Volume 21 Issue 25
Originally issued as H4



Global Journal of human-social science: H Interdisciplinary
Volume 21 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2021
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

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GJHSS-H Classification: *FOR Code: 360199*



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America Intervention Efforts to Democratize Iraq and Syria ahead of the Arab Spring through Forwarding Strategy for Freedom in the Middle East (2003-2013)

Hafidz Ridha Try Sjahputra [α], Fika Nurislamia [σ] & Oktavian Rahman Koko [ρ]

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I. Introduction

The upheaval of society in the Middle East about democratization began on December 17, 2010, marked by the self-immolation incident carried out by Mohammed Bouazizi in Tunisia. This incident has successfully fueled the Tunisian people's anger, whom an authoritarian government already confines. The demonstrations took place over the months aimed at demanding the resignation of the long-held regime. The demonstration in Tunisia became the starting point for the spread of protests against authoritarian rule in various countries in the Middle East. Because there are similarities in which these countries have been locked in an authoritarian and corrupt government for a very long time, the people who demonstrated the demonstration made a massive revolution, changing the ruling leader and changing the system of government authoritarian to democracy. Democracy is a very new and unique phenomenon for countries in the Middle East, and it is not an easy thing for countries that previously did not recognize and implement democracy, but these countries must change all patterns and forms of social life as a real democracy. Besides, the Middle East is a collection of Islamic countries that have many incompatibilities of values and norms with democracy. This situation assumes that democracy is a product of western countries, which are widely considered to be contrary to Islamic thought and values. During its development, democracy is often associated with the United States because it is the most democratic in the world. Besides, America has the ambition to spread democracy to various parts of the world. In this paper, the author tries to explain the form of American Intervention in the Arab Spring conflict and what America's interests are in the Arab Spring conflict.

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II. Research Method

This article focuses on a literature review. In this study, the authors read works related to the theme raised. This research is a descriptive type of research that uses literature to obtain data, and then it is analyzed based on the theoretical basis used to frame the analyzed data. The theoretical basis used is intervention and peace democracy theory.

III. Findings and Discussions

a) *The Beginning of the Arab Spring*

The Arab Spring is an event that has shocked the world lately. The political dynamics in the Middle East that occurred from 2010 to 2013 were the most challenging political dynamics experienced by Middle Eastern countries. The descent of one by one the leaders of countries in the Middle East, such as the fall of flowers in the spring, which caused political upheaval, is called the Arab Spring (Wangke, 2012). The Arab Spring was marked by massive demonstrations, socialization and anti-government campaigns, and the use of social media to overthrow the government (Korotayev & Zinkina, 2011). The Arab Spring aims to overthrow authoritarian regimes in the Middle East and return power to society.

The Arab Spring incident began in Tunisia, when a fruit seller in Tunisia named Mohamed Bouazizi, 26 years old, committed self-immolation because he was mistreated by officials who asked for his merchandise. Not accepting the arbitrary actions taken by these officers, Bouazizi then reported to local government officials. However, what Bouazizi received was not protection, but his complaint was not responded to. Bouazizi's disappointment ended tragically with him setting fire to himself in protest. The incident triggered the emotions of the Tunisian society, resulting in massive demonstrations throughout the Tunisian territory. Apart from these case, the society voiced their anger and disappointment towards the government because of the worsening economic difficulties. This situation was indicated by Tunisia's deteriorating economy, making unemployment and poverty increase and was exacerbated by the existence

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of an authoritarian system of government in Tunisia, which made matters worse. Moreover, society has demanded that President Ben Ali, who has been in power for 33 years, be forced to step down from his position (Sahrasad, 2013). The Election in Tunisia was held on November 14, 2011, and that was the first election after the implementation of a democratic system in this country (Juliandi, 2016).

The events that took place in Tunisia then spread to other Middle Eastern countries. The following significant action was continued by Libya, in which Libya is a country that borders directly with Tunisia. The demonstration in Libya began with a demonstration that was held in Benghazi in 2011. The demonstration was aimed at demanding Muammar Gaddafi to step down from his position as leader of Libya. The demonstration stems from the government's repressive action in overcoming the demonstrators so that this protest escalated into civil war and a rebellion. This war or rebellion resulted in thousands of Libyans fleeing to safer places while the two armed groups continued to fight. The anti-government protest movement then succeeded in making Gaddafi come out of hiding and eventually died at the opposition's hands in 2012 (Fakhry Ghafur, 2014). Subsequently, in July 2012, Libya held a Parliamentary Election, which the Transitional Council carried out. The Libyan civil war was one of the socio-political revolutions in the Middle East, which Tunisia and Egypt followed.

The next revolution took place in Morocco. On November 27, 2011, democratization took place in Morocco, which was marked by multi-party elections. This event happened because of the King of Morocco's fear, King Muhammad IV, of the same demonstration as Tunisia and Egypt. Furthermore, Algeria and Jordan also undertook democratization to prevent unwanted events from occurring. However, in Bahrain, most Shiite groups have had to face the Sunni minority group being helped by Saudi Arabia (Jatmika, 2016).

The Arab Spring phenomenon still has a significant impact in Syria today. This event was marked by an opposition group demanding President Bashar Assad to step down from his post. The rebellion occurred between a minority group under Assad and a minority group dominated by Sunnis. Because the group that supports the president is a minority group, this group asked for help from outside such as Hezbollah, Iran, and Russia to block the power of the majority group. In February 2011, all social media inside and outside Syria contained massive demonstrations demanding that the government carry out reforms. Reform supporters outside Syria send various technology types to support this (Hermawan & M. Nur Rokhman, 2016).

Looking at the dynamics that occur in the Middle East, we should analyze together how the dynamics between authoritarian government and massive mass movements, in which people feel intimidated by an authoritarian government and are motivated to get out of the government's arbitrariness. The success that occurred in Tunisia has become a benchmark for other Middle Eastern countries to carry out similar democratization. The great demand from countries that experienced the Arab Spring in the Middle East is the existence of democracy in their countries. The phenomenon of democratization can be likened to an oasis in the middle of the authoritarian desert of the Middle East. The community demands a change of leaders, which is carried out periodically (usually within five years). The community hopes that their leaders can lead correctly and adequately and accept their people's aspirations. Apart from an understanding of suffering, the demonstrators' Religion was another reason to strengthen their unity. Has democratization in the Middle East been without interference from the most democratic country in the world and the superpower, The United States?

b) The direction of United States Foreign Policy towards the Middle East

Likewise, a country's foreign policy depends on the interests of the State itself, likewise with the United States, which has at least three interests in the Middle East. According to Bowman (2008: 78), America's first interest is to safeguard and the absence of obstacles to the flow of oil flowing from the Persian Gulf region to the United States and other industrialized countries; this interest is a long-term interest and in order secure these interests, Western countries need to protect oil reserves from terrorist attacks or interference from enemy countries. Second, the United States' interest in the Middle East is to ensure no State or non-State actors produce, acquire, or use mass destruction weapons (Weapon of Mass Destruction). The country that is a threat to the United States at this time is Iran. Iran is flaunting to the world weapons of mass destruction that make America feel insecure. Third, help the Middle East not become a hotbed or exporter of Islamic extremists. Islamic extremism here refers to Islamic groups trying to fight for the re-establishment of an Islamic State. This event has led the United States to fight against this extremism. Extremist groups are wreaking havoc, which undermines America's interests in the Middle East. Besides, America's fear also increases that if weapons of mass destruction fall into extremist groups' hands, the victims who fall will undoubtedly multiply. The business of eradicating terrorists has become an everyday affair. World leaders bow to the demands of the United States. This situation is due to the fear of other countries of terrorist attacks. The war against terrorists was waged. The United States issued various policies for its national security. These policies include:

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i. *US Patriot Act*

The United States' fear of terrorists increased after the events of September 11, 2011, in which the incident killed many Americans and destroyed the twin towers of the World Trade Center, which is a symbol of the country. This situation made America issue the USA Patriot Act, a law passed by Congress, and its contents legitimize all acts of terrorism that threaten America. Apart from that, this law also gives intelligence institutions the authority to wiretap telephones, make recordings, and wiretap on computers.

The USA Patriot Act is strengthened by the existence of the Bush Doctrine, which contains Preemptive Action to attack earlier against targets deemed to threaten the national security of the United States. The following are the methods used by the USA Patriot Act, including:

1. Allow law enforcement officers to use the tools provided to secure organized crimes such as drug trafficking.
2. Law enforcement agencies throughout the United States share information and collaborate.
3. It provides high-tech equipment that is useful for tracking and investigating if a threat that leads to terrorist acts is suspected. Increase penalties for terrorist perpetrators who are involved either directly or indirectly. The penalties also apply to crimes unrelated to terrorist activities, such as the deliberate burning of a place (United States Government, 2001).

ii. *Department of Homeland Security (DHS)*

The tragedy of September 11, 2001, left deep sorrow and trauma for the United States, and even America itself put this event into the category of war. Several days after the incident, President Bush announced an office known as the Office of Homeland Security (OHS). OHS itself was established on September 21 2001. This OHS's function is as the coordinator of about 40 branches of government which has the task of fighting terrorists. Then on June 6, 2002, President Bush proposed creating the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). This department will unite about 22 branches of government under a single department. The DHS also has primary duties, including, among others: protecting borders, airports, ports, then monitoring foreign arrivals coming to America, arranging preparedness, and helping to equip initial responders. We can conclude that DHS has four main tasks, including:

1. By guarding borders and transportation centres, the DHS is expected to prevent the entry of terrorists into the United States territory.
2. DHS collaborates with local security so that where something unwanted happens, it can be responded to quickly.
3. We are collaborating with researchers to develop technology to detect dangers, especially the dangers of chemical, radiological, biological, and most feared weapons, namely nuclear weapons.
4. Analyze information related to intelligence information that enters all regions of the United States and analyzes the picture of threats that will come to the United States territory (DHS, 2008).

Besides, in general, the United States' foreign policy is influenced by these countries' desire to expand democracy or democratize countries that have not embraced democracy. Because foreign policy results from the interaction of the domestic environment and the international environment, so are the United States' foreign policy. American foreign policy is made with the excuse of fulfilling its national interests, although they argue that this policy is also in the international community's interest.

iii. *US National Security Strategy*

The terrorist attacks that occurred on November 9, 2001, prompted the United States to evaluate its national security. In addition to conducting this evaluation, the United States also reformulated its security strategy so that a document called The National Security Strategy of the USA (USS) was published on September 18, 2002. The document contents are changes in the concept of national security and include a preemption concept that focuses on the possibility of the occurrence of terrorist attacks and the spread of weapons of mass destruction that frighten the United States. The preemption concept means the initiative to carry out an action that can paralyze terrorists before they even attack (O'Hanlon, Rice, & Steinberg, 2002).

This concept is not recommended because it can invite a more significant conflict. This concept can encourage other countries that also feel threatened by terrorists to do the same, resulting in international insecurity. Doctrine issued by the United States has been feared as a justification for the justification of other countries on the pretext that the country is a hotbed of terrorists to threaten his country. According to the NSS, the United States classifies States that threaten its country's security as the Rogue States. Rogue State itself has the following criteria:

1. "A country whose government always acts offensively and acts like a dictator and often exploits national resources for the interests of the authorities."
2. Always ignore international law so that it threatens the surrounding countries.
3. There are weapons of mass destruction in the country. Apart from that, it has advanced military technology, which is used to threaten
4. and supporting terrorist activities in the international world.

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5. Shows hostility towards the United States and rejects respect for human values.

The NSS-2002 doctrine, which is the latest United States security policy, is classified as aggressive. The conclusions of the contents of the NSS-2002 include:

1. Success can only be achieved by exercising freedom and democracy. The United States wishes to become the "Economic Qibla" for all countries. In the context of this doctrine, America expects every State not to impose restrictions on international capitalist development because it is considered to endanger the security of the State.
2. The United States claims to have the right to eliminate various threats to its country by carrying out attacks before it is even attacked. This action is considered dangerous because if this happens, it will threaten international security. This action can threaten the resistance of various countries that do not accept Bush's arbitrary actions.
3. Overcoming the terrorist problem will be carried out by the United States using military development. Therefore, the United States feels the need to develop its military technology by developing missile defence (Winingsih, 2009).

IV. Islam and Democracy

Geographically, the Middle East is a strategic area. Apart from having a strategic cultural history, the Middle East Region is also rich in natural resources, such as copper, coal, and iron, to attract interest from other countries. The Middle East region became increasingly valuable to other countries after discovering petroleum in the 1930s, especially around the gulf areas (Konflik, Tengah, Politik, Politik, & Volume, 2013). These factors make many countries want to intervene in Middle Eastern countries, including the United States. The Middle East's democratization occurs due to many factors, including the United States' Intervention. Previously, the phenomenon of Middle East Democratization might never have happened because most of their people's Religion was Islam. Democracy and Islam have been deemed unable to go hand in hand, this is due to the development of thinking in the Middle East that leaders are an extension of God and those who are elected to be leaders are God's messengers, making countries in the Middle East have a monarchical system of government.

Islamism has spread in the Middle East. This understanding is defined as Islam is not only a religion that is believed and adhered to, but has been able to enter all aspects of life, such as in the political aspect. Political-Islamic ideology makes Islam an ideology rather than a religion or belief. In the conflict that occurred in the Middle East, the Reform Group brought Islam to unite elements that are often involved in the Islamic movement, integrating it into a new demonstration movement for change with democracy, freedom, and social justice (Yasmine, 2015).

However, the Arab Spring phenomenon occurred not because of religious factors but because of purely economic inequality, authoritarian leadership, and the absence of welfare in society. Overly arrogant leaders and top-class dictators lead in Middle Eastern countries, making people in Middle Eastern countries feel for a movement to fight back. The existence of religious equality was another factor that became the reason these demonstrators were united. At first glance, Islam was the main reason the demonstrators gathered and dared to call for revolution in the Middle East. So, how can democracy develop in Islamic countries such as in Middle Eastern countries? Samuel P. Huntington said that Islam limits democratization, besides that Religion is also the motivation for the life of an individual. For Muslims, Islam is a way of life, a moral philosophy, a belief system, and a spiritual commandment (Cook & Stathis, 2012).

Islamic religious values run in the Middle East in religious practices and social life. As religious and social practices go hand in hand, Islam is indistinguishable. In the life of an Ideal Islamic country, political activities must be based on the word of God. As previously mentioned, Religion has regulated all aspects of life, including political life. Political decisions are made not by the will of the autocracy or the ruling political elite but based on God's word. The State and government must ensure that all Muslims can worship adequately and smoothly. That is what is called the Ideal Islamic State. In the conflicts that have occurred in the Middle East today, the inclusion of democratic values is considered a bright spot where the people want the power to be in their hands and why this is desirable because democracy can improve welfare and eliminate inequality that these authoritarian leaders have created. However, it becomes a challenge to implement or implement democracy in countries that have never followed a democratic system before. According to Abraham Lincoln, democracy must have active and direct participation from the people and for the people (Hakiki, 2016).

Democracy is considered an ideal system that can reduce conflicts between one another, *and democracies tend not to go to war with each other* (Mansfield & Pollins, 2003). One of the supporting elements of democracy is civil society, a society that is open and free from influence and pressure from other countries. Civil society is an active society as control of government performance (Rangkuti, 2019). In Islamic values, democracy does not conflict with its principles and teachings. Democracy carries out the process of selecting leaders by involving many people. Islampun does not limit freedom of speech and express opinions as long as it is under the prevailing norms and manners.

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V. Dynamics of Democratization in Iraq

Since the events of 9/11 that took place in America, the issue of terrorism has become the most threatening problem internationally-coupled with President Bush's statement linking war and terrorism. Also, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia are beset by threatening terrorist activities; there is also social harassment and rampant legal injustice that has shaped society. However, that does not mean that America and Europe are free from this. However, America and Europe are still tied to political turmoil as well as social violence. From the terrorist issue, America is trying to establish a democratic government in Iraq. There are several stages in democratizing Iraq, and the stages formed the forerunner to the existence of a transitional Iraqi government. Iraq held elections in 2005. However, these democratization efforts were not fully supported by the people. This situation raises the basis for America's belief in the emergence of a terrorist movement in Iraq. This terrorist movement opposes the United States' policy of democratizing Iraq (Samudra, 2018).

Around 2001, before the 9/11 attacks, al-Qaeda's leadership in Afghanistan received a visit to the Kurdish Islamic faction leader. The meeting discussed a plan for the formation of Al-Qaeda in northern Iraq. A document was found in Kabul that stated the group aimed to expel Jews and Christians living in Kurdistan and invite people to join the jihad path. Iraq started the democratization process after successfully overthrowing the Baath regime in around 2003. After the US invasion, Iraq underwent various changes. These changes include social, economic, and political changes caused by the war between America and Iraq. The most significant social change in Iraq took place after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime. This social change led to a civil war between Saddam Hussein's supporters and opponents who were very opposed to Saddam Hussein's government.

VI. Dynamics of Democratization in Syria

Syria is a country that is relatively stable when compared to other countries involved in the Arab Spring. Just like neighbouring countries, the Syrian government also adheres to an authoritarian system. Syria is led by a ruling party that has inherited its leadership from generation to generation.

The Arab Spring is considered to be a saviour from a somewhat cruel government crisis. The Syrian people carried out various protests to get the government's attention and eliminate injustice in their country. It was not enough to protest and take to the streets; the self-immolation that Mohamed Bouazizi once carried out was again carried out by Hasan Ali Akhleh, a resident of al-Hasaka.

Massive demonstrations culminated in February 2011. The demonstrations were carried out through media sites both inside and outside Syria. This event is to urge the government to immediately reform. Unfortunately, however, their actions did not produce the same results as in Tunisia and Egypt. The demonstrators also received threats from the security forces to immediately stop the demonstration and various actions regarding reform call. In the end, the threats received by the demonstrators managed to dampen the spirit of revolution slowly.

VII. Application of Peace Democracy Theory in Iraq and Syria

The United States is a country with the most democrats in the world. His involvement in echoing the name of democracy in the world is beyond doubt. American Foreign Policy issued a strategy known as the "Forward Strategy of Freedom in the Middle East" in response to America's involvement in democratization that is taking place in the Middle East. America's hegemony towards the Middle East has started since the Cold War between the brat and eastern blocs. The success of the western bloc made America try hard to stem the spread of communism worldwide, including in the Middle East. In addition to ending communism, America has also spread democracy, which is recognized as the best government system (Utama Firmanda, 2017). To strengthen its strength, America during the Regan era had many relationships with countries such as Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia (Setiawan, 2013).

President Bush said in a speech issued in 2003 that democracy and Islam can go hand in hand. This event is evidenced by the success of democracy in Turkey and Indonesia as well. America has spread democracy where it has never been before, and President Bush believes that democracy will enhance peace and security for his country and the Middle East. His speech also shed light on the Middle East Partnership Initiative. Namely, establishing the first initiatives to support political reform efforts and economic development through women and youth (Endowment, Address, & East, 2003).

This speech, which was published in 2003, can be evidence of America's involvement in the Arab Spring in the Middle East from 2010 to 2011. America's ambition to democratize countries that have not implemented democracy is evident. This situation could be happening is because America can cooperate freely and establish good relations with democratic countries to benefit America itself. America formed the GMEI (Greater Middle East Initiative) to accelerate the democratization Middle East's democratization process.

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However, according to Eddie J. Girdner, GMEI was not formed to facilitate freedom in the Middle East but make it easier for America to obtain its interests (Girdner, 2004). GMEI is nothing but a tool for expanding and consolidating neoliberalism in the Middle East and Indonesia (Girdner, 2005).

VIII. American Intervention in the Arab Spring Event

According to J.G Starke, Intervention is an act of propaganda carried out by a country to aim a revolution or war in another country. Then the definition of Intervention, according to the Black's Law Dictionary, is one nation's interference by force, or threat of force, in another nation's internal affair or question arising between other nations or interference from one country with violence, or threats of violence, in the internal affairs of another country or other countries which make the questions that arise among other countries. Based on the two definitions above, we can conclude that Intervention is a form of control over another country by interfering in the form of violence or statements that arise between other countries.

The form of Intervention carried out by America is to interfere in several countries' domestic politics in the Middle East. The exoticism of the Middle East is an attraction for America to control its natural resources. Abundant petroleum is the main goal for America to intervene in the Middle East. Moreover, it is evidenced by the formation of a puppet state in Iraq. This event is none other than to control the petroleum contained in Iraq. Apart from interfering in the domestic politics of Middle Eastern countries, America also gave a statement made by President Bush regarding disarmament in Iraq by asking the United Nations to fulfil its charter and asking the International Atomic Energy Agency to track and control nuclear bombs in the world in particular. which is in Iraq. Besides, the form of American Intervention is also very pronounced in Iran. Still, in President Bush's speech in the State of the Union, America pays attention to the Iranian government that oppresses the people. Besides, America is also looking for weapons of mass destruction in Iran and eradicating terror. President Bush also supports Iranians who risk their lives and continue to be intimidated by calling for democracy in Iran (the Washington Post, 2003).

America's interest in intervening in the Middle East has been carried out since the 1970s. The democratization of the Middle East is seen as a means of American Intervention in government so that America can more easily win the hearts of the people who are currently under an authoritarian government. American foreign policy issued through President Bush's speech emphasizes Middle Eastern countries that are considered hotbeds of terrorists based on September 11 2001. The democratization that occurred during the Arab Spring in 2010 to 2011 is an extension of the American Foreign Policy Forward Strategy for Freedom in the Middle East. The democratization of the Middle East is intended not only to provide freedom for the people of the Middle East but also to minimize threats to America, which are no longer countries but sub-state actors involved in terrorist activities. These foreign policy planners believe that the terrorist perpetrators on September 11, 2001, and many incidents related to other terrorist activities, came from countries that had not implemented democracy in them (Neep, 2003). To expedite its interests, America obtained permission to place troops permanently in the Middle East by cooperating with several regional areas (Darwis, 2015).

IX. Civil Liberalization in Iraq and Syria

Iraq is a country that is not ready to accept democratization. This event causes the anti-thesis of democracy itself. Saddam Hussein's regime is believed to have directed its policies to anticipate external threats by strengthening the capacity of the State. The democratization that was carried out in Iraq created a mass movement in Iraq. The masses forced Saddam Hussein's government to step down from his post. Authoritarian rule is the cause for this regime to be demoted and coupled with society's condition with a low level of economy and high corruption. About seven million Iraqis are below the poverty line.

The same thing happened in Syria. Initially, Syrian ideology did not lead to authoritarian attitudes but Islamic socialism. During the time of Bashar Assad, various problems arose. Media freedom began to be limited with the issuance of the media law in 2007. Not only that, but Bashar Assad also blocked websites in 2011. This action was done to prevent any provocation of demonstrations by the Syrian people.

The Syrian government announced its resignation from the cabinet on March 29, 2011. This event was aimed at meeting the demands of the demonstrators. Then, a day after the announcement of his resignation, President Bashar Assad dared to appear in public for the first time since the turbulent conflict in Syria. President Assad delivered a speech to dampen the emotions of the demonstrators. In his speech, President Assad mentioned that Intervention from outside caused demonstrations to break out and conflict in Syria. Apart from that, President Assad also acknowledged the concerns raised by the demonstrators. However, Assad rejected reforms simultaneously in Syria. He sticks to his stance, namely to carry out reforms gradually. Thus, it will give the Syrian people the essence of the reform by doing this action. After the speech was delivered, the Syrian media later reported that a commission had been formed for

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the possible repeal of the emergency law by Bashar al-Assad.

The following is a table comparing the liberalization that occurred in Iraq and Syria.

Table of Liberalization of Iraq and Syria

	Iraq	Syria
Civil Liberalization	A corrupt regime and an authoritarian government have worsened the economic situation in Iraq, which then pressured the Iraqi people to stage demonstrations to convey complaints and objections to the ruling government. From this demonstration, the people wanted the regime to step down, which was then responded to with violence perpetrated by the security forces. This act of violence then created a prolonged conflict between the demonstrators and the government.	Some arrests led to the imprisonment of 15 minors for writing anti-government slogans. These children also experienced torture while in detention. This incident caused the Syrian people to protest by taking to the streets and staging demonstrations to free the children. However, this protest action was met with violent treatment from the security apparatus, which later led to massive demonstrations and prolonged conflict.

From this table, it can be seen that the comparison of civilian liberalization that occurred in Iraq and Syria, namely the movement of the masses due to similar problems. The dire economic situation in Iraq, coupled with rampant corruption and an authoritarian government, has led to the masses' pouring into the streets to complain about their grievances against the government. Unfortunately, however, the action taken by the Iraqi people was not well responded. The security forces opened fire and carried out acts of violence to repel the demonstrators. As a result, there was a prolonged conflict between the demonstrators and the government. The same thing happened in Syria when security officers acted using violence to respond to demonstrations in Syria. The arrest of 15 students caused the crowd to take to the streets to protest and demand the students' release.

Civil liberalization carried out by the people of the two countries started for different reasons. Even though there has been political participation in Iraq and Syria, the democratization that has occurred can be said to have failed. The Iraqi and Syrian people's participation in politics can be seen from the protests carried out to demand that the ruling regime replace the existing system and replace it with democracy. The failure of this democratization was caused by the prolonged conflict between the demonstrators and the government. This event then proves that the two countries are not ready to accept democracy.

X. Civil Participation in Iraq and Syria

The democratization process that took place in Iraq has also sparked conflict between ethnic groups. Kurdish and Shia groups have significantly benefited from the political process in Iraq, but Sunnis feel disadvantaged. Ethnic Kurds feel at an advantage in politics as well as culture. This event is because the Kurds won the election by winning a significant amount of votes. Then Shia is the dominant group in government. The situation is different for the Sunnis. First, the Sunnis were a group that controlled the government, but now they have to lose their power. This condition causes conflict between the three ethnic groups.

The government group has asked American soldiers to remain in Iraq for security reasons. This situation, of course, is opposed by the Sunni group. They want Iraq to be free from US intervention and to run its own political life. The Sunni group also demanded that all Iraqi problems be resolved internally without any outside involvement. Besides, there are demands that all elements of society follow the political process in Iraq. They even demanded resistance groups to participate in the political process in Iraq. However, the government rejected this demand because there was no trust in the government in the resistance group. Civil war also happened in Syria. The democratic process that occurred in Syria triggered conflict, which led to wars. The entry of some jihadi fighters into Syria, such as al-Qaeda, is an additional cause of the conflict in Syria that has not subsided.

Several strengths come from elements of society, including:

1. Sunni and Shia scholars
2. Religious institutions
3. Resistance groups

According to The Economist, about 61 armed guerrillas still existed even after the Iraqi government's formation. Then Wolfoiz divided the resistance groups into five groups, namely:

1. Foreign terrorists
2. Looters
3. Criminal
4. Supporters of Saddam Hussein's regime
5. Iranian-backed terrorist group

The existing political currents in Iraq cannot be seen as a unified whole because they have an open space for movement, and weapons are free. This situation has made the political upheaval in Iraq more dynamic. These political streams are then affiliated with

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political parties which have their interests. This event is what then invites a prolonged conflict.

The inter-ethnic conflict that took place in Iraq continues to grow. The attacks were carried out in worship places such as Shia and Sunni mosques, and even attacks took place in hospitals and other public facilities. The attacks took the form of suicide bombing, kidnapping, vandalizing public facilities, and cutting off electricity.

There are two patterns of political power upheaval that occurred in Iraq. This event illustrates that democratization in Iraq is only procedural. The political process has not been followed by security stability, but instead, it has divided the security structure in society and passed the constitution of the State. Sect and ethnic groups whose interests are not represented by the government continue to fight back. This incident made security stability challenging to achieve.

The bombing at the Askariyah mosque in Samaria proves that the ethnic and sectarian conflict in Iraq has reached a climax. This situation than affected the political process that took place in Iraq. The suicide bombing occurred again ahead of the election for government officials.

The civil war in Syria was caused by a power struggle between the ruling regime, the opposition, and jihadist groups. The regime in power has used various methods to maintain its government. Bashar Assad has built four pillars known as pillars of his father in running the government. The four pillars are:

1. The power of government rests in the al-Assad clan
2. Uniting minorities
3. The government controls the entire military and intelligence
4. Doing the Ba'ath Party monopoly

The Assad government also enacted emergency laws that were used to suppress political opponents. Not only that, the opposition who were considered to be disturbing the government were suppressed and oppressed. Then in 2004, Assad also mobilized military force to stop protests by ethnic Kurds. This military action's impact was that hundreds of lives were lost, which then caused Syria to be isolated from international relations.

The group opposing the government must fight the Hezbollah group, which originated in Lebanon. This event is because the Syrian government is supported by Shiites, who are also the ethnic groups that control Hezbollah. These Shia militants promised not to remain silent if the alliance group in Damascus experienced an attack. Even the Shia leader Hezbollah stressed that Hezbollah members would continue to defend Syria from Islamic extremism.

The Syrian opposition group formed the Free Syrian Army and controlled the Aleppo region and the southern part of Syria. Over time, this Syrian opposition split into two, namely the opposition group that persisted with genuine moderate politics and the group that pursued an Islamic vision for Syria known as ISIL.

Democratization makes the opposition groups in Syria believe that there is no other way to bring down the ruling regime other than democracy. The existence of assistance from America for one ethnic group is also a part of strengthening efforts to enter democracy and inhibit the entry of communists in the Middle East. This situation is due to Russian interference with government groups in Syria.

The following is a table comparing the occurrence of civilian political participation in Iraq and Syria:

Table of Iraq and Syria Civil Political Participation

	Iraq	Syria
Civil Political Participation	There was a power struggle between Kurds, Shiites, and Sunnis. Sunnis feel they are a minority when Kurds and Shiites are dominant in government. This situation led to a conflict between Shiites and Sunnis.	Three major groups want a Syrian government. The three groups are the government, the opposition, and the jihadist groups, and there was a conflict between these three groups. Each group wants Syria to run according to its ideology.

From the table, it can be seen that there is political participation from the involvement of these groups in the democratization process. However, the democratization in Iraq and Syria has again failed because these groups put their interests in political parties. The presence of political parties is only to accommodate the interests of certain groups. As a result, conflicts occur between groups that want their interests to be achieved.

XI. Conclusion

The Middle East region is an exotic area that holds much charm for the surrounding countries. The availability of abundant resources is the main thing that makes the Middle East a prima donna. The Arab Spring tragedy became the initial process of democratization in the Middle East. This event is inseparable from American Intervention to control Middle Eastern countries and national interests in their own country more easily. The authoritarian governments ruling in the

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Middle East are falling one by one like the leaves that fall in the spring. Islam and democracy are expected to go hand in hand for the sake of creating peace in the Middle East.

Based on analysis from various sources, the authors conclude the democratization United States' democratization efforts in Iraq and Syria. Through the Forward Strategy for Freedom in the Middle East, the United States uses two methods: liberalization and civic, political participation.

This form of civil liberalization is the occurrence of demonstrations or even sabotage carried out by civilians. The democratization that was carried out in Iraq created a mass movement in Iraq. The masses forced Saddam Hussein's government to step down from his post. Authoritarian rule is the cause for this regime to be demoted and coupled with society's condition with a low level of economy and high corruption. About seven million Iraqis are below the poverty line.

Demonstrations also took place in Syria. They were starting from the arrest of students who called for demands for Bashar Assad's regime to step down. Knowing that these students were subjected to torture while in detention, and an even more giant wave of protest was born. On March 11, 2011, the protests that took place demanded that the government release the children who had been imprisoned. However, the government responded in a way they did not expect. Finally, there was a prolonged conflict between the demonstrators and the security forces.

Furthermore, civil political participation that occurs is the existence of inter-ethnic conflicts in Iraq and Syria. In Syria, Kurdish and Shia groups have significantly benefited from Iraq's political process, but Sunnis feel disadvantaged. Ethnic Kurds feel at an advantage in politics as well as culture. This situation is happening because the Kurds won the election by winning a significant amount of votes. Then Shia is the dominant group in government. The situation is different for the Sunnis. First, the Sunnis were a group that controlled the government, but now they have to lose their power.

In Syria, there was a power struggle between the government group assisted by Russia and the Hezbollah group with the majority Sunni opposition group and the jihadists who wanted Syria to become a caliphate state. In this case, America is helping the opposition fight the other two groups to gain control of the government.

Liberalization and civilian political participation in Iraq and Syria can be said to have succeeded in mobilizing the people's political participation. However, democratization is the opposite. Democratization has failed in carrying out the process. This event is due to the prolonged conflict caused by the people's political participation not ready to accept democracy. So that what Iraq and Syria ultimately got was not democracy, but conflict and other significant problems.

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