

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AFTER 9/11:
A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

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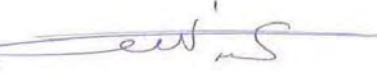
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نموذج رقم (١٨)
أقرار والتزام بقوانين الجامعة الأردنية وأنظمتها
وتعليماتها لطلبة الماجستير والدكتوراة

أنا الطالب: كندة احمد من ميرات الرقم الجامعي: ٨١٩.٧٠٧
التخصص: حفظ التراث الكلية: الدراسات العليا

عنوان الرسالة / الأطروحة

American Foreign Policy After 9/11
A critical Assessment -

أعلن بأنني قد التزمت بقوانين الجامعة الأردنية وأنظمتها وتعليماتها وقراراتها السارية المفعول المتعلقة باعداد رسائل الماجستير والدكتوراة عندما قمت شخصياً" باعداد رسالتي / اطروحتي ، وذلك بما ينسجم مع الأمانة العلمية المتعارف عليها في كتابة الرسائل والأطاريح العلمية. كما أنني أعلن بأن رسالتي /اطروحتي هذه غير منقولة أو مستلة من رسائل أو أطاريح أو كتب أو أبحاث أو أي منشورات علمية تم نشرها أو تخزينها في أي وسيلة اعلامية، وتأسيساً على ما تقدم فإنني أتحمل المسؤولية بأنواعها كافة فيما لو تبين غير ذلك بما فيه حق مجلس العمداء في الجامعة الأردنية بالغاء قرار منحي الدرجة العلمية التي حصلت عليها وسحب شهادة التخرج مني بعد صدورها دون أن يكون لي أي حق في التظلم أو الاعتراض أو الطعن بأي صورة كانت في القرار الصادر عن مجلس العمداء بهذا الصدد.

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DEDICATION

TO MY BELOVED FAMILY
FOR THEIR WARM SUPPORT

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OR SYMBOLS

- PNAC:** Project for the New American Century
- FPA:** Foreign Policy Analysis
- COW:** The Correlatives of War Project
- CINC:** The Composite Index of National Capability
- NSC:** National Security Council
- MAD:** Mutually Assured Destruction
- USSR:** The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- NMD:** National Missile Defense
- GDP:** Gross Domestic Product
- ICC:** International Criminal Court
- WMD:** Weapons of Mass Destruction
- OEF:** Operation Enduring Freedom
- CIA:** Central Intelligence Agency
- NSA:** National Security Agency
- FBI:** Federal Bureau of Investigation
- AIPAC:** The American Israeli Public Affairs Committee
- UNODC:** United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
- IAEA:** International Atomic Energy Agency
- UNHCR:** United Nations Refugee Agency
- CNN:** Cable News Network
- BBC:** British Broadcasting Corporation
- ABC:** American Broadcast Television Network
- CSIS:** Center for International and Strategic Studies
- NATO:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- NPR:** Nuclear Posture Review Report
- START:** Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
- PPP:** Purchasing Power Parity
- OSTP:** Office of Science and Technology Policy
- R&D:** Research and Development
- ABMT:** Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty

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ABSTRACT

The 9/11 attacks and the consequent American Wars on Afghanistan and Iraq have complicated and intensified the political and scholarly debates about the sources of US foreign policy behavior and its actions abroad.

The course of action undertaken by the Bush Administration in response to the 9/11 attacks reflected major reliance on the use of hard power. The post- 9/11 foreign policy did not seem to reflect successfully on US national interest, with widely perceived shortcomings that had direct and long-term effects on global politics and provoked debates about the future of US foreign policy and the ability of US presidential Administrations to use smart strategies .

This thesis argues that there are influential ideological roots to US foreign policy making during the Bush Administration; these ideological influences are most evident in the Bush Doctrine and are very relevant to the Neo-conservative ideology.

This thesis critically assesses American foreign policy during President George W. Bush Administration two terms (2001-2008), and studies foreign policy making in the aftermath of the 9/11.

Introduction

The Analysis of American foreign policy is a task that has been subject to significant political and scholarly debate, there are many explanations that attempted to provide analysis and justification for sources of American foreign policy and factors that influenced its shape and design.

The 9/11 and the American Wars on Afghanistan and Iraq have complicated and intensified the debates about the sources and reasons for American actions abroad.

It is important to note that the course of action undertaken by the Bush Administration in response to the 9/11 attacks reflected major reliance on the use of hard power. The post- 9/11 foreign policy did not seem to reflect successfully on US national interest, with widely perceived shortcomings that had direct and long-term effects on global politics.

Assessing the Bush Administration foreign policy strategies and choices, one can detect a notable ideological impulse behind major decisions; the ideology of the “American global mission in the world” played a key part of the rhetoric of the Bush Administration in particular in its pursuit of the War on Terror.

These ideological influences are most evident in the Bush Doctrine and are very relevant to the Neo-conservative ideology. It was argued that the Neo-conservative ideology is driven by two chief imperatives; security in the post 9/11 era, and an ideological sense of moral mission whose origins can be traced to the very beginnings of the American Republic (Hudson, 2005).

It can be argued that the post 9/11 era was a major manifestation of the increased belief in the centrality and usefulness of military power, the over-reliance on hard power in America's War on Terror produced limitations in terms of US national interest. These limitations or setbacks may have provoked the administration of President Obama to attempt to change course and reverse America's view on the utility of hard power as the only decisive and effective instrument of foreign policy.

Statement of Purpose:

This thesis critically assesses American foreign policy during President George W. Bush Administration two terms (2001-2008), and studies foreign policy making in the aftermath of the 9/11.

Research Problem:

Despite the indicators that demonstrate the strength and success of US foreign policy, the post 9/11 foreign policy decisions did not seem to reflect on the United States national interest. The thesis, therefore studies a paradox; which is despite the significance of hard power as the most visible form of US power, there are limitations to what hard power alone can achieve in terms of national interest goals.

Research Questions:

The thesis puts forward two questions:

1. Did the Neo-conservative ideology influence the shape of US foreign policy after 9/11?
2. Have the shortcomings of the Bush Administration provoked change in US foreign policy by the Obama Administration, bringing more focus to Smart Power?

Significance of the Study:

The thesis provides new perspectives on the role of hard power and soft power in the future of US foreign policy making. The declining utility of hard power and the increasing importance of soft power instruments is most relevant to the world political setting today particularly to brining stability to the Middle East region.

The critical analysis of the widely perceived shortcomings of the Bush Administration policies provides evidence that hard power has limitations and that there are other forms of power that can be successfully utilized in US foreign policy making.

Thesis Methodology:

This thesis utilizes a qualitative descriptive methodological approach, and analyzes existing literature, speeches, and official statements in an attempt to understand US foreign policy after 9/11 and assess the ideological drives within it.

Concepts Definition:

Foreign Policy: is composed of the goals sought, values set, decisions made and actions taken by states and national governments acting on their behalf in the context of International Relations of national societies, it constitutes and attempt to design, manage, and control the foreign relations of national societies (Webber and Smith, 2002, pp.10) .

Foreign Policy Analysis: "is a subfield international relations that seeks to explain foreign policy behavior with reference to theoretical grounds of decision makers acting singly or in groups" (Smith, et al. 2008, pp.392)

In International politics **Power** means having the ability to influence another to act in ways in which that entity would not have acted otherwise. **Hard Power** is the capacity to coerce them to do so. Hard power strategies focus on military intervention, coercive diplomacy and economic sanctions to enforce national interests (Art 1996; Campbell and O'Hanlon 2006; Cooper 2004; Wagner 2005; Wilson 2008).

Nye defines **Soft Power** as the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes you want through attraction rather than through payment or coercion. A country's Soft Power rests on its resources of culture, values and policies (Nye, 2004, pp.35).

Smart Power is defined as the capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and Soft Power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the actor's purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently (Wilson, 2008).

Grand Strategy is defined by Brian Schmidt as "an overall vision of the state's national security goals and the most appropriate means to achieve them" (Schmidt, 2008, pp. 19).

Ideology is defined by Malcolm Hamilton as "A system of collectively held normative ideas and beliefs and attitudes advocating and/or justifying a particular pattern of political and/or economic relationships arrangements and conduct" (Hamilton,1987, pp18)

Neo-conservatives: "Are those who believe that the United States should pursue a tough foreign policy on behalf of morality. Neo-conservatives distinguish between the good and the evil states in the international arena, with the United States spearheading the good to change the evil. They also believe that the US should strive to remain pre-eminent militarily and are strong advocates of higher defense budgets. Willingness to use military force to attain America's goals as well as a suspicion of international institutions are the trademarks of the Neo-conservative foreign policy thought. Together these principles form a controversial theory of US role in the world. (Smith, et al. 2008, pp.395)

Political Terrorism is defined by Grant Wardlaw as "The use or the threat of use of violence by an individual or a group whether acting for or in opposition to establish authority when such an action is designed to create extreme anxiety and/or fear inducing effects on a target group larger than the immediate victims with the purpose of coercing that group into acceding to the political demands of the perpetrators" (Wardlaw, 1982, pp. 16).

Literature Review:

Existing literature in the discipline of international relations provides contending explanations of foreign policy with diverse theoretical perspectives scholars have undertaken to try to make sense of foreign policy.

John Ikenberry's 2005 "*American foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*" suggests that the variation in theoretical claims by different scholars is a result of the different subject matters or outcomes they chose to study; this according to Ikenberry has provoked the notion of levels of analysis (Ikenberry, 2005)

It can be argued that the notion of levels of analysis attempts to study a different level of causation in international relations; Kenneth Waltz specifies three areas: the international, the nation-state and the individual.

The international and domestic level analyses are considered to be structural theories; which means that they attempt to make predictions about foreign policy outcomes without referring to the cognitive sources affecting policy, they study the characteristics of the nation state its culture society and political institutions, and the international system with the long-term patterns of power.

The individual level provides a decision-making explanation of policy in terms of beliefs, reasons, and processes by which individual make choices, in addition to studying consistencies or inconsistencies between decision makers' perceptions and reality.

Mark Webber and Michael Smith 2002 "*Foreign Policy in a Transformed World*" provides analysis of problems and issues in Foreign policy through discussing traditional assumptions derived from the shape of American foreign policy during the Cold War, such as that foreign policy was conducted within a world of states, and it was mainly associated with national security objectives.

Webber and Smith discuss one of the most used descriptive labels that explain world politics after the Cold War: "Transformation". Transformation is argued by Webber and Smith to be a product of the increased number of states in the 1990s, and the development in political and economic networks that required "more than mere statehood for their regulation and operation" (Webber and Smith; 2002, pp.16) This text provides perspectives on foreign policy analysis, Realism, Neo-realism, Pluralism, Dependency and the Globalist perspective.

More writings studied the relevance of foreign policy analysis such as Smith, Dune and Hadfield's 2008 "*Foreign Policy, Theories, Actors, Cases*". They argue that foreign policy is relevant in terms of its innovative contribution to how we understand the behavior of international actors. Following Colin Hay's work on critical political analysis the authors argue that decision-makers find themselves operating within specific constraints however they do make decisions, therefore critical political analysis believes that foreign policy differs from a singly policy maker's perception to another; "it is not simply the realm of necessity" (Smith, et al. 2008, pp. 5).

Diverse and several writings on US foreign policy after 9/11 were produced to attempt to discuss how the events changed the general landscape of US foreign policy making. Chomsky argues that American foreign policy drastically changed after 9/11 with the rise of what he

calls the "age of terror" and the worldwide-criticized policy of preemptive war (Chomsky, 2004, pp.188). Moreover, Caroline Kennedy-Pipe argues that 9/11 unquestionably altered the shape and the direction of US foreign policy in short and long terms, and have raised many questions on the extent to which the attacks have change the international system itself. (Kennedy-Pipe, 2008)

Michael Cox and Doug Stokes "*US Foreign Policy*" provides theoretical explanations of US foreign policy featuring systemic and internal or domestic theories that attempt to explain US foreign policy behavior, this sources also includes historical contexts for US foreign policy before, during and after the Cold War, and the complex issues facing the US since September 11th. This source sheds light on the significance of military power as a major component in IS foreign policy.

While this thesis sets focus on the role of ideology in shaping foreign policy in particular the role of the Neo-conservative ideology in shaping US foreign policy after 9/11, many literature on Neo-conservatism was studied; including Yuen Foong Khong "*Neo-conservatism and the domestic sources of American foreign policy*" which studies the role of ideas in the US war on Iraq, and provides an explanation of the neo-conservative ideology's main principles. Moreover William Kristol and Robert Kagan's work published in 1996 in a Foreign Affairs article "*Towards a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy*" provides a vital foreign policy statement of contemporary Neo-conservative thought and their strategic approach. Furthermore, Francis Fukuyama's "*After the Neocons; America at the Crossroads*" focuses on outlining the connection between the Neo-conservatives and the Bush Administration with inevitable links to concepts like preemptive war, regime change and benevolent hegemony (Fukuyama, 2006). The Bush Administration principles also known as the Bush Doctrine and its consequent reflection on US foreign policy and the long term effects on the international setting is

critically assessed by Robert Jervis's two articles "*Understanding the Bush Doctrine*" and "*Why the Bush Doctrine Cannot Be Sustained*".

Assessing US foreign policy after 9/11, one should look at the shortcomings or the setbacks of the foreign policy decisions undertaken by the Bush Administration, and provide a counter-argument that supports the claims of the declining utility of hard power contrary to what has been practiced by the Bush Administration; therefore comprehensive literature on the emerging concept of soft and smart power was deployed including Parmar and Cox 2010 work "*Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*" that illustrates the increasing utility of smart power in the future of US foreign policy, in a chapter produced by Joseph Nye, its argued that restoring alliances and multilateralism and investing in public diplomacy are key to reviving American soft power. He also argues that the Obama administration must understand the importance of developing an integrated strategy of hard power and soft power. Moreover Nye previous 2004 book on "*Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*" highlights the emerging significance of soft and smart power. He primarily argues that the current social trends and the globalization of economy of the information revolution make soft power more important while decreasing the influence of hard power.

The study attempts to contribute to the existing literature by providing a detailed critical assessment using a descriptive qualitative methodological approach to studying how US foreign policy was produced in the aftermath of 9/11 with strategic and relational links made to the role of actors, context and more particularly the Neo-conservative ideas.

Chapter 1

Theoretical Framework

Theories of Foreign Policy:

The study of foreign policy aims at providing analytical perspectives in attempts to make sense of policy. American foreign policy in specific faces the same challenge of explanation since there are many ways to understand policy.

Scholars like John Ikenberry attempted to provide an overview of the competing explanations on foreign policy; Ikenberry divides theories of foreign policy into two main types; Structural and Decision-Making;

Understanding the variety of foreign policy theories requires the researcher to understand the notion of Levels of Analysis; Kenneth Waltz has specified three images of the international politics; the individual, the nation-state and the international system.

According to Ikenberry; different theoretical claims by different scholars are a result of differences in their choice of the subject matter they study; for example the individual level is concerned with the individual as the source of behavior in international politics, the nation-state level is concerned with the characteristics of a nation-state with its culture, political systems, and society. The international level analysis focuses on the enduring patterns and structures of power within a state system. Systemic theories look at the international system as a source of constraints and imperatives by which all individuals and states operate (Ikenberry, 2005, pp.3)

Theories that give primacy to forces that operate within the international level as determinants of foreign policy are systemic theories; many scholars like Waltz who stress the importance of systemic forces argue that it sets constraints on foreign policy rather than shapes it. Waltz argues that to understand how any nation-state would respond to the constraints imposed by the international structure requires a theory of foreign policy (Waltz, 1979).

National-level theories of foreign policy are concerned with the study of constraints and imperatives imposed by particular characteristics in the domestic setting. Advocates of theories of foreign policy that stress on the importance of the domestic level make claims that if different leaders were put in the same domestic circumstances they will make the same choices; Ikenberry argues that “the stronger the claim made about the role of the domestic setting, the less it is necessary to know about the activities and beliefs of the actual individual who makes decisions” (Ikenberry, 2005, pp.5)

Structural explanations to foreign policy can be argued to study foreign policy outcomes without reference to individual factors that shape policy. Leaving little room for individuals' beliefs, perceptions, or choices.

Decision-making explanations explain policy in terms of the reasons, processes, activities, and beliefs by which individuals make choices; these theories are concerned with the study of cognitive frameworks. Such explanations claim that players in the decision making process have different goals and interests that are basically recognized in terms of their bureaucratic position meaning that foreign policy does not emerge only in response to the external setting of the actors; but rather from within the organization of the state itself. The bureaucratic interests of government officials determine the content of foreign policy (Ikenberry, 2005).

Theories of US Foreign Policy

In the quest to understand the foreign policy behavior of the United States; a number of different theories have been developed by international relations scholars. This task is complex tasks due to the number of diverse factors that determine the reasons behind a policy. According to Schmidt, the formulation of US foreign policy did not happen in a vacuum; it was affected by diverse factors, including an act or an event perpetuated by an external actor such as the 9/11, and the ideologies of President Bush and his inner circle of advisors (Schmidt, 2008).

Schmidt argues that foreign policy should be reflective of the core values and the ideology of the domestic political system. This view can be argued to be strong in the case of American foreign policy after 9/11 with the US desire to promote its political ideology around the world and spread its values to Iraq and the Middle East.

According to Waltz; American foreign policy is shaped by both international and domestic factors; therefore it's impossible to construct a single theory of international politics (Waltz, 1979).

As discussed, theories of American foreign policy can be divided into those that discuss external or systemic factors, and those that discuss internal domestic factors.

Theories that advocate the systemic factors argue that the most important influence on US foreign policy is the international system and the relative amount of power US possesses.

One of the most prominent theories that advocate systemic factors are Defensive and Offensive Realism

both theories agree that the international system is anarchic and that there is no centralized authority above states; and that actors are sovereign states that act on the basis of self-help to ensure their own survival, moreover, both theories believe that power is the main concept in international relations.

Defensive Realism:

According to defensive realists, states are security maximisers; meaning that the international system provides incentive for moderate behavior, therefore the United States should seek an appropriate amount of power, since expansionist and aggressive behavior most often proves to be counterproductive, because it triggers aggressive behavior by other states with the aim to balance against expansionist powers. Especially that the US enjoys a high degree of security partly owing to its geography.

Advocates of this theory argue that the expansionist foreign policy that the US undertook in the aftermath of 9/11 created and triggered active attempts by other states to balance American power (Schmidt, 2008).

Offensive Realism:

Offensive realists like John Mearsheimer argue that states are power-maximisers; According to Mearsheimer the structure of the international system compels states to maximize their relative power position. best path to survival is acquiring more power than anyone else, and the ideal position for a state is to achieve global hegemony, although impossible, it does not prevent states from trying to achieve the status of hegemony.

According to Mearsheimer the anarchical structure of the international system coupled with the deep uncertainty the US has about the current and future intentions of other states such as china compels America to maximize its relative power position (Mearsheimer, 2009).

Internal domestic theories reverse the explanation logic to an inside-out approach, meaning the pressures from within a state determine the character of its foreign policy.

factors such as elections, public opinion polls, the conditions of the domestic economy; and the degree of national unity are all factors that foreign policy officials need to take into account.

Liberalism

Liberalism is one of the most prominent domestic theories of US foreign policy. According to this view one of core objectives of foreign policy is to promote the expansion of values of liberty. Today democracy promotion is one of the main elements of the liberal theory of American foreign policy and is perceived to be in the national interest of the US.

Schmidt argues that different US presidential administrations have used direct and indirect means to promote democracy, indirectly through foreign aid, supporting democratic movements, and diplomatic encouragement, and directly through using military force to bring about regime change. This has been one of the most dominant rationales used by the Bush Administration to justify the 2003 invasion of Iraq.(Schmidt, 2008)

While some approaches perceive foreign policy as about threats, insecurity and competition, another approach emerged on the assumption that foreign policy is about cooperation between states;

Pluralism

The Pluralist approach is significant for the notion of "Complex interdependence" discussed by Keohane and Nye. According to this view world politics has since the 1970s become increasingly characterized by an agenda of multiple issues and thus, foreign policy has moved away from its traditional concern with military and security matters towards economic, social, environmental, and other concerns. As a consequence, links between states increased and new areas of cooperation emerged (Keohane and Nye, 2004)

Pluralism also argues that international issues affect wider parts of domestic populations, and thus, private or non-governmental organizations, and pressure groups become interested in foreign policy making.

Moreover, some foreign policy theories do not focus on material forces such as internal and external structures to explain American foreign policy such as the Constructivist theory.

Constructivism

Constructivism focuses on the role of ideas and identities that influence foreign policy. National Identity according to constructivists should be the core focus of foreign policy analysis and is a relational concept that is produced by differentiating oneself to another (Schmidt, 2008). For example, the identity of the United States during the Cold War and consequently its foreign policy behavior is a result from differentiating itself from the regime of the Soviet Union.

One way to understand American foreign policy after 9/11 according to Constructivists is in terms of the American identity as a liberal global hegemony that seeks to promote liberty and democracy.

Power and Transformation:

Transformation has been one of the most commonly used labels to describe modern world politics. Change in world politics and international relations after the Cold War has been linked to two main developments; the increase of number of states after the 1960s and during the 1990s that were fragile and subject to external intervention causing instability in the international system. Secondly, the emergence of "beyond- states" political and economic networks that demand more than mere "responsible statehood" to control their operation and regulation (Webber and Smith, 2002).

Webber and Smith summed up the changing features of modern politics in the aftermath of the Cold War:

- First; change in the number of resources and the status of both state and non-state actors, including the rise of "non-state foreign policies"
- Second, changes in the nature of national security and other national objectives and values.
- Third changes in policy-making processes including the new salience of cross national processes.
- Fourth, changes in the nature of power and influence and in the effectiveness of particular methods of policy implementation (Webber and Smith, 2002, pp. 21).

In earlier periods international power resources may have been easier to assess and measure; a test of great power ability would be its military and might of war. Power in a global information age is less tangible and less coercive (Nye, 2004). The current social trends and the globalization of economy of the information revolution make the ability to share information and to be believed an important source of attraction and power.

According to Joseph Nye power is distributed nowadays in a form of a "three dimensional chess game" on the top board military power is largely unipolar, but on the middle board the United States is not a hegemon: economic power among states is already multipolar, with the United States Europe, Japan, and China representing the majority of world's economic output. The bottom chess board is the "realm of transitional relations" including issues of globalization, terrorism, information revolution, global climate change where many of the challenges arise, and America's resources in this area are increasingly important. Soft Power is the form of power that is needed to deal with issues rising for the bottom board (Nye, 2004).

Foreign Policy Analysis

It was argued that the core aim of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) is studying national governments' reactions to the changes in the global conditions. Perhaps the most fundamental question in FPA is what is foreign policy? Foreign policy was defined as “the goals sought, values set, decisions made and actions taken by states and national governments acting on their behalf in the context of International Relations of national societies, it constitutes and attempt to design, manage, and control the foreign relations of national societies” (Webber and Smith, 2002, pp. 10).

Traditionally, Foreign Policy has been linked to the world of states, where states are the primary actors who are involved in a series of policies and reactions that reflect the nature of the competitive and insecure world. According to this traditional Realist view, the aim of foreign policy is envisaged in the pursuit of sovereignty, independence, and security guarding the national interest against the intentions and threats from competitors (Morgenthau ,2005).

Given the basic assumptions about the world of states and the place of foreign policy within it, it can be argued that there is difficulty in framing the main characteristics of foreign policy within these aims.

One of the characteristics of foreign policy in the traditional view that were put forward by Webber and Smith is the notion of power; often described in terms of military power, as a key factor in discriminating between states' foreign policies, especially in terms of their prospects for success. However, the traditional view does not overlook the effectiveness and efficiency

of foreign policy machine, according to this view, competency is related to a set of influences including the resources, the policy makers themselves, the geopolitical capabilities of the state and the general political context. Another characteristic is that the formulation of decisions and actions was necessarily confined to a small circle of specialized elites pursuing the national interest in complete confidentiality.

Foreign Policy in the traditional view was conducted not only with the world of states but within a society of states in which its envisaged to have strong unwritten rules dictated by the institution of statehood and responsible actions and consequences. This assumption presents the international context as the predominant concern of policy makers.

It was argued that understanding foreign policy is associated with examining three contexts of the foreign policy arena; the international context, the governmental context and the domestic context.

The international context is the domain where challenges and opportunities for foreign policy exist. Here the foreign policy maker is seen as responsible for “maximizing gains and minimizing the losses that arise from the competitive nature of international relations particularly in the area of national security” (Webber and Smith, 2002, pp.

31).

There are three main dimensions of change that affected the international context as summarized by Webber and Smith; first is the location of activity, which means shift in the location of foreign policy attention and activity. Second is the focus of activity this refers to the rise of prominent new issues in the foreign policy agenda such as economic regulations and social and environmental concerns. Although these issues are not new, however they have generated wider debates than in the Cold War period on issues of global distribution of wealth,

patterns of inclusion and exclusion in international life and the need for new forms of global or international governance. These debates were not only exclusive to academic circles; bodies of the United Nations have advocated the management of global affairs through a system of global governance¹.

A third dimension of change is the instrument of activity, which gives economic, ideological, political, and cultural instruments more importance making the military component less prominent.

The governmental context of foreign policy traditionally assumes that governments are representing national states whose claims to security and sovereignty were the key issues of foreign policy. National policy makers had to assume that all other governments were in pursuit of the same goals centered on maximization of their freedom of action and security in a competitive international system.

According to Webber and Smith this view implies that government is elitist and specialized, it also means that the foreign policy machine in governments is insulated giving a special place for foreign policy shielding it from "normal politics". These assumptions have led to direct effects on the structure of governments; the American constitution for example gives special powers to the president as commander-in-chief, the constitutions of the French Fifth Republic and the Russian Federation² contain provisions for centralization of foreign policy with the Chief Executive (The President).

¹Global governance is a term emerging in the 1990s after the end of the Cold War that is associated with "Interdependence" and refers to the political interaction of transnational actors aimed at solving problems that affect more than one state or region when there is no power of enforcing compliance. It is also defined as governing relationship that transcend national frontiers

²The French Fifth Republic Constitution included in Title II: The President of the Republic, Article 14: The President of the Republic accredits Ambassadors and Envoys Extraordinary to foreign powers; foreign

In recent years it has become more evident that government structures of foreign policy making are open to challenge and change; one of the challenges have been the "growth and diffusion of government" (Webber and Smith, 2002, pp.35). It was argued that since the 1980s the traditional idea of a unified government is under pressure, one source of pressure is the growth of the government itself, with increased scope and scale of government machine as a response to the demands of international life. It can be argued that the increasing impacts of globalization, and the proliferation of new states and organizations have made pressures expand, leading to a problem of fragmentation within government agencies that have different organizational capacities.

Traditional views to foreign policy give a largely marginal role for domestic context or domestic political setting. These views are supported by the argument that foreign policy should be kept away from the domestic setting and influence in order to promote consistency and stability in policy making.

Such restricted views on the degree and level of domestic influence have come under pressure due to the significant growth of new patterns of communication and new information resources giving a potentially wider access to information and increasing contacts between citizens in a new uncontrollable setting such as the internet (Webber and Smith, 2002) making the domestic context less lenient than in the past.

Ambassadors and Envoys Extraordinary are accredited to him. Title VI: Treaties and international agreements article 52: The President of the Republic negotiates and ratifies treaties. He is informed of the negotiation of any international agreement not subject to ratification. The Russian Federation Constitution includes in Article 80: The President of the Russian Federation shall define the basic domestic and foreign policy guidelines of the state in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws. The President of the Russian Federation as head of state shall represent the Russian Federation inside the country and in international relations. Article 86: The President of the Russian Federation shall: a) supervise the conduct of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation; b) conduct negotiations and sign international treaties of the Russian Federation.

Brighi and Hill argue that the “domestic” is implicated in foreign policy implementation through the capacity of government actors to pursue goals with effective means and the ability of governments mobilize resources from audiences both material and immaterial and channel them into the pursuit of intended goals, thus the domestic can be the channel by which the international is pursued (Brighi and Hill, 2008).

However, it is argued that as the same time as the domestic context becomes richer in information and opinions, so the insulation of foreign policy makers may increase. The growth of new machines of international governance means that the newly-informed citizen may find that the decisions are taken elsewhere than the national level or that the increasingly complex process of coordination within government machine may make it more difficult to exert pressure.

The Evaluation of foreign policy making requires understanding the links between actors, interests and issues within the foreign policy context; it was argued by Webber and Smith that "actors focus on issues and espouse (advocate) interests, while changes in issues can shape the emergence of new patterns of participation and interests" Webber and Smith, 2002, pp.44).

The traditional view of foreign policy making assumes that designated political and bureaucratic elites who have a continuous responsibility for pursuing foreign policy are the qualified actors for this task. However there is a key distinction between those who participate continuously and effectively - in other words the policy makers - and those who influence or shape policies from time to time.

Traditional assumptions on "who makes foreign policy" have been challenged and modified by the dissemination of participation and by new processes of access and influence in foreign policy which reflect the changes taking place in the context of foreign policy making.

Webber and Smith aimed to outline the circles of power in foreign policy making in the case of the US with inner and outer areas of influence; as noted in Figure 1

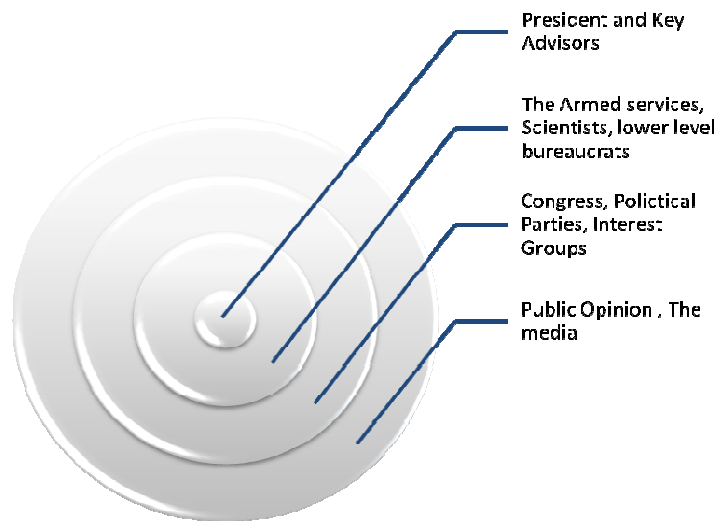


Figure 1: The concentric circles of power in foreign policy making/ US case, Webber and Smith 2002.

Webber and Smith argue that there is potential for movement to take place between circles over time or in specific circumstances, for example, in wartime the military is likely to move closer to the center of the policy making as it has been argued that during the Cold War foreign policy participation was "militarized on long-term basis" (Webber and Smith, 2002, pp. 39)

On issues of foreign policy, it can be argued that the traditional view assumes that national security issues dominate the foreign policy agenda. However, the foreign policy agenda has broadened to include new scopes of security as well as issues of economic management, environmental degradation, trans-border communication and cultural interaction.

The interests shaping foreign policy are not restricted only to national interest, a new challenge for foreign policy is that of managing different interests as well as allocating resources between them. Hence, there is a distinction between short and medium term goals of foreign policy and the long term goals expressed in terms of national interests.

In addition to situational circumstances discussed in terms of the context of foreign policy making and the issues, interests, and actors that interact within it, state type is also important in building the picture of foreign policy making.

States differ perhaps most obviously in terms of their political systems whether they are democratic or authoritarian. The political system affects how foreign policy is made. This thesis will discuss the decision making process in democratic political systems as an attempt to analyze the case of US foreign policy making after 9/11.

In democracies, the political system is built on the encouragement of participation, diversity of opinion and the accountability of government. This multiplicity of actors influences policy making. The most important of the multiple influential actors in democracies is the political executive – the office of the President or the Prime Minister-. Webber and Smith argue that its predominance stems from the efficiency that is gained from centralization and the constitutional and organizational advantages that the office enjoys. Over time the executive has retained control over policy in decisions that involve matters of national security and promotion of national interest.

However, it was argued that in democratic systems the role of the executive is not the only decisive role. There are three significant sources of countervailing influences according to Webber and Smith; first is that the office of the executive is an elective one that is often

restrained in the choice of policy by the potential of re-election and the desire to remain in line with public opinion. Second, the constitutional arrangement may limit the executive policy making to some degree. Legislatures play an important role through their monitoring of budgetary and treaty making processes; they have significant input in foreign policy making as they share responsibility in war and peace decisions as in the case of the American Congress that enjoys an influence over the executive.

Third, the executive is subject to influences from other agencies of the state; bureaucracy – understood here as permanent administrative officials – may be considered to have important impact on policy making. Permanent officials may perceive foreign policy goals different from the elected president leading to obstacles in policy making. It was argued by Webber and Smith that such obstacles led the democratically elected leaders to rely on a separate politically appointed staff of foreign policy advisors a practice that is institutionalized in the United States with the office of National Security Council (Webber and Smith, 2002).

It is also important to note that foreign policy making is not only restricted to the function of the elective, constitutional and a bureaucratic structures mentioned above, there are less formal processes of influence.

In the case of the US for example, there is a considerable impact for the "military-industrial complex"³ which is a network that links the government, the armed forces, and the industrial sector on issues of military expenditures and arms procurement. Moreover, it can be argued that the US and other democracies as well allow the function of specialist interest groups that

³ Military-industrial complex (MIC) is a concept commonly used to refer to policy relationships between governments, national armed forces, and the industrial sector that supports them. These relationships include political approval for research, development, production, use, and support for military training, weapons, equipment, and facilities within the national defense and security policy.

seek to influence the foreign policy making. Although interest groups have no established authoritative position in the foreign policy making process, they can influence public opinion pushing the government in some cases towards policy change.

In a democratic state like the US, hence, the foreign policy making process is conducted at different levels with a wide range of actors and influences that produce decisions as response to change in the international system.

It was argued by Hudson that the issue of American foreign policy towards the Middle East is deeply rooted in American domestic politics. The process of the Middle East foreign policy making involves interactions between key structures and entities - as will be discussed in details in Chapter 2 - the White house, the Executive Branch, the Legislative Branch, the Political Parties, the Opinion Makers, and the Lobbies (Hudson, 2005).

The Strategic-Relational Approach to Foreign Policy Analysis

Brighi and Hill argue that in order to conceptualize and understand the process of behavior foreign policy analysis must adopt Hay's "Strategic-Relational approach" (Brighi and Hill, 2008).

The approach is called strategic because actors within international relations are oriented towards the attainment of stated goals; it's also relational because it assumes that actors and their behavior become only comprehensible when analyzed in relation to their surrounding

environment. In turn environment becomes truly real when looked at from the perspective of the individual or actor at question (Brighi and Hill, 2008).

The international context of foreign policy means different things to different actors depending on where they are placed within it and how they see opportunities and constraints offered by the context. US Foreign Policy cannot be understood by studying the changes in the state's position in the world but also by different interpretations of the same position with its opportunities and constraints (Brighi and Hill, 2008).

This approach also highlights the constant feedback from actor to the context and vice versa; foreign policy feeds into the context and into the actor. For example, Brighi and Hill argue that "US foreign policy actions towards the Middle East not only changed the context at the regional and international level, but also have impacted the US itself causing a reaction against the excesses of American unilateralism, whose effects are likely to be felt in the domestic debate" (Brighi and Hill, 2008, pp.120).

This thesis will attempt to understand and analyze US foreign policy after 9/11 adopting the strategic- relational approach. As figure 2 shows, context, ideas and actors would be the main operating variables that influenced the shape of American foreign policy and its course of action in the aftermath of 9/11.

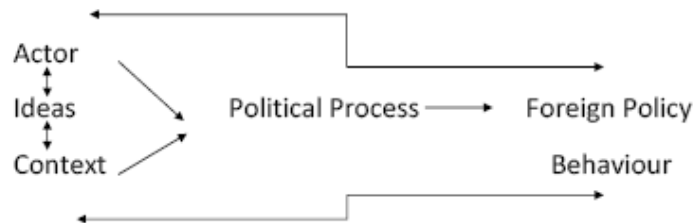


Figure 2: The Strategic-Relational Approach to Foreign Policy

The Neo-Conservative Ideology

Neo-Conservatism was defined by Fukuyama as an intellectual and political movement of highly educated people in favor of political economic and social conservatism that arose in opposition to the perceived liberalism of the 1960s.

Neo-conservatism is often known as Nationalism in US foreign policy circles and is featured by belief in American Moral Authority and the use of force as the primary instrument for realizing international outcomes.

Neo-conservative's belief in preponderance of state power – rather than the traditional balance of power Realists advocate- stems from their perception of American moral superiority and national pride as opposed to other nations of the world. With this emphasis on a position in an international hierarchy comes a tendency to define self- interest more “expansively and ambitiously” (Rathbun, 2008), leading to inflated sense of power and capability.

Moreover, Neo-conservatism outlook on the world is marked by pessimism about the intentions of other states; fear of others' intentions leads to pursuit power justified as a necessity to hold off adversaries with jealous interests.

American Nationalism/ Neo-conservatism has a strong “moral” component and puts great stress on the importance of American ideas and the strengths it derives from them.

For Neo-conservatives, the tool for promoting American superiority is military power; in particular the pursuit of preponderance not the balance of military power. Realists often accuse Neo-conservatives of embracing military force as the first option (Rathbun, 2008).

It should be noted that Neo-conservatives draw their roots back to William McKinley (1897 – 1901) and Theodore Roosevelt (1901 – 1909) the presidents who first made the United States a great power with worldwide military and economic interests and justified it by reference to the superiority of American moral ideas (Rathbun, 2008). Neo-conservatives allow ideas about morality and democracy to influence their foreign policy behavior.

The Neo-conservative strategy of military supremacy and moral confidence is key in maintaining hegemony after the collapse of the Soviet Union since it would deter future challenges before they arose.

Neo-conservatism is featured by four main Foreign Policy principles as summarized by Yuen Foong Khong. First, Moral clarity about the forces of good and evil in the international arena; Democracies are good, tyrannies are evil. Second, The United States should strive to preserve its military pre-eminence. The neoconservative theory of international relations is based on preponderance of power rather than the traditional balance of power as a root to world peace and stability. Third, The United States should leverage its military power, showing greater willingness to use military force to pursue its goals Fourth, International law and institutions are unreliable in obtaining peace and justice (Khong, 2008).

Chapter 2

American Foreign Policy after 9/11

The Notion of power is deeply rooted within the study of foreign policy; theoretical explanations of foreign policy behavior, link power and relative capabilities to foreign policy outcomes. Power, therefore is a decisive instrument to achieve foreign policy objectives of the United States; particularly in terms of security and national interest.

The study of elements of US power, hence, is argued to be indispensable to understanding American foreign policy behavior.

Elements of US Power

Elements of a state national power are crucial to the analysis of its foreign policy behavior and its position in the international system; such components are considered to be determinants of a state ability to influence and shape the international environment, as they contribute to its overall role in world politics.

There are two dominant approaches described by David Baldwin that help in the analysis and measurement of power in IR: First is the approach related to the elements of national power which depicts power as resources, second is the approach of relational power which depicts power as an actual or potential relationship (Baldwin, 2002).

The elements of national power approach associates power with the possession of resources that act as an indicator of a state's national power, the most common resources that have been used to provide and accumulative indicator of a state's power are; size of armed forces, military expenditures, gross national product, size of territory and population. Some scholars also include intangible resources in the power calculation such as the quality of political leadership and national moral. These resources together provide an overall assessment of state's level of power; as described by Stephano Guzzini "a lump concept of power" (Guzzini, 2000, pp.55)

Another substitute approach for defining such an elusive concept as power is the relational power approach that sees power as the ability to influence outcomes. According to proponents of this approach power is a process of interaction whereby a state is able to exercise influence over the actions of other states (Schmidt, 2005).

In the case of the United States, it is apparent that the US enjoys various material and immaterial elements that build up its power and contribute to the overall position of the state on the international level. The United States is world's third largest country by size after Russia and Canada, and by population after China and India. The United States has a long tradition of democracy, being a federal system, means that power is divided between a central/national government and the States.

The Federal Government has three branches/arms:

- Legislative Branch that consists of the House of Representatives and the House of Senate.
- The Executive Branch that consists of The President , The Cabinet, and The Federal Departments and Agencies
- The Judicial Branch that consists of the Supreme Court and other Federal courts.

The United States exercises global political, economic, military and cultural influence, it is a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, as New York hosts the Headquarters of the UN.

As an attempt to assess key elements of US power, the thesis will utilize David Baldwin's approaches that provide a framework to measure and assess a state power⁴, it can be noted that in terms of actual material capabilities and resources American power is unprecedented; The Correlates of War (COW) project founded in 1963 by J. David Singer, a political scientist at the University of Michigan, provides accurate and reliable quantitative data in international relations.

One of the data sets provided is The National Material Capabilities data set that defines power as a function of many factors, among them the nation's material capabilities. Although Power and material capabilities are not identical; it is essential to measure the nation's material capabilities as functions of a state power.

⁴ David Baldwin introduced two main approaches to analyze power in international Relations: First is the approach related to the elements of national power which depicts power as resources, second is the approach of relational power which depicts power as an actual or potential relationship.

The Composite Index of National Capability (CINC) is based on six variables containing annual values for: total population, urban population, iron and steel production, energy consumption, military personnel, and military expenditure of all state members, from 1816-2007⁵.

The project selected demographic, industrial, and military indicators as the most effective measures of a nation's material capabilities. These three indicators reflect the breadth and depth of the resources that a nation could bring to bear in instances of militarized disputes.

It should be noted that the total population of a state has been theorized to be one of the major factors in determining the relative strength. A state with a large population can have a larger army, maintain its home industries during times of war, and absorb losses in wartime easier than a state with a smaller population. It's also important to capture other elements of a state's population. Factors such as education, societal organization, and social services are captured by the measure of total population urbanization.

Looking at the 2007 data provided for the six CINC index variables in Table 1, we note that the United States is world number one in energy consumption and military expenditures; it also comes second after China in iron and steel production, military personnel and Total/Urban population, given the significant gap between the countries'

total population figures (China's population is almost 4 times US population).

⁵ Version 4.0 of the National Material Capabilities data set is used in this Chapter. The data provided is the result of several years of effort undertaken at the Pennsylvania State University by the COW2 Project.

Table 1: Composite Index of National Capability (CINC) – 2007

Year 2007/country	Primary Energy consumption/ Thousands Coal Tons	Iron & steel production/ Thousands/Tons	Military Expenditures/ Thousands of US\$	Military Personnel/ Thousands	Total Population/ Thousands	Urban Population/ Thousands	CINC SCORE
USA	5,548,023.00	98,102.00	\$552,568,000.00	1,506.00	301,621.00	82,969.00	0.142149
China	2,216.76	0.00	\$70,000.00	17.00	10,623.00	1,799.00	0.000568
Russia	1,558,502.00	72,387.00	\$32,215,000.00	1,027.00	142,115.00	68,232.00	0.039274
Japan	1,934,963.00	120,203.00	\$41,039,000.00	240.00	127,772.00	84,414.00	0.042675
India	1,573,433.00	53,080.00	\$26,513,000.00	1,316.00	1,134,023.00	198,077.00	0.073444
France	712,940.60	19,250.00	\$60,662,000.00	255.00	61,707.00	11,861.00	0.018924
UK	684,113.40	14,317.00	\$63,258,000.00	191.00	60,975.00	55,259.00	0.021158
Brazil	510,637.30	33,782.00	\$20,559,000.00	288.00	187,642.00	103,286.00	0.024597

Source: Correlates of War Project-National Material Capabilities Data Documentation Version 4.0. Last update: 2007

Figures presented in Table 1 above show that in terms of national capabilities indicators the United States possesses a collection of key elements that contribute to the overall size and value of state power.

The CINC score which is an average of the six components indicates that in terms of material capabilities model developed by the COW project, the United States rates first in the world.

Tangible Capabilities of the United States:

Military Power:

When the USSR collapsed in 1991, it was argued that US foreign policy lost its focal point that was centered on encountering the spread of communism, and decision makers had to face fundamental questions about the role of US military power. Global politics had thus moved from the bipolar system of the Cold War to a unipolar system. military power has been a

crucial instrument in the United States' efforts to preserve the uni-polar system as its sole superpower.

However, the US sought to anticipate the threats and the responsibilities of the post Cold War World. The US deployed its military repeatedly for a variety of purposes more than twenty-one times between 1990-2001⁶. These deployments varied from a few military advisors to half a million troops. (Fischer, 2008)

During the 2000 presidential elections, President's Bush Foreign Affairs Advisor Condoleezza Rice outlined the candidate's approach in a *Foreign Affairs* article by calling for "overwhelming military strength". Once in the office, the Bush Administration National Security Policy focused primarily on transforming the military and the National Missile Defense (NMD) (Rice, 2000, pp.3).

This decision was associated with increased military spending that was required to transform US military power. As Figure 3 shows, in terms of global distribution of military expenditures, the United States forms 41% of world share in 2008 followed by China with approximately 6% world share, Russia and UK with 4% world share each, and France with 5% world share.

⁶ US intervention between 1990-2001 included Liberia, Iraq/Kuwait 1991-2, Somalia, Bosnia, Rwanda/Burundi, Haiti, Central African Republic, Albania, Congo, Gabon, Sierra Leone, Cambodia, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya and Tanzania, Afghanistan, Sudan, Iraq 1998, Yugoslavia, Kosovo, East Timor, Yemen.

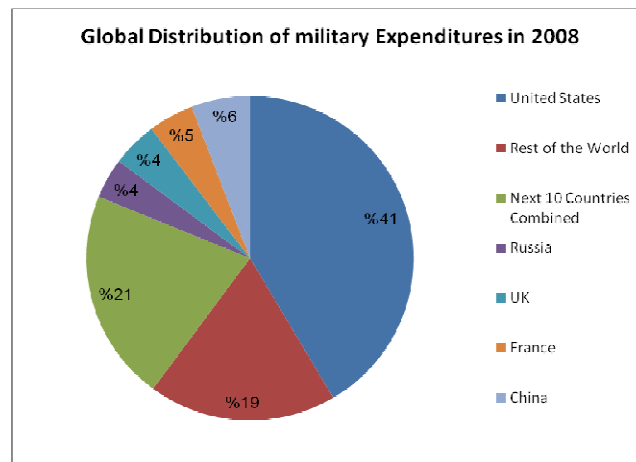


Figure 3: Global Distribution of Military Expenditures in 2008, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute yearbook 2009. www.globalissues.org

The Bush Administration era witnessed a revolution in the quality of military technologies emphasizing that the transformation process is a priority. Donald Rumsfeld, Bush's Administration Secretary of Defense; shifted the focus from planning to encounter conventional threats to the need to address "Asymmetrical Threats" such as terrorism, cyber attacks and biological and chemical attacks.

The Bush's Administration National Missile Defense system entails Radar Stations and approximately 100 interceptor missiles with a pace of 20,000 miles per hour.

The United States remained committed to transforming the military and the NMD after the 9/11 attacks; three days after the attacks Congress passed a joint resolution authorizing the president to use armed force against those responsible.

The War on Afghanistan was the most hi-tech war the United States had ever conducted, 60 % of the bombs dropped during the campaign were guided by laser or satellite, and early

estimates indicated that 75% of the bombs dropped were accurate. Other innovations were used such as the Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) (Fischer, 2008).

The War on Iraq deployed approximately 140,000 troops and once again American technology allowed it to topple the regime quickly. The Defense Department made extensive use of Special Operation Forces and refined much of the technology it had used in Afghanistan making it more effective,

The US military today is unequalled throughout the world; however, many critics generated debate regarding the purpose and effectiveness of military power;

Military Power has utmost utility in American Foreign Policy Making. As figure 4 below shows, US military spending has been increasing notably since 2000. The Bush Administration focused on the use of force as an instrument of policy and invested in this instrument as the best course of action to assert its position and support its pursuit of the War on Terror in the aftermath of 9/11 attacks.

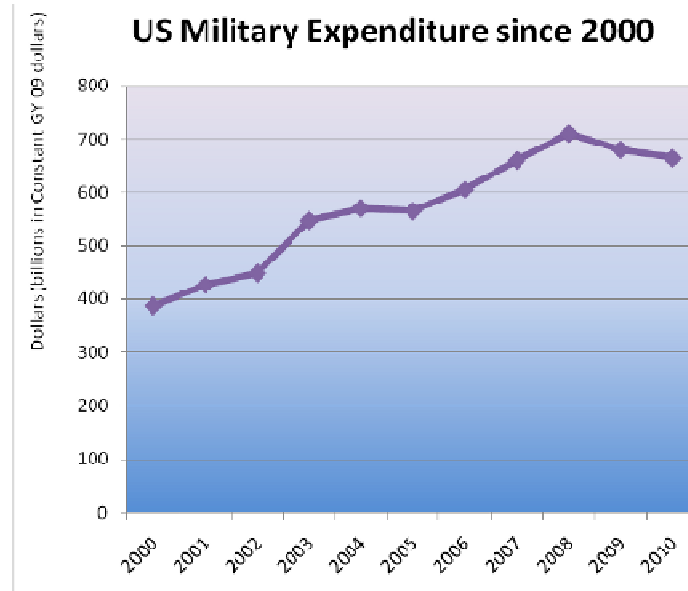


Figure 4: US Military Expenditures since 2000, Center for Arms Control and Non-proliferation, 2009.

www.globalissues.org⁷

The enormous importance of military is most apparent through the National Security Strategy NSS (2002) which made it clear that the United States saw pre-emptive war as a legitimate form of defense which required the need to build and maintain a sophisticated and unrivaled military arsenal both on qualitative and quantitative levels (NSS,2002)

The Changing Role of Military Power:

During the Cold War the United States and the Soviet Union possessed not only industrial abilities but nuclear arsenals and Intercontinental Missiles. Subsequently the ultimate aim of the United States was to lead a revolution in military technologies to encounter the Soviet threat.

⁷ 2010 estimates does not include nuclear weapons (yet), are based on latest data of 23 billion USD a year,

After the Cold War, America's dominance described as the unipolar moment has accelerated; today US military spending exceeds that of the next twenty countries combined, and its space power, navy and air force are unrivaled

However, the United States' ability to use information technology to create weapons, intelligence, broad surveillance, and improved command, control, and communication allowed it to become the world's sole military superpower on one hand, and on the other hand, it increased the political and social costs of using military power for conquest especially within modern democracies.

The political and social cost of using military power in the twenty-first century does not mean that states will not go to war – as in the case of the American war on Iraq- it means that the use of force needs moral justification for it to gain public support unless actual survival is at stake. (Nye, 2004)

In a global economy, even the United States – the largest economy and the world's unmatched superpower- would consider how using military force might jeopardize its economic objectives. Nye puts forward an example that one cannot imagine the US using force against Japan to open Japanese markets and change the value of the Yen. Therefore in the information age cooperative advantages and economic interdependence become increasingly important between states.

The current social trends and the globalization of economy of the information revolution increase the importance of Soft Power while decreasing the influence of hard power. "The ability to share information and to be believed becomes an important source of attraction and power" (Nye, 2004, pp.31).

The Bush's Administration NMD program has been very controversial both in the United States and abroad. The Bush Administration unilaterally withdrew from the Anti- Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) ⁸in order to build this system in 2001. Critics also argue that the NMD seeks to encounter threats that are not realistic, defending the United States against "rouge" states that have limited arsenals and that do not have the capabilities or the will to launch attacks against the USA. The NMD Program is thought to be very costly; the Bush Administration requested \$8.9 Billion for the Missile Defense Agency for the fiscal year 2008. Finally, this program could be destabilizing and provoking arms race and hostilities. (Fischer,2008).

Although military power still plays an important role in world politics, its nature has changed in the twenty-first century.

The Economy of the United States

The United States has the largest and most technologically powerful economy in the world, with a per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of \$46,900, and GDP at a Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) of \$14.44 trillion (CIA Fact book, 2008).

The United States is a leading industrial power in the world, with highly diversified and technologically advanced industries such as; petroleum, steel, motor vehicles, aerospace, telecommunications, chemicals, electronics, food processing, consumer goods, lumber, and

⁸ The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty was signed in 1972 between the United States of America and the Former Soviet Union on the limitation of the anti-ballistic missile systems used in defending areas against missile-delivered nuclear weapons

mining. Around two-thirds of the total production of the country is driven by personal consumption.

According to the Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, US direct investment position abroad on a Historical-Cost basis (Which is a stable measuring unit assumption that includes the original value of an economic item) for the year 2008 reached \$ 3.16 Trillion. Therefore, it can be noted that the American economy provides an unmatched competitive advantage for the US amongst other industrial powers in the world (Bureau of Economic Analysis, 2008).

A main component of the United States Economy in recent years - in the Internet age, and the information technology (IT) revolution- has been known as the digital economy having a significant effect on growth, productivity, and other aspects of economic activity within the United States and abroad. The Digital Economy forms 29.6% of the GDP (5) for the year 2000 (Bureau of Economic Analysis, 2001).

The economy of the United States has intertwined with the global economy throughout the history of the US. It also provides a main source of American power and influence. The global economy has proved to have great effect on the domestic prosperity and the overall vision of American foreign policy, especially with the changes in the new global environment with the rise of China as an economic superpower, along with the European Union and Japan introducing cooperative advantages and economic ties between states as an indispensable circle in the practice of foreign policy.

Geography of the United States:

The United States is located in North America bordering both the North Atlantic Ocean and the North Pacific Ocean between Canada and Mexico. The United States area is 9,826,675 sq km; with 9,161,966 sq km land area and 664,709 sq km water area. The country's area rates 3 in comparison to the world and consists of 50 states and the District of Columbia.

The availability of land, the diversity of climate, the presence of accessible and open canals, rivers, and coastal waterways, and the richness of natural resources facilitating the cheap extraction of energy, fast transport, and the availability of capital all contributed to America's rapid industrialization.

Scientific and Technological Advancements of the United States:

Technological advancement is one of the major elements of the United States power; science and technology are believed to be a powerful drive for advancing economic growth and new opportunity.

As early as 1848 the American Association for the Advancement of Science was established with the aim of advancing science and investing in innovation as key resources for the progress of the US.

Furthermore, the US constitution itself reflects the importance of encouraging science; in its eighth section, the constitution includes that among the powers it gives to the congress is the power "to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries" (The Constitution of the United States: Section 8).

The period after the Civil War was marked by increasing industrialization and technological advances like the railroad, telegraph & telephone, and internal combustion engine. This revolution facilitated America's expansion and economic development by connecting the frontier with the industrial, financial, and political centers of the East.

The United States has played an important role in contributing to many fundamental advances in telecommunications and technology, generating from its intense investment in research universities and laboratories that enriched the American technological revolution with a series of inventions especially in the computer industry, the programming systems, and the internet. The revolution in science and technology has supported various industries that contribute to the economic wealth of the United States such as military technologies and the space race, the banking and trading, and agricultural production, the media, the telecommunication to name a few.

The US Congress established the Office of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP) in 1976 with a broad mandate to "advise the President on the effects of science and technology on domestic and international affairs". OSTP was founded to ensure that the government investment in technology is making the greatest potential contribution to the economic prosperity, public health, environmental quality, and national security. As noted in figure 5, the investment in science and technology accumulates to billions of US dollars in the Research and Development section and is an integral part of the US federal budget (OSTP, 2010).

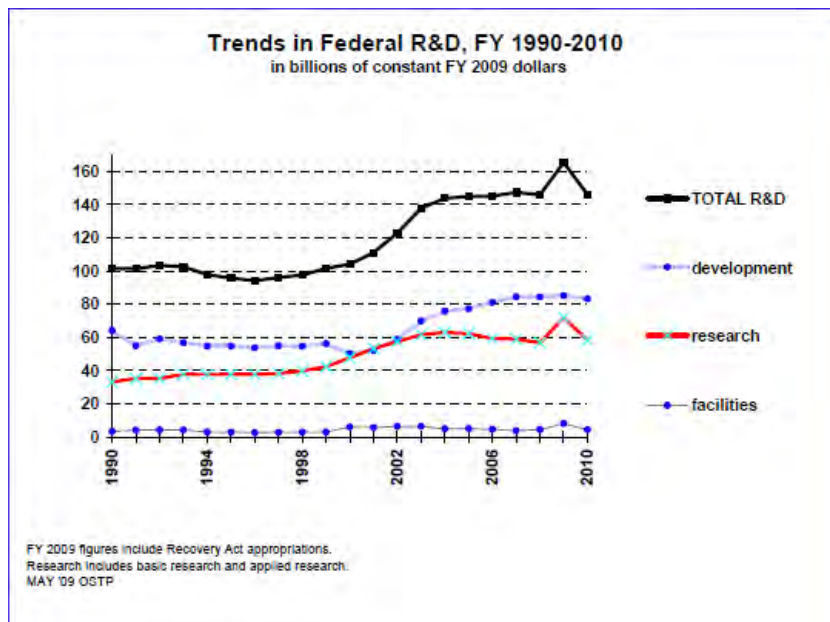


Figure 5: Trends in US Federal Budget for Research and Development 1990-2010

The United States federal budget allocated to Research and Development (R&D) in 2010 reached USD 147.6 Billion, including USD 295 Million assigned to technology programs and education technology (OSTP 2010 Budget Report, pp.1).

Intangible Capabilities of the United States: Soft Power Resources

The United States wields strong cultural influence through music, television, films, and arts, along with its technological advancements.

Nye defines Soft Power as the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes you want through attraction rather than through payment or coercion. Although Soft power indicates the ability to shape the preference of others, attractive values and actions need to exist in order to obtain desired outcomes (Nye, 2008)

The United States has many resources that can produce soft power; its economic, technological, scientific, and cultural capabilities contribute not only to the wealth but also to the attractiveness and reputation of the United States.

For example, the US attracts nearly six times the inflow of foreign immigrants as second-ranked Germany; the United States is the world's number one exporter of films and television programs. Of the 1.6 million students enrolled in universities outside their own countries, 28% are in the United States. The United States publishes more books than any other country, has more than 13 times as many internet website hosts as Japan, and ranks first in Nobel prizes for physics, chemistry and economics (Nye, 2004).

Despite its impressive resources, the United States capabilities in the area of soft power have declined in 2003 during the preparation and the launch of the War on Iraq. After the war unfavorable images of the United States have risen as a reflection of the opposition to American policies. Nye defines the image of the country as "the combination of foreigners' attitudes towards a variety of levels including foreign policy" (Nye, 2004:35).

Figure 6 which is based on results of a 2002 opinion poll held in 43 countries indicates the degree of American attractiveness, and how it is admired for its culture, music, movies, technological and scientific advances; at the same time the majority of those who polled (34 out of 43) said they disliked the spread of American influence and ideas.

Dimensions of American Attractiveness 2002

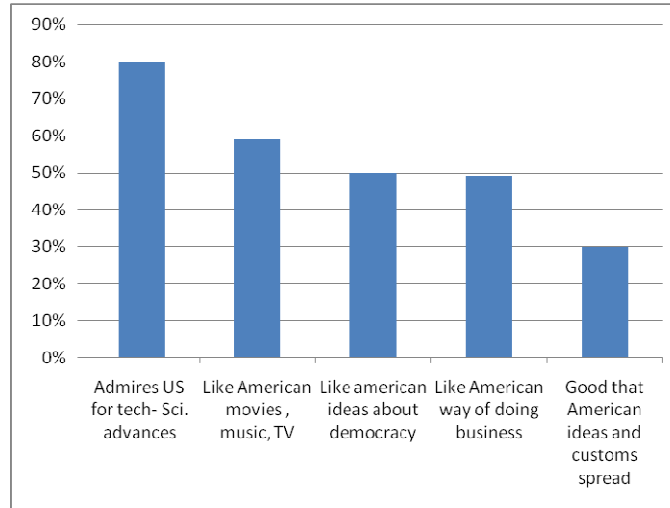


Figure 6: Dimensions of American Attractiveness –Pew Global Attitude project, What the World Thinks in 2002, Median measures of 43 countries surveyed.

The decline in attractiveness of the United States possibly may illustrate that it is not sufficient to have material power resources alone. In the case of soft power as Nye argues, the question is what messages are sent and perceived by whom under which circumstances, and how this affects the ability to obtain the goals set (Nye, 2004).

These messages are core values of a state that are communicated and expressed through the substance and style of foreign policy. Therefore in order for a country to pursue its national interests it needs to utilize its Soft Power to mobilize cooperation from others. The lack of mobilizing cooperation to advance interests during the Bush Administration in the aftermath of 9/11 led to international criticism of US unilateralism which Nye considers as one of the reasons for the decline in American attractiveness (Nye, 2004)

The Pew Global Attitudes Project⁹ puts forward global views about the favorability of the United States in a survey launched in 1999¹⁰ and continued to measure trends in 25 nations until 2009.

The data shows a major drop in views in 2003- the launch of the War on Iraq- most notably in Europe and the rest of the world. The Table also shows a slight increase in favorable views in Arab countries in 2009, this raise is attributed to President Obama, The Pew Global Attitudes Project claim that the confidence in President Obama has lifted US image around the world.

⁹ The Pew Global Attitudes Project is part of the Pew Research Center's series of worldwide public opinion surveys that began in 2001

¹⁰ 1999-2000 polls were conducted by the Office of Research US Department of State.

Table 2: US Favorability Rating

US Favorability Rating (Percent)								
Country/Year	1999/2000	2002	2003	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
USA	—	—	—	83	76	80	84	88
Canada	71	72	63	59	—	55	—	68
Britain	83	75	70	55	56	51	53	69
France	62	62	42	43	39	39	42	75
Germany	78	60	45	42	37	30	31	64
Spain	50	—	38	41	23	34	33	58
Poland	86	79	—	62	—	61	68	67
Russia	37	61	37	52	43	41	46	44
Turkey	52	30	15	23	12	9	12	14
Egypt	—	—	—	—	30	21	22	27
Jordan	—	25	1	21	15	20	19	25
Lebanon	—	36	27	42	—	47	51	55
Palestinian Ter.	—	—	—	—	—	13	—	15
Israel	—	—	78	—	—	78	—	71
China	—	—	—	42	47	34	41	47
India	—	66	—	71	56	59	66	76
Indonesia	75	61	15	38	30	29	37	63
Japan	77	72	—	—	63	61	50	59
Pakistan	23	10	13	23	27	15	19	16
South Korea	58	52	46	—	—	58	70	78
Argentina	50	34	—	—	—	16	22	38
Brazil	56	51	35	—	—	44	47	61
Mexico	68	64	—	—	—	56	47	69
Kenya	49	80	—	—	—	87	—	90
Nigeria	46	76	61	—	62	70	64	79

Source: The Pew Global Attitudes Project, Pew Research Center 2009

Soft power, therefore, is becoming more and more influential in the 21st Century. The United States appears on the global stage as an imperial power acting unilaterally, a fact that raises feelings of Anti-Americanism since values of US foreign policy cannot be forced or imposed.

American Foreign Policy after 9/11

The moment of 9/11 is argued to have further heightened the asymmetry in American dominance as a hyper-power. It demonstrated the strength of America's military power. Many scholars argue that after 9/11 the uni-polar moment was revisited (Krauthammer, 2005). The Bush Administration's foreign policy reflected maximum unilateralism; the "with us or against us" challenge is argued to have allowed "arbitrary application of American power everywhere" (Krauthammer, 2005, pp.555)

Referring to figure 2 outlined in chapter 1; this thesis will utilize the Strategic- Relational Approach to foreign policy to analyze American foreign policy making after 9/11.

1. The Actors

Initially; the first variable in this equation is the actors; in other words the decision makers whose perspectives and choices shape foreign policy. The Bush Administration (2001-2008) is considered to be the chief actor in the analysis process.

Actors operate within the context of the international to obtain certain foreign policy goals. The phase implementation is when goals of foreign policy are realized through action into actual results. Foreign policy implementation was defined as a complex and fully political activity a "boundary" process which connects actors to their environment via the pursuit of foreign policy. It's about reaching out into the environment to transform ones' objectives to outcomes (Brighi and Hill, 2008, pp. 118).

In this understanding, choosing the instrument of foreign policy and the means to pursue goals in the multi-layered international system depend on the actors' assessment of state's

capabilities. Hence, there is a difference between instruments and capabilities of a state. Capabilities "are resources that are not yet translated into specific instruments which may be applied in practical politics" (Brighi and Hill, 2008, pp. 130).

The actual instruments of foreign policy are the forms of pressure and influence available to decision makers. For example Table 3 shows how principal capabilities are translated into foreign policy instruments:

Table 3: Links between capabilities and instruments of foreign policy

Capabilities	Foreign policy instruments
Armed forces	Deterrence and military intervention/ Diplomacy
Industrial and Technological skills	Deterrence and military intervention/ Cultural diplomacy
Reputation/prestige	Diplomacy/ Deterrence and military intervention
GDP	Economic sticks and carrots
Strength of Currency	Economic sticks and carrots
Agricultural productivity	Economic sticks and carrots

Source: Brighi and Hill, Implementation and Behavior, 2008.

The use of instruments represents an ascending scale in terms of the degree of risk in use. This scale includes the spectrum from soft to hard power as discussed by Nye (Nye, 2004). Greater powers have more options within this scale and can use different instruments simultaneously or in rotation.

The scale of instruments as presented by Brighi and Hill starts with low-risk options with lesser degree of commitment in terms of resources and ends with military action. The ladder begins with diplomacy, and then moves to positive sanctions such as aids, trade agreements, public diplomacy, following is the negative sanctions such as boycotts, embargoes, restriction

on cultural contacts, then comes the political intervention such as propaganda and interference, the final step in this scale is military action (Brighi and Hill, 2008).

Foreign policy action implies the exercise of a certain degree of power. Therefore, the sense of power and the judgment of context are relational and depend on decision-makers' perceptions; if they behave as if the power of others – regardless of its form- is irrelevant they would suffer unexpected outcomes, on the other hand if they are too confident about their power position or interpret the context too narrowly they might risk the outcome of a hostile coalition or a change in their global position. (Brighi and Hill, 2008).

The Bush Administration Perception of The Context (2001-2008)

The key foreign policy makers in the Bush Administration produced a certain course of action in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. American foreign policy choices to a considerable extent were a product of the decision makers' perception of the context, and the position of the United States within it.

Condoleezza Rice Bush's 2000 campaign director of foreign policy wrote an article in *Foreign Affairs* outlining the President's outlook on power, especially military, as an important tool to preserve both national security and American global interests;

Power matters, both the exercise of power by the United States and the ability of others to exercise it...America's military power must be secure because the United States is the only guarantor of global peace and stability... The President must remember that military is a special instrument. It is lethal and it is meant to be. (Rice, 2000, pp.2).

President's Bush campaign advisors went on to be key players in the post 9/11 era, the campaign director of foreign policy, Condoleezza Rice, became the National Security Advisor in the Bush first Administration and the Secretary of State in the second. The second campaign advisor Paul Wolfowitz became Deputy Secretary of Defense and one of the chief architects of the Iraq War. Other figures included Richard Perle, Stephen Hadley, and Robert Zoelick.

Donald Rumsfeld, who was appointed Secretary of Defense in the Bush Administration, had been Secretary of Defense under President Ford. Although Rumsfeld was not a direct part of the Bush campaign circle he was perceived as an experienced military professional. During the Bush presidency he shifted the focus from planning to encounter conventional threats to the need to address "Asymmetrical Threats" such as terrorism, cyber attacks and biological and chemical attacks.

Dick Cheney also had considerable experience in foreign policy having served in the Congress and as a White House Chief of Staff under President Ford and as a Defense Secretary under President Bush Senior. James Mann, key writer at the Center for Strategic & International Studies, Washington DC noted that "the selection of Cheney was of surpassing importance for the future direction of the American foreign policy" (Kennedy-Pipe, 2008, pp. 404).

Colin Powell who was the Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff during the 1990-1 Gulf War, and whose active endorsement of President Bush candidacy was believed to have an enormous support was appointed Secretary of State in the Bush Administration. Moreover, the Gulf War what is referred to as the "Operation Desert Storm" was conducted in accordance with the principles of the Powell Doctrine; first, setting a clear military objective, the coalition was to eject Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Second; the United States employed overwhelming force,

approximately half a million troops as estimated. Finally there was a clear exit strategy, the United States and the coalition forces would withdraw once Iraqi forces had left Kuwait.

These individuals are believed to be related to conservative foreign policy circles, and were part of a network of policy intellectuals and activists generally referred to as Neo-conservatives. Although not all of the team were Neo-conservatives ; but initially the Bush Administration included an alliance of what Kennedy-Pipe calls Republican ascendancy; Realists, Neoconservatives and social conservatives.

The Republican-dominated congress from 1994 onwards had opposed Clinton multilateralism and had challenged the president to change certain key policies including issues of climate change and the permanent International Criminal Court. President Clinton signed the Rome Statue of the ICC but had failed to recommend that it be ratified. The Clinton administration had sought to a large extent to position itself as central to a wide range of multilateral and bilateral relationships in world politics and to be what Albright Secretary Of State termed "The Indispensable Nation". A notion that the Republican candidate in the 2000 elections Bush was critical of, presenting himself as a "compassionate candidate" supported by a team of "good strong capable smart people who understand the mission of the United States"(Bush, 2000).

The election of President Bush to the White House resulted in the formation of an administration that developed US foreign policy and security strategy in a particular direction. This is perhaps due to the influence of a group of Neo-conservative opinion formers backed by a wider circle of politicians and advisors from assertive Realist background (Rogers, 2008).

In this understanding, and since the Bush Administration envisaged the possibility of an American Century whereby the United States would play a world-wide leading role, the Bush

Administration's perceived US position during the Clinton Administration in terms of excessive involvement in multilateral initiatives and negotiations and subsequently as limiting freedom of US action (Rogers,2008).

These views were also expressed in the 2000 elections campaign by Rice the campaign foreign affairs advisor who outlined the approach towards national security calling the United States to place greater emphasis on its national interest and emphasized the need for overwhelming military strength as Rice termed it:

American foreign policy in a Republican administration should refocus the United States on the national interest and the pursuit of key priorities. These tasks are:

- To ensure that America's military can deter war, project power, and fight in defense of its interests if deterrence fails;
- To promote economic growth and political openness by extending free trade and a stable international monetary system to all committed to these principles, including in the western hemisphere, which has too often been neglected as a vital area of U.S. national interest;
- To renew strong and intimate relationships with allies who share American values and can thus share the burden of promoting peace, prosperity, and freedom;
- To focus U.S. energies on comprehensive relationships with the big powers, particularly Russia and China, that can and will mold the character of the international political system; and

- To deal decisively with the threat of rogue regimes and hostile powers, which is increasingly taking the forms of the potential for terrorism and the development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) (Rice, 2000, pp.2).

As a consequence, and in continuation of the expressed concerns, the Bush Administration, once in the office, aimed to initiate early steps to express its intent to avoid any limits to American freedom of action; including the withdrawal from the Kyoto climate change protocols in 2001, and the withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty in the same year.

2. The Context

Foreign policy making is impacted by the actor's understanding of the dimensions of the international context; According to Brighi and Hill from the perspective of a single foreign policy actor, the international context has two dimensions; horizontal and vertical.

The horizontal dimension stretches from near to far or from local to global. Vertically the international context is made of multiple functional layers; political, social, economic, military and so on. In the phase of implementing objectives this view argues that the greatest challenge for foreign policy makers (actors) is to harmonize both dimensions and maintain consistency of action within each (Brighi and Hill, 2008).

In horizontal terms, the United States has laid the claim of a global foreign policy since the end of the Cold War and has asserted these claims in the aftermath of 9/11. Despite an overwhelming military and economic power; America's vision of a global foreign policy seems

to be suffering many setbacks in the phase of implementation because it has global interests and is active on almost every front.

This extension of global interest and targets can be referred to as “Overstretch” a term that was defined by Brighi and Hill as the “tendency to of great powers to take on imperial commitments which they cannot sustain financially or militarily” (Brighi and Hill, 2008, pp. 128).

In line with this definition, Overstretch, may take the form of a foreign policy behavior undertaken without available resources or due to miscalculations of the strategic-relational nature of foreign policy. In other words, the ability to accommodate ongoing feedback processes, from the context itself and the domestic environment.

The Vertical dimension supposes that there is a vertical distribution of layers; the political, the economic the military or the cultural that overlap in important ways since their hierarchy is not fixed.

In line with this understanding, it can be argued that one of the major factors that shaped the context and produced the US foreign policy during the Bush Administration (2001-2008) were the 9/11 events and global terrorism.

The Significance of 9/11 in Shaping US Foreign Policy

There is a debate about the extent to which 9/11 events changed the face of global politics and about the transformative nature of this event.

The significance of 9/11 lies in many aspects, chief among which is the element of surprise; the attacks were witnessed by millions of Americans and the world on live television. This gave the event immediacy and generated global support by governments and peoples of the world for the United States; with the French newspaper *Le Monde* using the famous headline "We Are All Americans Now" (Rogers, 2008, pp.362).

Moreover, 9/11 involved non-state actors, and although it included an attack on the Pentagon, the greater impact came from targeting the World Trade Center Towers that were described by Rogers as a "symbol of American success as a leading trading state in the world". (Rogers, 2008, pp. 358).

Although the United States had already experienced a number of paramilitary attacks prior to 9/11 on its facilities in the Middle East and North Africa including bombing of US embassies in Dar Al Salam and Nairobi in 1998, and the 1996 Khobar towers attacks, it is argued that none of the attacks were sufficient to prepare the Americans for the impact of 9/11 (Rogers, 2008)

How a few men could hijack American planes and launch surprise attacks on US soil was for many Americans astonishing. The elements of shock caused by the 9/11 produced a sudden perception of vulnerability that has to a considerable extent affected government actions in the aftermath.

Caroline Kennedy-Pipe (2008) gives framing assumptions for US foreign policy after 9/11; first the extent to which the events created an opportunity for the ideological elements of the Bush Administration to take the initiative, allowing Neo-conservatism to influence foreign policy.

Second, the "blowbacks" of US foreign policy, or the unintended consequences of US foreign policy against itself; Kennedy-Pipe argues that the attacks perhaps must be seen as part of the longer-term patterns of resistance to US power across the world.

Third, the 9/11 attacks introduced the increasing belief in the utility of military power a position Neo-conservatives argued for a long time.

Global Terrorism

The shock of the surprise attacks led to an immediate reaction in policy terms, starting with what was termed by the Bush Administration as the "War on Terror".

Perhaps, a definition of the concept "Terrorism" should be provided by the researcher;

Wardlaw describes Political Terrorism as:

The use or the threat of use of violence by an individual or a group whether acting for or in opposition to establish authority when such an action is designed to create extreme anxiety and/or fear inducing effects on a target group larger than the immediate victims with the purpose of coercing that group into acceding to the political demands of the perpetrators. (Wardlaw, 1982, pp.16)

The Bush Administration's reaction to the 9/11 attacks was perhaps seen as a product of the perspective that the United States as the world's sole super power has the right to determine its future and a responsibility to promote its political and social ideas. It was envisaged by the Bush Administration that the United States was facing a worldwide threat and that a forceful military response was essential.

The Bush Administration declared the attacks as an act of war; President Bush then invoked the United States right to self-defense under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. In this understanding the United States had the right to respond through retaliatory military action.

In the first address following the attacks, President Bush stated that the American way of life and freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. After the Bush Administration announced Osama Bin Laden as the main suspect, it demanded the Taliban regime in Afghanistan cease harboring the leadership of Al Qaeda or risk the use of US military force to do so, implying the termination of the regime if it did not comply.

The United States then moved rapidly to destroy the Taliban regime in Kabul and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan through launching the war on Afghanistan "Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF)" on October 2001. The initial goals of the war on Afghanistan were stated by President Bush in a 2001 speech in which he states that the military action in Afghanistan will be part of the US campaign on terrorism.

First and foremost, President Bush said that the operation aims to disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations and to attack the military capability of the Taliban regime.

Second, the Bush Administration claims that the aim was to prevent the terror network led by Al Qaeda to train new recruits and coordinate their evil plans (Bush, 2001).

Third, and as an attempt to give moral justification for US military actions, the speech claims the war will also entail "generosity of the United States and its allies" in rescuing the people of Afghanistan from hunger, oppression, and deprivation since "The United States of America is a friend to the Afghan people, and with almost a billion worldwide who practice the Islamic faith".

In this understanding the initial goals of the War on Afghanistan were perceived and communicated by the United States in direct and focused terms; Fischer summarizes these goals by closing down al Qaeda training camps in the country, disrupt and end support for terrorism, and topple the Taliban Regime which has been providing a safe haven for Al Qaeda (Fischer, 2005).

The war on Afghanistan has been perhaps perceived as the first step in the Bush Administration pursuit of the war on terror and the invasion of Afghanistan met little international criticism for various reasons; first, the Taliban Regime is envisaged by the majority of states as illegitimate and it had been denied the right to take Afghanistan's seat in the United Nations. Moreover, in terms of the status of human rights in the country; Afghanistan had poor human rights records and was perceived by the United States and the international community as a violator of human rights in particular women's rights.

The war on Afghanistan appeared to be a success with the Taliban regime terminated by the end of November 2001; even so, there was immediate controversy over the Bush

Administration's decision to detain large numbers of suspected terrorists in the Guantanamo Bay prison challenging many accepted legal norms as the prohibition on torture and extraordinary rendition (Kennedy-Pipe, 2008).

The first half of 2002 can be said to have marked significant expansion of war aims, an expansion that was expressed in two key addresses by President Bush; the 2002 State of the Union Address in January 2002, and the Graduation Address at the West Point Military Academy five months later.

The State of the Union Address extended the concept of the war on terror beyond retaliatory action against al Qaeda in two specific ways;

The first of these was to make clear that the enemy in the war on terror was not just limited to Al Qaeda but included other Islamic organizations such as Hezbollah, Hamas and Islamic Jihad. President Bush stated:

Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries. A terrorist underworld, including groups like Hamas, Hizballah, Islamic Jihad, Jaishe-Mohammed, operates in remote jungles and deserts and hides in the centers of large cities (Bush, 2002).

Second, the Address extended the war on terror beyond sub-state terror groups to include a number of rouge states that were defined by President Bush as working against US security

interests both by their support for terrorist organizations and their determination to develop weapons of mass destruction. By using the phrase “Axis of Evil”, the war was extended to include states such as Iraq, Iran and North Korea.

North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens.

Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom.

Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax and nerve gas and nuclear weapons for over a decade.

States like these and their terrorist allies constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. (Bush, 2002).

The second significant discourse that is seen to entail new dimensions of the war on terror in terms of extending war aims is the Graduation Address given by President Bush at the West Point Military Academy. The address maintains that the United States has the right to take preemptive actions against any enemy that might cause any future threat to the US security; "Our security will require all Americans to be forward looking and resolute, to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and to defend our lives" (Bush, 2002).

Pre-emption included military actions against states, with the members of the 'Axis of Evil' as strong candidates for enforced regime change if there were not internal transformations (Rogers, 2008).

In this understanding, the context played an important role in shaping American foreign policy; the increasing belief in the utility of military power influenced post 9/11 foreign policy decisions; perhaps the first major and most influential decision after the attacks was what to do in response; in other words the best course of action the Bush Administration perceived to pursue its goals. It is envisaged that the United States adopted military action and hard-power-backed intervention as key instruments of its foreign policy after 9/11.

Referring to figure 4 the Strategic-Relational approach to foreign policy; Context becomes meaningful in analyzing US foreign policy after 9/11 when looked at from the perception of Actors and how they interpret the features of the environment around them (Brighi and Hill, 2008).

Therefore, interventionism and the utility of military power in American foreign policy behavior is not just a product of the change in the context of the international and the position of the United States after the attacks; it is also result of decision makers' interpretation of the same position with its constraints and opportunities.

Another aspect of the interactions between Actors and their Context is the feedback from the actor to the context and vice versa; foreign policy behavior feeds back into the context; US foreign policy after 9/11 particularly the War on Terror significantly influenced the shape of the international system and the nature of US position and relations within it. On the other hand, American foreign policy was subject to great domestic and international debate and controversy in regards to the legitimacy of the invasion of Afghanistan, the creation of Guantanamo prison with the increasing reports on torture and practice of rendition, increased unilateralism, and waging the War on Iraq, debates that have impacted the US itself.

3. The Ideas

Finally, the Strategic-Relational approach to foreign policy analysis, assumes that the interaction between the actors and the context is mediated by the role of ideas and discourses; therefore, although it is important to study the how the context is shaped by the actors' behavior, it is also important to study how constraints, opportunities and responses offered by the context are filtered through the perceptions of Actors with the aim to be ultimately "internalized" in the political process as Brighi and Hill argue (Brighi and Hill, 2008, P;120).

To examine the role of ideas in the making of foreign policy in the aftermath of 9/11 events; the Bush Doctrine and Neo-conservatism will be analyzed as major ideological and perceptual elements.

The Bush Doctrine (2001-2008) and American Grand Strategy

The Bush Doctrine was developed in response to the attacks of 9/11, and was set-out in the 2002 State of the Union Address and the National Security Strategy. It promised to fight terrorism, countries that developed weapons of mass destruction, and encourage democratization of the Middle East.

Many scholars and politicians attempted to identify the elements and main principles of the Bush Doctrine. According to Jervis (2003) the doctrine has four main elements; a strong belief that a state domestic regime is important in determining its foreign policy and the related judgment that this is an opportunity to transform international politics. The perception that

great threats can be defeated by new and strong policies, most notably pre-emptive war; a willingness to act unilaterally when necessary and an overriding sense that peace and stability require the United States to assert its primacy in world politics (Jervis, 2003).

The first pillar or element of the Bush Doctrine focuses on spreading liberal values of democracy, freedom and free enterprise, elements which the US believed to be universal. The United States Government would take strong measures to spread such values; making the Bush Doctrine “liberal” in its belief in the sources of foreign policy.

It was argued by Toby Dodge that it was the overtly ideological promotion of democracy that set the Bush Doctrine aside from previous US foreign policies towards the Middle East (Dodge, 2008).

The second element deals with threat and preventive war; according to Fischer the United States 2002 National Security Strategy declared that the United States will make no distinction between terrorist and those who harbor or provide aid for them, as threats to the security of the United States, also it introduced the policy of preemption that requires the United States to be prepared to stop “emerging threats before they are fully-formed” and prevent adversaries from developing Weapons of Mass Destruction. Thus, the Bush Doctrine rejected the idea of containment and claimed that in the post 9/11 era containing threats was no longer possible, instead it reasoned that the United States “should seek to prevent threats from developing in the first place” (Fischer, 2008, pp. 140).

Concerning the third element, it was argued by Jervis that the perceived need for preventive wars is linked to the fundamental unilateralism of the Bush Doctrine since “it is hard to get a consensus for such strong actions” (Jervis, 2003, pp. 373). Unilateralism is a main

characteristic of the Bush Administration by which the US avoids any permanent alliance with foreign powers and argues against entanglement with international institutions such as the UN. It seeks to avoid prohibitions upon the making of US policy (Kennedy-Pipe, 2008).

The fourth element is linked to American primacy by which the United States has to keep military strength beyond challenge, making arms race “pointless” (Bush, 2002). It was highlighted by Jervis that this element entails contradiction; although the Bush Doctrine calls for universal norms and values that govern all states through the spread of democracy, on the contrary the fourth element advocates that order can only be sustained through dominance of power (Jervis, 2003).

The basic elements of the Bush Doctrine are envisaged to entail the main principles of America’s foreign policy approach and its national security objectives including preserving the United States pre-eminent position, fighting terrorism and spreading democracy.

National Security is defined as the “protection of core values that is the identification of threats and the adoption of policies to protect core values” (Leffler ,1992, pp.10). It also refers to the “preservation of the country’s highest values as these are purposefully threatened from abroad, primarily by other state, but by other external actors as well” (Nordlinger,1996).

Schmidt argues that the best strategy the state pursues to preserve its national security goals is called a grand strategy. It is a crucial component of a foreign policy and is defined as "an overall vision of the state's national security goals and the most appropriate means to achieve them" (Schmidt, 2008, pp.19).

Grand strategy, hence, can be viewed as a three-step process, first; foreign policy officials must determine the state's vital security goals, Second they must identify the main sources of threats, finally they must ascertain the key political economic and military resources that can be employed as foreign policy options to realize the national security goals (Schmidt, 2008).

It was noted by Schmidt that although all decision-makers go through the same process of selecting a grand strategy; the resulting strategies differ, due to the differing ways in which both security and threat are conceptualized; in addition to the capabilities the state possesses to pursue the selected grand strategy (Schmidt, 2008).

It is argued that the Bush Doctrine adopts a grand strategy of Primacy (Schmidt, 2008). Primacy is fundamentally about preserving America's position as the unquestionable pre-eminent power in the international system. Primacy assumes that peace among great powers and American security is dependent upon the preponderance of American power (Schmidt, 2008).

In the aftermath of the Cold War the United States held a position of the sole superpower in the international system. Proponents of Primacy view that this is an advantageous position for achieving US national security goals and argue that American grand strategy should be one of preventing any future great powers from challenging the power of the United States (Schmidt, 2008).

The 2002 National Security Strategy as expressed by President Bush in the aftermath of 9/11 entails support that the United States has oriented its foreign policy around a grand strategy of Primacy. The emphasis on military power as key to protecting national security is evident in Bush's words "Our forces will be strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from

pursuing a military build-up in hopes of surpassing, or equaling, the power of the United States" (National Security Strategy, 2002) .

President Bush also links international peace to the preponderance and leadership of the United States; "We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent" (National Security Strategy, 2002) .

Advocates of Primacy support unilateral action when necessary; President Bush states in the National Security Strategy that "to forestall or prevent such hostile acts by our adversaries, the United States will, if necessary, act preemptively". The role of international institutions, thus, is seen as restraining rather than enabling American power (Schmidt, 2008).

In order to maintain its dominance the United States would actively work to prevent states like Russia and China from posing any challenges to US primacy. Bush states that:

"We are attentive to the possible renewal of old patterns of great power competition. Several potential great powers are now in the midst of internal transition -- most importantly Russia, India, and China. In all three cases, recent developments have encouraged our hope that a truly global consensus about basic principles is slowly taking shape"(National Security Strategy, 2002).

Furthermore, Primacy does not maintain that the promotion of democracy should topple other vital US interests. Primacy is largely linked to the power-maximizing version of structural realism that does not give much weight to the character of domestic regimes.

Schmidt argues that for proponents of Primacy if the promotion of democracy in a country like Iraq erodes US power relative to other great powers, then the war on Iraq will be concluded as adversative to American national interests. However, other supporters of Primacy such as Neo-conservatives argue that democracy promotion is a major element of American grand strategy (Schmidt, 2008).

There have been major debates whether the Bush Doctrine is Liberal or Realist. To a considerable extent the fundamentals of the Bush Doctrine including the preservation of US primacy, the willingness to use force against enemies or perceived threats, and the notion of adopting unilateral course of action when necessary seem to fit in a Realist worldview.

However, Realist criticism of the "liberal" justification behind the War on Iraq emerged. In this understanding, the Bush Administration used democracy promotion as a key rationale for the invasion, since regime change and installing a democratic government was argued to support the spread of democracy in the Middle East and would be beneficial to the United States since democracies do not fight each other, as liberal supporters of the war have argued (Schmidt, 2005).

According to Mearsheimer, The dispute about whether to go to war in Iraq was between two competing theories of international politics: realism and the Neo-conservatism that underline the Bush Doctrine.

Mearsheimer argues that the Neo-conservative theory and the Bush doctrine is essentially Wilsonianism with "teeth". (Mearsheimer, 2005, pp. 1)

The Wilson doctrine or Wilsonianism refers to interventionist policies initiated by President Wilson in relation to Central and Latin America in 1913. His fourteen-point speech contained

ideological justification for US war efforts which subsequently became the basis for idealist thought after the First World War (Evans and Newnham, 1998).

The theory has an idealist strand and a power strand: Wilsonianism provides the idealism in terms of the promotion of democracy and the belief that democracies have benign motives and are naturally inclined to act peacefully toward other states. An emphasis on military power provides the teeth. (Mearsheimer, 2005)

The key to understanding why the Neo-conservatives think that military force is such a remarkably effective instrument for running the world is that they believe that international politics operate according to bandwagoning logic or the Domino Theory.

Mearsheimer explains that the Bush Administration is not Realist, it is Neo-conservative; for the Realists, putting Iraq, Iran and North Korea on the Axis of Evil list and increasing threats towards them will drive them to develop counter-alliances, enhance their military buildup, and acquire nuclear weapons. For the Neo-conservatives; Iran and North Korea will respond to the fall of Saddam by understanding they will follow on the target list, and will seek to avoid the same fate by surrendering (Mearsheimer, 2005)

The Neo-conservative Ideas as a Source of American Foreign Policy

Ideology plays an important role in shaping American foreign policy; rooted in the American culture is the belief in America's mission to bring democracy, freedom, and progress to the rest of the world. This belief was seen to be closely linked to the sense of American nationalism on one hand, and intertwined with its actions on world stage on the other. It was argued by Anatol Lieven that the idea of an "American mission in the world" became a very powerful form of nationalism reinforced by the media, the school system, popular culture, and the rhetoric of politicians" (Lieven, 2008, pp. 435).

The ideology of the American global mission played a key part of the rhetoric of the Bush Administration in particular in its pursuit of the War on Terror; the opening statement of the National Security Strategy of 2006 reads:

"The United States must defend liberty and justice because these principles are right and true for all people everywhere" (National Security Strategy, 2006).

The US elections in 2000 brought the contrast between the Candidate Bush and the Clinton Administration in terms of foreign policy approach. Initially President Bush viewed America as a humble nation, he argued that "If we are an arrogant nation they will resent us, if we are a humble nation, but strong, they will come to us". President Bush also associated his opponent Al Gore with the arrogant nation approach of the Clinton presidency.

To the contrary, it was believed that the administration of President Bush aroused feelings of resentment against the United States in a degree unmatched in the Clinton years. The Bush

Administration pre-emptive war against Iraq, the mistreatment of prisoners in Abu Ghraib prison, the failure to find Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) all have made the international community suspicious about US intentions, competence and morality.

While Neo-conservative ideas came into play in the decision-making process during the Bush Presidency, particularly the decision to launch a preventive war against Iraq, it was maintained that they were influential but not decisive. Khong (2008) argues that there are other considerations that affected the decision making process.

First, is the 9/11 attacks; Khong argues that in essence ideas needed to be activated by events. Second, the strategic placement by the Neo-conservative for their ideology in previous calmer times is important; when the 9/11 came the Neo-conservative ideas have developed substantially and were ready to be put into action. Third, Khong argues that there were two probability assumptions made by the architects of war that were also critical, the assumption that the operation would be trouble-free and the assumption that even if there were low probability of linking Saddam Hussein to Al Qaeda and WMDs, this probability will be treated as a certainty which is what came to be known as the one-per-cent Doctrine (Khong, 2008).

Khong argues that the one-per-cent doctrine provides an "operational answer" to one of the key elements of the Bush Doctrine which is pre-emptive war. (Khong, 2008, pp. 261).

During the Clinton presidency the Neo-conservatives were believed to be marginalized on the ideological and political level; however Khong argues that they have used this time fruitfully to establish the basics of the Neo-conservative thought (Khong, 2008).

Hudson argued that the Neo-conservative ideology was driven by two main imperatives; security in the post 9/11 era, and an ideological sense of moral mission whose origins can be traced to the very beginnings of the American Republic (Hudson,2005)

This is perhaps most notable in William Kristol and Robert Kagan work who published the 1996 Foreign Affairs article "Towards a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy" that was regarded to be as a vital foreign policy statement of contemporary Neo-conservative thought and their strategic approach.

The authors of the article argued that the United States international role is to exercise "Benevolent global hegemony"; they defined the hegemon as a leader with preponderant influence and authority over all others (Kagan and Kristol, 1996, pp. 2).

The authors believed that the United States was in that position, they proposed that maintaining this status would be done through a "Neo-Reaganite foreign policy of military supremacy and moral confidence (Kagan and Kristol, 1996).

The Neo-Reaganite foreign policy includes:

- Increased military spending to meet global goals and deter potential challengers.
- Educate Americans about the role they can play in sharing the responsibility of global hegemony and "emphasize both personal and national responsibility, relish the

opportunity for national engagement, embrace the possibility of national greatness, and restore a sense of the heroic, which has been sorely lacking in American foreign policy"

- Moral clarity behind American foreign policy through promoting democracy, free markets, and individual liberty abroad. "American foreign policy should be informed with a clear moral purpose"(Kagan and Kristol, 1996).

Drawing from the writings of Kagan and Kristol, Khong organizes the Neoconservative approach to foreign policy into four interrelated premises:

- Moral clarity about the forces of good and evil in the international arena; Democracies are good, tyrannies are evil.
- The United States should strive to preserve its military pre-eminence. The Neo-conservative theory of international relations is based on preponderance of power rather than the traditional balance of power as a root to world peace and stability.
- The United States should leverage its military power, showing greater willingness to use military force to pursue its goals.
- International law and institutions are unreliable in obtaining peace and justice (Khong, 2008)

The influence of morality/ideas in the Neo-conservative thought was formulated by many Neo-conservatives. For Kenneth Adelman a self-identified Neo-conservative and a supporter of the US invasion of Iraq writing famous articles in the Washington Post promoting the war, argues that Neo-conservatism is "the idea of a tough foreign policy on behalf of morality the idea of using our power for moral good in the world" (Adelman, 2002 pp.27).

The Kristol-Kagan approach perhaps is perceived as more ambitious; one of the revealing passages in the Kristol-Kagan Foreign Affairs article is their response to the claim that the United States ought not to go on a quest for monsters to destroy.

But why not? The alternative is to leave monsters on the loose, ravaging and pillaging to their hearts' content, as Americans stand by and watch... Because America has the capacity to contain or destroy many of the world's monsters, most of which can be found without much searching, and because the responsibility for the peace and security of the international order rests so heavily on America's shoulders. (Kagan and Kristol, 1996).

Kristol and Kagan were promoting the Neo-conservative thought and the American responsibility to protect peace by slaying monsters during the Clinton presidency among which is what they called as the “Iraqi Monster”.

Kristol and Kagan maintained their strong support for regime-change in Iraq under the auspices of the Project for the New American Century (PNAC) that was established in 1997, they sent a letter to President Clinton in 1998 co-signed by sixteen grandees associated with Republican administrations.

Among the signatories of 1998 letter who held a policy position in the Bush Administration were: Elliot Abrams, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for the Near East and North African Affairs, National Security Council, Richard Armitage, Deputy Secretary of State, Paula Dobriansky, Under Secretary of State Democracy and Global Affairs, John Bolton, US Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Richard Perle, Chairman, Defense Policy Board, Zalmay Khalizad US Ambassador to Afghanistan 2003-5, and Iraq, 2005-7, Peter Rodman, Assistant Secretary of Defense for international Security Affairs, Donald Rumsfeld ,

Secretary of Defense, Paul Wolfowitz, Deputy Secretary of Defense, Robert Zoellick US Trade Representative/Deputy Secretary of State.

The 1998 PNAC letter reads:

The only acceptable strategy is one that eliminates the possibility that Iraq will be able to use or threaten to use weapons of mass destruction. In the near term, this means a willingness to undertake military action as diplomacy is clearly failing. (Project for the New American Century, 1998)

We urge you to articulate this aim, and to turn your Administration's attention to implementing a strategy for removing Saddam's regime from power.... We believe the U.S. has the authority under existing UN resolutions to take the necessary steps, including military steps, to protect our vital interests in the Gulf. (Project for the New American Century, 1998)

In this understanding, it is notable that the Neo-conservatives were formulating a strategic approach towards US Foreign Policy which was neglected by President Clinton, with the preventive war on Iraq and regime change as one of the principles advocated. By the time President Bush was elected to the White House, the Neo-conservative ideology entered the play of the decision making process in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks that tipped the balance in favor of the Neo-conservative ideology. It was argued by Hudson that the moment of 9/11 was preceded by decades of preparations (Hudson, 2005).

It is worth investigating how the Neo-conservative ideology became influential in the decision making process; The formulation of US foreign policy towards the Middle East as argued by Hudson is deeply rooted in American domestic politics. The process of the Middle East foreign

policy making involves interactions between key structures and entities as mentioned in Chapter 1 including the White House, the Executive Branch, the Legislative Branch, the Political Parties, the Opinion Makers, and the Lobbies (Hudson, 2005).

The interaction between these structures and entities remains indispensable to understanding how the Bush Administration shaped US foreign policy after 9/11;

First is the White House. As Hudson observed the President is by far the key actor in shaping the Middle East policy. He is driven by the negative or positive influence of the policies towards the Middle East region on the President's political future due to the pro-Israeli forces on the electoral process. The President is also influenced by the opinions of the policy experts in the Executive Branch, the academic communities, and "Think Tanks" who shape his understanding and perception of how the developments in this region affect American security and economic interests.

Second, comes the Executive Branch; the State Department is an important entity in the Executive Branch of the US government that influences the shape of US foreign policy towards the Middle East. The Department of State interacts and competes with views of influential lobbies and elements in the congress. The State Department during the Bush presidency was headed by Collin Powell 2001-5, and Condoleezza Rice 2005-9.

The Defense Department is also influential, especially in the first decade of the twenty-first century since the US military is being used as a significant instrument of policy with considerable presence in the Middle East region. The department was headed by Donald Rumsfeld 2001-6, and Robert Gates from 2006-9. The "intelligence community" as Hudson terms it, consists of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Security Agency

(NSA) which monitors electronic communications worldwide, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) which played an increasingly important role since the rise of the transnational terrorist networks.

Third, is the Legislative Branch; both the houses of the US Congress the Senate and the House of the Representatives play an important role in influencing policies towards the Middle East. Each body is well-staffed with specialized committees on foreign relations, security issues, intelligence and finance. These committees hold hearings on Middle Eastern policy issues mobilizing the research arm of the congress. External experts and lobbyists especially pro-Israeli - with the voting constituencies behind them- exert persuasive influence over members of the congress. It was argued by Hudson that the congress regularly authorizes massive financial aid to Israel reaching 3 Billion Dollars annually (Hudson, 2005).

Congressmen generally go along with the policy advice disseminated by pro-Israeli think tanks on Middle Eastern issues. It also important to note, however, that the congress does offer limited opportunity for proponents of US policy in the Middle East to be heard (Hudson, 2005).

It is important to note that both houses of the Congress had Republican majorities during the Bush presidency, which supported the endorsement of decisions. The 107th congress that met from January 2001 to January 2003 had a Republican majority final voting share of 50 per cent in the Senate and a 51.5 per cent Republican majority final voting share in the House of Representatives. (US House of Representatives, 2009, US House of Senate, 2009).

The 108th Congress that met from 2003 to 2004 had a Republican majority final voting share of 50 per cent in the Senate and a 52 per cent Republican majority final voting share in the House of Representatives. (US House of Representatives, 2009, US House of Senate, 2009).

The 109th congress that met from 2005 to 2007 had a Republican majority final voting share of 55 per cent in the Senate and a 53 per cent Republican majority final voting share in the House of Representatives. (US House of Representatives, 2009, US House of Senate, 2009).

The 110th Congress that met from 2007-2009 witnessed a change in membership and final voting share with a 50.5 per cent majority final voting share for the Democrats and Independents in the Senate and a 54.3 percent majority final voting share for the Democrats in the House of Representatives (US House of Representatives, 2009, US House of Senate, 2009).

Fourth are the Political Parties. The Middle East policy issues have been central to the both the Democratic and the Republican parties and are regarded as “above partisan politics”. It was argued that the Democrats have been more pro-Israeli than the Republicans and that the Republicans were more pro-oil interests than the Democrats. However, recently especially during the 2004 and the 2008 elections, both parties sought to involve the Middle East to promote their own interests. For example the Democrats accused the Republican of needlessly invading Iraq and failing to advance in the war on terror.

The Opinion Makers; are private research organizations often referred to as think tanks. Many argue that the Bush Administration was affected by think tanks with Neo-conservative agendas such as the Washington Institute for Near Eastern Policy, the Heritage Foundation, and the American Enterprise Institute.

In 1996, an Israeli think tank, the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies, convened a study group whose members included prominent American Zionist Neo-conservatives - including Richard Perle Chairman of Defense Policy Board in the Bush Administration the study group leader - the Institute issued a policy memorandum called "A Clean Break: a New Strategy for Securing the Realm". The document promoted a new Israeli strategic framework for Benjamin Netanyahu towards the year 2000 and preached the balance of power as the key to Israeli security calling for a new relationship with the United States based on the philosophy of peace through strength (Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies, 2009).

The lobbies: It has been argued that the network of organizations that make-up the Israeli lobby is one of the most powerful networks in Washington. The American Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is perhaps the most visible of these groups and it has decades of experience in influencing the Congress and the White House. While American Jews make up 5 per cent of the American population; they are concentrated in key states and they are politically active in terms of campaign contributions.

On 16 November 2001, 89 senators sent President Bush a letter praising him for what they called "the correct course" in refusing to meet the Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat (Mearsheimer and Walt, 2006).

The senators also demanded that the US not restrain Israel from retaliating against the Palestinians; the administration, they wrote, must state publicly that it stood behind Israel. According to the New York Times, the letter resulted from a meeting two weeks previously between 'leaders of the American Jewish community and key senators', adding that AIPAC was 'particularly active in providing advice on the letter' (New York Times, 2001).

Hudson argues that criticism of the Israeli lobby has been considered by many American politicians and analysts as a taboo subject owing to fears of accusations of anti-Semitism; but in 2007 two respected political scientists Stephen Walt and John Mearsheimer published a strong critique of the lobby as damaging to American foreign policy interests.

The article criticized the strong support for the “Israeli cause” among senior Bush administration officials:

The situation is even more pronounced in the Bush administration, whose ranks have included such fervent advocates of the Israeli cause as Elliot Abrams, John Bolton, Douglas Feith, I. Lewis Libby, Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz and David Wurmser. As we shall see, these officials have consistently pushed for policies favored by Israel and backed by organizations in the Lobby. (Mearsheimer and Walt, 2006).

Walt and Mearsheimer also shed light on the connection between the neo-conservatism and the Israeli lobby and the Likud:

Within the US, the main driving force behind the war was a small band of Neo-conservatives, many with ties to Likud...Given the Neo-conservatives’ devotion to Israel, their obsession with Iraq, and their influence in the Bush administration, it isn’t surprising that many Americans suspected that the war was designed to further Israeli interests. (Mearsheimer and Walt, 2006).

Despite the controversial role the Neo-conservatives and the Israeli lobby play in exerting influence on decision-making process, the 2008 candidates for president appeared before that AIPAC's annual meeting pledging support for Israel's positions in the ongoing conflict in the Middle East.

In this understanding it seems visible that Neo-conservatives occupied senior positions at the Bush Administration and allied themselves with opinion makers and lobbyists who exert influence on the White House and the Congress, however, and after years of planning, the moment of 9/11 made it possible for this ideology to be activated.

Moreover, it was argued by Michael Hudson, that Paul Wolfowitz Deputy Secretary of Defense, as an undersecretary of Defense for Policy in 1992 under President Bush Senior drafted an internal strategy document for the Pentagon, which some have suggested it anticipated the 2002 National Security Strategy. Although the document was softened by Clinton Administration officials who rejected its unilateralist tone, the document called in essence for a major increase in Pentagon's funding to establish and protect a new world order (Hudson, 2005).

The role of Neo-conservatives is envisaged to have been a necessary condition for the invasion of Iraq. Accounts of the deliberations leading to the war on Iraq include Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld's eagerness to attack Iraq. It was reported by Bob Woodward of the Washington Post that the night of 9/11, at a small group meeting of the principals, Rumsfeld actually put Iraq on the table and says, "Part of our response maybe should be attacking Iraq. It's an opportunity." (Khong, 2008, pp. 260).

The Neo-conservative ideology when operating in conjunction with the US perception of vulnerability after the 9/11 attacks became a powerful force behind the US foreign policy decisions of 2002-2003 especially in regards the probability of success if force was used and the one-per-cent Doctrine (Rogers, 2008). To conclude, the attacks on New York and Washington in 2001 proved to be the channel that would enable the Neo conservatives to monopolize the public discourse, and the policy-making process on issues of the centrality of hard power well into President's Bush presidency (Hudson, 2005).

Chapter 3

The Future of US Foreign Policy in a Post- 9/11 World

The elements of the Bush Doctrine and the tenets of Neo-conservatism taken together have driven American foreign policy actions not only towards regime-change military wars and but also towards re-making of many states along good or evil lines whereby the security of the United States became linked to the spread of democracy in "other lands", increasing the centrality of hard power as an effective tool of foreign policy, and considering preemptive war as a legitimate form of defense.

It can be argued that the selection of hard power as the best course of action to respond to the 9/11 attacks and to encounter the spread of terrorism faced many challenges with raising debates that questioned the utility of hard power in the current global political setting.

The Declining Utility of Hard Power: The Case of Afghanistan and Iraq

It's worth investigating whether the Bush Administration selection of hard power in the aftermath of 9/11 as the best course of action to advance American interests and encounter the threats of global terrorism has succeeded.

The major and most influential actions that were launched in response to the attacks and that are considered to be millstones in America's War on Terror are the wars on Afghanistan and Iraq. It was argued by Ikenberry that Afghanistan and Iraq emphasize the limitations on US military power, because the problem of US is not its absolute strength but the question of how to bring that strength to respond to particular issues and most importantly "how to persuade

American political class and population to actually mobilize that strength for foreign policy goals" (Ikenberry, 2008, pp. 437)

The wars on Afghanistan and Iraq demonstrate that while conquering a territory may require comparatively few troops, holding it afterwards, protecting the new government in the face of local revolt and regional tensions; and ensuring peace and stability require very large number of troops, ongoing public support, and transparency in communicating evidence of success.

Afghanistan

In the case of Afghanistan; the war on Afghanistan received little international criticism. Although the war ended in clear military victory with the Taliban Regime removed in November 2001, consequent political developments were problematic; first Taliban militias disappeared from sight rather than had been defeated. The Bush Administration was believed to have ignored an important fact which was that Taliban and its Al Qaeda associates had significant potential for re-devolving their capabilities given that the frontier districts of Pakistan such as North and South Waziristan were areas with little or no central Pakistani control.

Second was the United States preoccupation with the regime change in Iraq coupled with delay in providing aid and security assistance to the country, Taliban and other militias began to regain influence and control. Moreover, as argued by Rogers, the insurgences were aided by increased opium production within the country (Rogers,2008).

It was reported by The UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in its 2007 Annual Opium Survey that a 17% increase in poppy cultivation from 2006 to 2007 and a growth of 34% in opium production was recorded in Afghanistan (UNODC, 2007).

The Taliban capabilities, thus, re-developed along the border districts with Pakistan, in areas where paramilitary groups were relatively safe from the attacks and could train new recruits and feed supplies into Afghanistan. This was also the case for Al Qaeda to a certain extent, although it was separated and detached, however, it was not feasible for the United States to extend the war against Taliban or Al Qaeda to Pakistan.

It is argued by Rogers that regime termination in Afghanistan and the killing and detention of Al Qaeda leaders seemed to have hugely weakened the movement, however, this has transformed it into a loose network of groups with modest degree of centralization that remained active (Rogers, 2008).

It can be argued that the case of Afghanistan provides demonstration that there are limitations on the effectiveness of military power, and that the post 9/11 military response was not supposed to be the central and the only decisive response.

Among the many debates that shed light on the limitations of US military power, John Ikenberry argued that "American power is less intrinsically legitimate and desirable in the eyes of states and people around the world" (Ikenberry,2008, pp.425). Leading to what he describes as the "security trap" meaning that when the United States tries to solve security-related issues with the use of force, it triggers resistance and hostility that makes it even more difficult for the US to achieve its security goals.

Despite warnings that maintaining peace and stability in Afghanistan was a mission that required more time and a multiple of instruments than the Operation Enduring Freedom that

toppled the Taliban regime in one month had consumed, the Bush Administration was preparing for regime termination in Iraq as well.

Iraq

The case of Iraq was perceived as problematic and more difficult than the Afghanistan case; while many states accepted that the United States needed to strike back after 9/11 especially that Taliban had very few allies, an attack on Iraq - which was unrelated to 9/11 attacks, and also had more allies - was bound to be much more difficult diplomatically (Kennedy-Pipe, 2008). In the months running up to the invasion in March 2003, USA found that it was opposed by many of the powers that had supported it over Afghanistan.

One of the reasons for the opposition was the failure to establish decisive links between the 9/11 attacks, Al Qaeda and Saddam Hussein regime, this led the United States to shift the focus to another justification for the invasion, to prevent the spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) also known as the "Axis of Evil" rationale¹¹.

However, providing clear evidence that the Saddam Hussein Regime possessed such weapons was problematic; both the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the UN inspectors said they needed more time to make proper assessment of the situation.

¹¹ "Axis of Evil" is a term initially used by the former United States President George W. Bush in his State of the Union Address on January 29, 2002 and often repeated throughout the rest of his stay in office, describing governments that he accused of helping terrorism and seeking weapons of mass destruction. President Bush named Iran, Iraq and North Korea as the axis of evil.

The United States successfully obtained a UN resolution number 1441 criticizing Iraq in 2002 that was adopted unanimously offering Iraq under Saddam Hussein "a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations" (UN Security Council, 2002)

Moreover, the US has gone back to the UN to obtain a second one plainly authorizing the use of force if Iraq continued to be in "material breach" of its obligations under the 1991 cease-fire agreement. Although this resolution was not put to vote, since it became evident that it will be vetoed by Russia, China and France, the United States challenged the international community and confirmed the its fears about any attempts to put restrictions on US power through multilateralism. The Bush Administration approach of unilateralism that became a main feature of the US foreign policy in the aftermath of 9/11 led the US to avoid any permanent alliance with other states and refuse entanglement with international institutions as a mean to remove any restrictions on US foreign policy making.

The United States rationale to invade Iraq was set out by Secretary of State Colin Powell in a UN Security Council speech on the 5th February 2003 almost 43 days prior to the invasion: "Leaving Saddam Hussein in possession of weapons of mass destruction for a few more months or years is not an option, not in a post- September 11th world". (UN Security Council, Press Release SC/7658, 2003)

The United States unilaterally launched the war on Iraq in March 2003. Yet again the problem however was not the military campaign itself, but the lack of consistency in planning the post-war setting. The decision to disband the Iraqi army and break up the central government made the situation chaotic, with the emergence of civil conflicts and increasing number of Iraqi civilian casualties imposed by the invading forces aroused feelings of resentment and anti-Americanism, amongst Muslims, Arabs and other nations of the world.

Kennedy-Pipe argues that one of the beneficiaries of the invasion and the chaos generated in its aftermath was Al Qaeda which established its presence in Iraq for the first time and produced new recruits (Kennedy-Pipe, 2008).

The Bush Administration was seen as unappreciative to the role of the UN in rebuilding Iraq, although the Bush second term administration attempted to persuade the UN to play a larger role in the post war Iraq, and thus in August 2007 a UN Security Council Resolution 1770 was adopted paving the way for a broader political role for the UN in Iraq. This was seen as belated recognition by the US of the complexity of the post war situation and the ineffectiveness of attempting to shape a complicated regional setting alone even for a superpower (Kennedy-Pipe, 2008). Political Victory was believed to be elusive in Iraq; efforts to rebuild a stable democracy are stumbling, with the outburst of civil violence and great instability.

Shortcomings of the Bush Administration and Decline in Public Support:

The immediate post -wars setting for American foreign policy proved that President Bush and his Administration were over-optimistic about the consequences of their choice of action. Especially that the War on Terror was being associated with torture, illegal detention, forceful actions, and obvious violation of international humanitarian laws and norms.

The popular support for the invasion of Iraq and the resulting occupation started to disappear especially with increased figures of US casualties that stood over 3,000 symbolically this number was important because it shows that US casualties in the battlefield exceeded those

who died in the attacks themselves. It has been reported that as of 2007 more than 24,000 had been wounded and in many cases disabled.

Public disquiet grew with the increasing number of civilian casualties of war and violence in Iraq; The highest estimate number of total war casualties was published in 2007 by Opinion Research Business (ORB), an independent polling agency located in London, the published estimates of the total war casualties in Iraq since the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 reached 1.2 million deaths (1,220,580)¹².

The Lancet - a leading medical scientific journal- published a survey on the effect of the US war on the Iraqi mortality rate. The survey suggested almost half the ORB number; 654,965 deaths through the end of June 2006.

The Lancet authors published two surveys: the first survey that was published on October 2004, estimated 98,000 excess Iraqi deaths from the 2003 invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq. The second survey published on October 2006, estimated 654,965 excess deaths. The survey is significant for covering both military personnel fatalities, and indirect deaths caused by lawlessness, degraded infrastructure and poor health (The Lancet, 2006, 2004).

Raising more concerns is the issue of Iraqi refugees after the 2003 war on Iraq; the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) estimates that since 2003, nearly two million Iraqi refugees have fled to Iraq's neighboring states. UNHCR also reports that between 2003 and 2005 approximately 200,000 Iraqis have been displaced.

¹² ORB estimate was performed by a random survey of 1,720 adults aged 18+, out of which 1,499 responded, in fifteen of the eighteen governorates within Iraq, between August 12 and August 19, 2007

During the Bush Administration's wars on Afghanistan and Iraq, The United States captured approximately 5000 persons, suspected in supporting terrorism. Many of those were detained under questionable conditions; especially in the Guantanamo Bay military base in Cuba. Detainees were out of the area of the US judiciary, and fully under the control of the Pentagon. This highly controversial process of detention became a central part of the war on terror, and generated substantial criticism of the United States, especially with the use of extraordinary rendition and "black sites", whereby suspects were taken to a third party state without ever standing before the US judiciary, allowing the CIA to avoid US legislations that prohibit torture, and gaining confessions through the mental and physical abuse of detainees. This was seen as a major violation of basic humanitarian and legal rights, the international community, public opinion, and many human rights organizations have raised concerns about the treatment of detainees since 2002 when the first of them were transferred from Afghanistan to Guantanamo.

Controversies on Guantanamo within the international community and various Human Rights Organizations have been increasing since 2002, with global campaigns calling for closing Guantanamo prison. A 2006 report of five United Nations experts on situation of detainees at Guantánamo Bay, reads;

Reports indicate that the treatment of detainees since their arrests, and the conditions of their confinement, have had profound effects on the mental health of many of them. The treatment and conditions include the capture and transfer of detainees to an undisclosed overseas location, sensory deprivation and other abusive treatment during transfer; detention in cages without proper sanitation and exposure to extreme temperatures; minimal exercise and hygiene; systematic use of coercive interrogation techniques; long periods of solitary confinement; cultural and religious harassment; denial of or severely delayed communication with family; and the uncertainty generated by the indeterminate nature of confinement and denial of access to independent tribunals. These conditions have led in some instances to serious mental illness, over 350 acts of self-harm in 2003 alone, individual and mass suicide attempts and widespread, prolonged hunger strikes. The severe mental health consequences are likely to be long term in many cases, creating health burdens on detainees and their families for years to come. (Amnesty International Report, 2007).

Abughraib Prison in Iraq became a notorious symbol of America's War on Terror; it received immense international criticism and condemnation for the published photos that exposed cruel acts of torture, mental, physical and sexual abuse of the prisoners. It would be argued that the enormous violations of basic human rights in Abughraib transformed the world's views on the morality of US actions and what it advocated on principles of democracy and human rights. The European Union, represented by its foreign ministers in a joint statement, expressed its

"abhorrence at recent evidence of the mistreatment of prisoners in Iraqi prisons and condemned any instances of abuse and degradation of prisoners in Iraq, which are contrary to international law, including the Geneva conventions," (EuropaWorld, 2004).

The morality of the US government, hence, was questioned within the international community as well as the American public. It became evident that gradual decline in public support for the invasion, the Bush Administration, the US presence in Iraq, and the legitimacy of the war began to take place after 2003.

The USA has lost a great deal of its credibility in the eight- year Bush Administration as opinion polls show a serious decline in American attractiveness across the world.

In a recent CNN/Opinion Research Corporation Poll, for the period 22-24 January 2010 results show that 60% of those polled oppose US war in Iraq¹³.

Previous opinion polls show significant decline in public support for the war from 2003-2007. An ABC News /Washington Post poll as indicated in table 4 shows that in 2003 75% of those who polled said the United States did not make a mistake in sending troops to Iraq; this figure gradually decreased to 51% in 2005 and 39% in 2007. The survey also shows that in 2003 27% of the sample thought the war "was not worth fighting considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits" however, this figure increased to 64% in 2007.

¹³ Data is from nationwide surveys of Americans 18 & older

Table 4: Decline in US Domestic Support for the War in Iraq

Do you think the United States made a mistake in sending troops to Iraq or not?			
Year	Made a Mistake	Did Not Make a Mistake	Unsure
2003	23%	75%	2%
2004	42%	57%	1%
2005	47%	51%	2%
2006	55%	43%	2%
2007	59%	39%	2%
Considering the costs to the US versus the benefits, do you think the war in Iraq was worth fighting, or not?			
Year	Worth Fighting	Not Worth Fighting	Unsure
2003	70%	27%	4%
2004	52%	44%	3%
2005	45%	53%	2%
2006	42%	57%	1%
2007	34%	64%	2%

Source: ABC News /Washington Post Opinion poll

The US invasion of Iraq and the rationale utilized to justify the invasion were also seen by the United Nations as challenging the UN Charter. On September 16, 2004 former Secretary-General of the United Nations Kofi Annan, speaking on the invasion, said, "I have indicated it was not in conformity with the UN Charter. From our point of view, from the charter's point of view, it was illegal" (BBC, 2004)

Despite the concerns that questioned the utility of military power as an instrument to face major security dilemmas, the Neo-conservatives maintained their vision of American foreign policy with unilateralist power, military competence and removal of dictators, and believed that despite the mistakes made in Iraq the basic drive for US policy after 9/11 was correct and

that any attempt to shift back to a more multilateral approach will be dangerous calling President Bush to push the ideological agenda for the ultimate limit.

In conclusion; it would be argued that the 9/11 events produced an opportunity for George Bush Administration to express a new vision for American foreign policy that did not balance ideas with capabilities on one hand and that failed to address the problem of multiple audiences on the other hand. Although the Bush Administration linked America's national security to direct military intervention to forcefully promote democracy across the world through maximizing on the perception of vulnerability in the post 9/11 era to gain domestic support, this rationale failed abroad and positioned the US as a superpower acting unilaterally. What is obvious is that hard power has set the tone for US foreign policy for the eight-year Bush Administration.

The Utility of Smart Power in US Foreign Policy:

As argued earlier, in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attacks; there was a dramatic outburst of sympathy and support for the United States from countries around the world, however this sympathy gradually vanished and the world has registered its disapproval of the United States unilateral decision to invade Iraq in 2003, and the subsequent policies the Bush Administration employed in pursuing the war on terror including the torture, renditions, and the violations at the Guantanamo Bay prison. This major backlash of international support and world public opinion against the USA during the Bush Administration became a key foreign policy priority at the 2008 presidential campaign.

It would be argued that the shortcomings of the Bush Doctrine including coercive democratization, preventive war and unilateralism were based on a profound misunderstanding of the concept of power and an overreliance on military/hard power as the best course of action to pursue US interests.

It would be necessary to provide distinctive definitions for the concepts of Hard Power, Soft Power & Smart Power. Hard power can be defined as the capacity to influence and coerce another in ways which that entity would not have acted otherwise; hard power strategies include deployment of military intervention, coercive diplomacy and economic sanctions to enforce national interests (Wilson, 2008, p:110).

Soft Power is an idea formulated by Joseph Nye a notable Harvard scholar, that refers to "leading by example and getting others to do what you want, it is the ability to shape others' preferences and affect others to obtain the outcomes you want through attraction rather than through payment or coercion" (Nye, 2008, pp. 94). Public diplomacy is an important tool in the arsenal of soft power, it aims at attracting attention to potential soft power resources of a country that rest in its values, culture & policies.

American Soft power resources as seen by Nye are essential to maintaining its predominant position in the world as a global leader. Nye argues that America's democratic legacy, the strength of its diplomacy, its culture and values are a source of attraction that will pull states towards the US "orbit", support its policies and legitimize its actions.

There has been debates on the effectiveness and weaknesses of soft power as a theory; Christopher Layne poses questions on how soft power works. First, Layne argues that unlike

people in inter-personal relationships, states can not be attracted and that there is very little evidence that states make decisions because they like another state or its leader (Layne, 2010).

Responding to this argument, it can be argued that Soft power is all about improving and sustaining America's image among other countries. According to Nye the rationale by which Soft power functions is different than what Layne disputes; Nye maintains that the better US image in the world is, the more allies it will have, and the more support its policies will attain from other states, and consequently the more safe it will be (Nye, 2010). It has also been the core of this thesis to study and analyze the role of conceptions and preferences as indispensable elements in foreign policy making,

Secondly, Layne argues that operationally, soft power needs to establish direct links between the attraction of the nation of a state, and the target state policy makers' response to the public soft-power-backed perceptions. In other words; the public's perception needs to directly affect governmental actions.

Although soft power doesn't function as directly as Layne argues; public support has indeed played a major role in US war on terror in the US and abroad. Soft power will not necessarily transform a state's response to the policies of the United States on its own; but it will link America's policy to morality and legitimacy; legitimacy can reduce the opposition and the costs of using hard power whose effects are irreversible.

It can be argued that legitimacy - although what is considered legitimate is debatable- can be moderately achieved through multilateralism and joint consensus which are basic principles in the theory of Soft power. For example, The Bush Administration faced challenges because it

has alienated itself by acting unilaterally, passing international institutions and defying international law and norms and disregarding the interests and opinions of other states.

Hilary Clinton, Secretary of State in the Obama Administration recognized that “America can not solve the most pressing problems on our own, and the world can not solve them without America. The best way to advance America’s interests in reducing global threats and seizing global opportunities is to design and implement global solutions” (Clinton, 2009).

The Bush Administration was unsuccessful in wielding soft power as an important instrument of its foreign policy. According to Nye, one of the reasons is that in the post 9/11 mindset and emotions there was no space left for anything “soft”; both politicians and the American public needed hard and firm terms to define US response after the attacks. Former US President Bill Clinton captures the mindset of the American people in remarks given at the Democratic Leadership Council when he said that voters chose “strong and wrong” over “timid and right” (Clinton, 2002)

Nye has used the term Smart power to describe strategies that successfully combine hard and soft power resources, since they are both very important tools in America’s war on terror. Nye argues that the USA needs to rediscover how to be a smart power although not neglecting the importance of hard power since it is “the most direct and visible source of America’s strength” but it needs to combine the hard power of coercion and payment with the soft power of attraction into a successful strategy (Nye, 2010, pp.8).

It can be argued that the complexity of the war on terror and the multiple layers and actors operating in the international system require new and smart tools to face global challenges,

Nye poses an example that Guantanamo prison and Abu Ghraib photos have become a more powerful icon than the statute of liberty.

During the Bush Administration, the United States expenditures on soft power are envisaged to be disproportionately small compared to the spends of other major countries of the world, in a period where its military spends reached almost half of what the world combined was spending As table 5 indicates.

Table 5: Comparative Investments in Soft and Hard power

Country	Year	Public Diplomacy Spends (\$ Billions)	Defense Spends (\$ Billions)
United States	2002	1.12	347.9
France	2001	1.05	33.6
Great Britain	2002	1.00	38.4
Germany	2001	218 Million	27.5
Japan	2001	210 Million	40.3

Source: Office of Management and Budget, Whitehouse, 2004.

Calls for increased investment in soft and smart power included Defense Secretary in the Bush Administration Robert Gates who in 2007 called the US government to commit more money to soft power tools including diplomacy, economic assistance and communications; because the military alone cannot defend America's interest around the world. In Gates words "I am here to make the case for strengthening our capacity to use soft power and for better integrating it with hard power" (France Press (AFP) Washington, 2007).

The over-reliance on hard power by the Bush Administration and the deterioration of US image across the world may be seen as causes leading the newly elected president Obama to move towards a smart power strategy in US foreign policy.

There are important discourses that entail the Obama Administration's tendency towards choosing a smart strategy in US foreign policy that is not in favor of over-reliance on military power alone; the Inaugural Speech, the Cairo Speech, and other foreign policy remarks given in other occasions.

These discourses are believed to have established the preliminary steps towards an altered foreign policy behavior; that includes increased attention to diplomacy, multilateralism, issues of economic development and opportunity such as education economic progress and science and technology.

Obama's inaugural speech includes statement that his administration will seek new foreign policy instruments to pursue American interests: "Our challenges may be new, the instruments with which we meet them may be new... To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward based on mutual interest" (Whitehouse, 2009)

The famous Cairo speech also known as the "New Beginning" speech reflects the Administration's disagreement with the exclusive hard power options as it reads:

"We also know that military power alone is not going to solve our problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan"" (Whitehouse, 2009).

On the War in Iraq and multilateralism, Obama states: "I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems. Indeed we can recall the words of Thomas Jefferson who said "I hope that our wisdom will grow with our power"... We are taking concrete actions to change course" (Whitehouse, 2009).

In line with this vision, a Group of republican and democratic members of the congress, former ambassadors, retired military officers and heads of non-profit organizations convened by the Center of Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)¹⁴ in Washington and formed The Smart Power Commission co-chaired by Richard Armitage and Joseph Nye.

The Commission recommended that US foreign policy should focus on five important areas:

- **Alliances, partnerships, and institutions:** the commission argued that the United States must reinvigorate the alliances, partnerships, and institutions that serve its interests and help the US to meet twenty-first century challenges.
- **Global development:** The commission stated that elevating the role of development in U.S. foreign policy can help the United States align its own interests with the aspiration of people around the world.
- **Public diplomacy:** The commission supported attracting foreign populations to the US, which depends on building long-term, people-to-people relationships, particularly among youth.
- **Economic integration:** The commission maintained that continued engagement with the global economy is necessary for growth and prosperity, but the benefits of free trade must be expanded to include those left behind at home and abroad.
- **Technology and innovation:** The commission recommended that energy security and climate change require American leadership to help establish global consensus and develop innovative solutions (CSIS Report, 2007, pp.1).

¹⁴ Center for Strategic and International Studies CSIS is a nonprofit organization headquartered in Washington, D.C. CSIS is a public policy research institution that conducts research and analysis to develop policy initiatives. The Center was founded by David M. Abshire and Admiral Arleigh Burke in 1962. www.csis.org

Chapter 4

Findings and Conclusion

Findings

Although smart power alone cannot provide resolutions for everything, it can be argued that some elements in this concept are very important to produce different foreign policy behavior through the deployment of new instruments that are less expensive, more humane, and internationally accepted.

The importance of hard power is nonnegotiable, however in the twenty first century; new issues emerged challenging the traditional foreign policy priorities, and created a need for new instruments to manage these issues. It also important to understand that hard power as an exclusive option has proven to have limitations, the post 9/11 War on Terror formed the sense of purpose for US foreign policy makers, whereby the only accepted form of response after the attacks as perceived by the Bush Administration and the American public was the hard, the military and the coercive course of action.

Throughout its War on Terror; the United States applied methods they have previously condemned when used by other countries; rendition of suspects, detention without judicial review, abusive interrogation processes, and torture. This has caused increase in anti-American sentiments across nations of the world; it has created a sense that America is an empire that doesn't respect the will and the interests of other countries.

Along with this understanding; elements of a smart power strategy can be found to a considerable extent in some of the Obama Administration foreign policy decisions that sought to provide distinctiveness in policies especially towards the Middle East. Initially and as a matter of political communication the term "Global War on Terror" would no longer be used by the Obama Administration as Secretary of State Hillary Clinton states in march 2009 (Fox News, 2009).

Furthermore, it was argued by Jentleson that the Obama Administration brought a significant degree of change but also “sought continuity” (Jentleson, 2010, pp. 444). On the issue of terrorism the military component remained a core element but with a strategy that sought to better fit in counterterrorism missions and deterrence rather than preemption.

It can be argued, thus, that the elements of the Smart Power Strategy can be found in major policies of the Obama Administration, including the cases of:

Iraq: in one of President Obama's first foreign speeches given in February 2009, he announced an eighteen-month timeline in which all US troops would be out of Iraqi cities by July 2009, and largely out of Iraq by August 2010, additionally, some troops with counterterrorism , training and related missions would remain until the end of 2011. The Obama administration strategy in Iraq entails more sustained diplomacy at the global level with major powers and the United Nations to support Iraqi stabilization and reconstruction. (The White House, Camp Lejeune Speech, 2009).

Afghanistan: The Obama Administration aimed at recognizing that Afghanistan and Pakistan formed one challenge. As noted in the beginning of this chapter the war in Afghanistan created

a major challenge for the Bush Administration with the Taliban return and increased numbers in both Afghani civilians and US troops' casualties. The Obama Administration made an initial commitment to increase troops both in US forces and NATO forces. On December 2009, President Obama laid out his administration policy with a major troop build up of 30,000 troops to be deployed quickly to gain military momentum paving the way for starting a withdrawal by July 2011. Other aspects of the Obama strategy were to strengthen diplomatic efforts to get NATO to increase their troops, to increase economic assistance and to generate broader global and regional diplomacy for support in addition to complementary Europe, Russia, China and India (The White House, WestPoint Speech, 2009)

More issues that were addressed by the Obama Administration include:

- Issuing three executive orders to demonstrate a clean break from the Bush Administration to:
 - Close the Guantanamo Bay detention within one year
 - Formally ban torture especially in terrorism interrogations
 - Establish an interagency task force to lead a systemic review of detention policies and procedure (The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 2009).

- The Nuclear Posture Review Report issued in April 2010 unveiled a defense policy to significantly narrow circumstances in which the US would use nuclear arms and reducing the role of nuclear weapons in the U.S. National Security Strategy.

- Negotiations with Russia to sign a landmark nuclear arms reduction pact that entails commitments by the US and Russia to big cuts in nuclear warheads, replacing the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START).

Conclusion:

- Today, America faces the challenge of the "security trap", and the Obama Administration has inherited a difficult international environment that was a product of the Bush Administration's use of force that triggered resistance and hostility making it even more difficult for the US to achieve its security goals.
- The United States must not neglect the importance of the context in understanding the effectiveness of its power. American power has strengths and limitations; although hard power is an important and direct form of its power; it is not the only decisive form as the Bush administration and the Neo-conservatives have perceived. The Context of world politics today is not only military; military power is only a part of the solution to responding to new threats as the Iraq case illustrated.
- Although Smart power is an elusive term, it is very relevant to the world's political setting nowadays in particular to the United States relationship with the Arab and Muslim world. There are no definite answers about power; however, America's policymakers need to respond to emerging global needs and priorities not only to their perceptions and preferences on power.

- Multilateralism is a relevant tool of a smart power foreign policy strategy; the United States should renew its commitment to the United Nations and to international laws and norms.. The United States should also seek to generate consensus on global issues and share responsibility with other major states on its policies, rather than unilaterally respond to new issues.

In conclusion, it can be argued that hard power options are important instruments in US foreign policy making, however, in the twenty-first century the importance is in the right combination of tools from both arsenals of hard power and soft power.

Referring to the questions posed in this thesis, it would be argued that;

- The Neo-conservative ideology -dominant within the Bush Administration -shaped America's grand strategy after 9/11 leading to visible reactions in terms of foreign policy behavior.
- America's foreign policy – marked by military primacy and the right to act preemptively against sovereign states- made the United States less secure because its foreign policy actions could not generate cooperation or acceptance by other states and nations. In other words, US foreign policy after 9/11 did not seem to reflect positively on American national interest.
- The shortcomings of the Bush Administration seem to have led president Obama to attempt to change the course of US foreign policy utilizing smart strategies that can prepare the environment and enable the actors to redesign America's foreign policy.

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السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية بعد أحداث 11 سبتمبر/أيلول: تقييم نقدي

إعداد

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المشرف

الأستاذ الدكتور عبدالله النقرش

ملخص

لقد أدت هجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر/أيلول 2001 والحربان اللتان شنتهما الولايات المتحدة على أفغانستان والعراق في أعقاب تلك الهجمات إلى ازدياد النقاش المتعلق بمصادر السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة وأفعالها في الخارج في أوساط السياسيين والباحثين.

وأظهرت مجريات الأفعال التي قامت بها إدارة الرئيس بوش رداً على هجمات 11 سبتمبر/أيلول أن إدارة بوش اعتمدت بشكل رئيسي على القوة العسكرية. ولا يبدو أن السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية بعد أحداث 11 سبتمبر/أيلول مثلت تغييراً ناجحاً عن المصالح القومية للولايات المتحدة، بوجود عدة أوجه للقصور في إدارة بوش والتي أحدثت تأثيرات مباشرة وطويلة الأجل على السياسة العالمية وأثارت نقاشات واسعة حول مستقبل السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية وقدرة إدارات الولايات المتحدة على استخدام الاستراتيجيات الذكية.

تحتاج هذه الأطروحة بأن ثمة جذوراً أيديولوجية قوية التأثير لعملية صنع السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية إبان ولاية الرئيس بوش. وتتجلى هذه التأثيرات الأيديولوجية بوضوح أشد في "عقيدة بوش"، كما أنها ذات صلة وطيدة بأيديولوجيا المحافظين الجدد.

وتتضمن هذه الأطروحة تقييماً نقدياً للسياسة الخارجية إبان ولايتي إدارة الرئيس جورج دبليو بوش (2001-2008)، ودراسة لعملية صنع السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية في أعقاب 11 سبتمبر/أيلول 2001.