

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

N° :.....



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES
STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE
OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

Obama Presidency between Political Promises and Achievements

**Thesis Submitted to the Department of English in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Master Degree**

By: Neguez Khadidja
Boughrara Khawla

Academic Year :2016 /2017

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Publically defended before the following jury:

Mr. Bounaas	University of Msila	Chairperson
Mr. Tayoub Abd Elmajid	University of Msila	Supervisor
Mr. Thamour Abdelatif	University of Msila	Examiner

Academic Year : 2016 /2017

Declaration

I hereby solemnly declare that the work I am going to present in this thesis: *Obama Presidency between his Political Promises and Achievements*, is of my own and to limits of my knowledge has never been submitted before to any other institution or university or degree and all sources that I have used and quoted from have been indicated by means of complete references. This work is to be carried out and competed at M'sila University, Algeria.

NeguezKhadidja

Boughrarakhawla

Dedication

*To the realization of this work we are sincerely
thankful to many persons. We owe a great debt of
gratitude and respect, to our dear parents
whose love and affection werevery helpful for that particularly.*

Great thanks to our dear sisters and

*Our dear brothers whose
encouragement and optimistic outlook helped a lot.*

*And to all our teachers whose giving us a clear base
of work.*

*We offer this fruit to all my friends especially
to whom we wish all the best.*

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*We thank ALLAH for the help he has given us the courage
to be able to reach one of the important goals in our life.*

*We would like to express our sincere thanks, and our deep
sense of indebtedness to our supervisor,*

Mr.Tayoub Abd Elmajid

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*We wish to express particular thanks to all teachers of the
English Department at M'SILA University.*

*Also to all our teachers from the primary school up to
university.*

Abstract

This work outlines some of the most important promises made by candidate Barack Obama during his electoral campaign, and his major achievements when he took office. Furthermore, it defines how the American governmental system works? And how the decision making process is arranged in the United States white house?

This paper shows the gap between proclaimed objectives and actual behaviors in the light of the difficulty of the decision making process especially in the case of the USA as a world leading power. The aim of this study is to analyze Obama's presidency .And to demonstrate under which conditions the process of decision making is undertaken in the united state government .what affect it? And to which extent is the president able to execute his orders?

The president's orders in the United States are constrained by many obstacles. Among them the lobbyist, the stakeholders, the congress, the republicans ...etc these latter could affect any American president because they lie in the United States governmental system. Accordingly a descriptive analytical approach is chosen to carry out this work as it helps in showing the promises and achievements that were made by Obama. Moreover, this research will look to almost all constraint that faced Obama from fulfilling his promise in an analytical way.

المخلص

الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو تحليل عهدة باراك اوباما منذ بداية الحملة الانتخابية ومقارنة نسبة الانجازات إلى كمية الوعود المقدمة في ضل صعوبة اتخاذ القرار في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية . يوجد الكثير من العوائق داخل نضام الحكم الأمريكي التي تتدخل وتضعب على الرئيس اتخاذ القرار سواء في السياسة الداخلية أو الخارجية.منها تأثير الصراع الحزبي بين الجمهوريين والديمقراطيين بالإضافة إلى تدخل اللوبيات وأصحاب المصالح في الإطاحة بصناعة القرار الأمريكي . هذه العوامل تؤثر على كافة الرؤساء الأمريكيين على حد سواء .

List of Abbreviations

ACA: Affordable Care Act.

AFL-CIO: The American Federation of Labor Congress of Industrial organization

AFPAK: Afghanistan Pakistan policy.

AJA: The American Jobs Act.

AIPAC: The American Israeli Public Affairs Committee.

ARRA: The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act.

CBO: Nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office.

CIA: the central intelligence agency.

CISADA: Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, and Divestment Act.

EITs: enhanced interrogation techniques.

ISIS: Islamic State of Iraq and Syria.

IAEA: The International atomic Emergency agency.

NATO: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NFIB: National Federation of Independent Business.

NSC: The National Security Council.

The P5+1 group: the five permanent UN Security Council members plus Germany.

TPP: The Trans-Pacific Partnership.

TTIP: Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership.

WTO: World trade organization

U.S: United States

UN: United Nation

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General Introduction

General Introduction

America is a country that prides upon being a democratic government; it considers itself different from the other governments in the world. America holds a federal constitutional republic associating fifty states, and it is regulated by a system of “checks and balances”, which is defined in the United States constitution. Moreover, this federalist system is distinguished among three levels of government where no one may serve in more than one branch at the same time. This political system is dominated and centered by the president.

“President” is the common title of the head of states of most republics. He/she is the most influential individual in America, whom supposed to take the responsibility of changing, transforming the invincible tasks and dealing with events both at home and abroad. The president is granted wide latitude to lead his nation to the brightest ranks. Usually the president follows the constitution.

America have witnessed many presidents through it history. Among them was Barack Obama. He was African American and the forty fourth president. When he took office in 2008, he inherited series of problems and crises from his predecessor that he has vowed to handle, in his turn, he introduced a set of bills seeking to bring change and new beginning to America.

The main aim of this study is to demonstrate the factors that prevented Obama from executing his orders, and more importantly to illustrate the deteriorating relationship between the American president and the congress, and how it impacted his decision making. In other words, this study will show how American governmental system contributes in weakening president performance.

Accordingly, the main research question that can be raised to guide this study is whether Barack Obama was capable of implementing his vision of change in America? What were the conditions that hindered him from totally and executing his agenda?

Obama presidency was one of the most discussed subjects among writers. One of them is Zaki Laïdi, his paper is entitled “*Limited Achievements Obama’s Foreign Policy*” which focused only on an assessment of Obama’s campaign. Then, he discussed a comparison involves the linkage of former president Jimmy Carter to Obama, then with Woodrow Wilson in terms of foreign policy strategy.

An additional work by Eugenio Lilli under the title “*New Beginning in US-Muslim Relations President Obama and the Arab Awakening*”, sheds light on president Barack Obama pledge to reorient the United States’ foreign policy in the region of the greater Middle East. In order to assess the first term foreign policy of president displayed continuity or change compared to that of United States administration.

Underlying the two works, it is noticeable that they are limited to some extent by focusing much more on one aspect over the other does not yet extend far enough to sufficiently address and cover all the aspects of this topic .

This paper seeks to determine under what conditions a president can implement his promises and realize his goals? To answer this research question, a descriptive analytical approach is chosen to carry out this work as it helps in showing the promises and achievements that were made by Obama. Moreover, this research will look to almost all constraint that faced Obama from fulfilling his promise in an analytical way.

Data were collected from different reliable resources including books, dissertations, web sites and recent articles published in magazines, journals, and newspapers.

This study is divided into two chapters: the first one develops a brief biography of president Barrack Hussein Obama as a background on Barack the person, on his political views and background education before coming to office. In addition, a list of the most important promises given by Obama during the electoral debates is provided.

The second chapter provides a list of Obama's main achievements in the white house. And examines "the Obama decision making process" providing some of the most important constraints that hindered him from executing his domestic or international agenda. This chapter will focus mainly on Obama's decision making as a case study where the major factors faced Obama like: the republicans, the stakeholder, lobbyist, and the role of media and president personality are stressed. This can be reached partially by giving attention to many critics who evaluated both of Obama's presidency and America's government system of check and balance.

Chapter One: Obama's Promises and Plans

Chapter One: Obama's Promises and Plans

1.1 Introduction

The United States of America experienced series of dilemma that affected its economy, politics, and society. One of its problems was launching war on Iraq during George W. Bush presidency. This event, without any doubt, impacts Americans' perspective which has marked a change in Americans' criteria following the choice of the president. Therefore, in 2008, people have selected Barack Hussein Obama as a president, who seemed different from his predecessor bringing many changes to America and putting his nation into a glory position.

Barack was the forty fourth and the first African American president to govern the white house. He was raised in a multi racial family and society, in a very simple and modest environment with his mother and grandmother. Obama entered a very respectful and admired schools and colleges, he was very intellectual, loved reading, and education. He was a writer as well and published many books. He was politically active and was elected as Illinois' senator. He was also active in the human rights domain.

During his electoral campaign, candidate Obama gave countless promises that targeted all the significant sections of his agenda including economical, social and foreign policies. He was actively engaged in fulfilling them when he took office in 2008.

To conclude, this chapter deals with Senator Barack Obama before his nomination to the presidential elections through shedding light on the most important promises made by him and promoted by his party during the presidential debates.

1.2 Biography

Obama, unlike the previous United States presidents, was a unique candidate with his Muslim background and African origins. As Barack Obama said “I have a Muslim member of my family. I have lived in Muslim countries”. He was born in Hawaii on August, 4, 1961. Barack Obama did not have a perfect or traditional childhood. He was raised by his mother and grandmother. However, his father was Kenyan and was absent from his life. Obama got married to Michelle Robinson in 1992. And had two daughters Malia and Sasha(Price 81).

According to Joann . F Price, in his book,”*Barak Obama Biography*”, Obama was like a pilgrim, grew in a mixed race. As Obama wrote “I was raised as an Indonesian child and a Hawaiian child and as a black child and as a white child. And so what I benefit from is a multiplicity of cultures that all fed me” (17). He was passionate and simple in his personality. As Obama wrote about himself:

There are times when I want to do everything and be everything. I want to have time to read and swim with the kids and not disappoint my voters and do a really careful job on each and every thing that I do. And that can sometimes get me into trouble. That’s historically been one of my bigger faults. I mean, I was trying to organize Project Vote at the same time as I was writing a book, and there are only so many hours in a day (Price 51).

He wrote many books; among them “Hope and Audacity” and “Dreams from my father”. In his book “Dreams from my father”. He described his life from his birth until he left for college in California (11). His mother advised him to be proud of his origins that “To be black was to be the beneficiary of a great inheritance, a special destiny, glorious burdens that only we were strong enough to bear.”(14)And in his book,“Hope and Audacity”; He talked about his memory when he got an office

“that the day was a “beautiful blur” The sun was bright and the day was unseasonably warm as he and his new colleagues raised their right hands to take the oath of office.”(69)

In term of education, he graduated from prestigious Ponahou School, a college preparatory program in 1979. Obama’s family was not rich (13), but they valued education and this was the main reason that encouraged him to attend higher universities in the continental United States. His mother was a source of inspiration for him, and she encouraged him to complete his study. Moreover, his education would continue to influence him in his early carrier, both as a community organizer in the south side of Chicago and as law instructor at the University of Chicago (50).

Politically speaking, Barak Obama became the senator of Illinois. In1993, Barack worked for a public interest law firm where he worked as a civil rights attorney on employment, discrimination, fare, housing, and voting right issues (68).In 1996, he was elected to the Illinois state as democratic senator; presenting the Illinois, He was known by his committed liberal and progressive democracy. As senator, Barak Obama had worked on welfare committed, public health and local government committees when he had a prominent role in drafting bipartisan legislation and health care reform (55).

Obama also worked on such issues as calling for rights, or gun control .While in Springfield, Obama usually worked hardly all of day (55). He could introduce sixty five bills, fourteen was passed as laws. He worked also on company that compensated crime for its losses. Obama ‘success in senate referred to his ability to reach across political parties lines. Barack presented republicans to go along to legislative bills. As the director of the public police institute at southern Illinois claimed “Obama had ability to work with people of opposition party and his ideas was impressed”

However, UIL.Williams, a lobbyist in Springfield, Illinois, and a former state representative, said that Barack “came with a huge dose of practicality,” and characterized Barack’s attitude as, “O.k. that makes teaching constitutional law” (56). By 1999, Barack made the decision to enter the race for the U.S elections. (56)

Obama had faced a criticism because of his race; like Bobby Rush as representative a former Black Panther and a community activist well known on Chicago's South Side, portrayed Barack as an overeducated technocrat from Harvard. And while Barack responded to Rush's cynicism about educational achievement, the question arose, for the first time, as to whether Barack was "black enough." Rush stated that Barack "hadn't been around the first congressional district long enough to really see what's going on," making racial identity an issue for the voters of Chicago's South Side. Barack lost the race by a two-to-one margin. (57)

Despite of his failure, Obama sought to win presidency; with his ability to connect with audience, smooth method in decision making and his open mind. Those qualities gave him a push to take seat in U.S. presidency. In 2008, he took office. As Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies shows that Obama success can be traced in part to his own exceptional qualities as well as a tide of anti republican sentiment in the warning day of Bush administration burden with war in Iraq and failure economy. Finally, according to Wayon and Stephen insist that the political position of Obama was reasonably favored. As a result, he garnered a healthy majority of the popular (52%) and the electoral vote 365. (8)

1.3 Obama's Promises and Plans

During his electoral debates, senator Obama have given countless promises that addressed almost all issues significant to this election. The senator's promises were varied and covered about all the classes of the American society (The Republican National Committee 01). Here are the most important promises that he made during the presidential debates ranging between national promises, economical promises and economical programs.

Senator Obama has made many promises to enhance the economical situation of his citizens. Concerning the economical situation and the programs running it, Obama has set "a net

spending cut”, where he will revise the entire federal budget and cut all the programs that don’t work or where there is misuse or extravagance in spending, by eliminating programs and through responsible budgeting. OBAMA: “And what I’ve proposed, you’ll hear Senator McCain say, well, he’s proposing a whole bunch of new spending, but actually I’m cutting more than I’m spending so that it will be a net spending cut. (The Republican National Committee 02)

One of his priorities as senator and candidate for presidency was to free Americans from foreign oil through dedicating fifteen billion dollar investment, and over ten years he would free America from Middle Eastern oil. Obama: “So we’ve got to deal with that right away. That’s why I’ve called for an investment of \$15 billion a year over 10 years. Our goal should be, in 10 year’s time, we are free of dependence on Middle Eastern oil.” (The Republican National Committee 14)

From the promises he made, that he would “jumpstart the American economy” through a plan, where he will provide working families by 1,000 \$ as rebates that would be paid for by a tax on the excessive profits of oil companies (Obama 08-03). Obama said:

Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost; jobs shed; businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly; our schools fail too many; and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet (Bureau of International Information Programs 04).

1.3.1 Providing Labor

As for Barak Obama plans in his unemployment' task, he saw that Americans need a government that stands up for hopes, values, interests of working people, and give every willing to work hard for the chance to make the most of their god given potential. He also supports job creation and wanted to devote 50 billion to jumps try helping economic growth, preventing another one member jobs from being lost. He believes that the US government should expand the federal funding for basic research to create high paying secure jobs; he will also invest in education, training and workforce development.

Obama also pledged to raise the minimum wage for people who work full time to increase the earned income tax credit to ensure that the Americans can pay for their basic needs. Moreover, he encourages the workers' ability to organize union and he will fight to pass the employee free choice act. He calls for ending the exploitation practice on employers wrongly misclassifying workers (Deval et al. 09).

1.3.2 Supporting Trade

Obama also engaged to fight for fair trade in the USA, through a trade policy to support good American jobs. He will use trade agreements to spread good labor. He also promised to pressure World Trade Organization to enforce trade agreements and stop unfair government subsidies to foreign exporters and non tariff barriers on US exports. And it also safeguards American workers, business, and farmers from unfair trade practices including currency manipulation, violence of workers' rights (Deval et al. 26).

1.3.3 Environmental Promises

Obama also have given environment a great importance in his electoral campaign, and promised that he would implement Cap and Trade program to reduce green house gas emissions, and to

develop effective solutions for climate change. He will also invest in clean energy to create new green jobs. He set a plan to reduce electricity use from the department of energy (Deval et al 17).

Obama stated: If we can get that right, then we can move in a direction not only of energy independence, but we can create 5 million new jobs all across America, including in the heartland where we can retool some of these plants to make these highly fuel-efficient cars and also to make wind turbines and solar panels, the kinds of clean energy approaches that should be the driver of our economy for the next century(Deval et al 17).

1.3.4 Educational Promises

“Making college costs more affordable” is another targeted promise that Obama focused on in his campaign and he insisted on making every young person able to go to college, by proposing 4,000\$ tuition credit in exchange for community service time. Obama promised to ensure the tax credit availability to families at the time of enrollment by housing prior year and simplify the application process for financial aid as well as streamline the financial aid process by eliminating the current federal financial aid application and replacing it with a more practical and less complex one.

Obama intended to strengthen American universities, community college, and high institution in order to foster amount their graduate skills, for increasing economic competition. Institution of high learning would produce highly skilled graduates in science technique, engineering, and inventive workers science and teaching. Finally, Obama called for passing an American Competence Act which ought to be implemented. He also believed that Americans ought to be responsible in time of crisis and transformational economy.

And I think it's important for us to make college affordable. Right now, I meet young people all across the country who either have decided not to go to college or if they're going to college, they are taking on \$20,000, \$30,000, \$50,000, \$60,000 worth of debt, and it's very difficult for them to go into some fields, like basic research in science, for example, thinking to themselves that they're going to have a mortgage before they even buy a house. (The Republican National Committee 12)

1.3.5 Social Promises

Obama's health care plan was an essential strategy to recover all American issues which would repair family, education, economy, science, technology' crisis Etc. It was essentially made of lowering the cost of the premiums up to 2,500\$ a year, and if people already have a health care insurance and they like it they can keep it.

1.3.6 Housing Crisis

American houses have been destroyed for many years. Obama also was interested in housing problems. He would ensure to pass the foreclosure principle. He calmed Americans especially minorities who were once suffering to help them to get a help and hopeful stay in their homes. In form of bankruptcy; national law was going to restore a balance between lender and homeowner rights. He promised also to pass an act of "Homebuyers" Bill of Right. Included an establishing new lending criteria to ensure the loan are affordable for all nations .

Another act would be passed was housing fund. Stand for development and preservation of housing in mixed income high neighborhoods. Through the country, it worked also to end housing discrimination and to guarantee an equal house opportunity. He also promised that he would help people

to keep their houses during the "foreclosure crises" and that he would not rise the taxes posed on middle class (for those making less than 250,000\$) even a dime. (The Republican National Committee 21-22)

1.3.7 Preventing Gun's Possession

During his campaign, Barrack Obama has stated that the firearms were easily used by criminals. Through his campaign, he had promised to reform the federal gun law "Tiahart amendment". The previous one was passed, in order to hinder law enforcement and hides crime gun in addition to that, he supported a ban on carrying guns in public. Moreover, in the campaign of platform he promised of strengthening the Brady law by closing the gun show loophole. He insisted that it is necessary that we should keep firearm out hands of people of mental health problems or young people or criminals. Obama ensures that the law will be enacted as soon as possible. He encouraged the officers to use every tool they need to overcome gun crimes problems and to fight the illegal arms trade. Finally, Obama address his gun promise just to reduce gun violence and make a peace in American society (Vice et al. 2-3).

1.3.8 Promises Addressed to the Americans Living Overseas

Obama gave a plenty of promises to the Americans living abroad, among them the fact that he would support them economically and provide them with assistance and help them while they are working abroad, he also promised that his government policies will cause them no problem. He also will protect and secure them within their new societies overseas by making U.S state department corporate with U.S embassies and consulates to ensure that embassy's officials are well trained to guarantee a more secure society to these citizens.

Obama as president will also grant citizenship to the American's children born abroad, his administration will work with American embassies to guarantee that children born to American parents out of America held the American nationality and citizenship. He is also committed to afford Americans

living overseas their rights to vote in a transparent process, he completely supports the Overseas Vote Act, the Overseas Voting Practical Amendments Act of 2007, and he will carry the funding of such acts. They will be counted in the US census since they were denied such rights. He also pledged to go on in a dialogue with various embassies to ensure that Americans living abroad are enjoying their full rights as American citizens (Obama 01).

1.4 International Promises

As soon as Obama won the elections, he started to work on his campaign promises concerning foreign policy, this latter was built upon five main goals that are: 1. Ending war in Iraq, 2. Focusing more on fighting terrorists groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan. 3. The disarmament process from nuclear weapons, 4. Energy security and climate change combat, 5. Reconstructing alliances and engaging with the rest of the world. These goals were set to confront the risks and the challenges of the twenty first century (Pasternak 03). Obama, in one of his speeches said:

I will focus this strategy on five goals: ending the war in Iraq responsibly; finishing the fight against al Qaeda and the Taliban; securing all nuclear weapons and materials from terrorists and rogue states; achieving true energy security; and rebuilding our alliances to meet the challenges of the 21st century (Bureau of International Information Program 38).

1.4.1 End the War in Iraq

Obama's policy toward Iraq was very obvious from the very beginning, and upon taking office. He gave his military commanders a new mission in Iraq which is to end the war and the recession of American troops from Iraq. As Obama announced "to renew American leadership in the world, we must first bring the Iraq war to a responsible" in that meaning, Obama's first agenda was to end Iraqis'

war as the unnecessary war to America in order to maintain their security. In addition, Obama and his advisor took first responsibility to protect the nation and to uphold it into highest positions (Pasternak 03). As Obama stated:

Every nation and every group must know—whether you wish America good or ill—that the end of the war in Iraq will enable a new era of American leadership and engagement in the Middle East. This does not lessen our commitment. We are going to be enhancing that commitment to bring about a better day in that region, and that era has just begun (Simpson 05).

Obama's strategy was not only to end the war however; he attempted to protect American diplomats and Iraqis. He promised that he would not build permanent bases in Iraq rather he would keep another residual force on ground in a counter terrorism mission. And if Iraqis wanted to create their own security forces, the American army would train them. Obama also launch a political reconciliation process among Iraqis, as Iraqi leaders move toward it and get away from sectarianism (Pasternak 03).

One of the top principles of Obama is to assist Iraqi refugees and combat Al-Qaida and Taliban. Obama will also launch an inclusive regional and international diplomatic surge to Iraqis politicians. And establish a political settlement which is the only way to a permanent peace in Iraq. He clarified that he is not willing to establish constant bases in there. And he supports Iraqi government to dedicate their oil revenues to reconstruct and develop Iraq (Blueprint 71).

1.4.2 Fighting Terrorist in Afghanistan and Pakistan

Obama has been calling for more troops and resources for the mission in Afghanistan. Obama will refocus on the greatest threat to the security the resurgence of Qaeda and Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Deval et al. 29). Obama called in his speech "I want the American people to understand

that we have a clear and focused goal: to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al-Qaida in Pakistan and Afghanistan” (Blueprint 61).

Obama would end the war in Iraq responsibly and focus on the right battlefield in Afghanistan. He will deploy at least two additional combat brigades and \$1 billion in additional non-military aid to Afghanistan. He will condition U.S. military aid to Pakistan on their making progress to close down training camps, evict foreign fighters and prevent cross border attacks. He will ensure U.S. military aid provides the Pakistani Army the training and capability to go after the Taliban and al Qaeda. If the United States has actionable intelligence on the location of high value terrorist targets like Osama bin Laden and Pakistan would not or cannot act on it (deval et al 30).

Obama and his advisor claimed that through cooperation with other governments, terrorism must be fought. And not only focusing on terrorist in Pakistan and Afghanistan, but on terrorist all around the world especially those who plan to attack America. They must be found and defeated in their asylums following a specific set of plans to overthrow them using both soft and hard powers. Obama’s plan for mutual aid with the other countries will include financial issues as well sharing information, funding for training, operations, border security, anti-corruption programs, technology, and targeting terrorist financing (deval et al 30).

1.4.3 Nuclear Weapons

Concerning the nuclear weapons, Obama’s plan was to abolish nuclear weapons acquirement and development in the world. In his speech that was passed in the Czech capital, Prague, in April 2009, when he requested for “global zero” which became truly acknowledged, he announced his program to free the world from the threat of nuclear weapons and he pursued that America was the only nation which had used a nuclear weapon. Furthermore, Obama and his follow country man noticed that this goal will not be reached quickly; Obama had a bold agenda to reduce the threat of nuclear

proliferation. He would secure loose nuclear materials from terrorists in four years, and lead the world toward the goal of eliminating nuclear weapons (Futter 14). As Obama declared:

We will work with other nations to secure, eliminate, and stop the spread of nuclear weapons and materials to dramatically reduce the dangers to our nation and the world. There are nuclear weapons materials in 40 countries, and we will lead a global effort to work with other countries to secure all nuclear weapons material at vulnerable sites within four years. We will work with nations to increase security for nuclear weapons. We will convene a summit in 2009 (and regularly thereafter) of leaders of Permanent Members of the U.N. Security Council and other key countries to agree on implementing many of these measures on a global basis (Deval et al. 31-32).

1.4.4 Climate Change

Climate change represents one of the greatest challenges to the American nation. Because of its huge production of the green house gas, America have to reduce its greenhouse emissions across the country and replace it by fossil fuel with clean burning renewable and bio fuels. Barack Obama strategy was to reengage with the UN Framework convention on climate change the main international forum of the world's largest emitters to focus exclusively on global energy and environmental issues (Pasternak 05).

1.4.5 Reconstructing Alliances and Engaging With the Rest of the World

“Global Rebalance” was another priority for Obama as president, where he sought to rebuilt American alliances and engage with the rest of the world, including Cuba and easing the diplomatic relations with it, negotiating Iran's nuclear deal as well as emphasizing two great trade investments; The

Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) with Europe and Asia (Pasternak 05).

Unlike His predecessor, Obama sought to return his relationship with his allies in order to work together and to solve all global problems. President Obama has adopted his new approach of multilateralism in foreign policy, with the argument that the United States cannot solve current challenges alone. He has called to use mixture of two strategies “*hard and soft powers*”, that he called “*smart power*” which is according to him a new strategy that proficiently uses, balances, and combine all, elements of American power, their military diplomacy, intelligence and law enforcement, their economy and the power of their moral example. This strategy works to readdress the relations with allies and the declining image of the United States abroad (Glenn 05).

1.4.6 Renewing Relations with Russia

In January 2009, the Obama Administration came to the White House having a clear attention in “resetting” the U.S.-Russian relations. Because of the importance of American and Russian relations, this was considered necessity for them. Rather, the relation rebuilding was under the title “Reset”, Dmitri Trenin in his paper “The Obama Administration's Policy toward Russia” claimed that Russian government was helping Obama in his plans in the world especially in his wars against Iraq and Afghanistan. For him, Russia also helped in the “nuclear arms control” that Obama reorientation to Russia was seen as tool in helping Barack Obama to deal with the two wars, the one he intended to end in Iraq and the other that he intended to carry on in Afghanistan, and to prevent another one that he was unwilling to launch against Iran. And with Reviving nuclear arms control with Russia helped advancing Barack Obama’s long term goal of eliminating nuclear weapons (3).

Moscow, which had been not a point of interest to the George W. Bush administration, and then irritated by U.S. support for NATO enlargement to include Ukraine and Georgia, was viewed by Obama’s as a source to be used to advance his new agenda. Yet he has also asserted, “Russia today is

not the Soviet Union, and we are not returning to the Cold War,” and called for an approach that recognizes the multifaceted nature of the U.S. relationship with Russia (Trenin 03).

1.4.7 Iran Nuclear Weapons

Obama would use aggressive and direct diplomacy to prevent the Iranian regime from developing a nuclear program. They would put an end to the failed policy that has let Iran develop its nuclear program and strengthen its position in the region, and force the Iranian regime to either end their nuclear program, or face an increased U.S. and multilateral pressure (Pasternak 04).

A policy of engagement was pursued by Obama that he was willing to negotiate with Iran without preconditions and he believes that the international community has not exhausted its non military options in dealing with Iran. These negotiations would aim to reach a “comprehensive settlement” whereby, in exchange for promises to give up its nuclear program. The United states would consider restoring diplomatic relations with Iran, economic investments, and Iran’s membership in international organizations such as the WTO (Glenn 04).

1.4.8 Africa

Electricity, infrastructure, information and technology are from the biggest problems Africans suffer from. Obama supported such projects and sought to refocus the relationship around trade. While Obama’s robust action to lead an international response to counter the Ebola outbreak in Western Africa gained him many plaudits. He had no mark achievement comparable to his predecessor’s, whom gave Emergency Plan for AIDS relief (PEP-FAR), which has been credited with saving millions of lives in Africa and with playing a key role in changing the direction of Sub-Saharan Africa’s AIDS epidemic (Pasternak 07). Speaking in Ghana during first visit to sub-Saharan Africa as president, Obama said:

I do not see the countries and peoples of Africa as a world apart; I see Africa as a fundamental part of our interconnected world, as partners with America on behalf of the future we want for all of our children. That partnership must be grounded in mutual responsibility and mutual respect. We must start from the simple premise that Africa's future is up to Africans (Simpson 11).

1.4.9 Latin America and Cuban Relationship

Latin America or Cuba specifically which was considered for a long period an enemy, was taken differently under Obama's administration, by December 2014, Obama announced plan to normalize the relations with Cuba and restore the diplomatic ones (Nünlist 02).

1.4.10 Closing Guantanamo

Obama attended in his agenda to keep his nation secured, He would reject the Military Commissions Act, which allowed the U.S. to circumvent the Geneva Convention in the handling of detainees. He will develop a fair and thorough process based on the Uniform Code of Military Justice to distinguish between those prisoners who should be prosecuted for their crimes, those who can't be prosecuted but who can be held in a manner consistent with the laws of war, and those who should be released or transferred to their home countries. As for closing Guantanamo bay detention center, it was priority for Obama to close this detention and he considered it as "a symbol that helped al Qaeda recruit terrorists to its cause" and he would commit his administration for a new approach of national security and foreign policy (Amnesty International Publications 01).

1.4.11 Promoting Democracy in Islamic Countries

Obama's promise of change and hope that was passed throughout his electoral campaign was a source of hope to the Muslims around the world. In what became known as "yes we can" speech

as Obama claim “Yes we can, to justice and equality .yes we can to opportunity and prosperity ...yes we can repair this world, yes we can”(Lilli 03), President Obama public promise to set a new beginning in US Muslim relations would be remarked by his signature speech in Cairo. On 4 June, 2009, Obama stand and addressed Muslim audience at Cairo University, Egypt:

I am honored to be in the timeless city of Cairo ...We meet at a time of tension between the United States and Muslims around the world ...Tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a Cold War in which Muslim majority countries were too often treated as proxies without regard to their own aspirations. Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam ...This has bred more fear and mistrust ...This cycle of suspicion and discord must end ...I have come here to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world; one based upon mutual interest and mutual respect (03).

This speech will probably be remembered as the most celebrated example of President Obama’s public pledge to set a new beginning with the Muslim world. Nevertheless, Obama’s public outreach to Muslim communities started before Cairo’s speech. In January 2009, during his Inaugural Address, the US president had already told Muslims that the USA would “seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect.” After that, two months later in Ankara, while addressing the Turkish Parliament, President Obama declared that the United States of America is not in a state of war with neither Muslims nor Islam and the relationship will be built upon mutual help respect and Interest. Obama would listen to Muslim problems with awareness and overcome points of misunderstanding and

search for common interests and respect must be interchanged even when agreement does not exist (Lilli 04).

1.4.12 Palestine

Before Obama, American policies were always pro-Israeli, nevertheless with Obama's coming into the white house, he announced his new policy of a "Two State Solution" on the holy land and that the peace will not be achieved unless the Palestinian and Israeli agreed on the principles of freedom ,peace, and justice for Jews, Muslims, and Christians equally within Palestine. Obama announced his position to the case in Egypt Cairo in June 2009 claiming that: "Immediate steps must be taken by Israelis and Palestinians to contain the further deterioration of the situation". He also did not neglect the fact that Palestinian are suffering within their homelands and that they need help:

... it is also undeniable that the Palestinian people, Muslims and Christians, have suffered in pursuit of a homeland. For more than 60 years they have endured the pain of dislocation. Many wait in refugee camps in the West Bank, Gaza, and neighboring lands for a life of peace and security that they have never been able to lead. They endure the daily humiliations large and small that come with occupation. So let there be no doubt: the situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable. America will not turn our backs on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own (kalin 168).

Obama will make the Israeli-Palestinian conflict a key diplomatic priority. He will make a sustained push to support to achieve the goal of two states solution, a Jewish state in Israel and a Palestinian state, living side by side in peace and security.

1.4.13The Syria Crisis

Obama's reaction to the Syrian crises was that he asked Assad to resign by May 2011 and his policy was shown in his wish to pursue military action by September 2013. But it was delayed because of a Russian interference and attempt to disarm Assad from his chemical weapons. That's why Obama did not interfere claiming that he does not want to make Syria a place for proxy war between them, and he denounced Assad regime and his government and called for its end considering it as illegitimate. Obama reinforced his message in a public statement:

It's important for us to recognize that when over 1,000 people are killed, including hundreds of innocent children, through the use of a weapon that 98 or 99 percent of humanity says should not be used even in war, and there is no action, then we're sending a signal that that international norm doesn't mean much. And that is a danger to our national security (Patman 45-47).

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter focused on introducing and outlining Obama promises and plans. He made so many ambitious promises to the extent that he talked about restructuring and rebuilding America. After having the opportunity to be in office as president the most powerful country in the world, the question worth answering is whether he succeeded fully or partially in fulfilling his previously stated plans, especially after considering the decision making process constraints in America. Therefore, the next chapter will shed light on this question starting first by providing some of Obama's reign achievements and comparing them to the ambitious plans previously stated so that the constraints and difficulties which faced him can be clarified.

Chapter Two: An Assessment of Obama Presidency

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2.1 Introduction

In the United States of America, as in most democratic countries, there is a significant system of government. This latter control the governmental decisions through many systems, like the checks and balances. The main operators of decision making in the United States administration are the president and congress. The president sometimes succeeds in executing his bills, but just fails in other times due to many factors that hinder him from reaching his goal.

Domestic affairs have been always a major concern for the United States' presidents, and they have been constantly dedicating large plans to enhance their nation's situation. Obama's agenda for his American citizens was mainly set to solve the economical problems and to improve the social conditions. For this reason, in addition to the Affordable Care Act (ACA), many other acts and bills were passed to afford Americans with good health insurance. Throughout this chapter the ACA is going to be assessed and the light will be shed on some critics to see the reason of his failure although it was one of the most important project executed under Obama's administration and great efforts were committed to achieve it.

Foreign policy's decision was hindered by many factors like the congress, lobbyist, and media... etc. the aforementioned constraints contributed in preventing president Obama from executing his agenda all through some of the world wide problems , for instance Guantanamo closure ,Israeli Palestinian agreement , and trade agreement.

Obama was like any candidate apt for criticism before and after taking office. And all the way through his two terms, many critics attacked him and signified his weaknesses, when they often refer to him as weak president with weak personality; others said that he was another politician looking for grandiose winning. Furthermore, some see all weaknesses were behind the American governmental

system .which supposed to be based on the check and balance system. All these views and others are going to be stated at the end of this chapter.

2.2 Obama's Accomplishments

During his electoral debates and through his campaign, Obama set for himself different goals to be achieved upon taking office. Indeed, he has passed several acts and policies as president that was given by him as candidate for presidency. Here is a list of the several acts and policies conducted under Obama's administration in the white house:

2.2.1 National Achievements

2.2.1.1 Economical Achievements

The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), this act was conducted due to Obama's pressing the congress and was considered as the largest economic program. Where it provided Americans with 3, 6 million jobs (according to the Congressional Budget Office), and it kept American jobs from going overseas. In an attempt to repair his nation's infrastructure, and because he was committed to the ARRA, Obama thus proposed the American jobs act (AJA) which was made to give Americans new jobs and help public workers to keep their jobs by spending 140\$ billion on infrastructure. He also persisted on the "Buffet Rule" that is to tax the millionaires as the working classes and ensure that rich Americans will pay higher taxes than their workers (Afi-cio 01-03).

2.2.1.1.1 The Health Care Act

The affordable care act (ACA) provided American citizens with good health care where it eliminated companies from denying coverage for people due to pre-existing terms, and annual and lifetime coverage caps. ACA reduced the number of uninsured Americans by thirty three million. Obama committed himself and his administration to protect workers' rights and he set unions for the

workers to protect them in their works, he guaranteed that the worker's jobs would be kept if the federal contract for services changes hands, and he established a labor-management partnership council in the federal government (Deval et al. 09).

2.2.1.1.2 Obama and the Woman

From the most important bills that were passed by the obama administration to protect the feminine workers rights and fight wage discrimination is Lilly Ledbetter Pay Act of 2009. (Afi-cio 01-04).After signing this act in the east room of the white house, Obama stated this: "I sign this bill for my daughters, and all those who will come after us, because I want them to grow up in a nation that values their contributions, where there are no limits to their dreams and they have opportunities their mothers and grandmothers never could have imagined" (Simpson 03).

2.2.1.1.3 The Industrial Act

The changes that touched the financial sector were immense and the "Dodd Franck Law" was a major win to the workers and the middle class, it is a consumer protection agency. Thanks to Obama, the domestic auto industry has grown again and gave back 160,000 jobs and he also pushed the congress for three billion dollar to encourage car sales (Afi-cio 08).

2.2.1.2 Social Achievements

2.2.1.2.1 Housing

The housing crisis was a point of concern to Obama. That's why he set fifty billion dollar to help families face "Foreclosure crises". By 2011, he gave twelve months forbearance for unemployed citizens (09). The Credit Cardholder's bill of rights Act was set to protect Americans from credit card companies and their unjust activities and established a Consumer Financial Protection Bureau(Afi-cio 08).

2.2.1.2.2 Keeping Security

Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act is the first federal law set to protect people from attacks because of their gender, sexual orientation, gender identity or disability. Education Jobs and Medicaid Assistance Act saved and created 161,000 jobs and offered funding for public education and medical care (Afi-cio 08).

2.2.2 International Achievements

2.2.2.1 Ending the War in Iraq

One of the top foreign policy issues which gain success in Obama administration was ending the war of Iraq. At the beginning, Barak Obama was strongly against Bush “dumb” war against Iraq. He believes that the war was merely distraction unnecessary war to America. On his second day as president, Obama met with his advisors and ordered them to begin planning for U.S. troop withdrawals. President Obama called for a gradual redeployment of up to 30, 000 U.S. forces from Iraq to Afghanistan to improve security (Glenn 01).

2.2.2.2 Russian American Relations

In 2009, American Russian relation was “reset” successfully until election of Russian parliamentary election. The reset was through their the New Start Treaty for nuclear arms control; Moscow agreed to the deployment of US personnel and materiel to Afghanistan; the tightening of UN sanctions in the nuclear dispute with Iran gained Russian support for the Obama administration. NATO expansion into the post-Soviet space was no longer a priority; and in the UN Security Council, Moscow refrained from using its veto in the 2011 decision on an intervention in Libya.

2.2.2.3 Eliminating Osama Ben Laden

In order to keep eye on the terrorists' leader Osama Ben Laden, the U.S. had used a spy satellite to watch his compound in Pakistan before the attack process. Eventually, President Obama sent the Sea, Air and Land team (SEAL) to his cabinet to eliminate him. The plan was successful and the death of Ben Laden was finally achieved on May 2, 2011 after a fire shot. During a live television from The White House, Obama declared the death of Osama Ben Laden: "Today, at my direction, the United States launched a targeted operation against that compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan... The death of Ben Laden marks the most significant achievements to date in America nation's effort to defeat Al Qaeda (Amidon 78).

2.2.2.4 Drawdown of War in Afghanistan

On June 2011, the U.S. troops started to withdraw from Afghanistan. President Obama focused on the significance of transforming the Afghan security to the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF). On June 2012, he announced that the U.S. troops would be removed gradually. The US made decisions during the first eight years of the war in Afghanistan that ensured there were insufficient forces to deal with the insurgency from 2002-2008. This changed in 2009- 2010, but only until President Obama set a 2014 deadline. During 2011-2012, his decision had the result that the working plan went from creating an effective ANSF during 2014-2018 – where cost and manpower constraints were seen as conditions based on Transition in 2014 with limited outside support. Obama stated: "Our troops will continue coming home at a steady pace as Afghan security forces move into the lead. Our mission will change from combat to support. By 2014, this process of transition will be complete and the Afghan people will be responsible for their own security" (Tanwir 847).

2.2.2.5 Tightened Sanctions in Iran

On June 2010, President Barack Obama signed the “Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, and Divestment Act (CISADA)” this law was passed by the U.S. Congress to decrease the Iranian nuclear ambition. It applied sanctions on Iran and any organization involved in its nuclear program especially that Iran imports about 40% of its gasoline from other states. The law limited also the Iranian access to international bank system (Glenn 03).

2.2.2.6 Reducing the Number of Nuclear Weapons

It is clear that president Obama had tried to reduce the number of nuclear weapons in the world by having different agreement with countries such as Iran and Russia. At the beginning , the New START deal signed with Russia in 2010 was one more (albeit too small) step in the direction of a distant goal supported by the President: Global Zero (no nuclear) Although the treaty had in practice enabled Russia to increase the number of active nuclear delivery vehicles, perhaps the most important recent benefit of the treaty is the eighteen annual inspections of US and Russian nuclear sites – a welcome trust-building element in a relationship which is currently tenser than at any time since the Cold War. Iran and the P5+1 group agreed on the deal (the five permanent UN Security Council members plus Germany) to severely limit Iran’s nuclear program (Trenin 03).

Despite the achievements that Obama accomplished during his two terms. These accomplishments did not fully realize their major target of reconstructing America.

2.3 The Process of Policy Making in America

The United States is usually referred to as “constitutional federal republic”, that it is ruled by a constitution which is the “supreme law” in America, where there is both national government and the fifty states government .in which the power lies in the hands of people, whom choose their controller to

exercise such power .This latter is implemented by the president, congress members, state and local officers (Braddock Communicaions 03).

The Legislative (senate), executive (president), judicial (court) are the branches or component of the federal government. As the United States constitution defined it based on “Checks and balances” system, in which it check and balance cases ,laws ,and issues within the chambers and ensure that no branch execute much power over the other. The legislative and executive powers are limited by the constitution. The United States Supreme Court has the power to nullify any law in conflict with the constitution (Braddock Communicaions 04)

The legislative branch or the congress is composed of two chambers; the senate and the House of Representatives. Where a bill must pass by both chambers before being presented to the president to be signed into law, a bill is usually introduced by a senator or representative, whom look for support among his colleagues to give their initiative more credibility .A bill is first introduced in the senate or the house where it will be revised and voted on it, then passed to the president to sign it (Braddock Communicaions 09).

The executive branch’s head is the president just below him there is the vice president who is able to replace him if he dies, the president have the largest power in the government. He can appoint Supreme Court justices, judges, cabinet of the department secretaries, he is commander in chief of the military...etc (Braddock Communicaions 13).

The judicial branch is composed of the Supreme Court and the lower federal courts .It is independent from the other two branches and subject to the checks and balances system. Its main job is to ensure fairness and equal justice for all Americans (Braddock Communicaions 17).

The president and congressional leaders with the swing voters are the key elements in the process of policy making. This process starts with the president introduction of a new policy to replace the current one. Here starts the adventure, the president and his supporters propose their policy and the opponents

then offer a different proposal to oppose the other and finally all “law makers” vote and choose (Beckmann 30)

The American government’s two core elements that corporate in the process of decision making are the president and congress. The American constitution in this case is an institution that “shares” the power between the executive and legislative branches. The nowadays politics are so complicated that’s why these branches are in need of each other, but the president is the leader in such process and to do not abuse his power, under the American constitution the executive branch have to consult with the other branches before taking any decision and they must reach a compromise and agree, it set the rights and duties of each branch

The constitution also set rules to keep president under control and check it also gave the senate more rights concerning policy making and gave him the power to ratify all treaties of which requiring two thirds of the chamber’s votes to ratify a policy or a treaty this process is characterized being partisan, since neither party controls two thirds of the senate giving the congress a “veto” power over the president. One of the major factors that can constrain a decision is a filibuster and partisanship (Kronlund and Mäkinen 06).

According to Richard Synder, decision making is a process that is resulted in the socially defined limited number of problematical, alternative projects of one project intended to bring about the particular future state of affairs envisioned by the decision makers. According to Sidjanski decision making holders are men or women with power. This latter gave them the opportunity to make decision with major results which may fail or succeed. The failure in president’s decision making is due to crises prevailing during the time of the decision making and the pressure of public opinion and the climate (Kronlund and Mäkinen 05).

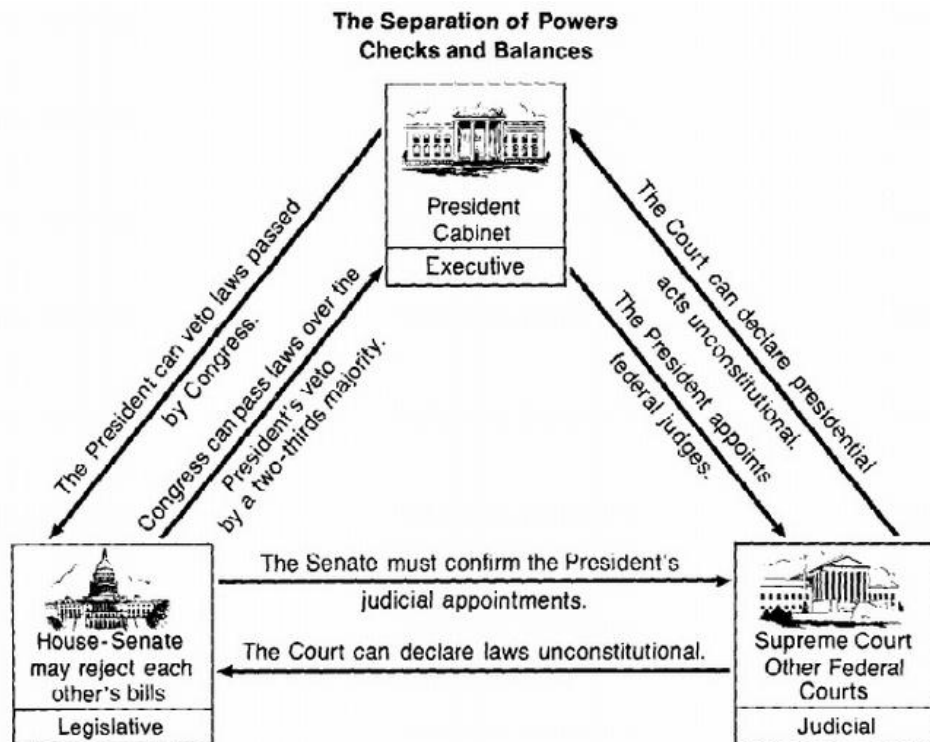


Figure 1. The separation of Powers in the United States (Douglas 37)

2.4 The Obstruction in Obama's Decision Making

When Obama came to the oval office, he proposed an agenda of change and welfare reform (international and national), nevertheless his decision making had faced a growing impact of partisan polarization on intergovernmental relations. Polarization is a broad phenomenon, one that has impacted the politics and policymaking of the United States., and contributed mostly in the decline of the president as the most cause that blocked and hindered Obama's decisions.

2.4.1 National Factors

2.4.1.1 The Republicans

The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010, the most prominent law introduced and passed by president Obama, was referred to by the republicans as "Obamacare". It is one of the most transformational promises made by candidate Obama that was meant to completely and radically reform

the American health care system, but many factors hindered this plan and lead to its failure. Here are some of the most significant institutional, societal and political factors that lead to its failure.

“Obama care” or “the affordable care act”, who is supposed to create more jobs, lower costs, reduce the deficit, permit Americans to keep their health insurance, protect retirees coverage, and ban tax payer funded abortion , when coming to the harsh reality none of these promises have been fully fulfilled. The question that might be asked where are the jobs that democrats have promised of, why costs get higher, why Americans lost their insurance? Obama and his team have done completely the opposite.

“...Republicans who branded the bill ‘Obamacare’ and warned it would trigger anunprecedented intrusion by Washington into people’s medical decisions. [...]“WhenDemocrats muscled the final version of the bill through the House of Representativesin a late-night vote, not one Republican voted for it” (Walsh 1).

Partisan division in congress was raised because of the controversial nature of the ‘Obamacare’ and the alleged lack of input requested by congregational republicans. They have stated that Obama is going to spend uncontrollably throughout his project that is why none of the republicans had voted to pass this bill. This led him to implement his policy, but it resulted in a series of critics from those concerned with government spending and intervention. The republicans later campaigned on repealing the bill(Carney 51).

The next cases show Obama’s failure in his health care project. And series of criticism produced by experts in the field and used by the republican to diminish this law and ban it.

2.4.1.1.1 Obama Care and Job Creation

According to Nancy Pelosi declaration at the white house health care summit, the patient affordable care act would create 400,000 jobs. 231,000 jobs were created, but “job growth in the health

care section actually declined”, and the private sector job creation fell down to just 41,000. Instead of making more jobs the ACA hefty “tax hikes” and its burdensome mandates on business made the return to work much harder (Boehner 04).

Economist Fuchtgott-Roth warned that the health care bill eliminates jobs, reduces hours, and limits job creation. Its total ‘size’ and ‘cost’ will definitely make a larger part of the economy under governmental control and enlarge government spending. It will rise taxes diminish incentives health care services, medical devices and innovation in pharmaceuticals would be hindered because of the government control over the insurance premiums and health expenditures. US employer declared that the tremendous tax increases caused by the health care bill would possibly damage the country’s economy as soon as possible. They also alarmed the congress from losses in millions (Boehner 04).

Chris Larsen said that companies like “AT&T” will have raised health care costs and thus fewer earnings, unless they give smaller amount their employees. Another analyst Chetan Sharma described the affordable care act as a reflection of real value destruction; it is having an effect on the ‘bottom line’ which could cut jobs (Boehner 05).

2.4.1.1.2 Increasing Costs

A typical family premium would be lowered by 25,000\$ was one of candidate Obama’s promises. The ACA have been confirmed by experts that it increase premiums and prevent families and small businessmen from affording it. Obama’s administration Medicare alarmed that manufacturers and importers of ‘brand name prescription drugs’ and ‘health insurance plans’ would be imposed by collective annual fees. Manufacturers and importers of medical devices had an excise tax on non-personal use retail sales, and those are going to be passed to Americans as higher prices and premiums (Boehner 10).

According to Brett Sesker, the increase is caused by the law added benefits reporting recruitments and early provisions that take effect as health insurance policies were renewed. Americans with employer provided health care have to share the biggest part of the expense (11).

2.4.1.1.3 Increasing the Deficit

Obama have clearly stated that his ACA would not add even one more dime on the deficit, which was totally the contrast because it was confirmed by experts that it increased the nation's massive debt burden. According to the congressional budget office (CBO) the rising cost of the health care act will not eliminate rather it would impose more pressure on the federal budget. Richard Forster estimated that the health care spending will increase by 311\$ dollar over the next ten years, and even worse. The Medicare warned that this number is only at the beginning and it could increase. The Columbus Dispatch have described it as 'Malpractice' and a 'tragedy' that should be calculated normally before not after the law was passed (Boehner 13).

2.4.1.1.4 Taxes and Middle Class Families

Middle class Americans were promised by Obama that no family making less than 250,000\$ will witness tax increases under his new plan. This what Obama pledged to meanwhile. The Washington Times reported that three million Americans will be penalized for not getting health insurance under Obama's administration and some families earn less than 250,000\$ have had increases in their taxes . Congressional budget office analysis declared that penalty will be more than 1,000\$ (Boehner16).

2.4.1.1.5 Americans with Old Health Plan

"You can keep your health care plan if you like it", those were obama's words, he was very clear and straight to the point when he addressed Americans and told them they can keep their old plans for health care .but under the new law (Obamacare) more than 87% Americans could lose access to their current health care plan . There was a document was released by mid June that imposes "Obamacare" mandates on employers and force them to abide it if they made some changes to their existing plan. It was a nightmare for the Americans when the Obama administration Medicare actuary reported that millions of Americans may lose their employer insurance under the law program or had a subsidized insurance through the exchange (Boehner 17).

2.4.1.1.6 Seniors Benefits

Obama at the signing ceremony addressed seniors saying that these reforms would not cut the benefits they had. Cutting hundreds of billions of dollars from seniors Medicare benefits to create new unsustainable entitlement program claiming that it would not affect retirees is not the best thing to state. Obama's administration to some few lucky seniors checks and they neglected the fact that ten Medicare beneficiaries will not receive one of these checks. All these would not hide the fact that 'obamacare' was designed to serve Washington special interest groups. This plan does not only harm American retirees, it also prevent them from their Medicare advantage, it cuts higher than half trillion dollars from Medicare Advantages program that serves nearly eleven million seniors. (Boehner 20)

According to experts, these cuts will lead American seniors to suffer from higher costs, reduced beneficiaries and fewer health care choices. The non partisan congressional budget office had declared that the advantages benefits Medicare value would fall by 816\$ under the Obama new law which would force seniors out of Medicare advantage and end up with them paying higher costs. Medicare actuary determined that due to the laws cuts providers (hospitals, nursing homes) might end their participation in the program. According to the Houston chronicle, one of out of six could be operating at losses by 2019. In Texas, Medicare patients have been ignored by over three hundred doctors, many insurance companies are planning to increase costs for a range of services for seniors next year (Boehner 44).

To end up this latter fueled bipartisanship in the government because of the fact that not a single republican vote for passage of the ACA, which is considered failure for Obama because he was willing to end bipartisanship and unite the two parties on one side which made him look weak and ineffectual (Boehner 44).

2.4.1.2 Stakeholders

Stakeholders are group of people who have vested interest in maintaining the current situation in Washington. To do this, the stakeholders resist and fight any trial to transform the system in such a way

that could cause less benefit for them. They were one of the most important sides in the debate over the health care reform. Because it is one of the fundamental attempt made by Obama to engage in transformational change, the Obama health care plan was very unfavorable and damaging for the insurance companies because it did not suit their finance and cause them many problems and because of their financial resources and their support for congressmen. These companies are considered stakeholders since they have fixed advantage in keeping the current state (Carney 48). According to Jacobs and King

Stalemate on candidate Obama's agenda for reform of labour and climate change, for example, has often been chalked up to Obama's leadership failings. Yet neglected in these accounts are the organizational advantages of stakeholders and institutional rules (such as the Senate filibuster) that favor defenders of the existing political/economic status quo and disadvantage reformers and the less well established (Carney 795)

Jacobs and King in Andrew D.Carney paper affirmed that one of Obama's deadlocks were the stakeholders whom strongly opposed any attempt made by president Obama for change or reform because they are against their advantages and will harm the benefit of their organizational interests.

Stakeholders were experts at organizing anti Obamacare campaign to persuade Americans about the ineffectiveness of Obamacare and that it is harmful for their personal liberties and that its total costs will negatively affect the deficit and that Obama is not focused on the economy (Carney 50).

2.4.1.3 The Tea Party

The Tea Party is an "anti Obama group", that its escalation marked the beginning of an aggressive opposition to Obama's policies claiming that his spending was uncontrollable and irrational. The American Reinvestment and Recovery Act, that was passed by congress was seen by Obama's opponents as governmental intervention in American's free market economy. Tea Party leaders described Obama's

acts, bills and his health care reform as “an economic terrorist attack”. Although it was politically active before, the tea party have not intensify until the signing of the affordable care act, where they led protests all over America because they believe it increases governmental spending (Carney 52).

2.4.1.4 The Gun violence

The phenomenon of gun violence is increasingly killing people in the United States of America. During Obama’s administration, eight incidents ended with fifty eight deaths during one month due to the guns were committed in such horrible way in massive shooting. Obama and his administration totally ignored the issue and the news called the president “gun shy”. Obama also has neglected many other events that could profit from them and announce some “reform” on gun laws that might change the status quo.

Many crimes are committed under gun violence since Obama’s access to the white house but his silence especially in front of big shooting and tremendous casualties like the Bringhamton New York shooting, where he just gave some note on the issue and failed to make any comment to oppose or stop gun violence. Obama have declared before that violence is unacceptable in a ceremony in 2007, challenging the lobby in the public to stop gun violence, but his silence and passivity has allowed gun lobby to move their agenda forward. Incidents and he failed to show leadership on gun issue (Vice et al. 19-20)

Instead of fulfilling his promises of closing the gun show loophole repealing Tiahrt amendment, Obama, during his first year in office, signed the gun lobby agenda into law which allowed people to take guns to national parks. He also used Tiahrt language that require destruction of the Brady law . In addition, he did not reform any weak law as he promised (Vice et al. 2).

2.4.2 International Factors

In 2008, the United States has experienced a harsh economic crisis and wars. This required Obama to solve the problems of his nation and was asked to make decision quickly. In such times, the reflexive call is for a new and better leadership. Barak Obama answered the call to present himself as a transformational leader who would fundamentally change the policy and politics of America. Finally, and over years, Obama's administration has not succeeded. This was because of his misleading policy that broken his promises. As result, a lot of assessment and critics concluded that he was the worst president in his foreign decision making.

The question that should be answered what were the main obstacles that faced Barak Obama during his presidency with a big insistence on the foreign policy decisions making? In order to find out the constraints, this paper is going to examine different cases of Obama's 'decision making' starting with closing Guantanamo, revival of American and Europeans relationship focusing on Russia, then focusing on trade policy, and finally showing the Israel and Palestine agreement. In addition, some light is shed on the role of media and personality on Obama presidency as well as some criticisms against Obama decision making.

2.4.2.1 Detainee Policy

On January 22, President Barak Obama delegated to close the Guantanamo bay. After days he issued an executive order by directing the central intelligence agency (CIA) to involve to the policies specialized in the army field manual on interrogation; all of which correspond with the Geneva conventions "no" Enhanced Interrogation Techniques (EITs) could be used in inquest. Following his first term presidency, Obama decided to prosecute some Guantanamo detainees in the federal court and to contract the trial of Khalid sheik Mohamed in New York City. However, Republicans as most opponents to Obama attacked every decision he made. In addition, political forces which made him change his position trial for terrorism suspects (Pfiffner 249).

In the spring of 2009, the preventing of Guantanamo closure had been started when the congress had passed an act with bipartisan support to supplemental spending the bill that announced to drop the 80 million; it prohibited bringing the detainees into the United States. Despite of series of campaigns that addressed to counter mistreatment of detainees, vice president Cheney and other Bush administration officials severely criticized Obama of abjuration of EITs and complied him for threatening the security of nation. The use of EITs in Bush era angered Obama whom he moved to release several memoranda of EITs. Director Michael Hayden of CIA accepted and sought to help Obama for the issue of detainees. In response to that Emanl and politicians of white house exhorted the president from the danger of his action which would bring black shot in the nation (Pfiffner 261).

As JohanesTheninputs it, Obama in his Guantanamo policy, faced a strong defeat from the opposition leader “the republican party” whom has seized the issue of Guantnamo to accuse the president of being weak and naïve in the fight against terrorism. In order to nullify the obama’s policy (the number of bills intended to prevent detainees) which have been introduced in congress, by using its budget power on passing specific laws. The largest branch can restrict the administration ‘choice with more than twenty republicans, including minority leader John Boehmer, have introduced a bill that would request the approval of the relevant state governor (2).

2.4.2.2 Israel-Palestine Agreement

Barak obama thought to adopt “an Israel_palastine ” in order to keep security and balance including: a settlement freeze in the west bank. The events started with Obama who did not employ Denis Rose to a white house. He feared that Rose would put him in troubles since Rose was in relation to Israel -Palestine issue and had strong ties with Netanyahu. So, Obama was appointed to state department to deal with Iran. Meanwhile, Israel Palestine issue was assigned to George Mitchell, as a supporter of a settlement freeze.

Mitchell supposed that he could count on support from all of the white house, states department, and his congressional connection to advance the peace process. Regardless to Rose determination that was as newspaper “Haaretz” described him as seriously undermined him. He “he has whispered to the ear of US President Barak Obama to maintain it a secret and direct channel with prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his envoy Isaac Mmolho, and undermine US Mideast envoy George Mitchell. Rose was sooner brought into white house to hold policy which dealt with Israeli prime minister by disregarding the state of department with Mitchell. He had a terrible relationship and whose vision of settlement was anathema. As Hertz reported “the two refused to speak to one another, partly over Rose tendency to hold talks with Israel officials behind Mitchell “back”.

The relation between Netanyahu and Obama was over strong he could counter Obama through partisan in the congress, American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), or even within the white house. So, Obama was far away from the internal bureaucracy and he attempted to remain involved in negotiations as was the goal of his May 2011 speech on the Arab spring and the Israeli Palestinian conflict (Laidi 29).

This issue provoked a debate in US administration. It started with plane of Netanyahu who traveled to Washington to meet the president and address congress e and AIPAC to counter Obama before Netanyahu’s arrival in may, 19, 2010, Obama insisted settlement of the conflict whereby “the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps”. However, the speech did not indicate the issue of Jerusalem and refugee.

Obama’s speech angered Israeli prime minister Netanyahu who declared an official statement before he went to Washington; “he expects to hear a reaffirmation from president Obama of US commitments made to Israel in 2004, which were overwhelmingly supported by both houses of congress. Among other things, those commitments relate to Israel not having withdrawing to the 1967 lines which are both indefensible and which would leave major Israel population centers in Judea and Samaria beyond

those lines “however his statement was taught and influenced American Jewish community such as Jeffrey Goldberg .

With the support of congress and AIPAC, before he met with Obama, he publicly declared “while Israel is prepared to make generous compromise for peace, it cannot go back to the 1967 lines, because these line are indefensible; because they do not take into account certain changes that have taken place over the past 44 years ” Obama took a hit but after days, he addressed in AIPAC, clarifying, “let me reaffirm what 1967 line with mutually agreed swaps means (...) the parties themselves. Israel and Palestinian will negotiate a border that is different from the one that existed on June 4, 1967”. It allows the parties themselves that have taken place over the last 44 years “This last statement is certainly used by Netanyahu to criticize Obama ‘call for return to the 1967 borders’ (30).

Israel-Palestine agreement of Obama also had broken under many factors among them: the effect of lobbies, the popular support such as AIPAC stood as American organization used to lobby the US government on behalf of legislation that strengthen the relationship between US and Israel (3). It was strongly related with congress and sought to hinder and stop Obama’s policy to be an executive policy. However, the public opinion refers to both of American and Israel people though the Americans had little knowledge about foreign countries. Israel was not like the rest since it assisted US in WW2. This in turn, influenced the relation of America and Israel and made it strong.

According to Gallup’s poll of February 2015, 62% (are those who sympathize more with the Israelis than the Palestinians in the middle conflict, while 16% sympathize with the Palestine) (34).

In this trend, it shows the fact of Israeli being strongly supported by American people

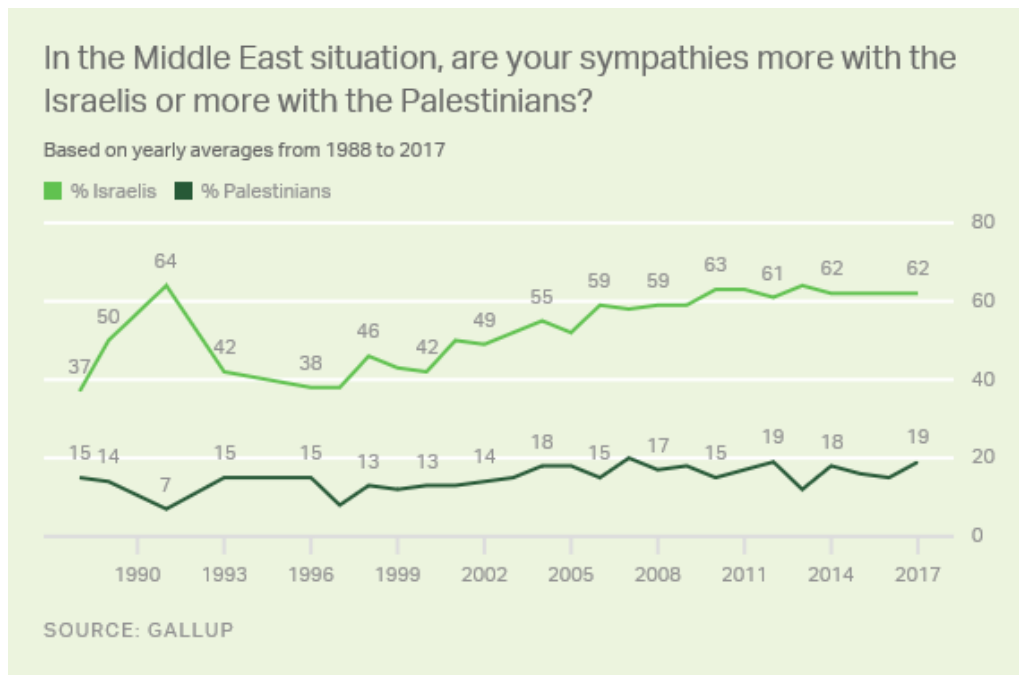


Figure 2. American supporting Israel (www.gallup.com/Poll1639MiddleEAST.ASPX)

Obviously American Jews and Christians tend to be generally supporter group of Israel Christian. In other side, According to a survey conducted in April 2015, 65% of American republicans were the supporters for Netanyahu rather than Obama (35)

2.4.2.3 Trade Policy

The dilemma of America increased with India. In the summer of 2008, the multilateral WATO negotiations were in problem with regard to agriculture production. This fact indicated that the chance will reduce include Doha round.

At the beginning, Obama did not concentrate much on trade problems. However, he was in blue-collar worker, often AFL-CIO union members, who worked in old economic sector (steel, textile). The biggest fear was that old economic was insufficiently restricted. Moreover, it employs fears that market liberalization will threatens their job especially as US was weak in social safety (32).

Obama saw the World Trade Organization (WTO) unprofitable to advance US interests and supportive of regional economic agreement with anti-chine bias, such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership

(TPP),” The US decision is a reflection of a deeper dissatisfaction with WATO process itself. India, Brazil and China in particular are at the center of this dissatisfaction. The TTP does not offer significant value for American economy. In other side, Protector Lobby is represented by infamous farm bureau. Indeed; it has no relation to Democratic Party. It had a great influence with congress, which ultimately ratifies international trade agreements. After many negotiations between administration and congress, the agreement was ratified just with bilateral small countries such as Panama and Colombia. So, Obama has no desire to like significant political risk. His militarism clearly ends the gate of the WATO (Laidi 34).

2.4.2.4 Europe and US

Barak Obama could achieve success in his policy toward Europe including an improvement relationship with Russia to revise the improvement of missile defense system. However, Obama did fail in his Russian promise. The resistance from congress let to fall down Obama policy. The significant example is the climate change policy. In summer of 2009, the house of representative did pass “a cap and trade bill”; the one promise to reduce US greenhouse emission by 17 percent by 2020; it used to help poor countries. However, the senate delayed that proposal in July 2010. Europe hoped Barak Obama would work to solve this issue. Finally, and with the senate decision, international observers had watched the US political debate with growing skepticism over whether Washington could over deliver cape and trade. Finally, the senate ‘decision seemed confirmed’. Obama also faced considerable difficulties to get a senate approval for the new start treaty.

The obstacle which challenged Barak Obama was the supreme power of the congress. In fact in American presidential system, the congress plays a major role in the fixation of more political officials for position selected by the head of state, it also gave a military aid program and vote on the budget and therefore on civilians. All in all, the US congress can use legislative tools to block any executive initiative that does not gain its approval (28).

2.4.2.5 Afghanistan

It seems that Obama could succeed to counter terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan by using AFPAK policy, but did Obama succeeded in applying his strategies? According to David S. Cloud his policy was to keep the US committed but not too committed “AFPAK” policy compromise many promises as avoiding getting in a bloody and inconclusive war in Afghanistan, and fears of walking away from the region. In addition to that, the policy appeared to promise for fast results and sweeping achieving yet, the policy as Cloud’s insist contains criteria which give Obama chance to revising the strategy gradually with time. (85) According to Cloud, however, the policy’s focus is “constructed and clear eyed that its goal is to defeat “al-Qaeda but the rest was secondary”.

The main goal is supposed to defeat al-Qaeda but it directed into US Afghanistan policy. Meanwhile, the insecurity of Afghanistan is closely tied to security of Pakistan. Obama policy sought to fight the extremist and al-Qaeda, but his tendencies was to provide the Pakistan with assistance (economically, military). In addition, policy did not touch a reformation of Pakistan traditional system of education which was a source for Taliban.

The Obama’s AFPAK policy had failed to address this issue too. As result; moreover, the war against Iraq and Afghanistan which destroyed US military and state infrastructure and enabled the appearance of terrorist groups called the ISIS whom as Christopher M. Blanchard claim was the transnational sunniest insurgent and terrorist group that controls a large areas of Iraq and Syria. It attacked a network of global supporter, and disrupts international security with its campaign of violence.

As a reaction, members of congress executive branch officials, and their international counterparts set a debate over preventing Islamic states by encouraging extending battlefield. President Obama’s main strategy was to “degrade and unity defeat”. US directed a military action and support for local partner force. Through diplomatic efforts promoted political reconciliation. Moreover, the US provides security assistance to partner governments in support of operation against ISIS affiliates.

Government may countries to share fears about IS related transactional terrorist threat. The threat of ISIS still viewed as a dangerous point in the world. Many countries faced difficulties to fulfill this decision about the potential risks and reward of military, law enforcement, intelligence, sharing financial, border security, refugee admission (Blanchard01).

2.4.2.6 The Iran Nuclear Agreement

President Barak Obama has not been as assertive as executive authority. In justifying his action as a weak chief because, he has tended to rely on public law rather than his own executive authority. On July, 14, 2015, the Iran nuclear agreement as it is known formerly “Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action”. This includes “Iran, the European Union, and the P5+1” (which includes China, France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States). The arguments restrain Iran nuclear capability in exchange for a gradual lifting of economic sanctions. Iranian enrichment facilitation limited with its plutonium. Thus, it was insufficient for its weapon production. The International Atomic Emergency Agency (IAEA) which will direct elements of Iran’s nuclear supply chain and full cycle for 25 year, and it was able to control the inspectors of potential covert sites; Iran could not research to develop their nuclear explosive device. There was a debate over possibility of Iran to refuse negotiation, and the regime cracked down on the green revolution Obama persuaded to seek UN Security Council Authorization of sweeping sanction would pledge it technique of the sanction regime (Hardin and Taraska 02)

While negotiation was still in debate, the congress passed the Iran Nuclear Agreement Revenue Act of 2015, when the agreement sought to vote on a resolution of approval or disapproval. Then, it was signed by President Barak Obama and became a law. On May 22, on assuming that a resolution of disapproval would have faced a presidential veto, it will sustain without a two thirds majority to override it. It implied congressional consent in the absence of a veto-proof majority. In the end, a veto would be unnecessary (Hardin and Taraska 03).

2.4.2.7 The Role of Media

Communication is a process of transmitting information to the public. It manipulates symbol, words, pictures and expression. People became more interests on politics. We can only know the political world through media (93) as dye. Thomas sees the mass are all the channels of communication that carry messages to the general public. There are eight principle mass media television, book, newspaper motives, picture, magazines, radio, internet and recording (32).

The media is probably the most important factor that has a big influence on success or failure of presidents as Arabic media did with Obama. There are more 200 new Arabic satellite stations, the growth of the print media sector. In many countries and the younger generation's fascination for the media have helped a new public sphere to emerge in the Arab world (321).

In his article of "Arabizing Obama" Imed Labidi views media that had a big influence on constructing our views of reality, our socialization, and politics. He also added that media help in minimizing president Obama values where media could demonize Obama heritage. It began at the beginning of his presidential campaign. With an article posted on conservative website owned by unification church found reverend sun myung moon. The piece, Hillary team which question about Obama background. Then, they discovered Obama attended a "Madrassaa" for his schooling while growing up in Indonesia. It was used as a platform for raising doubt in America people. Its goal was to transfer negative stereotypes, feeling of resentment, distrust his Muslim background (372).

Through using a media alike TV entertainment, American community became seeing Muslims as "eneming image". A similar view from Peter Mory who includes also the effect of the themes of so many TV drama and films which contribute in shaping the idea of Muslims as the threat to the nation. These productions, he insists, "that have been involved in the process of reinforcing a sense of national solidarity in the face of a threat. As many of president Obama's early decision and economic initiative

were disputed. His white house has been implicated by endless rumors. However, in real life, He received severe criticism from Republicans and congressmen like Frank Gaffery.

In some report, they saw Obama as being Muslim as they clarify that his middle name “hussin” has an Islamic origins. Moreover, for example as fox news outlined ran the story “Osama bin laden”, mixed up the words “Osama “as “Obama” .all of them are considered negro, both inferior, both blacks, and both Muslims (383).

Media continued to attack Obama in his presidency, especially in term of his origin as Muslim one .as media’ stories which contained to express uncertainty about his decision and it saw Obama as Arab and Muslims who must not be trusted (370).

2.4.2.8 The Effect of Obama’s Personality

The US president is considered as the mirror which reflects American image across the world. He has a special style and ideologies, strategies and personality. According to Bridging leadership theory, one of the main factors is personality that guides a president success to his country. According to Bridging and practice leadership theories, the personality of the president must be present in all situation and crises in several levels (external and internal level). Furthermore, dealing with internal issue, concerning the American well being, and at the same time, cooperation and coordination with legislative power, the judiciary, the media, request a strong, dynamic and influential leader (Elkatawneh 10).

Through an application of the Bridging and practice theory on Obama’s process of making decision starting with a view that task of president of US as leader of the most powerful country in the world where power is not centralized makes that decision making process pass through complex stages? Congress was the real opposition which requests distinct leadership skills. However, the president Obama transformational leader also seeks to promote values through pursuing the ideas of moral such as freedom, justice equality, peace, humanity. Indeed, the transformational leader deals in his work through the established value system such as justice and integrity, where it was called the inner value that cannot

be negotiated or exchanged between individual. Here are the problems arise when the transformational leader is not able, without the necessary support to pass his ideas, and he could not support to pass his strong opposition.

This example shows the effect of Obama's personality on his decision making when he could not gather the necessary political support for change that he believes in addition to the change in the foreign policy which led to reduce the global hegemony and the emergence of new global powers such as Russia and China. Above all, and due to his strict leadership personality in changing America abroad considered by some American politicians as having weak personality. Such weakness appears in Obama's non interference in the front and the withdrawal of US troops from Iraq which led to the emergence of terrorist groups such as ISIS, as well as the emergence of Russian power in the Middle East (Elkatawneh 17).

2.5 Assessment of Obama's Presidency

There are series of criticism stands against Barak Obama's decision making in his presidency and also to the constitutional system of America. In one side, Martin Indyk who states that many contradictions are seen between Obama speech and action. That is to say, when Obama speaks his rhetoric is visionary, but when it comes to delivery his approach is pragmatic. He often fails to equalize his prophetic vision to the pragmatic outcome of his administration diplomacy. As a result, it brought a huge people disappointment (Davis 124). As Vincient Rosmiere, Mark Schone, and Gabriel Wincent assert ironically "what team Obama has accomplished in its first 100 days is nothing less than an unprecedented reversal of decades of unsustainable national policy forced down the throat of American public by conservative" (laidi 3).

One of the harshest criticism directed to Obama was from the two former American national security advisors " Bigniew Brzezinski and Brent Scocroft". They shed light on the disconnection between Obama's speeches and his strategies. When they proclaim that Obama built a dramatic speech, but he

never translated it into a process in which ideas become strategies. In addition to that, they added the conflict of Israel-Palestine as an important issue. For them, it is unfinished business (Shabaneh 3). In addition to that, scholars and pundits have seen Obama as a victim of partisan power of congress, which has especially fierce on the republican (William and Connelly 3).

In other side, scholars and critics today direct their blame to American constitutional system. Like the anti federalists who see American government design to limit the abuse power and the separation of power to check of balance serves in another direction .where each branch function independently to show its power (William and Connelly 4).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with some of the Obama's achievements as well as the major constraint that faced Obama and hindered him from totally and successfully executing his promises. The major factors that led to Obama's failure lie in the American system of government such as the republicans, the stakeholders, the tea party, and the lobbyist...etc.

The most prominent plans that seem to be executed by Obama's administration were "Obamacare", "Israeli Palestinian conflict", "ending terrorism", "trade agreements", and "resting relations with Russia". However, these policies were not entirely and effectively executed. Because of many factors among them: initially the republicans whom were always against Obama's decisions and anti any democratic president. Moreover, members like the stakeholders, the tea party, and lobbyists are in opposition to any policy that does not serve their interest. In addition, Media too contributed in damaging Obama's reputation, and affected his decision making. Obama's personality also played a great deal in his decision making, and his weaknesses contributed in destroying his agenda. Any American president could face such factors that undermine his decision making power.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

Obama was expected to be a transformational figure, from the other candidates due to his campaign principles of hope and change. He outlined a series of political, social, and economical promises to his agenda. When he came into office in 2008, his administration was hindered by obstacles which contributed in his failure as president.

During his electoral campaign, Obama gave an adequate and varied amount of promises attaching different dimension. His promises such as the new health care system, the new taxation program, the new spending system and many others were set to solve problems in America. He also wanted to fix international problems such as the war in Iraq, terrorism, nuclear weapons, and international trade issues...etc. When he took office, he introduced his agenda to the congress to endorse it and later to execute it.

Consequently, Obama executed a set of his major promises like the affordable care act, the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, American Jobs Act. He also succeeded in ending war in Iraq, eliminating Osama Ben Laden, reducing the number of nuclear weapons and securing them from terrorists...etc. In spite of the fact that Obama had achieved some his major promises, these achievements in fact had a negative impact on the American budget, people, and government. Instead of reconstructing America, Obama had contributed in establishing some of the most past harmful problems that contributed to his failure.

Obama faced a formidable set of international and national challenges that hindered him from executing his agenda; which was under the conflict enter government which creates such a partisan polarization including partisanship, the media, the congress, and his personality. These were the constraints and obstacles which President Barack Obama faced during his two terms. Lies in the American political system that affected not only Obama, but all ancient and modern American presidents' decision making.

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