DYNAMICS OF THE UNITED STATES' CORE INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN NORTH AFRICA (1945-2013): HISTORICAL IMPACTS AND REPERCUSSIONS

RESEARCHER:

Ismail Adaramola Abdul Azeez
REGD. No. 11-FSS/PHDHIS/F12

SUPERVISOR:

DR. ABDUL ZAHOOR KHAN
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR
DEPT. OF HISTORY &
PAKISTAN STUDIES-FSS, IIUI

CO-SUPERVISOR:

DR. MANZOOR KHAN AFRIDI
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
DEPT. OF POLITICS &
INT'L. RELATIONS-FSS, IIUI

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

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North Africa. Politics and government

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Muammar Qaddafi

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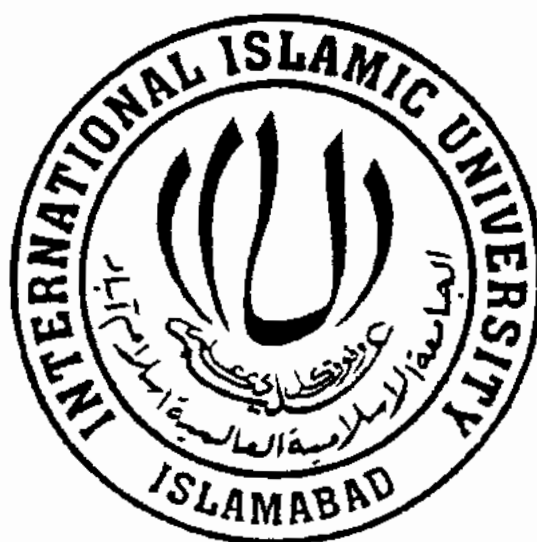## DR. ABDUL ZAHOOR KHAN
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR

Co-Supervisor

DR. MANZOOR KHAN AFRIDI
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) in the Discipline of History at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD

2020

In the name of Allah,
the Most Beneficent,
the Most Merciful

DEDICATION

This piece of research is dedicated
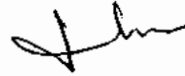
To

MY WORTHY PARENTS

&

Much-Loved Wife of Mine

DECLARATION

I, ISMAIL ADARAMOLA ABDUL AZEEZ, hereby declare that this Dissertation has been put in writing by me in its entirety on the basis of my research work under the guidance of both my supervisor- DR. ABDUL ZAHOOR KHAN, Department of History & Pakistan Studies and Co-Supervisor- DR. MANZOOR KHAN AFRIDI, Department of Politics & International Relations, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad, respectively.

No portion of this research has been copied from any source. Thumbs down part of the research, presented in this Dissertation, has been submitted before for any degree or qualification in this or any other university or educational institution anywhere in the world.

ISMAIL ADARAMOLA ABDUL AZEEZ
PHD-HISTORY
Registration No. 11-FSS/PHDHIS/F12

FORWARDING SHEET

The Dissertation titled "DYNAMICS OF THE UNITED STATES' CORE INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN NORTH AFRICA (1945-2013): HISTORICAL IMPACTS AND REPERCUSSIONS" put forward by MR. ISMAIL ADARAMOLA ABDUL AZEEZ, Registration No. 11-FSS/PHDHIS/F12 in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PHD) in HISTORY, has successfully been completed under our supervision, care and guidance.

We are satisfied with the excellence of scholar's research work and he is now allowed to get this Dissertation submitted for the finishing point of go forward course of action so that he may be awarded the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) in History as per modus operandi of International Islamic University, Islamabad.

Signature: _____

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR DR. ABDUL ZAHOOR KHAN
Research Supervisor

Signature: _____

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR DR. MANZOOR KHAN AFRIDI
Research Co-Supervisor

ACCEPTANCE BY THE VIVA-VOCE COMMITTEE

Title of Dissertation: **"DYNAMICS OF THE UNITED STATES' CORE INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN NORTH AFRICA (1945-2013): HISTORICAL IMPACTS AND REPERCUSSIONS"**

Name of Student: **ISMAIL ADARAMOLA ABDUL AZEEZ**
Registration No.: **11-FSS/PHDHIS/F12**

Accepted by the Department of History & Pakistan Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) in the Discipline of HISTORY
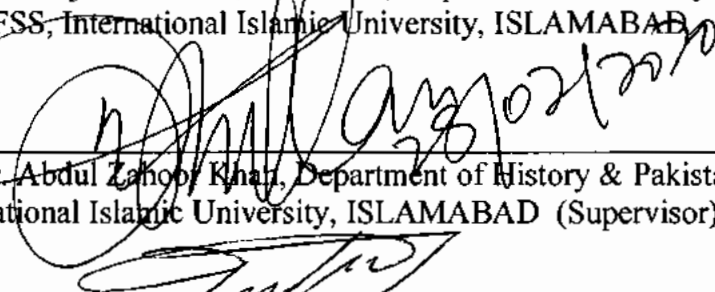
VIVA-VOCE COMMITTEE

Professor Dr. Samina Yasmin Malik
Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD

Associate Professor Dr. Mujeeb Ahmad, Chairman, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, FSS, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD

Assistant Professor Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, FSS, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD (Supervisor)

Associate Professor Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi, Department of Politics & International Relations, FSS, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD (Co-Supervisor)

Professor Dr. Riaz Ahmad, Ex-Director NIHCR, and Professor of History Quaid-i- Azam University, ISLAMABAD (External Examiner-I)

Professor Dr. Samina Awan, Professor of History and Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences & Humanities, Allama Iqbal Open University, ISLAMABAD (External Examiner-II)

Associate Professor Dr. Mujeeb Ahmad, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, FSS, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD (Internal Examiner)

Dated: **February 28, 2020**

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ABSTRACT

The United States intervention through its policies in the North African countries, politically, socially and economically dates to the post-colonial period. Being the super power, USupheld its military, economic and political hegemony by supporting the military regimes over there in North Africa.Due to this interference, these North African countries failed to make practicable democratic governments in its true letter and spirit. The researcher has tried his level best to make noticeable, the foremost divergence between the North African democracies with the western democracy. However, the present research/study aims to make public major political disorders, military interventions and economic backwardness through US policies, by taking the whole North Africa in view, generally and by making the center of attention and hub of the research the two countries Egypt and Libya, principally& predominantly. US didn't favor Qaddafi's administration in the Libya claiming the violation of human rights in the country but Qaddafi clarified it by saying that he has changed the country from a desert to heaven garden. In 2011, US claimed and suspected violation of the international armament law, so he was captured and killed. After that Libya, didn't gain its political balance till date but went through huge sufferings. US have been put into practice dissimilar policies in the region of North Africa to achieve its own goals, by supporting Egyptian dictatorships, authoritarians, and anarchy regimes.Tunisia as well experienced many political imbalances which led to exile of Zain ibn Al Abideen, who left for Saudi Arabia. In this way, the whole research has been carried out.

This dissertation discusses United States' core interests and policies and consequent impacts and repercussions in North Africa, mainly focuses on two countries (Egypt, and Libya) starting from World War-2 till 2013.

It has also been discussed that the United States' policies in North Africa have had dynamic impacts on democracy, human rights and rule of law in the region; moreover, several repercussions are witnessed to see in the region. .

In a nutshell, the researcher has tried his level best to answer of the following questions in his resereach for the satisfaction of the reader.

1- *What the level socio-cultural, geopolitical and economic development in North Africa after World War II till 2013?*
2- *Up to what extent United States played her role in the development of North Africa?*
3- *What are United States' Core interests in the region of North Africa?*
4- *What are the United States' policies and guiding principles pro-North Africa?*
5- *What are United States' Core interests and policies in EGYPT and LIBYA, specifically?*
6- *How do the United States' interests and policies leave Impacts on the North African?*
7- *What are the repercussions of United States' interests and policies in the region?*

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ISMAIL ADARAMOLA ABDUL AZEEZ
PhD-Scholar History

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	Ansar al- Sharia
AQAP	Al- Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
AQIM	Al- Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms Discrimination Against Women
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFID	Department for International Development
EDI	Egyptian Development Initiative
EU	European Union
GTZ	German Agency for Technical Cooperation
IDRC	International Development Research Center
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPU	Inter Parliamentary Union
LFA	Logical Framework Approach
MENA	Meddle East and North Africa
MFR	Managing for Results
MJN	Muhammad Jamal Network
NCA	National Constituent Assembly
UNDI	United Nation's Development program
NED	National Endowment for democracy
PF	Performance Framework
PMF	Performance Measurement Framework/ Performance Monitoring Framework
RBM	Results Based Management

SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SO	Strategic Objectives
UJB	Ubaydah ibn Jarrah Batallim
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNO	United Nations Organization
USA	United States of America
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

INTRODUCTION

Historical Locale

The North Africa is relatively a skinny and thin strip of land between the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean, stretching from Moroccan Atlantic coast to Egypt and Sudan. The region comprises on seven countries or territories; Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and Western Sahara. The history of the region is an intermingle of influences from many distinct cultures. The development of sea travel firmly brought the region into the Mediterranean world, especially during the classical period. In the 1st millennium AD, the Sahara became an equally significant and momentous region for trade as the camel caravans brought goods and people from the South. The region also has a small but crucial land link to the Middle East, and that area has also played an innermost role in the history of North Africa.

The expanse constituting North Africa has a rich history. Egypt being one of cradles of civilization, even her name is written in the revealed scripture (AL-QURAN) and it is illustrious and well- known for pharaoh, the gargantuan pyramid (Hanafi 2012)). It has been an area that has attracted the order powers. The Roman Greek and order European powers conquered this region and established great centers like Alexandria. When Islam dawned in Saudi Arabia, Arab conquest came to region the Maghreb; it changed the whole profile of the region.

The original inhabitants and residents were Berbers and Black African but Islamic conquerors settled there in large numbers and they altered the existing social, cultural, political and economic setup of this region. In the 19th century, especially during Napoleonic wars, Napoleon Bonaparte motivated his soldiers by arguing them to match to Egypt when he said: am going to lead you to the land you are going to be the richest, richest means Egypt. At the end of Second World War, United States emerged as the leading World power, economically by virtue of possessing approximately 80% of the World gold reserves. Politically and

militarily its emergence and nonexistence was subsequent to the devastation of Japan and in her foremost role in defeating Nazi Germany.

Its new position in world affairs made it as world police man, with interest spreading in all corners of the world including North Africa. To consolidate its new position in world politics, it played a leading role in the post-World War II affairs by supporting countries those who were under colonial imperialism like: Ghana, Tanzania, and South Africa to struggle for their independence.

United States played a leading role to establish the World International Organizations such as UNO, IMF, World Bank, NATO and ensured that the headquarters of most of them not all of them would be in USA to consolidate and strengthen her influence and solemnity. She has been using these organizations to enhance her supremacy in global politics so that her interests may be safeguarded and forfeited. Washington didn't follow a proper channeled protocol of foreign policy; she has been focusing on her interests, policies and course of actions but failed to protect the interests of people of North Africa like her own. Meanwhile, the fundamental fact of framing of foreign policy of nations should be made according to their interest, and then must considers order factors as well. Such like security, economy and welfare of their neighbors, and accordingly this mechanism will ensure a bright future of that state.

To further strengthen and consolidate its power, it has not only supported democratic government in different parts of the world but at the same time has been supporting and cohabiting dictators and authoritarians in Africa, Latin America, Asia and Middle East. Nevertheless, the Arab Spring that swept across the North Africa in the spring of 2011 brought a challenging moment to the influence of United States in this region. Some dictators are supported for long were overthrown and a new political arrangement is stretched out. Arab Spring; is a several anti-government protests, rebellions across the North Africa and Middle East, to change system of government, curb corruption. It was pronounced and proclaimed by

powerful western media in 2011 especially when president Zaina el-Abidine bin Ali was border by his countrymen and flew to Saudi Arabia in December 2010. The Arab Spring in North African States followed by undemocratic and dictatorial systems existing in the region, changed dictatorial system in Egypt, Tunisia, and caused civil wars in both Libya and Syria.

The United States has global interests in world affairs including Middle East where North Africa is geographically part of it. The multi-dimensional interests range from spread of democracy, capitalism, military rule and security alliances, and securing energy recourses for her economy with order countries. Due to these interests, she has always supported different regime in the region even undemocratic systems when came to or come to secure her own interest, like Mubarak regime, United States appreciated the efforts, contributions made by Mubarak in supporting Israel to overcome its boarder issue with Palestine. It further continues its support for Egypt by waiving the debt of 7 billion US$ unconditionally but to remove Saddam Husain from Iraq was the demand. Egyptian parliament speaker was mistakenly assassinated as United States claimed but believed to have been killed. The brotherhood (Ikhwanul Muslimeen) disagreed with all Mubarak policies against Palestine particularly, and Muslim World generally. United States process of changing authoritarian regimes in Egypt has a great impact; its efforts were unambiguous and laudable, by saying that the authoritarianism should be changed to pave way following a real spirit of democratic system in the pharaoh's country.

Since 1956, Sudan has been a homogenous State between Islam and Christianity; she got her boundaries renewed from Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1899. She has a long conflict and numerous Civil Wars. Firstly, the Civil War of 1955-1972, and Second Civil War of 1983-2003. Furthermore, the term Sudan derives from Arabic word 'Bilad' as Sudan-the land of blacks. Historically, Sudan and the river Nile which were populated as kingdom of Kush were part of ancient Egypt. Libya has a rich history background of ethnicity; she has been a victim of super powers intervention in her politics dated back to her historical chronology.

The modern Libya traced back to 1951. Beside Libya havesix distinct periods; ancient Libya, the Roman era, the Islamic era, Ottoman rule, Italian rule and the Modern era. Western Sahara on the historical page has shared a long history, traced back to the Carthaginian explorer Hanno the Navigator that was in the 5th century BC. Even still have some linked with nomadic groups. Politically Western Sahara has not been a Nation because of her undeveloped status, it was home in Phoenician colonies in the 11th to 19th centuries, and she was one of the links between Sub-Sahara and North Africa region. It was online with dynasties between 16th and 17th century.

Statement of the Problem

The dissertation presents a historical examination, of United States' interests, policies in the North Africa after World War-2 (during Cold War-in bipolar world) and in the post-Cold War era (in unipolar world, pre and post-9/11 till 2013 period), its different sequential impacts (powerful effects because of United States' interests and Policies in North African Planet) and Repercussions (indirect and dreadful consequences and domino effects of United States' interests and policies on North Africa). The United States weathered her dissimilar policies in the zone of North Africa like many other parts of the world. She achieved her poles apart interests in a way or the order. As a result, there were seen and are perceived scores of impacts and repercussions on the planet of North Africa. Here the United States' interests and policies were seen fluctuating and unpredictable from State to State level and height, moreover still are changeable.

Scope and Significance of The Research/Study

Scope: This dissertation discusses North African nations, but mainly focuses on (Egypt, and Libya) starting from World War-2 till 2013.

Significance: The research has discussed the highest level of edification and learning about the North African region, historically, economically, socially and politically.

a. This research has tried to fill the gaps left by many authors those have tried to explain causes of instability in the region of North Africa, because many gaps needs to be filled and given the ground reality sided by the Arab spring.

b. As the political concepts like power, order, authority, power and authority, legitimacy, consent and sovereignty concerned with governmental structure have been changed. This study has tried to explore the root causes and solutions to these dilemmas.

c. The concepts concerned with the individual's freedom, individualism, rights, welfare and equality have too been changed from original to artificial. This research has tried to give the forceful elucidation and the way out of this issue.

d. The concepts concerned with relationship between state and citizen; like representation, responsibility, law and social justice have been confused. The study gives the full of life way out of this concern, too.

e. Similarly, the articulation of demands, the enlistment of political leader, sustaining the system, operating the system, feudal rights, natural rights, equal rights, human rights, legal or civil rights, racial antagonism, the problems of the doctrine of the mandate, the form of democracy, social democratic values, classical liberalism, conservative authoritarianism, regionalism, social class, the media, the welfare state, foreign relations, civil service and the machinery of central govt. This research/investigation gives the full of life way out of this concern.

Review of The Literature

The dissertation focuses on both primary and secondary literature as it will further provide enough materials by conducting some interviews of some dignatories. A reasonable quantity of literature has been written about US interests, policies and impacts with nations, within the North Africa States.

Robert J. Panger in his Mediterranean quarterly notably revealed while examining interests and policies, (Pranger, 2008) opines that the United States of United States' formulating her policies towards all states based on certain principles, but he left behind objectives of US interests and policies in Egypt is only to secure Israel protection and find out a stability method for her economy, policies, social and its ideological perspectives. Robert did not mention why United States' not concerned with political system of Egypt in term of Monarchism, dictatorship which was the basic system in the state political history, rather to adopt the best democratic system but focus on their agenda by promoting generals and supporting them, Militarily, socially and economically. North Africa is a region that is characterized by massive unemployment, Islamic extremist and radicalism, free trade, free movement for her people but never compromises in the religion aspect, where it didn't allow anybody to rubbish Islam as a religion and way of ideal life; she further laid emphasis on their claiming that Andalusia is part of Islamic empire.

The researcher has appreciated his findings and outcomes on his statements but disagree as he pointed out the rigidity of Muslims attitude towards westerns, where he forgets to mention that Muslim nations were victims of exploitation, inferiority complex, incompetent leadership which was the main problem facing by the region particularly Egypt in all her political history.

Robert J. Pranger in his Mediterranean Quarterly notably revealed while examining policies, opines that the United States formulating her policies towards all states based on certain

principles (Pranger, 2010). But he left behind the objectives of US policy in Egypt is only to secure Israel and find out a stability encircled method for her economy, politics, sociology and even ideological perspectives (Clarke, 1997). Robert did not mention why United States has no concern with political system of Egypt in terms of monarchism, dictatorship which was the basic system in the state political history (Rosen, 1977). Rather to adopt the best democratic system, it always focused on its agenda by indorsing generals and backup them, militarily, socially and economically (Rosen, 1977).

North Africa is a region that is characterized by massive redundancy, Islamic extremism and radicalism, free trade, free movement for her people but never compromise on the religious aspect, where nobody could rubbish Islam as a religion and way of an ideal life (Salibi, 1976). She further laid emphasis on their claim that Andalusia is part of Islamic empire (Salibi, 1976). We appreciate his findings and outcomes on his statements but disagree as he pointed out the rigidity of Muslims attitude towards western world, whereas, he's idealistic and ignored to accept or agree that Muslim (Özalp, 2011). World are the victims of exploitation, depress, poverty, hatred, inferiority complex, incompetent leadership, the most important problem faced upon by the region, as Egypt in her political history and particularly (Krayem, 1997).

TrClnsfers and Connizzo, noted in the journal of Middle Eastern Affairs on June 26, 2013 stated that historians have recorded a long record of Muslim Brotherhood and as an anti-Israel movement in the region, especially in recent incident of 2010, when Morsi called Jews "the descendants of apes and pigs (TrClnsfers & Connizzo, 2013)." This called attention of US leadership that may tarnish a long-term relationship between Egypt and Israel, it is recorded that US aids to Egypt started since the late 1970s, which aimed at to strength Egyptian–Israeli relations as major Interest of United States (TrClnsfers & Connizzo, 2013). President Obama has given 1.55 billion US$ in total bilateral aid to Egypt, 1.3billion US$ in shape of military aid, 250 million US$ economic aid for intelligence matters, as evidenced by a series of recent

military exchanges between Israeli and Egyptian officials (TrCInsfers & Connizzo, 2013). According to the Middle Eastern journal, the Future of Arab Spring stated that Israeli military leader met with Egyptian authority looking for permanent friendship (Gause III, 2011).

The 1979 peace treaty in practical terms, however, both sides continue to cooperate on military and Intelligence Chief, General Raafat Shehata, to discuss Hamas and security along the Israel-Egypt cooperation on stability of US collaborator in the region (Cohen & Azar, 1981). Here, Jeremy should remember that no condition is permanent, the humanity needs development, as foreign policy of states can be framed and based on their interest, here the clash of interests between US and Egyptian President Morse's government created a big problem and changes occurred as recognized by both historians and political scientists (Sharp, 2014).

United States is in favor of undeviating security to the State of Israel in the region, to counter any future threat to Israel and to place her as a main actor (Stakelbeck, 2013). This policy led United States to fight against Islamist and their allies in North Africa, but seems that Algeria did not accept such kind of policy in term of cooperation with order sister countries (Stakelbeck, 2013). Tunisia and Morocco were the sources of Arab spring as marked by the history and definite positive aspect of the Post-Arab Spring transition (Stakelbeck, 2013). However, there is still a significant instability in Libya where US overthrew dictatorship of Gadhafi who was Libyan leader and against United States' policies in the region (Zimmermann, 1987). Subject of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) has expanded her wings and has persuasive capability to operate from Mali and Southern Sudan (Krech, 2011).

In fact, the method which applied by United States as a tool to understand the background, motivations, and aspirations of the participants in the Arab Spring within the Maghreb and orderstates in the region will have significant implications for the development of future National Security Policy (Krech, 2011).

United States' policies in the region based on mutual interest, to take control of their system such like, army institution and political arena (Krech, 2011). According to New York Daily Beast Newspaper, the relations between Algeria and the US as incomparable with the other North African states in which Algeria never had been in favor of United States' policies. It further disagrees with US spy sketch against the country (Boyle, 2013). Here United States takes keen interest to monitor the security of this state and to eradicate Al Qaeda's activities from there Algeria (Boyle, 2013).

Pro-United States' Algerians argue that she is always looking for better relations. They put themselves forward say that it is in the best interest of the Algeria to cooperate with United States to further fight against extremism in the region (Boyle, 2013). However anti-America elements on order hand argue that the United States policies towards North Africa are just aimed at controlling its leaders to implement its policies in the region (Gerges, 1999).

Fawaz A. Gerges in his book United Statesand political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests, argues that US citizens have their interests beyond their borders, and for that they implement different policies over the orders, historically they considered US policies to achieve their goals as the best (Gerges, 1999).

He further explains that United States and Egypt are great allies, where they suppressed Islamists through different regimes most especially Hosni Mubarak era (Gerges, 1999). The researcher discovered through Fawaz idea, perception that he neglected the Muslim orientation and ideology which covered all aspects of their life and disallowed to compromise with any order faith, actually interested in mutual understanding in term of trading, security and interest's due to global village, but even does not agree with extremism and terrorism. Washington should respect the Islamic mandate and Muslims to allow peace in Egypt and the World.

Amitai Etzioni, in his scholarly work, Security First for a Muscular Moral Foreign Policy, only discussed the US security strategy in the world, but did not relate to the research topic (Etzioni, 2008).

Irene Fernandez Molina's North Africa journal, Politics and Power in the Maghreb, (Volpi, 2013) stated that on November 6, 2003 George Bush declared that the instability in political system of North African States cannot be tolerated anymore (Willis, 2002). He further revealed that up to 60 years, US tolerated this instability, backwardness in political culture and dictatorship, now Washington has been ready to implement the policy called "forward strategy for freedom". He believed that the strategy will bring an excellent peaceful society to the region (Willis, 2002).

He particularly mentioned Egypt as a main actor that should have played a vital role to provide a better political system to tackle the crisis in the North African States. For instance, to curb the Moroccan monarchism, Libyan haughtiness to Washington (Willis, 2002). Along this column the US plan for freedom in the region was not according to expectation of the people, due to utilitarian policy of Bush administration (Willis, 2002). The Arab spring that started in Tunisia in late 2010 and spread to Egypt, Libya and Yemen and now in Syria the crisis has brought so many changes in the region, insecurity of life which undermining US interests and influence in North Africa (Willis, 2002).

Egypt as a close ally to US got profited a lot in gaining fiscal and military aids among North African States but failed to utilize those aids properly and even did not get succeeded in satisfying her people, neither to eradicate unemployment, sectarianism, nor the dictatorship and narrow mindedness of the leaders (Burns, 1985). It was also challenged by poor performance in term of violation of human rights, media and disability to have freedom of expression (Burns, 1985).

Alan P. Dobson and Steve Marsh stated in their book "The US and post –cold war Africa and the Middle East" provides the political culture of Egypt, which shows Bush administration attitude towards the State, they further explained that Bush adopted a plan called 'comprehensive containment' denied any economic, political and social improvement of any state which he counted as a danger to US hegemony (Dobson & Marsh, 2007).

Bush put Islam and Communism on the same page (Dobson & Marsh, 2007). Writers have no justification for Islam and its teachings; there is no any connection between the two, the spread of Islam based on its beauty which cannot be stopped by any means. Washington's negative thinking about Muslim made her to have a negative impact on Egyptian society.

Lisa Anderson expressed her views in Middle East journal, Libya and United States' Foreign Policy, on US-Libya relations with the then Libyan leader Qaddafi who was always against US interests and policies in the region and considered it an evil Empire (Anderson, 1982).United States were in their perceptions that Qaddafi was unpopular leader as he faced challenges at home and at global level, too (Anderson, 1982). But academically, the researcher noted that the foreign policy of states should be framed and based on their core interests so that they may be able to play their roles among international community, here Qaddafi aimed to satisfy his countrymen, while trying to perform his responsibilities as a leader (Anderson, 1982).

Qaddafi wanted Muslim nations especially Arabs to focus on their agenda by promoting their values to boost up their economy to compete with orders at international level, but was disappointed by his own people; hence he failed to achieve his aim in his own country particularly and in the region generally (Anderson, 1982).

Benjamin I. Page and Marshall M. Bouton in their book, the foreign policy disconnects, what United States want from our leaders but don't get, notably agreed that United States should be concerned with their own progress, focus on how to develop their economy, so to avoid any

clash with order nations, she needs protecting order nations as they are protecting themselves to be able to avoid any internal or external attack (Benjamin & Marshall, 2006). The researcher agreed with this work but United States must have concern with the constitutional rights of order nations on this planet.

Geographically, Morocco as a part of North Africa according to Alexia Arieff in his scholarly work, Morocco Current Issues, discussed that the impact of United Statesin Morocco as Arab Monarch State analyses that US relations has several impacts which changes their political arena, economic stability while Washington assisted a lot by providing aid, and reshaping the government structure (Benjamin & Marshall, 2006).Alexia focused on US impacts on the state of Morocco; he did not pay attention to US interests and policies adopted to control the Moroccan economy, and US selected state of Morocco as marketable place to sell out their ammunitions (Arieff, 2013). United States have had a long-term relation with this State but never compromised on their interests, furthermore US polices have become a big challenge to the security of Moroccans (Arieff, 2013).

Cavatorta expressed in his article, Strengthen Authoritarian Rule through Democracy Promotion Examining the paradox of the US and EU, on how US security strategies in Tunisia was used for achieving her policies, interest in Tunisia (Cavatorta & Merone, 2013). She supported Bin Ali to become a legitimate president of the Tunisian State through bloodshed coup in November 1987, who pleaded to reform political system of the country (Cavatorta & Merone, 2013). Ibn Ali signed several economic agreements with US and European Union that will boost economic sector of his own State and neighboring countries in North Africa (Dore, 2014).

Dore has done well while gave green light to the relations between US and Tunisia but did not emphasize in his article on US as ambassador of democracy in the World affairs politics, she failed to force Bin Ali in this respect. Reasons are numerous but will only base them on her interests and policies, Ibn Ali has become US partner in war against extremism in the state,

and she further strengthens a security dilemma of Israel. (Hanafi, 2012). Impact on Egyptian political arena can be discussed in term of Unitarianism, not based on idealism or realism as we observed the situation in Egypt and Arab Spring at large. Here Hanafi has mentioned and gave the adequate meaning to US foreign policy; he should further explain that US intervention in it's' politics brought backwardness and bloodshed in the political history of the country (Hanafi, 2012).

Christopher M. Blanchard noted in his report, Libya Background and US Relations that in the early 1970s and 1980s United States' went on War against anti-colonial, separatist and Islamist movements such as Abu Nidal organization supported by Libyan leader Qaddafi (Blanchard, 2010). Washington implemented policies to end the authoritarian government of Qaddafi. Christopher should not have forgotten that US was against authoritarian regime in Libya, only because of anti-US regime operating there. (Blanchard, 2010)

Youssef Sawani and Jason Pack, in their scholarly work, Libya Constitutionality and Sovereignty Post-Qaddafi, justified that Libya suffered political instability after Qaddafi; the insufficient transition political system formed by National Transitional Council (NTC) is imbalance (Sawani, 2012). In fact, Sawani and Pack had gone through a realistic approach but failed to discuss the causes behind the failure of this system in Libya, US policies to eliminate unpopular leadership of Qaddafi aimed to restore democratic political system in the State but many Berber group and Federalist have been the part of the current system in the country (Sawani, 2012).

John L. Esposito in his scholarly work, Political Islam and The West, stated that Islam has been targeting the US hegemony in the World generally and in the region, particularly (Esposito, 2000). Here, Esposito should have focused on US attitude towards Muslim World, especially North Africa, and Washington needs to redefine the word terrorism (Esposito, 2000).

Raymond L. Brown, in his scholarly work, United StatesForeign Policy towards Sudan, From Isolation to Engagement, argues that historically in 1950s there was not US interests in Sudan's territories like her interests in other part of African States such as Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa, even her interests extended to Asia and South United States' (Brown, 2003). But since 1990's when some valuable resources were discovered, she has changed her interests and policies in the State of black people (Brown, 2003). The analysis of Raymond has been justified but I observed that not an informative, as something is missing, US interests in the region have increased for the potential reasons; oil, land and in the Southern Sudan where the minerals and recourses have been discovered.

Colin Thomas Jensen and Richard Just stated in their work, Human Rights in Sudan: The Way Forward, thatthe Bush and Obama administrations failed to tackle the problems in Sudan, where there is no any justification for the policies applied by these leaders (Prendergast & Jensen, 2009). These writers should have admitted the immature policies of US leaders in Sudan, due to her less concession for the people of Sudan (Prendergast & Thomas-Jensen, 2009).

Katerega and Shenk explained in their article Islam and Christian- Muslim Relations that the Arab spring based on social media revolution. The viewpoints of these writers are not adequate as it is in the interests of United States to change the monarch system and even replaced that with dictatorship, and Washington wants North Africa as marketable region of selling arms (Kateregga & Shenk, 1980).

Samuel Phillips Huntington in his theory on The Clash of Civilizations- the Remaking of World Order, noted that the clash of civilizations between US and North African States can lead to war, violations of human rights, norms even ethics (Huntington, 1996). The impacts of United States policies, interests have totally failed in this zone, due to clash of civilizations between US and Arab dominion region (Huntington, 1996).

Hilal in her classic work, Reorienting United States foreign policy toward North Africa and the Middle East stated that the US interests in the region must be reshaped to find a better way out to the problems; she further noted that US attached conditions to aid needs to be eliminating (Hilal, 2012). I agree with Leila's suggestions to US leadership on her policies, interests formulated against North African States, this has caused a big scratch to the regional development, as many of genius did not freely express their views, that led to many hardships for the region and Muslim World at bulky (Keohane, 2005).

Azaden Shahshani and Corina Mullin, categorically described the United States hegemony in their scholarly work, "the legacy of US intervention and the Tunisian revolution: Promises and Challenges one year on" as phenomenon which easily breaking United States' Power in the region, resultantly, US has failed to gain control over the district (Shahshahani & Mullin, 2012). The analysis is well presented but writers were not critically described the Arab spring a big challenge to US hegemony in the North African zone, where Washington has been ineffective to control the crises of human rights violators, inflations, kidnapping and killing of the innocent people (Krahmann, 2005)

Shelley in his cosmic and valuable work," War and peace in the Sudan" stated that United Stateshas used a rational foreign policy against Sudan that has led to uncertain condition in Darfur where humanitarians have found it hardly to satisfy the persons (Shelley, 2012). I agree with Eric analysis as a senior analyst but he failed to over view the totality of US policies, interests in the region of North African. As US is much worried to achieve her objectives, without working on the provision of safeguards to North Africa as an independent county (Anderson, 1987).

Pranger noted in the journal of Middle Eastern affairs on 26th June 2013 stated that historians have recorded a long record on Muslim Brotherhood as anti-Israel movement in the region, especially in recent incident of 2010, when Morsi called Jews "the descendants of apes and pigs." This called attention of United States' leadership that it may stain a long relation

between Egypt and Israel, its recorded that USA aids to Egypt started since the late 1970s, which aimed to strength Egyptian –Israeli's relations as major Interest of USA. Obama gave some unannounced huge amount to Egypt to boost their military and financial crisis, which international community believes to be part of systemic containment of US in the region. Meanwhile, many considered these supports as only way to keep Israel secured in the region, US again using the money to make relations between this Jew's states friendly with Egypt and order part of the region. Furthermore, the aid also extended to cover aptitude matters in these Arab's nations, to further strength Arabs and Israel relations, so it was revealed that Egypt and Israel military institution are always searching for better relationship.

The researcher considered 1979 pact as way to frame an extraordinary approach on how will United States be able to achieve their interests and policies in the region of north Africa, to reinforce in establishment of Jewish kingdom there, so they focused on supporting Egyptian administrations, but not its people, so that the Palestine people never experience a prosperous life. Jeremy should remember that no condition is permanent, the humanity needs development as foreign policy of any states can be formed based on their interest, and here the clash of interests between United Statesand Morsi government created a big problem and changes occurred as recognized by both historians and political scientists.

America is in favor of permanent Security of Israel in the region, to counter any future threat for Israel and to place them as main actor. The policy led United States to fight against Islamist and their allies in North Africa, but seems that Algeria didn't accept kind of policy in term of cooperation with other neighboring country; Tunisia and Morocco were the sources of Arab spring as marked by history and we have seen some benefit of Arab spring, where draw some lines of utilization of human rights laws, but still seen some challenges in Libya, no security of life and property ,where United States overthrew dictatorship of Qaddafi who was Libyan leader and against United States' policies in the region. Issue of Al Qaeda in the

Maghreb's (AQIM) has expanded her wings and continued capability to operate from Mali and Southern Sudan.

In fact, the method which applied by United States as a tool to understand when we are discussing the circumstantial, impetuses, and targets of those who joined the Arab spring with North Africa, and order states it was gathered that this will bring a lot of benefit and progress to promote security arrangement, and framing the policies with reference to the ideological perspective of any nation.

It's clear that United States' policies in the region based on mutual interest, to take control of their system such like, Army institution, political forces. According to New York Daily Beast newspaper, discuss the relations between Algeria and United States' as incomparable with order North Africa states in which Algeria never been in favor of United States' policies, as it further disagree with United States' spy plane against their country.US takes keen interest to monitor the security of this state and to wipeout Al Qaeda activities from Algeria. Pro-American in Algeria argue that she is always looking for better relations. They contend that it is in the best interest of Algeria to cooperate with United States to further fight against extremism in the region, however anti-America elements on order hand argue that the United States policies (Gerges 1999) towards North Africa is just aimed at controlling its leaders to implement its policies in the region.

According to an author who describes the cultural conflict with interests, United States' citizens has put their interests, policies over any order Nations, historically they considered US policies to achieve their goals as the best. He further explained that United Statesand Egypt are great allies, where they suppressed Islamists through different regimes most especially Hosni Mubarak era. The researcher discovered through Fawaz idea, perception that he neglected the Muslim orientation and ideology which covered all aspects of their life and disallowed to compromise with any order faith, interested in mutual understanding in term of trading, security and interest's due to global village, but even does not agreed with extremism

and terrorism. Washington should respect the mandate of Islam and Muslims to allow peace in Egypt and the World. Amitai Etzioni's (Amitai, 2007) scholarly work, stated that foreign policy should be founded with morality in its system arrangement before only discussed the United States' security, but did not related to the topic of dissertation.

Irene Fernandez Molina's North Africa journal, Politics and Power in the Maghreb, stated that on November 6, 2003, George Bush declared that the instability in political system of North African States cannot be tolerated anymore. He further revealed that up to 60 years of US tolerated this instability. Backwardness political culture, and dictatorship, now Washington has been ready to implement the policy called "forward strategy for freedom". He believed that the strategy will bring an excellent peaceful society to the region.

He particularly mentioned Egypt as main actor which must play a vital role to provide a better political system to tackle the crisis in the North African States. For instance, to curb the Moroccan monarchism and Libyan arrogancy towards Washington. Along this line the US plan for freedom in the region not according to expectation of the people due to utilitarian policy of Bush administration. It was noted that Arab spring flickered from Zain-l-Abideen of Tunisia which, later reached all North African nations. The crisis has brought so many changes in the region, insecurity of life which undermining United States' interests and influence in North Africa.

Egypt as close ally to US benefited a lot in gaining economy and Military aids in North Africa but failed to utilize those aid and satisfied her people, for unemployment, sectarianism, dictatorship and narrow-mindedness of leaders. It was also challenged by poor performance in term of violation of human rights, media and freedom of expression.

Alan P. Dobson and Steve Marsh (Marsh, 2007) stated in their book "The US and post –cold war Africa and the Middle East" provides the political culture of Egypt, which shows Bush administration attitude towards the State, they further explained that Bush adopted a plan

called 'comprehensive containment' denied any economic, political and social improvement of any state which he counted as a danger to US hegemony. Bush put Islam and communism on the same page. Writers has no justification for Islam and its teachings, there is no any connection between two, the spread of Islam based on its beauty which can't be stop by any means. Washington negative thinking about Muslim made has made her to have a negative impact on Egyptian society.

Lisa Anderson (Anderson, Autumn 1982) expressed her views in the Middle East journal, Libya and United States' foreign policy, on United States-Libya relations with the then Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qaddafi who was always against United States' interests, policies in the region and considered it an evil Empire. United States' ns were in their perceptions that Qaddafi was unpopular leader as he faced challenges home and abroad. But scholarly, the researcher has noted that the foreign policy of any State should be frame based on their interests to be able to play their roles in international community, here Qaddafi aimed to satisfy his countrymen, while trying to perform his responsibilities an as leader. Qaddafi as man of principle wanted Muslim nations especially Arabs focus on their agenda by promoting their values to boost economy and competes with orders in international level, but was disappointed by his own people so he failed to achieve his aims in his country particularly and in the region generally.

The major job which US need to focus on it is to make a perfect strategy for free movement of world's leaders and their respective citizens; they must search for their redemption (Bouton, September 2006). Notably agreed that United States' should be concerned with their own progress, focus on how to develop their economy, so to avoid any clash with order nations, she needs protecting of other nations as they are protecting themselves so to be able to avoid any internal or external attacks. The researcher agreed with this work but United States' must also concern with privilege of order people on the earth.

Geographically Morocco as part of North Africa according to Alexia Arieff in his scholarly work, Morocco Current Issues, discussed (Arieff, 18th October 2013) that the impact of United Statesin Morocco as Arab Monarch State analyses that Us relations has several impacts which changes their political arena, economic stability while Washington assisted a lot by providing aid, and reshaping the government structure. Alexia focused on United Statesimpacts on the State, he didn't pay attention on US interests and policies adopted to control their economy, United Statesselected Morocco as marketable place to sell out their ammunitions. They have had a long relation with the State but never compromised on their interests, furthermore US polices has become a big challenge on the security of Moroccans. (Doras, 2009), expressed in his article, strengthen tyranny government with reference with democracy elevation in, so both US and EU are major actors in this regard, this also raised alarm to ask for what are the sole power to achieve best security measurement in Tunisia was used for achieving her policies, interest in Tunisia, she supported Bin Ali to become a legitimate president of the state through bloodshed coup in November 1987, who pleaded to reform political system of the country. Ibn Ali signed several economic agreements with US and European Union that will boost economic sector of his own State and neighboring countries in North Africa. Doras has done well while gave green light into relations between US and Tunisia but did not emphasized in his article on US as ambassador of democracy in the World affairs politics, she failed to force Bin Ali in this respect. Reasons are numerous but will only base them on her policies and interests, Ibn Ali has become United States' partner in War against extremism in the state, and she further strengthens a security dilemma of Israel.

Hanafi Sari (Hanafi, 2012), revealed in his article, The Arab Revolutions, The Emergence of a New Political Subjectivity, that United States' policy, interests in the region and her impact on Egyptian political arena can be discussed in term of Unitarianism, not based on idealism or realism as we observed the situation in Egypt and Arab Spring at large .Hanafi has mentioned and gave the adequate meaning to United States' foreign policy, he should further explain that

US intervention in her politics brought backwardness and bloodshed into the Country political history.

Christopher M. Blanchard, noted in his report, Libya Background and US Relations that in the early 1970s and 1980s United States' went on War against anti-colonial, separatist and Islamist movements such as Abu Nidal organization supported by Libyan leader Mu'ammar Qadafi Washington implemented policies to end the authoritarian government of Qadafi. Christopher should not forget that U.S has against authoritarian in Libya only because of anti-America regime there.

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John L. Esposito in his scholarly work, Political Islam and the West, stated that Islam has become treating to US hegemony in the World and particularly in the region. John should focus on United States' attitude towards Muslim World Especially North Africa, Washington needs to redefine terrorism.

Raymond L. Brown, in his scholarly work, United States' foreign policy towards Sudan, from isolation to engagement, argues that historically in 1950s there wasn't United States' interestsin Sudan's territories like her interests in order part of Africa States such as Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa, even her interests extended to Asia and South United States. But since 1990s when some valuable resources were discovered, she has changed her interests and policies in the state of black people. The analysis of Raymond has justified but the researcher

observed that not an informative, as something is missing, US interests in the region has increased for the possible reasons; oil, land and in the Southern Sudan where the minerals and recourses discovered.

Colin Thomas, Jensen, Richard and Abe, stated in their work, Human Rights in Sudan: The way forward that the Bush and Obama administrations failed to tackle the problems in Sudan, where there is no any justification for the policies applied by these leaders. These writers should admit the immature policies of United States' leaders in Sudan, due to United Statesless privilege against the people of Sudan.

Francesca Comunello and Giuseppe Anzera explained in their article Islam and Christian which the Arab spring based on social media revolution. The believed of these writers not adequate as it will be the best step to be taken by US in changing old version system in North Africa by replacing the best and most liable administrations there, Washington wants North Africa as marketable region of selling arms.

Samuel Phillips Huntington, in his theories on The Clash of Civilizations, noted that the theory is prevailing between United States' and North Africa States can leads to war. The impacts of United States' interests and policies is totally seen failed in this zone, due to clash of civilizations between US and Arab dominion region.

Leila Hilal in her classic work, was seen US foreign policy in north Africa as well middle East as a discussable phenomenon which requiring some review an amendment the US interests in the region must reshape to find a better solution to the problems; she further noted that United States' attached conditions to aid needs to remove. The researcher agreed with Leila suggestions to United States' leadership on its, interests and policies formulated against North African States, those policies have caused a big scratch to the development of the region, as many of genius did not freely express their views, this lead to many hardships in the region and Muslim world at large.

Azaden Shahshani and Corina Mullin, categorically described the US hegemony in their scholarly work, the legacy of US intervention and the Tunisian revolution, as phenomenon which weakling United States' Power in the region, while US has failed to gain controlled over the region. The analysis is well presented but writers were not critically described the Arab spring as big challenge to US hegemony in the North African States, where Washington powerless to control the crisis, human rights violators, inflations, killing of innocent people.

Eric Reeves in his Cosmic and Valuable Work, Counter Terrorism In lieu of Foreign Policy, stated that United States' has used a rational foreign policy against Sudan, this leads to uncertain condition in Darfur where humanitarians have found it hardly to satisfy the people. The researcher agreed with Eric analysis as a senior analyst but he failed to over view the totality of US policies, interests on North Africa region, United States' worrying to achieve their objectives, without working on safeguard on North African as an independent region.

Objectives of the Study/Research

1- To explore the major developments in the region.

2- To dig out the role of United States in the development of North Africa?

3- To investigate the Core interests of United States in the region of North Africa.

4- To examine the United States' poles apart policies in North Africa.

5- To digout theUnited States' Core interests and policies in Egypt and Libya, specifically.

6- To analyze the impacts and repercussions of USA's policies in the region.

Research Questions

1- What is the level socio-cultural, geopolitical and economic development in NorthAfrica after World War II till 2013?

2- Up to what extent United States played her role in the development of North Africa?

3- What are United States' Core interests in the region of North Africa?

4- What are the United States' policies and guiding principles pro-North Africa?

5- What are United States' Core interests and policies in Egypt and Libya, specifically?

6- How do the United States' interests and policies leave Impacts on the North African?

7- What are the repercussions of United States' interests and policies in the region?

Organization of The Research/Study

Excluding *Introduction* AND *Conclusion/Impacts, Recommendations and Direction for Future Research*, the Organization of Study/Research is comprised on **SIX CHAPTERS**. **Chapter-1** deals with the LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, **Chapter-2**, is comprised on, the CONTEXUAL CONTOUR OF EGYPT AND LIBYA IN THE WORLD OF NORTH AFRICA, **Chapter-3**, takes account of the UNITED STATES AND THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE NORTH AFRICAN GLOBE, **Chapter-4**, envelops the UNITED STATES' DIVERGENT POLICIES AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES A PROPOS NORTH AFRICAN PLANET, **Chapter-5**, contains the UNITED STATES' CORE INTERESTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN NORTH AFRICA REGION, and **Chapter-6**, includes RESULTS/REPERCUSSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS.

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CHAPTER- 1

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

The presentation of the profiles of the countries under our scope of study in chapter 1 is hereby followed by chapter 2 presenting yet anorther important aspect in our study that is literature review and theoretical framework.

1.1- Momentary Review of Literature

Principally Egypt and Libyan states have been discussed in different standpoints. There are many literatures on United States' policies, interests in these Arab countries that can be discussed in the context of US involvement in these countries.

The study has focused on both primary and secondary literature as it will further provide enough materials by conducting interviews of some dignities. A reasonable quantity of literature is available about USinterests andforeign policies abroad, which she has adopted and implemented there with the consequent impacts on the external world, especially on the North African States.

Different theories have been examined to fill the gap and lapse left by many writers to bring a proper value to these theories. The researcher has tried to discuss the detail and survey the main topic "democracy assistance" so, will have to elaborate its linkage with Egypt, andLibya and rest of the Arab world.

Notwithstanding, the importance of democracy and its cherishing ideology need a highly support of United States, in that perfect soul and spirit to see the development of democracy in the region. Though, the United States' notable scholars and experts are working on this issue, but the researcher believes that Islam never discourage implementation of democratic system, the Arab culture also support same notion while, societies have always been looking for the same since long. The problem lies with the Arab leadership because most of them are

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not cooperating with common people to satisfy their needs. Hence, the outsiders are not familiar with ground reality of the terminology more precisely about the actual meaning of "democracy assistance". Therefore, it will be difficult for them to promote the idea; only academicians know and can work for its promotion. (Brinks & Coppedge, 2006). Furthermore, unique idea of the terminology made people differ on its meaning; so, each group is searching for suitable meaning of it. In contrast, to have full meaning of it needs perfect interpretation for it. (Dryzek, 1997). Though, the meaning of this democracy assistance is not something unknown to all democratic representatives;it is faultless systemthat provides equal rights, opportunities and justice to every individual. Meanwhile, it is further known as democracy support where to pay respect to see democracy well operating in the country (O'Donnell, 2012). Hence, the democracy support also leads to the fulfilment of constitutionalrequirements, the government which cliques of constitution are called perfect administration, and its features will be a paragon for the progress of the nation and its inhabitants (O'Donnell, 2012). The virtue of democracy will make it more complex for the leaders or any political entity to cause any big damage to the public, also thiswill keep elite group operating with democratic references (Woods, 1998). However, liberal democracy always provides a reasonable community, the government which is not dominated by wealthy elites, those who are working in order to control the system (Naisbitt & Cracknell, 1984). Meanwhile, to have achieved best democratic government which circulate an operativeand active administration (Gills & Rocamora)

The researcher believes that the real democracy will be talented to reform the society, reformation based on respecting each and every entity (O'Donnell, 2012). The most dangerous situation is when democracy is under threat of some political victimization those who suppresses the spread of democracy and trash its advancement, only to satisfy their own interests (Naisbitt & Cracknell, 1984).

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The researcher is in deep thought and makes a comparison of how the United states practicing democracy at home with the way she is exercising her exceptional democracy outside the United States' (Carorders, 2006).

However, the researcher found a very gigantic gap between them, likewise, the example of abortive democracy in Egypt for which US claimed its support and it was gathered that the same orientation was prescribed for Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Sub-Saharawhich are struggling to get their autonomous life but couldn't get it till date (Carorders, 2006). Furthermore, if we search for democracy in both Algeria and Sudan, this phenomenology does not exist (McFaul, 2004). But in case of Middle-East these states also are full of either monarchism, or anarchism with full knowledge and awareness of United States 'policy (McFaul, 2004). The elite class of theNorth African states are working in collaboration with US and the interests and policies of the super power are always seen to operate over the domestic politics of north African states, therefore, it seems that the system has already been biased (McFaul, 2004).

The researcher has taken more surveillance on how democratic virtues can't be seen in these Arab nations; it is due to political strategies of super power and its own targeting interests and policies, thus US needs to review its own policies to get its job done successfully in the region (McFaul, 2004). As the Western efforts to promote democracy in the Middle East have been halfhearted and disorganized. The democratic development is facing a lot of challenges especially with the 'Word' 'Democracy' which is essentially for any nation to be implemented in letters. Nonetheless, it is the way or method how these institutions are operating in any country will make their citizens fell either to its perfect democracy or imperfect one (McFaul, 2004).

For the moment, the institution includes parliamentary organization; with active opposition parties needs to be active to createchallengeable ways against the incumbent government. In doing so, this can make citizens feel satisfied with existing democratic process in their beloved country (McFaul, 2004). Political forces are also considered as main actor to identify

how democratic system is operating in the state, as they may free to exercise their rights as parties. (Hudock, 1999). Besides, the government needs to cooperate with all political parties in the country; they should be taken into confidence before taking any step. In contrast to most optimistic studies of democracy assistance in general, and of the NED{The National Endowment for Democracy} in particular, the results cast doubt on the effectiveness of NED grants as an instrument of democracy promotion or consolidation (McFaul, 2004).

1.2- Research Methodology

There are numerous books, journals, articles and research papers, which have written nationally as well as internationally by researchers, providing a vivid picture on United States' policies, interest and relations with North African States.

The research has been carried out by applying both quantitative and qualitative methods by using primary and secondary sources. Data has been collected through quantitative and qualitative techniques, both by using primary and secondary sources.

The primary sources are based on official data, books and unpublished work related to this topic.

Whereas secondary sources like published and unpublished material including newspapers, journals are consulted to make the research dynamic.

1.3- Different Theories of Democracy

The researcher has used several theories such as, containment, strategy and democracy theories but this research is mainly focused on "democratic peace theory" in Africa, which further elaborates the role of US in democratic system in North Africa especially. The democratic process in North Africa lacks an important aspect, such as freedom of expression, assembly, which can create people's awareness, to be in full control of their fundamental rights, this makes African people fail to enjoy democratic features. Meanwhile, the sole power

is not democratically supporting democratic process in the North African region, instead, it his supporting crueldictators and authoritarian regimes, specifically in both Egypt and Libya.

People of Africa are always aspiring for the best democracy process in their resource rich African region. Especially in the northern African portion, but the real spirit of this phenomenology is not absent on the ground.

Therefore, the researcher has based his arguments and discussions specifically in Egypt and Libya where United States' is playing big role in the domestic politics, and in the remaining North African states such as Tunisia, Morocco, Western Sahara, Algeria and Sudan, also. The researcher also discusses these countries as well partially because the level United States' interaction with them is less comparedto the former North African Nations (Egypt and Libya).

Thetheoryis an investigation and unrelated meaning of any types of political descriptions and its features (Davoudi et al., 2012). We have been pivotal on theories of democracy. The rejoinder of democracy is representation: means the process of having a election of few to represent the many (Lefort & Macey, 1988).

This procedure of depiction is facilitated by our political organizations, the rules and constructions of the political process, which are constantly embryonic (Lefort & Macey, 1988). During the broad-minded epoch near the turn of the twentieth century, the United States skilled a sequence of serious institutional changes including women's suffrage, the direct election of senators, and in some states, the formation of direct democracy (Walker, 1966). This last change allows citizens to directly pass legislation, entirely sidestepping the legislative process (Walker, 1966).

Within the context of direct democracy, this project retraces a very basic question: why do we vote? We argue that the initiative process alters the set of factors that voters depend upon for the selection legislature completely (Riker's, 1982). The use of the inventiveness gives voters

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a way to "correct' policy mistakes due to prejudiced legislators. Since they can fix these problems they have a countless inducement to distillate exacta on the personal characteristics of candidates (Hanson, 2003). We model the compromises faced by voters in their selection of candidates, and most prominently, how direct legislation affects those transactions. The legislators have to work in accordance with constitution, while the constitution shows the legitimacy and illegitimacy of candidates(Friedman, 2004). Advanced State should have adopted political culture and politicalpluralism. United States ' has played as an ideal political agent in the World politics (Jaffrelot, 2008).

1.3.1- The Importance of Democracy

The importance of democracy can be traced back in recovering of ancient Greek History, in which wealthy individuals were only enjoying opportunity such as freedom of property, thought ,and people generally are freed to enjoy their lives'(Diamond, 1994).

Democracy has had been enjoying superiority over all political system, due to its high profile among the political scientists, it provides fair and polling rivalry election in the process of representative selection (Diamond, 1994).Schumpeter an Austrian political philosopher and economist argues in "Democracy and democratization" that people must have sense of realistic democracy, where to provide more good living, best atmosphere of economy, progressive business, education because citizens has to exercise their rights of electing most suitable personality in sort to have ideal leader and equality (Schumpeter, 1978).Democracy has manifold definitions and categories as argued by Holden in his book "Global Democracy", says it means fluid this meaning is the most suitable term to be rummage-sale, he further venerated order words such as multiracial (Holden, 2013). Pancontinental and super nationwide democracy it has analogous ideas, methods and behaviors of claim, that global democracy eliminate the adjacent*arrangement*, but it is embellishment to provide the limitation and equality to humanity at large (Box, 2015).

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John Hart in his book "democracy &distrust" argued that to make democracy asystem which can regulates functions of any Organization (Hart Ely, 1980). State or society it's extremely optional that court should arbitrate followed by using its strength and power that to see flourishing of democracy in from all departments and institutions, where to create political, social and economic atmosphere (John, 1980). Furthermore, for sustainable democratic system its known that court must be concerned and aware of justice between all groups of society, i.e. rich, unfortunate, even minorities , this can afford equal occasions (John, 1980).

The court's responsibility is to gauge all laws which legalizes idyllic religious virtuesand elimination of any type of discrimination, injustice, disproportion, smooth it need more strength to tackle terrorism and its associates, since its regarded as coldhearted act (John, 1980).

In the meantime, George who is the billionaire and political commentator argues in "open society', that 'The democracy is only successful in open societies and freed market capitalism' (George & Soros, 2004).

Representative Government or Authority can be acknowledged as that of United States of America along with order democratic countries in the World politics where public workouts their privileges in vote to designate their congressmen (A. C. Paulson, 2007), congresswomen and representatives, might be in State level, districts or indigenous areas (R. E. Paulson, 1973)

All inhabitants must be abiding by the regulation of laws of the exact State., in real sense the United States ofAmerica failed to prove an excellent democratic government in Egypt, Libya Tunisia, Libya and even in Syria (R. E. Paulson & Coleman, 1988).

Larry Diamond in his book "Developing democracy toward consolidation" opines that democracy is more than blessing because it provides limitless opportunities to the citizens but he decline to explain proper arrangement where to mention which type of democracy can

bring such huge chances, the democratic, real democracy would not allow such referendums as best way to achieve goals and objectives of life (Diamond, 1999).

G. Phillip in his scholarly work "democracy & democratization" opines that his firstly concern is with the definition of democracy, its functions and objectives (Phillip, 2003). Philip argues that the democratic States must keep working in the parameters of definition it is due to implement its values. Ober J. in his scholarly work "Democracy's wisdom: An Aristotelian middle way or collective" argues that Aristotle was measured the unsurpassed democracy is upright performance of city State, he viewed that in city State (Ober, 2013), the obtainability of many fortunes, headway, unity, rule of law, equality among the people must be an interplanetary agenda of the administration, he supposed that human beings are by nature so need all good things for delight and furtherance of their live (Ober, 2013) .

He was basically absorbed on superlative state but loosened his attention from participation of the citizens, beside their sustenance to the government to endorse the best type democracy to the fellow inhabitants (Ober, 2012).

Legitimate government must always be loyal to voters and never abuse the power (Ober, 2012). Lyall. J. in his work "Does democracy make mediocre pawn sergeants? Reassessing democracy's impact on war outcomes and duration" have had opinion on value of democracy that it delivers complete freedom on all features of breathing (Lyall, 2010), he further explains that despotism feasts inland wars while democracy nose-dives to panels the external one, we detect that he didn't comprehend that anthropological nature is egotistical, gluttony (Lyall, 2010), democracy works to provide nonviolent humanity in the world concerns but some traits or folks are agents of battles only in penetrating for their own safeties and in the line of exercise of their rudimentary rights associations, and realms in wars with involving order's (Lyall, 2010). The essence of democracy can avert such occurrences if compositions are prescribed on their parameters (Lyall, 2010).

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Kay F. Alan argues in his great work "One small step for democracy's future: A new kind of survey research" that United States' concerns with rule of democracy (Scott, 2008), law and ignored order aspects while the institutions are working on policy making (Kay, 1993), standard legislation and regulations, but United States' democracy failed to control nuclear upheaval crisis (Kay, 1993).

The illegal asset to gun increasing day by day in the United States', school shootings, crime, offences and violence is in its highest level (Kay, 1993). Francis Fukuyama argues in his scholarly article "Why is democracy performing so poorly?" Fukuyama believes that the democracy is falling apart especially in Arab World due to negativity of Arab exceptionalism(Fukuyama, 2015).

World and many other part of World politics, due to major three factors namely, rule of law, State structure and accountability, Fukuyama further explains that the state formation must be based on legitimacy not illegitimacy, the abuse of power is at the essence of illegitimate government representatives will not give a productive results (Kay, 1993). Fukuyama as pioneer of political science, international affairs and studies admitted such problems in World politics but failed to establish the fact that the sole power is always causing some irregularities in part of the World politics by supporting military regimes in some countries for instance Egypt, Tunisia, and Pakistan.

On contrary, Nigeria, Burma, Uganda, even monarchies in Middle East i.e. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, United Emirates Arab, are the democratic victims of the United States interests, as these countries still are not able to gain their political ambitions, profits and hegemonic performance (Fukuyama, 2015). So, in this regard, it becomes intellectual impossibility to follow proper way of ruling in those States and rule of law has not been observed perfectly. The structure of government may be informing on dictatorship, oligarchy, Aristocracy or anarchy (Fukuyama, 2015).

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Levitsky and Lucan in their scholarly article "The myth of democratic recession" deliberately argued that the classlessness having evolution in the World politics, they are carefully considered itas permanent solution to human greedness, which can bring social development (Levitsky & Way, 2015). Democracy has totally developed swiftly since 1990 up to 2013 rapidly.

Democracy process has secure only 62-63% especially in 2013 where it has faced several damages due to United States' policy towards North African States and even in Central Africa i.e.Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Madagascar, Angola and Zaire marks in its highest records of democratic transition mostly after Cold War (Levitsky & Way, 2015). However, many western States have been experiencing successful democratic process (Levitsky & Way, 2015). West African Country also have gone through such happy move in their political arena like: Cameroon, Ivory coast but wasn't easy for Ivoirians to transform the fact form of transitions from authoritarianism to democracy (Levitsky & Way, 2015) .

Same with Guinea Bissau, Niger, Nigeria, Sieraleoneand many other countries. Democracy was a prevalent challenge for East African States, also but later relished her influx at its peak in Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia and numerous (Levitsky & Way, 2015). They additionally deliberated South where United States' conditions were in horizontal move after 1990s, when the Soviet Union inspiration has totally been weakening in the World affairs, only scarce Nations probable to tail her communist partisan philosophy which vetoed by the most engineering Nations (Levitsky & Way, 2006).

The condition is same for Asian Countries to follow the democratic footsteps of India as she is a unique paragon of democracy in Asia,more specifically in South Asia since decolonization and British departure (Venter et al., 2001). It was appropriated her only two years to edge her first constitution due to some internal challenges, the public of India are always relishing their exceedingly figurines in the World (Rao, Menon, Kashyap, & Iyengar, 1968).

It is the only Hindu State has had democratic growth politically, economically and socially in the world politics, they are moving behind the progress, fruitful efforts in all subdivisions (Rao et al., 1968). Malaysia, Singapore, Philippine, Indonesia, Thailand, Bangladesh and Maldives are in position to praise democratic fruition in their parks (Alagappa, 2004). Pakistan after her independence was prey to Army intervention in her politics where *Khakis*used to grasp the power from civilian authorities that lasted for many years(Alagappa, 2004), due to which she lost her position in the World politics and only in recent years she manages her democratic agenda. Still the democracy is failing in some parts of the World which have not yet become politically, economically and socially strong (Kukreja, Okabe, Schrier, & Hess, 1988).

Levitsky & Lucan political approachs are noticeable with their pessimist agenda, but failed to converse economic mess in the North African States (NAS), where people lives in misery even haven't enough food, they cannot consume 2,000 calories a day, parents can equivocate sending their children to school while many people are below the poverty (Lancaster, 1999). Mughabe is a zone in Zimbabwe- a Central African State, Uganda the East African country where one-man rule for spans, the complaint in both countries are conspicuously immoral (Lancaster, 1999). The situation in the Middle-East where people can't explain or provide a common definition of democracy in the World politics, people lives their lives as it was ever since Ottoman Empire, social justice, social mobility, equality, qualitative education and equal rights security of life, and property can't be seen in the society (Göçek, 1996).

Hassim Opines in her book "Women organization and Democracy in South Africa" that despite women have had prospect to be even more than50% in the World but less numbers were successfully allowed to partake in political leadership expressly in the senate for decision making (Schwitalla et al., 1969). He further elucidates that in 2007, there were five worldwide institutes/organizations established to surface a way for women participation in the politics, domestically as well as internationally (Ghosh et al., 2006). These are International

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institute for democracy &electoral assistance (IDEA), Inter-parliamentary Union (IPU), National Democratic Institute (NDI), United Nation's Development Program (UNDP), and finally United Nations entity for gender equality & the empowerment of women (Hassim, 2006) (UN WOMEN). But all these institutions are not functioning perfectly, so it is difficult to work with clarity in the World affairs, or to create awareness, understanding ,protection of human rights and to influence others (Hassim, 2006).

What does democracy mean? Before discussing definition of democracy, we should see it as unavoidable analysis to lay emphasis on the phases of democracy, how it is working in developed nations, benefits, and its performance in the world politics as whole (May, Davis, Tesh, & Barrett, 2011).

1.3.2 The Opening

In the preliminary stage, democratic fights often positioned around the question of political equality, freedom and Justice. Though, there were a considerable number of republics that had democratic government in this phase (Das, 2009), many of them did not spread the right to vote to all the publics, thus not allowing universal adult franchise to operate. Some only decided the right to the landowning classes, some forbade women to vote while some discriminated on the basis of color (Das, 2009).

1.3.3 Culmination of Imperialism

This was an important in-between phase in the extension of democracy across the earth. With reference to the middle of the 20th century, the numerous European colonies feast crossways Asia, and Africa commence to gain liberation and a mainstream of them instantly adopted democracy as a form of government (Das, 2009). Though, democratic system in most of Asian and African States are not adequate, which can not be comparing with those developed and western countries. (Das, 2009).

1.3.4   Current Segment

This stage encouraging a rehabilitated trust for democracy all over the World. Egalitarianism was invigorated in many Latin$_{American}$ states' republics after 1980 and the tumble of the Soviet Union saw a prospering of democratic States in the previously communist held Eastern Europe. (Das, 2009). Nevertheless, overall, there has been a clear ally through the World to change complementary and supplementary near self-governing government, there are motionless scarce countries like Myanmar, China, Cuba, and North Korea, which do not extend democratic rights to its citizens (Das, 2009).

Apart from this there are some more theories of democracy, mentioned as following through their application a democratic regime can be kept dynamic and trendy.

  a.   Elite theory democracy

  b.   Liberal theory democracy

  c.   Marxism theory democracy

  d.   Religious theory democracy

  e.   Direct theory democracy

  f.   Popular theory democracy

  g.   An industrial theory democracy

  h.   Representative theory democracy

1.3.5- Elite Theory of Democracy

This theory propose identical rights amid the people, independently or communally, and the theory is against any kind of exploiting power or defilement of constitution, it may be a totalitarian regime or military rule (Good, 1999). It believes that citizens should enjoy equal rights andCooperate with each other in sharing the power (Nemenzo, 1988). Elite theory of democracy is based on western nation and ideals of democracy. The western orientation

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upholds its ambitions and interests because of this, the western writers are inconsistently developing this theory for the time being (Etzioni, 1993). Meanwhile, Islam didn't recognize it, those who owned theproperties i.e., land, money, and all valuable things are acknowledged. Mostly it environsby taking law in their hands and controls the economy through monopolizing so, all can fall under their control either you like it or not (Pinches, 1997).

We are again using this medium of time to elaborate this elite theory in new words or expression, where it sometimes denotes to a method of administration in which the rulers of mainstream are corporate officials of organization (Schudson, 2000), administrative or charitable are able to bodybuilding a noteworthy gradation of stimulus on humanity (Schudson, 2000). Most of the designated bests in an elite democracy own their positions to the backing of these administrative leaders, or bests, and will legislate in a method that favors their relatives (Higley & Burton, 2006). The elite theory in sociology and political science, a minor underground of commercial, monetary or contemplate debate establishments exert control to a superior notch than the courses of the state's popularly designated rule (Miller, Hesli, & Reisinger, 1997).

1.3.6 Liberal Theory of Democracy

Is a dogmatic philosophy and a form of government in which illustrative democracy functions under the doctrines of liberation? The theory acknowledges absolute freedom, enjoyment of human rights without borders (Kymlicka, 1995). It further supports the communal progress erased concept of have and haves not from society so that the people will be able to search and move towards their faith without bondage (Barry, 1975). Furthermore, the argument between Marx and Engles is emphasizing on the ideal society, the society is full of competition and division of labor, citizens always prefers elite class to rule them. For the time being, workers are working for the benefit of the society, each class is working within parameters and boundary. (Marx & Engles, 1932).

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A democracy based on the gratitude of discrete rights and freedoms, in which decisions from direct processes triumph in many policy areas (Bowers, 1987).This provides equality, social harmony and leadership quality. It further allows the country to eradicate poverty, illiteracy, gender inequality from their society (Bowers, 1987).

1.3.7 Marxist Theory of Democracy

This theory has played an important role in identification of the the best historical concept of humanity, where to serve human beings is to save lives and promote equality in society through this type of democratic theory. The theory further endorsing methods and ways of satisfying the citizens, so that the common people will have feelings of being a human marvel not animal. It also expounding the errands of government towards their people. (Pierson, 1986). Marx honors an ideal society where poor people will be able to achieve their goals, exercise their fundamental freedom.

The theory is also working for development of states and its society, according to this theory the democracy should work perfectly, to restore rule of law, whileto prevail justice in society. It will turn people from abnormal to normal in such society. (Pierson, 1986).

Furthermore, 'the theory is concerned with the regulation of state and society but on the base of this theory, the preference goes to society not to the states'. While, best democracy has to deal with both state and society, because best society leads to perfect state (Dahlberg & Siapera, 2007). So, the elevation of state with replacement of society is most important idea of this theory. The researcher is of the view that isn't possible to have state without society, because the best social activities are the production of an ideal state. (Dunleavy & O'leary, 1987).

Hence, the feature of democracy is to work within parameters of democratic spirit, the society should be altogether to form perfect relations, between government and individuals. This also can be treated as more reasonable method of achieving best ruling system. (Torfing, 1999).

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For the meantime, some believe that separation of society from state can be a perfect idea, but the researcher sees it as incorrect idea, which needsan urgent response from the people, the minorities of any society should not be kept separated from its majority. The capital must be disseminated, to reduce poverty standard from society. (Lefort & Macey, 1988).

The method of impressive majority on minority cannot give a proper result of perfect democracy, but it will further be creating a big vacuum between society, which will not give chance to peace and prosperity. (Mann, 1982).

The originality of the thought is to break out between private property and public one, many people believe in having and securing their own property and enjoying their status, then having no freedom of movement with the government. The Marxist ideology of democracy is to deny the private ownership, in which he believes it will bring equality and justice to the society. It will further create free society from any hurdle of difficulty. The theory further providing a perfect understanding in time of its philosophical approach that preferred private property than public. It further gives reference to 18th century political arrangement, which provide good relations between haves and have nots. (Goldstein, 2012).

Moreover, Marxism philosophy was in focus and concern only with poor people, how to reinforce them with property and make them enjoy their natural rights. Nonetheless this philosophy seems to be against the wishes of elite class, but in favor of poor citizens; they will be able to enjoy their status respectively (Mouffe, 2014). Many analysts were of the view that the same philosophy of Marxist leads to the weakening of the state, as the view was also testified with Soviet power, those who in favor of public property to promote harmony and safety in the country. They further encourage implementation of this theory but It is refused by those who are working of following Leninist philosophy of democratic state. (Mouffe, 2014). It can be considered as perfect one where no frustration can be created among the citizens (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

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1.3.8 Religious Theory of Democracy

This is a form of government which prescribes the religious laws and rules to establish a democratic system. The term smears to all countries in which religion is assimilated into the form of government (Kalyvas, 1996).

The theory will give more clarity by providing some examples,

1. Democracy of ancient Greco-religion.

2. Romans

3. Buddha philosophy

4. The people of Iceland

5. Old Swiss conference (Christianity)

1.3.9 Trendy Democracies with State Religions

a. Christianity : many European states along with UK (Kalyvas, 1996).

b. Islamic: Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Iran& Pakistan

c. Jewish: Israel

d. Buddhist: Bhutan

Present-day those countries believe to based their constitutions on ideological perspectives are not given preference in the international societies.

1.3.10 Industrial Theory of Democracy

This kind of theory of democracy is in functional in the modern European countries aswell as part of South East Asia countries, it's because of strong demands and pressures from influential working class parties (Rhenman, 1968)., sometimes, social democratic ones and labor confederations and their unions denotes involvement of developed States, G-8 States i.e., US , UK , Germany, Norway, Sweden, Australia, Russia, federation, many

more(Panitch, 1979). Industrial democracy concerns with processing decision and finalize it. This extends to decide the fate of companies, institutions and all organizational structure (Emery & Thorsrud, 1976).. This theory is confusing in both theoretical and practical perspective context of life.

1.3.11- Direct Theory of Democracy

The theory of direct democracy has been famous as pure&cleandemocracy, in which people directly vote for their illustrative, appears to be representative democracy but motionless have some differences (Frey, 1994). Direct democracy is an illustrative one, where there is no possibility for slaves, women even foreigners to exercise their rights of voting (Butler & Ranney, 1994).

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CHAPTER- 2

CONTEXTUAL CONTOUR OF EGYPT AND LIBYA IN THE WORLD OF NORTH AFRICA

2.1- General Introduction of North Africa

Political history of Egypt especially since 1945 till date was based on copious political philosophies and human rights, this with strong support of United States leadership, however, the US foreign policy in Egypt shows that United States' has been practicing dynamic policy for her own security interests over democratization since the end of World War 2; she supported authoritarian dictators (Army in khaki) to sustain regional control, sometimes claims to curb terrorism but she intentionally ignored the development of humanity, wellbeing, rule of law, and political process (Schraeder, Hook, & Taylor, 1998).Furthermore, the spirit of democratic system in Egypt can't be compared with that of US and UK or with any other developed states, those who believe in fundamental rights, and free and fair elections (Anderson, 2011). However in North African region the situation is totally differentas Egyptian historical footages revealed history due to powerful intervention of its army with the promise of implementation of democratic essence in their administrations, but unfortunately this often changes after assuming power, Mubarak normally followed the referendum during his regimes (Kamrava, 1998). This kind of referendum within parliamentarians not exercising general elections in the country (Kamrava, 1998). The researcher has confirmed the same tradition from the previous administrations of Gamal AbdulNasir and AnwarSadat (Kamrava, 1998). The general elections of 2012 wassupposed to be end of anarchy regime in Egypt but it was a cause to open doors of prejudice in the country's history (Beinin & Vairel, 2013).

An historical analysis of United States' foreign policy in Egypt since 1945 to date was conducted through a study of declassified United States' government documents to present a

detailed account of the values and interests of the United States'. (Schraeder et al., 1998) focusing primarily on Egypt and Libya, they were no doubt fully experienced the United States' intervention in their politics. Here under careful consideration, the study has looked at the aspects of democracy in the region prior to the United States' role in promoting democracy in this region. Democracy can help these Arab states to overcome their long suffering from political, economic and. social backwardness (Entelis, 1997). The implementation of real spirit of democratic process is required (Cavatorta, 2001). Anyhow, the people of North Africa are long waiting for the rule of law, economic stability, educational influence, human rights, and respect of women and equality of all. We believe that, but those expectations were not yet to meet standard (Chourou, 2002)

Egypt and Libya are geographically located inthe Arab World. They lie on Africa continent , in the Northern part of this great continent (Walthall et al., 1986). They are neighbors, this is to say, Egypt lies to the East of Libya. Egypt isconsidered as the leader of Arab World, due to its strategic position in the region. Political history of Egypt shows its unique stance in the regional politics (Stoler, 2001)

2.1.1- Geographical Location of North African Countries

North African countries are geographically located in the Sahara Desert; it is third largest desert in the World. The weather is very harsh; the region receives little of rain in a year. It's too hot during day, and night become little cold, with exception of Egypt or North African States which are surrounded by Mediterranean sea, separating Africa from Europe, thus they are strategically located as gate way to Europe and rest of the World (Boulos, 1983).

Countries like, Egypt has the Suez Canal that connects the Red Sea with the Mediterranean Sea; the Suez Canal is the oldest Navigation route that connects with the oldest sea. Algeria has Gas, Libya has gas & oil, Egypt has gas & oil but oil is limited, without Nile and tourism , Egypt has narrow chances of surviving, River Nile is considered as the major resource back

to ancient Egypt , when Egypt was believed to have two mainly classical divisions, Upper and Lower (Sadjjadi, 2006). The places are tourist attraction centers, because they have one of the World oldest civilizations. Egypt is famous for its pyramids Constantinoplewhich was most powerful civilizations in the world, the pyramids was rabuilt during a time when Egypt was one of the richest and most powerful civilizations in the world, the pyramids especially the Great Pyramids of Giza and some of the magnificent man made structures in history. Theirmassive   scale reflects the unique role that the pharaoh,or king, played in ancient Egyptian society (Sadjjadi, 2006).

2.1.2- Broad-Spectrum Geography

Geographically, we consider North African States as a region with automatically two parts, North or Arab Africa and Sub-Saharan black Africa. Furthermore, sometimes people considers North Africa as a part of the Middle-East but separated from other African States (Brett & Fentress, 1997). Racism only prevailed and used in the pre- colonial and colonial periods to make justification pertaining differences between interactions of indigenous populations (Brett & Fentress, 1997). It is indivisible fact that water roots are not considered important in this Arab nations, especially in Egypt with Cairo as its capital (Melber, 2015). On the other hand, Africa is sub-divided into sub-regions: The Maghreb which (Gasse & Van Campo, 1994) means in Arabic "where the sun sets" (Hoogstraal, 1956). While at times Egypt and the order Eastern Arab Middle States, but basically Libya is part of North African States blessed with many resources and educated population (Melber, 2015). Geographical location of Egypt has benefited its neighboring States[1].

2.1.3- Climate of the Region

The map of North African region is showing a comprehensive major waterway of Africa with climate zones. The climate is mostly warm and dry, the same condition has been observed

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[1] Such as Tunisia and other North African states

throughout the region to be mainly desert or something look alike (Melber, 2015). It is also considered as shingle part area, (Gasse & Van Campo, 1994). The condition in the expanse is not same at fragment of Africa nations, generally, it has a unique stand in the Africa (Melber, 2015).

2.1.4- Desert

Sahara is giving full meaning of desert but it's an Arab word, with hot and warm climate, which islinguistically divided into two parts: small Sahara and big Sahara (Staal, Delgado, & Nicholson, 1997). The area whose concealments are more than nine million kilometers. The region is widely comprehended vast area of the region, which normally goes with theMediterranean (DeMenocal, 1995).

The desert is a specific expanse where only a few people reside due to an unavailability of water, for while or on permanent basis but it is harsh for surviving life. Perhaps, the fact cannot be denied that the prosperous life in any area without sea is not possible not especially in African region(Gasse & Van Campo, 1994). Therefore, this area in North Africa is full of soil , pale sand which occupied almost the region, orderwise the place may be same as US in its area, with high level dry sand(Staal et al, 1997). Perhaps, it is one of the hottest area, which can cause various infection and diseases to inhabitants because of the shortage of rain and the farming system operates along with irrigation of crops and other vegetables but mostly, when it rains, it cause overflows and cause various hurdles(Ortiz et al, 2000). So, due to floods, it moves Sandroin many directions and causes damages, loss of lives and prosperous. (Craig, Snow, & Le Sueur, 1999).

2.2- EGYPT

Egypt in the world of history has dynamic periods, they were full of opportunity, prosper life, where the people lived with peaceful mind, best attitude with mutual understanding in their relationships (Verme et al., 2014). These periods were also known as Medieval and Modern

periods. Culture flourished , agriculture boosted, economy uplifted but it failed to enjoy a relative political stability due to constant abrupt transitions from dynasty to monarchy and from monarchy to anarchy (Baines & Malek, 1980).

2.2.1- People of Egypt

The St. Mark Coptic transported Christianity to Egypt which was known as religion and discipline to endorse best behavior and attitude to humanity (McGregor, 2006). Christianity started floweringin Egypt especially under the Byzantine kings, but later on, with dawn of Islam in Egypt through Arab's invasion, while Arabs arrived in 7th century brought a language, culture and religion, which have capability of providing solutions to all problems worldwide (McGregor, 2006). Islam also considered as fastest world religion to spread, the religion which teaches, humanity, understanding, tolerance, justice, equality, respect to human beings (McGregor, 2006). Muslims did not detain RomanCatholics and Christianitythat is why today Christian comprise 10% of the Egyptian population(McGregor, 2006).

2.2.1.1- The Nubians

Nubians founded a small Egyptian community in the Southern part to the North of Aswan high dam, which was built in 1971. Today the same people also located into the Southern region of Sudan known as South of Wadi Hafla but most of them still live in Egypt. Perhaps they are the most educated, Noble and dedicated people, who have occupied professional positions in the Municipal Administration of Egypt.(McGregor, 2006).

2.2.1.2- Berbers

The Berbers are a large ethnicity in the world of north Africa, they are in intial time not Arab but learnt Arabic language and adopted Aran culture. They were famous for their braveness. are the old Natives of North Africa, who were regulating the Mediterraneancoastline. Berbers were settled in the west of Egypt ever before the Arab invasion in 7th century, they were identified with as Libyans, known to the people of Egypt as Tempeh, and Mashwes, while the

people are still seen in the western Mediterranean of Egypt today, in the western region(McGregor, 2006).

The Medieval period/the middle age also known as dark age in the European context, was the era of complex relationship between haves and have nots; the rich (feudal) were getting richer, enjoying all the facilities of life, while poor were getting poorer with Idle Marginalization in the hands of rich. This period lasted from 11th to 14th century (Abaza, 2002).

The Egyptian regime change has been working since the beginningof the 18th century (1798), when the Egyptians fought against the Napoleonic employment (Winkler & Mond, 1938). Egypt known as the home of paranoiac kingdoms (Wilson, 1951). Historically, in 1882, she was not in favor of British incursion and occupation and in 1919 she also was completely distressedwith theincreasing of British occupation of Egypt with beginning of the 20th century marginalized Egyptian from the self-rule. The puppet monarchy was installed till the free officer's coup in 1953, when the monarchy was abolished and Egypt was transitioned to republican form of government. But the British involvement was still in place, as they continuously demanded from Israel to return Sinai Peninsula back to Egypt, which was finally returned in 1979. With Camp Devid accord. Since then Egypt has been functioning as republican state but still controlled by different dictational and authoritarian regimes (Cachia, 1989)

Egypt as an important nationwhich is playing vital role in the world North Africa to protect existence of Israel in the Middle East. Moreover, US is always looking for her standing in all respects, due to the strategic and geographical position in the region. In addition, it is the most popular country in the Arab World with 83 million people (2013 estimate) and it is expected that the population will increase up to 100 million by 2030 (Conway, 1996).Egypt controls the Suez canal, enjoys 8% in Worldly global mining, carriage passing annually which is manifesting itself in the Egyptian economy (Strzepek, Yates, & El Quosy, 1996). On the

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contrary, dozens of Naval vessels are passing through this canal benefiting Egypt, with its strategic importance (Chien, 1990).

In the political history of Egypt and United States' there was some smooth relations between the two countries, in 1991 United States' and Egypt had performed a joint military operation (Allam & Allam, 2007). US has intentions of promoting regional peace, security and stability with the support of Egypt, but the incident of 9/11 has tarnished the relations, where United States' thought that those who cause great damage to United States were from this region (Sharp, 2014). It seems there is only a short time democratic rule by first elected civilian administration in Egyptian political history under Mohamad Morsi presidency called Muslim Brotherhood in power after long waiting for power, but the government was ephemerally overthrown on July 3, 2013 lasted only for a year. The military swiftly took over the power under the leadership of General Abdel Fateh El-Sisi, who later elected himself as the president of Egypt for next four years by amending constitution (Perry, 2015).

Besides, the attitude of military personal in destruction of the constitution and being illegitimate and sacrilegious Egypt had been ruled by the Military since 1952 (Carorders & Brown, 2012). While the Egyptians were aspiring to swing into new life style and capable to change their political caused but their aspiration shattered about achieving their fundamental rights (Perry, 2015) i.e. freedom of speech, political fitness, economical stable to elevate the poverty and to put end into anarchism in this Arab Country (Feuille, 2011). Dictatorship in Egypt was not a joke move; it was something which took decades of being a victim of political deadlock. People of Egypt Were dreaming for many fortunate futures under competent and ideal leadership to promote economic, social and political agenda of their country, but the 2011 general elections has provided a wide of the mark outcome, where Egyptian thought that US was behind failure of the first democratic authority of the State led by Mohammad Morsi (Lüning, Marzouk, Morsi, & Kuss, 1998).

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In May 28, 2014, Obama delivered a remarkable speech at United States' Army Institutionwhere he mentioned that "In Egypt we acknowledge that our relationship is anchored in security interests from the peace treaty with Israel to shared efforts against violent extremism (Obama, 2014). So, we have not cut off cooperation with the new government. But we can and will persistently pull for the reformer that the Egyptian people have demanded (Obama, 2014)."

2.2.2- Democracy in Egyptian Society

Egypt had been the victim of Western Colonialism, first under French, then under Great Britain but the United States has acted as the best ever friend (Boardman, 1973). The Arab state of Egypt was not much thinking of achieving original democratic scheme, meanwhile, it was known in Arab community that democracy hasn't the best or perfect option of their political arena of Arab World, there is a Lebanese proverb *"Rayh l- bakar koherun waafdol min siyasat l bashar"* means the opinion of cow is more preferable and better than politics of the people/ human beings (Cook, 1999).

It was the first knowledge of western scholars towards Muslims that Islam is not loyal to democracy as a way to govern the people. Western leaders were concerned on how to establish the best democracy in the Arab world at large and in Egypt in specific (Headrick, 1990). They were hopeful regarding flourishing democracy as well in North Africa (Sayed, 2006). Egypt the leader of Arab World need its valuable practical democracy but seems to be difficult, because the successful general election will always bring the powerful Islamist group as ruling party in the state of 80 million people (Selim, 1974). Western countries considered the rule of Islamist party as unacceptable in Egypt where people may have misguided according to them (Gindy & El Askary, 1969).

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2.2.3- Mysticism and Democracy in Egypt

Mysticism is that religious practice necessitates to be keen to your lord, its greatest spiritual connection between human and Allah, to achieve supreme level of spiritual distillation, its way to receive mercy of Allah, while, guide defend and teaches humility to man. It has altered categories and stages, where murids (students) have to pass through before highest locus. The controversial religious rites have metamorphosis opinions from Islamic schools of thought (Browers, 2006).

Some scholars opines that traditional Sufism is perfect way of salvation, endurance (Browers, 2006) it provides chances of purification, adjustment, equality, justice, happiness, brotherhood, self-satisfaction with Allah the protector and sustainer such as imam Ghazali, Ibn Qoyim , Ibn Taymiyyah[II], Shaykh Junaid al- Baghdorder Sunni imams, Ibn Taymiyyah has considered some scholars as most recognized and respectable Sufis scholars , such as Fudoel bin hayed, Ibroheem bin Adham, Abu Sulaimon Al-daaraqiy, Mahruf Al-Karhee, Al-Junaed bin Muhammad, Sahel bin Abdullah al-Tastriy, may Allah Almighty blessed their soul. But to avoid an innovation or misleading people, the Sufis must keen to follow both Qur'an and Sunna (Ghazzali, 1991).

2.2.4- Sufism in Egypt

Mysticism was considered a peaceful movement, to unite Muslim's solidarity and establish brorderhood it was believe that it will create best atmosphere in all Muslim nations, meanwhile, there are several chains of Sufism in Egypt, each group having justification of their own method without considering order's method , therefore many people become Sufis, where 15million Sufis are contented worshipping their lord in their own way and technique (Ormsby, 2012). Egypt has 77Sufi orders, has direct assortment with the government of

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[II] Taqi ad- Din Ahmad ibn- Tajmiyyah, died 26th September 1328AD

Egypt, in all religious and social institutes (Ormsby, 2012). In 1173 the Sufis orders tasted highest level of recognition, respect and authority in Egypt (Hiskett, 1994).

On the order hand duringthe initial phase, it was recorded the best performance of the Sufism in the society, while Egyptian consultant were communally using Sufism to gain their partisan schema, where Sufism was used as a device in order to achieve their aims and objectives respectively (Brown, 2011).

Besides, the politicians have occasion to ensure their political career nationally as well as globally (Leiken & Brooke, 2007). The historical events of how authority were cease the great opportunity (Ibrahim, 1988). Its further chance of using Sufis in politics, which has long journey since 1798-1801 of French incursion, Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussein could enjoy Sufi's support in his era between 1956-1970, same as done by Anwar Sadat during his regime between 1970-1981. Even the longest serving authoritarian leader in the Hosni Mubarak (1981-2011) enjoyed the full support of Sufis in both Middle East and North Africa (Sullivan & Abed-Kotob, 1999).

The council of Sufi orders has given him support to enable him enjoy highly performance in the line of shaping the people of Egypt, to unify their speeches, sympathies, some believed that Hosni Mubarak was in favor of cumulative numbers of Sufi's collection in the country so that it will be easy for him to achieve of his ambition of gaining support of all those groups (Hiskett, 1994). This study showed that Sufi's movement were not in favor of Islamist group such as the brorderhood, therefore, they further instructing the people to cooperate with government, that was the reason behind their antagonism activities with Morsi administration, the government which only lasted for a year (Hiskett, 1994). Sufis considered brorderhood as the supporters of Israel in the Middle-East, temporarily, they lost the unity among themselves as Sufis, they were not able to establish their political agenda in the country (Aarts, 1999). This was large blast to their expert because they were totally declined to move on their movement in order to achieve international recognition (Aarts, 1999).

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Hence, it was learnt that mysticismis separate entity which can't be compare with Muslim brorderhood, due to their differences of ideology and antagonism of doctrine, Sufis believed in having sheik (teacher) as highest level personality, they can offer him whatever he demands, so that according to them he do enjoys protectionism which resembles that of prophets. Meanwhile, his name can be used to gain Allah's forgiveness, progress and salvation, when he dies it's their practice to bend in his grave for prayers as signs of respect and humbleness, he's considers his students *(Muridis)* as treading out of any life's challenges faces by them (Aarts, 1999). Therefore, the aptitude of sheik can help them to overcome their hurdles or attains greatness in their lives. But all these in contrasts of Muslim brorderhood of Egypt, they are viewing Sufis as infidels and non-believers, because all their practices are not rendering to both Qur'an and Sunna, so they are always against each order. Muslim Brorderhood are followers of SyedQuttub, the person who whispered *Salafi* doctrine, he further predestined any kind of intermediation which is part and the way to *Kuffr* (infidel) so, *quttub* warned his followers to avoid any type of Sufi practice, because its *kuffr* with vast opinions of Muslim' scholars. At the same time those sheiks of Sufis cautioned their students to avoid any relationship with Muslim Brotherhood; they further viewed them as Islamist jihadists which are not compatible with their branches, where peace and harmony should be invited throughout the World. Mysticism is only way to curb all thee contemporary challenges such as terrorism, differences of ideologies, misinterpretation of qur'anic verses to gain public support (Ahmed Ban, 2014). Sufis were not in favor of all these Muslim Brorderhood opinions on caliph, and somehow been government's rebels (Abaza, 2002).

Hence, al –*Azayem* emphasizing on how mystics practices are so important in every human lives, the *Azamiya* leader further stressing that the students need to follow and obey their teachers in terms of mystic practice when he follows both Qur'an and Sunna. Therefore, unjustifiable following will not be acceptable by sharia, but in case of Muslim Brorderhood they are always pronouncing establishment of Islamic state. (Abaza, 2002)

In othersense, the book known as al-Jafri which was wrote by al-*Azayem* was in view that khilafat will be removed with anorder system of leadership in Islam, in believed to be the Sufi chain. They further proclaimed that Muslim Brotherhood is not perfectly introduced leadership in Islam because the jihadists and Salafists orientation always leads to fanaticism and violence; which denied rights of minorities, i.e. Christian, Jews, and order religions. Since Islam never refused those rights, even the Last Holy Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) encouraged all *ummah* to cooperate with all World religions and give them acknowledgement in the Medina's constitution. (Abaza, 2002). The universe isimbalanced due to intolerance between believes to join hands together in creation of perfect society. So, mysticisms never give up its ideas to strengthen *ummah* with unity, mutual understanding, while Muslim Brorderhood is not corresponding with this, many Egyptian people considered mysticism as only solution to the problem, its contribution in promoting politics in Egypt is not unremarkable, especially in the era of Mubarak who enjoyed Sufi's support during his rule (Abaza, 2002). The sad aspect of this phenomenon according to brorderhood is that they were considering debate with any non-Salafist organization as wastage of time, the Mubarak's administration was not an Islamic government, so it's difficult for them to obey his laws because they were not in accordance with justification of Islamic sharia law. (Abaza, 2002).

Hence, many people considered Muslim Brorderhood and *Salafis*as one entity because their ideology was based on regulation of ruling system which stresses on *khalifah* restoration, while Sufis sees impossibility of khilafat restoration this time because of the different school of thoughts , sectarianism and order problems among *Ummah* (Abaza, 2002).

In other specific way it seems Muslim has failed to reach perfect solution for their leadership crisis, (Abaza, 2002). The imperialism of Sufism in Egypt is a good sign for its involvement in promotion of the country's political dilemma (Abaza, 2002).

The Naqshbandi is one and largest Sufi's lineage in Iraq, people believes in its involvement in rebellion against any US activities in the country. There were some invasionbacked in April

,2003 2003 (Brown, 2011). It was gathered that the movement were fully armed to challenge United States' occupation in Iraq; they did whatever they can in order to eliminate US involvement in domestic Iraqi's politics. Meanwhile, it was also learnt that the same organization were behind formation of a group those who are working for creation of new Islamic State in Iraq (IS). The group made possible attacks on Mosul, the militias believed to be part of the Naqshbandi in Iraq. (Brown, 2011)

Moreover, many sundry have concluded that this particular Sufi group were connected with the revolution of Egypt in 2011, to remove un-Islamic government from Egypt according to them, they were further extended their dervish movement by organizing revolt in the 25th of January 2011 (Brown, 2011). Though, this information was disproved by majority of Sufis in Iraq , claiming that they are always working for the progress, development and prosperity of the country, so, its injustice to spread such report against Sufis in Iraq (Gilsenan, 1973).

Moreover, the Muslim brotherhood was declared as non-Muslim by Sufis in Egypt, they were considered as militant who are not working in the light of qur'anic orders. Sufis further provided a detailed interpretation of thoughts which is showing brorderhood as non-believers, and urged people to beware them and their teachings (Hiro, 2013).

It was count among cause of problem for Muslim Brorderhood that the movement has strong linkage with (NDP) National Democratic Party, the party which was labeled of being a big threat for the state, because they have some mutual relations with this outfit banned organization. Furthermore, the visitation of one news agent in jail where ousted *Morsi* was kept, so Sufis named brorderhood as party which is against the nation, therefore, they need to be eliminated from Egypt in order to keep the government and people saved. (Hiro, 2013) But they did not care about the first and foremost elected president in Egyptian political history who was not able to run his administration, he was overthrew by dictatorship, without any justification and sentenced for life.

Yet, the same allegations were also attached with Sufi movement in Egypt, on having cordial relation with this party of NDP and people further explained that the Sufi leader Abdul Hadi was in view of backing this party for gaining political purpose, so, this sheik urged his people that they must work for good relations with NDP. However, Sufi leader advised the people not to do without this party in order to win next general votes. (Hiro, 2013).

As a part of antagonism between brorderhood and Sufis in Egypt; Sufis alleged Muslim brorderhood of having solid relations with the western powers, such as US, UK, Germany and order, while brorderhood accused Sufi leadership for having cordial relationship with Shia Iran and bordered spew elated it as the major cause behind the political chaos in Egypt.Meanwhile, it was narrated by some newspapers that Iran had always been in communication with the Sufi leaders. All this was a political game which never helped the situation but escalated problems, political instability, crisis due to fragile civil military relations in Egypt. (Hiro, 2013).

However, some commentators such as Ban and Ahmed are in view that it is not the time to say anything regarding Sufi's emergence in Egypt as they are not yet have played any mature politics. Therefore, the intimidation of Sufi in Egyptian society is not a perfect example, but should inspire them how to be keen and drudgery about efforts in the light of Quran and Sunna, Sufis only need to guarantee peace and work for the development of the country, their goodwill gesture and services in the country can prove them to become exemplary group, so the country will be able to appreciate their struggle rather than to fight with each order , tolerance and forbearance are the best way to achieve all these goals (Hiro, 2013)

Furthermore, it was political conflict created by Senussi political religious groups in collaboration with Sufi order in Libya, when they took refuge by attaching themselves with the Great Britain. Sanussi group adopted Britain orientation to be transferred to the country. It was in 1953 when both clutch signs pact to enable Britain to have permanent military base in the Libya, the agreement which were not in the favor of citizens will. Therefore, people

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worked against it and made some arrangements to curtail UK prosperity from the country. However, the same government was also historically involved in allowing United States' to enter the country with an excuse for humanitarian work in Libya. Also, Ahmed iterates that the United states of United States' after arrival in Libya started supporting al –Fatah group which was not in favor of the country (Paoletti, 2011).

Ahmed in advance was not aware if there is any positive step taken by Sufis in Egypt, may be to find permanent solution to its political turmoil or working aside with her political forces to perform well, to serve the nation and work for the betterment of the youth. Orderwise, their existence is not valuable he added. We need Sufis in Egypt to work for political freedom, equality, justice, providing fundamental rights, so, if they were engaged in those mentioned activities it was possible for people to listen to their call or even answer them respectively. (Paoletti, 2011). In order way we believe that mystics should be the solutions to problems or at least to find solutions to existing problematic system, which disturbs people in getting their political rights, progress, and self-respect(Tessler, 2002).

We further noticed that mysticismsupposed to work for establishment of educational institutions where studying of heart purification should be entertaining, encouraged, and discussed, rather to intervene in politics. Meanwhile, it's essential for development of personality, so to unite political differences in Egyptian Sufis need to come and contribute to the perfect relations between people. Today's Sufis political involvement not helping the Muslim's political dilemma but creating devaluing the importance of Sufism of earlier days. what we believe in Sufism is to work for humanity even not for Muslims only but for all creation. The soul of purification, emulating those people served for humanity, they need discouraging terrorism, extremism which were not in the message given to Prophet (P.B.H.U) (الفيصل &Alfaisal, 2014).

Sometimes, people encouraged to be part of Muslim Brorderhood to serve humanity , but the realistic approach is that you may have more chances in responding to service to humanity in

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indulging yourself with Sufism than engaging in political turmoil of Brorderhood in Egypt, their methods, of encouraging is always causing distractions (الفيصل& Alfaisal, 2014). Anyway, the reality will be preferred when society will be ready to listen to thetruth, more importantly, we should forget about group in Egypt to work for the restoration of justice in the society , people will strongly hopeful for their best life (Harrow, 1987).

Moreover, the highest assembly of Sufi instructions originated in 1903, and the government were severely accountable for the directive of Sufi guilds (Harrow, 1987). The council supervises the selection of Sheikh's Sufi establishments' endowments certifications for murids, and does provide a diversity of order responsibilities. (VJ Hoffman, 1995)

The figure is thrilling with safeguarding that Sufi practices are steady with Islamic averages and regulations, and contains ten designated affiliates, representing sheiks from different tariqas as well as al-Azhar University (where highly profile faculty members have welcomed Sufism as perfect tradition), while different Egyptian Institutions are also administered a degree law , to abide by Sufi members, such as law no (118) denied Sufis engaging in any kind of activities not permitted by these ministries, interior, religious ministry, ministry of culture and local administration (Brown,2011)

On the contrary, there was a speculated opinion base altering civic treatise about Sufism in the 20th century which stereotyped Islamic campaigner and broader community, called Sufism (Gilsenan, 1973)

The evolution and growing popularity of the Muslim brorderhood was one such challenge. Hassan al –Banna disapproved contemporary Sufism, he was a typical member of Sufism prior formation of brotherhood hand a very vivid view concerning Sufism in the early age, when everything was accordingly (Harrow, 1987). The Muslim brorderhood memberships personally and even today options that Sufism is an immoral organization (J. Johansen, 1996) so, according to brorderhood views about the Sufism, they called it as innovation (Bidat) in

Islam, which has no root, Salafists convict Sufism as profane occupied in the obliteration of Sufi spots in Egypt. Though, condemnation and aggressions near Sufism may be tainted by party-politics in totaling to devout interpretations, predominantly by the Sufi orders and protuberant Sufi's sustenance for the direction, including the fresh pole –takeover military government and their antagonism to the Muslim brorderhood. (Frishkopf, 1999). A zemeyyah movement named *Tahrir* Masr which denotes (The Egyptian Liberation Party) Rifaiyah also established *Sawt* al –Hureyya (which means the voice of freedom party)., and many order , grand sheik for Sufi orders in person of sheik *Hadi* al *–Qassabi* strongly condemned Sufis how they are hooked in generating political party, while he believed that Sufi as a religion and spiritual society should be not part of politics , he further stressed that politics will definitely create division among the people .Al –Qassabi says they should make their faith strong and focus on promoting the will of God , not to involve in politics (Harrow, 1987).

2.3- LIBYA

2.3.1- Libya in World Politics: An Overview

The researcher considered time between 1945 to 2013 as great era in historical perspective, the period was totally recognized as the best in the European history. This period was full of commitments for European power in dominating all political arena, it was also declared as the era of equilibrium and supremacy for the powerful European to dominate on their politics with full control and authority i.e. Political domination, capital flowing (Curtius, 2013). This time was known as period of freedom what happened that most of European nations were working alongside to provide perfect orientalism to their local people, diplomacy was on peak, and the democratic system in Libya had its own dynamical phenomenon, because as the researcher has explained the details about democracy. It won't be a bad idea that historical revelation of Libyan democracy was not in the western platform. Westerners described the perfect and best democracy as to provide equal opportunity, freedom of expression, business,

organization, inclusive institutions, and professionalism, but these are not seen in the Libya specifically, or in North Africa as whole. All the institutions were griped by political organism with European dominance that fueled inferiority among nations; perhaps the native aspiration for the freedom and rights because an illusion (Curtius, 2013).

As it was recognized by the international think tanks and supported by their scholars, those who are working for the betterment of humanity, so people will be able to achieve their aims and objectives without importing any inconvenience. This study is further identifying that the multipolar world that lasted till 1945 and the emergence of the bipolar world in the same year bad changed the whole context of global order (Iuzzolino, Pellegrini, & Viesti, 2013)..

As an illustration, the entire World was politically divided into two parts,based on different ideologies as identification for each group, i.e. in case of United States; it bears and claimed to be ambassador for promoting capitalism, and democratic system. While, she further allows individual ownership to acquire more and more property. In the otherside, the Soviet Union with their socialist ideological agitation, to proclaim democratic centralism, no room for individual right of ownership, they further insisted that this should be implemented as system throughout the World. Meanwhile, they were blocking any way to corruption, only to establish equal rights between rich and poor classes. Globally, these two hegemonic rival had become more popular around the globe (Monnet, 2013). At the time, there was no Ottoman empire and post Ottoman Turkish Republic aligned itself with Europe and contributed to Western notions of promoting democracy around the globe (Hourani, 2013).

North African region was also known as the Maghreb, was part of Ottoman Empire except for Morocco, it was not part of Ottoman Empire but was rather enjoying in political and administrative context.

However, most of governments excluding North Africa were not so free, to independently have full control on their land, people and society. Moreover, they were obliged to consult the

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third party for the political and administrative decisions (Hourani, 2013). Historically, the decline of Ottoman influence began in-between 18th and 19th centuries respectively, but it was still influential and powerful in the Northern African region of Tunisia, Libya and Algiers. But the situation in these Arab states gradually became chaotic due to the European infiltration that fueled sectarianism and ethnic nationalism in order to turn down the Ottoman dominance in the region (Boas, 2013; Hourani, 2013).

The importance of region will be discussed in this chapter alongside the historical revelation of solid relationship between this region and European countries. Meanwhile, the period between 16thcentury till WWII, was known as best period of perfect diplomatic relations between European nations and North Africa, both had enjoyed cordial relations, that brought the best relations among these actors; Maghreb and Europe (Childs & Lovenduski, 2013)., Moreover, the diplomatic relation was in the best interest of the European politics, as they prayed because of the region's close geographical contingently with Europe proximity.Therefore, we need to discuss the importance of Maghreb region especially about its role to absorb the European power by overthrowing the Ottoman domination.

2.3.2- Libyan Geopolitics and its Regional Influence

The study indulges the three major reasons which made these cities of Maghreb develop more interest in having solid interactions with Europe, these namely: 1- geographical location of Libya in the World's map. 2-The importance of Mediterranean also can't be ignored. 3- Strategic location of Libya as a gateway to Europe because of its geographical proximity. Perhaps, this proximity proved to be incrative for the Europeans as they easily traded its resources to the European continent.We can also access the importance of this close geographical proximity between these two continents back to the Arab attack on Spain in 711 , where Muslims had established their own civilization , and enjoyed full control on Spanish land and people (Wesley Scott, 2005). Historically Spain was ruled by Arabs for decades,

learning Arabic language was flourished at the highest rate, while Arabic has considered as International language which used as medium of instruction in schools, and colleges even Universities. Because Arab rule in Spain till 1492. Finally, Meanwhile, the historical war broke out between Muslim and Spanish in collaboration with Roman Empire under supervision of Charles V, (1519-1556). The king was considered as a last emperor, who introduced medieval method of uniting World Christian in having good relations, power, authority and control over the society. Therefore, Charles was considered as the greatest among the European kings. But this caused a catastrophe to Muslims eliminating them and their civilization from Spain. His administration also promoted corruption, injustice, inequality among the people. Charles created more disturbances for farmers, traders and common people, by centralizing the law in his hands (Bravo & Dias, 2006). The refugees[III] those who were Muslims and migrated from Spain directly went to Libyastarted making conspiracy and violence to oppose both Spanish and European role. They created also many hurdles bydisturbing trading system in the Mediterranean, which later resulted in form of damaging relationship between Europe and Libya (Zoubir, 2009).

In contrast, it was counted as apart of causes that affected possibilities of having friendly relations between Libya and Europe till 19th century. Moreover, the third factor was the geographical conspiracy that damaged the chance of cordial relationship between Libya and Europe that finally resulted in the complete European domination of the Mediterranean (Joffe, 2001). It was vivid that the Mediterranean was very important to boost economy and trade in this region. (Hess, 1968; Hollis, 1997). As the time passed on as a matter of fact, those expelled Muslims from Spain and reported in Libya, were always looking for chance to take revenge, from the Europeans, in this regard they were also attached their economic interests in that matter(Maghraoui, 2003). Furthermore, they decided to attack on all ships coming from Europe, so that they can gain economical factor by seizing their goods and

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[III] Those who left their father lands due to war or any crisis, such as political, economic even social refugees.

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properties (Hamood, 2006). But the attack was carried out beyond the Spanish ships to the whole shipping, even pretentious US interchange in the Mediterranean (Hess, 1968). Furthermore, it was known to everyone that Malta was considered as strongest base for all Christiancorsairs, that was dated back in 1798 when Napoleon with 2,000 Turkish along with African slaves were on mission to Cairo he freed the 2,000 Turkish andNorth African slaves still living in Malta. (Caviglia, Krause, & Thimann, 2002). However, with depraved relations of both Muslims and Spanish Christian in Libya, we are still observing some cordial relations between Muslims and some European countries (Thompson & Adloff, 1980). These nations were enjoying some kind of co-operation and best economic relations with each order (Maghraoui, 2003). This study is proven the Great Britain as the best example in this matter especially with policy of collaboration with the interest of its citizens, in order to shape their core interest. (Ronzitti, 2009).

The researcher is further viewing that despite war of interest between European and some North African countries, it was not difficult for Britain to extend her relations with Morocco especially in economic seas (Panzac, 1992). To use as a medium to provide financial benefit to her own people. Britain is extending its strong relations with Morocco and order Arab countries in the region (Maghraoui, 2003). Some examples will be bringing up to support this argument and prove its authenticity. It was in 1661, when British forces seized Tangier from Portugal they were implanting their authority on them, anorder example was in 1684 after long struggle and the Tangier again gained by Sultan Ismail who was ruling Morocco with authoritarian monarchy (Ronzitti, 2009). So, for all these it was made easy for Britain to secure better relations with Morocco, the friendship between these nations become more reality in the 18th century, which pushed Moroccan king to wrote a letter of assistance to Britain in that time of Anglo French wars (1689-1763). It was learnt that Grasslands was therefor assistance in order to imprison theGibraltar in 1704 that was supposed to provide a perfect, smooth and lucrative business betweenGibraltar and Morocco(Benady, 1974).

Furthermore, the British controlling and planning of the another Gibraltar had paved the way for new diplomatic relations between European and Maghreb respectively, which were enjoying long period of existence, not only in the 18th and 19th centuries, but still in the present day. (Batran, 1973). But when new nation states were introduced with nationalism in 19th century, the phenomenon promoted the image of Europe, and it became the center of world politics, this continued till the second World War (Sawchuck & Herring, 1988). It was noticed by super powers that the universal arrangement between 1945 and 2013 has been observed as that of European multipolar scheme. United States' was lonely and wasn't counted in the western hemisphere, in accordance with international pact and agreement (Pasquino, 2014). The study learnt that Policy was only implemented to made US as only worldwide actor and superpower, where no any orderauthority or state would challenge its hegemony in the world politics (Gendzier, 1974). Therefore, United States become only sole power in all aspects; politically, economically and militarily even socially and she firmly prevented any future challenge to her hegemonic status in the world (Özalp, 2011) .

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CHAPTER- 3

UNITED STATES' ROLE IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE NORTH AFRICAN GLOBE

3.1- Democratization

Democratization is anadaptation to more democratic political government, it might be the evolution from a totalitarian regime to a full democracy (Whitehead, 2002), tyranny government where perfect system is not existing from the system(Stepan, 1997). Furthermore, this democratization policy might face recurrent setbacks like what is happeing in Argentina, or outcome may also be fused the example of United Kingdom can be a perfect one in this regard (Hawkins, 2001).

3.2- US and Democratization in North Africa

Democratization process, is not functioning in accordance with international standard, the democratic level in Africa is very poor as compared to otherpart of the world. (John Pierre Entelis, 1997). It couldbe a debatable issue if it happens to have only perfect democratic system to achieve our political aims and objectives respectfully, but on the other hand, in order to satisfy our goals, we need to apply different kinds of democracies as we do enjoy different cultures, orientations and different geographical locations. Therefore, unification of the ideas will be so difficult(Ghadbian, 1997). The researcher, further raise question which seems difficult to answer that , does north Africa have democratic values in their political culture? (Gough & Wood, 2004).

The researcher has beenworking on breaking the ice between western block and eastern blockto work together to promote a perfect democratic system in the region. Even the Islamic systemhas never denieddemocracy to dominate political agenda of Muslims as well as the Arab world, because it's the only system which is working in accordance with the Islamic way of life, to establish perfect relations, administration, justice, per excellence education and

more. (Gough & Wood, 2004). This denies the facts of history in totality of Africa as continent, but Indeed, the democracy project in North Africa can't be declared as it has been defined and discussed by different scholars in the World politics, that Islam does not allow the democratization to flow, these two are contradictory to each other(Huntington, 1993). In its generous style principally beneath the so-called tendency of democratization (Huntington, 2006).

Democratization is not against any religious views, but it supports humanity, social equality, social justice, gender equality of all and the individual freedom (Huntington, 1991).Numerous explanations about the predictions for egalitarianism in the middle East emphasizes on the tactical comforts of exterior services to place political subtleties in their correct setting the details of self-governing evolutions (Huber, 2008). North Africa has a principle of life that excludes the viability of democracy in the region(Huber, 2013).

Most of western scholars have negative perception regarding democratization in the North Africa, claiming that the region did not recognize democratization and not even fit for it, culturally and religiously (Darnis, 2012) in the previous era.So, it will be difficult for the new generation to view it. But this view, somehow is having sick perception (Ghysels & Van Lancker, 2011). The Arab has shown the new development in the region with powerful evidence that Arab also are moving from their close mindedness.

Democratization may take long in MENA before reaching to its peak level. The Arab World should learn from United States and European countries that how a civil society grows up rapidly. The role of the IMF (International Monetary Fund), WB (World Bank) in promoting the agenda of democratization in the region is also laudable (Dillman, 2002). In this copious start, the researcher has observed several challenges against those who are working for valued democracy, and democratization motivation in the state's affairs, those who are working for democracy also are in need of more educative seminars or any orderenlightening programs to make things smooth(Gillespie & Youngs, 2002). This expansion record communal agreement

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between the government and the behaviors outdated to human safety (Lindberg & Sverrisson, 1997). However, this politics of estrangement is against North African procedure of democratization and meansto achieve it in real sense are not available in the society (Lindberg & Sverrisson, 1997).

Highlights the world origination of classlessness which has to be in collaboration with promotion of human values and ideas unsympathetically retraced to avoid any worsen circumstances in the digging crisis and irrationalities of self-governing substitutions front-line with the region (Najem, 2003). In contradiction of this milieu, this dissertation principally commences a serious retort to the cultural breach, this study measured in collaboration with the guideline of political agenda of implementation of self-governance (Daguzan, 2002).

The researcher has discussed the foremost disagreement in this phenomenology is to challenge the system of democracy n this Arab region. Meanwhile, people must have awared of the perfect meaning of democratic system in the region. Furthermore, systematic procedure of democracy will have to be mentioned and discussed in the light of its theories. Political culture is an explanatory category to the understanding of democratization which is trailing its demand when challenged with realisms, predominantly in North Africa (Ghadbian, 1997). Many people are considering this region to be countdown of self-governance as they lack many things which can lead to have perfect promotion of democracy, but nevertheless, the researcher sees the idea as improper (Gillespie & Whitehead, 2002), transferring the searchlight on North Africa's important political expansion. These tactic assistances discusses the region's interest in accommodating perfect democratic system (House, 2005). Therefore, the spirit of self-governance and proper administartaion should be tackle, so that to facilitate the people of the region and provide solutions to their economic, social and educational problems respectively(Kohler-Koch & Finke, 2007).

The obstinate effects of colonial adventures finished the despicable being of neocolonialism are clear canes to these caricatures (Vanhanen, 1997). Though North African behests those

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people in power post colonization period, and worked to promote North African ideology, culture and customs. The researcher observes that the same people are also having intention to enslave their own people, so, they were in view of that democracy perfection should not be oriented to them(John Pierre Entelis, 1997). This is because of the congenital social structures, be they "evolving, ecstatic or trafficked," were tremendously fixed (Huntington, 1991). The insinuation of this was that African political philosophies remained misplaced to expansionism in nearly all consequences (Saikal, 2003) Furthermore, there are some gaps need to be filled in North African society, so that people should know how to pursue their own interests and frame their policies free from any compulsion, their culture should be identified and promoted regularly and accordingly. (Daguzan, 2002).

Hence, the people of North African states must work for establishment of political culture, democracy, rights of political forces, free elections, formation of courts of justice, equality among the people, therefore, their understanding of culture will be cleared, injustices will be removed from society respectively(Dillman, 2002). Democratization is the only satisfactory answer to those questions which may be asked by different people of society. Consequently, North African community always welcomed an ideal a best process in adequate technique, to safeguard their self-possession, endorse their economy and work for the betterment of humanity. The researcher is in the view that there is need of re-contracture of North African history, because it could be in favor of new generation to reshape political system of the region (John Pierre Entelis, 1997). Furthermore, an international community should forget about their perception towards the region that they are not compatible with democracy. For the time being, democracy is for all need to be spread among the humanity, without thinking of any group, nation and even society. Its advantages are more beneficial for all. (Halpern, 2015). At the end of this explanation there is a need for special educative programs which will carry out edify the people directions of real democracy, to provide continuation of harmony and salvation among the humanity at large. Hence, human beings are the best and most

respected creatures, they need more satisfaction about their lives. (Sharabi, 1966).Those practices are fundamentally evocative, antique and proportional, originally from published and unpublished materials.

3.3- Documentation/Democratization of Political Culture

The dissertation emphasis on those countries where democratization is at highest level and trappings alongside with political culture, excellent democratic (Diamond, 1994). However, with longstanding of their perfect political agenda and has gained increasing respectability in recent times (Pollack, 2003). Therefore, we should notice that an ideal political culture could be attached, with regularization of some behaviors, agenda, dogma, which can allow perfect movement of this orientation and provide clarity among the people, no one will be blind to know about their rights in any society(Hudson, 1995). Political culture connotes "the pattern of individual political orientations, the attitudes towards the political system and its various parts and to the role of self in the political system (Brynen, Korany, & Noble, 1995).

The researcher carries out more lessons on how people were understood the political orientation in previous time, what is their perception towards it today?In addition, what will be the result of this instable political system in near future? We need to do more to encourage people in participating in their political organizations throughout (Somers, 1995). For the moment, feeling of any kind of political injustices will not be seen anymore after implementation of political awareness in the society. The incumbent government should work in order to promote the constitution, perfection of rule and regulation, gender equality and equality before the law, these are the basics of perfect democracy (Gibson & Duch, 1993).As both Gibson & Duch, were trying to provide details of political awareness for the people of the area. Because in the most of north African states it's difficult for people to have full understanding in knowing their rights and duties before the governments. (Gibson & Duch, 1993).Sometimes, People may have feelings of their responsibilities towards the government

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but government will not ever provide them opportunity to work with them, in order to promote nervousness of democracy, government should also allow citizens to participate in their political orientation. (Gibson & Duch, 1993). Then there is a participant political culture, where the citizens not only have the awareness but also participate well in the political and policy processes of theirsocieties (Gibson & Duch, 1993). In support of Duch and Gibson views respectively the argument will be concluding, with ideas and views of siding or pointing out the importance of political culture in the society, its contribution towards developing humanity, political concerns with preservation of respect for individuals as well collective bodies in their societies (Tessler & Altinoglu, 2004). Establishments, and availability of self-governance configuration among the society, will lead to freedom of speech, unity, rule of law and justice; it can help people to identify their rights within political arena. Nevertheless, north Africa region must make alignment to re organize their political motivation among the people. (Bianchini, 2000) The researcher believesin that political perfection will only exist in the society when its people are exercising their freedom of speech. Nonetheless, assumed the trouble in defining what constitutes democratic culture, suggests an alternative path where the focus would be on "what it is not, or what is mismatched with it(Inglehart, 1988)."writes that "if the essential procedure of alliance is legitimation, then it must involve some transformation of political culture' (Gabriel Abraham Almond & Verba, 2015).The political intimation of North African states should not be separated from working with all institutions, such as army institution, political forces; the armed forces need to join hands with the government in working for progress of the states. Furthermore, civilian authority should make sure to end the differences between them, in order to pave way for peace and progress in their respective states(Almond & Verba, 2015), Verbal, deliberates discusses political orientalism which need to be re-arrange, so that it will make sense and provide possibllity to meet up with the standards, people are always working to achieve their best ever life in formation of political party, but if it fail to provide

them adequate result it may lead to violence, riots even killings , so the researcher suggesting to follow developed nations method of democracy so ,we would be able to achieve our political objectives. (W. Brown, 2006) Furthermore,some have idea that the cultural orientalists are not inthe favor of perfect democracy, they are in view of that the democracy will damage cultural dimension, but the researcher argues that it seems those people are not working in the light of political agitation, which is ready to establish more adaptation of culture and custom. Meanwhile, the first and foremost benefit of equality is to prevail perfect culture in the society, also to work for humanity. (Laitin, 1995). In case of social mobility, it is the task of democracy to provide it to the between poor rich people, within the nation or society, so, each and every one will feel humanity in their daily activities, so that co- national relations will be seen in the society. (Welzel & Inglehart, 2009). They also struggle that democratic discussion needs message with limpidity, its only applicable with perfection of culture, so, democracy can't perform well without out cultural help and that the economic viability of specifically industrialized liberal democracies requires a single national culture (Weller, 2001). Sketch on these proposals, Weller contends that "humanities alienated by obviously defined and factually aggressive cultural clusters will have exertion in supporting democracy (Weller, 2001)."

Therefore, harmony is the only way to achieve community's goal, where people need to understand each nature, to form unification of ideas, laws, rules and regulations. The researcher aiming that unique ideas in collaboration with political culture will always bring betterment for nations and its people (Karl, 1990). Democracy will always goes with understanding of nature, unity, respect, morality of idea, encouragement of social mobility and its benefits (Williams, 1983). The culture must keep changes in an industrial and advanced societies, those societies, have always make and provide organizational, relieves and provides perfect political agenda for their belovedcitizens (Owusu, 1997), in order to make them realize that democracy should be applied to generate justice and equality to its

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inhabitants (Inglehart, 1990).It is the accountability of the government, contemporary State, commended with the brand and impose laws and to allocate tax income (Reed & Alexander, 2015).

Samuel Philips Huntington's view, he has three tendencies for democratization, first he waved the democratization an extensive, which further wave that persisted for a period from 1828 to 1926, its observed changeovers from non-democratic to self-governing management. (Huntington, 1993) It existed in thirty-three republics, all of them situated in Europe, the United States, and the foreign Englishterritory (Huntington, 1991).

However, providing convinced and clear description of method to achieve best self-governance where people will be able to enjoy their chances of capitalization, strong economy, and freedom. Furthermore, befall within a meticulous period of time, and that meaningfully outnumber evolutions in the conflicting course throughout that time (Huntington, 1996). It was followed by the first opposite wave of democratic collapses between 1922 and 1942, foremost to the reinstatement of some form of dictatorial rules in forty nations, which encompassed, among orders, the newly sovereign prostomial (Schneider et al., 1995).

Procedures of their societies he mentioned in his book the following "democracy comes to town, and settles down as 'the only game in town,' only if and as lengthy as players agree to play its rudimentary rubrics. It is as humble as that no self-governing players, no democratic game in the region (Aarts, 1999)." Meanwhile, all these discussions are only in favor of democratic agitation, so that people will have their equal rights, to enjoy their rights respectively and perfectly .(Aarts, 1999). Though, many people agreed with democratic arrangement but they are obscuring of the method how to establish it, political culture is real but must be in collaboration with basic need of this phenomenon and how to turn it to reality(John Pierre Entelis, 1997). The lessons for democratic establishment need some basic things, those things which are there to facilitate and provide political accountability for any

nation. Furthermore, this is essential to accommodate the political effectiveness among the people , so it will ratify these irregularities of society, because democracy works for society (John Pierre Entelis, 1997). Requirements of democracy to work for activation of system cannot be removed or waved away(John Pierre Entelis, 1997).

3.4- The Self-Governance/Autonomy in the Maghrib.

The researcher has concluded that of these Arab nations in Africa have animplausiblesystem, culture with a valuable civilization, which is known to all parts of the world. The civilization of these people has been using to create more peace and harmony in the region, years back, alongwith satisfaction of its people, even before colonization period(Saikal, 2003). Furthermore, the explanation provided by writer in case of North African system before colonization, which was narrated by him for its incompatible with western system, is not applicable in this study , because these people are always in favor of perfect governance and ideal government in order to lead them to successful destination(Najem, 2003). Meanwhile, mostly the destiny of people in the hand of their authorities, those who are in charge of wellbeing of the youth and older ones(Daguzan, 2002). Many states should join hands with the international community to promote peace in the universe.

Dillman proves the ways where the old system of disorders and establishment of monarchiesin the most of Arab world led to tyranny and domination on the states affairs, but they are automatically failed to provide adequate political system to the people, even never dream of having a better life. Hence, it was learnt that less privileged people were not having any place or place to stay in these Arab(Dillman, 2002). It is need of time for people of this region, that they should work more in order to establish the self-entity, as per their rights, so new generation will be able to stand for their rights, and have full control on their beloved land, where it will be more easier for them achieving their communal aims and life targets and the highest level of success of life (John Pierre Entelis, 1997). Besides, it was the standard

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somewhat than the exclusion to include the folks in the politics and strategy measures of their societies over popular get-together regularly in the community or marketplacesquare (Anderson, 1987). Though this was incomplete in discussion to move out the possibility of implementation of democracy in the region, the researcher only seeing that to achieve such great phenomenon, people need to have surety about nation construction with which they will have to meet with international community (Haerpfer, 2009).

Henceforward, the interruption of colonial power which caused many political, social as well as economic damages to this region, is not something we can just ignore or abandon without a proper address such big issue, so we need to do more in making our constitution as it plays a pivotal role in construction of the nations (Anderson, 1987).

The real spirit of democracy can only be seen in platform of understanding, brotherhood and peaceful means in pursuing goals, so people should avoid any politics of revenge, authorization, political game and more of it, to establish a pronounceable method which will benefit the citizen, so great achievements will be result, with joint appointments in going the power (Mueller, 1996). Nevertheless, this growth slopes to delay "true" democracy somewhat than produce it principally due to its typical contradictions (Bratton & Van de Walle, 1997). For example, the license that linked the democratic course was unnecessarily too defensive, imperfect only to some part of the country, in the instance of Africa (Joffé, 2011).

First class and ruling classes are not cooperating with common people. Meanwhile, elite class need to support poor people and help them in persuading their goals, this is only achievable by implementing constitution in its spirit, and working against elements those who are not turning to that level of understanding (Karatnycky, 2002). The researcher has viewed the colonial powers in Africa where they are implementing only methods to attain their political gain, without thinking of Africa folks, on how they will be able to work to establish best way of having life enjoyment so that they can move on by achieving their goals, even next generation will also benefit from their legacy. (Beinin & Vairel, 2013) The researcher

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predestined the phenomenon of colonial rule in Africa nations. Meanwhile, they were able to turned lives of millions into darkness, unpredictable, uncertain by violating their natural rights (Chourou, 2002).

Additionally, the ugly history of colonization cannot be forgotten in African nations, which made millions of Afro-American peoplerootless, where they failed to know their real identity, country or tribe they are belonged to. The history of colonization in Africa revealed that elite class were the backbone of that biggest lost, they were intentionally enslaving their brothers and sisters so that they can have better life, this according to psychologists known as selfishness(Schedler, 2002). Furthermore, in today's situation in African land, backwardness,uncertainty of their respective future is seen in the continent at large, and in North Africa specifically. (Morrell, 2001). Moreover, people claiming to gain their individuality respectively but it's useless, because it's not valid or valuable for them to live their lives.

Furthermore, the immature political system in Africa has totally allowed authoritarians to establish their rule in Africa, so that they will be able to destroy their valuable properties, such as land, crops, oil, gas, gold and other natural minerals(Takougang, 2003). The researcher further recommend options that this lead to sectarianism and unpredicting of youth's futurism, because with anarchy system nothing can be achieved (Ajulu, 2001). Hence, the so-called democratic agitation in Africa was changed the people from nice to wicked, meanwhile, the democratization of nineteenth century is not according to its reality, let's say has any Africa nation ever conducted peaceful and fair election in the history of the region , the researcher didn't find any historical narrations in case of Africans has smooth political system in the past, therefore people of African land need to rethink and move forward to have establishmentof perfect democracy, so that their new generation will be able to get adequate life(Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003).

Contrary to the belief that the rise of multiparty elections means the demise of dictatorship and the beginning of complete political renewal especially in Africa.Moreover, people of Africa has experienced difference of political instability in this continent, consequently, there are a lot of netives theories in the sense of implementation of equal rights and justice are not seen of the region. The researcher as native of this region has given his suggestions to have a perfect platform democracy in the region by introducing qualitative education, where governments should upsurge scholarship by providing it to all qualified native of this region based on merit without any discrimination or be sectional which destroyed the previous system. (Matua, 1994). Meanwhile, people the region are not developing their interests in getting involved in politics or exercising their rights of voting which decreases value of democracy in Africa (Balogun, 2003).

The researcher revealed that there were several failed general elections in various parts of Africa countries that was in 1992 such as Ghana and Kenya respectfully, meanwhile, after announcement of results the crisis erupted in highest level where thousands lost their preciouslives. Furthermore, there was same story which happened in 1993 general balloting's of other parts of the African nations, like, Nigeria, Zambia, Togo and more of it (Logie & Woodroffe, 1993). This means that African nations are still immature with their political system, incomparable with other parts of developed states (Schedler, 2006). Hence, evolutions in African continent as seen as something not too according to constitution where protestors were killed or jailed for life, especially in both west and east Africa (Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003).

The worst aspect of this is the unbelievable behavior of elders in Africa nation to use their personality do injustice with people of backward areas, and they are never being conscious abpout the lawor the constitution of the nation where the fundamental rights are proved. Meanwhile, all theseirregularities arecaused by undemocratic movement(Waltz, 1999). Meanwhile, the solutions to make solid democratic states is that what we should work for, in

the continent, discriminations in this Africa nations is always upsurges at every place you will be able to feel incomparable of corruption in this region due tounrepairable poverty in Africa (Gitlin, 2012). Furthermore, democracy is not a useless phenomenon it's that system which provide equal opportunity to all lovers, already implemented democracy country are called developed nations, those who are still in the beginning called developing, so that it will bring all necessities of life's (Dowden, 1993).Moreover, the constitutional crisis in Africa has not given a perfect picture to its political arena, illegitimacy of leaders in Africa is still at highest level as compared to the world politics. The researcher sees encouragement of political stake holder to work together, in order to avoid any sectarianism which has no fruitful result except failure (Balogun, 2003).The influential people are free to do whatever they want to do, where not considered as guidance or protector, sometimes, many innocents lost their natural rights, even death and no one asked for justice or given. This is caustic need to be changedto regularize the society.

Africans are looking forward that democratic system which will bring prosperious life,oppourtunity and grace throughout the continent (Logie & Woodroffe, 1993). In the meantime, unfunctioning political forces of this landmass are the major problem to make people not feeling good, the dishonesty of leaders is also contributed to improper political institution at the time of elections many irregularities are seen to takeover in the continent, so many time post elections erupted with killings of innocent people. Moreover, ethnicity also is one of the causeof political immature in the continent, the continent need powerful media as well so that elimination of fake information in the continent (Balogun, 2003). Hence, the worst aspect of it is these attitudes of ruling parties in this continent against opposition parties is not per excellence, because they are not given space and chance to perform their duties as opposition (Katembo, 2008) What are the reasons for these attitudes ? its only improper political institutions of this Africa nation.

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3.5- The Major Metamorphoses of African Nations

The researcher has a deep study on this phenomenon and discovered that there are many modifications between African countries and that of European or all western states, these differences havemade them unable to compete with the developed countries respectively. Hence, democratic dimensions are not seen in this Africa nation, so people are lacking of their rights, suffering of their destiny, confronting bad governances, which denied them qualitative education, all organizations are not in collaboration with the laws of land (Enwezor, 1945). Meanwhile, it's very difficult for Africans to receive their daily bread easily, where millions are living below the poverty line and still looking for a way out. (Aoki, 1996).

In addition, African society is always thinking to have best life, progress and prosperity, but it seems it is difficult task as the region having leadership crisis, which causes low of democratic spirit in the region, while people are in prodigious problem, such as illetracy, economic crisis, health challenges, due to lack of rule of law, which at end these resulted to many other predicaments. World democracy as well has many things to do further in order to strengthen the democracy stance in African continent (Geiss, 1974). Besides, no one has devotion intention to the democratic orientation in Africa, which fuel into many crises, injustices, and create more instability in the continent. The continent's authoritarianism along withdespotismhas further caused calamities in the region of North Africa nations. (Langley, 1973). Africans failed to achieve proper way of establishing their institutions, so that they could be able to continue ruling their people in democratic platform, but the corrupt institutions cannot put forward the system. Africans lack industrialization to boost their economy, they are mainly agricultural area (Thompson, 1970). Nevertheless, the monarchies do enjoy the eminences of kingdom to control mostly executive, legislation and even judicial when exercising their powers respectively (Ottaway, 1999). In otherway, this is affecting steady democratic system in the continent.

The researcher noticed that beinga Nigerian community it is necessary to return to the ancient political system, where the leader is called "empire" in Yoruba land, "Emir" in the North whereas, in the south of the country, he's called "Egwe". A traditional leader rules permanently where he has to make decisions himself, and to get something done, he makes use of veto power. (Fatton, 1990). Meanwhile, the democracy movement is not seen in this society as they clutched the powers from their deities as it is their belief (Teffo, 2002) to make decision no consultation of people of the land but the decision will be made unilaterally (Lipset, 1959) The practice is not only existing in Nigerian community but it is present in all African nations, they are working indirectly to weaken the political system of the region. (Teffo, 2002).

The researcher further extending his comments and analysis on immature political orientation in Africa's continent in larger scale, and specifically in its northern part where Arabs resides, a new proper example is here when we are discussing platform of political atmosphere in Nigerian community, the most populous nation of Africa, economically and socially but politically it is considered as part of backward area, in terms of rule of law (Posner & Young, 2007). The constitution of this oil nation mentioned two term duration for each elected president to stay in power, but due to greatness, immaturity of political stakeholders in the country it was learnt that Olusegun Obasanjo who assumed the presidency office in 1999 after general elections, he was further won second term in 2003, but after completion of his two terms he further requested third term, so Obasanjo started his tyranny attitude to gain support of people and amended the nation constitution so that he can legitimate his stay in power, later this was turned down by the people to save future of political agenda in the country. In Niger, the neighbor country of Nigeria in its west Africa same was the situation with the leaders (Zartman, 1995). The researcher observed the same that the problem do exist in eastern part of Africa where people overstayed in power by killing many innocent citizens or jailing oppositions in order to have more term to stay in power even sometime many of them like to

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die when they are in office, this always lead to political disaster (Mandaza & Sachikonye, 1991) political situation in Africa is far-off world standard, wide and bottomless legitimation, such that all momentous political performers, at both the elite and mass levels, believe that democratic regime is the most precise and apposite for their civilization than any order truthful substitute that they canenvisage (Richard L Sklar, 1983).

The researcher is willing to provide more information regarding democracy in Africa, as people are lacking basic human rights. This further highlighted by political scientists and named it "familiarization." Because we considered democracy as part of life's affairs "the only game in town," which cannot be ignored "the norms, events, and prospects of democracy become so adopted that actors regularly, impulsively reproduce to the written (and unwritten) rubrics of thewilling (Rustow, 1970), even when they skirmish and compete intensely". For further investigation to this phenomenon, consequently, democracy need to be followed with its real essence (Rustow & Erickson, 1991).

African citizens should find out the solutions for its ethno-political alignment, to complete with rest of the world. (Ong'ayo & De Wereld, 2008). From this hypothetical prism, one can also comprehend the imaginary and experiential visions that provision the social break theory (Asiedu, 2006). In the intervening time, African leadership are not concerned with establishment of that political performance, where to work not only for their own benefit but for the humanity, so they can save bright future of coming generations. But leadership fail to concern with communal people, those who are poor and helpless, or have less privilege in society, so they continue their assurance from one generation toanother, due to lack of proper democratic arrangements at all sectors (Lagi, Bertrand, & Bar-Yam, 2011). The researcher in view that uncler motivationof elite class with common people it might lead to several damages, and cause the quarrel disruptions down fundamentally once challenged with its historicism, abandoning the obscuring and disruptive parts of peripheral forces across all periods of Africa's development and progress (Lagi et al., 2011). It is to these parodies by

outwardly ambitious services and welfares that we must attempt for a healthier brilliance of the excavating disaster of democratization in Africa (Alesina, Özler, Roubini, & Swagel, 1996).

3.6- Contrary to the Social Breach Scholarship: Criticizing A Misconception

Since decades, the historical condition of theAfrican region, are not allowing its people to fight against those colonies, who came there for the purpose of domination, slavery, utilization of its natural resources in the name of help. Therefore, all these things and attitude of its elite made it difficult to refuse the legacy of the colonial powers. So, the people considered democracy system as an impossible phenomenon in African nations(Owusu, 1992). But it was not so easy for Westerners, Europeans to come across this issue, to know its challenges; they were in view that African nations also will be subject to change. The comparison of the Africanization of the West in the sense of promoting democracy, industrial revolution, literacy, equality before the law, political flexibility, and many more (Howarth, 2000). Assume if the West and Europe had an optimistic intention to comfort African nations to come out of its challenges, difficulties, economic crisis, unemployment, they should have applied the best and foremost permanent solutions in mandate to eradicate its troubles. Meanwhile, they were only focusing on their agenda, interests, and neglecting the major problems of people of Africa for many years, the cooperation of the west with Africa is not possible in any aspect, because of their contrasts (Sachs, 1990). West needed to do more for Africa, not only to focus on its soil and resources, but to work for the sake of humanity to enjoy stable democratic government.

The overhead analysis for the sake of establishment of perfect democratic system in this region. We have detailed understanding in this study that West need to do more, to curtail all roots of immature political system in the region; we believe that it can be done through election of capable, charismatic leaders in Africa. The region full of opportunities, should be

free of all irregularities, in its political arena, such as, having standard political forces, opposition leaders in correspond with greatness of the nations, people, in order to overcome these mess. (Bediako, 1995). Africa should work along with developed World, to follow their political, social, economic provisions; this study believes that western and European bests are working for the wellbeing of the people, not for the sake of satisfaction of their needs. The same procedure, protocol should be follow in order to meet with democratic standard in the Africa region respectfully. (Monga & Fleck, 1996). It is famous in every society to enjoy improvement, progress, perfect life it need sincere people, African people really need along with the best leader to compromise with them. The administration can't work successfully without people's support.

Additionally, the concept of civilization in Africa has its own terminology, because people in meantime compromise with their civilization, culture, usage, history and even language. They believe that to compromise with one's culture equal to enslaving oneself. The example of Arabs can be given in this regard, they were not subject to change their culture, for instance, lifestyle, language, religion, and many other aspects, they were in favor of polygamous tradition, didn't have central authority while political system based on tribalism. Therefore, it's more difficult for Arab's nations to have a well-known perfect democratic system in their cherished terrestrial. African people are known for their intelligence they have ability to work in order to offer basic needs for the residences(Glickman, 1988). The west impacts in the African region cannot be forgotten , such as slavery system, occupation, which made many Africa people in todays United States' becomes rootless, where they can't recognize their basic origin or motherland in African region, they are now Afro-Americans, can't claim African nor United States' nationality (Mbaku & Ihonvbere, 2006). These kind of people also sometime feels useless in the society (Mbaku & Ihonvbere, 2006). The fourth generation were lost everything and possessions which are the essentials of human pleased, without culture it's

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impossible to affiliate yourself with any group, ethnicity, the loss of identity like behind of freedom (Alexander, 2002).

Besides, the idea of nation building in Africa is something necessitating a deep thinking with several efforts, in order to meet up and overcome challenges, that must have happened. The efforts need full concentration, sincerity, along with cooperation, unity among the various ethnic groups, tribes, within the African continent. In Africa, nation building should focus on certain agendas such as promoting economic stability, qualitative education, youth empowerment, manufacturing per excellence, Agricultural improvement by supplementing the farmers to have more ways of generating surplus foods, crops and many more (Alexander, 2002). Nation building also need normal political system, in order to prevent from any political hurdles, such as election rigging, incompetent leadership, constitution frame work, legitimacy of governments, so the nation will be able to avoid any partition and division which can happen due to lack of accountability (Kasfir, 1998). In the history of colonialism they were severally applying totalitarian methods, to govern the people (Howarth, Norval, & Stavrakakis, 2000).

For the moment, freedom is essential in formation of democracy in African nation-states, people will have rights to choose their leaders who will serve them better and provide their needs. Colonial power never have such rationale but repressed the movement of people, the fundamental rights were not seen in their dictionary, people were so disturbed, victimized (Southall, 2003). Individual freedom, social security, social justice was not available, though they claimed to provide all of above.

This study observed that democratization in Africa region is far to the reality ground (Ihonvbere, 1998). Colonial democracy was based on achieving their economics, social, and political objectives, not to address welfare of the people of African region. (Southall, 2003). Moreover, they announced the so called democracy just to champion their ambition not to serve humanity(Fowler, 1993). These irregularities made democratization in Africa as

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somewhat idealistic almost not based on ground reality, the word globalization which brought to Africa made many lifeves untidiness, owing some undesirable aspects of global migration, many Africans believed that if they leave the region for Europe they will encounter with the standard life, unknown to them that it will cause many damages, lost their lives, many people (Kasfir, 2013).

Consequently, the process of capitalism in Africa was not adequate to the system, there was no a picture-perfect and smooth relations between haves and have nots, the rich people are become better-off, while poor even cannot have their regular meals(Lindberg, 2006). The exploitation of wealthy people upsurges (Vanhanen, 1997). The commonalities always find it difficult to subsist, because millions are breathing below the poverty line. Meanwhile, it's impossible for common people to educate their children, the illiteracy ratio are always increases, which seems impossible to control it, many diseases, infections, illnesses, due to lack of pure/clean water, sanitation, customary hospital, and skilled doctors are not obtainable in maximum of Africa nations (Nyong'o, 1988). The issue is worst in case of villages, many people lost their lives, due to lack of virtuous thoroughfare, and people are expired in the process of transporting from village to city. If it is real capitalism, then these issues needproper address in order to boost the system.

The illustration of industries, companies in Africa, demanding more energies, because the level of exchange merchandises with other landmass is very little in case of Africa, developed nations prefer to deal with country which enjoy same category with them (Baker, 2000).Trade in Africa has a different level unlike other developed world. All organizations, such as (WTO) World Trade Organization, (IMF) International Monetary Fund and (WB) World Bank are playing their vital roles to fix economy of African region. (Baker, 2000). Besides, this study investigates trading capacity of African nations, and gives more desirable to North Africa, where some facilities are varying. World Trade Organization needs to do more in Africa, especially in the west, east and south respectively, many people want to

inaugurate the business but due to death of security and skillful labor, they cannot perform well. World Bank is also looking forward to help the situation by providing funds as loan to people of the region, to enable them invest in difference sectors, i.e. company, factory, education to have more private Universities, creation of new jobs for job seekers throughout African continent (Stone, 2004)

We come across of many inaccuracies, and main cause of economic instabilities in Africa, isthat the International Monetary Fund claiming to have a tangible, solid plan for Africa's economy but practically it was contrast to their claim (Okpara & Wynn, 2007). However, given loans to this region with a huge interest has damaged several trading activities, while peoplecannot survive such expanse after inveterate loan to return interest as well. It is an appeal to this organization to reshape their correspond\]ences for African nation(Bigsten & Kayizzi-Mugerwa, 1999) We can even comment that global trading is not yet on peak in Africa, developed countries should make sure that Africa people also advantage from it, instead of being use of lessening their dynamisms and resources, are working only for those developed nations. The gratitude words should be given to those African, who fought for their independence and sacrificed their lives, but later on these leaders reshaped the program, and never fulfilled aims and objectives of getting independence(Bigsten & Kayizzi-Mugerwa, 1999). This is counted as a big disappointment for the people of the region, because bests are not remaining loyalists to their people, they are only focusing on satisfaction their colonies, they unsuccessful to value their own belongings.

With this attitude and bad supremacy, it's a bit difficult for African region to claim totality independence, because our resources are not real to be used for the benefit of the people of African region, the only exception is Republic of South Africa (RSA) country, she got a devoted leader i.e. Nelson Mandela, a leader who had vision for his own people, and forgone for liberation of his country. (Killick, 1984). We come across other problems in this Africanregion, African people are preys of Army interventions in their politics, after

colonization left by authoritarianism (Heidenheimer, Johnston, & LeVine, 1970). Army in African's politics destroyed all institutions, individual freedom is no more obtainable in the continent , human rights violations have become major occupation among the leaders, corruption widespread, strong economy has become irrelevant in the society, abuse of power, killing citizens without justification, kidnappings, insecure lives, rights of minorities are not considered any many more (Helleiner, 1992). It counted as difficult task to achieve the justice for common people, meanwhile, might is power, no room for communal people in the society in order to developed their aptitudes (Heidenheimer et al., 1970).

Moreover, the Army pro United States has applied difference strategies to enable them abandon African civilization, culture to progress, therefore they started implementing several factors of anti-society as well as anti-political motivations (Blundo, de-Sardan, Arifari, & Alou, 2013). Consequently, morality is not seen in the society , due to some laws, martial laws of Armed forces, people were crying , to have their simple rights of humanity, as the constitution has no benefit in many African societies, fundamental laws were seized   (Sachs, 1996). It became out of question after cold war, the occurrence of cold war put African nations in dissimilar approach, the entirety of system changed again after cold war in all third World countries, West saw eastern part of the World as their enemy. We discovered that immediatelyafter the cold war western power feltinconfident of the eastern people, and they considered them as the biggest threat to their hegemonic display in the World, after contradiction with USSR communist political ideology, whereas there is no opposing the vitality of the previous, it'sadvisable not to be deceived that atmosphere of cold war has resulted many challenges to the people of African nations. Now, the phenomenon of the West and the East respectfully allowed the westerners to have access to the region, with idea of protecting the rights of people but having chance to provoke to internal issues of the region (Stone, 2004). It's a needs of time to have full concentration on how the African region will

be developed politically and socially as well as economically, our resources should not be misused, wasted., people must have advantages of these resources.

All institutions in the African nations need to work together, for promotion of the system, armed forces should stay in their barracks, they should not arbitrate in the politics, but they need to learn how to stay away from it, since the essential responsibility of Army is to protect the country from any kind of internal or external hostility. We further prerequisite to improve our economy to avoid western aid, supports, so we will be able to enjoy our freedom like Malaysia throughout African nations (Herbst, 1990). Therefore, the continuation of the army in power and authority in most of the African countries are given a worst picture, there is no economic growth, norstrong institutions,but rather a failed educational system and inflation (Ake, 1991). Hence, the democracy in all African land is not something we can rely on or use to compare with another continent, procedure of democratization in African land is not adequate (Mazrui, 2000). We can quote procedure of democracy in Nigeria as the best example, where there is no sense of unity, progress, corruption at a peak level, issue of Boko Haram became political game, government is not serious to address the problem Chibok girls gotkidnaped by Boko Haram and kept there for more than three years, and government failed to rescue them. Democratization in Nigeria started in 1999 as third republic but till now, there are only few targets achieved (Mosley & Weeks, 1993). Furthermore, there are four of its chief hurdles. These are the political irresponsibility of the democratic forces; the declining of the earnings of survival of the middle class and its mistreatment by the presiding group; the domination of the communal media by the incumbent regime; and ferocity in contradiction of democracy (Peter Anayang Nyong'o, 1987). Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe spent over 35 years in power, he changed the country to desert, no proper system, education destroyed, judiciary non-functioning, inflation, scarcity of food, currency worthless. Mugabe, never thought to reshape the system, primarily he eliminated the foreign hands from the government of Zimbabwe which this study counted as best option to allow its citizens to have access to

best life. He over stayed in power but never thought to handover the reign to a younger star who could rule the country better after 90s. In the East Africa, we can easily find Mussafi who became a hiring assassin, killer, he spent more than 34 years in power in Uganda, Mussafi considered that all resources of the state belong to him. The mechanism of being leader in African society needs more and more amendments, leaders need to love their people, work for their betterment, because the fortune of the inhabitants is it in the hands of their governments.

This is to prescribe for the people of Africa that we need to help ourselves by supporting each order, rule of law, implementation of constitutions, economic performance in best way, so , then it will be the best option to ask the developed nations to come and help us (Lindberg, 2006). Nonetheless, the leaders in Africa are not ready to cooperate with people to have bright future, especially our adolescences, so, it has resulted in many disaster, such as revolutionaries, rebellions, disorients, where nations on fire excepting few of these African countries. What's more, democratization in Africa needs more reliable personalities, those who can ready to change the current situation in many part of African continent. Even people find it difficult to get pure and drinkable water, electricity, gas , good health and many all kinds of unavoidable item of life (Alexander, 2002). The government is busy in privatization of public property,sometimes, selling out these properties without a legal procedure, at the end poverty increases every day.

The availability of perfect democracy in any nation, pave ways, to freedom, sympathetic, progress, and ingress of globalization to enhance economic sector, open minds to have diplomatic relations with other countries. Democratic state will be able to have all rights to protect its institutions, as per excellence the rulers and being ruled will have warm interactions (Emerson, 1962). Egalitarianism and democracy provide chances of brotherhood, elevation of civil war, politics of revenge, political stability will be seen in the society, while self-respect will be earned by such nation. (Osabu-Kle, 2000).

3.7- Regaining Political Values and Democratization in North Africa

As the researcheris motivating many ideas, methods and ways of achieving the best democratization process in North African nations. We discovered that mostly all African countries don't enjoy their resources, due to injustice of politicians, immature political practices in this Arabs region. (Lindberg, 2006). Moreover, many people are thinking that Islam prohibit North African nations from exercising democracy government, but the study denied it, Islam always teaches equality, justice, advance political culture, because the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) can be quoted as the best example in this regards (Brown, 2000). The formation of Medina constitution, which was the first and the best in the world, never discouraged to have justice among the nations, rather he focused on it. Its pity that North African leaders are not working in this direction (Englebert, 2009). Most challengeable aspect of North African's democracy is leaders even don't know the best way of leadership. Governance, so they further proceeded on how to enrich their pockets, overstaying in power, some of them claiming to have done referendum, which not in the contest of democracy. They further neglect the rights of people, violating constitution if any, whoever tries to against their rules, either to be killed or sentenced for life, these are prevailing freedom of manifestation, in case of Egypt she never tasted democratic government, once had elections in 2014, the elected president was removed, in order to give chance to army to rule (来源 et al., 1978). Arabs need to recollect their civilization, history, culture and usage, theyshould believe in rule of law, self-determination, not to fuel into discrimination. The Tunisian government has done many damages to her own people driven out of constitution, abuse the power, despotism, and more of it done by Ali Zain Al Abdeen's administration in Tunisia, who later was on self-exile in Saudi Arabia of being people-driven and development-oriented (Herbst, 1990). He disturbed economic progress of the Country, but most suppressed aspect is United States' silence, later sent delegations to investigate for the causes of crisis, which we believe should be done at earlier. A workable route to this is to recollect the historicity of African

civilizations, which helps to untrain bare how the edifice of control politics in the global system has unceasingly crippled the appearance of a democratic progressive state in the continent (Dudziak, 2011). How this can be done particularly given the seeming powerlessness of Africa in front of the liberal democratic onslaught devastating the world?

First the African elites and masses need to feel or see democracy as the only viable option out of the African quandaries which seems not functioning on reality grounds, its leadership are either dictatorship or overstayed in power (Beckham, 2000). African nations are far performing in term of legitimacy ruling, the people of Africa had suffered since end of colonialism, the greediness and immorality of leaders made the region backward, economically, and politically dependent on industrialists' countries. (Kubow, 2007). However, it has to be borne in mind that it should not be just any kind of democracy, but one that is people-driven and development-oriented (Hill, 1996).

To experience the changes in North African people should work in harmony and promote the civilization of the region, such illiteracy in their relationship with order nations need to be reviewed, meanwhile, the Arabs need to understand that their commitment is to serve their motherland. Furthermore, reshaping their institutions, in order to meet up with international standards. The ratio of production in north Africans nations are so limited, so, they need to enhance their business orientation and capability, people need to bewell-trained so that it will be easy to establish factories not for Arabs but for the whole people in the world (Aoki, 1996). North Africa is backward in terms of buy and sale; they should focus on their markets, to see its market worth in international market. Therefore, there is need of moving toward globalization program where they will have to compete with another developed countries,i.e. United States, United kingdom , Germany and many more (Rowlands, 1998). In this regards, the agenda of any country must be to find out best atmosphere for their market and work with all nations, without any discrimination in their program, to earn economic progress and growth of expansion of their power (Zeleza, 2009).

Factual democracy brings the development, love, unity , progress, and power sharing among its citizens (Rowlands, 1998). North African people should work for their own progress, because relying on IMF will not provide them a bright future but enslave them, where dictations will dominate their resources, intellectual properties, weak currencies and economy.

North Africans consider that World Bank is working side by side with their economy progress but unfortunately it is not. (Little, 1994). This can be clear in the contest of the happening of 2002, when Africans eventually discovered reality in case of IMF and WB that they are only compromising with each other to destroythe economy of this region, but in the platform of reformation (Stone, 2004) IMF internationally changed the economic system of north Africa, by giving them loan with heavy interest, on daily basis its becoming more difficult for them to reimburse. Westerners continue utilizing African resources in the name of help(Okpara & Wynn, 2007) We can provide Algeria's father of liberation, as perfect example in this task, Ahmed Ben Bella, 84 years old and immobile and visionary man , who able to think deeply and find out useless plan of the West for African people (Bigsten & Kayizzi-Mugerwa, 1999). Though he was focus with demonstrations, riots to stop him thinking positively and for the progress of his own people (Ferguson, 1995). Ben Bella screamed, at least he has done something to have free market in Bamako of Algerian community.

The cooperation between different organizations is most requested phenomenology this time around such as NGOs in order to work together for the progress of North African nations (Potts, 2006). Therefore, NGOs role is to work cooperatively hand by hand with collaboration of law of the state and the government, their responsibilities is varying many categories such as providing scholarships for penurious students, take compassionate of orphans in order to supply them with shelters, accommodations, foods, wellbeing, to have access to health care, and many more. It is an appeal from North Africa countries leaders to allow these NGOs

work in their respective countries without facing any hurdles, so , they will be able to serve interests of people in superior way (Carmody, 2002).

We learnt that any stage or activities with is not in correspondance with democracy is void, because some governments abandoned the success of NGOs in their beloved countries, but put hurdles in their ways, thus disabled them perform their duties, responsibility, the system of democratization is not against any lawful pursuit to come true (Wearing, McDonald, & Ponting, 2005).

It is recommended to the people of Egypt to pave way for the peace in their country, they should establish a presentable democratic government within their nation, so, armed forces should stay away from politics of the state, they must focus on security of the country, civil-military relation need to be justifiable (Bratton & Mattes, 2001). In real sense developed countries have less respect for North Africa nations, because of their bad governance undemocratic system, their immature political practices across the region, so that if these nations are willing to serve their people, they should focus on democratization process and work hand by hand. Meanwhile, democratization practice will bring a lot of progress, prosperity, success, development to people of the North Africa in particular and people of Africa in general. (Bratton & Mattes, 2001).

Legitimate government in North Africa is need of time through faultless democracy , promotion of civilization, culture as well as respecting the citizens, Arabs of north African nations also must enjoy the unity among them, (Carmody, 2002).

This study advises African leaders to move along with western democracy, which means to follow its spirit of reality, so called democracy in African land should be curtail in all levels. (Brock-Utne, 2002). In addition, the United States should review and observe the rights of African people. The policies should not be in favor of US interests only but need to provide balance of opportunities for the folks of the region (Mattes & Davids, 2000).

Succeeding this militarization of aloof aid, the US had relocated a substantial serving of its development assistance to the Pentagon (Shivji & Murunga, 2009). This may have been complex by the ostensible universal war in contradiction of terrorism, the war has mainly damage economy, social and political growth of the region (Clarke, 2008).

Al-Shabab in Somalia, Kenya, and Eritrea, Boko Haram is damaging Nigerian political arena, Cameron, Chad are also facing this dilemma (Schmidt, 2013). Sudan has famous of Al-Qaeda in its affairs, with declining its relations with the western World. African nations must join hands to beat up this deadly challenge (Schmidt, 2013),which as far as Africa is concerned, compromised both national security and human rights. For example, it has been revealed that the rising military role in shaping U.S. global engagement is a challenge to the next president (Jordan & Page, 1992). Foreign assistance represents less than one percent of the federal budget, while defense spending is 20%. The U.S. military has over 1.5 million uniformed active duty employees and over 10,100 civilian employees, while the Department of State has some 6,500 perpetual employees (Jordan & Page, 1992).

Although several high-level task forces and directives have highlighted the urgent need to modernize our aid infrastructure and increase sustainable development activities, such assistance is increasingly being overseen by military institutions whose policies are driven by the Global War on Terror, not by the war against any particular nation, tribe or religion but it was declared as war against terrorism, and those who are ally to it (Ikenberry, 1988) .

3.8- The Cultural Contravene and Africa's Democratization

The periods which were between 1998 and 2005, it was revealed that the fraction of Lawful developed assistance in collaboration with the Pentagon measured detonated starting from 3.5 up to 22%, meanwhile, the minimum percentage which controlled by the United states Agency for International Development (USAID) shriveled from 65% to 40% (Hulme & Shepherd, 2003). This also will help flourish of democratic government in African continent

as whole. Furthermore, African leaders should work hard in order to establish perfect democratic system in their beloved countries respectfully, so, they will be able to earn respect locally and internationally. But immature democracy cannot eliminate poverty in Africa, even bests should learn out to stand on their feet, and think deeply before receiving any kind of aid and support from foreign countries. However, depending on foreign assistance will only put them in more economical, social and political troubles.

The researcher further encouraging African bests to be sincere and work smoothly to empower democracy in the region. Qualitative education pattern should be observed, workers need to be paid regularly without any delay, check and balance system need to be implemented regularly in order to achieve the fruits of democracy. Therefore, coming generation will be able to change history of change the ugly history of this region (Murphy, 2006).

The theory that democratization in Africa do not display because Africa nonappearances a dependable political culture, nevertheless not without some virtues, is damaged (Bolden & Kirk, 2009). This is because it is completely an antique, fading in its entirety to acknowledge Africa's history of extraversion beginning from the slave occupation era over expansionism to the latest phase of anarchic globalization-neocolonialism, all of which has put Africa on weak part, and disturb progress atmosphere of Africa nations. Furthermore, we observed that changing of this situation will contribute to progress of individual as well as collectively (Khairallah et al., 2007).

3.9- North Africa's Democratization

Accentuates the universalistic outset of egalitarianism that ought to be critically reassessed in order to escalate the excavating predicament and illogicalities of democratic changeovers in Africa (Vanhanen, 2013). Against this background, they essentially assume a critical reply to the cultural gap thesis measured to be the neuralgia of Africa's democratization (Crawford &

Lynch, 2013). The crucial dispute of the newspaper is that dogmatic philosophy, as a descriptive grouping to the considerate of democratization is reckless losing its application when antagonized with certainties, principally in Africa (Sehoole, 2013).

It is upheld that for an influential consideratation of democratization in North Africa, we essentially to change beyond the worldwide beginning of democracy, transferring the spotlight on Africa's momentous political growth (Acemoglu, Naidu, Restrepo, & Robinson, 2013). These tactic assistances to lay simple Africa's history of extraversion, a major issue in the catastrophe and flaws of democratization in the landmass. The obstinate inspirations of expatriate antics through the despicable reality of neocolonialism are vibrant indicators to these travesties (Turner & Kleist, 2013). Although African bests who took over political hegemony from the colonialists misapplied the instances vacant by liberty to adapt to the hereditary buildings to North African possessions (Biesele & Hitchcock, 2013).

It may not be considerate after all this is since theinherited social structures, be they "developing, enthused or trafficked," were forcefully deep-seated. The proposal of this sustained that African political attitudes were lost to imperialism in almost all penalties (Barbarin & Richter, 2013). Whatever may be careful as African culture today, we maintain, is no signifies at finest a depraved form of African ethos, if it has any manner on it at all (Doig & Theobald, 2013). Consequently, a major problem that confronts North African scholarships is how to reclaim the concepts of democratization and political culture in a way that captures African realities (Berazneva & Lee, 2013).

This appears the most worthwhile possibilities if the democratization progression is to be eloquent in Africa in relationships of animation people-centered and development-oriented (Fosu, 2013). The footpath to this dishonesty in recalling the historicity of African societies (London, 2013). Such a historical trip is important given its possible to trace the glitches of political culture and democratization in Africa within the structure of power politics in the international system (Levitsky & Way, 2013).

In the final analysis, we succumb that Africa appears stranded in the bright of the generous democratic attack, hegemonic vitality liberal democracy as it does (Baskaran & Bigsten, 2013). There is a need for a mystical method that pursues to contextualize democratization in Africa. These are the complications that this research censoriously engrosses (Anyanwu & Erhijakpor, 2014). The procedure is fundamentally evocative, historical and comparative, obtaining its statistics from books, journals, and online articles.

The growth of democratization in Sub-Sahara has been facing challenges due to its elites' negative contribution and uncooperative attitudes towards masses and unprivileged people of the region(Vanhanen, 2013). Many African countries have been battled with difficulties, immature policies, monetary irregularities, ethnic and religious crisis, while others are making progress, creating peaceful society and marketable advancement (Svolik, 2013).

3.10- Political System and Democratization

The theory which was claiming that democratization trappings well in countries with democratic political philosophy, made it clear that it was in ancient and has gained cumulative decency in renewed times (Diamond, 1994). The concept of political culture has been defined as "the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments which give direction and meaning to a political process and which provides the underlying assumption and rules that govern behavior in the political system (Gabriel Abraham Almond & Verba, 2015). Political culture connotes "the pattern of individual political orientations, the attitudes towards the political system and its various parts and to the role of self in the political system (Vanhanen, 1997)."

From these descriptions, the elementary essentials of political culture include the degree of social trust or misgiving which succeeds in society, the general attitude of tolerance and interpersonal cooperation permeating political relations among people (Bratton & Mattes, 2001), accessory and faithfulness of citizens to the national political system, people's attitudes towards specialist, and people's sense of their rights, powers, and obligations (Berman, 1998).

The fame of these basics determines the predominant kind of political ethos in an assumed political system at any opinion in time (Nyamnjoh, 2005).

Political culture can be unsophisticated, where the citizens have little or no information of government accomplishments, let alone contributing in them (Lipset, 1959). It can also be a subject of political culture, where the inhabitants have the consciousness but do not partake in government activities (Inglehart, 1988). Then there is a contestant political culture, where the inhabitants not only have the awareness but also partake well in the political and policy progressions of their humanities (Entelis, 1997). Conclusion, it is the contributor to political culture that is most helpful of democratization (Gabriel A Almond & Powell, 1966).

With regards to democratization, we mean "a process of creating, solidification, or spreading the principles, machines and organizations that define a democratic government" (Robinson, 1994). These philosophies and institutions include the reality of a self-governing composition and constitutionalism; open and permitted press; autonomous judiciary; a vivacious civil society; and the survival of people (Bratton, 1999), with a democratic mentality, talented of managing these ideologies and establishments in line with perfect cooperation with citizens. Promotion of political culture needs people's understanding, contribution and awareness of the inhabitants to know their rights, duties and sense of unity (Sklar, 1987).

Through anideal democratic system appears to be achievable when there is a democratic-political parties are functioning for the benefit of masses (Jackman & Miller, 1996). Nevertheless, it gives the exertion in defining what creates democratic culture, this can only be maintainable with help of the constitution (Englebert, 2000). It suggests a substitute path where the emphasis would be on "what it is not, or what is mismatched with it writes that "if the indispensable progression of alliance is legitimation, then it must include some alteration of party-political culture (Muller & Seligson, 1994)." He was of the view that the practicality of third wave democracies is mostly liable upon the tendencies in public sustenance for

democracy, consummation with democracy and order political insolences and ethics (Diamond, 1994).

This advocates that political culture is, after all, not unassailable, but proficient of changing when antagonized with new veracities. In his summarizing assessment of the vast body of knowledge on democratization in the third world, there are some of the significant factors touching the constancy of democracies (Vanhanen, 1997). One of such factors, we relate to the incidence of modes and morals, as entrenched in the country's political culture, that help as judging strategies between the councils and the oversaw thus decreasing the possible for conflict and ornamental, instead, non-conflictual rivalry or even teamwork (Osabu-Kle, 2000).

3.10.1- The Circumstances of Democratization in Africa

Impartial students of political history will acknowledge that Africa had a rich practice and civilization that promoted constancy in the precolonial period (Janowitz, 1964). A sole piece of African pre-colonial political systems, conflicting to western rights, was the propensity towards some democratic performs among the people (Clapham, 1998). In his well-known explanation of African cultures, these cultures can be described as the most important property of the region. African Nation is keen to their culture, custom, heritage and social norm, so, people moves towards the singularity of culture and civilization to pursue any kind of their standard life (Bates, 1987).

Exemplifies how the construction of monarchies and territories led to the expansion of some philosophies and values of old-style constitutional law, which brought the perfect fundamental rights of African people, which makes them feel special (Bates, 1987). One of such rights straight connected to democracy was the veracious of the common people to establish the final source of power, if we examine other part of the World, we will be able to conclude that Africa has special privilege towards its culture and civilization (Baker, 2001).

Asian region has different practices within themselves, because first class can further enjoy with coming new generation, but in case of third class people, they will find it grim to change their standing and statues in the society, the society is known for its sectional society as you can not cross the boder you have to remains within the limitation. For instance , a son of driver will authomatically becomes driver and so on (Lin, 2002).

Likewise, it was the standard somewhat than the exclusion to contain the people in the politics and policy progressions of their civilizations over popular assemblies regularly in the community or market four-sidedas the recognized culture in the society (Chazan et al., 1992). Though this was incomplete in choice, with the right of contribution imperfect to mature males, there was a general sensation that such performs could have flowered into full-sized democratic thoughts, as marched today, if the progression of state-building had not been discontinuous and brusquely battered by colonialism (Harbeson & Rothchild, 1991).

3.10.2- Against the Cultural Gap Research on Africa's Democratization

With the attack of colonialism, though, Africa's hike to legitimate democracy converted shortened. Since then, the procedure and charm of democratization crossways the landmass have been abhorrence to democratic principles colonial powers strived in most gatherings to present some blazes of democratic performs, as was the case in the conurbation (Nyamnjoh, 2005). This grabbed the form of constitutional manufacturing that eventually caused in the outline of democratic law and the succeeding creation of political parties and combined votes. Nevertheless, this growth inclines to delay "factual" democracy somewhat than stimulate it mainly unpaid to its characteristic illogicalities (Mattes & Bratton, 2007).

For instance, in Africa, precisely Nigeria the permit that joined the electoral process was gratuitously too preventive, limited only to Lagos and Calabar, that is the case of Nigerian society which clearfy the essistance of discrimination inbetween same soci (Mutua, 1995). The numerous efforts at legitimate development were also completely urban- and elite-driven

matter, with slight or no contribution from the people. Inferior still, the governor-general booked the refusal power through the expatriate rule, a disorder that allowable for the occurrence of rule by law, as against the rule of law (R. Joseph, 1997). By insinuation, the imposing substance of democratization in Africa downgraded Africans from the politics and policy progressions of their republics so as to indorse foreign interests (Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2011).

Therefore,is not astonishing that the accomplishment of political liberation in the 1960s and 1970s has had incomplete influence on congenital applies in African continent. Accordingly, the democracy scheme of the prompt post-independence era soon gave way to one-party despotism and military totalitarianism across the landmass in the name of the search for national unity and development (Young, 1996). This obvious the commencement of the disappointment of the potential of unconventionality by the separatists as the pledge of autonomy and growth (Zhao & Hackett, 2005).

The associated processes of democratization, finished legitimate consultations and combined votes engineered general forces in the 1990s under the so-called third upsurge of democratization, consume similarly suffered changeable riches across the landmass (Vanhanen, 1999). Conflicting to the belief that the growth of combined elections earnings the expiry of dictatorship and the beginning of complete political renewal especially in Africa. African democratization has hurt severe contraries (Craft & Smaldone, 2002). In most instances, the democratization procedure has been reduced to the holding of multiparty elections at the expense of the inherent excellence of electoral governance in dealings with the competition, symbol, contribution, and legitimacy (Moghadam, 2007).

Most often, African elections have become high-quality and where some submissions of optimal exist, it is often an optimal amongst or between competing oppressors (Kaballo, 1995). Yet, most elections have been borderline as was the situation in Kenya and Ghana in

1992; some orders were abandoned as what happened in Togo, Cameroon, Zambia, and Nigeria in 1993, Angola in 1992, and Gambia in 1994 (Vanhanen, 2004).

The consequence is that most African countries are still run by what Lindberg called "electoral authoritarian regime," where there is imperfect or no planetary for opposition parties and campaigners to function (Karatnycky, 2002). This gives a detailed account of failed and aborted transitions in Africa, linking countries such as Algeria, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, Kenya, Niger, Nigeria, Sudan, Togo, and Zaire (Shin & Tusalem, 2007). He also recognized countries where former rulers were retained such as Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique, or returned to power in subsequent elections as in Benin and Madagascar (Murray & Schaller, 2010). The discount of democracy to "symbolic electors" has partly occasioned in the disorder of democratization in Africa (Brown & Kaiser, 2007).

In the procedure, the democratization procedure in Africa has been mainly unscrupulous, elitist and anti-people, deteriorating in many admirations to indorse a developmental state and human security (Schwartz, 2006). In its place, democracy has promoted a spiteful series of ferocious blaze in most parts of the continent, with associated anguishes such as huge loss of lives and possessions (Quijano, 2000).

This may not be unconnected with the parodies of democratic institutions and constructions by those burdened with the task of working them for maintainable democracy (Ribot, 2007). It is caustic that African democracies mostly co-habit with high level of indifference for constitutionalism, scandalous abuses of citizens' privileges, and the rule by law, not of law (Gabriel Abraham Almond & Verba, 2015). This results in the fragality of democracy in Africa upon which all negative suppositions or forecasts are attached (Erdmann, 2004). The low degree of political institutionalization has been escorted by the consistent corrosion of upright and straight answerability such that the whole continent is oversupplied with a political culture of dishonesty (Ciaffa, 2008). Not even the renaissance of oversight institutions, such as the parliament, civil society, and the mass broadcasting, among orders,

has been able to punish the democratization processes and the political actors (Bayart & Ellis, 2000).

This insight is obvious in notable publications on Africa that tend to see nothing good about the landmass generally known as Afro-pessimism, Jean-Francois Bayart a scholar and writer on theAfrican statesaffairs, who clarified many problems facing Africa's politics, named as the Politics of the Belly (1993) and The Criminalization of the State in Africa (1999) theseare prominent examples to discover more about reality in the region of Africa. So for these and related scholarship anchored in Afro-pessimism, Africa is deeply rooted in the culture of corruption and violence, both of which are hostile to democratic development (Diamond, 1999).

3.11- Against the Cultural Gap Study: Deconstructing A Fallacy

The history of Africa has been one long emancipatory scuffle against all conducts of oppression. Through it all, it was generally agreed that democracy is not relevant to Africacontinent (Alzouma, 2005). These struggles were hardly treated seriously by the outside world, especially the developed market economies which had appropriate democratic legitimacy for their political practices as the emancipatory projects which they were (Ferguson, 2006).

Nor were they accorded the status of democratic struggles (Williams & Young, 1994). This was lengthen to the extent that democracy was talked about at all in the African context, it was only to problematize its relevance and to dismiss its possibilities (Horowitz, 1991). The above quote from the late Claude Ake, a foremost political economist, succinctly summarizes the travails of Africa and why its democratization processes have always beamed a contradictory reality of faltering prospects and new hopes (Ake, 2000).

Prior to her contact with the outside world, Africa was known for diverse political systems that suited its societies by whatever name they may be called, one basic fact that has been

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known to African people (Davidson, 1993) It also has been reminded us, was the continuous search for "a unifying force; a system of participation that must not only work, but must be seen to work (Davidson, 1993). Therefore, it does not necessarily matter whether those societies were stateless, despotic-centralized or decentralized," or "uncaptured," so long as the African people remained able to exchange with their leaders through prevalent negotiations whenever they congregated at the Assembly habitually in the township market square (Fatton, 1995).

Good enough, the African people could not only engage their leaders in popular deliberations, but could also exercise some amount of control over them by appealing the silent power of the popular authorization according to a time-honored or well-known usage (Staniland, 1991). Contrary to western-inspired standpoints, Africa's contact with the outdoor world, first through the slave trade and later imperialism and neocolonialism, marked the commencement of her bewilderment, deficiency, and disempowerment (Davidson, 1992).

Through the enormous relocation of Africa, the mainland had already been laid horizontal and powerless by the time the next European assault came in the arrangement of colonialism (Nwauwa, 2005). But as it turned out, the colonial involvement was much more overwhelming, signaling the total displacement of the ongoing processes of state-building in Africa (Paul T Zeleza, 1994). From the onset, colonialism never had the intent of nation building in the continent as this could hinder its extractive obsession, this made people feels insecure of their life, property and rights (Shivji, 2003).

As such, they had to bring together dissimilar assemblies under one political system without option to the several forces that alienated them (Davidson, 1976). This was serious by the divide-and-rule method of the foreign state and its weighty dependence on the use of force to enforce law and order from this colonial foundation, it may therefore be unrealistic, as Ake has pointed out, to expect democracy not to have an embattled history to survive, given the fact that support for it was rarely ever more than lukewarm and invariably ambivalent,

confused and opportunistic, and opposition to it was powerful, resourceful and unrelenting (Hameso, 1997).

As an essential law and order state, the colonial state had all these attributes throughout its transition to independence and the concomitant processes of constitutional engineering and democratization (Oyelaran & Adediran, 1997). This partly explains why the so-called advanced democracies, save for their neocolonial enterprise in another form, i.e., globalization, have very little to export to Africa in terms of democratization.as asserted by Ake in Africa's search for democracy, there is very little in the experience of the established democracies to guide it and a great deal to mislead it (Ake, 2000). That makes the task of democratization in Africa all the more difficult and the outcome the more uncertain (Ake, 1991). Yet, it is ironic that the mainstream literature on democratization has hardly alluded to Africa's colonial experience as the foundation of the crisis.

This kind of literature failed to acknowledge the centrality of the deepening contradictions of capitalism in Africa to the fluctuating fortunes of democratization in the continent (White, 1994). Instead, it has focused essentially on elections and governance. It is this deliberate distortion that Kenneth Bauzon describes as "the ahistorical but very political character of the mainstream literature (Bratton & Mattes, 2001). The deepening contradictions of capitalism obvious in the revolutionary state of globalization, where Africa is mostly at the getting end. Notable policy issues include denationalization, deregulation and trade liberalization, which have been imposed on African countries even in the face of glaring lack of the necessary requisites of effective takeoff and performance, most notably the debauched state of infrastructures (Stasavage, 2005). At the international level, global trade and financial institutions, especially the WTO, IMF and World Bank, do not create a level playing arena for African republics.

The supplication to one country, one vote by the WTO could not be more ostentatious (Alexander, 2002). Or else, how can one explain the WTO obligation of coordination of local

laws with WTO interchange rules; "biased voting" in the World Bank/IMF in the determining of lending supplies and urgencies; the burden of free market principles on a deeply slanted international economic system (Daniel, Southall, & Lutchman, 2005)?

The increasing effect of these measures has been the relegation of African state to the interests of Western-based cosmopolitan corporations, if not plummeting them into a mere agent of Western governments (Ake, 1991). Nevertheless, it may be outrageous to mound all the responsibilities on colonialism and the revolutionary globalization. After all, what has Africa been able to do for itself hardly five periods after the end of colonization? We admit that African leaders who took over power from the colonialist misspent the opportunities offered by independence to pull to pieces hereditary social structures that were not in tune with local realisms.

But, as argued elsewhere, the catastrophe may not be cautious after all (Beidelman, 1982). This is because what ended during independence was colonization, not interventionism, the former being a system of domination and mistreatment differentiated from the latter only by the fact that it has regional dimension (Rodney, 1972). There is also another internal dimension to the problem. This relates to the impact of protracted military rule in Africa to which the mainstream works always refers to authoritarian rule, to seized people's freedom and fundamental rights (Grier, 1999). Admittedly, the incursion of the military into African political life has further worsened the problems generated by colonialism (Grier, 1999). The military has obstructed on society its anti-social and anti-political values. It has infused civil society with its values-both the formal military values of over-centralization and resolution of battles over suppression and the casual lumpen standards associated with the barrack culture and the cruelty derived from the colonial army (Chittick, 1965).

While there is no opposing the rationality of the preceding, one should not lose sight of how the contradictions and exigencies of the Cold War environment put the third world, particularly Africa, at the heart of the two power blocksWest and East (Dunning, 2004). In

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their struggle for alters, and given the importance of Africa to the Non-Aligned Movement, the two power blocks had to reconnoiter all boulevards to improve entry into the mainland (Holm & Sørensen, 1995).

Most often, this was over avant-garde manners, if anything could be so designated during the Cold War, including provision to strict and military regimes across the landmass (Cingranelli & Richards, 1999). Consequently, the continued rule of the military in Africa was more of a superficially ambitious illogicality (Piot, 2010). This could explain the shallow-rootedness of the democratization in the continent. We also have to admit that the democratization procedures in Africa under the third wave have logged mixed results (L. J. Diamond, 1996). While significant progress has been made in some countries, anotherleaves more to be desired.

On the whole, the democracy scheme has been lacking physically, mechanically institutionally, and socially, as has largely been the case in Nigeria and several order African countries (Ihonvbere, 1996). There are four of its major hindrances. These are the political irresponsibility of the democratic services; the weakness of the means of subsistence of the middle class and its exploitation by the ruling group; the domination of the public media by the incumbent regime; and ferocity against democracy (Shin, 1994). These weaknesses cannot be completely distanced from the neoliberal foundations of the democratization process, which tend to associate democracy essentially with elections and open market economy (Leftwich, 1993).

This concern is so strong that donor activities have come to bond their development assistance, including debt relief, to being submissive in both admirations (Joseph, 1997). But, as it has turned out, the democratization process has contributed to the disempowerment of the populace. Concurrent transitions in the political and economic compasses have reinforced existing networks of benefaction for the alliance of power by the elite (Jensen & Wantchekon, 2004).

The result is cumulative poverty produced by the infamous policy of privatization of public enterprises and the erosion of grants an essential service (Barkan, 2000). The globalization of democracy in a manner that tends to aggravate the people in pursuit of their own economic and social well-being, with its undue emphasis on political rights and freedom, queries the very essence and meaning of democracy, especially in the African background (Barkan, 2000). Democracy without a maintainable improvement in the overall well-being of the people is certainly unattractive and can hardly stand the test of time (Brinks & Coppedge, 2006).

3.11.1- Reclaiming Political Culture and Democratization in North Africa

No political culture, no matter how high or low, is meaningful and civilized when it does not put at its very foundation the well-being of its people (John Pierre Entelis, 1997). In the same fashion, democracy becomes irrelevant so long as it disempowers the people, the very object of culture and democratization. Unfortunately, as presently constituted in North Africa, both exist in perverted forms, incapacitated as they are to empower the people meaningfully (John Pierre Entelis, 1980). A major problem that confronts North African scholarship and policy makers is basically how to reclaim the concepts of political culture and democratization in a way that captures North African authenticities (Ehret, 2002).

This appears the most feasible choice if the democratization procedure is to be meaningful in terms of being people-driven and development-oriented (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 2000). A worthwhile path to this is to recapture the historicity of African societies, which helps to lay bare how the structure of power politics in the international system has continuously crippled the emergence of a democratic developmental state in the continent (Shahin, 1997).

How can this be done especially assumed the apparent powerlessness of Africa in obverse of the generous democratic onslaught ravaging the world? First, North Africans at the elite and

mass heights must see democracy as the only viable option out of the North African difficulties (Rowley, 2000). However, it has to be borne in mind that it should not be just any kind of democracy, but one that is people-driven and development-oriented (Rowley, 2000).

To leave the chase of this completely to the invisible hands of the free market system might be catastrophic. Agreed that there is no gainsaying the inevitability and importance of privatization and commercialization of public enterprises, given the colossal failure of North Africa's experiment (Danowitz, Nassef, & Goodman, 1995) with state led development, yet, North Africa's level of development does not seem good enough to sustain an entirely free market economy (Hermassi, 1972).

North Africa still lags behind in terms of international competitiveness, technology development, and infrastructural development, which are the engines of the current phase of globalization (Derricourt, 2005). Therefore, there is a need to devise means of bringing the state back into the development agenda. The roles of the state must transcend the borderline of providing the right environment for investment to thrive; it should be involved in the critical sectors of the economy such as agriculture, education, health, and industry in manners that foster democracy and development (Ross, 2001).

This calls for greater involvement of the region and of North African people in the global movements against economic inequalities and social injustices (Nussbaum & Glover, 1995). Some extraordinary movements include the 50 Years is enough, (Vandewalle, 1996) a US network for global economic justice. Its activities include mobilizing and organizing the National Days of Action against the IMF and World Bank, and conferences, among orders (Murphy, 2001). Good enough, North Africa seems to be gradually awakening up to the realism of this request. In 2002, the African Social Forum, a coalition of North African civil society initiated a popular protest against the nefarious and injurious activities of the IMF in the continent (Akkari, 2004):

Leading the vociferous procession of about 200 were several of Africa's most outspoken detractors of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), structural adjustment program and the economic philosophy the demonstrators called neo-liberalism (Daoud, 2000).

It is seemed, however, that the most persistent challenge to the democratization process in Africa, which derives largely from the disempowerment of the people (Le Sueur, 2005), is the pervasiveness of unconstitutional rule. It is ironic that democracy could coexist with the absence of rule of law in Africa, when under normal circumstances it should have been the pillar of democracy (Moore, 1970). There is no lack of understanding of this phenomenon. It has to do with the fact that most of the constitutions upon which African countries commentator their democratization was derived through largely deceitful and undemocratic means (Goodman, 2009). In manners evocative of colonial constitutional development, the attempts at constitutional production in post-independence (Lazreg, 1990) Africa have been dominated mainly by the military, which, anti-people as it was, largely excluded the people from the processes (John P Entelis, 1996).

The result, as we have it today, is the illegitimacy of the documents, given their alienation from society. This has been complicated by the pervasiveness of poverty, which ensures that most of the time, people are pre-occupied with the struggle for survival, with little or no time and interest in the constitutional development of their countries (Sullivan, 1983). This constitutional making process, attached with the growth of pseudo democrats with little or no democratic approach, has been responsible for the pointless accomplishment of the constitution (R. Joseph, 1997). In some instances, we have seen the attempt of obligatory governments to stand-in constitutional modifications for personal exaggeration, as the third term agenda in Nigeria vividly illustrates (Bezuidenhout, 2000).

While Africa has enjoyed some measure of support from the international system in its democratization, such have not been driven by the above-mentioned vision and principle. Rather, western interests have been the drivers of external interventions (Diamond, 2010). To

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be sure, the elevation of western democracy in Africa has been largely counterproductive. This is predominantly so given the suffocating conditionalities usually allied with foreign aid (Luckham, 1994). A more dangerous dimension to the democratization process in Africa is the increasing militarization of US-African aid relations (Tettey, 2001). Nothing illustrates the betterment of African region, meanwhile, people are looking for economical realtions inform of investment, trading from US, which is more better than the US military involved in the new Africa Comman (AFRICOM), which was originally designed to enforce the principal domination of United States' hegemony, its rule and strategy on the World planet (Lynch & Crawford, 2011). As the Immigrants Global 2006 submits: Originally, AFRICOM was promoted as integrating military and civilian agencies for humanitarian assistance, public action which help the humanity to overcome their domestic problems, no doubt such military assistance is good but the best is economic and social support, so that it will enable masses to overcome their financial crisis and response to normal disasters independently (Widner, 1994).

Afterward many and more disapproval from African nations and the worldwide benevolent communal, on how to grow up her own program , so that the people of Africa will be able to survive , the new AFRICOM Commander is now weight the worth the capacity can add to the many U.S. military programs already operating in Africa (Hirsch & Collins, 1995) . Following this militarization of foreign aid, the US had budget a broad slice of its development in order to fund a huge support foe Pentagon (Feickert, 2005).

This may have been complicated by the alleged global war against terrorism, it's to believe that not according to the claimed and was far as Africa is concerned in real sense, compromised both national security and human privileges (Nevins, 2002). For example, it has been exposed that the rising military role in influential U.S. global rendezvous is a task to the next president (Howe, 1957) . The capacity and military power expansion can also create different impediments for United States' policies in the world of politics (McCartney, 2007).

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Foreign assistance represents less than one percent of the federal budget, while protection spending is 20% (Woodward, 2016). The U.S. military has over 1.5 million uniformed vigorous duty employees and over 10,100 civilian employees (Woodward, 2016), while the Department of State has some 6,500 permanent employees (Oosthuizen & Oosthuizen, 1968). Although several high-level task forces and directives have emphasized the urgent need to modernize our aid infrastructure and increase sustainable development activities (Clough, 1992) , such assistance is increasingly being overseen by military institutions whose policies are driven by the Global War on Terror, not by the war against humanity (Hill, 1983).

3.12- North Africa Between the Super Powers' Conflicts

Since the cold war began between the two super powers due to conflicts in sharing power. USA and USSR were not in good relations as both are always looking for their interests, this to serve their political objectives (Hamilton, 1983). Therefore, the political situation was now heating up in the middle of 20th millennium , war was also adding streams to many nations , especially the relationship between USA and USSR both had to strive to clear their position in the region, and the World at large (Stouffer et al., 1949). World War-II was fighting in Europe, Pacific, Atlantic, South-East Asia, China, Middle-East , Mediterranean, North Africa and Horn of Africa, the war was also extended it hegemonic spreading to North and South United States' respectively in between, 1939-1945 (Barber & Harrison, 1991). For the moment, the fatal consequences of the World War-II had some blessings as well. The major highlights of the result of World War-II are : allied victory, collapse of Nazi Germany, fall of Japanese and Italian Empires, dissolution of the league of nations, creation of the United nations, emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as super powers and the beginning of cold war (Chang, 2012).

The new page of war was opened after World War-II between United States' and USSR, called Cold War, the war basically was not involved any kind of weapon but it was uncontaminated with clarity it was the ideological war. Now, there were two superpowers in the World (Friedman, 2012) . The main idea was both these giants were greedily searching for absolute powers, beyond the post-cold war in the World (Friedman, 2012).

The era was ended when the Soviet Union collapsed on December 31, 1991. The long confrontation between United States' and Soviet Union defined the cold war period after World war II (Bratton & Van de Walle, 1997). The Soviet and United States' armies occupied Europe, both towered over the remnants of European forces. The collapse of the European imperial system, the emergence of new states and a struggle between the soviets and United States for domination , but in the end, the cold war was a struggle built on Europe's decline .The post-cold war had two phases , the first lasted from December 31, 1991, until September 11,2001, the second lasted from 11-9-2001till date (Fredrickson, 1982).

The dynamics of core interests of United States and her policies in North Africa go line by line with its leadership, the Bush legacy and the Obama administration regarding Africa (Bratton & Van de Walle, 1997). So, when Obama delivers an address to the African Union (AU), many people opposed his policy towards African Nations, they were opined that the United States' policies towards them is lacking many fruitful steps which supposed to take by the United States' leadership as sole power in the World politics (Gore, 2012).

Meanwhile, in Obama's speech to the African Union, which later has been considered as milestone in pursuing strategic policies to promote growth and development, encourage good governance and end of conflict (Gore, 2012). Both Africa- United States' leaders appeared noticeably thinner than those of his predecessors, such as George W. Bush and many more. Hence, Obama made four visits in his presidency to African continent, in the last one, he visited Kenya, where he attended Global Entrepreneurship Summit, and meeting with government officials and business and civil society leaders (Gore, 2012). Cameron Hadson,

who served as director for African affairs on the staff of the National Security Council from 2005-2009 under the Bush and Obama administrations, said, that the difference in African policies is that Bush offered approach the continent and what he wanted to accomplish there he stated "I have a view seems to be like an inquiry, it's almost a general inquiry, that does Obama has any tangible apparition for the African continent. It seems that the question has not brought any satisfactory answer (Lupu, Riedl, Bleck, & van de Walle, 2013). When Bush came into the office, there were civil wars, going on in many countries of Africa such as, Sudan, Congo, Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone (Van de Walle, 2009).

By the end of his first term, all those civil wars were over. So, Bush intended to end the civil wars first then he launched a very aggressive development program (Van de Walle, 2009). While Obama being first Afro-American leader did not meet the expectations, due to his roots Obama's most substantial initiative on the continent is to empower Africa, which was launched in 2013 with the goal of doubling access to electricity in Sub-Sahara Africa, according to white house more than seven billion dollars' investment during five years would increase access by at least 20 million new householders and businesses (Van de Walle, 2009). During the US-Africa leaders' summit, in Washington DC Obama tripled those initial goals to 60million electricity connections and 30,000 Megawatts of energy (Olonisakin, 2008). Feed the future, the Obama administrations global hunger and food security initiative, focused on agricultural production to boost harvest economics development and trade (Olonisakin, 2008).

Almost twelve of the future African countries are in Africa. Obama also signed a great deal for African growth and opportunity act, begun under Bush, that allows for duty –free imports to the US from eligible Sub-Sahara countries (Van de Walle, 2012). Obama further took step on massive Ebola break in the West African Nations. With all these efforts and hard struggle by Obama with those initiatives, Obama need a more time measuring up to the

accomplishments of Bush's development agenda when it comes to African continent. Bush has started the presidential emergency plan for Aids relief (Bush, 2009) .

He also increased development funding for the continent across a number of sectors, such as education, health sector, security, and many more The United States' agency for international development went from 150million dollars to 800million dollars respectively, by the time Bush left office, this represented a massive increase (Schwartländer, Grubb, & Perriëns, 2006).

For now, with a Middle–East in chaos, conflicts in Africa are not receiving the level of attention as the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan did as well as ISIS, but terrorist groups are also a risk in Africa, with Boko haram in Nigeria, and al –Shabab in Somalia regularly targeting civilians, and wars in Africa continue to rage , with some of the conflicts Bush ended heating up again which still needed more efforts from Obama, but he didn't finish this task till his tenure has finished (Adibe et al., 2012).

The occurrence of al- Shabab in Somalia as deadly group can be seen in its political history for decades, which started in the country's capital of Mogadishu, Eastern State in the horn African region (Ghali, 2012). Meanwhile, the country is lacking central authority back to the year of 1991, after decline of dictator Said Baire, who was not concerned about welfare of Somalian people in establishment for democratic style in ruling the country of the most populous Muslim state in Africa, after Nigeria.

Al –Shabab has ruined the country's reputation, regionally as well internationally, its activities of weaking the institutions of the State, sectarianism, unawareness of truth teaching of Islam, many were even confused to know more about this perfect religion (Ghali, 2012).

Nevertheless, the United States has proved her world hegemony where she had carried several attacks to kill key leaders of this deadly group such as Hassan Ali Dhore, Abdullah Haji and many more of radical leaders (Vidino, Pantucci, & Kohlmann, 2010). It was learnt that there

are supportive arme thd forces from the region approximately 22,000 recorded of protecting Somalian people from al-Shababs' terror, since 1997 due to al-Shababs' disturbance in Somalia (Vidino et al., 2010).

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CHAPTER- 4

THE UNITED STATES' DIVERGENT POLICIES AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES A PROPOS NORTH AFRICAN PLANET

This study has encountered and does stumble upon the difference methods, ways and system of examining the causes and how to achieve the best democratization process, where the citizens will be able to receive their fundamental rights, liberty, protection, progress, peaceful society, respect for the humanity, the researcher found some solutions by emphasizing on these following factors, which are: wealth, social equality, cultural identity, foreign intervention, andstandard educationalinstitutions.

4.1- Wealth

Numerous political scientists believe that wealth can be a very cause to victorious of democratization, the wealthy and the industrial countries hardly to fall in the hand of authoritarian regime, meanwhile the flourish of democracy will not allow them. i.e.United States, India, Ethiopia and Australia respectvlly as a perfect example (Lijphart, 1977).

Orders argues that wealth or be a comfortable State can't determine the best system of democratization and painstaking it as out of question, while countless countries are actual rich with sound economy possessions still suffering from dictatorships or authoritarian regimes, for occurrence the middle –East kingdoms i.e. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain and UAE (McGuire, 2010).

The democratization phenomenon can likewise be deliberated in the sunny of European Circumstances, the catastrophe of Hitler and Nazis Germany can be stated as accomplished example as consequence of authoritarian administration, the industrial revolution be present beforehand the French revolution (Beaumont & Nicholls, 2008).

4.2- Social Equality

Acemoglu and Robinson argued that it's difficult to observe any affiliation amid democracy and social equality they are far too apiece order so it's intellectual impossibility that they can exertion together. People has to accidental in any part of egalitarian society to go against authoritarian system, for instance Singapore (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2001). Those who hail from less equally dispersal prosperity societies will unquestionably in favor of democratic government to alteration their fate and enhancement their economy, because elite class not in favor of equal distribution of wealth or resources, like South Africa (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2005).

4.3- Cultural Identity

The culture can likewise have donated to stability of self-governing scheme in many countries, but some States those who disallowed democracy to flourish customarily argues and claims that their culture demonstrate them erroneous not to comfortable the democratic as ideal classification in their countries (Almond & Verba, 2015). The western culture can be a perfect example in this phenomenon, while in order way order countries or States are perfectly managed to practice democracy in their land for instance: India, Japan, Taiwan, Indonesia, Namibia, Botswana, and South Korea (Kihl, 2015).

4.4- Foreign Intervention

The foreign intervention can challenge democracy and recognized authoritarian supervisions i.e. military intervention for instance, Japan and Germany after World War-II (Calhoun, 1986). Decolonization can also be part of the package as it typically reputable democracy but frequently substitutes with authoritarian management, for example in the United States, in the south after civil war former slaves were marginalized by Jim crow law after restoration era of the United States after many periods. US democracy was re-conventional by civic association the African United States civil rights movements and an outside military the United States' military (Moravcsik, 1995).

4.5- Education

This is communal theory amongst the scholars appealing that education effortlessly indorses democracy procedure in the world, the poor republics continuously motivation to enhance their education scheme so that it can support to endorse the equal of democracy in their mother land (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

4.6- Various Suggestions on Democracy

Francis Fukuyama opines in his essay (Fukuyama, 1989) (the end of history &end of man), it was his address on liberal democracy as the concluding procedure of human management, nevertheless, it has been argued that the growth of generous economic reorganizations has had varied effects on democratization in numerous customs, it is contended, democratic foundations have been embarrassed and self-controlled in order to content intercontinental capital markets or to simplify the universal tide of trade (Fukuyama, 2006a).

Strategy has many dimensional meaning which sometime means plan or cause of action where to perform certain things, to make perfect arrangement for any organization, institution or Government (Battistella, Biotto, & De Toni, 2012). Moreover, it denotes a master plan of action, like war stategy for wellbeing and protection of people, the accountable mediator must have solid and palpable strategy to make people contented (McCutchen, Francis, & Kerr, 1997).

4.7- Election Strategies

This includes elections process in selection of representatives, electoral commission, where people has to perform their rights in casting their votes to elect the best and suitable candidates for the post (Fetzer, 2008). The election process can be open ballot or secret one, but mostly secret ballot is more welcome by most developed and developing countries. Strategically people should avoid any incorporate action which can lead to violation of

constitution i.e election rigging, killing, riot or other chaos leads to breaking the society peace (Jacobson & Kernell, 1983).

4.8- Democracy in Egypt

The spirit of democracy is to provide equal opportunities, chances for all genders in terms of equality in all aspects of life (Rhee, 1997). The appraisal of democracy in general as a field of development support and its impact support on the political archtecture in Egypt, using the USAID funded Egyptian Decentralization Initiative (EDI), as a case study, in light of democracy promotion dynamisms led by the United States in Egyptian society (Aranson, Hinich, & Ordeshook, 1974).

Through democracy theory we attempted to respondto the question of whether provider countries can convincingly have inspiration on national policies in addressee countries notwithstanding resistance from the recipient countries (Ahmed, 1982). In the case of Egypt is such assistance moved towards "democratizing" the political process again merely communicating an economic system receptive of United States' monetary interests with a comprehensible assumption that democracy is to materialize, like a white bunny out of a magician's hat, as an unoriginal of such market reform (Makram-Ebeid, 1989).? The domineering presence of the market economy as a precondition for egalitarianism and political liberalization in the Arab world is a claim that has been made and rebounded by the people of Egypt, The Arabs and Western audiences for moderately some time (J. C. Alexander, 2011). For instance, the Center for International Private Enterprise works under the dictum of "dispersion democracy complete market concerned with reform", it's all about promotion of real spirit of democracy in the World market, all is to combat the influences of communism and their agents (Bayat, 2007). The United State of United States' as a sole power in the World politics, economy, culture and military has making all efforts to see that her authority and ideology remains unchallenged (Brownlee, 2002).

Increasing progressively over the past two periods, democracy support is now a noteworthy essential of evolution schedules today as it shows in dissimilar fragment of the World meanwhile , there is no more competition between democracy and communism as ideology as it was before cold war (Kagan, 2004). 'Allegedly, almanac outlay on democracy elevation is in additional of United States 5 billion dollars.''Originally led by the United States and Germany in the 1980s democracy upgrading has since then been followed by a conventional of trustworthy equivalences to numerous shades of participation' (Ikenberry, 2002).

Currently classlessness promotion is being pursued by governments such as Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany, the European Union, Denmark, Norway and Spain (Micklethwait & Wooldridge, 2004). Democracy promotion has been pursued by donors and aid agencies for a multiplicity of reasons, ranging from beliefs that democracies are less likely to go to war and thus strengthening global peace and security, supporting economic interests and trade, curbing the effect of terrorism, cold war containment strategies and extending local political ideologies and jutting them at the international level of world politics(Micklethwait & Wooldridge, 2004). Notwithstanding, Egypt has being considered a significant aid recipient of both military and economic aid, including democracy assistance (Petrov et al., 2007) The Egypt's political system leaves much to be desired in terms of democratic provisions, and In terms of sustenance to local government and regionalization, the United States' Agency for International Development (USAID) has capitalized more than $800 million in local government and subsidiarity missions over the past 20 years in Egypt, despite the fact that "Egypt has been administered under a centralized system that has led to limited democracy (Ahmed, 1982)".

Why was this money allocated? Was it primarily for democratizing Egyptian politics through assisting its democratic transition? Is there a form of economic conditionality that remains implicit to what is primarily advocated as a political form of assistance? (Abed-Kotob, 1995). Beyond the bombast, Arab "exceptionalism" was animated and well (Birks & Sinclair, 1978) .

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The claim made here is not that United States' in the form of democracy promotion is terrifyingly original or by any means unprecedented. Barry Gills and Joel Rocamora first criticized "low passion democracy" in 1992, noting that the documentation of entrepreneurship with democracy is not a very well hidden philosophical bias of sure western studies of Third World Democracy (Mackinder, 1919).

Today, the specific forms of democracy pushed by the West in the Third World are explicitly custom-made to serve the interests of global capital in these countries (Tessler, 2002). Here, a political economic convention of hegemonic power holders is presented as being a matter of natural law, whether economic or developmental, rather than as a specific product of historical conditions, conflict over the pursuit of interests, and class struggle" (Decalo, 1992). Or as Gills and Rocamora conclude in their analysis that low intensity democracy is 'the political consequence of economic liberalization and internationalization (Nyang'Oro, 1994)'.

Liberalization, an economic construction will already be amalgamated and verbalizing the rules of governance, interpretation whatsoever democratization testing fairly ineffective and scruffy (Han, 1999). Such a state of activities would only differ in its effective facets lending no more bulk to the exhausted political institutions currently upholding the frontage of democracy while possession the rank quo intact finished a further alertness of monetary prosperity and political expert outside the clasp of the public scope (Pyatt & Round, 1985).

This is confirmed in the USAID reinforced Egyptian government's approach to transference and local government, as it will be demonstrated below, whereby a lop-sided emphasis is on managerial and financial aspects to reinforce economic decentralization along with negligible concern for political decentralization and democratization of local government (Karshenas, 1997).

Neo-liberal market constructions maintained by the United States and Western Europe with all of therein eased through Intercontinental Financial Institutions such as the World Bank and

International Monetary Fund are being erected (Abrahamsen, 2004), without any real efforts to create a political backdrop to anger or assimilate any form of partaking or representative government within the economic governance structures of such "reforms" (Chang, 2002).

The 2007 constitutional amendments of 34 articles, rubber embossed through parliament amidst a boycott by the weakened impression of an opposition, stood agreed off as Cairo's center area stroked the strength of the refuge gadget predating a much earnt popular backlash against the barefaced authoritarian rule of Mubarak and his team (Palma, 2009). Unable or perhaps even reluctant to remonstration and speech rebuff of the inequitable government of the organization, the Egyptian community at the time were once again relegated to observers choosing apathy over action (Crotty, 2005).

The advent of neo-liberal economic globalization and the mounting "subcontracting" of economic governance away from the political spheres coupled with growing apathy and disenchantment consequential from the almost non-existent forms of participatory politics and representative governments in the Arab world (Colclough, 1996) , begs questions of the status of democracy, alleged democracy promotion, the type of democracy being promoted, the prospects of realizing self-rule in the Arab world at a juncture in time where notions of hegemony (Guthman, 2007), empire and imperialism and neo-colonialism are more present than ever.

Even though Safwat El Sheirf, Secretary General of the former National Democratic Party, assured Egyptians that they were living in the "brightest ages of democracy"; the researcher propose investigating the underlying theories behind democracy promotion, the impact, if any, of such efforts in Egypt, the current political economic context and whether democratization or economic liberalization are what the Egyptian regime was intending to bestow on its populace (Brenner & Theodore, 2002).

Throughout the sequence of this study, we will review the historical growth of democracy raise, criticisms of democracy assistance, measures of assessing and weighing the influence, or the lack thereof, of democracy assistance, local government in Egypt (Wissenbach, 2009), decentralization and strengthening local governance as a field of democracy assistance/ development sustenance and previous decentralization initiatives in Egypt (Snider & Faris, 2011)

The US continued to back the Mubarak regime preferring stability over uncertainty until the very end of his days in February 2011 (Baloglu & Mangaloglu, 2001). The democratic façade reinforced by human rights abuses, and oppression of freedoms that defined the Modus operandi of the Egyptian despotism sustained persistent as Egypt was secret in transition and until popular protests and forays defied the authoritarianism of Mubarak's management and exiled him out of power (Priesner & Wagner, 1961). However, Egypt's change is equally economic and political; more ethno centric spectators will declare that it is one of absconding institution to the open hold of modernism (Saleh, 2005).

During the course of transitions, helping hands usually be the western hands,they are always lengthy with suggestions of aid and assistance (Weinbaum, 1986). Democracy assistance, a comparatively new procedure of encouragement falls under this sort. Thus "democracy" mentioning to what is fundamentally a political concept depicting the abundant much-admired yet tremendously contestable superlative with rising and developing universal average is supposedly being aided and abetted to grow and embellishment by much more conversant and reputable democratic supremacies (Anderson, 2011) .

However, we are involuntary to question why an essentially political concept is conditional on a very specific economic precondition that of the neo-liberal market economy (Gilsenan, 1974), at a time when economic governance is uphill in standing and progressively disentangled from the domain of political and partaking control (Wente & Meltzer, 1990).

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It seems to be rather self-defeating to sanction democracy based on neo-liberalism when it is argued that neo-liberalism subverts the political, i.e. democracy, to serve the economic and social (Ake, 1993).

This raises the question that whether there is frank curiosity in indorsing a neutral and ideologically free form of governance that appeals self- rule and autonomy while respecting the local discriminations of lots who have only knowledgeable the dominations of tyrannical rule (Ake, 1993).

The above opinions, also further explain selecting decentralization as a subject of review for this effort to discover the truth. Despite being used by technocrats the world over for addressing a crowd of glitches, devolution has been addressed by key benefactors and global officialdoms as a self- governance, chiefly by USAID and the case of the EDI. What the researcher will demonstrate is how the political procedures of decentralization and as demonstrated by the EDI were destabilized so that it will please the low-cost (Durac & Cavatorta, 2009).

We have selected to inspect local government performance as a subset of the wider political set and lack of democratization. Native governance existence the promptest form of administration and closest to the citizen and the focus of many democratic governance efforts in addition to decentralization being a major donor attraction and one of prescriptions (Ake, 1993) of the neo-liberal Washington Consensus. This will be done through a review of the history of local government in Egypt, decentralization in development studies in general and as applied to Egypt. This is conducted before reviewing samples of decentralization initiatives in Egypt and the case study of the USAID funded EDI (Dillman, 2002).

Egypt's central construction of governance can be traced back to the Pharaohs. This emphasis on the centralized power of the pharaoh was also further enforced by the belief that "the demands for a centralized manipulation of the Nile's irrigation system reinforced the tendency

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of the entire bureaucracy to see its interests and influence directly tied to the central government as the only legitimate seat of power (Entelis, 1997). The prosperity of Egypt was dependent on the efficiency of its governmentally highly centralized structure of governance continues to characterize Egypt's form of governance until today (Entelis, 1997).

Various forms of governmental structures have been instilled in Egypt across Roman, Arab/Muslim, French, Ottoman, and British rule; all characterized by centralized top-down structures with the main seat of power located usually in Cairo and in Alexandria during Roman rule (Cavatorta, 2001) .

These local structures were tasked with duties such as tax collection, maintenance and sanitation, management of a wide range of farming activities, military drafts and at times cultural and religious ceremonies (Cavatorta, 2001). The limited decentralization, mainly involving the de-concentration of basic services such as sewage, sanitation, and local infrastructure has always been big with central government and their local arms (Cavatorta, 2001).

There is a pattern whereby only such limited functions have been entrusted to local government structures, in terms of the extent of devolution of powers, from the days of Khedive Ismail to Egypt's former Minister of Local Development, Mohamed Abdel Salam El Mahgoub. The reasons behind the adoption of decentralization and its application by host governments have varied to and has ranged from increasing central control over peripheral areas, improving service delivery, strengthening national unity through increased participation, combating corruption, enhancing political legitimacy, tackling poverty reduction and reducing red tape amongst order reasons (Storm, 2009).

Over the last decade in Egypt alone various donors including the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the World Bank, the Government of Netherlands, and the Government of Canada have put

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millions of dollars in supporting decentralization initiatives in Egypt such the National Program for Integrated Rural Development, also known as the Shorouk (sunrise) program, the Egyptian Decentralization Initiative, Municipal Initiatives for Strategic Recovery (MISR), and the UNDP supported Technical Support to the Ministry of Local Development (Storm, 2009).

Despite this international trend to adopt decentralized frameworks and the ongoing donor enthusiasm for such initiatives, decentralization in Egypt remains to be an "on-going" affair and political decentralization still pending (El Mansour, 1996). The economic system that of the neo-liberal market economy, and based on this economic prerequisite any "democratic" objectives must uphold the neo-liberal market economy. Since the topic currently involves both economic and political governance, we chose to examine USAID's Egyptian (El Mansour, 1996). Decentralization Initiative to involves economic objectives, namely fiscal and administrative decentralization, that to be achieved under the objectives of strengthening democratic governance (El Mansour, 1996).

This effort will focus on examining "democracy assistance" as undertaken by USAID in Egypt through documentary analysis and the case study of the Egyptian Decentralization Initiative under the Democratic Governance portfolio conducted by USAID against a backdrop of the tangible developments on Egypt's political and economic landscape (El Mansour, 1996)through decentralization. During the course of this effort, the researcher will examine democracy promotion and democracy assistance in general, and the theoretical underpinning of neo-liberalism at the heart of United States with democracy promotion, decentralization which is relates to neo-liberalism and democratic governance and an examination of Egypt's history of local development and decentralization to set the stage for the case study (El Mansour, 1996).

In addition to the political economy approach utilized throughout this effort for the documentary analysis of relevant sources and the selected case studies, in addition to primary

and secondary sources has been deployed throughout this work   (Sreberny, 2005). Interviews have been conducted with Rudy Runko, Chief of Party, and Ernie *Slingby*, Senior Advisor, of the Egyptian Decentralization Initiative (EDI*). Aladeen* El *Shawa,* Local Development Expert, United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF), Rania *Hedeya,* Program Analyst with the United Nations Development Program in Egypt responsible for decentralization Objectives (Sreberny, 2005).

Achieve a better understanding of the new form of purported aid or development assistance supported by an increasing number of international development organizations particularly USAID (Sadiqi, 2016). The aid which is advocated under the guise of freedom and neutrality of a universal good when in actuality it entails hidden conditionality and extreme ideological biases that may at times limit popular participation in the political process and encroach on and restrict the very freedoms and values allegedly being supported (Sadiqi, 2016).

Examining the status of democratic political development at the local level in Egypt, in light of the aid regimes complacency with autocrats and the palpable stalemate of democratic governance in the country (Browers, 2015). The particular focus will be on the role of the United States' aid apparatus in maintaining the status quo of a facade political democratic transition to further pursue the complete economic transition of Egypt's economy to neo-liberal market model (Mabrour & Mgharfaoui, 2010).

Question of the possibility of alternatives to neo-liberal dictates of the "free market" model in terms of economic operations and the consequential effects on political governance and the attainment of democratic and participatory politics (Sutherland, 2012). Capitalism or free market fundamentalism is not a prerequisite for democratic politics, but is in fact means to erode democratic politics (Sutherland, 2012). Debunk the myth of capitalism as the main impetus for democratic governance through proving that the existence of a market economy does not necessarily mean the presence of democracy, by highlighting relevant aspects of theory and case studies (Sutherland, 2012).

4.9- Materials

The proposed materials to be reviewed and analyzed include both qualitative and quantitative efforts on democracy assistance in general, democratic transitions, Egyptian political developments, neo-liberal expansion under the guise of political reform (e.g. the literature on low intensity democracy) and democratic alternatives to the narrowly defined capitalist United States' model. Given the scope of this effort, quantitative efforts will only be resorted to in a selective manner throughout the course of the thesis (McGue, 1997) . The case study draws on the progress reports and evaluation information shared by USAID Egypt in addition to online resources and reports pertaining to USAID Egypt's Democratic Governance (DG) portfolio (Wolk, 2004).

The research effort, in attempt to better understand democracy assistance both in Washington D.C. and its consequences in Cairo, will review both primary and secondary sources on the receiving and donor ends of the spectrum. Relevant project documents and reports commissioned by USAID (Wolk, 2004).

In terms of quantitative studies, there are a number of important studies despite the difficulty in quantifying measures of democracy and therefore assessing changes in impact is a recurring theme (Chhatre & Agrawal, 2009). The researcher will review the work of Scott and Steele will also review the work of Steven Hook who studied the correlations between aid allocations and democracy or human-rights issues and concerns in addition to Knack's multivariate analysis of the impact of aid on democratization in a sample of recipient nations from 1975 to 2000 (Chhatre & Agrawal, 2009). Moreover, Finkel et al's 2006 study of the impact of U.S. democracy assistance on democracy building world-wide, used an exhaustive survey of the USAID democratic governance portfolio from 1990 to 2003 and Freedom House and Polity IV datasets.

We should note that whatever indexes do exist, such as that of Freedom House, cannot define freedoms or democratic ranking without invoking controversy regarding the capitalist/market prerequisite for democracy and whether the neoliberal economic paradigm guarantees (Chhatre & Agrawal, 2009). There however appears to be some sort of conflict of interest as Freedom House, one of the most widely cited indexes in terms of gauging political and economic development, seems to also obfuscate the debate by equating democracy with capitalism (Chhatre & Agrawal, 2009). Assuming, one was to supplement the increasingly difficult task of quantifying democracy, particularly in assessing the impact of assistance, another obstacle, that of inconclusive studies would soon hinder any attempt to reach a clear cut stance on the impact of democracy assistance in assisting democracy (Rose, 2016) . As Thomas Carorders notes "democracy assistance rarely has decisive steps". Possible measures of mitigating such a risk is through conducting interviews with specialists in the field of foreign aid in general and democracy assistance in particular (Rose, 2016).

4.10- United States' Role in Democracy Sponsorship and Its Impact on Domestic Policies of North Africa

Increasing steadily over the past two decades, democracy assistance is now a significant component of most major development organizations today (Chowdhury, 2004). Reportedly, annual expenditure on democracy promotion is in excess of USD 5 billion dollars. Initially led by the United States and Germany in the 1980s, democracy promotion has since then been pursued by a majority of established democracies to various degrees of involvement and engagement in the provision of democracy assistance. Currently democracy promotion is being pursued by governments such as Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany, the European Union, Denmark, Norway and Spain (Chowdhury, 2004). Democracy promotion has been pursued by donors and aid agencies for a multiplicity of reasons, ranging from beliefs that democracies are less likely to go to war and thus strengthening global peace and security, supporting economic interests and trade, curbing the effect of terrorism, cold war containment

strategies and extending local political ideologies and projecting them at the international level of world politics   (Huber, 2008).

Democracy promotion efforts have received mixed reviews from those who openly embrace these policies to support regime change and democratic consolidation to those who view them as a form of interventionist policies of cultural imperialism and an extension of United States' hegemony. Indeed, democratizing Iraq and the consequent toppling of the regime of Saddam Hussein was given as an excuse for occupation and invasion of Iraq. However, since the focus of this effort is on United States' democracy (Huber, 2008).

Carorders promotions, it will attempt explain the rationales behind it. This chapter will focus on why democracy promotion takes place, its theoretical underpinnings, the various forms it may take and the general criticisms of this form of aid in both theory and application (Ross, 2004).

Before exploring the subject any further, we must first differentiate between democracy promotion and democracy assistance. Acute defines democracy promotion as "an umbrella term that covers various activities aimed at fostering, improving, and sustaining good governance at several political levels (Bunce & Wolchik, 2006). It comprises assistance, consolidation, dissemination, and advocacy". While democracy assistance is described as: "the provision of support (financial, cultural, or material) to 'democratic agents' in the process of democratization, without entailing direct intervention (Bunce & Wolchik, 2006). It seeks to foster the conditions for the rise of a democratic regime, such as NGOs' patronage or diplomatic pressure, and is thus as Thomas Carorders puts it, 'a quiet support for democracy' (Bunce & Wolchik, 2006). Burnell adds to this definition by noting that: "democracy assistance, such as practical support to the electoral process, strengthening civil society and horizontal mechanisms of accountability like the judiciary. But democracy assistance is only one of the instruments, tools or approaches that capitalist uses to promote democracy" (Benedict, Geisler, Trygg, Huner, & Hurry, 2006) .

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Therefore, democracy promotion is the much larger concept of supporting its governance, while democracy assistance refers to the targeted efforts pursued by development agencies to strengthen and support democratic processes (Benedict et al., 2006). An origin of Democracy Promotion before the 1980s, not much of US foreign aid was aimed at supporting or promoting democracy in the world. According to Carorders, in the 1950s, US aid was "heavily security-oriented" consisting primarily of economic and military assistance to friendly regimes (Benedict et al., 2006).

This shifted in the 1960s, with modernization theory as a driving force and the belief that economic development would lead to political development and democracy. Carorders explains this as: "economic development rose as a priority of US aid, both as a goal in and of itself and as an objective tied to US security interests – the idea being that promoting economic development in the Third World would deter countries from 'going' communist (Benedict et al., 2006).

Carorders notes one particular incident in 1966, with the passage of Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act, whereby USAID was to ensure the "maximum participation in the task of economic development on the part of the people of the developing countries, through the encouragement of democratic private and local government institutions" (Peart & Diaz, 2007). However, the understanding of USAID and the implementation of these programs which largely took place in dictatorships albeit in sectors such as legislatures, legal reform, labor unions and civic organizations was "more about increasing participation in economic development than about democratization (Peart & Diaz, 2007)"

However, it should also be noted that the inconsistencies of United States' in democracy promotion were unabated by the trends in US foreign assistance (Peart & Diaz, 2007) . However, what was originally a footnote in Cold War foreign policy has grown into a main aspect of development cooperation in the world today. USAID in Egypt alone has spent USD 1.13 billion in total assistance of democracy and governance during the period from 1975 to

2009 (Abrahamsen, 2000). Why the US Promotes Democracy but that promotion is not carrying perfect pictures in North Africa countries, because its unlike other part of the world.

The historical record showed a variety of reasons for the United States' in promotion of democracy (Abrahamsen, 2000) . Such as containment and the geopolitical security interests of the US during the cold war, basic human right's needs, supporting economic expansion of US interests, reducing poverty and fighting terrorism. This section will focus primarily on the reasons given for United States' support to democracy promotion with an emphasis on the economic reasoning inherent to what appears to be a political objective (Abrahamsen, 2000) .

Democracy as we know it remains to be a universally contested concept and a relatively new one at that. According to Sen: "The idea of democracy as a universal commitment is quite new and it is quintessentially a product of the twentieth century(Abrahamsen, 2000). Democracy promotion as such is even more novel a concept and has been subject to various influences and continues to be so (Abrahamsen, 2000).

Observers have traced back the international and particularly United States' commitment to liberal democracy and to "champion the promotion of democratic government abroad" to Woodrow Wilson's presidency from 1913 to 1921 (Lacina & Gleditsch, 2005).

This was built on Wilson's "triad" of "liberal governance, peace and free markets". Explained mainly in terms of what was described as a Wilsonian "internationalist liberal agenda" that sought to "shape the post-war order" and in the process (Lacina & Gleditsch, 2005) "Wilson's idealism had direct implications for his view about the goals of United States' foreign policy such idealism has supported the Democratic Peace Thesis which simply states that "Liberal states, the argument runs, founded on such principles as equality before the law, free speech and other civil liberties, private property, and elected representation are fundamentally against war (Lacina & Gleditsch, 2005). When the citizens who bear the burden of war elect their governments, wars become impossible. Furthermore, citizens appreciate that the benefits of

free trade can be enjoyed under conditions of peace". Ikenberry sums up the liberal argument for democracy promotion aptly as"the United States is better able to pursue its interests, reduce security threats in its environment, and foster a stable political order when other states particularly the major great powers are democracies rather than non-democracies" (Lacina & Gleditsch, 2005). Originating from Wilson's triad and subsequently shaped by various economic arguments and the ensuing market fundamentalism, democracy promotion has maintained its role to varying degrees within United States' foreign policy (Griffin, 1991). Such economic biases have not only impacted the practice of democracy promotion but have also been a driving force in Western, mostly United States' approaches to aid in general. According to one senior Western aid official the logic was simple: "economic growth would create a middle class with property interests which, however small would make its beneficiaries hostile to political instability in general and Communism in particular" (Griffin, 1991).

These views were put forward by Smith, Ralph, Robinson, Gills and Rocamora amongst orders. This can be summed up by the fact that the US as it pursues it economic interests supports the creation and maintenance of regimes that are conducive to the neoliberal economic order, irrespective of what that entails for the local populations, which have primarily market economies and complementary democracies (Griffin, 1991).

This is further emphasized through the constant importance free markets play in the various strands of theory underpinning United States' democracy promotion whether in the Wilsonian triad, the Democratic Peace Thesis, free market liberal democracy's impact on economic development, neo-liberal Ergonomics and Clinton's democratic enlargement (Smith, 2000). Throughout the course of United States' democracy promotion, the role of free markets was always vital to any form of political or democratic organization (Smith, 2000).

4.11- The Rise of Washington Consensus and Neoliberalism

The prescriptions of the Washington Consensus, advocate the following: "free trade, capital market liberalization, flexible exchange rates, market determined interest rates, the deregulation of markets, the transfer of assets from the public to private sector (Dowd & Dobbin, 2001) . The tight focus of public expenditure on well directed social targets, balanced budgets, tax reform, secure property rights, and the protection of intellectual property rights" (Dowd & Dobbin, 2001) . They Have been critiqued by many observers and yet continue to set the standard for policy making in Egypt and many "reforming" economies today. It is beyond the scope of this effort to discuss the disadvantages of such an economic system, however, we must understand how devastating such an approach to governances, actually are to fully comprehend the result of a free market neo-liberal pre-requisite for democratic governance (Saeed et al.). Although the now infamous Washington Consensus was originally envisioned by John Williamson as an economic solution that would be appropriate for developing countries and accepted in policy making circles in Washington, it was later discovered that it in fact exacerbated the problems it set out to alleviate (Bonnie & Wallace, 2004). The main reason for this is that in the original formulation, Williamson did not endorse free capital mobility. However, as the term became associated with the right wing economic policies endorsed by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, also known as Reagonomics, certain attributes of the original form (Craig & Porter, 2006) Evaluation changed such as the emphasis on "free capital movements, monetarism, and a minimal state that accepts no responsibility for correcting income inequalities or managing serious externalities" (Hudson, 2010). The ensuing economic orthodoxy has had disastrous effects all over the globe in achieving fair, equitable and sustainable economic growth (Hudson, 2010).

4.11.1- Decentralization and Neoliberalism

What Held refers to as "the minimal state" or what is dubbed by Kerlin and Kubal as "state shrinking" are vital aspects of the Washington Consensus. According to (Kaščák & Pupala,

2014)"state shrinking became the agenda of the day, as reformers worked under the assumptions that private markets were inherently more efficient than government bureaucracies and that where outright privatization was not possible, and is a recurring theme in this thesis, Slater further elaborates on this point noting that (Kaščák & Pupala, 2014) "The view that the term 'decentralization' can be deployed as a mask, to cover quite different objectives, has been recently reasserted since the 1970s 'international technocracy' has been sustaining ideas of decentralization through an interrelated series of schemes, such as the promotion of intermediate sized and small towns, integrated rural development, self-help housing and the championing of the 'informal sector' (Kaščák & Pupala, 2014). As far as the territorial organization of the state is concerned, the municipality is in the process of being resurrected, whilst central bureaucracy is being cast in the role of the key barrier to balanced development in the United States and Western Europe, the idea of decentralization becomes as a mask for dismantling the welfare state. Whereas some specific functions of the state maybe decentralized to the local level, there is no equivalent decentralization of resources; on the contrary there is more concentration of wealth (Brinkerhoff, 2009).The idea of decentralization is attractive; it can be seen as a way of breaking free the solidified blocks of a rigid central bureaucracy; it can be invoked as a crucial step towards a more sustainable pattern of social and economic development, and it can be linked to calls for more participation in the decision making process as a whole (Brinkerhoff, 2009). However, it can also be a less than overt step on the way to increased privatization, deregulation and a rolling-back of many of the economic and particularly social functions of the state (Brinkerhoff, 2009).

However, we must further investigate how USAID views decentralization and its application. The USAID Democratic Decentralization Programming Handbook elaborates on USAID's approach to decentralization, of which economic development and consequentially economic

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reform are integral components, usually under the neoliberal economic orthodoxy. According to the USAID handbook (Kaščák & Pupala, 2014).

"Decentralization can help advance a number of distinct objectives. From the standpoint of promoting stability, strengthening the subnational offices of national government agencies can help accommodate diverse local demands in a conflict-ridden environment (Kaščák & Pupala, 2014). With a view toward democracy, devolving power can invest larger numbers of citizens as active participants in the political system, giving political opportunities at the subnational level to actors who do not typically wield much influence in national politics (Kaščák & Pupala, 2014). In terms of economic development, more empowered local administrations and governments can enhance responsiveness to the range of citizen demands (Kaščák & Pupala, 2014).

Considering these numerous objectives, decentralization can usefully be conceptualized as a reform that advances the exercise of political freedom and individual economic choice in a context (Samoff, 1990). In Egypt USAID provided approximately $1 billion funding of projects supporting local government for the period which started from 1975 to 1995, it is approximately 90% of donor funding for local government projects in abovementioned time. The case study of the Egyptian Decentralization Initiative clearly shows the focus of the project on the financial and administrative aspects of decentralization at the expense of strengthening democratic and participatory processes(Samoff, 1990). We can also agree with Gills and Rocamora including in their analysis that low intensity democracy is 'the political corollary of economic liberalization and internationalization' (Samoff, 1990) .

This is quite an alarming observation, particularly when juxtaposed with the previously mentioned fact that during the period from 1975 to 1995, USAID has been the dominant source of funding of projects supporting local government in Egypt with a total amounting to $ 1 billion (Souza, 1996). Despite the contributions of various donors concluding Japan, the UK and Canada, USAID has provided approximately 90% of funding for local government

projects in that period. The Mubarak regime understood that it could afford to restrict the Egyptian political landscape, but would have to concede economically(Souza, 1996) . Although some trace economic liberalization to the Sadat sponsored open door policy, which was intended to make Egypt more attractive to foreign investment yet, resulted in "principally an opportunistic tactic intended to facilitate the inflow of Arab funds" (Soederberg, 2001). Interestingly enough that despite the open door policy and the association of the early days of economic liberalization with Sadat, public sector employment rose from 780,000 in 1970 to 1.1 million in 1980, total subsidies rose from less than 2% of GDP in 1971 to 13% in 1980 and the number of employees rose from 1.2 million in 1970 to 1.9 million in 1978 (Craig & Porter, 2006) .

However, the bulk of liberalization of Egypt's economy under the dictates of neoliberalism and the structural adjustment program came under Mubarak. Rutherford attributed the beginning of Egypt's economic restructuring to the agreement with the International Monetary Fund in March 1991 with the objective to "transform Egypt into a competitive market economy that was fully integrated into the global economic system" (Craig & Porter, 2006).

Prior to this Egypt owed $40 billion or 112% of GDP, using the official exchange rate, or 184% of GDP, using a free market exchange rate, making Egypt "the most heavily indebted. Due to Egypt's role in the Gulf War in 1990, the United States, the Gulf countries and the Paris Club wrote off $6.7 billion in military debt, $6.6 billion in loans and $10 billion in debt (restructured the remaining $10 billion), respectively (Craig & Porter, 2006).

Despite forgiving roughly 50% of Egypt's debt, various donors and IFIs including the United States, the Gulf, Europe, Japan, South Korea, the IMF, the World Bank increased significantly their economic assistance to Egypt including $7 billion in emergency economic assistance during Gulf War and $8 billion after the war (Harrigan, Wang, & El-Said, 2006). The IMF sponsored Economic Reform and Structural Adjustment Plan (ERSAP) involved

cutting government investment, slashing subsidies and an extensive privatization program. As Ikram notes (N. Alexander, 2002): "privatization on the scale proposed was not simply a financial exercise, but rather the abandonment of a model of development that had shaped Egyptian society for a generation" (N. Alexander, 2002). The Egyptian government began privatization of 314 public sector enterprises in 1991, by 2000 it had sold off a controlling interest in 118 enterprises for LE 12.3 billion and a minority interest in 16 companies for LE 1.8 billion and drawing IMF praise that Egypt had the fourth successful privatization program in 1998. Egypt continued the neoliberal economic trajectory outlined in the 1990s, privatizing 9 companies with a total value of $17.5 million in 2003, and then 59 firms with a total value of $2.6 billion in the period from 2005 to 2006. The World Bank continued to praise Mubarak's regime and. the rise of market liberalism that began in 1991 continued and manifested itself in the NDP's new guard led by Gamal, Mubarak and the government of Egypt's economic policy until the ousting of Mubarak in February 2011   (Shearer & Studies, 1998).

As Egypt transitions into a market economy, supported by US democracy assistance, it has yet to experience an equally democratic transition. Labeled by some as a "semi-authoritarian" regime, it is still not yet a democratic country, despite market reforms (Harrigan et al., 2006). Should this transition occur, the impact of marketization on democratic and participatory politics will likely be disastrous similar to the cases of Chile and Mexico, discussed in more detail in the case study chapter (Dorman, 2006). Some of these trends are already visible such as economic differentiation and regional disparities and extremely weak political participation and the occupation of the political space by a dominant neo-liberal party, in Egypt's case the former National Democratic Party (NDP) (Dorman, 2006).

As Heydemann notes in his analysis of the use of selective economic reforms to further authoritarianism in Arab regimes: selective liberalization reflects the broader dynamics of authoritarian upgrading: Arab regimes appropriate and exploit economic policies that are

often seen as inimical to authoritarianism because they are able to use these instruments to reinforce their hold on power (Dorman, 2006). For governments, the political benefits of selective liberalization are particularly important. Regime elites and their allies use their political privileges to capture the resources generated by economic openings. Incumbents manage access to economic opportunities as a political resource, rewarding friends and penalizing adversaries, Selective economic reforms generate the essential economic resources upon which processes of authoritarian upgrading depend (James, 1998). They also provide the basis for expanding the social coalitions that help to stabilize the regimes politically, providing incentives that bind private sector actors to elite counterparts in government and bureaucracy" (James, 1998). USAID support to the 105 Hedemann, decentralization efforts of the Mubarak regime and the NDP continued despite the acknowledgement of both USAID as an organization of their limited impact on strengthening democracy and as the interviewed staff members managing the project noted in terms of implementation of specific objectives related to the strengthening of participatory mechanisms in decentralization. However, the inherent neoliberalism and focus on free markets at the heart of democracy assistance is not the only criticism, this growing form of aid assistance has managed to receive (James, 1998).

Democracy promotion has taken several forms within the multilayered systems of geopolitics, international affairs and development. It can range from tacit diplomatic pressure, support for election monitoring and local government to full out military occupation through complete regime removal and regime change as experienced in the cases of Iraq and Afghanistan (Harrigan et al., 2006). As explained earlier, this work will focus on democracy assistance which is: "the provision of support (financial, cultural, or material) to 'democratic agents' in the process of democratization, without entailing direct intervention. It seeks to foster the conditions for the rise of a democratic regime, such as NGOs patronage or diplomatic pressure, and is thus, 'a quiet support for democracy' (Harrigan et al., 2006). Burnell adds to this definition by noting that: democracy assistance, such as practical support to the electoral

process, strengthening civil society and horizontal mechanisms of accountability like the judiciary. But democracy assistance is only one of the instruments, tools or approaches that democracy promotion uses to stimulate democracy". Carorders uses another term which is the third level, is that democracy promotion has "become an integral part of an interventionist US foreign policy in the Arab Middle East, epitomized in the invasion and occupation of Iraq" (Bond, 2011). It is clear that the case of Egypt falls within the first and second levels, the policy level and traditional public diplomacy as identified by Dalacoura (Bond, 2011). However, this level can be further clarified as carorders provides a broad definition and categorization of what he terms "democracy aid". Carorders defines democracy aid as a phenomenon which is falling within three general categories defined as follows. In terms of Egypt's development and the attempts of "building a well-functioning state", Rutherford demonstrates the rise of market liberalism and the neo-liberal economic order at the heart of the Egyptian state formation since 1990 (Bond, 2011). Rutherford notes that "the conception of market liberalism that emerged within the private sector in the 1990s was integrated into the ideology of the ruling party and the policies of the government by 2006". This model of the "well-functioning state" although severely lacking in terms of democratic governance was acceptable to the United States and the West as it adhered to the dictates of neo-liberalism and the slow and hampered integration of Egypt within the global economy (Bond, 2011). Given the scope of this thesis, we will focus on the use and capturing of selective economic reform to further authoritarianism and counter balance democracy promotion, his "End of History" argument: "he [Fukuyama] sees no contradiction between the terms 'liberal' and 'democracy' despite the fact that the clash between the rights of the liberal individual, and the duty of the democratic governments to limit the freedom of individuals has been the central dispute in democratic theory throughout its history (Held, 2006). Held further adds to this debate and critiques the limited United States' centric view of liberal democracy in an excellent overview

and analysis of democratic models in the world today, Held identifies eight different models of democracy (Held, 2006).

Moreover, held further emphasizes the schisms and debate within liberal democracy, as he notes: "liberalism cannot be treated simply as a unity(Held, 2006). There are, as we have seen, distinctive liberal traditions set down by figures such as John Locke, Jeremy Bentham, and John Stuart Mill, which embody quite different conceptions from each other of the individual agent, of autonomy, of the rights and duties of subjects, and of the proper nature and form of political community (Held, 2006). This is a striking lacuna, since liberalism itself is an ideologically contested terrain. A key element of this debate, on liberties within a market economic model of democracy pertains' to notions of socioeconomic justice and participation (Held, 2006). Hook points out: "the tension between political liberty and socioeconomic equality as components of a democratic polity has always been a central dilemma of social organization given their inherent contradictions (Held, 2006).The U.S. democratic model, however, has traditionally emphasized political liberty while de-emphasizing socioeconomic equality. Indeed, the latter has been consistently viewed (Held, 2006).

However, Carorders believes that this changing albeit gradually on a "steep, often punishing, learning curve". He claims that "American aid providers are moving away from the simplistic application of made-in-America templates, resorting less often to the sending abroad of inexperienced, heavy-handed United States' consultants, and coming to the recognition that technical fixes will not solve deeply entrenched political problems" (Held, 2006) . This may be happening as claimed by Carorders gradually. However, "less often" does not mean that it seizes to exist. The closure of the International Republican Institute's office in Cairo in 2006, prior to the commencement of its operations, because of what can be termed the "inexperienced and heavy-handed" director's comments regarding the "speed up of political reform in the country" is a case in point and even if some examples of United States' democracy assistance in practice show some elements of change, it is difficult to neglect the

wider theoretical underpinning and overall strategic objectives and US economic interests at the heart of democracy assistance, described in the earlier section with particular reference to the case of Egypt. Al Sayyid notes in his analysis of US assistance to civil society in Egypt and some segments who are suspicious of the objectives of this assistance "They do not see the aid as a sign of Washington's commitment to promote democracy (Weiner, Huntington, & Almond, 1987). Rather, they look at it as effect that might have on the achievement of its interests, primarily economic and geo-strategic. For example, when Hamas is democratically elected, the US was quick to distance and indirectly punish Palestinians for this democratic misjudgment on their part. However, electoral fraud in Egypt is tolerated and US military and economic support continues unabated after limited concern is expressed (Weiner et al., 1987).

The historical record of United States' democracy promotion shows that the US has resisted democracy as much as it has claimed to support it (Weiner et al., 1987). Building on the work of Steve Smith and his analysis of US resistance to democracy in Latin America and the Middle East, according to Smith: "these two regions of the world seem to support the view that the US has been involved in undermining democratic regimes rather than fostering them. And crucially, the driver for such a policy in both regions has been US economic interests" (Weiner et al., 1987). As Hook notes: "the promotion of democracy has long served as a key vehicle of the projection of US ideals as well as for the pursuit of the country's material self-interests...Liberal governments pursuing market-oriented economic policies have always served the 'national interests' of the United States (Phillips, 1980)"

The US has not shied away from supporting repressive regimes the world over and particularly in the Arab world, where democracy assistance has not amounted to much (Rustow, 1970). US support for appalling regimes ranging from apartheid South Africa, Israel, Mubarak's Egypt, Pinochet's Chile, Marcos of the Philippines, Sukarno and Suharto in Indonesia, the Shah's Iran to name but a few is clear case of the importance of overriding strategic interests. A point that is echoed by Steve Smith in his critical analysis of democracy

promotion: "the entire debate about democracy promotion is set up in such a way as to make criticism particularly difficult. Like apple pie, how can anyone be against the expansion of democratic rights to parts of the globe that are currently ruled by despots? (Rustow, 1970)"Additionally, it is noted that evaluating democracy assistance has replicated some of the very criticisms democracy assistance has received, Crawford aptly notes that: "conventional evaluation reproduces a negative feature of democracy assistance itself it is externally led and controlled, with limited input from local actors" (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton). Such inquiries have no doubt had an effect on assessing the impact of democracy promotion and assistance, if the end goal is uncontestable or above criticism, how can the process of achieving it be placed under scrutiny or questioned as he notes: "We are seeing this both in the pushback from a number of nondemocratic governments that are actively resisting democracy assistance in new and creative ways, and also in a heightened questioning by people in many parts of the world of the value and legitimacy of democracy promotion itself" (Held et al.). But, on the other hand, it should be noted that the theoretical underpinning of this very approach regarding the prerequisite of economic development for democratic transformation was proven faulty by the cases of China and Russia, where neoliberal market reforms have not led to substantive democratic gains. Although never explicitly stated by the Egyptian government the same approach has been adopted through controversial economic reforms and liberalization without the equivalent in terms of political reform (Fukuyama, 2006b). What was dubbed by Jadish Bhagwat as the "cruel dilemma", one between either economic development or political development, was "subsequently revised as social scientific understanding of the type of political regime and development underwent a double paradigm shift. It moved away from economic determinism and the suspicion that if regimes do influence development then authoritarian polities have certain advantages, towards a conviction that political institutions make a difference and in the long run democracies possibly do it better" (Fukuyama, 2006b). According to UNDP, governance or lack thereof is

vital as "an improved understanding of the quality of governance in a country is critical to deliver on poverty reduction and human development goals" before any claims, can be made about whether both economic and political development are both feasible and possible to achieve simultaneously, we must first consider the effectiveness of political development efforts in terms democracy assistance and assistance efforts in achieving what they claim to do (Fukuyama, 2006b).

4.11.2- Possibilities of Evaluating and Assessing Democracy Assistance

Evaluation is now integral aspect of development assistance. Reasons have varied from the growing need to deliver "results" amidst decreasing donor funding increased pressure for accountability to improved management and planning processes that feed into better development programming and discussions of aid effectiveness as manifested in the 2005 Paris Declaration "to increase the effectiveness of development assistance with concrete indicators and targets" (Orum, 1983) . However, evaluation procedures are by no mean novel. Evaluation was first introduced to development assistance in the 1950s, despite not being put into systematic use until the 1970s and early 1980. According to UNDP, evaluation is essential in establishing linkages between past, ongoing and future initiatives and development results, supporting accountability and building knowledge because: "Monitoring and evaluation can help an organization extract relevant information from past and ongoing activities that can be used as the basis for programmatic fine-tuning, reorientation and future planning (Orum, 1983). Without effective planning, monitoring and evaluation, it woul d be impossible to judge if work is going in the right direction, whether progress and success can be claimed, and how future efforts might be improved. when evaluations are used effect (Gastil, 1993) . However, the ambitious and multifaceted objectives have come under scrutiny and valid concerns are raised by Jacquet in report by the Center for Global Development as part of the Evaluation Gap Working Group: " Part of the difficulty in debating the evaluation function in donor institutions is that a number of different tasks are implicitly simultaneously

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assigned to evaluation: building knowledge on processes and situations in receiving countries, promoting and monitoring quality, informing judgment on performance, and, increasingly, measuring actual impacts (Gastil, 1993) Other agencies still need their own evaluation teams, as important knowledge providers from their own perspective and as contributors to quality management. But these teams provide little insight into our actual impacts and, although crucial, their contribution to knowledge essentially focuses on a better understanding of operational constraints and local institutional and social contexts (Gastil, 1993). All these dimensions of evaluations are complementary. For effectiveness and efficiency reasons, they should be carefully identified and organized separately: some need to be conducted in house, some outside in a cooperative, peer review, or independent (Gastil, 1993). Development practitioners and observers alike need to be overly astute to notice that the above methodologies are applied rigorously by donor agencies such as USAID, UNDP, the World Bank, German Technical Assistance Agency (GTZ), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the European Commission, Department for International Development (DFID) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) amongst orders. What UNDP and CIDA refer to as Results-Based Management (RBM) is known in USAID as Managing for Results (MFR) but is essentially the same approach (Ghany, 2012). This was later modified in the mid-1990s, with the introduction of what is known as RBM and MFR by CIDA and USAID respectively. CIDA defines the result as "a describable or measurable change in state that is derived from a cause and effect relationship". Usually these changes are the results of the project inputs. According to Crawford: "RBM entails a typical logframe approach with the construction (Ghany, 2012) That particular construction provides framework' (PF) and 'performance measurement framework' (PMF) The PF provides the anticipated cause and effect relationships from the level of activities (inputs) upwards to strategic goals, including assumptions and risk assessments, while the PMF provides a systematic plan for measurement

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and verification through (mainly quantitative) performance indicators and data collection requirements". USAID on the order hand, and the main focus of this effort, uses a slightly different wording although similar methodology. Within USAID's MFR the Strategic Objective (SO) is defined as: "the most ambitious result (intended measurable change) in a particular program area that a USAID operational unit, along with its partners" can materially affect and for which it is willing to be held responsible (Bowman, 1996)." The second level, known in orther agencies as the output is called, Crawford adds to this explanation noting that: "The three levels of objectives are linked in causal hypotheses' that is, each is perceived as an essential step leading to the next level (Bowman, 1996). Within the DG sector, a strategic objective could simply reflect the agency goal (sustainable democracy built), or one of the four agency objectives (for example rule of law strengthened), while an "intermediate result' is more specific" (for instance, effective justice sector institutions). Performance indicators 'answer the question of how much (or whether) progress is being made towards a certain objective', with appropriate indicators requiring the ready availability of data sources" (Przeworski & Limongi, 1993). In the case of the chosen case study for this effort, the researcher will be reviewing the Egyptian Decentralization Initiative (EDI) supporting the Intermediate Result: Good Governance promote a more accountable and responsive local government under USAID's Strategic Objective: "Initiative in Governance Strengthened". The EDI has the following objectives (sub-intermediate results): Increased Egyptian financial resources available to local governments for responding to community priorities; enhanced participatory mechanisms to plan, allocate, and monitor the use of resources; and strengthened administrative capacity and legal framework for local governments to effectively and transparently manage resources (Przeworski & Limongi, 1993).

4.11.3- The Limitations of LFA and RBM in Democratic Governance Programming

The application of the Logical Framework Approach (LFA) and the closely related Results Based Management (RBM) approach to evaluate democratic governance, have been highly criticized and their effectiveness questioned. According to the report on International Development Research Center (IDRC) "Evaluating Governance Programs" "the notion of causality in governance programming was rejected: there are too many variables at play Evaluation of governance work is not scientific per se or as Wong notes: "the practice of democracy assistance is very different from the "clinical" approach assumed in experiments. In addition, the characteristics of democratic phenomena are inherent complex, multi-dimensional and highly context-specific (Mattes & Bratton, 2003). These are conditions more appropriate for qualitative evaluation methodologies that can support causal conclusions. Specifically, methods for generating and assessing evidence on causal mechanisms have been developed in the general evaluation literature but little applied in the evaluation of democracy assistance.' The IDRC report also noted a more striking and damaging aspect of applying limited methodologies to democratic governance evaluations: "traditional evaluation approaches which demand the application of the same tool and logic model to all initiatives were rejected as irrelevant and possibly destructive. It was noted that some of the evaluation tools in use today (such as Logical Framework Analysis – LFA, Results Based Management – RBM, and Indicators-based studies) were developed with different purposes, primarily the evaluation of discrete blueprint-type (Macpherson, 1977) Crawford further elaborates on the limited nature of LFA and RBM approaches: "The logical framework approach is narrowly geared towards project evaluation, most appropriately where clear outputs can be achieved within a specific time-span and where 'hard' quantitative data is more readily available, that is, 'blueprint-type projects' such as infrastructural projects. It is less appropriate for evaluation of wider program goals (Macpherson, 1975). This is especially true in an area like democracy and governance, a 'soft' area of programming in which institutional relationships

and culture are the subject of reform, where time frames are hard to predict, and change is difficult to measure. "One of the strongest criticisms of this approach comes from one of most sited commentators of United States' democracy assistance"

Thomas Carorders criticizes the limited approach of USAID's Managing for Results (MFR)

The effort to assess the impact of democracy programs by using highly reductionist indicators is a deeply flawed undertaking that is consuming vast resources, producing little useful insight or knowledge, and introducing serious distortions into the designing and implementing of such aid democratization in any country cannot be broken down neatly and precisely into a set of quantitative bits the false dream of science, the belief that all those messy particularities of people and politics can be reduced to charts and statistics" Crawford adds evidence to this that "LFA is inward oriented, inverting evaluation towards pre-determined project objectives. In contrast, political interventions require an outward orientation, able to capture the political context in which such interventions are implanted (Macpherson, 1975). This is particularly important given that the overall context is itself a significant factor in influencing the success or ortherwise of external donor interventions, for instance, the relative strength or weakness of domestic pro-democratic actors. Thus, the nature of democratization, and of programs intended to assist such processes, are not appropriate to log frame-type analysis: LFA cannot anticipate and capture political dynamics in which local actors make their decisions" (Macpherson, 1975). However, quantitative analysis of NED grants paints a different picture. Scott and Steele conducted a study of 1,754 NED assistance grants from 1990 to 1997 and democratization data from the developing world, using control variables such as wealth, progress in education and the impact of culture to test two main hypotheses: Democracy Promotion Hypothesis: Democracy assistance by the NED contributes to progress in democratization of recipient countries; Democracy Consolidation Hypothesis:The democratization of recipient countries results in NED grants designed to reinforce that progress (Macpherson, 1975). Their analysis found that the democracy promotion hypothesis,

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whereby NED grants resulted in greater democratization was "firmly rejected" and so was the hypothesis on democracy consolidation. According to the study: "NED aid neither produces democracynor follows democratization (Macpherson, 1975). The rejection of these hypotheses, made even more emphatic by the negative relationship between grants and democ scores shown in the data, serves as important counter to the optimistic assessments of the NED's impactthis conclusion is in line with previous studies on the relationship, if any, between aid and democratization (Macpherson, 1975). Steven Hook found that aid allocations are not driven by democracy or human-rights issues or concerns. Knack's multivariate analysis of the impact of aid on democratization in a sample of recipient nations between 1975 and 2000 could not find. However, Finkel et al found in their 2006 study of the impact of U.S. democracy assistance on democracy building worldwide, using an exhaustive survey of the USAID democratic governance portfolio from 1990 to 2003 and Freedom House and Polity IV datasets, that: "USAID Democracy and Governance obligations have a significant positive impact on democracy, while all orther U.S. and non U.S. assistance variables are statistically insignificant (Macpherson, 1975). It should be noted though that Despite arguing that democracy assistance had positive impacts in general, when analyzing the Middle East, • despite some 606 million dollars in democracy assistance, the study notes that the "Middle East as the exception to the general pattern" (Crawford Brough Macpherson, 1975). Given the origins of Freedom House, it is understandable if their indexes are not necessarily the most objective (Macpherson, 1975). As Smith aptly notes in his reservations and criticisms of United States' democracy promotion: the form of democracy being promoted, and specifically the on the relationship between this geopolitical policy and United States'geo-economics policy the latter drives the former, to such an extent that it results in the form of democracy promoted being particularly narrow and thereby suitable for supporting US economic interests" (Macpherson, 1975). Within the general support to democracy assistance is the issue of World Bank and USAID support to the neoliberal Washington consensus in

decentralization reforms is a case in point and is discussed in more detail throughout this work(Crawford, 2003). The historical argument and examples of subordination of democracy assistance to US economic interests and the promotion of a specific type of democracy are numerous and well documented. Egypt, second only to Israel as a recipient of United States' aid, is by no means a democratic country (Crawford, 1998). Yet it receives a significant share of total United States' n aid and is considered a friendly moderate ally of the United States in the region(Crawford, 2000). However, Egypt is not a democratic country; this is offset by its economic liberalization in line with the market economic prescriptions of neo-liberalism, which is applauded by Washington and conducive to United States' economic interests(Crawford, 2000) . Egypt is but one of many cases where stability and security concerns in addition to economic interests have overshadowed the concerns raised by democracy promotion (Crawford, 2000). However, it should be noted that the neo-liberal inspired democracy assistance efforts supported by the United States could be in part responsible for the absence of democratic and participatory politics or eventually responsible for the weakening of the very aspects these policies claim to support (Crawford, 2000). As demonstrated by the previous United States'support to low intensity democracy and impact of neo-liberal reforms on democratization and meaningful participation in a wide range of countries, this is not a farfetched claim (Crawford, 2000). As Hook notes: "The U.S. democratic model, however, has traditionally emphasized. This has also brought the US's commitment to democracy under suspicion in recipient countries as democracy assistance in particular and US aid are seen as a means to create an United States' model of a free market democracy (Crawford, 2000) . Democracy assistance is also further complicated by the overarching US concerns for security and stability in the Arab world. Moreover, to economic interests, US geostrategic and security interests have shaped US foreign policy and consequentially democracy assistance to ensure US interests through favoring stability and security of its allies, lest democracy bring about governments that are not hospitable to US

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interests (MacPherson, 1973). The historical record is abundant with cases where the US has supported regimes that do not espouse United States' ideals of liberties and freedoms, primarily because they are allies of the US. Mubarak's Egypt ist one of many of these regimes and could be categorized as such best friend(MacPherson, 1973). The criticisms of United States' democracy promotion efforts have varied from the theoretical and political levels to the actual implementation of democracy assistance. Alleged democracy promotion has taken the form of military intervention, political diplomatic pressure and development assistance programs (MacPherson, 1973). The main theoretical or political criticisms include being eclipsed by geo strategic considerations, lacking credibility due to their inconsistent application, Given the context for democracy assistance today and the widening gap between academic criticisms and implementation of democracy assistance programs, the field has a long way to go before funding matches the achievement of results and programming is improved to strengthen democratic(MacPherson, 1973). Alternative approaches to democracy promotion at the policy level such as supporting more comprehensive and systematic policies for reform in the Arab world that would democratize economic opportunities and strengthen the link between social and political reform are also growing (Skocpol & Fiorina, 2004). Yet for these significant and much required shifts to take place both donor and recipient countries will be required to induce changes that would make democracy assistance more effective. However, the critical review of democracy assistance outlined above, only covers the supply side of the equation, namely the approach of the US as the donor country to democracy promotion and assistance (Skocpol & Fiorina, 2004). The analysis thus far has not included the reactions within recipient countries particularly when there is resistance to some of the elements supported by such aid as is the case of United States' democracy assistance in Egypt (Skocpol & Fiorina, 2004) .

4.11.4-History of Local Government and Decentralization in Egypt: Donors' Struggle with Government

Egypt's centralized structure of governance can be traced back to the Pharaohs. As it was believed that the Pharaoh was the son of the sun god Ra, which did not leave much room for provincial or regional autonomy (Mayfield, 1996). This emphasis on the centralized power of the pharaoh was also further enforced by the belief that "the demands for a centralized manipulation of the Nile's irrigation system reinforced the tendency of the entire bureaucracy to see its interests and influence directly tied to the central government as the only legitimate seat of power. The prosperity of Egypt was dependent on the efficiency of its governmental organization (Mayfield, 1996) to a degree hardly equaled anywhere in the world". Even though some observers claim that such a centralized structure of Paranoiac Egypt only pertained to affairs of the Nile. Various forms of governmental structures have been instilled in Egypt across Roman, Arab/Muslim, French, Ottoman, and British rule; all characterized by centralized top-down structures with the main seat of power located usually in Cairo and in Alexandria during Roman rule (Mayfield, 1996). These local structures were tasked with duties such as tax collection, maintenance and sanitation, management of a wide range of farming activities, military drafts and at times cultural and religious ceremonies. Throughout history, local government in Egypt has continued to be weak in favor of a centralized state and charged with only limited functions at the expense of realizing functioning local governance structures. Despite various donor interventions to support decentralizations and strengthen democratic participatory politics at the local level, political decentralization through increased local participation in the decision making process and the transfer of political power have not taken place in Egypt primarily due to the resistance of the Government to political liberalization and its acceptance of economic liberalization (Darwish, 2008).

4.11.5- Historical Origins of Local Government in Egypt from the Pharaohs to British Rule

During Pharaonic times, Egypt was divided in 24 provinces (names) which were each headed by a governor appointed by the Pharaoh (Mayfield, 1996). The number of provinces changed across historical periods with varying forms of regional structures, but the general overall structure remained significantly unchanged. During Ottoman and *Mamluk* rule, the Nile valley was divided in 24 provinces which were headed by bays. Local councils were first introduced in Egypt by the French colonialists, whereby the largest 14 provinces (*Mudiriya*) had bureaus usually in charge of administration and security (Finer, 1997). French influence on local government in Egypt has been significant from Napoleon to Mohamed Ali, a point which has prompted one observer to note that the current 4-tier Egyptian administration system comprised of (*Muhafza, Markaz, Qism,* and *Qarya*) is curiously like France's system of (department, Arrondisement, canton, and commune)

During the reign of Mohamed Ali, Egypt's 14 largest rural provinces each had a provincial council that lacked representative and autonomous administrative and. an interesting example of initiative in local governance dates back to the mid-1860s when concerned citizens, mostly foreign merchants, established the Comité du Commerce d'Exportation or the Export Commerce Committee to improve local infrastructure in the absence of central support from Cairo (Finer, 1997). The Export Commerce Committee was allowed by the Central government to raise some funds to improve the infrastructure, provided that the process is under the supervision of the governor (Finer, 1997). This ushered in an early experience in municipal politics in the 1870s with the formation of the "mixed municipal council" (*Majlis BaladiyaMukhtalat)* comprised of Egyptians and foreigners. Although the council lacked municipal powers and authorities it was allowed to raise some funds for local infrastructure, sewage systems and public works (Finer, 1997). However, even with these limited roles, the representative councils were required to receive final approval from the center. By 1910, the British established local councils in many villages that had police stations, with the chief of

police in the village acting as the chairman of the local council. By 1944, 152 councils were present in cities, towns and villages divided as follows 13 mixed councils, 55 local councils, and 84 village councils (Nidumolu, Goodman, Vogel, & Danowitz, 1996). However, these highly bureaucratic councils had significantly weak financial and decision-making authorities and were not well received by the local villages; this as such led to protest and dismay from the local villagers. By 1952, only 70 out of the 4000 villages had such councils. However, it should be noted that several of these councils were disbanded due to opposition and unrest (Nidumolu et al., 1996). However, dissent was not the only game in town, as conformity and acquiescence to the occupation did exist. It should be noted that due to British occupation, most upper echelons (undersecretaries and director generals), were British citizens, especially in the areas of finance, justice, transportation, and irrigation and thus were dominated by the British Civil Service (Nidumolu et al., 1996). This further strengthened the perceived need of the Egyptian personnel at the local levels to conform and answer to the center on all matters (Nidumolu et al., 1996).

4.11.6- Local Government Under Nasser

Nasser and the Revolutionary Command Council came to power in 1952, which prompted the drafting of a new constitution to usher in a new era in Egypt's history. According to some observers the new constitution was to be more "democratic" and "local government institutions would be emphasized (Aruri, 1970). The 1953 draft of the constitution witnessed 15 articles dedicated to the functioning of local government such as the following:

1.   The central government was specifically prohibited from nominating or controlling the election of the local council chairmen   (Aruri, 1970).

2.   Non-elected members, including the ex official members selected by the Central Government would be restricted to no more than one fourth of the total council membership.

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3.   Specific powers were identified to ensure the collection and mobilization of adequate local resources to fund local public works projects (Abdulkadir, 2016).

4.   The principle of local decision-making autonomy was outlined restricting central government interference and ensuring that all disputes between local and central authorities could be presented to the Supreme Constitutional Court for resolution (Abdulkadir, 2016).

However, despite a real effort towards drafting a "democratic" constitution and the establishment of a truly decentralized system, as outlined in the 1953 draft of the constitution, the Nasser regime did not hesitate to ignore these articles in their entirety (Abdulkadir, 2016) . *The final version of the constitution of 1956 placed "all reference to local government under the presidential and central executive authorities"*. The 1956 constitution actually reversed some of the political and institutional gains for local government as experienced in the 1923 constitution as it limited the discussion of local government to: "The Egyptian republic shall be divided into administrative units, and all or some of them may enjoy corporate status" (Quigley, 1994) . It should be noted that Law 124 of 1960 drew heavily on the territorial and organizational structure of Egypt's single party, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU), with ASU presence corresponding to the government's administrative divisions at the levels of the governorate, town and village (Quigley, 1994). The ASU also had executive bureau comprised of key party leaders at both the district and governorate level. The following observations have been made regarding the relationship between the ASU structure and its implications on the system of local administration in Egypt (Quigley, 1994).

Despite the clear requirement for the councils at all three levels to be comprised of elected, selected and ex officio members, the process of election is worth reviewing more closely. Under Law 124 of 1960, all the elected local administration officials had to be members of the ASU   (Quigley, 1994). At the village level the twelve elected members would be directly selected from the ASU's lajnat al-ishrin (Quigley, 1994) . The two selected members of the

village local council were chosen based on loyalty to the party and efficiency based on a decree from the Ministry of Local Administration and the governor (Quigley, 1994). While ex officio members were selected from government administrators representing the main sector ministries present in the village usually the following six: The Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Housing and Public Utilities, Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Agriculture, and the Ministry of Interior (Rubinstein, 1979) .

4.11.7- Local Government under Sadat

Under Sadat's regime came Law 52 of 1975 as a culmination of discussions and recommendations to allegedly strengthen local administration in Egypt. Although initially the new law did have various characteristics of a decentralized system of local government, it was relatively short lived and eventually revisited in 1979 (Rubinstein, 1979). Below are some of the recommendations that were adopted and thus changing some of the 93 aspects of the system of local administration as previously outlined by Law 124 of 1960:

1. The local council would be comprised of elected officials only instead of the previous System of selected and elected officials within the same council. An executive committee comprised of the various administrative officials would be established at the levels of the governorate, district and village (Rubinstein, 1979) .

2. The local people's councils were granted the right to *Istigwab* (question, challenge and require a response) the local officials on the executive committees on issues pertaining to administration, policy, and service delivery (Rubinstein, 1979).

3. The establishment of the Services and Development Fund which allowed for thecollection and retention of funds at the local level without having these funds returned to the central government at the end of the fiscal year. This was considered to be a breakthrough in terms of increased revenues and resources with the possibility of greater autonomy and decentralized processes (Baker, 1978).

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4. The establishment of the council of beneficiaries (majalis al mustafidin) which includedbeneficiaries of the services being provided at the local level such as health and education(Baker, 1978). The purpose of these councils was to create a platform for interaction with the service providers to voice concerns, handle complaints, improve service delivery, and ensure equitable distribution and accountability (Baker, 1978)

However, not all the recommendations were accepted by the National Assembly. These rejected recommendations included: the central government's provision of an independent budget allocation to the local councils, the creation of a local government career system in the governorates for greater authority over the technical and administrative personnel to be hired, the allocation of a "lump sum" grant to be utilized at the discretion of the governorate, the establishment of integrated. It is interesting how the government of Egypt is still grappling with whether or not to implement similar recommendations today (Nidumolu et al., 1996).

A problem that is further exacerbated by the rising poverty and inequality levels across the country, diminishing and inadequate service delivery and the strikingly weak capacities within the current system of local administration (Nidumolu et al., 1996).

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1. Both the executive councils and the local people's councils were to be part of one administrative structure (Nidumolu et al., 1996).

2. All budgetary and policy-implementation powers were delegated to the executive councils (Anderson, 1987).

3. Local people's councils' roles were redefined from decision making bodies to advice and review giving councils. The previously granted right of istigwab, which was granted to the elected local councils earlier was severely restricted. And as such the local people's councils became hollowed out platforms of participation with review and consultative responsibilities only (Bhatia, 2005).

4. Councils of beneficiaries were cancelled as they were perceived to serve redundant functions as those of the local people's council (Bhatia, 2005).

However, Sadat's reform of the local administrative system does not end there. Law 50 of 1981, which was a minor amendment to Law 43 of 1979, granted increased financial responsibilities to local councils in terms of revenue generation at the local level. Law 50 of 1981 also created the Higher Council for Local Administration which was to be chaired by the Prime Minister and was comprised of all governors, and elected governorate level local council chairmen. Although intended as a direct platform between local government officials and national leaders and despite potentially beneficial impacts on local administration in Egypt, the council never met and was later eliminated in an amendment to Law 43214 (Bhatia, 2005). It is worthy to note that the return of the Higher Council for Decentralization is being proposed in the draft la (Bhatia, 2005)w prepared by law 145 would also require the governorates to work closely with the Ministry of Local Administration instead of the Ministry of Finance on "matters related to planning, capital investments, and annual budgets"(Bhatia, 2005). However, as is demonstrated in the case study, there have been steps taken to position the Ministry of Finance as a main partner in the establishment of fiscal decentralization. Another interesting article is that pertaining to the required approval of the governorates' draft budget by the People's Assembly and the right to resort to the Ministry of Local Administration or the prime minister in case of disapproval. Mayfield claims that this could be "a 'sleeper clause' with important implications for strengthening the local people's councils in the long run" (Bhatia, 2005) .

Local government has given autonomy to furious local bodies to enable them to run their affairs freely but need the consent of central authority (Makram-Ebeid, 1989) . The central government should fulfil their responsibility in providing facilities to every local government. Egypt has historical informal local government since years back, when pharaoh was the king as well as the president and the head of the government (Makram-Ebeid, 1989).

The benefit of local government can be discussed in term of circulation of wealth. Facility and many more. Meanwhile, the importance of local government is to have full attentiveness and

focous on all provinces, states and people, to provide wellbieng of its citizens. Local government provides equality of opportunity, justice and perfect administration to have appropriate capital and welth (Makram-Ebeid, 1989).

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CHAPTER- 5

UNITED STATES' CORE INTERESTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN NORTH AFRICAN REGION

5.1 TUNISIA

American interest and issue of human rights in Tunisia has shared a large page in the World politics of North African State. United States the World sole power believe to be in control of Tunisia's domestic politics (Ropp & Sikkink, 1999). "Tunisia like orther North African State have its own domestic politics with varying ideals and characteristics". (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Violations of philanthropic privileges were also in problem with Tunisia authority led by *Zainul Abidin* who made life harder for his own people, created unpleasant environment like unemployment, food scarcity, inflation, dictatorship and unawareness of human rights. Moreover, the issue of deadly diseases was also tackled by US authority like HIV and Aids.

United States also aimed to curtail the armed conflicts of powerful men in the area to stop humanitarian crisis.

Tunisia's political history can be narrated with the following characteristics and chronologic order, the Punic chronology culture from 12th century until 146BC, Roman province 146 BC to 435, followed by Vandal, which ruled from 534 to 698, then Byzantine, from 534 until 590 while Prefecture started from 590 ended in 698 (League, 1998). The early Islamic period was observed and mentioned as Umayyad period from 698 to 749, Abbasid 750 to 800 follöwed by Aghlabid era started from 800 to 909 the period was overruled by Fatimid from 909 to 973 (Brown & Spilling, 2008). Medieval Era started with Zirid rule from 973 to 1146, then Norman which was started from 1146 to 1160 followed by Alamut era period was from 1160 till 1229 then by Hafsid rule from 1229 to 1574 (Julien & Le Tourneau, 1970).

The Modern Tunisia emerged out of this rich chronology till the French expedition; colonized Tunisia from 1881 to 1956, followed by Kingdom of Tunisia from 1956-1957 then by Bourgeon rule from 1957-1987.

The contemporary history of Tunisia starts from Ben Ali's rule from 1987 to 2011 known as pre-revolution time according to United States of America which was as marked the special period in Tunisia's political history due to many factors; his rule portrays the worst status of human rights dilemma, i.e. killing of innocents and eminent citizens, whoever steps ahead to challenge his authority, restrictions on freedom of speech, press and association, murder of journalists, kidnapping, elections riggings, rights of arbitrary arrest, rampant corruption, official extortion, hijacked judiciary, extremely poor prison conditions, abuse and torture of detainees and prisoners (Perkins, 2014). The government agencies were using harsh torture methods to alienate dissents, who were banned from any speedy trials and defendants were not allow to access the evidence- moreover, in some cases which family and inheritance resides, judges frequently overlooked civil law and applied shariah in its place due to direct orders from Ben Ali's regime. Historically, all these were the results of previous corrupt regimes, economic crisis, high rate of unemployment, abandonment of justice for the masses, over- stays in power of leaders and self-centered (Perkins, 2014).

The situation improved and the system consolidated after successful adoption of new constitution, which paved the way for many opportunities that allowed helpless people to have and achieve their goals. Likewise, it was January 26, 2014, three years since the Arab spring, which occurred because of the rampant mismanagement of Ben Ali's rule, followed by the first ever free and fair general elections in the Modern Tunisia history, which resulted in the victory of modernist Nidda Toune, party, with 86 seats out of 217 seats in the assembly of the people's representatives.

Besides, the new administration will need to undertake and examine the old laws, introducing new method of leadership to protect the human rights in the country. Framing new

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constitution has changed many things in the country from grass roots to the high level (Kaplan & Le Kef, 2001). The New Year 2014 was an important year of reorganization of system that allowed fixing a suitable law to eliminate torture with real implementation of human rights laws in Tunisia. In contrast, the new constitution had paved the way for bright future and brought those juntas or Military officers, police men and order suspected officials to justice, who were responsible for the killing of protesters during the 2011 uprising in Tunisia. (Kaplan & Le Kef, 2001).

5.1.1- Main Purpose of the New Constitution

The 2014 constitution conspicuously assured several civil social, political as well as economic and cultural rights and stability (Mahmoud, 2015). Likewise, the citizenship rights, freedom of speech, right to assembly, Profession, property, right to have a political party, right to fair judgment, freedom from unusual detention and inhuman treatment or torture even it was extended into right to seek for political asylum from any part of the World. (Dalacoura, 2013). "In broader terms, the constitution also includes the right to life, right to health, education, and job. In this regard, though the constitution is much moderate but still there are gaps that need to be filled through some thorough amendments such as social security and assured government responsibility and also by extending it to the institutions of this Arab country". (Dalacoura, 2013).

The existing constitution has some provocative aspects which oppress masses and. suppress rights. For instance, it contains a provision prohibiting "attacks on the sacred' which could be used to prosecute statement that the governments see as" defamatory" of religion or religious beliefs, which contradicts the freedom of expression guarantee mentioned in the article 31 of the new constitution (Dalacoura, 2013)". The same constitution has failed to abolish the death penalty, although Tunisia has managed to halt on executions since 1990s (Di Tommaso, Lanzoni, & Rubini, 2001).

Many provisions of the Tunisian penal code as well as code of criminal procedure seems to be incorporated with the rights mentioned in the new constitution, i.e. to afford detainees the right, following arrest, to have access to legal repretentation only, when they are taken before assessing judge. (Di Tommaso et al., 2001).

5.1.2- Freedom of Expression

In 2014, there were very few people compare to previous time who faced prosecutions for different charges of misconduct or misbehave to any government officers in the name of violation of protection of State, its property, or disturbing public atmosphere and society. (Di Tommaso et al., 2001).

In July, mainly two radio stations were suspended by the head of government, with proof that those stations having a linkage with terrorism and making sectarian speeches, which can disrupt the State's system, the decision was taken on second day by the government, when some armed men carried attack on armed forces, which killed 15 Tunisian soldiers near border with Algeria. (Di Tommaso et al., 2001). The State action was not in collaboration with "decree-law 116" declared by government in 2011, that no media or telecommunication will be banned or closed (Arieff, 2012).

5.1.3- Rights of the Women

The new framed constitution claiming to provide many provisions in favor of Women to address gender equality in this Arab State. It further gives them right to involve in politics and to contest elections, where they can raise their voice and get rid of any kind of anti-women agenda. (Arieff, 2012)

In April 2014, the Tunisian government has laid emphasis on the elimination of any kind of discrimination against women. Therefore, government formed Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and it is also worked to protect the family. Here women have all rights of self-protection under the constitution and article the without

contradicting with Islamic provision. Women has to be treated equally, fairly and with respect (Arieff, 2012).

Tunisia has a different and separate observation regarding women." Women in Tunisia's society are much free because of the granted freedom at home as compared to other countries in the region". "Though, the right to remarry was granted to Tunisian women but their former children were not allowed to live with their mother and step father, based on lineage contradiction." (Arieff, 2012) .

But unfortunately, this issue was not addressed by the new constitution which not only violates the civil rights but Islamic rights too" (Arieff, 2012).

5.1.4- Culpability

Since 2011, it has been noticed that Tunisian government has started a fixed punishment for those who are violating human rights and proper steps were taken to curb this act. The uprising began on December 17th, 2010 and lasted till February 2011. During this period, the state used the brute force to suppress the demonstration which resulted to 132 deaths and majority of people wereinjured. The trial for those responsible for the brutal killings began in the late 2011 under military courts (Moghadam, 2014). The cases involving military personals, security forces, it was decided to start the investigations in July 2011 with aim to bring the suspects to justice, the triials havecontinued between "November and December 2011".

Defendants included the former president of the country he was charged in absentia, two former interior ministers, five general directors of the Interior Ministry, and several high-level and mid-level security force commanders (Moghadam, 2014)[IV]. The judgment was pronounced in June and July 2012, respectfully, Ben Ali thethen president was convicted, his interior minister at the time, and five directors of the Interior Ministry sentenced to prison for

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[IV] Those security officers who worked with bin Ali administration in Tunisia failed to satisfy the citizens.

15 years. On April 12, 2014, "the military court of appeals", confirmed the sentence of life imprisonment mostly in absentia to former president Ben Ali but the punishment to other officers was reduced. (Moghadam, 2014).

After reviewing the judgment and trails;, concluded that the military courts had done well in terms of declaring a suitable punishment to each offenders, they also admitted that a lot of blunders, crimes and violation of constitution were committed by then government to suppress the uprising ranges from initial killing of demonstrators to banning offices and from banning operational media to misuse of power." (Moghadam, 2014).

Because of the latter complications, many violators and suspects are still free from prosecution; who were one way or another involved in the killings of innocent citizens.(Durac & Cavatorta, 2009). Unsetting legal laws of Ben Ali's government have created many irregularities and unjustifiable killing of innocent citizens which led to escape to take asylum in Saudi Arabia all the top put commanders and many reputable or senior officers were compelled to be accountable for those crimes which they committed in the name of protecting the State sovereignty. (Alterman, 2011).

On December 24, 2013, the National Constituent Assembly (NCA) adopted the Law on establishing and organization for Transitional Justice (Alterman, 2011). This law re-arranged internal and domestic political arena with proper way of judgment so that providing and enforcing laws and maintain peace in the society.(Alterman, 2011). Meanwhile, all the crimes and violations committed by the previous government has put the country in darkness in the course of human rights violation. (Salomon et al., 2013)

The law also provides for the establishment of Truth and Dignity Commission with a task of uncovering the truth about abuses committed by the previous regime, since the Tunisian independence on July 1955. The NCA elected 15 members for the commission on May 15, 2014. Moreover, the December 2013 law had also established mechanisms for the victim

reparation, institutional reform, vetting of civil servants, and national reconciliation (Salomon et al., 2013).

5.1.5 Counter Terrorism and Security

On June 24th, Interior minister *Lotfi* Ben *Jeddou* officially informed the State media that hundreds, precisely 240 of Tunisian militants and armed men have joined the civil war in Syria, mostly they are fighting in fsavor of the fighters called *AL-NUSRA* the group which is also known as ISIS. The announcement made after a post on social media along with videos, photographs of a man who identified himself Tunisian involved in the killing of five captured Iraqi border guards (Salomon et al., 2013).

The News put the country into more pressure as the State was already facing domestic challenges in terms of security, political instability, enforcement of law and many other problems. In July, the authority has ordered 157 groups to dangle their operations, and for rapprochement, who were involved in terrorism following the attack by an armed men that killed 15 Tunisian soldiers near the border with Algeria (Salomon et al., 2013).The administration's action against decree-law-88 of which the interim government had assumed in September 2011 to replace the restrictive law that criminalized contribution in officially unrecognized associations, bringing Tunisia's national law conventionality with the obligation of international law to uphold freedom of association (Salomon et al., 2013).

Decree-law 2011-88 gives the judiciary sole authority to order the suspension or dissolution of an association under a three-stage process of warning, then initial suspension for 30 days, followed by dissolution, if the association failed to take the corrective action (Salomon et al., 2013). The government's suspension of 157 organizations in July 2014 ignored this process and took the form of a unilateral administrative decision and the associations appealed the government decision before the administrative tribunal (Salomon et al., 2013) .

5.1.6- Judicial Independence

The constitution guarantees the independence of the judiciary. It makes judges accountable solely to the constitution and to the law in the performance of their duties. Article 109 of the constitution prohibits outside interference in the judiciary. No one is above the law, rich or poor has to be treated equally and justly, meanwhile, the courts has to give judgment accordingly, the constitution always protects the rights of individuals where to follow equal deal of citizens without favor\policy (Salomon et al., 2013).

In practice, Tunisian judiciary lack of independence from the executive branch and is still following the legacy of Bin Ali who used to suppress the State judiciary in order to use it for his own interest delaying the right of orders, even sometimes he denied it by violating the constitution which was made his government as illegitimate (Salomon et al., 2013).

"For instance, we can take the example of a minister who removed almost 80 judges, in the name of corruption or linkage with Ben Ali's regime, the previous regime has always used judicial system as an instrument to suppress the dissents and the same trend is continued under the new regimes." (Salomon et al., 2013). Furthermore, under the new administrationthe judiciary lacks independence from the executive branch and still labors under the legacy of the Ben Ali era, when the authorities used the judicial system as an instrument to suppress dissent   (Sadiki, 2002b) . The new authorities have yet to reform law 67-29 of July 14, 1967, which places judges under the effective control of the minister of justice, who used his powers in 2012 to summarily dismiss 75 judges for alleged corruption or links to the Ben Ali regime (Sadiki, 2002a) . The Ministry of Justice has since rejected an administrative tribunal order to reinstate the dismissed judges.

5.1.7- Agony and Maltreatment

Agony and Maltreatment was allegedly remained unpreventable in custody facilities and penitentiaries, despite the NCA's implementation on October 9, 2013, of a law to fashion a

National Authority for the Prevention of Agony and others Painful, Inhuman or Humiliating Treatment or Punishment. It was gradul process because after ayear, nothing much to change and however, the NCA it is yet to vote on the selection of the National Authority's memberships (Sadiki, 2002a).

Subsequent the second visit of Juan Mendez to Tunisia since the rebellion increses their tension, so, in June the special advisor on agony, Juan Mendez, said that the abolition of agony in Tunisia required both political will and institutional, legal, and cultural reforms to reinforce safeguards against agony and to reconstruct inhabitants' hope in the judicial and security gadget (Sadiki, 2002a).

5.1.8- Crucial Intercontinental Actors

Since the January 2011 revolution, several United Nations agencies and foreign governments have committed to support Tunisia's transition, concentrating on mechanical and monetary support to Tunisia's economy and secluded sector, sanctuary sector support, and support for municipal society and self-governing practices (Jayawickrama, 2002). In 2014, the United States approved a sovereign credit assurance to Tunisia of US$500 million. The International Committee of the Red Cross, the UN Development Program, and the European Union provided support in 2014 for security sector and legal improvement plans. Furthermore, crime ratio was so high under the administration of Zian al –Abdeen, such as prostitution, force labor and, murder. (Jayawickrama, 2002).

5.2- SUDAN

5.2.1- Minorities in Sudan

The war in Sudan has historically connected with United States' the World sole power, where population of Sudan is a mixture of aboriginal populaces of the Nile valley, and progenies of the settlers from the Arabian Peninsula. Sudan is the principal country in Africa, land of conventional, geographical and cultural diversity (Flint & De Waal, 2008) . Due to rapid

Arabization in terms of language, ethics and life style, today the Arab culture is more prevalent for the Sudanese,in all across Sudan. (Flint & De Waal, 2008). The ethnic groups in Sudan are Arabs with70% others being Arabized ethnic groups called Nubians they have shared authoritative page in the history of African continent, where it's known as the land of black people *(Bilaad –Sudan)* in this phenomenon the global communal has put Sudan under stricture on different reasons (Martin, 1969). Historically, Sudan has suffered a long economic instability, low political culture since it remained in civil wars among various tribes and sectarian. She has only enjoyed a relative peace for just 11 years in its history (Kamrava, 2005). Sudan has more than 400 different languages along with many ethnicities, those who believe to be loyal to their respectful tribes and clans. The human rights actvitist when he was speaking in Sudan, on human rights violation and the conflict between the muslims of the Northern and the christian in the South, that was considered as violation of theconstitution. (Kamrava, 2005) . Extremism was also a major problem, due to rising extremism on its soil, this and many hurdles which affect economic, social and education growth in the country that paved the way for its unusual situation (Sharkey, 2012).

As discussed ealier Sudan with two parts division, where northerners are Muslims and enjoys the status of majority in this Arab State(Sharkey, 2012). The people of Southern Sudan have agonized nearly two centuries of expatriate rule under the Turku- Egyptian the Madhya, the Anglo Egyptian, and the post-independence northern regimes (Abdel-Rahim, 1969). The history of the Islamic subjugation and Arabization of northern Sudan was steady and incremental process, from the seventh century on, Arab trespassers from Egypt stimulated southward to the richer lands beyond the unreceptive Nubian disbursement and mandatory pacts on aboriginal potentates (Abdel-Rahim, 1969).

The northerners are willing to dominate on southerners economically, politically and socially, besides to adopt learning Arabic language as part of southerner's package who are religiously different (Young, 2012). Nevertheless, southerners started learning Arabic and its Islamic way

of living by keeping aside their own culture and civilization to ensure their survival in the future Sudan (Young, 2012) . But they never neglected their own system and worked for its existence to avoid any kind of elimination, as to keep the system available for their prosperity at large (Young, 2012).

5.3- Morocco / Western Sahara

Morocco is considered as a country which enjoys separates special status as compared to others in the region. Beside, Moroccan snuggles on the northern western tip of Africa, separated from the respite of the landmass by the towering Atlas Mountains and by the Sahara itself (Maghraoui, 2003). Its weather, topography and history are all more meticulously connected to the Mediterranean than to the rest of Africa (Stephan & Mundy, 2006). That is main reason that many tourists could not consider Morocco as real African state, due to its unique status among others (Stephan & Mundy, 2006) .

On the Morocconorthern side its fine beaches, lush highland valleys, and evocative old cities reinforce this impress yet as one moves side by side in both southern and eastern parts respective (De Haas, 2006). Mediterranean appeal melts away like a hallucination, the Sahara bounces out to the skyline (De Haas, 2006).

Morocco the Country where citizens seem to remain indoors to claim their natural rights, constitutionally the Moroccan government has proclaimed full protection to its people (De Haas, 2006).Furthermore, the human rights is not a perfect program in sub-Sahara, and upgraded the system to provide human rights, theoretically assess but practically human rights has totally failed to exist, where limitation of rights were preferred, no room for peaceful impression, assembly, property, faith, profession, social mobility, gender equality and association as claimed by the constitution but those things are practically unseen (De Haas, 2006) .

People were denied all fundamental rights, if a citizen tries to exercise his or her natural rights that will be considered as blasphemy, insult to the king, monarchy, or religion which results into punishments, jailing or execution. We can give some illustration to this prerogative as proof, in 2013 *Ali Anouzla*, the head of independent news site Lakome.com was jailed and charged with terrorist act. *Mouad Belghouat(El- Haqed)* the rapper who was the anti-corruption and anti-police campaign activist was prevented from campaigning and jailed with an excuse of anti-state activities. (De Haas, 2006). The nastiest aspect is silence of United State, keep watching these inhuman acts, the sole power and capitalist State which working in Morocco to improve the system in the region for the sake of mortality failed to curb this but why? We would like to discuss the following points to provide more lucidity (De Haas, 2006).

    a.   Freedom of Association

    b.   Freedom of Assembly

    c.   Freedom of Expression

    d.   Sexual orientation and Gender identity

    e.   Migrants and Refugees

    f.   Police conduct, torture and the criminal system

    g.   Rights of Women and Girls

    h.   Domestic Workers

    i.   Key International Actors

5.3.1- Freedom of Association

The country's constitution proclaims freedom to establish associations so that she can give services to human requirements in the country, but the authorities had failed to implement the

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so called 2011 amended constitution by refusing registration of many associations to obtain valid documents that will ensure and protect their activities in this Arab State (Zoubir, 1993).

It was learnt in May 2013, that the government had denied to register a new formed human rights group, holding their conference at the bar association in Rabat (Shillington, 2013). Many associations were also tested same things to have their legal papers including charitable, cultural and even educational associations, the leadership of al-Adl wal Ihsan (Justice and spirituality) was also a victim (Shillington, 2013).

The associations were demanding an Islamic state asking the monarch to provide chances for Islamic rule in the country (Shillington, 2013). The government further curtailed any local groups who proclaim the independence Status for Western Sahara; the same practice is applied to eliminate foreign hands from Western Sahara. Moroccan government claims that it will bring peace, stability, and rule of law in the country (Shillington, 2013).

United States as an ally of Moroccan king and Bush administration certified that Morocco is their best friend in North Africa in fighting extremism but failed to implement the charter of democracy in this country, along with human rights to empower youth and poor people. (Slyomovics, 2005). Between April and October 2013, Moroccan management expelled at least 40 foreign visitors from the Western Sahara, mostly Europeans, who supported Sahrawi's (people of Sahara) will power, the self-employed journalists, researchers, and police tightened their security to curb foreign entrance to their land. Sharawi rights activists remain unsaved. But Western Sahara is not for an International scrutiny as claimed by the government (Shillington, 2013).

5.3.2- Freedom of Assembly

Moroccan government has once tolerated many marches and rallies who were demanding for political reform; and also used to dispense some irrelevant papers for reading.Therefore, police blocked the road which lead to demonstration venues and denied all Saharawi's

activists to move on. In April 6, 2013, police arrested 11 young men those who were pro-Sahara in Casablanca, then put them on trial on May 22nd court sentenced nine of them for one or two years in prison, on June 17th the court freed them provisionally (Slyomovics, 2005) .

5.3.3- Freedom of Expression

Both electronic, print media has criticized government officialsconcerning the policy of not cooperating with citizens. A person faces prosecution and pestering if they paced too far. The press law mandates prison terms for "malevolently "spreading "untrue evidence that establishment considered that itdisturb the public order, or for speech that is ruled defamatory(Slyomovics, 2005).

Moroccan state television permits roughly space for deliberation and analytical reportage but little for direct criticism of the government disagreement on key issues (Slyomovics, 2005). Establishments hunted their investigation on terrorism responsibilities of Ali Anouzla direct of the assaulting police abuse. Furthermore, achieved goals of Moroccan activists in collaboration with order individual human right groups of the country, along with the support of the council of Europe financed by Norway to pave way of promotion the freedom of expression in Moroccan society, scheduled for the Moroccan years 2015-2017. The following steps will be observed in this regards (Slyomovics, 2005);

To set up laws which will protect freedom of expression, independent media, and access to information and internet facilities (Slyomovics, 2005).

To contribute and enhance knowledge and journalism for compiling genuine and true information based on authenticity and facts, that will enable journalists to go ahead for reporting on burning issues. (Risse & Ropp, 1999).

5.3.4- The Nature of Democratization in Morocco

The democratization in Morocco between 1956-2006 has provided that "democracy is impossible to survive in the Arab world". It was difficult to implement or establish this phenomenon, due to its incompatible system to democracy and Islamic mode of life (Risse & Ropp, 1999). According to Lipset: he has noted that not only Islam feeling mismatched with democracy, even Catholicism the orthodox Christians and Confucianism which is a religion in Chinese society are feeling the same. These religions were not taken it easy to have flexibility relations with democracy in Morocco (Risse &Ropp, 1999) . There are many factors and reasons that overdue this hurdle, mainly, the dogmatism of all religions which rejected secularism in all forms because the liberal democracy can't stand with religion. Protestantism Christians had found it easy for them to move on with this phenomenon (Risse & Ropp, 1999). However, protestant feel easy to have equal deal with democracy as it never disturbs their way of worship, thought and doctrine. The flexibility, unqualified liberalism of democracy along with absolute freedom of protestants can't challenge each other (Risse & Ropp, 1999).

5.3.5- (Jayawickrama, 2002) Can we say Islam and Democracy are two Antagonistic Phenomenons?

In both ancient and modern era, many schools do not feel easy to handle unequal position on Islam and democracy in the Arab world especially in morocco and Muslim world generally (Jayawickrama, 2002).

According to Samuel Philips Huntington, he believed that democracy is a new phenomenon which has no room in North Africa and middle –East because both are critically dissimilar to each other (Jayawickrama, 2002). It may be by nature, he further categorically, mentioned that Arab World are always welcome authoritarianism, monarchism even anarchism to avoid democratic rule in their beloved lands(Jayawickrama, 2002). Meanwhile, democracy is regulated by laws, norms, and ethics and decorated with free judiciary, independent

reasoning, free market, assembly, education, equality, justice and social mobility. According to Esposito: he argues that it's impossible to establish democracy in MENA (Middle East and North African) , because of their exception nature (Jayawickrama, 2002) .

Tessler in his analysis states that we can't dispute democratization in Arab world, actually the presence of antagonism between several schools of thoughts present in this regard, but it seems that some organizations are in favor of democracy and democratization respectively. It may take long time to reflect or takeover but will overthrow all those tested system and commit several mistakes . (Jayawickrama, 2002) The academic aspects debate since 1950s regarding democracy has found it irrelevant, even many scholars had condemned it. (Jayawickrama, 2002).

5.3.6- Algeria and Its Historical Conflict

Algeria was known in Eighteenth, Nineteenth centuries, spans correspondingly as the house of French, when they occupied the country in 1830, with full control (Jayawickrama, 2002). The French colony unfortunately remained able to dominate all living aspect of Algiers. They further penetrated their culture, custom, religion and beliefs introducing their own ideas (Jayawickrama, 2002).

5.3.7- Xenophobia Creation in Algeria (1945-1958)

The Algerians dreamt of having their own independent Algeria after centuries of harsh French colonial rule in this Arab nation. (Zerrouki, Hannachi, Lebas, & Berchiche, 2008). The hallucination became reality with the immediate aftermath of war in Europe. It was in May 1945, when Algerians rose their native flag to overthrow the French colonial rule in order to restore their fundamental right to have an independent homeland. (Zerrouki et al., 2008). Furthermore, historical event revealed that this was in the city of *Setif*, where eight of French nationals were detained and killed, but later French took revenge by killing at least 1,500 Algerians. (Zerrouki et al., 2008).

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CHAPTER- 6

RESULTS/REPERCUSSIONSAND DISCUSSIONS

6.1- Findings: Presentation and Discussions

Historically, the formal political style of the United States has conventionally proved a unique backing for the liberal political ideologies and so called human rights internationally (Tauber, 2013). It has been recorded for so long, which is always claiming that US foreign policy focuses on the security interests. It was consideredas the primary goal forthe United States 'than democratization and human rights (Tauber, 2013). This can be claimed with the fact that sinceWorld War II, United States' has been backing many authoritarian administrations in the North Africa, to preserve area steadiness especially these days. US has additional claimed to eliminate terrorism, but United States' seem concerned about human rights violations and to strength political system of the region (Tauber, 2013).

A chronological exploration into United States' foreign policy in Egypt from 1945 to the contemporary days, was organized basically on using declassified United states documents, to analyze the nature of the relationship between acknowledged United States' ideals and noticeable United States' interests (Tauber, 2013). United States' is closely watching and concentrating on Egypt, the country that went through rapid transition from autocracy to democracy then again to authoritarian rule. (Tauber, 2013).

The current study meant add to on the large knowledge on the policies of United States' in the World and in particular the Muslim World (Silverstein, 1996). Between 1939-1945 United States' effectively doubled her size, so no single State can challenge her power or authority, which left US as sole power in the World. Later after a while in 1970 United States had only 25% of the prosperity or wealth in the World political arena (Calleo, 1987).

This designate flawed United States' policy in the World that still remain same till today (Kristol & Kagan, 1996). Capitalist has won controlling the World political affairs mainly in three major aspects militarily, politically and economically. Meanwhile, for leverage, she adopted policy of interventions in all small or big States aiming to achieve her goals and objectives, so that many proxy wars were counted, such as war on terrorism since 9/11 in almost Muslim lands labeling them of promoting terrorism, which disturbs all faiths and created mistrust among the communities and societies (Lundestad, 1980). Still United States' failed to achieve her goalyet.Temporarily, all these are not brought peace, progress or salvation to humanity, which is major phenomenon in our society to be achieved (Kellner, 1990). The United States' activities in Egypt by removing the first and foremost elected democratic ruler was a bad experience for Egyptians in the hand of junta, it created lots of challenges to examine their political arena, can we count Egypt as part of democratic nation? surely, she is not but authoritarian nation with several problems (Lundestad, 1998). Nevertheless, her policy behind killing Gadhafi changed the fate of Libyans with illusion. The society has become victims of irregularities in their domestic politics, social fitness, economic · and wellbeing of its citizens (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

The State of harmony becomes hostile to each other, post Gadhafi was distorting Libyan political system leads to violence, doubts, misperceptions, chaos and many envoy personals were assassinated in revenge to US interventionism (Aiken, West, & Reno, 1991). Which created weak democratic roots, lack of nationalism, rampant corruption, poor governance generally disturbs educational standard in Libya (McCauley et al., 1982).

It also aims at improving the understanding of the policies and interests of United States' in the region so US can move forward, the historical profile proved that founding father of United States' (Butcher, 2016) .

George Washington has said that US has no protestation to any kind of World's religions, either Islam, Christianity or Judaism. (De Belot, 1951). This absolutely challenges the attitude

of today's United States' leadership with another faith, particularly Islam. This researchprovides some of advisable words and call attention of United States' how to forge the interfaith dialogue in order to maintain peace and stability in the world. (Harris et al., 1994).

The status of Muslims around the globe is totally damaged due to capitalism dominion of the universe, the West and all European States left the Muslims in darkness. Muslims have beenmisled by the West and Western blocks themselves have unsolved problems within themselves, but Muslims are left with no other resources than consulting the West to benefit from their educational institutions (McKenna et al., 2010). Western culture, orientation, thought, atomization, racism has put the Muslims in a big challenge about their humanity on the way of searching for science and technology (Hurstfield, 1986).

Due to these justification and importance, there is need for a new interpretation of the many events along with the United States' response to such events. (Gratwohl et al., 2006).

6.2- United States' Strategy in North African Zone

6.2.1- Introduction

United States of America' has become unipolar spearhead instantly after the cold war with Soviet Union, the ideology which caused a huge damage to Russia and spread the capitalism throughout the World (LaFeber, 2008). People started looking towards USA for aid and support, their expectations were not only financial assistance, but military and technological support especially for third world countries (Mastanduno, 1997). United States played unilaterally around the globe by reshaping her policy. (Buzan, 2008).

American leaders were not much aware about the clarity of their frame-work of the foreign policy; according to Richard in his scholarly article, "(Haass, 2013) argues that it's now become a difficult task for United States' ruling class to save their citizens home and Abroad (Horwitz, 1991). Their foreign policy focuses on targeting their own interests, objectives, but

forgotten the rest of the World. The incident of 9/11 has opened a new door for US diplomatic relations with other part of the World, the sudden attack on Iraq in March 2003 is anappropriate example (Gray, 2012). Weeks after attack on the Pentagon, the Bush administration took worst action against Iraq with a goal to overthrow *SadamHussain* from power (Mylroie, 2000).

Sadam was an ideal man for his plan to remain with honor and kind, but he was removed and killed without tangible evidence or proofs of his violation of international law (Bush, 2002). Richard Nixon's words a "pitiful helpless giant" (Nixon & Oudes, 1989). In 2009 when Obama resumed as the President of United States of America' , Obama was not interested to inherit those wars left by his predecessor, which had ruined both the economic and social welfare ofthe United States' (Nixon, 2013).

Though, the wars continued initially under his administration because of the pressure of lobbies but he later took the decision to withdraw forces from Iraq and Afghanistan. (Smith, 1971). According to *Ploch* in his scholarly article "African command: US. Strategic interests and the role of the US military in Africa' stated that the super power has advanced its strategic interests in Africa nations (Ploch, 2010).

Moreover, in the correct context, she is willing to enlarge its hegemonic power through new policy approaches in the region. She has observed that to have more focus on the region will convey advancement and prosperity to its protectorate (Ploch, 2010). United States' take interest more importantly on African natural resources, energy resources, to tackle issues of fanatical(ideologies and groups) which becomes global agenda, such as *Boko Haram* in Nigeria, *Al-Shabab* in Somalia and Kenya, Islamic Slavation Front (*Qaida network*) in Algeria, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia (Gunaratna, 2002).

6.3- US Strategy in Egypt

Egypt has been the best ally of US in North Africa. United States' always expressed its support to the military regimes in this particular Arab Country (Morsy, Zaher, Hassan, & Shouman, 2003). Moreover, there are many mind clashes between both countries. The clashes are considered as the conflict of interest, such as United States' asked Egyptian Armed forces to support United States' in Afghanistan on war against terrorism but Egypt opposed such step and refused to send her Army after September 11th (Chase, Hill, & Kennedy, 1996). The invasion of Iraq and the removal of *Sadam* on the pretext of WMDs was an excuse to execute their energy and oil interest in the country. (Alan Greenspan, Former Federal Remi Chief in his memoir)

The Egyptian leadership staunchly refused to send the troops to Iraq even not under UN mission and the refusal directly from the Administration of HosniMubara*k* who denied such movement at the time, that was immediate after peace treaty signed with Israel between 1979 to 2003, the refusal made the US administration singed aid assistance of $19billion as a military strategy to control Egypt both diplomatically and militarily (Nelson, Carson, Al Batal, & El Bakary, 2002) . This made Egypt as second largest non-NATO recipient member after Israel (Oxford & Burry-Stock, 1995). The United States' strategy of providing aid to Egypt was the tactic to keep balance in superseding to their internal affairs and to safeguard the interests of Israel in the Middle-East. (Richards, 1991).

According to (Scobey, 1996b)in his cable, wrote that the US authority was happy about the Egyptian contribution towards war on terror , Egypt leadership has developed her interest in fighting against Islamists who are in war with the US (Scobey, 1996a). He also narrated that Egyptian administration is keen in her plea to United States for more economic aid, military equipments,intelligence sharing, war and security measurements. (Kalisch, Kalisch, & Scobey, 1983).

Inappropriately, these remained not in errand of Israel as she warned the United States' to support Egypt on the pretext that Egypt might one day use the weapons against Israeli interests.(Scobey, 1992), especially its support to Hamas in Gaza whichIsrael called as a terrorist group. Attainment robust of Egypt will become problematic for Israel's persistence in the Region (Scobey & Taylor, 1995). Scobey, in his scholarly post, proclaimed that Egypt is bearing in mind US additional aid due to its contemporary condition, such as inflation, monetary dissatisfaction, potential water crisis, because Egypt is fighting for its rights over river Nile (Scobey, 2011), many challenges of expatriates' to adventure boarder with Sudan. Steven cook, was not satisfied with Egyptian military performance, where its institution failed to relish aptitude to partake filled regulator of her terrain, unfluctuating the border issue also seems doubtful (Cook, 2007).

Cook said 'Egypt is in hazard when its citizens are not secured;Egypt needs to focus more on its efforts to tighten its internal and external affairs (Cook, 2011). Margaret Scobey believed that Egypt essentially prerequisite additional collaboration from United States' management, because of its dilemmas, for instance: to combat aggressiveness (Reilly, Cook, Stool, & Rider, 1996). Because of the Islamist, Iranian funded confrontational groups and piracy, the octogenarian leadership of Egypt appealed the US to endure its close cooperation and support to curb the above mentioned challenges- Mubarak firmly requested the United States (Cook, 2005).

Muhammad Khadry has viewed that it's difficult for Egypt to maintain her regional hegemony and instability and this cannot be ignored (Al-kadry, Baker, El Amraoui, Messaddeq, & Rochette, 2013). He further opines through Egypt is facing many challenges, but it is interested to strengthen her regional capability in order to contribute in Arab-Israel conflict with its interest as priority (McWilliams, Kadry, Mahmood, Goncharov, & Ciezak-Jenkins, 2012). *Hossam Zaki,* who was foreign ministry spokesman of Egypt said, "we will

have to protect our own interests, instead of waiting for any nation to be our framer or planner". (Zaki, Raafat, El Emshaty, Azab, & Goda, 2010).

We should have more concern about our own affairs than orthers, we are not expecting or waiting for anybody before finalizing our strategies even if it confronting with other nation beings (El-Hagrassy et al., 2010). *Alex Vatanka* was in view that Egypt supposed to be the best United States' ally on war against terrorism, if it enjoys economic stability. (Abbas, Authman, Zaki, & Mohamed, 2012). But she is still fronting economic crisis, political unpredictability, social disorder, religious dysphoria and security upheaval. Ryan has challenged the three major regimes and administrations of *Gamal Abd al Naseer*, reign between 1954 to 1970. Anwar al –Sadat 1970 to 1981, and Husni Mubarak 1981-2011 (C. R. Ryan, 2001). These three governmentshavetasted different levels of containment, despotism and external distraction. Nasser's government was famous for his political utilization, who became the national leader after efficacious removal of king Farouk in 1952 (C. R. Ryan, 2001). Nasser used his potential power to suppress antagonists, civil society, obliterated all political forces, and claimed to fix the new republic in Egypt.

Monarchism was abolished by Nasser, Muhammad Naguib was exiled, he challenged the existing system especially the socialist transformation in the country,*Naseer* further introduced new system to replace those existing ones (Ryan, 2001). All kinds of mobilizations were established legitimation also included, Gamal made three attempt in order to provide sustainable kind of mobilization system in Egypt, he was in view to gain populist attention of masses and common people to support his administration (Ryan, 2001).

The Arab socialist union and various other institutions were established in the wake of demonstration of 1953, to strengthen the system in transition, followed by the National Union, United Arab Republic (UAR), which lasted from 1958-1961 (Ryan, 2001). *Nasser's* steps to eradicate inequality from society, by providing social equality, social justice, individual rights and social security and these were not in favor of elitist class and it eventually lead to class

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conflicts(Ryan, 2001). The coalitions involved workers, crafters, intelligentsias and the bourgeoisie, this strategy combine all sectors except armed institution (Ryan, 2001).

It was a biggest challenge for Naseer'sadministration to cope with the military;he was an army personal but ruled as civilian man. So, armed institution remained only unchallengeable, as he faced many expectable challenges, (Ryan, 2001). Naseer was full of strategy with tactics to solve problems of each department and sectors, but the strategy had not worked perfectly for armed institution in the country (Ryan, 2010). Gamal Naseer was trying to remove any possible future's threat from military, so he decided to use veto power to suspend the top military officers in case of aggression. Later, he started taking some reliable trusts in the military, because the armed forces were the most influential institution in the country, but unknown to him it has blown back, where *Naseer* has to pay huge expense to capitalized in the armed institution (Fligstein & Calder, 2001). Naseerused the strategy to insult the loyal offices in the top rans of the military, so that he will be able to have successful regime, but several proved to be threat to his administration.Moreover, after surviving this challenge, Nasser faced the internal uprising in the party, this time from his own leader of (ASU), Ali Sibn, who tried to manipulate the social services by misusing his power, Ali was the one who widened the vacuum of understanding between Naseer and Military and created lots of problems for nasser's government intentionally (J. Ryan, 2010).

The Arab socialist Union failed to join hand with the Naseer's administration in Egyptian war of 1967 with Israel, since then Naseer gradually able to control on (ASU) and changed the whole structural roots till his assassination in 1970 (Ryan & Zahra, 2004).

6.4- United States Stratagem in Libya

The historical chronology revealed that Libya was French colony backed in 15th to 16th centuries respectively (Allison, 1976). Libya was always controlled by foreign agents; it was also learnt after the Ottoman empire the Libyan people were dominated by Italians those who

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took governance of Libya as same as other European nations around this time   (Bearman, 1986).

6.4.1- Piracy in Libya

Furthermore,   Libyans proposed to put more attention on nautical piracy[V] those who are creating fears and disturbs the liberty of crusade in this constituency (Blackwell, 2003). Piracy was basic and major source of income, so pirate remain in main jobs for many people in order to achieve their daily needs. (Butt, 2006)

6.5- Human Trafficking in Libya

Libya was famous to remain the base of human trafficking formerly, from sub-Sahara Africa to Europe, so both men and women were considered Libya as appropriate place to further this illegal business. Meanwhile, those migrants ,who left their home lands and become refugees [VI] in Libya involved in this dirty business as well (Nye Jr, 2008). They were also left home to look for better livelihood, they were always front this activities, in order to meet their daily expenses, because they have chosen this as their job (Nye Jr, 2008). The number of those aliens participating in this trafficking were almost two million, they are getting amount between 200 to 500 US dollars. Many people were forcedinto prostitution and forced labour as well as result of economic migration (Soderlund, 2005). Though the government of Libya has taken role but they have taken serious action to tackle the problem. (Soderlund, 2005).

6.6- Post Qaddafi Era and Human trafficking in Libya

The United Statestried to intervene and helped the Libyan government to address the issue with a perfect method, so that they will be able to curtail those who were the chief traffickers, to allow people to enjoy their human rights in this country. (Kyle & Koslowski, 2011).

[V] Piracy means: is an activities of robbing ships at sea, it's a big crime according to international law is punishable with imprisonment
[VI] (Those people left their place of birth to anorder country or place, due to war, crisis, economic benefits and political asylum.)

Moreover, the illegal transferring of people from Africa to Europe. North and South United States' , Asian countries and many more, but there were no tangible results seen as big change in the country (Kyle & Koslowski, 2011). The United States efforts to stop this activity in Libya further became more difficult especially in the post Qaddafi era, where many militants are in full operations, and the United States' had shifted its diplomatic mission from Libya following the assassination of its ambassador to Libya in 2012. The militants are deeply engaged in the trafficking operations, where many Egyptians are the victims of forced labor in Libya, besides this, there are large number of Sudanese and Bangladeshis who have also been subjected to force labor in Libya either with pay or without pay. (Western & Goldstein, 2011).

Additionally, Nigerian women are also victims of prostitution in Libya, with a promise to meet better life and economic standard in Libya, but are stuck in the chaos of Libya. (Western & Goldstein, 2011). According to various reports that revealed at Nigerian, Eritrean, Somalian and women from chad are also being smuggled to Libya with fake documents and passports by phony agents. (Fahim, Shadid, & Gladstone, 2011). We discovered that the militant has a solid support and approval of officers to do this dirty job, in order to boost the business the leader of this group even working with government and they paid him salary, only to monitor movement with activities of those trafficker's agents on sea (Fahim et al., 2011). That immigrants pay 1500 US dollars per head, but the traffickers are not concerned with safety of people, either they reach safely or die on the way, they are only concerned with their business. (Fahim et al., 2011). The city of *Zawiya* in Libya is famous to be the center for trafficking, many migrants died ironically, their bodies were not taken care by any officers (Vandewalle, 2012).

Moreover, some people have been taken prisoners by freeing then from prison in order to work in their farms without any payment but after completion of their jobs, they are no longer concerned with the freedom of these refugees. (Western & Goldstein, 2011).

Some agents collected ransom from people of sub-Sahara states promised to take them away from their own country and pass through Libya in order to take them to Europe such as Italy, but all of them ended up in forced labor or abandoned in the desert (Kristensen & Mortensen, 2013). As a result, tens of thousands died without any identification and the traffickers are much worse than murder in their behavior because they collect the migrant phones, number of their relatives to ask for more money,as a way to satisfy their customer.(Fahim et al., 2011). It was learnt that since 2011 after fall of Qaddafi regime that young Libyan were attracted by this business, in order to get money for their survival. (Fahim et al., 2011). These jobless young people are out of jobs and the only way to survive is to engage in this lucrative business to take care of their families (Bhardwaj, 2012).

6.6.1- Women in Libyan Society in Post Qaddafi Regime

Women started a new life in Libya after the fall of Qaddafi in 2011. Perhaps, it was a positive sign to see that women were testing their absolute freedom as complete human being in Libyan society (Costanza-Chock, 2014)The freedom was not seen or seized for many decades, due to injustices, inequalities, in the country (Costanza-Chock, 2014). In 2012 Libya able to see her first and foremost general elections in which women were allowed to participate in the elections. (Costanza-Chock, 2014). The national Transitional Council has made it possible for women to ensure their participation, where women were able to secure 17% of vote in the national assembly of Libya (Costanza-Chock, 2014) . Furthermore, it was also observed that post Qaddafi was natal of women rights defilement as well, because there is no a proper caring for women or respect them. This phenomenon can be demonstrating in the nimble of an incident, where new groups of militants arose in the name of nationalists as well claiming perfection of Islam as their ideology respectively, but in reality non of them have true claim, because these two groups focuses on women elimination, rapping, seizing the voiceof theproclaimer of freedom of speech, human rights, steadiness, good governance, women education, early marriage for women, equality, justice and right to choose profession,

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had gradually became irrelevant in the country. Meanwhile, societies become more dangerous and treacherous regarding the status of women. Militants are also serving for assassinating security officers, law enforcements agents, journalists, lawyers, this was eventually led to slaying of prominent human rights activist in person of Salwa Bughaighis in June 2013 (Deeb & Deeb, 1982). She was not infavor of militants activities in the country and she raised her voice against this barbarism, and viciousness calling to halt it and to allow peace, harmony in the State (Deeb & Deeb, 1982). This was not stop till killing of another two young ladies those whom also named as Aisha Sadiq and Marwa Amer both were killed in the capital Tripoli. The brutal murder of order citizens as well was reported like, killing 42 people in November 2013 at city of Misrata, where almost 500 were injured. The most victims were ladies especially in the capital, but despite these assault against women activists they refuse to stop and vow to continue their struggle in order to bring peace back to Libya, even they preferred to continue their activities outside the country. (Deeb & Deeb, 1982).

6.7- Containment

The word containment has different dimensions and phases, which denotes exploiting somebody, either to achieve objectives of users, by applying different ways and method so that the individual, State, Organization can contain anybody, in the way of providing aids, scholarships, training, even science and Technology. We have mentioned in the theoretical frame work, here containment[VII]can be discussed as follows:

1. Military containment

2. Political containment

3. Economics containment

4. Social containment

[VII]"Containment is a geopolitical strategy to stop the expansion of an enemy".

6.8- United States Containments in Egypt

6.8.1- Introduction

US as a super power have multi-dimensional status in the World politics, which she supports and partakes in the promotion of democracy across the world. (Brownlee, 2002). On the contrary, the US has a long history of supporting authoritarian regimes with economic aid assistance, military and diplomatic support. In this study take Egypt as anexample of US strategy in the North African region. United States' and Egypt has long history of cooperation in the field of economics, military and diplomacy. (Mohamed et al., 2005).

6.8.2- Military Containment in Egypt

According to A. Maher' in his scholarly article "The US is supporting oppression in Egypt "he opines that United States' support to Mubarak regime can be considered as operation againstthe freedom of democracy and progress of Egyptian folks. (Brownlee, 2002). He further explains that US Congress had publicized that Obama administration continued sending military aid to Egypt despite military takeover by overthrowing the elected civilian government. (Brownlee, 2002). SeveralUS delegates visited Egypt in 2011 but they ignored to query for the arrest of hundreds of young protestors simply because the US was not in favor of the new constitution. (Kirkpatrick, Sanger, Fahim, El-Naggar, & Mazzetti, 2011). When the violation of human rights was rampant, did the US delegations not aware about the human right abuse in Egypt? where innocent freedom fighters were arrested and failed from long time prison. (Mason, 1991). Unfortunately, United States' delegation did not pay attention to those innocent people in lockup. Majority of them were not allowed to their judicial justice was derailed and the US was well aware about this (Engdahl, 2011). United States' hushed at military rule in Egypt, where the condition is not good enough to have social, cultural and free movement perfection and atmosphere also is too bad for democratic political system to reign in this Arab nation, so, citizens are crying to have better life so far (Alence, 2004) .Therefore,

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the United States' was mainly sympathetic to the military rule in Egypt just by claiming .Rod,further advocates that United States' aid for Egyptian military is keen to have its importance on this Arab soil, but not denotes its mandatory, he further observed that the Israeli Army is much strong to answer any sort of aggression from any count of how the Egyptian army is logically and technologically weak as compared to Israel and Egypt had learnt this during 1967 war. Dwight David, was having feeling of political competition and antagonism between powerful nations, such as Soviet Union, Britain, France and Egypt in 1956, as a result of Naseer's aggressive policies regarding Suez canal. (Sangmuah, 1990). He was belligerent in the defense of Suez canal, in order to save nation's interests, but it was resulted to vital glitches which caused unexpected plights between most allies of the United States , especially, France and Britain (Melanson & Mayers, 1987). Naseer was the pan-Arabist who was demanding benefits from both folks.

He frolicked double standard between western states and Soviet Union (Little, 1990). GamalNaseer was working to nationalized the Suez canal, because it symbolic to Egyptian interests in the region (Little, 1990). United States' consideredNaseer's attitude as provocative action which was against their core interests in the region. Dwight's discernment withNaseer later demonstrated he called it wrongexploit which was done by naseer, he urged him to reframe his policy on Suez Canal so that he will be able to avoid further challenges in future but naseer didn't follow his advice.

He was supporting and backing Egyptian *Naseer* against his own allies, France and Britain, United States only was not in favor of communist and was not willing for its expansion in the region, but she had shocked when Egypt expanded her relations with China (Keefer, 1986). US decided to join triangle of Britain, France and Israel, when Egypt continue to denounce and she further refuses to recognized Israel as an independent state. Eisenhower condemned Egyptian attack on Israel, he further opines that it will not even bring any fruitful result or change Egypt status in the Muslim world(Keefer, 1986). Dwight Eisenhower directly fixed a

prevalent doctrine called 'Eisenhower doctrine" which empower him to endure providing financing, military to north Africa nations, he was in view to curtail communist and its agencies to spread in the region of north Africa (Leffler, 1984). In 1958 pro-Nasser's in Iraq seized power.

In international political arena United States' has overtaken domestic politics of many third world and their leaders like, Lumumba "great leader" in Congo, Allende and Arbang Guzman, they all was considered by United States' leadership a threat to their hegemony during the cold war, and after the cold war US never changed her policies in North Africa(Aly, 2014). Maged Mandour opines that United States claims that Egyptian stability will pave a way to stability and harmony in the Arab and Muslim World, that is why *Mosadeqh* of Iran has been removed, by so called "Ajax Operation" in 1953 (Aly, 2014). He was an elected Iranian president; he hasn't constrained any delinquency but it's because of his nationalization of Iranian oil giant (Anglo-Iranian oil company) (Howard, 1969). The aftermath of the United States' provocative action was to lead to many international crises (POLITICS) (Hahn, 1991)

On October 29, 1956, Egypt attacked on Israelwhich was sudden and unknown to Eisenhower priorto about the attack, it was considered a provocative act by Eisenhower who was seen as a loyal United States' leader to Egypt (El-Aziz, Rafaat, Sabry, Yousef, & Mandour, 2010). The new shape of politics emerged between 1945 and 1956, when the United States and Egyptian government reached a high level of mutual cooperation (Hahn, 1991). Washington waswilling to advance its agenda that Egypt will have to admit proposal for supporting their policy infavor of Israel, it was lead to arrangement of great financial assistance in favor of Egypt (Hahn, 1987). But the position changed when Naseerrejected the United States' financial aid, and turned it down by claiming that Egypt will sustain its economy on its own without taking any external support.

The current political situation of Egypt is not perfect and stable, and it cannot be argued that Egyptians are enjoying due to United States containment of Egyptian military (Tauber, 2013). But the truth is that Egyptian people are not happy, satisfied because of United States' attitude in Egypt which has resulted in clashes between military institution and urban middle class.

Egypt has never been free of US pressure, coercion and compulsion that was always that wasn't in the favour of the people of Egypt (Byman & Waxman, 2002). Main reason is confirmed to be the aid providing by United States' to Egypt that gave the US immunity to sustain their military affair and also to thwart the international pressure. Moreover, to have peace deal with Israel is the United States' priority especially in north Africa(Meernik, Krueger, & Poe, 1998).

What are the essentials for the United Statesis to continue supporting the Egyptian military, when she claims to be democratic agent in the World politics? Several reasons has been recorded in the political history of Egypt (Latham, 2011).

    a- There were uncountable Egyptian military personals meetings with the United States'personnels, in which Egyptian military continues giving privilege to herself, claiming that the security of north Africa is in their hands (Howard, 1969). They further complain that north Africa is the most dangerous, unsecure, restless region in the world, and Egypt is the only nation that is working hard to maintain peace in the region. (Farouk, 2014). She categorically pointed out that Libya is the most dangerous nation in the region generally, and specifically for Egypt.

    b- Egypt call herself "balancer" (Farouk, 2014). Historically, Egypt have same claim, attitude for more than 30years. The Egyptian generals with their claims had alwaysconvinced their United States' counterparts to increase aid from $ 1.3 billion because of the increasing needs of Egypt to maintain peace. After the Camp David accords, US had increased the Egyptian aid up to $2.3 billion. (Schlesinger, 1992).

c- It is known that the position of Egypt is in the region is to serve multipurpose interests ofthe Unitd States' in order to get more aid and political support (Tuathail & Agnew, 1992).

d- Israel is military more powerful than that of Egypt, the smallest State with strong power, it need Egyptian support as Mubarak served her interests for many years (Tuathail & Agnew, 1992).

e- A predominant ideological commitment to the state of Israel (Latham, 2011).

But United States' aid to Egypt does not even provide a slight progress in economic, political advancement, security apparats and military strength especially in case of the whole region. (Dean, 2003). It only suppresses democratic movement, loans only increases on regular basis, the state has been fully controls by United States for decades (Brzezinski, 1992).

6.8.3- Containment Under Sadat

The political dimension of Nasser's containment was based on opposing American policy in Egypt, which was also involved intention of becoming a central power in the region.This was considered by US as arrogant and self power (Plummer & Fitzgibbon, 2004). So, after demise of Naseer the same policy was pursued by his successor *Sadat*, where he followed same step by utilizing armed forces to control political liberation, but unlike *Ali Sabri* or *Abd al Hakim Amir*, *Sadat* failed to centralize the power because of the peer pressure from his fellow ministers and bureaucracy. (Plummer & Fitzgibbon, 2004). These highly profile personalities fall under names of *Ali Sabri* who had returned to the ASU, general *Muhammad Fawzi* army personal, *Sami Sharaf* the then minister of state for presidential matters, and *sha'rawi gum'ah*, who was interior minister and orthers such as, head of intelligence services (Ryan & Zahra, 2004). In the beginning, they were those people paid *Sadat* an efficacious technique for the presidency. But the policy of Anwar Sadat was tricky in dealing with the establishment and all other powerful figures in the party which led the country to politics

chaos known as "Corrective Resolution of 1971" (Ryan, 2001). Sadat accomplished to

detached extreme of these influential majors in spare with his own optimal, to empower

himself in the exertion of power perfectly, he further empowered the commonalities to have

their voice and permitted to direct their sensitivity, and allowed common people to have

discussions with power holders of every sector (Hawkins, Fook, & Ryan, 2001). Sadat policy

provided a great opportunity to the interest groups to further achieve their objectives under the

umbrella of ASU. (C. R. Ryan, 2001).

6.8.4- Containment Under Mubarak

The new regime and administration of Mubarak emerged in Egyptian political atmosphere

after Sadat's assassination in 1981, Mubarak who was supposed to strengthen the relations

between people and government of Egypt, continued repression style role in the country.

(Ryan, 2001). He accomplished his political ambition through influential people of the

Country, Mubarak further mobilized his government in political deliverance, economic

vicissitudes, with solid connection with military organization, thoughtful that will permit him

to retain more power (Ryan, 2001). Unfortunately, westerners never recognized or seen

Egypt as democratic land, but his political philosophies and direction has flourished abruptly

of the previous administrations (Ryan, 2001).

Egypt was known as the place of news agents and magazine throughout Arab World, where

political opponents used to criticizean incumbent government respectively. Moreover,

Egyptianswere not having actual influence to regulate its executive, but were free to exercise

their rights of voting (Ryan, 2001). The elections were not transformed in its real spirit as

highlighted by all democratic nations. The context of elections suddenly changed in Egypt

under Mubarak,who suppressed the opposition by using force, which later doomed his

legitimacy as the president of Egypt (Ryan, 2001). Mubarak offered free hands to opponents

to work according to their requirements in directive to exercise their political privileges, he

wasn't applied any constraint on them (Ryan & Heise, 2002). The tactics brought some advantages to Egyptian society in these lines:

a. The style compels opponents to focus on real issues which becamebeneficial for the people of Egypt being too busy in criticizing the Mubarak administration (Ryan & Heise, 2002).

b. It disclosed the frequent hidden schemas of opponents, where government was able to aware of them (Ryan, 2001) .

c. The policy further allowed Mubarak's government to achieve highest level of rightfulness with the Egyptians. It was before 1984 elections,when Mubarak approved a decree which was called "curious new election law" this established scheme of comparative illustration (Richter, 2010) . The law was basically identifying that to be eligible as Member of Parliament the party must win eight percent of a particular vote, otherwise, if it failed all its votes will automatically be part of ruling or winning party. The law was eventually changed with the supervision/ interpolation of supreme court in 1990 (Arafat, 2009)

6.8.5- United States' Political Containment in Egypt

Containment is a United States' immediate policy when cold war started between USA and its political rival USSR, the containment policy emerged during The Cold War can be viewed from the long telegram of George. F. Kenan. (Carafano et al., 2015). The policies were inaugurated by Harry Truman 1945-1953. Moreover, it also leads to establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization NATO (Joshi et al., 2013). There were different treaties, accords to serve United States' interests in the World politics, this further extended in her containment in North African countries in order to curtail the spread of communism in the region (Holmes & Carafano, 2010). Cold war can be view asideological war, as well as indirect confrontation between the two powers. This particular war has influenced US foreign policy for decades, where it affected her attitudes worldly (Carafano et al.). The United States was able to spread democracy as a political system throught the globe, while USSR has

limited followers in the World. So, therefore, US need to do more to satisfy her allies by strengthen their political structures.

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CONCLUSION/IMPACTS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND DIRECTION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

1- CONCLUSION/HISTORICAL IMPACTS

As a researcher, after deepest survey on the United States' interests and policies in the region of North Africa, weconcluded with several considerations, observations, readings that the United States' main interests in the region based on aiming to achieve her political goals (Henry & Wilson, 2004). United States takesserious steps in order to make her dreams come into reality in the region of North Africa, after World War II and especially after cold war era. She further considering all meacanism of accomplishing her objectives as compulsory, so that its blue eyed forces could be able to control socio-culture of the region. United States and United Kingdom are found united in direction to have access to the region of North Africa (Chouraqui, 1968).

US haveknown as a custodian of democratic values in the World politics, it's because of democracy, United States always at war with USSR, but it's unbelievable that US always supports dictatorship regimes in Egypt, Tunisia with conditions of suppression of their politics, social, economic and military (Snider & Faris, 2011). The issue of Suez nationalization with *Anwar Sadat* of Egypt was perfect program and agenda in order to put Egypt in blow back, to face international challenges, sanctions, isolation and many more (Epstein, 2000). At end Egypt was there on her knees in order to get United States' supports as well financial assistance, US unhappy with any step taken by any nation to serve their beloved lands if that policy will not be in favor of United States' (Epstein, 2000).

United States ofAmerica has openly support Mubarak, in case of elections in Egypt, there was no history of free and fair elections in this Arab country (Epstein, 2000). Mubarak always getting 100% vote, while opposition parties get nothing, it is question mark on United States' equal dealing with their claim in the World (Tyson, 1999).

Egyptian people found democratic system as Utopia, US normally support monarchies and militaries regimes in the country, this can be bringingout as *Mursi* was elected as civilian president *Mursi* who was the first elected Egyptian leader, never tasted the fruit of democratic political system rather he faced life imprisonment with several challenges and problems. Many of brotherhood were either jailed or killed in order to suppress any movement to democracy and the real spirit of its establishment. (Sharp, 2014).

1.1- Regime Change

There is a proper way to change the government, which is well know in international arena is to conduct free and fair elections (Kamal et al., 2006). United Stateshas proved another way to remove leaders of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, to fulfill their interests, policies. TheUnited States' being super power and leader of free world, she has that burden to spread democracy throughout the world. She supposes to have free elections, rule of law, safeguard of human right and so forth (El-Gouhary, Mohamed, Suleiman, & Benghuzzi, 2004).

US is largely lacking in true sense, of what constitute democratization or spreading of democracy. For instance Libyan leader *Qadafi* was removed who was the best friend of United States, due to his services toUnited States interests in torturing the criminals and terrorists brought to him from the west (Mahmoud, Tawfik, & El-Gohary, 2011). *Qadafi* was later denied by United States when he claimed to be a nationalist, the step which is never welcomed by USA, because he did not serve their purposes, interests (Moghaddam & Kavulich, 2008).

Later, *Qadafi* was labelling and blackmailing of constructing atomic energy which United States know that it is fake claim from their side (Sokolski, 2004). That was only method to curtail the power. Elections in Egypt has no value or standard in the World community, where there is no any appropriate channel, method to be followed, the instance is according to *Mohammad al-Gouhary* a native of Egypt, who described Egyptian elections method as void

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(Koehler, 2008). *Al-Gouhary* further gave instance of the first presidential elections of Egypt held in 2012, the elected president was detained, rebellion his government and he was also jailed up to 80 years and penalized to death without any perceptible crime in the senses of international law (Davis & Robinson, 2012).

The truth can be obtain from *Mursi's* speech at his oath taking ceremony at Cairo University, after taking oath as president of the Arab republic of Egypt on June 30, 2012 (Elgindy, 2012).*Mursi* believed in a reailty of democratic transition between the institution within the country, he focused on many important factors which can bring the individuals of Egypt to enjoy their fundamental rights, as social animal within the accurate constitution.Musri mentioned those factors as essential to achieve their political goals in Egypt (Guirguis, 2012).

     a.   Establishment of the actual political system

     b.   Organizing competent authority to tackle corruption in the country

     c.   Encouraging people of having access of questioning the administration in case of any irregularities in the system (check and balance)

     d.   Equal oppourtunity of partaking in inland politics of the country

     e.   Ameliorating laws, legislatures, administrative and to justify relations between them and government.

     f.   Permitting all participation to avoid domination of individuals in national politics.

     g.   Enlighten the importance of youth in the political arena.

     h.   Working within the limitation of the constitution.

1.2- Establishment of Actual Political System

International communities do recognize efforts to strengthen democratic process, as its only method and way to achieve the political rights, goals and a way to diminish the gap between haves and have nots in the society (Leckie, 2012). Democracy transports equality,

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gratification, sanctuary, self-respect, justice and equality (Minds & Wins, 2016). To establish political system in the state will bring the country into extraordinary level in the sense of international community (Rabou, 2012). Meanwhile, each institution will have to work in the platform of the constitution which will not pave a way for interference in other affairs (Al Sawi, 2015).

1.3- Organizing A Competent Authority to tackle Corruption in the Country

Mursi believed in free society along with optimistic mind of people to protect their dignity, rights, and to curtail any step forward to corruption as it is way of destruction of any nation (Al Sawi, 2015). Corruption kills, extinguishes and disorganizes the rights of qualified people to serve their nations (Ramadan, 2014).Without corruption people will achieve their ambitions on merits, it will also encourage the youths to work hard in the stimulating country's reputation worldwide (Al-Shaer, 2013). In elimination of corruption it will even be easy for any department, sector to implant their laws, rules and regulations and able to exercises their power within limitation of constitution (Al-Shaer, 2013).

1.4- Check and Balance

Check and balance method will be welcomed in Egyptian society, where ruled will be able to question their rulers in order to minimize prejudice, inequality distribution of wealth in the country (Farahat, 2017). In addition, government always realizes that they are chargeable to the people who entrusted power to them, so management will have to work accountably (Al-Saif, 2015). Everything will have to be within law of the nation, Egypt as an Arab and African nation always proud to be the only country who have largest services in the World (Vidino, 2013).

1.5- Equal Opportunity of Partaking in Inland Politics of the Country

Equal opportunities should be given to each and everybody, so that people will be able to utilize their skills, which will lead to growth of the country. Citizens should permit to exercise

their liberty freedom at all cost, so that they can serve the nation in the highest level. It will cover a way to avoid reckless dispositions holding the public post and misuse its resources (Vidino, 2013). It is time for change in Egyptian political arena. Young stars will be encouraged to do more, so that less privilege citizens will also have equal chances with others, therefore, cheating and other discourage attitudes of discrimination will be removed and justice will prevail soon (Rabou, 2012).

1.6- Ameliorating Laws, Legislatures, Administrative and to Justify Relations Among them and Government

Its known as political culture of any advance country to relish perfection of all its institutions especially, lawmaking, judiciary and administrative need to enjoy indecency with each order, to work within platform of the constitution, for the progress of the nation and its people (Rabou, 2012). Everybody are equal in the rule of law, there will be favor policy within the institution. Judges will be selected on merit to evade injustice, inequality, favourism, barbarism attitudes, wickedness (Rabou, 2012). The court of law will do justice and make sure to promote rights of poor people in the country (Rabou, 2012).

1.7- Enlighten the Importance of Youth in the Political Arena

Educated youths are the future of the country, and will enable it to achieve political stability and progress and ensure a bright future.he further enlightedonce would provide best services to the nation, so we need to preserve our youths in orderto preserve the nation (Farahat, 2017). Egypt is homogenous society which enjoy the services of its youths inside and outside of the country (Al-Saif, 2015). We should give them proper guidance to prepare them to serve their mother land. Meanwhile, to encourage our youths they should not be ignored in every field of life, either, politically, socially, and culturally (Haddon, 2013). Helpless and hopeless people should be brought up so that they can be available to serve next generation of Egypt. Youths must understand that politics of revenge is useless in this era, we need to work together, forever and with clean and clear mind (van de Bildt, 2015). As a youth it is an

important to have determination and careful plans for your beloved nation, that is the only way to get rid from slavery in the hands of dictators, authoritarians, and many previous tyranny administrations, those who only worked for their masters and forget to serve their own people (van de Bildt, 2015).

1.8- Working within the Limitations of the Constitution

Constitution is the guardian, shield, protector which can make a government follow it as legitimate administration, any government which refuses to work within platform of constitution will become illegitimate government (Brooke, 2013). Working with constitution can easily bring the safety, and that particular country will be given superiority in the world arena (Brooke, 2013). Violation of the constitution will only bring chaos for the nation, we will IN SHA ALLAH ensure certainty of our constitution (Brooke, 2013).

Equality will be prevailing, surety of accountability will also dominate the country, we will search for competent people those who will work in framing new constitution based on demands of the citizens (Tombaugh). From now we need to be saved from any external dictations, interventions in our politics, we are not going to intervene in anyone politics but we will be able to fight for our rights in international community (Batchelor, 2016). Additionally, we are going to ask for the rights of Palestine people, who need to achieve their aims and objectives in order to save their own land, it is time to support their demands (Perra, 2016). It is time for Palestine people to get free from captivity, enslavement and confinement and move towards their purpose and fortune (Al Sawi, 2015).

Additionally, *Morsi* was trying to create a new and modern Egypt, where the rule of law, equality, understanding and justice will be preserved in the society and straightforward person will be welcomed and respected in Egyptian community (Ramadan, 2014). All these factors were addressed by *Morsi* to move into real spirit of democracy (Ramadan, 2014). This study examined all this speech and found it in accordance with the process to consolidate democracy. The fundamental rights are those unavoidable rights for genders(Tombaugh).

Nevertheless, *Morsi* was removed, jailed and punished; we observed some misperceptions by this arrogance, policies of super powers, then many questions were raised from different angles of academicians, statesmen, political scientists, human rights watch, and all are in deep surprise of the incident, asking the exact meaning of democracy? Equality? Justice? Human rights? And even democratization process in third world countries (Momani & Mohamed, 2016). We determined that United States of America and its allies are only searching for their interests, without concerning with others,so might is right, might is power (Momani & Mohamed, 2016).

1.9- United States' Economic Containment of Egypt

Egypt is a nation which never considered having financial crisis as new phenomenon in its economic history, even since ever ancient time (Cassandra, 1995). It is something not a new challenge for her. Meanwhile, Egypt is a nation where the government didn't have a serious plan to tackle its financial challenges, in order to create stable system with proper approach (Cassandra, 1995). In the era of Mubarak, he wanted to take a step to address this matter, but seems they don't have capability in doing so. It was learnt by historians that even those allies of Egypt were not ready to help the country save from this calamity, especially the United States of America as sole power (Cassandra, 1995). Egypt economic crisis has long history to have proper agenda to end the problem, and to let the citizens have a prosper life. Non-serious attitude of government to address the issue always paves ways for poverty to become resident of this Arab nation (Cassandra, 1995). It further observed that the expectation of Egyptian people is totally different to the ground reality (Rebel, 1995). There was only a bit change in the economic record of the country stated back to 1991, it was minor change not major one, as people still feeling the same unstable economic challenges in the country, since the number of people living under the poverty line is the highest (Tim Mitchell, 1991). Unsolvable major aspect of economic crisis makes the country surveying from different problem, and habitually never achieved its goals in the World political ground (Tim Mitchell, 1991).

US' views on economic challenges of Egypt that based on its topographical and demographical situation, which has a big undesirable impact on its enlargement in the region (Timothy Mitchell, 2000). She further strengthens this terminology as part of major facts which continue disturbing this country from any growth. In 1980 according to World Bank observed the main cause's economic crisis in Egypt was its geographical location even in its ancient time. Furthermore, many political scientists were saying that it may be difficult for Egypt to overcome its financial crisis if not seriously tackled (Timothy Mitchell, 2000).

1.10- US Economic Containment of Egypt in the 1950s

Was there any step taken by United States in curtailing Egypt from being a close ally in the 1950s? The US foreign policy to stop Egypt not to be part of communist party in the region, has taken a new dimension (Stathakis, 1995). United States' policy was not even in favor of its colony, United Kingdom because she wanted the UK not to have any access to Egyptian affairs, as well as to sustain Russian power to spread in Egypt. For the meantime, US was trying to have totality halt United Kingdom to stop its colonial power in the area, while, United States' was doing all these to create a stable state of Israel and having 100% freedom to the Middle Eastern oil's status production(McConachie, 2005). Historical datarevealed that United States intentionally created a huge chance and opportunity for Israel to remain in the region, so it will possible for her to monitor Arab and Muslim's activities in the region, also to have nonstop way of having uncontrivable oil access (McConachie, 2005). Keeping in view its political rivalry with Soviet Union to curtail its spreading of communist philosophy in (MENA) Middle East and North Africa respectively(Krell, 1981).The meaning of economic containment of US was her attitudes to stop United Kingdom to continue helping and having good relations with Egypt at any cost, this was not in favor of Egypt as she need comfort from any approaches, she's eligible to have compacted economic relations with any country in the World (Krell, 1981). The most interesting aspect of the discussion is that United Kingdom and was master colony of United States' she is also democratic country still

United States' didn't want her to have relation with Egypt, so Egypt economically lost in this regard (Hahn, 2006). The second method of US where she used economical containment against Egypt was that the soviet relations blocked by United States' in the name of capitalism ideology. Its glaring that United States' just wants her hegemonic stability in the World at large and specifically in the North African countries. Additionally, Israel was planted in the region to monitoring Arab's oil, Islam, and curtail and development step taken by Muslim and Arab World (Hahn, 2006).

1.11- United States of America and its Strategic Plan

The problematic US policies towards north Africa sometime contradicting each other, when she sometimes applies one policy then bring blow back, for instance, United States' sympathetic claim to have for Egypt to help Egypt in achieving her economic goals, but assertive Britain again to oppose Soviet Union in the region, while major oil markets from Europe normally pass through Suez canal, where Egypt may have a great opportunity to gain financial benefit but America didn't allow such move (Hahn, 2006). We observe that US policies it has some confusion of its application, the example of it famous policy can be mentioned in this regards "people's right to self-determination' this was not clear policy where United States' used to curtail diffusion of communist operation in the north Africa particularly and in the World, meanwhile, she's also beholding to fulfil her right as claimed by United States' policy (Hahn, 2006). We can call United States' policy in the region of north Africa as one-way policy, where she is only considered her gain, goals, objectives and ignores orders (Hahn, 2006). She considered Soviet Union and its communism system as oppressive policy, where it denies single authorizations but forget her own attitudes towards individuals, those countries trying to free from any authoritarian(Hahn, 2006). Another example can be mentioned here in case of United States' sympathetic claim to have for Egypt in 1950s when monarchical rulerswere reign in ancient Egypt and followed by dictators and authoritarians.

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1.12- Libya and Colonel Qaddafi: 1969- 2011

Libya was known in the past as tribal society, where tribalism was dominating the affairs and ruling system of this Arab country (Hahn, 2006). The country was further famous with her monarchy rules, such as king *Idris* who dealt with Libyan people with all of his aristocracy, dictatorship, authoritarian and tyranny system (Hahn, 2006). Later, in the late 1969 people called for regime change which was followed by coup where *Qaddafi* was able to seize the power and rule people by force. In the beginning his own people were against his rule while some people were in favor of his authority for many tangible reasons (Steinberg, 2004). Qaddafi who was an army person andhad his own orientation, to change the country's system from pro-America to anti- United States' revolution, he nationalized everything belong to Libya. Meanwhile, Qaddafi also translated all valuable documents of the country, including travel documents (International passport) from English into Arabic respectively, claiming to have no reason to have respect for western powers (Anderson, 2011). He was famous for being the biggest enemy and challenge for the west especially United States'. Qaddafi was in view that Africanism should be perfectly established in the continent, the continent with a lot of natural resources, minerals, such as gold, silver, mines, oil, gas, diamond and many more (Anderson, 2011). We Africans should join hands together, and work hard for the development of our continent, not only to follow dictations of the West, we need to value our own resources and work for their utilization to develop our own system. Qaddafi, who believed in pan- Africanism even than Arabism, said Arab should work separately (Anderson, 2011). He made things better in Libya, like establishment of rule of law, regular of economy, political stability, faultless import and exportation system in Libya, Justice, Equality between the people, he absorbed on standardization of his own army institution, with full of equipment, while he trained the women as best security officers in the country. Qaddafi claimed to change the country from desert to the city, where all necessities were seen in the country, some specific amount was given to those who are jobless, old age people, but some

Libyans were unhappy with his style, they painstaking his rule as totalitarianism, destroyer, fabulous person as well as unpopular leader in the World affairs.

Qaddafi a man of his word, has dynamic boldness, conduct and actions which made him a superior man in the World politics amongst the elites, specifically in the Muslim and Arab World (B. L. Davis, 1990). *Qaddafi* perceived abundantbenefits, compensations in altering his foreign policy. He has virtually entire change in his strategies, and policies, where he required to have some healthier relations with World powers, especially industrialized World, in order to profit his own people in many fields and sectors, such as in the fields of science and technonolgy (Davis, 1990).The previous politics of *Qaddafi* which were unfair according to westwhere his dictatorship was beyond theboundary,he was considered a dictator, this can be demonstrated through this instance, once in an African summit meeting held in Ethiopia at the end of 2009, Qaddafi was made as leader of (AU) Africa Union (Takeyh, 2001) Qaddafi openly described his political orientation and politics of Libya as role model and urged African leaders to follow his step, he further explain that Libyan politics enjoyed multi -party democracy, so where there is only one party or in other words, there was a single party in the country. Qaddafi said, the blessing of Allah with Arab but Arabs should not intervenve in his domestic politics, he further said I didn't have any interests in your domestic politics, so, you should stay away from Libyan politics as well. He considered himself as the best Arabs leader with clear political methods,qaddafi measured all Arab leaders that they areincompatible with him in all aspects of life (Anderson, 2011). He further sustained his bigotry politics he did not even plan to change any of his ludicrous system, when he *Jaild Fathi Al-Jahmi* for minimum 5years in 2002, once he was asking for fundamental rights in Libya, such as freedom of speech, justice, equality, self-respect and many more (Anderson, 2011).

Ijahmi was demanding constitutional change in Libya so, everybody will be able to get his rights, duties and responsibilities, he was serving his sentence till the US secretary of States

Condoleezza Rice paid a visit to Qaddafi in Libya, she pleaded for *Eljahmi* to set him free, *Eljami* persisted in safekeeping but later felt hooked on and lastly expired in May, 2009 (Goldberg, 1984). These imageries mostly destroyed *Qaddafi's* personality in views of the west, he's considering as dictator and biggest challenge to the establishment of democracy, rule of law, implementation of human rights genesis in the country (Goldberg, 1984).

1.13- US Military Containment in Libya

The incident of September 11 was not onlyan attack and assault on trading center but was also a memorable day for United States' as, its ambassador in Libya, was also being a victim of extremism in Benghazi in 2012 (Griffin, 2015). The ambassador Christopher Stevens was brutally eliminated at a momentary site of USA in Libya. The place was basically using to facilitate the people, which was accompanied with CIA task in Libya (Griffin, 2015). Attackers were affiliated with deadly international terrorist group, known as *al-Qaeda* network, followed by *Al-Qaeda* in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). *Al-Qaeda* in the Arab and Muslim World, led by *Abu Ubayhdah ibn Jarah*, followed by *Ansar* sharia, helper of Islamic Law (AAS). These terrorist groups are claiming to be the biggest enemy of United States' in the North Africa, because US was never think to frame any friendly foreign policy for Muslim and Arab nations (Goldberg, 1984). Therefore, killing of United States' ambassador in Libya was sudden incident for United States' leadership. It was a new phenomenon back to United States' political history since 1979 of such incident in Afghanistan, where her Ambassador was also killed (Goldberg, 1984). The situation was so propagated as sanctuaries were at work, attentive, all agencies also were watchful but there was lacking of coordination between institutions (Goldberg, 1984). United States'was in deep concern about the incident with proof their security efforts pivotal, so US has adequate prearrangement for security purpose in Libya, the then secretary of the State Hillary Clinton was claiming to have set a committee to investigate the incident (Goldberg, 1984). Post Qaddafi regime was not a big challenge for United States' and its leadership, it seems the investigators were not able to brought a reliable

cause for the incident, but US will continue her efforts to bring peace back to the country (Vandewalle, 2012). Besides, it was learnt that United States' leading of coalition partners, with France, UK, Europeansand more wasn't bring a fruitful result for US but forced her to pay a heavy cost for this war. In the meantime, United States' and its allies have claimed to restored peace, self-respect, equality, easy life, democracy, education, human rights and many more in Libya, but according to ground reality the life become unbearable in Libya, ever since death of *Qaddafi* (Vandewalle, 2012)*Qaddafi* was providing a free electricity, clean water, excellent roads to his people in Libya, but today you have to pay for it from your pocket, even as time we are researching there is no electricity in Libyan society (Vandewalle, 2012) .

1.14- US Political Containment in Libya

The influence of powerful and nationalist leader of Libya, who impacted his own intuition, thought, self-respect (Qaddafi) these made many outsiders think that United States of America never imported her policies, interests into Libya (Vandewalle, 2012). But the historical fact claimed that she has many impacts, interventions in the Libyan political arena. Furthermore, the historical conflict did not present Qaddafi as an ideal personality, who love to work for the sake of humanity (Vandewalle, 2012). The basic United States' containment policy was observed since 1990s, Libyans were claiming that if US try to implement same containment which has already in some neighboring country of Libya, such as Iraq, Egypt, it will lead to many crisis, inconveniences, for Libyan people, the only city which can save will be Benghazi which is already protected by law (Vandewalle, 2012). We learnt that the rest of the country will have to suffer United States'containment. Obama delivered his speech on humanitarian step taken by his administration in Libya; it seems nothing to see in Libyan society. Meanwhile, post Qaddafi in Libya created political uncertainty, crisis, food scarcity, lifeless, and also absence of social security, Individual freedom, social Justice as well as equality of all.

2- RECOMMENDATIONS

The researcher thanking ALLAH Almighty for HIS endless favor, guidance, protection and blessing for giving an opportunity to do research on this topic, which is the most interested topic of the day. The researcher struggled a lot to find materials, such as periodical authentic articles, journals, books, uncountable newspapers, even visitation some embassies, such as United States' embassy, Egypt, Morocco and Sub-Sahara, Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria, and Libya as well. In order to search for useful materials, to reinforce researcher have capability of writing his thesis with full of denotation, concentration, avoiding any kind of bias to meet up with standard work.

Anyway, the researcher would like to suggest and give a common recommendation to the entire leadership of the United States' tofurther maintain leadership quality in framing their foreign policies towards other nations, countries, to have balance and legally responsible policies, core interests in other parts of the World. United States' foreign policy should not be only infavor of their own nation, people, but as a sole power the justice should be done globally and universally. Moreover, US must need to think positively towards Muslim Nations, such as the whole Africa, North Africa, Middle-East (Eastern World) so that, a healthy and friendly relations (those to connect the human beings together) could be witnessed to see. The further progress and prosperity will be able to be seen as way to achieve many prosperous ways in life.

3- DIRECTION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

What's more, to further research should focus on maintain ace of peace between Western and Eastern World. Therefore, the researcherswho want to work on North African countries need to know Arabic language, as essential to have deep understanding of the region, in terms of social norms, political mores, culture diversifications, and religion of these Arab nations. To know the language, it has more impact in better understanding of many ways among the people. The peoples as whole have total difference of opinion on the west and democracy. Many people think that democraticgovernments are unable to have their roles in these nations due to Islam, but this is incorrect. Islam brought all kinds of equality, equity, reasonableness, fortitude, solution to all problems;it is not the religion of extremism, and terrorism as is being projected.

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