

## **Abstract**

This study aimed at examining the role of religion and its impact on American foreign policy during the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush. It attempted as well at identifying the nature of the relationship between religion and politics and at examining such relationship in American foreign policy.

This study began by examining and analyzing the role of religion in the various stages of the formation and development of American society ever since the very early days of British and European migrations to the new world and the subsequent establishment of colonial settlements. Many of the followers of Martin Luther migrated to the new world escaping religious persecution that began soon after the Reformation and the accompanying of bloody and bitter conflict. Their aim from migrating to the new world was therefore to form a society where they can freely practice their beliefs and religious rituals.

This was followed by the expansion of the first settlements in the new world and the subsequent emergence of new colonies and settlements established on religious grounds. In fact during this early period religious laws were prevailing governing the relations between colonies and people. Our study has clearly shown the extremist nature of religion in the colonies where religious tolerance was virtually non-existent. Most of those who lived in a specific colony belonged to the same religious cult or community. Those who were from a different religious cult, had to flee to another colony or settlement.

Our study addressed as well some of the events that at a later stage played a role in the spread of religious tolerance especially when, under the influence of the Anglican Church and what later came to be known as the great awakening movement of reason and rational religion, Great Britain issued laws that prohibited religious persecution.

With regards to the relationship between religion and politics which is the very subject matter of our examination in this thesis, the study has done a historical analysis of how religion attempted at influencing and even replacing politics, and how, at a later stage, politicians limited the role of religion through the issuing of federal laws that were clearly accounted for in the American constitution and its various amendments. These federal laws eventually replaced the religious laws of the various states.

Our study also tried to clarify the role of religion in society and its development from the beginning of the twentieth century as well as to examine the nature of its relationship with politics. It showed how in comparison with the early days of the emergence of the American state, the nature of the relationship between the two has changed. From being a hidden factor, religion has grown to play an effective role. Our study also examined the major and most important of events that took place on the world stage and which played an important role in the return of religion to the political arena starting with the first and second world wars and the establishment of the state of Israel and through the end of the cold war and the emergence of the new world order.

The most important right-wing religious movements that emerged in the US and which had the greatest influence on American society were also identified. These are the right-wing Christian fundamentalist movements which we set to examine and analyze starting from their early emergence and through the various stages of their development and until the decline of their role. We then examined the factors and events that led these movements to have a new effective and influential role in American political life. We also endeavored to illustrate the relationship of these movements with the two main political parties, the democratic as well as the republican and tried in particular to explain the attempts made by these movements to penetrate the Republican Party. In this context we demonstrated how these movements managed to bring Jimmy Carter, the democrat, and Ronald Reagan, the republican, to the presidency.

Our study also tried to examine in some details the role of religion in American politics particularly during the administration of George W. Bush and endeavored accordingly to understand his personal background and the changes that took place in the various stages of his life up to the point when he declared that he was a new born Christian and that he in consequence began to develop a relationship with right-wing Christian institutions and personalities as well as with the neo-conservatives.

Our study addressed as well the role of religion in American foreign policy during the administration of George W. Bush particularly after the attacks of September 11. We tried in this section to demonstrate the main features of this policy and its aggressive nature particularly towards the Middle East and the Islamic world. We went on also explaining the presidential speeches and their religious and racist contents which

were uttered against the Arabs and Muslims in addition to discussing the US wars in the Middle East against Afghanistan and Iraq and the various threats made by the Bush administration in using force against all those countries that are against Israel. In our discussion of this issue, we analyzed the declared and undeclared causes of the wars and showed how these wars were just means to control the natural wealth of the Arab and Islamic peoples as well as the protection of America's interests in the region regardless of the fact whether religion was one of the causes behind the wars.

Our study addressed as well the American political system, especially American foreign policy, its determinants and directions and the actors that influence such policy through showing very clearly the various roles and intentions of this policy and the methods used by right-wing Christian politicians to control the main bodies of the American political system so as to ensure that the decisions made would be under the control and influence of the right-wing fundamentalists. The right-wing fundamentalists endeavored from such control to realize their aims by influencing and directing the decisions made by the legislative and executive authorities in accordance with their interests. In light of the above our study made the conclusion that religion as a factor played a direct role in the formation and development of American society. This was in fact the factor that led to the emergence of many extremist religious movements whose aim was the Christianization of American society.

With regards to American foreign policy during the administration of George W. Bush, it was evident and without any doubt the crucial role played by the alliance between right-wing Christians and right-wing fundamentalists in the elections that brought President Bush to power. The ideological visions of the rightwing-wing Christians and fundamentalists were not however important factors in guiding and influencing American foreign policy. The September 11 events of 2001 constituted a decisive factor in curbing the concerns of American policy which until then seemed to have focused on internal issues. After the attacks, American policy headed towards the outside world and was concerned more with US military, economic and security interests. The aim behind such new policy was of course to impose American hegemony on the world.

## 1. المقدمة

تقوم السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية على الحفاظ على العديد من المصالح أهمها تعزيز مكانتها العالمية بشكل يضمن لها قيادة العالم، والحفاظ على بقاء أمريكا القطب المهيمن على السياسة والإقتصاد العالميين.

وكان " المحافظون الجدد قد وضعوا تقريرا إستراتيجيا منذ العام 1996، حددوا فيه التوجهات السياسية والإستراتيجية للولايات المتحدة في القرن الواحد والعشرين. والمتمثلة في الدعم المطلق لإسرائيل، ومنع قيام دولة فلسطينية، والقضاء على النظام العراقي، وصولا إلى ضرب سوريا وإيران. وإحتواء باقي الإنظمة العربية. وإعادة تشكيل منطقة الشرق الأوسط بما يتوافق مع الإستراتيجيات الأمريكية والإسرائيلية.

لقد مثلت أحداث 11 سبتمبر 2000 مرحلة جديدة ومختلفة في السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه العالم، خصوصا منطقة الشرق الأوسط وما يشمله من الدول العربية والإسلامية، حيث وجهت الولايات المتحدة إتهامها إلى تنظيم القاعدة كتنظيم إرهابي، وإلى العالم الإسلامي بشكل عام. وهذا يدعو إلى مراجعة السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية من هذا المنطلق، حيث يبدو أن أحداث 11 سبتمبر جاءت بشكل جديد يميز الصراع العالمي، أو بالأحرى الصراع الأمريكي تجاه منطقة الشرق الأوسط. (فقد بدا وكأن الصراع إتسم بطابع ديني عنصري، وذلك لكل ما احتوته خطابات الرئيس الأمريكي جورج بوش الابن - في رده على الإعتداءات - على عبارات وإشارات، من شأنها أن تشير صراحة إلى موقف عدواني، وعنصري تجاه العالم الإسلامي. حيث لم تخلو خطاباته من عبارات مثل " مسؤوليتنا أمام