

Trends of Graduate Students of the University of Jordan about the U.S. Foreign Policy in the Arab World after September, 11

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to identify the trends of graduate students at the University of Jordan about the U.S. foreign policy in the Arab world after the events of September 11. To achieve this goal, the descriptive analytical method was used. The study sample consisted of (150) students who have been selected by the intentional sample equally between the humanities and sciences faculties. All questionnaires were analyzed and verified in terms of validity and reliability by the scientific methods. The advanced statistical analysis was used to answer the study hypotheses. The study has come out with a set of results. Of these results is that the American foreign policy after the events of Sep. 11th has undergone certain changes such as dependence on the pre-emptive war and the direct military intervention in a number of areas with strategic dimensions for the United States of America, including the Arab world. Besides, the main feature of the behavior of external policies of the U.S. is the duplication, particularly with the Security Council resolutions and international agreements. It supports the United Nations when these resolutions are for Israel and its interests in the Arab world. In addition, the study maintains that the U.S. foreign policy seeks to achieve its objectives by having the battle of U.S. local, regional, and global public opinion. It attempts to isolate the countries against it politically, economically, and militarily. It seeks for internal unrest and ethnic divisions to overthrow regimes against it.

The Introduction:

The foreign policy of the countries is different due to time. Making foreign policy decision is different in terms of making its processes in the normal times, on which countries are not in conflict with the interests of another country from the abnormal times on which the conflict of interests is prevailing. The phenomenon of conflict between the forces is one of the realities of international relations. The events of Sep. 11th represent a turning point in the formulation of the global system in the 21st century, which gave the USA the opportunity to determine the criteria of strategic catalyst objectives as called "the global terrorism" from the American point of view, needed by the United States itself in its foreign policy. The USA has become convinced that the threat of international terrorism would be a challenge due to the presence of strategic terrorist organizations out of several countries which are hostile to America.

This means that the rearrangement of the political geography becomes a focal point in the American foreign policy in a way unprecedented since the end of the Cold War (Al-Kloob, 2011). Concerning the domestic front, the events of Sep, 11th have contributed in augmenting feelings of the American society towards Arabs and Muslims. The media and research centers of

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America play a pivotal role in augmenting the feelings of American society towards the Middle East in general and the Arab region in particular.

The analysis of the U.S. foreign policy towards the Arab region takes into account that this process is continuous and historically managed by the U.S. policy makers in light of the objectives fixed. Yet, in changing circumstances which draw the frame of reference of the national interests of the United States and its ally the State of Israel, such policies are subjected to change, and political and economic policies of the United States of America are much affected. Thus, the American behavior towards the region varies due to the active role, enabling the United States to rely on these policies to achieve their objectives (Izz al-Din, 2005).

The Study Problem

The current study problem is driven from the transformations that followed the events of Sep. 11th, appearance of change and transformation associated with the U.S. foreign policy towards the Arab world. The U.S. foreign policy is considered among the most controversial topics having a growing interest nowadays, especially among the intellectuals and analysts interested in the political situation. That is because of many factors including the current status of the USA as the single superpower after the collapse of the former Soviet Union which was the only competitor to U.S. influence in the international system. Consequently, differences of opinion, demonstrations and even acts of violence are present. So, this study was to identify the trends of graduate students at the University of Jordan about the U.S. foreign policy in the Arab world after the events of September 11

Significance of the Study

The significance of the current study is represented in the following points:

1. Investigating the American foreign policy is heavily considered a central theme in understanding the nature of the politics because of its direct effect on the patterns of international relations. This policy has had an actual impact on the domestic, regional and international public opinion after the events of Sep, 11th.
2. The need to reveal the relationship between the changes in the U.S. foreign policy, especially after the events of Sep, 11th and its impact on the political stability in the Arab region.
3. Clarifying the causes of Arab discontent status against the American political behavior towards the Arab region to devise and extrapolate the American political reality from the point of view of graduate students at the University of Jordan, who are considered a learned and educated class of the Jordanian society.

The Objectives of the study

The current study aims at:

1. Defining the U.S. foreign policy and orientations in the Arab region from the point of view of the study subjects.
2. Identifying the transformations that have taken place on the American foreign policy, especially after the events of Sep, 11th and its impacts on the political stability in the Arab region from the point of view of the study subjects themselves.
3. Monitoring the trends of the graduate students at the University of Jordan about the most important features of the U.S. foreign policy towards the Arab region.
4. Determining the most American provocative policies among the educated classes represented by the graduate students at the University of Jordan.

Questions of the study:

1. What are the main strategies of the U.S. foreign policy in the Arab region?
2. What are the main transformations in the U.S. foreign policy, especially after the events of Sep, 11th and its impacts on the political stability of the Arab region?
3. What are the most American policies provocative to the feelings of anti-Americanism among the educated classes represented by the graduate students at the University of Jordan?

This study assumes that there are no statistically significant differences in the attitudes of subjects towards the American foreign policy due to the variables of the study (gender, age, type of faculty, degree of qualification).

The limitations of the study:

The present study has the following limits:

- A. The subject limit: this study is limited to investigate the U.S. foreign policy after the events of Sep, 11th towards the Arab region.
- B. The spatial limit: this study has been applied at the University of Jordan.
- C. The human limit: this study has been applied to a sample of graduate students at the University of Jordan.
- D. The temporal limit: this study has been applied during the calendar year 2011/2012.

The Theoretical Framework:

Analyzing the US foreign policies from the international system point of view focuses on the Macro level of analysis. That is because any change in the features of the international system will not necessarily lead to a change in the external behavior of states constituting this system (Haajneh, 1999).

The foreign policy of the new international order is in fact the U.S. foreign policy as being the superpower in the world after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Because America is an interest-motivated country, it began seeking for strategic areas that will bring its interests and

benefits. Indeed, the Middle East in general and the Arab region in particular can bring the USA such benefits. In detail, the site, the political factor and historical wealth, particularly oil, all contributed to the getting the Arab region among the most important areas of American influence (JAMES, 2002). Due to the importance of oil for America, Pentagon specifies a list of threats to U.S. interests in the field of energy. So, the USA considers countries or groups that possess chemical, atomic or biological weapons the axis of evil and annexes al-Qaeda to (Michael, 2005).

After the events of Sep, 11th undertaken by a vague organization operating outside the control of any state (Christopher, 2003), there has been a significant shift in the U.S. foreign policy towards the world. The new world order was redrafted to serve the U.S. interests in accordance with the foundations and principles of the new international relations, including: the declaration of a preventive launched by the U.S. to some regions considered to be a threat to the USA security, by using all means to achieve this, including the direct military intervention (Ahazzat, 2003). After the events of Sep, 11th, the USA gave absolute priorities for the purposes of defending the U.S. national security, including the willingness to fight a long war against terrorism (Khalil, 2005)

It should be noted that the U.S. foreign policy has become linked organically with the so-called military-industrial society or to weapon lobby that accumulated vast wealth and material resources. This society accommodates media, the two main parties, the U.S. Congress, and the judiciary in America and a number of countries in the world (Zeyaadeh, 2007).

Review of Related Literature:

Of the closest studies dealing with this prominent topic is Alhghish (2012) who analyses the orientations of the U.S. foreign policy towards the Islamic movements after the events of Sep, 11th and defining the American attitudes towards the Arab revolutions of 2011 especially the arrival of some Islamic movements to power. This study used the historical method along with the descriptive analytical approach. The study concluded that the United States considers the movements of political Islam as homogeneous mass and thus declaring generalized implications for.

Al-Kloob (2011) investigates the role of terrorism in the U.S. foreign policy towards the countries of the Middle East after the events of Sep, 11th. The study was based on a premise that terrorism as a global phenomenon is not confined to some people and religion. It is considered an irrational act pushing countries like the USA which are governed by institutions formulating the foreign policy where these new organizations, not countries, are a key player. The study used the historical method. It concludes that the reason for terrorism is the cause of oppression and injustice. It also claims that the USA deals with the Arab and Islamic issues by two conflicting policies. The study also finds out that the control of the Middle East is of paramount importance to America in terms of ensuring Israel's security and control over oil resources in addition to deter the regimes which are hostile to its policies.

Shahir (2009) claims that the September bombings rearranged the priority for the U.S. foreign policy again, which led to the emergence of the new policy concerned with a group of serious issues such as: combating terrorism, promoting human rights, controlling over the weapons of mass destruction, and ensuring the U.S. national security. The study points out that

there are several lobbies reinforcing hostility of the USA towards the outside world and actuating it to dominate the world, including "the right lobby," which includes a group of conservative, Christian, and strict currents. This current has found that the events of 11 September are a golden opportunity to impose radical concepts and views. "The oil lobby" is related to an idea that the top oil companies are present in America, which means that oil companies occupy an important place in the American foreign policy.

Anzi (2007) aims to clarify the changes that emerged after the events of Sep, 11th particularly in the U.S. foreign policy towards the Arab region. It clarifies the role of ideology carried by the neoconservatives in making the American foreign policy. The study relied on the regional approach and the methodology of decision-making. The study adopts the cognitive form. The study concludes that a turnaround in the U.S. policy had an impact on the political stability and the security of the region. Thus, these policies became surrounded by fluctuating international and regional conditions, which enhance the America's desire to control the region.

Study Methodology

1. The Study Methodology: this study belongs to the pattern of analytical and descriptive studies. Accordingly, the study used the descriptive analytical method which expresses the phenomenon under investigation both quantitatively and qualitatively. The descriptive approach does not describe the phenomenon, but also analyzes and detects the relationships between its various dimensions in order to interpret them and access to general conclusions which actually contribute to improving and developing them"(Etefa, 2000, 54).

As for how was this approach used, the study dealt with two main entrances of the descriptive entries, namely:

A. The Documentary Approach to illustrate the theoretical background and theoretical framework on the U.S. foreign policy, whether in books, Arab and foreign studies or websites.

B. The Survey Approach which to obtain data and information on the phenomenon or group phenomena under study. This method was used through surveying the trends and attitudes of subjects themselves about the U.S. foreign policy towards the Arab region after the events of Sep, 11th.

2. The study population:

The study population consisted of all graduate students during the academic year 2011/2012. These students are 1210 students from different degrees of MA and Ph.D. The following table shows the number of graduate students in the year 2011/2012.

Table (1): The number of graduate students (MA and Ph.D.) at the University of Jordan for the year 2011/2012 in different university faculties⁴

Faculty	MA students	PhD students
Arts	58	70
Business	151	8
Physical education	14	14
Nursing	28	8
Rights	37	12
Agriculture	59	12
Sharie'	8	45
Pharmacy	43	1
Sciences	36	9
Educational sciences	119	100
Foreign languages	65	8
Technological engineering	139	0
IT	33	0
Dentistry	86	0
Women Studies	32	0
Tourism and archeology	12	0
Fine arts	10	0
Rehabilitation	0	0
1210		

3- The study sample:

150 students were selected deliberately to ensure the participation of both sexes. Selecting a sample of male students equals to the sample of male students to ensure similarity. The questionnaires were then distributed within the specialized faculties for research topics and on the four academic levels randomly because the random method is often represented to the research population and reflective of the data and facts. In addition, this method gets the researchers bias-free

4. the Study tool:

The questions of the questionnaires have been designed in a way qualifying it to form the overall indicators and standards required to the study, whether in the area of data collection and information of the study sample (graduate students), or in the design of the different levels to measure what will be measured during the process of dealing with the dependent variable used in this study, and has been divided into two sections:

⁴ The Graduate School, the University of Jordan for the year 2011/2012

1. Section I: includes the data of the subjects in terms of age, sex and qualification degree.
 2. Section II: includes (30) items answered by a gradual scale (agreed, neutral, not agreed), positively to take the weights (3, 2, 1). Concerning the negative items, they take the weights (1, 2, 3), respectively. The negative items are numbered (6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30). The items measuring the attitudes towards the U.S. policy in the Arab region, which numbered (30) items into four main themes, each of which measures the aspects of that policy, namely:

- A. Ensuring the Israel's security and superiority in the region. The items (16, 17, 18, 19, and 20) measure this aspect.
- B. Consensus of positions of the ruling Arab regimes with the U.S. policy in the Arab region. Items (6, 7, 9, 21, 22, 23, 25, and 27) measure this aspect.
- C. Occupation of Iraq, measured by (10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 26).
- D. Higher values of foreign and domestic American policies, measured by (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 24, 28, 29, and 30)

5. **Validity of the tool:** it is intended to examine the appropriateness of questionnaires used to measure the topics or phenomena that the researcher seeks to know to show if the tool can measure and provide the required information properly. The validity of the study has been verified by displaying it on a group of experts and arbitrators to express their opinion on the questionnaire, both in terms of appropriate items of research objectives or in terms of their coverage of the aspects and fields of the study. Based on observations of arbitrators, some amendments have been modified.

6. Reliability of the tool:

Concerning the degree of reliability of the study tool (resolution), which is intended to measure the extent of the information independence away from the measuring instruments themselves in order to reach the same results and the possibility of re-application of the tool questionnaire to get fixed results, Chronbach's Alpha coefficients were calculated for the items of the study. It has been indicated that the study tool enjoys a high degree of reliability. All reliability coefficients were than (0.60) which is the minimum acceptable limit for persistence.

7. **The Statistical methods** used in the study: to answer questions of the study, the methods of statistical analysis were used based on the Statistical Package for Social Science and Descriptive Statistics Measures to describe the characteristics of the study sample through frequencies and percentages:

- 1- The descriptive statistics: in order to view the properties of the subject sample and describe their responses to the items of the questionnaires.
- 2- Chronbach's Alpha to measure the internal correlation of the study tool
- 3- T. Test (paired-sample) for the mutual samples differences.
- 4- Test (F) to test the differences in the trends of the subjects according to the independent variables.

Findings and Discussion:

First: the general characteristics of the sample: Table (2) refers to the following:

1. Sex: Regarding the sex variable, the data indicate that the largest proportion of the (sample) was the males, reaching 74.7%, while females were 28.3%. This division is consistent with reality. The males are more able to come out for education and employment due to the lack of family commitments and social standing which are sometimes obstacles in front of females who do not have often adequate time for education.

2. Age: As for the age variable, 10% of the graduate students at the University of Jordan, were more than 40 years old, 32.0% of subjects were between 25-30 years old, who is the most able to pursue education. The largest percentage was for students aged between 31-35 years; they have accounted for 43.3%, and 14.7% of them were aged between 36-40 years.

3. The type of the faculty: 63.3% of graduate students who undertook the study are of the humanities, which is consistent with specialty. This study is located in the purview of political science and therefore the students of humanities focus their research interests and scientific aspects on such topics more than of those of scientific faculties. The percentage of students of scientific faculties is 36.7%.

5. Type of Qualification: 50.0% of graduate students who undertook the study is on the a master's degree, which is of course consistent with the results of admission to the Master's Degree in the academic year 2010/2011, and 40.0% of the graduate students are of the PhD students which shows a high frequency of the higher education in Jordan. While 10.0% of them are on the Higher Diploma education (post-bachelor). In fact, this is a logical consequence in terms of the adoption of united admission the "good evaluation" for a master's degree

Table 2: The General characteristics of the study sample:

The sample characteristics		Frequency	%
Sex	Male	112	74.7
	Female	38	25.3
	Total	150	100.0
Age	25-30 years	48	32
	31-35	65	43.3
	36-40	22	14.7
	More than 40 years	15	10
	Total	150	100.0
Faculty type	Humanities	95	63.3
	Sciences	55	36.7
	Total	150	100.0
Qualification type	High diploma	15	10.0
	MA	75	50.0
	PhD	55	40.0
	Total	150	100.0

Second: the trends of the sample subjects towards the American foreign policy according to the study themes:

A. Theme I: the Trends towards Israel security and superiority in the Arab region:

It is noted from data in Table (3), the high rate of approval on all the items that explain the security and superiority of Israel in the region, with the highest rates of approval of the item which states that "The USA supports Israel economically and militarily". The percentage of subjects agreeing to this item is (94%), followed by the item which states that "the American position which is pro-Israel is governed by mutual interests between the two countries" (90%). The lowest approving items states that "America operates a bi-facets policy with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict" (84%). The researchers indicate that this result is somehow reasonable and does not violate expectations. The Arab man became fully aware of the fact that he lived in an area saturated with American interests, which enhance the America to interfere in the Arab affairs, taking maintaining its interests in the region as a pretext to interfere in their affairs.

Table 3: The relative distribution of the items of the trends scale towards Israel's security and superiority in the region:

Item	Agree		Neutral		Not agreed		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
The USA supports Israel economically and militarily	140	94.0	6	4.0	4	2.0	150	100
The USA provides Israel with arms to ensure security in the Arab region	138	92.0	11	7.0	1	1.0	150	100
the American position which is pro-Israel is governed by mutual interests between the two countries	127	84.0	16	11.0	7	5.0	150	100
The prevailing American attitude governed by the mutual interests in between	135	90.0	12	8.0	4	2.0	150	100
Anti-America feelings of Arabs are caused by Israel	132	91.0	11	9.0	-	-	150	100

B. Theme II: trends towards the consensus of the positions of the ruling Arab regimes with the U.S. policy in the Arab region

Table (4) shows the highest approval rates with respect to the relationship between America and the Arab regimes. The paragraph which states that "the presence of U.S. military bases in the Arab lands means another aspect of colonialism" was the highest with (97 %), followed by the item which states that "America aims to achieve political and financial gains in the region by building ties of friendship with the ruling regimes" with (89%). The lowest approving paragraph was that "The American presence in all its forms in the Arab region is caused by the request of the ruling regimes themselves" by (13%), followed by the item "some Arab countries contribute to fund the USA armies and bases" with (24%).

Table 4: The relative distribution of the items of the trends scale towards the consensus of the positions of the ruling Arab regimes with the U.S. policy in the Arab region.

Item	Agree		Neutral		Not agreed		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
America aims to achieve political and financial gains in the region by building ties of friendship with the ruling regimes	133	89.0	15	10.0	2	1.0	150	100
The attitudes of the ruling Arab regimes are consistent with those of the USA	87	58.0	53	35.3	10	6.7	150	100
Most of the Arab ruling regimes live depends on the USA	102	68.0	25	16.7	23	15.3	150	100
American military bases provide protection to the Arab regimes	67	45.0	35	23.0	48	32.0	150	100
American military bases are the main cause for anti-American feelings by Arab	85	56.7	55	33.3	15	10.0	150	100
the presence of U.S. military bases in the Arab lands means another aspect of colonialism	145	97.0	4	9.0	1	1.0	150	100
The American presence in all its forms in the Arab region is caused by the request of the ruling regimes themselves	26	17.3	28	18.7	96	64.0	150	100
some Arab countries contribute to fund the USA armies and bases	87	58.0	37	24.7	23	17.3	150	100

C. Theme III: the attitudes towards the American occupation of Iraq:

It is noted from table (5) which demonstrates the subjects' trends towards the occupation of Iraq that the highest approving item is the item "America is the first beneficiary of the continued occupation of Iraq", with (89%), followed by the item which states that "violence against civilians in Iraq is terrorist acts" with (68%). The lowest approving paragraph is "the goal of the American plan in Iraq is to convert to a democratic state" (3.7%), followed by the item stating that "the primary goal of the occupation of Iraq is to free it from dictatorship" with (5%).

The researchers account for this as the world has witnessed the military capabilities of the USA in Iraq which were not matched by credible political capabilities. To the contrary, the political credibility and confidence of international leadership of the USA decreased. The world has discovered the U.S. deception to justify the decision to go to war on Iraq, which was the Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction. In addition, the way to promote this has sparked the international debate widespread. Consequently, the USA has failed in terms of diplomatic and moral aspects in identifying legitimate targets for its dominance.

Table 5: The relative distribution of the items of the trends scale towards the American occupation of Iraq:

Item	Agree		Neutral		Not agreed		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	NO	%
the primary goal of the occupation of Iraq is to free it from dictatorship	8	5.0	1	13.0	141	82.0	150	100
The USA achieved the objectives from occupation of Iraq	25	16.7	25	16.7	100	66.4	150	100
Acts of violence against civilians in Iraq are terrorist acts	102	68.0	25	16.7	23	15.3	150	100
America is the first beneficiary of the continued occupation of Iraq	133	89.0	15	10.0	2	1.0	150	100
Suicide attacks against the U.S. military is a legitimate resistance	87	58.0	53	35.3	10	6.7	150	100
The goal of the American plan in Iraq to convert to democratic state	6	3.7	8	5.3	136	91.0	150	100
The USA benefits economically from its occupation of Iraq, and some Arab countries supported the occupation	98	65.3	37	24.7	15	10.0	150	100

D. Theme IV: attitudes towards the U.S. supreme values between the domestic and foreign policy.

Table (6) indicates the trends of the graduate students at the University of Jordan about American supreme values between the foreign and domestic policy. It shows that the highest approving item is "Ensuring the flow of oil wealth from the Arab region to the west is the most important U.S. goals in the region ", with (83.3%), followed by the item "The U.S. policy takes a hostile approach with the Arab issues "with (68%). The lowest approving item was "America seeks to liberate the peoples of the Arab world of dictatorships" (10%), followed by the item "America has the right to classify the counties as friendly, outlaw or axis of evil" with (6%). Of the political explanations fitting the previous results is the Brzezinski's analysis. The researchers have noted that the history began to change decisively after the events of September, 11, which started a new era of politics of U.S. security both domestically and internationally which is the engine's of the American activity globally not just oil interests or geostrategic aspects. Thus, the so-called "the war on terror" preoccupied the world. Indeed, this war is still shrouded with a lot of ambiguity, which help the USA to establish marginal blocs and alliances like "who is not with us, he/she is against us" (Albright, 2005). This policy is based on a unified global interest in fighting the global terrorism as the main challenge for this decade. However, this challenge is short-term and cannot be a strategy for long-term, because it lacks the power for several reasons:

First: it depends on the amplification of faceless enemy without geography or ideology (despite the repeated references to Islam).

Second: it is a policy based on the exploitation of vague fears to justify a short list of policies and procedures (such as pre-emptive wars and military intervention).

Third: It is impossible to maintain the continuity of popular support for this policy on a large scale. (Brzezinski, 2004, p 240).

Some observers indicate that the USA is suffering from mixing the quest for a global community with a common interest (and this is desirable universally logical consequence to the requirements of globalization) and the quest to confirm the presence of a world government (which is linked to the establishment of the dictatorship of the U.S. globally). So, the Arab man experiences the difference of American values between the domestic politics and the external application. The USA does not accept adversaries but rebels who should be eliminated. So, it does not want any war but only punishes, as well as it does not use a word like invasion or military occupation, but is only “to liberate peoples.”

Table 6. The relative distribution of the items of the trends scale towards the U.S. supreme values between the domestic and foreign policy.

Item	Agree		Neutral		Not agreed		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
the U.S. policy is balanced with the Arab region	13	9.0	28	18.0	109	73.0	150	100
The U.S. foreign policy reflects the real values of democracy	11	7.3	4	2.7	135	90.0	150	100
The U.S. domestic policy reflects the real values of democracy	95	63.3	25	16.7	30	20	150	100
The USA aims protect human rights in the Arab region	6	3.7	8	5.3	136	91.0	150	100
The USA seeks to liberate the peoples of the Arab world from dictatorships	15	10.0	29	19.3	106	70.7	150	100
America has the right to classify the counties as friendly, outlaw or axis of evil	9	6.0	21	14.0	120	80.0	150	100
Ensuring the flow of oil wealth from the Arab region to the west is the most important U.S. goals in the region	125	83.3	15	10.0	10	6.7	150	100
The American presence in the Arab region is a kind of extension of the Crusades	87	58.0	53	35.3	10	6.7	150	100
The U.S. policy takes a hostile approach with the Arab issues	102	68.0	28	18.7	20	13.3	150	100
Americans, especially politicians hate Arabs	97	64.7	35	23.3	18	12.0	150	100

Thirdly: The results of statistical differences of the subjects’ political attitudes towards the U.S. according to the study variables (gender, age, type of faculty, type of qualification). A. Test results of the differences between the averages of the answers against the standards trends of the graduate students at the University of Jordan towards the U.S. policies in the Arab region by the variable “sex”. It is noted from Table (7), there are a few differences between males and females’ answers, but the males are more approving from females towards the U.S.

policies in the Arab region except for the attitudes towards the occupation of Iraq which was higher in females than that in males. (T-test) results did not show any statistically significant differences at a significant level 95% of the attitudes towards the U.S. policies in the Arab region belonging to sex. The T calculated value of (v) on the four themes and policies were as a whole (.638, .478, 0.510, 0.108, 0.322), respectively, and their statistical significance (0.525, 0.636, 0.611, 0.914, 0.748).

Table 7. the differences between the averages of the answers against the standards trends of the graduate students at the University of Jordan towards the U.S. policies in the Arab region by the variable “sex”

Axis	Sex	Average	Standard deviation	T calculated value	Freedom Degrees	Statistical significance
Israel security and superiority in the Arab region	Males	1.15	0.22	0.638	148	0.525
	Females	1.11	0.16			
the consensus of the positions of the ruling Arab regimes with the U.S. policy in the Arab region	Males	1.64	0.22	0.478	148	0.636
	Females	1.62	0.19			
the American occupation of Iraq	Males	1.85	0.20	0.510-	148	0.611
	Females	1.88	0.09			
the U.S. supreme values between the domestic and foreign policy	Males	1.54	0.23	0.108	148	0.914
	Females	1.54	0.27			
All American policies	Males	1.55	0.12	0.322	148	0.748
	Females	1.53	0.11			

B. Test results of the differences between the averages of the answers against the standards trends of the graduate students at the University of Jordan towards the U.S. policies in the Arab region by the variable “age”. It is noted in table 8 that there are no clear differences in the rates of responses by age groups of respondents. (T-test) results did not show any statistically significant differences at a significant level 95% of the attitudes towards the U.S. policies in the Arab region belonging to age. The T calculated value of (v) on the four themes and policies were as a whole the T calculated value of (v) on the four themes and policies were as a whole (0.229 ,0.303 ,1.310 ,0.423 ,0.416), respectively, and their statistical significance (0.949 ,0.810 ,0.266- ,0.832 ,).

Table 8: the differences between the averages of the answers against the standards trends of the graduate students at the University of Jordan towards the U.S. policies in the Arab region by the variable “age”

Axis	age	Average	Standard deviation	T calculated value	Freedom Degrees	Statistical significance
Israel security and superiority in the Arab region	Less than 30years	1.22	0.31	0.416	146	0.837
	35-39	1.12	0.19			
	40-44	1.14	0.23			
	45-49	1.11	0.20			
	50-54	1.15	0.17			
	More than 55	1.14	0.20			
the positions of the ruling Arab regimes with the U.S. policy in the Arab region	Less than 30years	1.59	0.30	0.423	146	0.832
	35-39	1.66	0.20			
	40-44	1.61	0.21			
	45-49	1.66	0.22			
	50-54	1.68	0.20			
	More than 55	1.66	0.19			
The American occupation of Iraq	Less than 30years	1.93	0.22	1.310	146	0.266
	35-39	1.83	0.19			
	40-44	1.86	0.20			
	45-49	1.88	0.20			
	50-54	1.76	0.18			
	More than 55	1.84	0.11			
the U.S. supreme values between the domestic and foreign policy	Less than 30years	1.57	0.34	0.303	146	0.810
	35-39	1.57	0.18			
	40-44	1.57	0.25			
	45-49	1.51	0.18			
	50-54	1.53	0.20			
	More than 55	1.50	0.28			
All American policies	Less than 30years	1.58	0.21	0.229	146	0.949
	35-39	1.54	0.10			
	40-44	1.55	0.13			
	45-49	1.54	0.10			
	50-54	1.53	0.11			
	More than 55	1.54	0.12			

C. Test results of the differences between the averages of the answers against the standards trends of the graduate students at the University of Jordan towards the U.S. policies in the Arab region by the variable “faculty type”

Based on table 9, there are differences between the attitudes of respondents towards U.S. policies in the Arab region of the belonging to four axes due to the faculty type (humanities, sciences) with the exception of attitudes towards the occupation of Iraq which was equal by with (1.85) each. The results of the test (T-test) showed that there were statistically significant differences at a significance level 95% in the attitudes towards U.S. policies in the Arab region with respect to the themes of the U.S. supreme values between the domestic and foreign policy as the calculated value (v) was (-3.090) and the statistical significance was(0.003). The differences emerging at the whole level of trends is attributed to the impact of the type of faculty as the calculated value (v) was (-2.280) the statistical significance (0.025). There are no statistically significant differences in attitudes towards the U.S. policy in the Arab region on the other remaining three axes as the calculated value (v) (-1.278, -0.830, 0.133) respectively and the statistical significance was (0.204, 0.409) for each.

Table 9. The (F-test) results of the differences between the averages of the answers against the standards trends of the graduate students at the University of Jordan towards the U.S. policies in the Arab region by the variable “faculty type

Axis	Faculty type	Average	Standard deviation	T calculated value	Freedom Degrees	Statistical significance
Israel security and superiority in the Arab region	Humanities	1.12	0.18	1.278-	118	0.204
	Scientific	1.18	0.27			
the consensus of the positions of the ruling Arab regimes with the U.S. policy in the Arab region	Humanities	1.63	0.20	0.830-	118	0.409
	Scientific	1.66	0.24			
the American occupation of Iraq	Humanities	1.85	0.18	0.133	118	0.894
	Scientific	1.85	0.21			
the U.S. supreme values between the domestic and foreign policy	Humanities	1.49	0.17	3.090-	118	0.003
	Scientific	1.64	0.30			
All American policies	Humanities	1.52	0.08	2.280-	118	0.025
	Scientific	1.58	0.17			

D. Test results of the differences between the averages of the answers against the standards trends of the graduate students at the University of Jordan towards the U.S. policies in the Arab region by the variable “qualification type”

The results of (F-test) in Table (10) show that there are significant differences at a significance level with 95% in the trends towards the U.S. policies in the Arab region belonging to the impact of the type of qualification on the three themes axes (to ensure Israel’s security and superiority, the occupation of Iraq, and the U.S. Supreme values) as the calculated value of (P) on the three themes was (0.3.440 , 0.4.163, 3.147), respectively, and the statistical significance (0.0.011, 0.004, 0.018). There are no statistically significant differences on the axis of consensus positions of the Arab regimes with the U.S. policy and or the whole theme, where the calculated value of (P) was (0.860, 2.042), respectively, and the statistical significance was (0.491, 0.095).

Table 10. Test results (F-test) of the differences between the averages of the answers

against the standards trends of the graduate students at the University of Jordan towards the U.S. policies in the Arab region by the variable “qualification type

Axis	Qualification type	Average	Standard deviation	T calculated value	Freedom Degrees	Statistical significance
Israel security and superiority in the Arab region	Higher diploma	10.7	0.12	3.440	145	0.011
	MA	1.19	0.21			
	PhD	1.13	0.18			
the consensus of the positions of the ruling Arab regimes with the U.S. policy in the Arab region	Higher diploma	1.68	0.22	0.860	145	0.491
	MA	1.58	0.20			
	PhD	1.61	0.21			
the American occupation of Iraq	Higher diploma	1.85	0.14	4.163	145	0.004
	MA	1.85	0.13			
	PhD	1.85	0.19			
the U.S. supreme values between the domestic and foreign policy	Higher diploma	1.49	0.23	3.147	145	0.018
	MA	1.58	0.14			
	PhD	1.51	0.24			
All American policies	Higher diploma	1.52	0.10	2.042	145	0.095
	MA	1.55	0.10			
	PhD	1.53	0.12			

Discussion:

- A. The scientific analysis of the behavior of external politics of the USA: this behavior has started to take another turn after the events of September, 11. It depends on the pre-emptive war and direct military intervention. We can argue that the main characteristic of the external behavior of the U.S. is bi-facets especially with regard to the application of international laws and conventions as well as the United Nations assistance, especially if it is related to Israel and its interests in the Arab region, and vice versa with the Arabs and Islam.
- B. With regard to ensuring the Israel’s security and Israel's: no subject opposes any of that the Arab hostility against America is caused by the absolute support for Israel. 94% of them stated that America offers support economically and militarily to Israel, and that this position is based on the mutual interests between these two countries, which means that graduate students at the university are sure that U.S. foreign policy adopted in the Arab region is coached with the interest of Israel first and foremost. This policy is much enhanced by the the Zionist lobby and Christian forces

- C. Concerning the consensus of the positions of the ruling Arab regimes with the U.S. policy in the Arab region: it was observed that the answers of the graduate students in the University of Jordan on the item related to the item of massive military bases of the U.S. in the Arab territories means another face of colonialism comes first. This indicates the level of awareness of the graduate students on the U.S. foreign policy.
- D. Regarding the occupation of Iraq: The results showed that graduate students were not fooled by the U.S. policy that tried across paraphernalia media to deceive the public opinion as its occupation of Iraq is interpreted because Iraq possesses weapons of mass destruction and the regime of President Iraq leader Saddam Hussein is a danger and a threat to American interests in the Middle East.
- E. The U.S. supreme values between the domestic and foreign policy. The results showed that the graduate students are not convinced with the USA human rights wars neither it seeks to liberate the peoples from dictatorships. 95% of them stated that American interest in the Arab region is due to ensure the flow of oil wealth. This indicates the presence of full awareness for the extent of the differences applied by the U.S. Supreme values between domestic and external aspects. It is clear that there was a hostile U.S. approach against the Arab issues.

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