

Bibliography

- Al-Hamoudi, Haider. "Arab Spring, Libyan Liberation and the Externally Imposed Democratic Revolution." *Denver University Law Review* 89, no. 3 (2012): 699-734. Accessed September 27, 2016.
<http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=034dfcde-48ec-4d7b-b4d8-1bebf31161c5%40sessionmgr105&vid=2&hid=119>.
- Arat-Koç, Sedef. "Dance of Orientalisms and waves of catastrophes: culturalism and pragmatism in imperial approaches to Islam and the Middle East." *Third World Quarterly* 35, no. 9 (October 2014): 1656-71.
doi:10.1080/01436597.2014.971563.
- Baker, Peter. "The Return of Pushing Democracy." *The New York Times*. Last modified February 12, 2011.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/13/weekinreview/13baker.html>.
- Berkowitz, Peter. "Reconsidering the Arab Spring." *Policy Review*, no. 172 (April/May 2012): 123-29. Accessed September 27, 2016.
<http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=585bce23-4f43-4d8f-8dad-1f13ef9558fa%40sessionmgr104&vid=1&hid=119>.
- Black, Ian. "Gaddafi urges violent showdown and tells Libya 'I'll die a martyr.'" *The Guardian*. Last modified February 2, 2011.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/22/muammar-gaddafi-urges-violent-showdown>.
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew. "From Hope to Audacity." *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 1 (January/February 2010): 16-30.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.rice.edu/stable/20699780>.
- Bush, George W. "Inaugural Address." Speech, January 20, 2005. The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=58745>.
- . "President Bush's Address on the Iraq Invasion." Speech, March 19, 2003. *The Wall Street Journal*. Last modified March 18, 2013.
<http://blogs.wsj.com/dispatch/2013/03/18/full-text-of-president-george-w-bushs-speech-march-19-2003/>.
- . "The State of the Union Address." Speech, January 29, 2002. NPR.
<http://www.npr.org/news/specials/sou/2002/020129.bushtext.html>.
- Carpenter, Ted Galen. "How the Mideast was lost: neither dictatorship nor democracy guarantees America's interests." *The American Conservative* 11, no. 1 (January 2012): 22-26. Accessed September 27, 2016.

- <http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=a40891b6-c672-4c59-bd91-f58aab5b8090%40sessionmgr120&vid=1&hid=119>.
- Carter, Jimmy. "The State of the Union Address Delivered Before a Joint Session of the Congress." Speech, January 23, 1980. The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=33079>.
- Clinton, Hillary Rodham. "Interview With Abderrahim Foukara of Al Jazeera." By Abderrahim Foukara. U.S. Department of State. Last modified February 14, 2011. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2011/02/156573.htm>.
- . "Interview With Hisham Melhem of Al Arabiya." U.S. Department of State. Last modified February 14, 2011. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2011/02/156575.htm>.
- . "Interview With Kim Ghattas of BBC." By Kim Ghattas. U.S. Department of State. Last modified March 16, 2011. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2011/03/158444.htm>.
- Clinton, Hillary Rodham, and Mohamed Kamel Amr. "Remarks With Egyptian Foreign Minister Mohamed Kamel Amr After Their Meeting." Speech, September 28, 2011. U.S. Department of State. Last modified September 28, 2011. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2011/09/174550.htm>.
- CNN. "Obama says Egypt's transition 'must begin now.'" CNN. Last modified February 2, 2011. <http://www.cnn.com/2011/POLITICS/02/01/us.egypt.obama/>.
- Constitutional Rights Foundation. "The Bush Doctrine." Constitutional Rights Foundation. <http://www.crf-usa.org/war-in-iraq/bush-doctrine.html>.
- Cooper, Helene, and Steven Lee Myers. "Obama Takes Hard Line With Libya After Shift by Clinton." The New York Times. Last modified March 18, 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/19/world/africa/19policy.html?_r=1&ref=global-home.
- Crippen, Matthew. "Egypt and the Middle East: Democracy, Anti-Democracy, and the Pragmatic Faith." *St. Louis University Public Law Review* 35, no. 2 (2016): 281-302. Accessed September 27, 2016. <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=2&sid=26a91d2c-a24c-40a6-9b82-1c6b80d79267%40sessionmgr4007&hid=4202>.
- Dicker, Rachel. "Obama Ignored Military's Advice in Egypt, Former Defense Secretary Says." US News & World Report. Last modified March 18, 2016. <http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2016-03-18/robert-gates-obama-ignored-military-advice-on-arab-spring>.

- Drake, Bruce. "U.S. aid to Syrian rebels: Public has opposed American involvement in the past." Pew Research Center. Last modified June 14, 2013. Accessed September 27, 2016. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/06/14/u-s-aid-to-syrian-rebels-public-has-opposed-american-involvement-in-the-past/>.
- Dreyfuss, Bob. "Obama's Women Advisers Pushed War Against Libya." *The Nation*. Last modified March 19, 2011. <https://www.thenation.com/article/obamas-women-advisers-pushed-war-against-libya/>.
- Gardner, Lloyd. *Three Kings: The Rise of an American Empire in the Middle East After World War II*. New York, NY: The New Press, 2009.
- Gates, Robert, and Condoleezza Rice. "How America can counter Putin's moves in Syria." *Washington Post*. Last modified October 8, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/how-to-counter-putin-in-syria/2015/10/08/128fade2-6c66-11e5-b31c-d80d62b53e28_story.html?utm_term=.10c6e776dcd4.
- Gates, Robert M. *Duty*. N.p.: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014.
- Gerges, Fawaz A. "The Obama approach to the Middle East: the end of America's moment?" *International Affairs* 89, no. 2 (March 2013): 299-323. Accessed September 28, 2016. doi:10.1111/1468-2346.12019.
- Goldberg, Jeffrey. "The Obama Doctrine." *The Atlantic*. Last modified April 2016. Accessed September 28, 2016. <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/>.
- Haass, Richard N. "The Irony of American Strategy: Putting the Middle East in Proper Perspective." *Foreign Affairs* 92, no. 3 (May/June 2013): 57-68. <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/eds/detail/detail?sid=796eabc4-2e3e-49e3-9735-5281c4bc56a0%40sessionmgr4010&vid=1&hid=4202&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmUmc2NvcGU9c2l0ZQ%3d%3d#AN=000319024000007&db=edswss>.
- Hachigian, Nina, and David Shorr. "The Responsibility Doctrine." *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2013, 73-91. https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/publication/TWQ_13Winter_HachigianShorr.pdf.
- Hamid, Shadi. "Islamism, the Arab Spring, and the Failure of America's Do-Nothing Policy in the Middle East." *The Atlantic*. Last modified October 9, 2015. Accessed September 28, 2016. <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/10/middle-east-egypt-us-policy/409537/>.

- "Hillary Clinton: Obama administration divided over 2011 Arab uprisings." The Guardian. Last modified June 7, 2014. Accessed September 28, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/07/hillary-clinton-obama-administration-split-arab-spring-mubarak>.
- "H: MEMO, SYRIA ON THE EDGE. SID." Wikileaks. Last modified March 6, 2016. Accessed September 28, 2016. <https://wikileaks.org/clinton-emails/emailid/12602>.
- Ignatius, David. "Hillary Clinton was right on Egypt." The Washington Post. Last modified January 28, 2016. Accessed September 28, 2016. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/hillary-clinton-was-right-on-egypt/2016/01/28/fe7fe922-c609-11e5-8965-0607e0e265ce_story.html?utm_term=.e7bc36c26ab7.
- Jeffrey, James F. "The Obama Doctrine: Made for the '90s, Disastrous Today." The Washington Institute. Last modified March 21, 2016. <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-obama-doctrine-made-for-the-90s-disastrous-today>.
- Jervis, Robert. "Realism in the Study of World Politics." *International Organization*, 971-91. <http://content.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/ContentServer.asp?EbscoContent=dGJyMNHX8kSep644wtvhOLCmr06eqLBSsKm4SraWxWXS&ContentCustomer=dGJyMPGvrki3prJKuePfgex43zx1d%2BI5wAA&T=P&P=AN&S=R&D=mth&K=1414109>.
- Jones, Seth G. "The Mirage of the Arab Spring: Deal With the Region You Have, Not the Region You Want." *Foreign Affairs* 92, no. 1 (January/February 2013): 55-64. Accessed September 28, 2016. <http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/eds/detail/detail?sid=dd0b6119-c5c1-4e25-a87c-295d5d8ec56b%40sessionmgr120&vid=1&hid=119&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmUmc2NvcGU9c2l0ZQ%3d%3d#AN=000319023800007&db=edswss>.
- Kassim, Samir. *Being Arab*.
- Kay, Sean. "Gates: A Realist in an Idealist World." War on the Rocks. Last modified January 22, 2014. <http://warontherocks.com/2014/01/gates-a-realist-in-an-idealist-world/>.
- Kerry, John. "Remarks on Syria." Speech, August 26, 2013. U.S. Department of State. Last modified August 26, 2013. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2013/08/213503.htm>.

- Kirkpatrick, David D., Helene Cooper, and Mark Landler. "Egypt, Hearing from Obama, Moves to Heal Rift From Protests." *The New York Times*. Last modified September 13, 2012. Accessed November 25, 2016.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/14/world/middleeast/egypt-hearing-from-obama-moves-to-heal-rift-from-protests.html>.
- Kirkpatrick, David D., and Kareem Fahim. "Qaddafi Warns of Assault on Benghazi as U.N. Vote Nears." *The New York Times*. Last modified March 17, 2011.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/18/world/africa/18libya.html?pagewanted=all>.
- Krieg, Andreas. "Externalizing the burden of war: the Obama Doctrine and US foreign policy in the Middle East." *International Affairs* 92, no. 1 (January 2016): 97-113. Accessed September 27, 2016.
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/doi/10.1111/1468-2346.12506/full>.
- Kurtz-Phelan, Daniel. "The Strategist: Brent Scowcroft and the Call of National Security." *The New York Times*. Last modified March 4, 2015.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/08/books/review/the-strategist-brent-scowcroft-and-the-call-of-national-security.html>.
- Landler, Mark. "Secret Report Ordered by Obama Identified Potential Uprisings." *The New York Times*. Last modified February 16, 2011.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/17/world/middleeast/17diplomacy.html>.
- Lind, William S. "Islam's civil war: America can win it--by staying out." *The American Conservative* 12, no. 5 (September/October 2013): 8-9. Accessed September 28, 2016.
<http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=3458c2e8-56d0-47c6-b4d1-f12f6005b15b%40sessionmgr4009&vid=5&hid=4202>.
- Little, Douglas. *Us versus Them: The United States, Radical Islam, and the Rise of the Green Threat*. Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 2016.
- Lizza, Ryan. "The Consequentialist." *The New Yorker*. Last modified May 2, 2011.
<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2011/05/02/the-consequentialist>.
- Lyll, Mark. "The UN's Response to the Arab Spring and the Evolving Role of the Security Council." Address, May 2, 2012. United Nations. Last modified May 2, 2012.
<https://www.una.org.uk/sites/default/files/Address%20to%20the%20UN%20APP%20G%20by%20Sir%20Mark%20Lyll%20Grant,%202%20May%202012.pdf>.
- Lynch, Marc. *The New Arab Wars*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2016.

Morey, Daniel S., Clayton L. Thyne, Sarah L. Hayden, and Michael B. Senters. "Leader, Follower, or Spectator? The Role of President Obama in the Arab Spring Uprisings." *Social Science Quarterly (Wiley-Blackwell)* 93, no. 5 (December 2012): 1185-201. Accessed September 27, 2016. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6237.2012.00911.x.

The New York Times. "Democratic Presidential Debate on NPR." The New York Times. Last modified December 4, 2007.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/04/us/politics/04transcript-debate.html>.

Obama, Barack. "President Obama's Inaugural Address." Speech, January 20, 2009. The White House. Last modified January 21, 2009.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2009/01/21/president-barack-obamas-inaugural-address>.

———. "The President's Opening Remarks on Iran, with Persian Translation." Speech. Last modified June 23, 2009.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2009/06/23/presidents-opening-remarks-iran-with-persian-translation>.

———. "Remarks By President Obama To The Turkish Parliament." Speech, April 6, 2009. The White House. Last modified April 6, 2009.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-obama-turkish-parliament>.

———. "Remarks by the President at the Acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize." Speech, December 10, 2009. The White House. Last modified December 10, 2009.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-acceptance-nobel-peace-prize>.

———. "Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation of Libya." Speech, March 28, 2011. The White House. Last modified March 28, 2011. Accessed September 27, 2016. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/03/28/remarks-president-address-nation-libya>.

———. "Remarks by the President in State of Union Address." Speech, January 25, 2011. The White House. Last modified January 25, 2011.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/01/25/remarks-president-state-union-address>.

———. "Remarks by the President on a New Beginning." Speech, June 4, 2009. The White House. Last modified June 4, 2009. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-cairo-university-6-04-09>.

———. "Remarks by the President on the Middle East and North Africa." Speech, May 19, 2011. The White House. Last modified May 19, 2011.

- <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/05/19/remarks-president-middle-east-and-north-africa>.
- . "Remarks by the President to the White House Press Corps." Speech, August 20, 2012. The White House. Last modified August 20, 2012. Accessed September 28, 2016. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/08/20/remarks-president-white-house-press-corps>.
- . "A Way Forward in Iraq Remarks." Speech, November 20, 2006. Obama Speeches. <http://obamaspeeches.com/094-A-Way-Forward-in-Iraq-Obama-Speech.htm>.
- Osnos, Evan. "In the Land of the Possible." *The New Yorker*. Last modified December 22, 2014. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/12/22/land-possible>.
- Pew Research Center. "Chapter 1. Attitudes toward the United States." Pew Research Center. Last modified July 18, 2013. <http://www.pewglobal.org/2013/07/18/chapter-1-attitudes-toward-the-united-states/>.
- . "Confidence in Obama Lifts U.S. Image Around the World." Pew Research Center. Last modified July 23, 2009. <http://www.pewglobal.org/2009/07/23/confidence-in-obama-lifts-us-image-around-the-world/>.
- . "Do you support or oppose Western countries sending arms and military supplies to anti-government groups in Syria?" Pew Research Center. <http://www.pewglobal.org/question-search/?qid=1597&cntIDs=&stdIDs=>.
- . "How Americans Feel About Religious Groups." Pew Research Center. Last modified July 16, 2014. <http://www.pewforum.org/2014/07/16/how-americans-feel-about-religious-groups/>.
- . "Please tell me if you approve or disapprove of the way President Barack Obama is dealing with...the calls for political change in countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, Bahrain and Libya." Pew Research Center. <http://www.pewglobal.org/question-search/?qid=1220&cntIDs=&stdIDs=>.
- Pierce, Anne. "US 'Partnership' with the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and its Effect on Civil Society and Human Rights." *Global Society* 51, no. 1 (February 2014): 68-87. Accessed September 28, 2016. <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=2407c0a7-16e7-4ca4-b26e-1d59e8c7c9f5%40sessionmgr4009&vid=1&hid=4202>.
- Pilkington, Ed. "Barack Obama sets out plans for leaner military in historic strategy shift." *The Guardian*. Last modified January 5, 2012. Accessed September 28,

2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/05/barack-obama-plans-leaner-military>.
- Pillar, Paul R. "Obama the Realist." *The National Interest*. Last modified March 12, 2016. <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/paul-pillar/obama-the-realist-15479>.
- Pranger, Robert J. "The Arab Spring: America's Search for Relevancy." *Mediterranean Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (2011): 20-35. Accessed September 27, 2016. <http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=1c3b8ffa-fa68-4b61-bacb-4d944421419e%40sessionmgr102&vid=1&hid=119>.
- Quinn, Andrew. "Clinton says U.S. must embrace Arab Spring despite dangers." Reuters. Last modified October 12, 2012. Accessed September 28, 2016. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-mideast-idUSBRE89B19Z20121012>.
- Rice, Susan E. "Remarks on the Situation in Libya." Speech, March 16, 2011. U.S. Department of State. Last modified March 16, 2011. <http://www.state.gov/p/io/rm/2011/158474.htm>.
- Roberts, Lorna, and John Schostak. "Obama and the 'Arab Spring': desire, hope and the manufacture of disappointment. Implications for a transformative pedagogy." *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 33, no. 3 (July 2012). Accessed September 27, 2016. doi:10.1080/01596306.2012.681898.
- Scowcroft, Brent. "Don't Attack Saddam." *The Wall Street Journal*. Last modified August 15, 2002. <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB1029371773228069195>.
- . "A World in Transformation." *The National Interest*, May/June 2012, 7-9. <http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&sid=abe98211-3f46-4605-a32f-f5d2477a1a49%40sessionmgr102&hid=104>.
- Shadid, Anthony. "Obama Urges Faster Shift of Power in Egypt." *The New York Times*. Last modified February 1, 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/02/world/middleeast/02egypt.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.
- Singh, Robert. *Barack Obama's Post-American Foreign Policy*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2012.
- "SITUATION REPORT No 1 09/14/1 (SBU)." Wikileaks. Last modified March 16, 2016. Accessed September 28, 2016. <https://wikileaks.org/clinton-emails/emailid/16792>.
- Taylor, William. "Special Briefing on U.S. Support for the Democratic Transitions Underway in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya." Speech, November 3, 2011. U.S.

- Department of State. Last modified November 3, 2011.
<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2011/11/176653.htm>.
- Traub, James. "The Hillary Clinton Doctrine." *Foreign Policy*.
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/11/06/hillary-clinton-doctrine-obama-interventionist-tough-minded-president/>.
- Truman, Harry S. "The Truman Doctrine." Speech, March 12, 1947. *American Rhetoric*.
<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/harrystrumantrumandocctrine.html>.
- United Nations. "Resolution 1970 (2011)." United Nations. Last modified February 26, 2011. <https://www.icc-cpi.int/NR/rdonlyres/081A9013-B03D-4859-9D61-5D0B0F2F5EFA/0/1970Eng.pdf>.
- UN Security Council. "Resolution 1973 (2011)." North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Last modified March 17, 2011.
http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2011_03/20110927_110311-UNSCR-1973.pdf.
- The White House. "Fact Sheet: President Bush's Freedom Agenda Helped Protect The American People." The White House. <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/freedomagenda/>.
- . "National Security Strategy." The White House. Last modified February 2015. Accessed September 28, 2016.
https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf.
- . "National Security Strategy." The White House. Last modified May 2010. Accessed September 28, 2016. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2010.pdf>.
- . "The National Security Strategy." The White House. Last modified September 2002. <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2002/>.
- Wilson, Peter. "Idealism in International Relations." In *Encyclopedia of Power*, 332-33. Thousand Oaks, USA: SAGE, 2011.
[http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/41929/1/Idealism%20in%20international%20relations%20\(LSERO\).pdf](http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/41929/1/Idealism%20in%20international%20relations%20(LSERO).pdf).
- Yaqub, Salim. *Containing Arab Nationalism*. N.p.: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Younis, Mohamed, and Ahmed Younis. "Egyptian Opposition to U.S. and Other Foreign Aid Increases." Gallup. Last modified March 29, 2012.
http://www.gallup.com/poll/153512/Egyptian-Opposition-Foreign-Aid-Increases.aspx?g_source=arab%20spring&g_medium=search&g_campaign=tiles.

———. "Egyptians Sour on U.S., Eye Closer Ties to Turkey, Iran." Gallup. Last modified March 23, 2012. http://www.gallup.com/poll/153401/Egyptians-Sour-Eye-Closer-Ties-Turkey-Iran.aspx?g_source=arab%20spring&g_medium=search&g_campaign=tiles.