them to improve their political systems.

3. Research Questions

Our research seeks to answer the following answers:

1. What is the real purpose behind the American democracy promotion in the Middle East and North Africa?
2. What is the role of the United States in the democratic changes in the Arab world?
3. Did these political changes lead to the stabilization and a real application of the democratic regimes in the Arab countries or to more chaos and wars?
4. What are the results of these democratic changes?

4. Research Hypotheses

In this research work we hypothesize that the real purpose behind US democracy promotion in the Middle East and North Africa may not be for offering benefits, but in contrast, is to impose the American control over those countries and to get benefits from their energy resources to serve its own interest. We also expect that the process of democratization may increase the risks of war.

5. Significance of the study

The concern of this study is to highlight and demonstrate the real purpose behind the American democracy promotion in the MENA region, as well as demonstrating the role of U.S. foreign policy in the democratic transitions in the region. Moreover, we consider that the result of this study will provide students, teachers and others who have an interest in this topic with answers to their questions about the American role in the political events in the Arab world.

6. Research Method

Since the aim of the study is to examine the effects of US democracy on the Middle East and North Africa, the descriptive method seems to be the appropriate one. This method will be useful in getting insight into the role of U.S. foreign policy in the democratic transitions in the region. Moreover, this method is also relevant in collecting data about subjects under- investigation through a profound observation of the written and official documents or other documents which can provide us with important information.

7. Research limitations

This study is concerned with investigating to what extent the American democracy promotion in the Middle East and North Africa affects the region. In order to shed lights on the issue, we have examined the American invasion of Iraq in 2003 and Arab Spring events in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya during the year 2010/2011. Hence, any conclusions drawn from the study will be limited to the countries under investigation, and the findings are not over generalized o similar situations but just an attempt and an ultimate insight into the situation.

8. Research Structure

Our work is divided into three chapters. The first chapter aims to discuss US democracy in general, we start by describing the USA and we define democracy from different viewpoints. We also attempt to present the key elements of a State under a democratic government, the origins of US democracy, as well as the type of democracy in America. The second chapter contains the American interests in the Middle East and North Africa, the American democracy direct promotion in Iraq, the American democracy indirect promotion in the Middle East and North Africa, and the role of US foreign policy in the democratic changes in these countries. Finally, the last chapter deals with the economic, political, and social impact of the democratic changes in the MENA region. It also includes general results and some recommendations in order to raise the Arab citizens' awareness and to help them resolve their democratic regimes.

Chapter one: US Democracy

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Introduction

Democracy is the most common form of government in the world. It has become a worldwide phenomenon because we are living in a world where all people are calling for freedom and democracy. In this form of government citizens' views influence the laws and decisions made by their government. American democracy is one of the oldest democratic forms in the world in which its citizen's participation in the political process has changed over the years. Moreover, the spread of American democracy became a main principle of US foreign policy. They argue that the spread of democracy promotes international peace and benefits citizens. In order to understand what democracy is, how it came to America, And how it works there, we have devote this chapter to talk about seven parts: introducing the United States, Definition of democracy, types of democracy, key elements of a State under democratic principles, the origins of the American democracy, and democracy in America.

1.1 Introducing the United States of America

The United States of America (USA) is a country with about 3.8 million square miles (9,826,630 square kilometers). It takes the world's third grade in terms of land area. It ranks ta the third in terms of population which was estimated about 300 million people. The American political system is a Federal Republic. The country includes 50 States, Christianity is the largest religion in America. The capital of the United States is Washington D.C. The American national language is English (Griztner, 2008).

The United States has the strongest economy in the world on which much of the world depends. It is considered as the world's leading power because it produces \$13 trillion (2006) in annual goods and services as well as one--fourth of the entire world's economic output. America is a highly developed country and its population enjoys the highest standards of living. It has the biggest military power in the world, and has a great influence over world's finance, trade, culture, military, politics, and technology (Griztner, 2008).



Figure 1: USA Map (Britannica, 1998).

1.2 Definition of Democracy

Below are some of the varied definitions of democracy by various authors:

According to the former US president Abraham Lincoln democracy is:” the government of the people, by the people, and for the people” (1809-1865), this definition is considered as the best and most popular definition of democracy. On this turn, democracy means a form of government in which people rule themselves, a government formed by the people and to serve their own interest (Epstein, 2011).

Also, Mezy (2008) demonstrated:

Most nations, with few exceptions, are committed, at least rhetorically, to the concept of democracy. Derived from the Greek words *demos*—referring to the people—and *kratos*—referring to political power—democracy means, literally, that the people hold political power. Democracies are characterized by “popular sovereignty”; simply put, the people have the final say about the policies that govern their lives. (p.1)

According to this definition, democracy originates from two Greek words Demos and Kratein which are combined together to form the word Democracy. Popular sovereignty is a fundamental principle of any democratic system which means that people are the ultimate source of the authority of government.

Becker and Aimé A. Raveloson (2008) stated, “ Democracy, as a State form, is to be distinguished from monarchy, aristocracy and Dictatorship” (p.4). In their view, democracy is a system of government that was created as a reaction to authoritarian systems as monarchy, aristocracy, and dictatorship.

Furthermore, according to Dahl (1971) there are eight criteria in defining democracy which are: the right to vote; the right to be elected; the right of political leaders to vie for support and votes; elections must be free and fair; freedom of making organizations; freedom of expression; substitutional sources of information; and institutions that depend on votes and other expressions of priority. From Dahl saying, the real essence of democracy is when citizens can participate equally in free and fair elections, and if elections direct the actions of government.

Moreover, democracy was defined as, “Government by the people, where liberty, equality and fraternity are secured to the greatest possible degree and in which human capacities are developed to the utmost, by means including free and full discussion of common problems and interests” (Pennock, 1979, p.7). On this turn, democracy is a government that respects people’s liberty, equality, and fraternity.

In brief, the above definitions can be organized according to four main issues: liberty, equality, property, and participation. Also, all the definitions of democracy contain the following elements: democracy is a form of government in which people’s participation is of primary importance, people may participate directly or indirectly, it is a type of government in which people have equal opportunities and this type of government is based on individual merit and no place of hereditary privilege is to be found in democracy, protection of freedom

and human rights of all citizens, and a political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair election.

1.3 Types of Democracy:

There are two types of democracy: direct democracy, and representative democracy.

1.3.1 Direct Democracy:

According to Kamp (2011) direct democracy is a system of government in which citizens rule themselves. They make the laws, enforce them and decide cases according to these laws without intermediate representatives or houses of parliament. People decide the fate of their own country. This type of democracy is still practiced in Switzerland and in some states of the USA.

Moreover, Miller (2007) emphasises:

The experiments included recall of public officials, popular referendum over acts of the legislature, and, most consequentially, the citizen's initiative process. The initiative device allowed citizens to propose laws, place them on the ballot, and enact them at the polls by simple majority vote. For the first time, popular majorities could bypass their representatives and directly dictate policy (2009). (p. I)

That is to say, direct democracy reduces the role of government and parliament, but it gives more power to the people in order to directly govern themselves without representatives.

1.3.2 Indirect or Representative Democracy

Kamp (2011) proposes this definition:

This type of democracy is limited and indirect. It is limited in the sense that popular participation in government is infrequent and brief, being restricted to the act of voting every few years. It is indirect in that the public do not exercise power themselves; they merely select those who will rule on their behalf. (p.4)

According to Kamp's view, indirect democracy is a system of government in which people elect a small number of representatives or delegates that represent them in the parliament.

Moreover, Mezy (2008) mentioned the difference between direct and indirect democracy, according to him, the government in an indirect democracy is not ruled by the people themselves as the direct democracy, instead of that, citizens elect the representatives who grouped into constituencies to present them in the parliament. Besides, all adult citizens have the right to vote and chose their representatives.

1.4 Key Elements of States Organized under Democratic Principles

According to Becker and Raveloson (2008) any state under democratic principles should include the following seven key elements:

1.4.1 Fundamental Freedom and Fundamental Rights

Becker and Dr. Raveloson (2008) have defined human rights as essential components in every democratic system which protects the fundamental freedoms of every individual. These rights must not be ignored by the state, and people must all be treated equally without discrimination. These rights encompass different fields. First, the Individual Personality Rights as the right to life and the right to free personality development which protect the citizens from violence and save their dignity. Second, Political and Civil Rights as the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, as well as the freedom to hold meetings and make associations that enable citizens to participate in the political life. Third, the Social and Economic Rights, as the right of education. In addition to other new rights as the Third Generation Rights which means that human rights are not fixed and can be involved, the Rights to Development which enforce the relationship between the rich and the poor, the Rights to Environment which protect the vital species from damage.

1.4.2 Elections

According to Becker and Raveloson (2008), Elections are the basis of any democratic regime. The existence of electoral system estimates the democracy in the country. Besides, democratic elections must be free and this first happens when people are free to choose their candidates or parties that will represent them. Secondly, their decision whether to vote or not

must be respected. Thirdly, elections must be equitable; this means that all citizens have equal opportunities to vote and there must not be any influence of any kind on their rights to vote, this influence includes origin, sex, language, class...etc. Fourthly, the political election must be secret; each citizen puts his ballot in an envelope then enters it into the box without saying for which political party or candidate he has voted. Fifthly, the democratic elections should be public and transparent where all citizens have the right to attend and watch the process of counting votes after opening the box. The democratic election must also be based on regular basis by holding elections on a set schedule known to electorate. Finally, the election result must be conducted carefully in order to be final and legitimate.

1.4.3 Rule of Law

Kamp (2011) stated, “A central element of the rule of law in a democracy is equality before the law” (p. 20). Also, Becker and Raveloson (2008) stated that: “In a democratic State, all the citizens are equal in front of the law, even State employees and administration” (p.9). All in all, the rule of law is the principle that all citizens and public or private institutions without expectations are subject to the law which is fairly and equally applied and protects fundamental rights as the security of persons and all human rights.

1.4.4 Separation of Power

The separation of power means that government’s responsibility is divided into three branches in order not to prevent one branch from being more powerful than the other. The first one is the legislature which makes and adopts the laws. The second branch is the executive which enforces laws and government policies. The third one is the judiciary which is the legal framework for exercising the power. Also, this promotes checks and balances (Becker & Raveloson, 2008).

Still according to Becker and Raveloson (2008) who have distinguished between the separation of power in the parliamentary regime and the presidential regime, they mentioned that in a parliamentary regime, like Great Britain, although it is the work of the government to

enforce laws, it is the parliament work to pass and approve the bills that the government puts. Also, the executive is a result of an appointment by the parliamentary majority. The presidential regime, in contrast, the separation of the executive like the United States, is completely separated from the legislature. Each branch has its own power and the president is more powerful that is not easy to remove him through impeachment from the legislature.

Generally speaking, in a parliamentary regime, the government cannot work without parliament, whereas in a presidential regime, they are completely separated. Moreover, the regime has merits and demerits, but both systems can be successful if the government organs follow the rules of the system considering people awareness.

1.4.5 The Parliament

According to Becker and Raveloson (2008), parliament is the elected body of government which has several functions. The first function is legislation and this is by making laws. The second one is a representation; the parliament represents its citizens by expressing their political will. The third one is controlling the government by examining its work. The fourth function is that the members of parliament are responsible for electing the Head of Government and sometimes, all other members of the government.

1.4.6 Democratic Pluralism

democratic pluralism is a party competition where varied groups of people, public or private institutions, associations of any nature; political, economic, religious, or ethnic have the right to exist, discuss, share their point of view, competing each other, try to influence on social and political life, and offering individuals opportunities to become part of their society without being in government. In addition, it is the work of the state to maintain the competition principles and to find out regulation measures. Thus, multiplicity and variety lead to pluralistic societies. (Becker & Raveloson, 2008; Kamp, 2011).

1.4.7 Government and Opposition

Becker and Raveloson (2008) wrote:

The opposition controls the government. It constitutes a beacon for the government. Its presence is necessary to guarantee an exchange of points of view that are characterized by useful controversies. Democracy in fact feeds its dynamic on such permanent conflicts between points of views, and on the discussions that result from them. (p. 14)

In short, the opposition works as a control for the government, it is any political parties or groups which are opposed to the government. It monitors the activities of the government, ensures that the political process is stable, transparent, and all interests, as well as, issues are taken into consideration by the government.

1.4.8 Public Opinion and Freedom of the Media

Becker and Raveloson (2008) defined the public opinion as the following, “Public opinion is made up with citizens or specific groups that reflect on their community and express their criticisms, their proposals or their agreement to influence the construction of political will” (p. 15). In brief, public opinion presents people’s thoughts, believes, and wants which help politicians to function with the interest of their citizens in mind.

Furthermore, Becker and Raveloson (2008) proclaimed the role of the opposition in presenting the public opinion to the government, they stated:

Public opinion is then a tool to control the politicians that lead the country. On the one hand, this is important for the opposition as the latter is only potentially active in front of the government through this public opinion. (p.15)

Simply, we can say that the public opinion is a sum of citizen’s views, attitudes, and beliefs about a particular topic. It gives them the right to hold meetings and exchange information because people are the ultimate source of government. Thus, governmental officials must take public opinion into account when deciding how to act.

Moreover, according to Becker and Raveloson (2008) freedom of media is very significant in democratic societies, since democracy as a concept promotes accountability and transparency. They mention the important role of media in presenting the public opinion and

telling people about what is happening every day in politics. Also, the media is considered as the “fourth power” coming after the three branches of government, because it constitutes in fact the most important controlling tools of the public opinion.

In addition, Meyer (2011) has discussed how the media serves the citizens and gives them the freedom to present their opinions in order to create a transparent system of government. He stated that: “In particular, a free media sector plays an essential role in guaranteeing the freedom of expression and freedom of information, both of which are necessary for facilitating the effective participation of citizens in democratic processes” (p. 14).

1.5 The Origin of US democracy

There were other important documents before the Declaration of Independence as The Mayflower Compact (November 21, 1620), The Petition of Right (May 27, 1628), The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut (January 14, 1639), The Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress (October 14, 1774) , The Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms (July 6,1775), and The Virginia Declaration of Rights (June 12, 1776), however, The Declaration of Independence is considered as the most important document which served the emerge of democracy in the United States (Kemp, 2010).

1.5.1 The declaration of Independence

Kemp (2010) asserted that, “The American Revolution is another important event in the history of democracy. The first step, of course, in America’s pursuit of democracy was the Declaration of Independence in 1776” (p. 8). This means that The Declaration of Independence is considered as the most relevant document in which colonies in America called for democracy.

The declaration of independence was written by Thomas Jefferson in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776. It is a date the Americans celebrate as the birth of American independence. It

consists of four parts: a Preamble, List of Abuses and Usurpations, and Past Actions of Colonists (kemp, 2010).

Moreover, the declaration of independence is one of the important documents in American history. It marked the official separation between the 13 colonies and Great Britain after a year from the armed struggle between the 13 colonies and Britain (kemp, 2010).

Besides, it was written to king George III and the world in order to explain why the 13 colonies wanted to separate from England and to assist the Second Continental Congress in obtaining aid from foreign countries (kemp, 2010).

The Declaration of Independence contains certain truths, all men are created equal and there are certain rights “unalienable rights” that the government should take into consideration. These rights are “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”. Jefferson took the idea of these unalienable rights from the philosopher, Locke. He also took another idea from the philosopher Rousseau which includes that when a government fails to protect those rights, it is the right and the duty of the people to overthrow that government (kemp, 2010).

1.5.2 Constitution of Massachusetts (June 15, 1780)

The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was written by John Adams, Samuel Adams, and James Bowdoin. It was approved on June 15, 1780, and became effective on October 25, 1780. It is considered as the most important and ancient written constitution in the world. (kemp, 2010).

In addition, Massachusetts’ Constitution was written in a different and organized way which made it unique. Its structure contains chapters, articles, and sections. This structure influenced the Constitution of the United States of America which was drafted after seven years and many other states constitutions. This document includes four parts: a preamble, a declaration of rights, a description of the framework of government in six chapters, and articles of amendment. See Kemp (2010) to read the content of the Massachusetts Constitution (kemp, 2010).

1.5.3 The Articles of Confederation (March 1, 1781)

Articles of Confederation were the first constitution of the United States after it declared independence from Great Britain. They were first proposed at the Second Continental Congress in 1777 and went into effect on March 1, 1781 (Kemp, 2010).

Furthermore, according to Kemp (2010), the 13 colonies were afraid of giving much power to the central government that may ignore their rights. So, they minimized the power of the central government and gave much power to the individual states. Instead of working together as a unified nation with mutual common reasons, the states were working against each other. As a result, these articles failed and became ineffective in governing the states, leading to economic disorganization, legislative inefficiencies, lack of central leadership.

1.5.4 Constitution of the United States (September 17, 1787)

After the failure of the Articles of Confederation that were the founding fathers' first try to supersede the British system, The 13 colonies wanted a more powerful government system instead of the Articles of Confederation (Kemp, 2010).

According to Kemp (2010), US constitution is the governing document of the United States after the Articles of Confederation. It is considered as the supreme law of the United States. It was signed on September 17, 1787, by delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia.

Moreover, Kemp (2010) proclaimed:

The document defines the three main branches of the government: The legislative branch with a bicameral Congress, an executive branch led by the President, and a judicial branch headed by the Supreme Court. Besides providing for the organization of these branches, the Constitution outlines obligations of each office, as well as provides what powers each branch may exercise. (p. 84)

In short, we can say that for a powerful federal government, delegates made three branches of government along with a system of check and balances in order to ensure that no single branch would be more powerful than the other.

In addition, The Constitution of the United States contains three parts. The first one is the preamble which gives the importance and the aim of the federal government. The second part includes seven articles which explain the government's structure and determines that the constitution can be changed. The final part, the lists of amendments, the first 10 are known as the Bill of Rights (kemp, 2010).

1.5.5 The Bill of Rights

Ten amendments were added to the United States Constitution and became known as the Bill of Rights. These amendments were introduced as a series of articles in 1789 by James Madison and were signed on December 15, 1791 (Kemp, 2010).

Kemp (2010) demonstrated that: "The Bill of Rights plays a central role in American law and government, and remains a fundamental symbol of the freedoms and culture of the nation" (p. 95). All in all, the Bill of Rights protects citizens' rights and freedom. Also, it provides particular prohibitions on governmental power.

Also, An additional 17 amendments to the Constitution have been ratified over the last 200 years, this means that over the years, more amendments were added and now, the Constitution has 27 amendments (Soifre, Hoffman & Voss, 2001).

1.6 Democracy in America

Kemp (2010) stated, "A representative democracy came about in the United States because the colonists were tired of taxation without representation and wanted a more fair system where the people had more say in the rule of the country" (p. 9). In this sense, today's American democracy is indirect democracy or representative. As we mentioned before in this type of democracy, citizens elect representatives as the president, senators, and members of Congress to manage the government. Besides, colonists have chosen republic democracy to avoid the pitfalls of their past governments.

Moreover, Kemp (2010) wrote:

The U.S. government is divided into three branches to keep corruption in check. These three branches are the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches; no one branch contains absolute power, rather, each branch is balanced off of the others creating a system of checks and balances to protect the principles of democracy. (p.9)

Simply, the United States focused on the separation of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial in order to ensure a strong democratic government in which no branch is more powerful than the two other branches and each of them can check the others.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have examined democracy by providing different authors definitions, and we have discussed some related points such as: types of democracy (direct, indirect), key elements of a state under a democratic principles (fundamental freedoms and fundamental rights, election, rule of law, separation of powers, the parliament, democratic pluralism, government and opposition, public opinion and freedom of the media), the origins of the American democracy, and democracy in America. To sum up, the United States succeeded in developing a democratic government, and we can say that democracy is a good system of government if it is practiced in the right way with respect to its key elements. So, in the next chapter, we are going to talk about the American democracy promotion in the Middle East and North Africa, especially in the Arab world.

Chapter Two:
American Democracy
Promotion in the
Middle East and
North Africa

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Introduction

Democracy promotion in the Middle East abroad has been one of the constants in US foreign policy over the last century. Since the United States became a superpower, its liberal democratic ideology used repeatedly to frame and justify its actions and interventions in other countries. This chapter will argue that American democracy promotion in the MENA region has continued as a pursuit of hegemony. The chapter starts with introducing of the Middle East and North Africa, it also will account for the American interests in the region, then it will examine the democratic strategies used by the American administration in the region which are: American democracy direct promotion in Iraq, and American democracy indirect promotion in the Middle East and North Africa (the Arab Spring revolutions; Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya).

These countries were selected because they show the nature and scope of the American administration efforts to encourage transitions from authoritarianism to democratic government. Besides, they provide comparative context which helps in the analysis of US democracy promotion in the Middle East.

2.1 Introducing the Middle East

The Middle East is a land which includes the states of Western Asia and Egypt (which is in North Africa). The region contains arid and semi-arid deserts, rich river valleys, and coastal regions (Peretz, 1994).

Furthermore, most of the people in the Middle East are Muslims, but it also includes other religious groups such as Christians, Jews, and Hindus. Besides, each religion contains different sects with different beliefs and practices. The Middle East is characterized by ethnic groups such as Arabs, Turks, Jews, and Kurds. The largest ethnic group in the region is the Arabs (Dwairy, 2006).



Figure 2: The Middle East Map (Britannica, 2012).

2.2 Introducing North Africa

North Africa has different definitions; it was defined by some scholars who study the region and its people as the region from the Atlantic shores of Morocco in the west, to the Suez Canal and the Red Sea in the east. Other scholars have related it to the countries of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, this region was named by the French during colonial times as “Afrique du Nord” and by the Arabs as the Maghreb (“West”). The region is also called the Atlas Lands because the Atlas Mountains dominate northern Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. However, the most accepted definition includes Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, as well as Libya and Egypt (Ahmed, 2014).

North Africa has an important stock of oil and gas, however, it is considered as one of the world’s poorest regions in water because of the rapid population growth which was estimated in 2015 at 160 million people. The economies of the region also depend on agriculture and tourism industries (Land Policy, 2010).

North Africa is characterized by land fragmentation because of the continuous subdivision of land for inheritance. The official language of the region is Arabic. Each country in the region has a different political system, Algeria is a Presidential Republic, Egypt is a Semi-presidential republic, Libya is a Provisional authority, Morocco is a Constitutional monarchy, and Tunisia is a Parliamentary Republic (Land Policy, 2010).

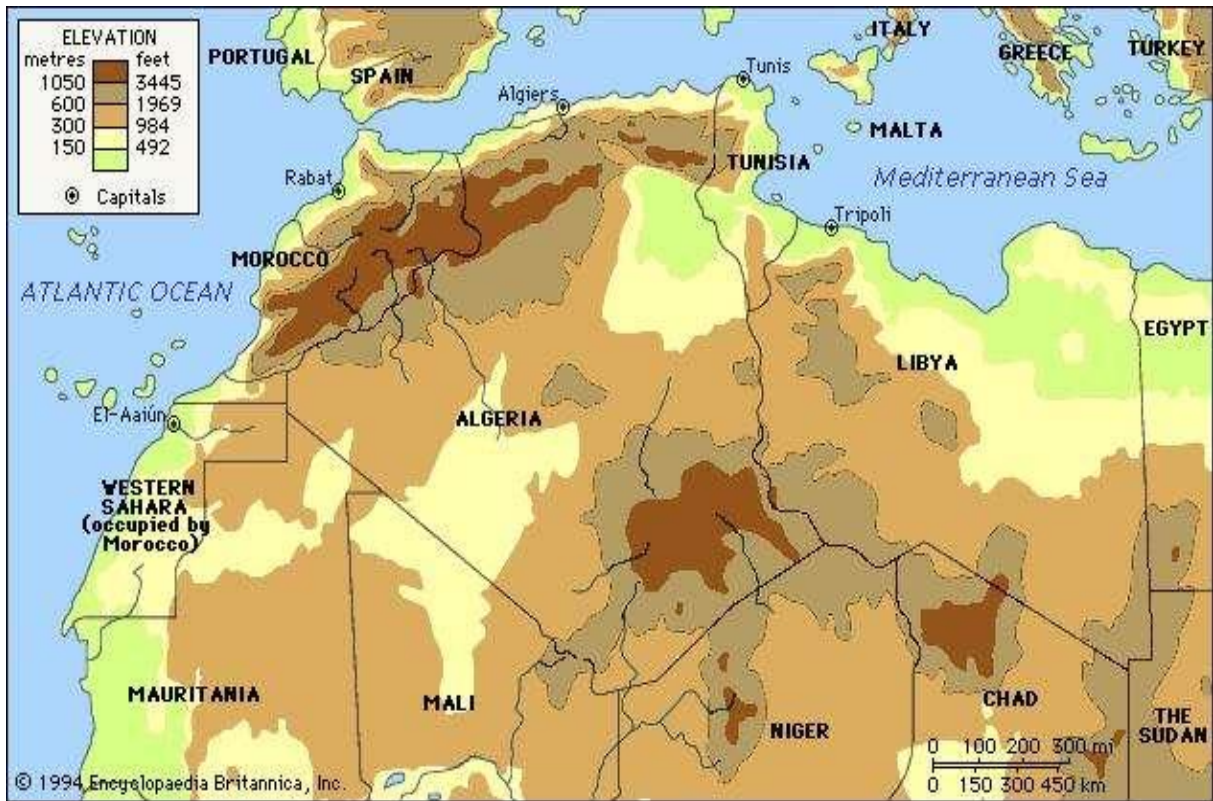


Figure 3: North Africa Map (Britannica, 1994).

2.3 The American Interests in the Middle East and North Africa

After the falling of the Soviet Union, US became the dominant power in the world. In order to spread its rules values, and its dominant power, the United States adopted new slogans as democracy, the political reform, and human rights (Abdullah, 2013).

Policymakers gave a special interest to the Arab World especially the Middle East and North Africa. The Middle East and North Africa remain central to world affairs, this is because of its strategic place and energy sources. The region has long been site dominated by American power, and no one would be allowed to dominate or have excessive influence over it and its oil fields except the United States. The American president George Bush justified his

intervention in the region claiming that the authoritarian systems in the Middle East are the main causes of alienation and extremism that fuelled terrorist organizations. (Halabi, 2009).

Furthermore, Bensagar (2015) asserted that the American strategy in the Middle East and North Africa was not clear at the beginning because America used an ambiguous strategy that became clear to the world after the American invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the events of the Arab Spring which led to the change of most Arab systems.

Moreover, Yom (2008) mentioned:

President Bush's announcement of a new "freedom agenda" in November 2003 suggested that Washington would no longer prioritize strategic friendships with local authoritarian regimes "at the expense of liberty;" the United States would instead sponsor daring political reforms in the hope of fostering democratic transitions across the Arab world. (p.131)

This shows and confirms the American interest of democracy promotion in the Arab world, and how it was insisting to change the authoritarian regimes in the Arab world by democratic ones.

In Addition, Bensagar (2015) stated that the American strategy depends on the fulfillment of American benefits, regardless of the region's benefits, or the legitimacy of the instruments used. Therefore, the United States is ready to do anything in order to serve its interests in the other countries and it does not matter whether the way is legal or not.

Furthermore, the American strategy in the Middle East depends on two principles. The first one is choosing the right decision after experiencing all the available options and the second principle is the security institutions which serve the American interests in the region. But, the real goals of these policies which were not announced are: making unstable political environment and using radicalism as a mean to control the region (Bensagar, 2015).

Halabi (2009) mentioned the American interests in the Middle East. According to him American interests in the Middle East are related to strategic benefits. He explains the real reasons behind American interventions in the Middle East as the following: free access to the oil resources and supporting the oil majors, supporting and protecting Israel, recycling

petrodollars into the US market, and ensuring the stability of the region. This clarifies that the ideas and problem-solving theories which were used by the American policy to work with the Middle East countries were only means to dominate the region and its strategic benefits.

All in all, the United State decided to dominate the Middle East region by any means. The best way to do so was to change the ruling systems there and to impose reforms at different spheres. Moreover, the United States used two strategies in order to spread democracy in the Middle East. The first one, using military power as in Iraq and the second one was indirect promotion of American democracy which was clear in the events of the Arab Spring in North Africa.

2.4 American Democracy Direct Promotion in the Middle East

In this study we will take the American invasion of Iraq as a direct promotion of the American democracy in the Middle East using military power.

2.4.1 Introducing Iraq

Iraq is also known as Al-Iraq, but the official name is Al- Jumhuriyyah al- Iraqiyah (Republic of Iraq). Iraq is a country of the Middle East. Its capital is Baghdad, there are two official languages in Iraq; Arabic and Kurdish. Its official religion is Islam. Besides, the country contains 37, 866, 000² people with an area about 437,072 km². Ethnic groups are common in the country, 88% of the populations are Arabs, 20% are Kurdish, and less than 5% are other minority groups like Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Turkmens. Iraq has a strategic location with an important stock of oil (Country Profile, 2006).



Figure 4: Iraq Map (Britannica, 2012).

2.4.2 The American Invasion of Iraq

Despite the international opposed attitudes toward the American decision to invade Iraq, America did not retreat. The U.S. administration clung to the decision of the war without even an international legitimacy.

Lkenberry, Nock, Slaughter, and Smith (2009) mentioned the justification of the American president’s action. They wrote:

As the invasion turned into a protracted war, the Bush administration increasingly invoked liberal internationalist ideas to justify its actions. In his now famous Second Inaugural address, George W. Bush stood on the steps of the U.S. Capitol and proclaimed that “We are led, by events and common sense, to one conclusion: the survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands”. (p. 1)

In short, the American president George W. Bush justified his invasion of Iraq by democracy and liberty promotion in the region and in order to make it a successful country like America.

2.4.3 American Justification of Iraq Invasion

America invaded Iraq in 2003 using military power. The U.S. administration clung to the decision of the war without even an international legitimacy. In order to justify its action, America gave some reasons for its invasion of Iraq. According to different researchers, the reasons are:

2.4.3.1 Iraq Democratization

According to Halabi (2009), the American president Bush asserts that this is the best choice to overthrow the system of the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein who was unfair to his citizens. In addition, the main reason of the invasion was to spread democracy in both, Iraq, and the other neighboring countries, because the spread of democracy in those countries will be easier after its spread in Iraq. Thus, Iraq will be a democratic, stable, and prosperous country. Besides, Iraq will be a great example and a role model in the Middle East, like the historical experience of reforming Germany and Japan after World War II.

2.4.3.2 To Overthrow Saddam Hussein's System

America proclaimed that the system of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein is a tyrannical system, he used a Weapons of Mass Destruction against his citizens, and threaten his neighbors to invade Kuwait. Thus, the American decision to invade Iraq was the right choice to overthrow the Iraqi tyrannical system, protect Iraqi citizens, and to make Iraq a democratic country (Halabi, 2009).

2.4.3.3 The Relationship between Iraqi System and Al Qaeda

America accused Saddam Hussein that he helped the Islamic organization in Algeria and other countries. Besides, he was financing Al Qaeda through Osama Bin Laden's network. America also described Iraq as a source of threat to the security and safety of the world. But, these accusations were not strong enough because there was no proof (Halabi, 2009).

2.4.3.4 Weapons of Mass Destruction Elimination

The United States and Western countries provided the Iraqi president with chemical and biological weapons in order to fight his enemies. He used them twice, against Kurds and Iran. But after the official announcement that these weapons are no more inside Iraq, and despite that the UN inspectors' reports confirmed that Iraq had become clear of such weapons, America changed the official papers and accused the Iraqi president that he bought the uranium from Nigeria (Halabi, 2009).

2.4.3.5 National Legitimacy Violation

According to Mahmud (2010), Iraq did not respect the decision of Security Council. The first decision was number 707 which asked the Iraqi president to give them the weapons and to let the national investigators entering the places where they are supposed to work in. The second decision was number 715 for making future control over Iraqi weapons. The last decision was number 144 which gave Iraq a delay to get rid of weapons of mass destruction.

2.4.4 The Real Reasons behind American Invasion of Iraq

According to different researchers in the field, the real reasons behind the American invasion of Iraq were not the above reasons. The following reasons are the right ones:

2.4.4.1 Protecting Israel

One of the reasons behind the American invasion of Iraq was not the democratization as it announced, but rather protecting Israel. Iraq was the biggest enemy of Israel. So, the invasion of Iraq will protect Israel from the danger of Iraqi president who was fighting against it (Halabi, 2009).

2.4.4.2 Economic Motive

According to Halabi (2009), Iraq has a big amount from the international reservation of petroleum industry. Thus, the biggest goal of the US is to get control over the international petroleum industry and its prices in the international market. Thus, this makes the United States aware of all the exports and imports of petroleum all over the world.

2.4.4.3 Building American Empire (The Project for New American Century)

According to Peot (2005), the Project for New American Century (PNAC) is based on taking rid of any sources that threaten the United States of America. It seeks to make the American administration as the international guiding center, maintaining the military power and wrecking any other power, as well as developing new international American system based on the international American guidance.

All in all, the American policy in Iraq was ambiguous. The United States proclaimed that it is going to democratize the Iraqi system without mentioning how the process will be. It gave justifications for its invasion of Iraq but there were other reasons behind them and the main ones were: protecting Israel, free access to the oil resources, and making Iraq the first step of building American Empire in the Middle East.

2.5 American Democracy Indirect Promotion in the Middle East and North Africa

The Creative Chaos Theory and Domino Theory were introduced and adopted by the American administration. These theories show the American indirect plan toward the Middle East and North Africa especially after the Arab Spring events.

2.5.1 Creative Chaos Theory

Abdullah (2013) explained and mentioned the role of the creative chaos theory in the democratic transitions in the Middle East and North Africa. According to him, the United States of America had introduced the term "Creative Chaos" by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on April 9, 2005, which preceded the emergence of the Arab Spring in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and others. The American President George W. Bush adopted this Policy towards the Arab region to complete his project "the Greater Middle East". Moreover, the theory of creative chaos as a term is considered as Jewish, satanic tools, and depends on sectarianism and division. The emergence of the theory the "creative chaos" is related to a long time, and was put forward by the Berne Project of Louis 1980 in order to divide the Middle East, in particular, the Arab region. This project was presented to the US Congress

and was examined very carefully to be approved in 1983. Besides, it requires the division of the Arab homeland into small states on a sectarian basis which will be easy to control. The author also points out that American plans toward the Middle East have led to general chaos in the region, where the revolution began at the hands of the poor, the marginalized and the disadvantaged class of the people.

2.5.2 Domino Theory

According to Leeson and Dean (2009), domino theory means that changes in one place will cause similar events in other areas close in proximity with one another. This theory is related to the foreign policy and political gains in American history under former president Dwight Eisenhower. Eisenhower's "falling domino principle" asserted that a change in one country's political institution would in turn transfer to neighboring countries. The promotion of democracy has continued through the lenses of the domino theory in Iraq by former president George W. Bush when he asserted that Iraq will be a role model for the other countries.

In the case of the Arab Spring, domino theory explains how the uprisings influenced and affected each other based solely on a geographic relation.

2.5.3 The Arab Spring

The Arab revolutions or the Arab Spring are large peaceful protest movements that began in some Arab countries during late 2010 and early 2011. These revolutions started by the Tunisian revolution that erupted from the burning of Mohamed Bouazizi himself, and succeeded in overthrowing the former President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali (Rand, 2013).

Furthermore, there were mutual causes which encouraged the countries to overthrow their regimes. These causes were the spread of corruption, economic stagnation, and poor living conditions, as well as political and security constraints and the lack of fair elections in most Arab countries. The revolutions succeeded in overthrowing four regimes so far. After the Tunisian revolution, Egypt was the first country that had been influenced by the Tunisian

revolution. On January 25, the revolution succeeded in overthrowing former President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, then, the Libyan revolution also succeeded on 17 February, by killing Muammar Gaddafi (Aissa, 2012).

In addition, the protest movements have reached all parts of the Arab world, the largest of which is the protest movement in Syria. These revolutions were marked by the emergence of an Arab acclaim that first appeared in Tunisia and became popular in all Arab countries: "The people want to bring down the regime". After the success of the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions, the peaceful protests began to demand the end of corruption and the improvement of living conditions (Mushtaq & Afzal, 2017).

2.5.3.1 Tunisian Revolution

The revolution started on 17 December 2010, in solidarity with the young man Mohammed Bouazizi, who burned himself to express his anger about his unemployment and the confiscation of his vehicle. Bouazizi died on 4 January 2011 (Douglas, et al., 2014).

The day after, thousands of Tunisians went into demonstrations to show their anger about the bad conditions of unemployment, lack of social justice, and the aggravation of corruption within the regime. This forced the president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali to dismiss a number of ministers, including the Minister of the Interior. He made promises to address the problems called for by the protesters, and he proclaimed not to run for presidential elections in 2014. After his speech, blocked sites were opened in Tunisia after 5 years of blocking, and the prices of some food products were reduced slightly (Al-Saleh, 2015).

However, the uprising continued and expanded until it reached the government buildings, forcing President Ben Ali to step down and leave the country suddenly to Saudi Arabia on 14 January 2011 by Libyan security protection (Al-Saleh, 2015).

2.5.3.2 Egyptian Revolution

. The revolution started on 25 January also known as Rage Revolution. It was the day set by several parties and people. The protest was against the ill-treatment, especially after the

emergence of several video recordings showing the violation of human rights by police officers. As a result, the police and central security dealt with this protest violently and used live bullets, and the beginning was in the province of Suez where more than 20 young people died (Al-Saleh, 2015).

Besides, the violence of the police made the people of Suez walk in mass manifestations. These manifestations were quickly followed by the rest of the provinces and turned the demonstration from a protest against the suppression of the police to a protest against what was considered corruption under the rule of President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak (Al-Saleh, 2015).

As a result, the Egyptian army went to the streets on the orders of President Mubarak to impose security. Especially, after the police broke up in front of demonstrators and the prisons' storming. The army refrained from targeting demonstrators. Demonstrations continued in Tahrir Square until President Hosni Mubarak announced his resignation on 11 February 2011 (Al-Saleh, 2015).

2.5.3.3 Libyan Revolution

This revolution started on Thursday 17 February 2011 (the day of anger) in the form of a popular uprising that included most of the Libyan cities. It was affected by the Tunisian and the Egyptian revolutions. This revolution was led by young Libyans who demanded political, economic and social reforms (Mezioudet, Fraihat & Bradley, 2016).

Moreover, the revolution was initially peaceful demonstrations and protests, but with the development of events and the use of heavy artillery and aerial bombardments by the brigades of Muammar Gaddafi to quell the unarmed demonstrators, it turned into an armed revolt that seeks to overthrow Muammar Gaddafi, who decided to fight until the last minute (Mezioudet, Fraihat & Bradley, 2016).

Finally, on 20 October 2011, Muammar Gaddafi died in the city of Sirte, his body was buried in a secret place. There were conflicting reports about his death, the Libyan National

Transitional Council confirmed that Colonel Muammar Gaddafi was killed after NATO attack, and there were reports of the death of Gaddafi after his arrest. The death of Gaddafi, some of his sons, and the flight of others out of Libya leads to the rule ending of the family of Muammar Gaddafi, which lasted more than 40 years (Mezioudet, Fraihat & Bradley, 2016).

2.5.4 The Reasons of the Arab Spring Revolutions

The reasons for those revolutions were different from one country to another. Each country had its privacy and needs. There are some similarities in the reasons that led to the revolution, but they differ according to the nature of the country where the revolution was carried out. Poverty and unemployment are not only the main causes of revolutions in Arab countries but the feeling that there are those rich people who are exploiting the poor people and this shows the political awareness of the citizens (Aissa, 2012; Mushtaq & Afzal 2017).

Moreover, according to Aissa (2012) as well as Mushtaq and Afzal (2017) and other researchers we have concluded the following causes and factors that led to the outbreak of revolutions and protests in different Arab countries:

2.5.4.1 Economic and Social Reasons

- The manipulation with the wealth of the nation.
- The spread of financial and administrative corruption and bribery inside the countries.
- The deterioration of economic and living conditions.
- The spread of high prices whereas the incomes of citizens are low.
- The gap between rich and poor classes.
- The increase of monopoly and exploitation by major influential traders.
- Increase in fees and taxes to cover the expenses of senior nation servants.
- The destruction and the theft of citizen's property without accountability.
- Taking possession of the lands and selling or renting it at the highest prices.
- The increase in unemployment among young people.

- High prices for fuel, water, and electricity.
- Lack of housing for most citizens in addition to the high rent.
- The existence of crises in transportation, treatment, and education.
- Poor living conditions and increasing rates of poverty.

2.5.4.2 Political Reasons

- The tyranny in the governance and management of the country without respecting the will of the people.
- Persecution and lack of respect for human rights.
- Adopting the policy of discrimination in all its forms.
- Weak social structure and the disappearance of national unity.
- The dominance of the powerful people from the highest political and administrative positions in the state.
- The absence of democracy and the prevention of the trade unions and political parties' formation.
- The rigging of elections at all levels and forms.
- No separation between the three powers "legislative, executive and judicial."
- The absence of the role of the legislative and judicial authorities.
- The absence of the supervisory role of the concerned institutions and subjecting them to the executive authority.

2.5.4.3 Security Reasons

- The increase of the security grip, repression, and the absence of human rights.
- The absence of the rule of law and lack of respect for the application of local laws and regulations.
- The increasing number of arbitrary arrests and kidnappings.
- The torture of oppositionists to death and the deprivation of their simplest rights.
- Preventing detainees to defend themselves or to hire lawyers to defend them.

- Imprisoning those who were arrested on political charges for a long time without prosecutes.
- Increasing security control over the citizens and preventing freedom of expression.
- The absence of security and political solutions in dealing with problems and crises.

In short, we can say that all the above social, economic, political, and security reasons accumulated, as a result the people went into demonstrations to express their anger from the tyrannical systems from which they were suffering for a long period of time, starting by the Tunisian revolution which ended with the overthrowing of the Tunisian president and had a great influence on the Arab world.

2.5.5 The Role of U.S. Policy in the Democratic Changes in the Arab Region

According to Abdullah (2013), the US used strategic objectives towards the Arab region in order to implement its partition projects. The most important tools were: media, civil society organizations, and religious minorities. They were considered as effective means of American intervention in the region on the pretext of spreading democracy.

Moreover, this is reflected in the so-called Arab Spring Revolution, which will According to the American plan lead to the fragmentation of the Arab region into small states, and the abolition of Arabic nationalism identity of these countries (Abdullah, 2013).

So, we will address these three important tools that were used by the American policy to encourage the Arab Spring revolutions as the following:

2.5.5.1 The Media

The largest media and propaganda body today, at all, is the American media. For reasons related to the large economy of the United States of America, the huge budget of the American media, the important political role played by Washington, and the huge news market in both Washington and New York where the last one is considered as the center of the international political decisions of the United Nations (Abdullah, 2013).

Moreover, after the events of September 2001, the US media and advocacy organizations worked on a media campaign toward the Arab region. It described the Arab political systems as tyranny and backwardness. Therefore, for the sake of justice, the U.S. called for the liberation of those oppressed peoples from their corrupt regimes (Abdullah, 2013).

Furthermore, there are many American institutions. The most prominent of these American media institutions are: the Washington Post Network, MSNBC Network, NBC Network, CNN Network, Fox News, and other institutions that have advocated the need for a war on terror in societies which are among the societies of fear, oppression, and tyranny, so there is a need for American intervention to preserve US national security and to rid those oppressed peoples from their tyranny systems. Thus, the role of these institutions is to give legal and moral legitimacy to the policy of American intervention in Arab affairs through the deployment of democracy and the eradication of terrorism (Abdullah, 2013).

During the uprisings, these institutions have engaged in processes of misleading, lying and distorting facts, with emphasis on exaggerating what is happening in the Arab region on the one hand and encouraging the Arab peoples to demand their political rights and to change their authoritarian regimes on the other hand (Abdullah, 2013).

The US government has also opposed any media organization standing in the way of their intentions or goals. Therefore, Richard Perle the adviser to the US Secretary of Defense, and the owner of Arab Region Retailing Project described the American informative “Seymour Hersh” by a media terrorist, in the Fox News Channel of America for being a political opponent of President Bush Jr., especially his war on Iraq in 2003. So, American policymakers consider anyone stands against their national line (according to their vision), as a terrorist and does not want well to the United States of America (Abdullah, 2013).

2.5.5.2 Civil Society Organizations

Civil society organizations are one of the most important tools of US policy which have contributed effectively to the democratic changes in most Arab countries. Besides, they have been able to change some political systems in the Arab Spring countries radically, such as Egypt, Libya and Tunisia, Yemen, and others, where the revolution still continues in Syria (Abdullah, 2013).

In addition, US organizations focus on the Middle East region, especially the Arab countries. Besides, changing the Arab regimes by military forces will be detrimental to the interests of the United States as well as it exhausts its military and economic forces. Therefore, the American policy see that the US civil society organizations are able to contribute to the change of some systems of the Arab countries, which need to be changed according to the American projects in the region through direct or indirect intervention, leading to the realization of US interests under the cover of democratic values promotion in the countries of the region (Abdullah, 2013).

There are many American civil society organizations. The most famous ones are: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), International Republican Institute (IRI), Freedom House organization, and Organization of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) (Abdullah, 2013).

2.5.5.3 Religious Minorities

The United States used the subject of religious minorities in the Arab region as a mean to reach strategic goals. The importance that religion occupies in the life of societies all over the world, and in Arab societies, in particular, pushed the United States to use this important aspect in order to manipulate with the Arab societies. This strategy depends on human classification on the basis of his religion, especially after the multiplicity of religious denominations to more than one denomination within a single religion. Communities can thus be categorized on a sectarian religious basis in order to deal with them easily as weak community units (Abedullah, 2013).

Moreover, the increase of ethnic communities has led to the increase of religious, sectarian and doctrinal minorities within the same religion. For example, the Islamic religion has become divided into different sects and doctrines. As a result, the Arab world is characterized by religious minorities (Abdullah, 2013).

Furthermore, the war against the Muslims began by striking them in their faith and Islamic law using doctrinal and sectarian conflicts to macerate them on the one hand, and to provoke civil wars on the other hand. So, the US administration aimed to fragment Arab society through the exploitation of these minorities to interfere in the affairs of the region. In addition, they agreed to invest these minorities as a mean to destabilize the Arab societies under the name of democracy, human rights, freedom, and religious liberty that the United States considers as one of its most important human tasks (Abdullah, 2013).

2.5.6 The American Attitude Toward Each Revolution

The United States has dealt with the Arab revolution differently, though the sole objective is to overthrow the authoritarian regimes and replace them with new democratic regimes. The United States dealt with the revolutions of Tunisia and Egypt in a positive way because the peoples of these countries were able to pull out their tyrannical regimes. Whereas in the Libyan case, the American position differed very much, and the American intervention became clear. The United States headed a military alliance that included a number of countries to help the Libyan rebels get rid of Gaddafi (Douglas et al., 2014).

In brief, we can say that the United States played an important role in the Arab Spring's revolutions, it used indirect strategies in order to promote democracy in the Middle East and North Africa. These strategies had a great impact on the Arab societies and encouraged them to overthrow their tyrannical systems. Thus, the plan was made by the United States and the implement was by the Arab youth.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have focused on the American democracy promotion in the Middle East and North Africa. We have started first by introducing the Middle East and North Africa, and then we have demonstrated the American interests in the region. After that, we have examined first, the American democracy direct promotion in Iraq with the classification of its direct and indirect reasons for its intervention in the region, then the American democracy indirect promotion in the Arab Spring countries (Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya).

We have addressed the reasons behind the revolutions and the role of US foreign policy in the democratic changes in the Arab region. From this study we can say that the implementation of the strategy of American democracy promotion in the Middle East, within the wider US policy context, was only to serve the US's core interests, and the principal of its policy in the region were Western access to oil, the security of Israel, and controlling the region. In the next chapter, we are going to explore how the American democracy affects the Middle East.

Chapter Three:
The Impact of the
Democratic
Transitions on the
Middle East and
North Africa.

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Introduction

After the democratic transitions in the Middle East and North Africa for a fundamental political and economic changes in systems that had been in existence in the countries of the region for several decades. Enough time has now passed for an assessment of how much change has in fact occurred and to determine whether the countries in the Middle East and North Africa have been successful in meeting the demands of their populations as expressed at protests at the beginning of 2011.

In recent times researchers in the field have discovered that the democratic transitions in the regions have affected the countries economically, politically, and socially. That is why the impact of these democratic transitions in the region is important in our study, so we devote this chapter to present the impact of the democratic transitions in three parts: economically, politically, and socially on both Iraq as a direct promotion of American democracy in the Middle East, and on Arab Spring countries as an indirect promotion of American democracy in North Africa and the Middle East.

3.1 The Impact of the Democratic Transitions on MENA Region

We have clarified before, the American interests in the MENA region in general, especially the Arab World, because the region is highly relevant in the American strategic plans. Besides, the American political means in the Arab region differed according to the different aims.

Cohen (2016) proclaimed that:

The series of political protests staged in the Arab world beginning from 2010 in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Libya, and Syria, have been termed the “Arab Spring”. Other Arab countries such as Algeria, Jordan, Morocco, Iraq, and Oman also experienced waves of civil protest manifested in large turbulent demonstrations, although these did not topple the regime. (p.11)

From Cohen saying we can conclude that the events of the AS influenced most of the Middle East countries, most of them succeeded in overthrowing their tyrannical system as Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Libya. Whereas other countries including Algeria, Jordan,

Morocco, Iraq, and Oman expressed their anger and dissatisfaction toward their political systems in a different way, but this did not change their political systems. Also, though some countries have experienced a major political change after the Arab Spring, other countries only have a low degree of change, thus the state of democratization varies a lot between the countries in the region.

In this study we aim is to explain this variation between the countries. Therefore, the Arab Spring as a phenomenon is very important and topical as a case of democratization within the field of Political Science. It offers a wide range of different cases where to study this democratic transition.

Abdelkarim (2017) mentioned:

More than six years after the popular uprisings that swept most of the region, the crisis of legitimacy that led to widespread unrest largely remains and citizens remain dissatisfied with their governments' response to the difficulties they face Trends that played a major role in the uprising – struggling economies, unemployment, demographics, inadequate access to justice, and ineffective governance – are still insufficiently addressed. (p. 3)

Simply, after the uprisings, the political transitions did not lead to citizens' satisfaction as they were thinking, in contrast, the negative results were more than the positive ones. It had a negative impact on the countries; economically, politically, and socially.

3.1.1 The Economic Impact of the Democratic Transitions on Iraq and Arab Spring Countries

The country in itself is an economy because the base of any nation is its economy. When its economy grows, the country also grows and flourishes, and when its economy fails, the country will fail and lose ground.

An examination of the comparative experiences of the Iraq direct promotion of American democracy, and the AS countries (Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya) as an indirect promotion of American democracy, can shed some light on the extent of economic changes that have taken place.

3.1.1.1 The Economic Impact of the Democratic Transition on Iraq

According to Mahmud (2010), the American invasion of Iraq had a negative impact on the Iraqi economy, and this impact includes six problems. First, after the American war, the Iraqi dinar was replaced with a new dinar, where 1500-2000 Iraqi dinars equals one US dollar. Second, the infrastructure of the Iraqi economy suffered from collapse, the deterioration of oil industries, and inflation reached more than 58% as a result of the collapse of the informal exchange rate of the Iraqi dinar. Third, the banking sector suffered from looting. Forth, Iraqi debt increased to the billions of dollars. Sixth, deterioration in the oil sector and in some cases, Iraq imports the gasoline from neighboring countries such as Kuwait. Finally, the invasion led to the collapse of the Iraqi agricultural sector and the deterioration in the sectors of electricity, drinking water, and telecommunications.

Moreover, according to Abedelhamid (2010), there are other effects which are: the unemployment rate has increased from 30 to 40 percent, the rates of malnutrition redoubled, the escape of foreign capital, the spread of corruption in the oil sector, and the deterioration of the GDP; the national income. Moreover, indicators of oil production decreased from 2.25 million barrels to 2.1 million barrels due to the resistance operations of a number of refineries in addition to the US policy which focused mostly on the oil sector to serve the American interests.

3.1.1.2 The Economic Impact of the Democratic Transitions on the Arab Spring Countries

The uprisings have led to the economic retreating because of the heavy imbalances and economic faults that were left by the former authoritarian regimes. As a result, it raises the idea of the transitional deficit. In addition to the losses which affected the economies of the Arab Spring countries (Khan, 2014).

Although the economies of Libya and Tunisia are different in some relevant aspects, they suffer from the same problems and challenges. Libya is oil-dominated economy with oil

production about 65 percent of gross domestic product (GDP), 96 percent of exports, and 98 percent of government revenues. Egypt is the largest economy in the group with a nominal GDP of around \$250 billion, whereas Tunisia depends on agriculture, tourism, manufacturing, and mining (Khan & Mezran, 2017; Khan, 2014).

Besides, the economic issues were highly relevant reasons of the uprisings in AS countries. These issues are corruption, extending income, undemocratic regimes, wealth injustice, as well as the high unemployment rate. Unfortunately, after the democratic transitions, these economic issues have taken a back seat to politics (Khan, 2014).

Moreover, the domestic and external shocks had a great effect on the economic growth after the uprisings and left the economies in a more miserable shape than it was before. (Figure 1) clarifies the effect of the external shocks on the economic growth. The first ones were political turmoil and social unrest that caused the security situation to deteriorate and created great uncertainty for domestic and foreign investors. The second one was higher oil prices which led to serious external and fiscal imbalances in the countries except for Libya because it is an oil exporter. The third shock was the financial crisis in Europe which resulted in a decline in the demand for exports, a reduction in tourism receipts, cutbacks in foreign direct investments, and a falloff in workers' remittances. The fourth shock that all the countries faced was adverse regional spillovers from the deterioration of the economies in their immediate neighborhood (Khan, 2014).

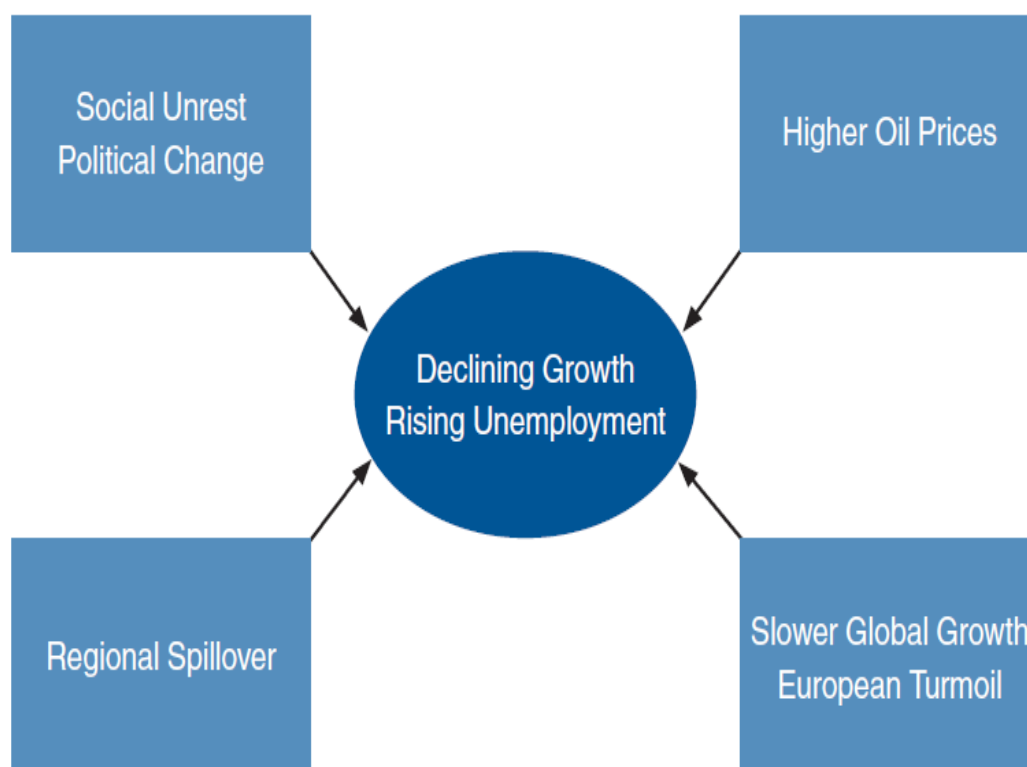


Figure 5: Effects of Domestic and External Shocks (Khan, 2014).

All the above factors have resulted in negative economic consequences on both the GDP growth and inflation rate, as shown in the following tables:

	Egypt	Tunisia	Libya
2010 (Pre- Arab Spring)	5.1	3.1	5.0
2011	1.8	-1.9	-62.1
2012	2.2	3.6	104.5
2013	2.1	2.6	-6.0
2014	3.0	3.0	23.0
2015	4,2	0,8	-6

Note. Data from The Middle East and North Africa (2017) and from the Economic Consequences of the Arab Spring (2014).

Table 1: Real GDP growth (%)

	Egypt	Tunisia	Libya
2010	11.4	4.4	2.5
2011	11.0	5.0	15.9
2012	8.6	5.5	6.1
2013	6.9	6.2	4.2
2014	10.0	5.5	4.9

Note. Data from MENA Quarterly Economic Brief (2014) and from the Economic Consequences of the Arab Spring (2014).

Table 2: Inflation rate (%)

- **GDP Growth:**

In Egypt, GDP growth fell to 4 percent from over 5 percent in the previous years as shown in (table 1), whereas Libya and Tunisia, unfortunately, faced bad growth rates after the uprisings. The Libyan case is exceptional one because of the civil war which has led to political and security shocks, besides it has resulted in continued negative annual growth rates. In 2015, GDP growth fell by -6 % from over 5% in 2010. In Tunisia, real GDP declined by 0,8% percent after having averaged a growth rate of 3 % per year over the previous decade. Real GDP growth in the Arab transition countries during 2011-2014 was low and the equilibrium is not sufficient to absorb new entrants into the labor force.

- **Inflation Rate:**

The inflation rate in the Arab transition countries was contained, except in Egypt in which it reached 10% (Table 2). From the table, we can observe that when inflation rate increases it will have a reverse effect on GDP growth of the countries. (Table 2) shows that once inflation becomes 6-8 percent the GDP growth becomes negative, clearly Egypt is very much in that danger zone.

- **Tourism**

The MENA region and Arab countries particularly are destinations of choice for tourists from around the world. The tourism industry has long been an important source of national income in these countries (Ali, Madya, Arifin, Mohd & Hasim, 2012).

In addition, MENA region is wealthy with many special historical and archaeological monuments, besides to the strategic significant which includes the mild climate, the nature of a variety stunning, the strategic location and the shore which stretch between the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. These features made the sectors of tourism productive and contributed effectively to the national income and economic development of these countries (Ali, Madya, Arifin, Mohd & Hasim, 2012).

Furthermore, the tourism industry was affected by Arab Spring revolutions because of the political disorder and nonexistence of security, leading to a negative decrease in many Arab countries. Tunisia and Egypt were affected negatively, whereas Libya was not affected too much in the tourism sector because it does not depend on the tourism industry in its economy as Tunisia and Egypt which have been harmed directly (Ali, Madya, Arifin, Mohd & Hasim, 2012).

- **Egypt**

Egypt was considered as the most affected country in the tourism sector because tourism is an important source in its industry. Besides, tourists' number in Egypt decreased from 9.5 million tourists to 35% after the revolution. Furthermore, the income from tourism declined to 8.8 billion from \$ 12.8 billion. In addition, this decline in tourism sector affected the aviation industry which is closely linked to the movement of tourists, making the various Egyptian airports affected negatively as dependent on the revenues of the economic activities such as the movement of aircraft, landing and departure fees, accommodation, and other services (Ali, Madya, Arifin, Mohd & Hasim, 2012).

- **Tunisia**

Tunisia was considered as the second most affected country in the MENA region after Egypt. In Tunisia about 400,000 from the citizens work in tourism sector, also about 7 million tourists travel to Tunisia yearly and the profit from tourism industry were 5.2 billion dollars in each year, this number declined after the events of the uprisings in Tunisia which led to a terrible fall in the tourism sector, transcended 33% and losses amounted 3364 million TD. Besides, the nonexistence of security, as well as political and social instability in the country, had led to the closing of 17 hotel units, three thousand citizens wasted their regular income, and 20 thousand citizens wasted their seasonal income (Ali, Madya, Arifin, Mohd & Hasim, 2012).

- **Libya**

The tourism sector in Libya was not affected by the events of the uprisings, because tourism in the country was hit before the revolution. Libya has not been remarked as a tourist destination because of the country total dependence on the oil, and lack of concerns for tourism industry (Ali, Madya, Arifin, Mohd & Hasim, 2012).

From the above statistics, we can sum that after the uprisings, regional tensions have hit the economies of the MENA region and Arab countries in transition hard. The period has been marked by significant macroeconomic instability, evidenced by large external and budget imbalances which led to slow growth, high inflation, besides to the negative decline in the tourism sector.

3.1.2 The Political Impact of the Democratic Transitions on Iraq and Arab Spring countries

Besides the economic effect of the democratic transitions in MENA region, there was also a political effect on the countries of the regions.

According to Abedelkarim (2017), some countries of the region are facing political changes which have resulted in the corruption of countries like Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Yemen. In some cases, the corruption in these countries is because the citizens of these countries want to rule themselves. Also, these led to the continued decline in the legitimacy of democratic systems in many parts of the MENA region, the loss of trust in political parties and national legislatures, and severe dissatisfaction among young people, minorities, and other disfranchised groups.

3.1.2.1 The Political Impact of the Democratic Transition on Iraq

Alayouti (2007) classifies the several difficulties which have encountered the political and democratic transition in Iraq, these difficulties were because of the problem that Iraq did not have a democratic experience before, as well as the existence of sectarian and ethnic diversity that led to the disagreement on the participation of different political forces and non-representation of Kurds and sects which was the dominant form in the previous regime, besides the middle class in Iraq has been affected significantly by authoritarian rule and economic sanctions that have continued from the early 1990s until the US invasion of Iraq, and the external intervention by the neighboring countries to achieve their interests.

Furthermore, during the war, US administration preferred the Shiites from Sunnis. After the end of the war, the US occupation authorities which led by the civil governor (Paul Barimer) established the Interim Governing Council of Iraq on the basis of ethnic sectarianism. The Council included 25 members, including 13 Shiite members and 5 members 5 Kurdish, one Christian and one Turkmen (Mahmud, 2010).

According to Richard Holbrooke, the former US ambassador to Iraq, a democratic government in Iraq would create sectarian conflicts. These conflicts are able to be worse than they were in Bosnia because sectarian affiliations in Iraq are more complex. As a result, the increase in sectarian violence has led to the civil war, fragmentation, and collapse of the state. This was because of the US' policy in Iraq which encouraged the sectarians and the

discrimination between Sunnis, Shiites, and Kurds. Besides, although elections are held in Iraq, the future of democracy is unclear in Iraq. The parties still differ on a range of issues, including the role of women and the way elections are conducted (Abedelhamid, 2010).

3.1.2.2 The Political Impact of the Democratic Transitions on Arab Spring Countries

Groizard, Ismael, and Santana (2016) stated:

When AS episodes have led to immediate government collapses, periods of high political change have followed it. More precisely, in some countries, underlying territorial or ethnic disputes have reemerged with renewed force (e.g., Libya, Syria, and Yemen) and in other cases have given way to a transition period underscored by political struggles aimed at establishing a new regime (e.g., Tunisia and Egypt). (p. 2)

This means that Tunisia and Egypt were the only survivors, whereas the other countries that were influenced by the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions as Libya, Syria, and Yemen have taken another complicated path. Which as Abdelkarim (2017) mentioned that this complication was characterized by insecurity and destabilization as a result of civil wars, increased sectarianism, terrorism, extremism, authoritarianism, corruption and foreign factors. Also, he argues that the absence of states' authority and legitimacy are the reasons of that disintegration.

- Tunisia

Abdelkarim (2017) proclaimed that Tunisia is now a model of solid transitional democracy. It made a progress in promoting more pluralistic and inclusive institutions. Tunisia held two rounds of elections in 2011 and 2014 and has been one of the most progressive constitutions in the regions. The country's next elections will be municipal one, and it will be the first in the country's modern history. Though Tunisia made a remarkable progress, the country is still faced by enduring challenges related to coalition building within the government, lack of security due to geopolitical issues with borders with both Libya and Algeria, and an internal crisis within the High Independent Election Commission (ISIE) that has affected the election timeline.

- **Egypt**

Despite Egypt's achievements, the political environment in Egypt is challenging. Also, elections are not working as a mean for the expression of political and social opinion in Egypt. Despite this challenging environment, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES)' work in Egypt – particularly since 2011 – has improved a significant effectiveness of, and citizens' access to the electoral process. IFES has used two key ways: the first one, the improvement of electoral processes and decision-makers access to information on elections, and the second one was creating opportunities for greater citizen-government engagement (Abedelkarim, 2017).

- **Libya**

Libya in 2016 is considered as an unsuccessful country in many respects. Despite the UN-led negotiations that tried eighteen months in order to resolve the country 's civil struggle, its attempt failed in producing the aimed results in making a clear agreement for a national unity government under a single leadership. The Libyan Political Agreement was concluded in the Moroccan city of Skhirat in late 2015 and was only ratified by the Tobruk-based House of Representatives (Abedelkarim, 2017).

Besides, the Government of National Accord, which was nominated according to the basis of the agreement, was not ratified. Thus, the political system of the country has been left in a dangerous limbo which led firstly, to unsettled situation in the country because of regional interests predominate and supersede national ones, and secondly, to the profit of the criminal gangs and terrorist organizations from this destabilization, expanding their grip on power (Abedelkarim, 2017).

All the above information demonstrate the failure of the democratic transitions in the AS countries. Moreover, Arab revolutions did not achieve their goals in creating democratic political systems but rather created chaos, ethnic sectarian, and religious conflicts.

3.1.3 The Social Impact of the Democratic Transitions on Iraq and Arab Spring countries

The social change is strongly related to the economic and political changes, therefore the economic and political changes in Iraq and Arab Spring countries (Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya) had a great impact on the social situation in those countries.

3.1.3.1 The cultural and Social Impact of the Democratic Transition on Iraq

Documents, historical monuments, and manuscripts were stolen from Baghdad's museums and the Iraqi National Museum as a result of a well-planned attack. The thieves took the most valuable antiquities and stole 170,000 pieces of antiquities dating back thousands of years. The value of these antiquities is billions of dollars, in addition to other historical treasure and scientific centers that have been stolen as gold pieces, paintings and rare manuscripts, Mosul University, the Mosul Museum, and the University of Basra. The goals of the US invasion of Iraq was not only the historical treasures, but it extended to the class of intellectuals, 3500 of them were wanted because of their participation in the Iraqi armament industry, and 500 wanted heads for their knowledge of the alleged weapons of mass destruction programs in Iraq (Ahmed, 2004).

On the social level, there were many problems. Unemployment rates and monopolization have increased, social life has fallen apart, and there was a high number of children's death due to the spread of diseases and malnutrition. A number of serious social phenomena have appeared on the surface. Besides, the population hates the leaders who were appointed by the US invasion and work for their authority. This led to further hatred as well as the ethnic and religious division within the society, which in turn reflected the instability of

Iraq for a long period of time, in addition to the immigration of about 3 millions of human cadres from higher education, as a result Iraq has lost a lot of scientific and technical cadres (Abedelrahim, 2012).

3.1.3.2 The Social Impact of the Democratic Transitions on Arab Spring Countries

After the Arab Spring revolutions, countries in North Africa and the Middle East are facing some challenges on the social level, such as the lack of the social protection, migrations, and high unemployment rate.

- Social Protection after the Arab Spring

The countries of the Middle East and North Africa have witnessed political changes which have resulted in social tensions and challenges. The lack of social protection after the uprisings in the region is a serious problem. This problem is the result of the ongoing conflicts and displacement in the region, the high prices of food, high unemployment rates, and the ignorance of poor people while giving aids for those who are not in any immediate need in the Arab Spring countries had a great impact on poverty which increased after the events (Salles, 2017).

- Migrations after the Arab Spring

Besides to the social protection problem in the Arab Spring countries, migration is another important challenge in the region. After the revolutions in North Africa, the ongoing conflicts in Libya have resulted in an increase in the number of refugees. Most of the millions of people find migration from Libya to neighboring countries as Tunisia and Egypt, the only solution to survive. Many of refugees are living in camps in bad conditions, without access to social and health facilities, as well as their basic needs. As a result, this led to the spread of hunger and diseases in the region (Bakrania, 2011; Salles, 2017).

- Unemployment Rate

Though unemployment was a major cause of the uprisings, the official statistics show that in all countries the unemployment rates were all getting worst (figure 6). Furthermore, due to the weak economic growth, unemployment rates have been increasing, In Egypt, the unemployment rate reached nearly 13 percent in 2014, in Libya unemployment increased to 25%. The unemployment rate in Tunisia also increased from about 12% to 15% in 2014. These high unemployment rates are clearly a serious problem.

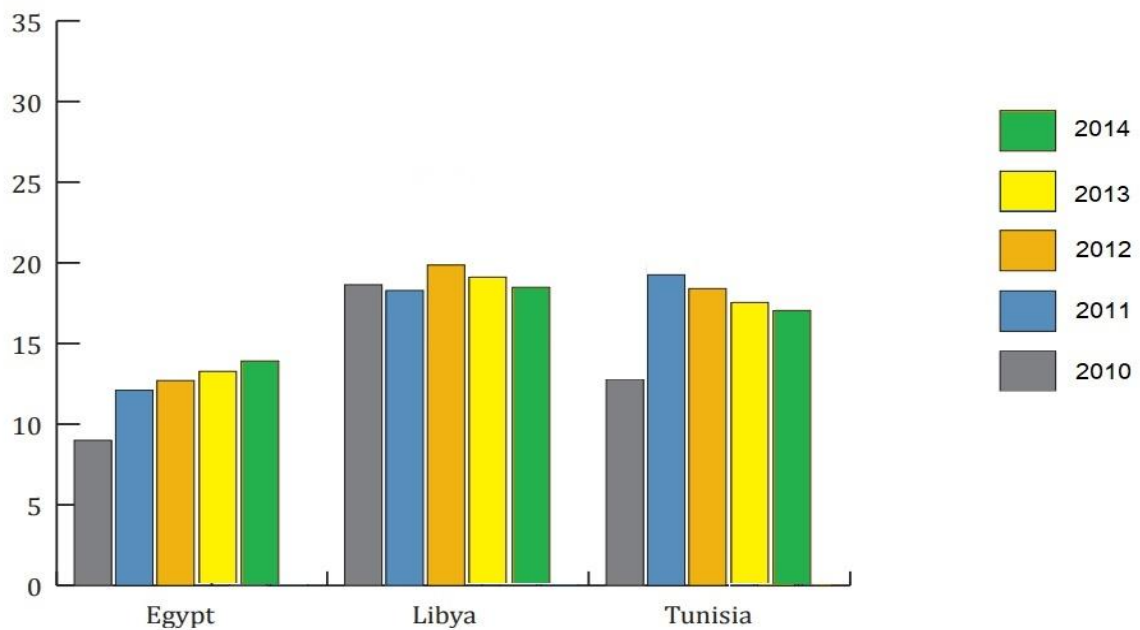


Figure 6: Unemployment Rate (%) (Khan, 2014; MENA Quarterly, 2014).

The Findings

From the analysis of the American declared motives for its decision to invade Iraq, it is clear that these motives were only a deception and falsehood, since the evidences indicated the absence of weapons of mass destruction and the stockpile of weapons in Iraq.

Besides, the relationship between Saddam Hussein and terrorist organizations are also just a claim. The US intervention in Iraq for the promotion of democracy, freedom, and human rights was also an apparent reason for its intervention, and this was clear from the extent of the violations and crimes committed by the US occupation.

Therefore, the real and most logical reasons for the American intervention in Iraq were due to economic factors, including: the exploitation of Iraqi oil, this was evident through the

first decisions taken by the US administration in Iraq and the establishment of a special revenue of oil, as well as to protect the security Israel in order to ensure its superiority in the region; and to establish the American Century Project.

The US interventions in Iraq made it a fragile state, led to its destruction, and turn it into a failed state (politically, socially, and economically). Also, the US administration was responsible for the seeds of sectarianism, as well as the numbers of victims and abuses that resulted from US intervention in Iraq.

Moreover, it became evident that the United States had an important role in the Arab spring uprisings, using indirect means as the media, religious minorities, and civil social organizations.

The Arab uprisings did not achieve their goals in creating democratic political systems and unifying the Arab countries, in contrast they created chaos and racial instability, leading to the dispersion as well as the dissociation of the Arab world.

After the Arab revolutions, new concepts emerged such as the classification of citizens on religious, sectarian, and ethnic basis.

Recommendations

On the basis of what has been done and found in this study, we put some recommendations. We believe that if it is taken into account, it will be of great benefit:

- 1) Making Arab citizens, in all Arab countries, aware of the American policymakers' plans which depend on the fragmentation of Arab countries, and seek to control their natural resources which are one of the most important sources of energy in the world.
- 2) Arab countries should separate between the religion and the state, also they should create democratic regimes that respect all the religions and minorities, and stands in the same distance from all components of the Arab society.
- 3) Arab countries should monitor all foreign institutions which are operating within the Arab community especially the American organizations as media organizations, religious

organizations, and civil society organizations, which exploit the Arab citizen in the implementation of the interests of their countries. Besides, preventing these organizations from adopting projects depends on religion, sectarian, or ethnic basis.

4) The creation of real elections without the interference of authoritarian political regimes or any foreign parties.

5) Arab countries should get rid of American and Western domination using cooperative joint and economic agreements between the Arab countries, to form a regional and influential bloc in the international arena, these agreements include: joint defense, oil, industry, agriculture, tourism, trade, and economy, so that the Arab countries will have economic power and influential policy in the world which give them a great deal of political influence.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have focused on the impact of US democracy promotion on the Middle East and North Africa. Therefore, we have classified the results into three parts; economic, political, and social impact on Iraq as a direct promotion of the American democracy, and then, on Arab Spring countries as an indirect promotion of American democracy in the region. In the end, we mentioned the findings and suggest some recommendations for the Arab countries in an attempt to help them resolve their conflicts.

From the study, we have discovered that democracy promotion in the Middle East and North Africa failed, and it had a negative impact on the countries on all the aspects; economically, politically, and socially. Besides, the countries did not achieve their goals in creating democratic political systems, in contrast, they created chaos, racial instability, and religious ethnic groups as in Iraq and Libya. Finally, the American slogans as democracy promotion and human rights were only a mean to intervene in the region and to dominate it in order to benefit from its resources.

General Conclusion

Since American democracy promotion in the Arab world became an essential component of U.S. foreign policy and had a great impact on the Middle East and North Africa, then we have examined the US democracy promotion in Iraq and Arab Spring countries, focusing on Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. We have chosen those countries because they can shed some light on the extent of political changes that have taken place in MENA region. The current study has centered on finding what the real reasons behind American democracy promotion in the Arab world and the results of these political changes are, whether they were positive or negative.

This dissertation consists of three chapters. The first one has dealt with some considerations on democracy, its types (direct and indirect democracy), and the key elements of a state under a democratic government (Fundamental Freedom and fundamental rights, elections, the rule of law, separation of power, the parliament, democratic pluralism, government and opposition, and public opinion and freedom of media), in addition to the origins of US democracy starting from the Declaration of Independence till the Constitution of the United States and the type of democracy in America. The second chapter has devoted to examine American democracy promotion in Iraq as a direct promotion using military intervention, and in the Arab spring countries as an indirect promotion of democracy in MENA region, using indirect means such as the media, religious minorities, and civil society organizations. While the third one has dealt with the economic, political and social impact of the democratic transitions on Iraq and Arab Spring countries.

Finally, we have found that the negative results of the democratic transitions in the Middle East and North Africa were more than the positive ones.

From the analysis of the American declared motives for its decision to invade Iraq, it is clear that these motives were only a deception and falsehood, since the evidences indicated the absence of weapons of mass destruction and the stockpile of weapons in Iraq. Besides,

The US intervention in Iraq for the promotion of democracy, freedom, and human rights was also an apparent reason for its intervention, and this was clear from the extent of the violations and crimes committed by the US occupation. Therefore, the real and most logical reasons for the American intervention in Iraq were due to economic factors, as well as to protect the security Israel in order to ensure its superiority in the region.

The US interventions in Iraq made it a fragile state, led to its destruction, and turn it into a failed state (politically, socially, and economically). Also, the US administration was responsible for the seeds of sectarianism, as well as the numbers of victims and abuses that resulted from US intervention in Iraq.

Moreover, it became evident that the United States had an important role in the Arab spring uprisings, using indirect means as the media, religious minorities, and civil social organizations.

Though the AS countries succeeded in overthrowing their tyrannical systems, the Arab uprisings did not achieve their goals in creating democratic political systems and unifying the Arab countries, in contrast they created chaos and racial instability, leading to to more conflicts about authority ,the dispersion as well as the dissociation of the Arab world, besides in some countries which are underlying territorial and ethnic conflicts have reemerged with renewed forces as the civil war and the ongoing conflicts in Libya.

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المخلص

تسعى هذه الدراسة لإكتشاف أثر ترويج الديمقراطية الأمريكية على دول الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا لذلك قمنا باختيار نموذجين لهذه الدراسة و هما الاحتلال الأمريكي للعراق وثورات الربيع العربي. ومن أهم أهداف هذه الدراسة هو البحث عن الدوافع الحقيقية للاحتلال الأمريكي للعراق، و إكتشاف الدور الذي لعبته السياسة الأمريكية في التحولات الديمقراطية في الشرق الأوسط و شمال إفريقيا وللوصول إلى أهداف الدراسة استعملنا المنهج الوصفي لمتابعة و تحليل التحولات الديمقراطية في المنطقة. ومن النتائج التي توصلت إليها الدراسة أنّ الاحتلال الأمريكي للعراق كان لدوافع إستراتيجية و إقتصادية، كما بينت الدراسة أنّ الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية لعبت دورا كبيرا في التحولات الديمقراطية وثورات الربيع العربي، عن طريق أدوات غير مباشرة والتي تمثلت في الإعلام، منظمات المجتمع المدني، والأقليات الدينية، وتوصلت هذه الدراسة أيضا إلى أنّ التحولات الديمقراطية في كل من العراق ودول الربيع العربي ادت إلى تقسيم المواطنين على أسس عرقية و إثنية. وفي النهاية قمنا باقتراح بعض التوصيات للدول العربية من أجل تطوير الأنظمة الديمقراطية والتي يمكن معالجتها من خلال فصل الدين عن الدولة و التخلص من الهيمنة الأمريكية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الشرق الأوسط، الربيع العربي، الديمقراطية الأمريكية، إحتلال العراق،

شمال إفريقيا.