

**UNITED STATES' FOREIGN POLICY AFTER SEPTEMBER 11
A CULTURAL EXPLANATION**

By
Yara El Ghalayini

Supervisor
Dr. Zaid Eyadat

**This Thesis was Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master's Degree of Diplomatic Studies**

**Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Jordan**

April, 2009

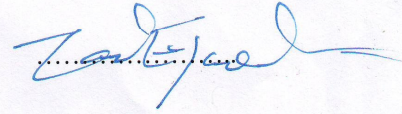
COMMITTEE DECISION

This Thesis (**United States' Foreign Policy After 9/11, A Cultural explanation**) was Successfully Defended and Approved on Tuesday the 7th of April 2009.

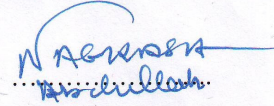
Examination Committee

Signature

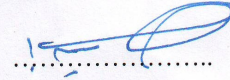
Dr. Zaid M. Eyadat (Supervisor)
Assist. Prof of Methodology & Comparative Politics



Dr. Abdullah S. Al Nagrash (Member)
Prof. of International Relations / Arab World and the West



Dr. Hassan M. Al-Momani (Member)
Assist. Prof of I R. conflict Management & Resolution



Dr. Abdelmajed A. Al-Azzam (Member)
Prof. of Comparative Government
(Middle East University)



Acknowledgment

Foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Zaid Eyadat, who shared with me a lot of his expertise and research insight, who's thoughtful advises often served to give me a sense of direction during my studies. I am deeply grateful to him for the trust and support he gave to me in order to finish my study.

I also would like to express my gratitude to my family and to everyone who has supported me, especially those who played a significant role in my life during the writing of my thesis.

LIST OF CONTENTS

| Subject | Page |
|---|-------------|
| Committee Decision..... | ii |
| Acknowledgment..... | iii |
| List of Contents..... | iv |
| List of Figures..... | v |
| Abstract..... | vi |
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| - Statement of Purpose..... | 3 |
| - Research Problem..... | 3 |
| - Hypothesis..... | 4 |
| - Literature Review..... | 4 |
| - The Significance of the Study..... | 9 |
| - Methodology..... | 10 |
| - Definition of Concepts..... | 10 |
| Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework: Culture and Human Behavior..... | 14 |
| - Culture, IR Theories and Foreign Policy..... | 14 |
| - Social and Cultural Theoretical Context..... | 17 |
| - Foreign Policy..... | 21 |
| - Culture and Foreign Policy..... | 23 |
| Chapter 2: Methodological Framework..... | 31 |
| - Social Constructivism and Discourse Analysis..... | 32 |
| - Context Analysis and the U.S. Foreign Policy..... | 34 |
| - Methodological Challenges..... | 36 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Chapter 3: American Political Culture..... | 39 |
| - What is Political Culture?..... | 39 |
| - American Political Culture..... | 41 |
| - Analytical Context..... | 49 |
| Chapter 4: American Culture and American Foreign Policy..... | 54 |
| - Historical Background and Analytical Context..... | 54 |
| - Foreign Policy..... | 61 |
| - Cultural Factors and American Foreign Policy..... | 63 |
| Chapter 5: American Political Culture and Foreign Policy: Religion, Neo-conservatism and Language..... | 69 |
| - Religion..... | 69 |
| - Religion and American Foreign Policy..... | 70 |
| - Evangelicalism and American Foreign Policy..... | 74 |
| - Neo-conservatism Ideology..... | 76 |
| - Ideology and the American Foreign Policy..... | 77 |
| - Language..... | 88 |
| Chapter 6: Summary..... | 95 |
| Appendices..... | 99 |
| References..... | 102 |
| Abstract (in Second Language)..... | 115 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| NUMBER | SUBJECT | PAGE |
|--------|---|------|
| 1 | Whether culture - in general - can affect the conduct of any country's foreign policy? | 27 |
| 2 | Whether cultural variables in the U.S. influenced its foreign policy after 9/11? | 28 |
| 3 | "The Concentric Circles of Power Model" (Spainer & Uslaner, 1974, pp. 55) | 66 |
| 4 | Whether people consider religion one of the main factors that have influenced the U.S. foreign policy post 9/11? | 73 |
| 5 | Whether people believe that the Neo-conservatism as a political stance has influenced the U.S. foreign policy after 9/11? | 88 |
| 6 | The charts represent the variables of the samples that have been taken for the poll. | 100 |

**UNITED STATES' FOREIGN POLICY AFTER SEPTEMBER 11
A CULTURAL EXPLANATION**

By
Yara El Ghalayini

Supervisor
Dr. Zaid Eyadat

ABSTRACT

After the events of 9/11, the American government has adhered itself to an aggressive, strong foreign policy; a foreign policy that has triggered many questions and has provided different explanations, for that this study aims at identifying and explaining the change and continuity in American foreign policy in both pre and post 9/11. It also aims at providing a cultural based explanation to American foreign policy post 9/11.

Introduction

Despite the exclusive focus on the concepts of power and political structure in most of the traditional international relations theories, historical experiences and evidences suggest that culture led and could lead to stirring conflicts.

Culture has long played a significant role in the field of international relations; one can argue that virtually all cultures tell something about how states behave and how they shape their foreign policy.

Cultural factors and behaviors have long shaped the application of foreign policy among international entities and have contributed to the disciplines of international relations and foreign policy in the course of centuries whereby religion, ideology, and language - as cultural factors - relatively influence the interaction among individuals, groups and nations.

The reason behind considering culture as one of the most powerful instruments used in foreign policy is that it leads states to design and attain national interests in an intelligent and effective manner. Hence, there is an essential need to evaluate cultural variables to enhance and broaden our understanding of states' policies, especially foreign ones.

International relations theories have long provided us - and still do - with explanations to many events taking place in the international system. Some of these theories have tended to explain states' actions and their conduct of foreign policy based upon their self-interests, while others have focused on the concept of power, and few have focused on culture. In the past decades, new trends appeared in the international

systems, and world affairs have witnessed major changes such as: the collapse of the Soviet Union, the globalization, modernization, the 9/11 events and the U.S. government's response to them. These trends have come to raise some doubts about these traditional theories of international relations, and this mainly because of their limited explanatory capacity.

Upon evaluating the American foreign policy after 9/11, a wide range debate has opened up regarding it. Politicians, experts, scholars, and even locals have attempted to provide numerous explanations and justifications for the new strategies adopted by the U.S. in conducting its foreign policy after 9/11. When evaluating these explanations, one would find that the cultural based explanations have had the least share among these explanations, and of these few explanations, many have focused on one single cultural factor. The set of tools and strategies adopted and implemented by the U.S. foreign policy during the post 9/11 era offer a profound cultural explanation based on ideological and religious beliefs. Some of these ideological and religious beliefs are associated with a relatively recent political stance called neo-conservatism. Neo-conservatism is considered to be a major source of influence on the Bush administration.

To be sure, one of the strategic tools deployed after 9/11 is mass media communication. The media has been intensively utilized after 9/11; strategic language choices and communication approaches have proved to be effective in settling certain terminologies and concepts in the minds of the masses.

Statement of Purpose

The study aims at identifying and explaining the change and continuity in American foreign policy in both pre and post 9/11. It also aims at providing a cultural based explanation to American foreign policy post 9/11. To be sure, this study will utilize and employ an innovative theoretical framework that combines multiple cultural variables to strengthen the explanatory power of suggested theoretical model. In addition, the innovative methodological approach that heavily relies on critical social theory and social constructivism will help in identifying and explaining the main concepts and variables, and provide an adequate scientific verification to the research's hypothesis as well as to provide answers to the research questions.

Research Problem

After the events of 9/11, the American government has adhered itself to an aggressive, strong foreign policy; a foreign policy that has triggered many questions and has provided different explanations, few studies and researches have been able to provide an adequate answers and realistic explanations; based on this, the study's analysis is an attempt to answer some of the following questions:

- 1 Is there a shift in American foreign policy post 9/11? In other words, has the U.S. government adhered itself to different foreign policy or is it a continuity to previous foreign policies, and if it is continuity, is it for different reasons or for the same reasons but in different approach.
- 2 Whether this change or continuity in American foreign policy can be explained by a realistic approach or there is a need for a different one,

especially that traditional international relations theories have not been able to provide sufficient explanations.

- 3 To what extent have cultural factors affected American foreign policy post 9/11?

Hypothesis

The paper hypothesizes that there is a clear-cut shift and transformation in American foreign policy post 9/11, and that existing international relations theories have explained very little at the best of this change. It also poses that this shift can be explained at large by examining both, cultural factors and the U.S. political culture in terms of conservatism and liberalism.

Literature Review

The discipline of international relations aims at providing an understanding and explanations for the political behavior in world politics. Recently, traditional international relations theories have received much criticism mainly for their failure to understand and explain many major events in world politics, such as the end of the Cold War and the U.S. response to 9/11.

Cultural explanations came last to the literature of international relations, foreign policy, security studies, and international economics as an explanatory model. Based on the fact that culture strongly influences human's behaviors and motivations, a throng of recent books, essays, and articles have pointed to cultural factors as the basic force impelling states and individuals to act and organize themselves the way they do. In addition, many of these writings argue that both culture's importance and

the notion that culture shapes cognition and conduct are continuously growing. Consequently, cultural approaches, theories and explanations have played a focal role in international relations, such as the structuralists, rationalists and cultural approaches.

In this study, theoretical concepts are employed to demonstrate the impact of cultural factors in shaping and forming the United States' foreign policy after the events of September 11. The research literature review will be covering a wide spectrum of studies and opinions with respect to culture, international relations, and foreign policy.

Traditional theories have been the most dominant in understanding and explaining international relations and foreign policy in world politics. Nevertheless, scholars have raised skepticism about their precision in explaining recent world events; the incident of 9/11 came to reinforce this skepticism, since none of the traditional international relation theories have succeeded in providing a thorough and deep explanation to September 11 and the U.S. foreign policy since then. As a result, many scholars, such as Steve Smith and Alexander Wendt, have tried to better understand and explain world politics through post positivist theories. Steve Smith (1996) in his book *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* criticizes the conventional ways in which international relations are conceived. More importantly, he makes it clear that the discourse in international relations theories is broader than a debate between neo-realists and neo-liberals.

Following post-positivist theorists, Alexander Wendt (1992) laid the bases for challenging what he considered a flaw shared by both neo-realists and neo-liberal, by attempting to show that even the core realist concepts, such as power and material capabilities, are socially constructed and not given by nature; hence, it is capable of being transformed by human practice, an argument that Wendt (1999) devoted his, *Social Theory of International Politics* to explain. Martha Finnemore (1996) has also been influential in examining the way in which international organizations are involved in the processes of the social construction of actor's perceptions of their interests. In *National Interests in International Society*, Finnemore starts her work by the definition of states' identities and interests, but instead of looking at the social interaction among states, she focuses on the norms of international society and the way in which they affect state identities and interests. She argues that state behavior is defined by identity and interest, and identity and interests are defined by international forces, that is, by the norms of behavior embedded in international society.

In highlighting the significance of cultural aspects in international relations and foreign policy, Samuel Huntington (1996), in his book "*The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*", has pointed out to the importance of cultures and civilizations in increasing the threat of violence in current struggles across the globe. He states, "In this new world order the most persuasive, important, and dangerous conflicts will be between peoples belonging to different cultural entities" (Huntington, 1996, pp. 28). He has mostly put emphasis on the religious factor. Huntington also examines the growing influence of major cultures on today's events especially among states that base their traditions on religious beliefs and values, and he argues that culture may be the main cause of conflicts.

Walter Isard has studied the inconsistency and disagreement between cultures and nations, which he argues that it might be the cause of conflicts. He writes, “These differences often pertain to beliefs and behaviors that give rise to and perpetuate conflict” (Isard, 1992, pp. 9). He has also stressed on the role that leaders play in shaping a state's foreign policy, “Leaders with very different personalities and behavioral patterns; with different cognitions, values, and ideas can arise from the same society” (Isard, 1992, pp. 9).

Regarding the foreign policy of the U.S. - which is arguably, has witnessed a shift post the events of 9/11 - many scholars have tried to provide explanations for the strategies adopted by the U.S. government in implementing its foreign policy. “It is widely argued that the terrorist attacks changed everything dramatically as the world entered a new and frightening (age of terror)” (Chomsky, 2004, pp. 188). Chomsky argues that American foreign policy has drastically changed post 9/11. He criticizes the change which has occurred in conducting the American foreign policy and tries to seek and redefine many of the terms commonly used in the ongoing war on terrorism. He states that the invasion conducted by George W. Bush on Iraq in 2003 has drew a worldwide criticism because seemingly it presented a new philosophy of pre-emptive war and presented the beginning of building a global empire. Moreover, Michel Cox and Doug Stokes (2008) work *US foreign policy*, offer a comprehensive introduction to American foreign policy, and emphasize that it has marked a shift post 9/11. The text deals with the rise of America, U.S. foreign policy during and after the Cold War, and the issues facing the U.S. policy-makers since September 11. While analyzing the history of American foreign policy Cox and Stokes relate theoretical debates to key

foreign policy developments that have occurred; they analyze various theories that attempt to explain American foreign policy and traditions that inform it, like Idealism and Realism, and examine it in light of these theoretical approaches and traditions.

In shedding light on the role of the cultural explanations of the U.S. foreign policy Brzezinski elucidated that “When the U.S policies are especially offensive it is advocate of counter cultural - identities that tend to provide the political leadership in galvanizing populist resentment against American’s failure to live up to popular expectations” (Brzezinski, 2004, pp. 212). On a more thorough and solid explanation, Mauk and Oakland provided a comprehensive introduction to contemporary American life, and the manifold effects of the 9/11 events. The authors stress on the importance of the president's behavior in shaping the U.S foreign policy, "The President has several powers that make him the single most important figure in U.S. foreign policy today" (Mauk and Oakland, 2005 pp. 177).

With respect to the role of the neoconservative ideology which has pervaded the American political philosophy since early 60s, and is considered one of the major cultural factors influencing American foreign policy post 9/11, one should highlight the work of Francis Fukuyama - a former neoconservative - “*After the Neocons: America at the Crossroads*”. In this book Fukuyama (2006) criticizes the neoconservative ideology practiced by Bush and his administration, he states that the opportunity presented by 9/11, has led to the adoption of the principles of unilateralism and preemptive war in the National Security Strategy of the United States published in 2002. Fukuyama suggests that in reality, Bush's foreign policies since 9/11 have been influenced by traditional liberal internationalist or Wilsonianism

assumptions, which have long laid a troubling impact on the U.S. foreign policy behavior and have led to the current situation in Iraq (Fukuyama, 2006).

Language has had a very significant role in shaping the U.S foreign policy; strategic language choices and well-formed political rhetoric have proved to be effective. In that, Hayward Alker has provided many valuable resources, such as, "*On securitization politics as contexted texts and talk*" and "*The Humanistic moment in international relation*". In these resources, he has recognized the major role of cultural context and language in political discourses and dialogue (Alker, 1992).

It is of major importance to understand the role of cultural factors in the field of international relations and how they contribute to a states' foreign policy. This study focuses on the role cultural factors, in term of religion, neo-conservatism ideology and language, have played in American foreign policy after the events of 9/11, and how the political behavior of the U.S. can be explained by culture. The study tries to add a contribution to the previous literature by utilizing the discourse analysis methodological approach and by applying theoretical concepts to demonstrate the impact of cultural factors in shaping the U.S foreign policy.

The Significance of the Study

The significance of the study springs out from two sources, one of them is that the cultural approach with respect to the United States' foreign policy after 9/11 has not been examined and analyzed broadly yet. In other words, the role of culture - in terms of religion, neo-conservatism and language - has not been given its weight in examining, understanding and explaining the political behavior in the international

arena, especially in the case of the U.S. foreign policy conduct post 9/11. Another source is that the world is witnessing a transformation in the international system in which states are getting more steeped to their identities, cultures and civilizations.

Methodology

The study utilizes and employs the discourse analysis methodological approach. It utilizes multiple tools related to the nature of the subject while examining the study's hypotheses. It involves a phenomenological perspective whereby it aims to describe, deconstruct, analyze, understand, evaluate and reconstruct behavior of states in the international arena and how this political behavior cuts across American foreign policy after 9/11. Furthermore, some of the U.S. political discourse post 9/11 will be analyzed in order to enhance the study's hypotheses, and improve one's understanding of how cultural factors, particularly religion and neo-conservatism ideology, have influenced the U.S. foreign policy, with a particular emphasize on language as it is a powerful tool in winning public support.

Definition of Concepts

Foreign Policy: Cox and Stokes define it as "a consequence of pressures emanating from the distribution of power in the international system. In other words, the international distribution of power is an autonomous force that has a direct influence on the behavior of states" (Cox and Stokes, 2008, pp, 11).

Culture: "is a dynamic value system of learned elements, with assumptions, conventions, beliefs and rules permitting members of a group to relate to each other and to the world, to communicate and to develop their creative potential" (Renteln, 1996, pp. 10). Consequently, the study is concerned with the total pattern of norms, ideas and belief systems that influence and shape human's behavior and subsequently its products.

Conservatism: is a major political ideology at the U.S., its core principles include a belief that government ensures order, competitive markets, and personal opportunity. Conservatives' support a fiscal policy rooted in small government and laissez faire capitalism (Burchill and Linklater, 1996, pp.30).

Neo-conservatism: 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, it developed from the mid-twentieth century to the present, and its key principles are deeply rooted in a variety of American traditions (Fukuyama, 2006,pp.226).

Ideology: following Malcolm Hamilton, the study conceptualizes ideology as a system of collectively held normative and reputedly factual ideas and beliefs and attitudes advocating and/or justifying a particular pattern of political and/or economic relationships, arrangements, and conduct (Hamilton, 1987, pp.18).

Terrorism: term with no agreement amongst government or academic analysts, but almost invariably used in a projective sense, most frequently to describe life threatening actions perpetrated by politically motivated self-appointed sub-states, individuals, groups and states, it's also perceived as a policy intended to strike with terror those against whom it is adopted; the employment of methods of intimidation (Oxford English Dictionary, 2002, Electronic Copy)

Religion: "a kind of cultural and/or linguistic framework or medium that shapes the entirety of life and thought, it is similar to an idiom that makes possible the description of realities, the formulation of beliefs, and the experiencing of inner attitudes, feelings, and sentiments" (Lindbeck, 1984, pp.33).

Liberalism: is a political philosophy that promotes and ensures freedom of thought and speech, limitations on the power of governments, the rule of law, an individual's right to private property, free markets, and a transparent system of government. All liberals support some variant of the form of government known as liberal democracy, with open and fair elections, where all citizens have equal rights by law (Burchill and Linklater, 1996, pp. 46).

Evangelicalism is a Protestant Christian movement that began in Great Britain in the 1730s. Most adherents consider its key characteristics to be: a belief in the need for personal conversion (or being "born again"); some expression of the gospel in effort; a high regard for Biblical authority; and an emphasis on the death and resurrection of Jesus (Eskridge, 1995, Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals, Electronic

Copy).

Born Again Christian: the term born again means rebirth - namely, spiritual birth into the family of God by acceptance of Jesus as personal Lord and savior. In the Bible, Jesus is said to have stated that only born-again believers get into Heaven. The term is mainly used by Evangelical and is frequently used by Fundamentalist, Pentecostal and some mainline branches of Protestant Christianity. (Catholic encyclopedia "Baptism", Electronic Copy)

Chapter 1

Theoretical Framework

Culture and Human Behavior

Having introduced the subject of the study and defined the research questions, this chapter is dedicated to establish the theoretical framework within which the study takes place. It examines international relations theories that enhance the understanding of how cultural factors affect and shape reasoning, perception, and human behavior. Then it explains the role of culture in politics, international relations, and foreign policy.

Culture, IR Theories and Foreign Policy

In spite of the growing awareness of the importance of cultural factors and psychological characteristics in politics, one can argue that the discipline of international relations is still working towards an adequate theorization and investigation of their role. This has been noticeable in the fact that there has been little scholarly examination of the effects of cultural factors on the U.S. government reaction to 9/11. This chapter seeks to address these issues by examining the role that cultural factors have in world politics. In particular, it develops a theoretical understanding of the role of culture in shaping human behavior and hence the political behavior, then it applies this framework to explain how cultural factors have impacted

post 9/11 U.S. foreign policy.

Culture is a very complex notion to which many definitions have been offered; however, the focus - in this Chapter - will be on the culture of a specific state, the habits of mind that are cultivated in a given society. In that many definitions among anthropologists, sociologists and social psychologists have been offered; especially that each discipline defines it in accordance with the core of its own discipline, but they all agree on one area of study which is how culture influences behavior and actions and how they - in turn - affect culture. In that Robert J. Janosik in his article "*Rethinking the cultural – Negotiation Link*", highlights that most practicing negotiators have tended to rely on culture or on related notions to explain behavior encountered at the international bargaining table (Janosik, 2004).

Cultural differences often pertain to beliefs and behaviors. Religious and ideological differences can play a major role in generating conflict, violence and war. Consequently, every culture is unique and possesses its own set of customs, beliefs, values, and traits that lead to founding organizations and institutions that are interconnected in their own particular way (Walter, 1992). Lately, culture has come to be seen as the operating instructor for groups, thus, culture is made up of norms, meanings, conventions, and beliefs. It can also be thought of as the shared local knowledge underpinning a group's construction of reality. Indeed, culture molds the community because without it communications, interaction, activities, and social life would be impossible (Cohen, 2001).

Michelle LeBaron in her article "*Transforming cultural conflict in world of*

complexity" surveys several definitions of culture, arguing that the most useful approach is to define culture broadly and to recognize its significance to most or all conflicts. She outlines some of the ways in which culture affects conflicts. She highlights and emphasizes on conflicts which are related to identity and recognition as facets of conflicts (LeBaron, 2001).

Renteln has defined culture as "a dynamic value system of learned elements, with assumptions, conventions, beliefs and rules permitting members of a group to relate to each other and to the world, to communicate and to develop their creative potential" (Renteln, 1996, pp: 10). Levine defines it as an "organized body of rules concerning the ways in which individuals in a population should communicate with another, think about themselves and their environments, and behave toward one another and towards objects in their environments (Levine, 1973, pp. 3, Hudson, 1997, pp. 3). Edward Tylor writes, "It's that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1871, pp. 1). As for Triandis, he defines it as "a set of human-made objective and subjective elements that in the past have increased the probability of survival and resulted in satisfaction for the participants in an ecological niche, and thus became shared among those who could communicate with each other because they had a common language and they lived in the same time and place" (Triandis, 1994, pp. 3, Hudson, 1997, pp. 3).

Furthermore, D'Andrade defines it as "a learned systems of meaning, communicated by means of natural language and other symbol systems, having representational, directive, and affective functions, and capable of creating cultural entities and particular senses of reality. Through these systems of meaning, groups of people adapt to their environment and structure interpersonal activities" (D'Andrade, 1984, pp. 3), Hudson, 1997, pp. 3).

All the abovementioned definitions perceive culture as an essential factor in shaping human behavior and constructing meaning and knowledge, thus, it provides a better insight to what we are aiming at in the study. In that culture shapes behavior and thoughts as it embraces religion and ideologies, and thus results in influencing communication and decision making on individual, local and international levels.

Social and Cultural Theoretical Context

The study of international politics, international relations, and foreign policy has undergone dramatic changes over decades; the moment has come to move forward in studying the impact of culture on these disciplines. Nowadays, scholars have started to shed light on social and cultural theories as a consequence of the criticism that has been directed towards traditional IR theories for their focus on the methodological approach that follows a scientific model that obscures the role of social structure. Although many positivists IR theorists - such as Hobbs and Marx - have taken into consideration the structural factor in their theories, their focus has not been on the cultural and social structure that the post-positivists theorists have proposed. In addition, the failure of the traditional international relations theories to explain and

predict the end of the Cold War has been central to the rise of critical social theory specially that the concept of the "balance of power" seemed to be irrelevant (Burchill and Linklater, 1996, Lapid, 1989). Moreover, the U.S. government's reaction to the events of 9/11 has come to strengthen the rise of this theory and encouraged more investigation in the cultural realm.

For example, Structuralists theorists believe that the social structure is the base upon which individuals relate and interact with each other. That is when aggregating the actions of individuals or groups belonging to a certain structure the norms of behavior that emerge in the structure are likely to be different from those which emerge in other structures. In this sense, the values and norms of behavior in any structure are likely to be shaped by the aggregation of individuals and groups' actions altogether rather than the actions of a single individual.

Rationalists in "The Rational Choice Theory", focus on the decision makers who take decisions based on their anticipation of the probable actions of others, they examine the role of individuals within the decision-making process and the influence of their cultural factors and psychological characteristics, according to them individual choices and actions are affected by culture and social structure. Thus, rational choice theorists posit that the alternatives available to any actor or group of actors are necessarily constrained by the environment within which they make their decisions, they adopt an individualist methodological position and they attempt to explain all social phenomenas in terms of the rational calculations made by self-interested individuals (Smith, 1996, Wedeen, 2002). Francis Fukuyama - although not rationalist - in his article *How Academia Failed the Nation, The Decline of Regional Studies* highlights the Rational Choice approach arguing that, "The past two decades have seen the growth of what is known as "rational choice" in political science"

(Fukuyama, 2005, pp.1-2). On the other hand, the Game Theory, which falls within the rationalist approach to understanding political behavior, provides a range of chronological choices available to the decision makers and emphasizes on the reason behind considering the equilibrium choice the actor has chosen the best one to follow (Lichbach and Zukerman, 1997, Wedeen, 2002). Even though the structural and rational theories have stressed on the role of individuals, groups and structure in international relations, yet they did not address the cultural context and the social construction, and they have followed a mechanical methodological approach, thus the need for social theories that highlight the role of cultural factors and social construction, has highly increased.

Social theories have emerged in the 1980s in the context of the third Meta theoretical debate in IR, known as "The Third Great Debate" (Burchill and Linklater, 1996, Lapid, 1989). In these social theories there has been a cultural turn in, in both the epistemological and historical forms; in this turn, culture is seen as constitutive of social relations and identities; and plays an unprecedented role in constituting social context and identities in contemporary society. In that, Max Weber argued that "We are cultural beings, endowed with the capacity and the will to take a deliberate attitude towards the world and to lend its significance" (Ruggie, 1998, pp.856).

The emergence of these theories has divided the discipline of international relations into two epistemological fields: the positivist and the post-positivist (Burchill and Linklater, 1996). Positivist theories aim at understanding and explaining world events by focusing on material features to explain the political behavior such as states interactions, military forces, balance of powers and interests. Post-positivist epistemology rejects the central ideas of neo-realism and neo-liberalism and is concerned with the social and political purposes of knowledge. It focuses on the social

construction and how that construction, as a component, shapes and affects human and political behavior.

Alexander Wendt - one of the most prominent figures of post positivists' theorization - has rejected the neorealist position of anarchy; and he articulates that, anarchy is what states make of it (Wendt, 1992). Thus, it is people perception and attitude that affects the international system and the world structure; Wendt argues that the ontology of international life is "social" in that states interact among each other through ideas, and it is "constructionist" in that ideas help to define who and what states are (Wendt 1992, 1999). Moreover, Martha Finnemore also argues that international forces define identities and interests by the norms of behavior embedded in international society (Fennimore, 1996). Hence, scholars have emphasized on the importance of social structure and culture in explaining and understanding the political behavior in world affairs. Critical Social Theory was the first to impact the direction of IR theoretical debate, the main focus of Critical Social theory is the relationship between society and knowledge. It stresses on the importance of society and argues that knowledge reflects social purposes and interests. Advocates of Critical theory, like Foucault, believe that humans can make their own history. Critical theorists seek through the reconstruction of human history to understand current world system in order to reach the optimum emancipation (Lichbach and Zukerman, 1997). Critical Social theory has directed investigators' attention to the social construction and the effects of knowledge; social constructivism came to apply critical social theory to the level of international relations by highlighting the importance of culture and context in understanding trends in society, and it builds knowledge based upon this understanding (Smith, 1996, Wendt, 1992). The major areas of focus in social constructivism are: human behavior, identity and the shared understanding among individuals. Thus, the

construction of social meanings, therefore, involves interaction among individuals; any personal meanings that are shaped through individual experiences are affected by the interaction and the structure of the society. Constructivists accentuate that the international system does not exist on its own; it is constituted by ideas, not by material forces. For that, it is a human invention which has been arranged by individuals at a particular time and place (Smith, 1996, Ruggie, 1998). Knowledge, on the other hand, is derived from the interaction between people and their environment and resides within cultures. The construction of knowledge is also influenced by the interaction formed by cultural and historical factors of the community. Consequently, the study of international relations must focus on the ideas, beliefs and values that shape and construct decision makers' behavior in the international scene (Smith, 1996).

Hence, Critical Social Theory and Social Constructivism underline the importance of social structure and cultural factors in shaping individuals' behavior, and as a consequence the political behavior. In addition, these theories, specifically the social constructivism, create a foundation for the theoretical and methodological frameworks of this study.

Foreign Policy

The twentieth century has witnessed a rapid rise in the importance of foreign policy especially that the technological and communicational advances that occurred have allowed states around the world to communicate and interact with one another through diplomatic and non-diplomatic forms. As a result, foreign policy has highly recalled scholarly attention. During the 20th century, many studies were developed in

order to understand and explain the foreign policy and since understanding foreign affairs requires analysis and critical thinking, scholars have been trying to identify constants, concepts and factors, which have helped in shaping foreign policies. They try to discover cause and effect and evaluate consequences. Thus they argue that foreign policies are designed either through an ad hoc process or an episodic dynamic one. In the ad hoc process the decision is taken in isolation from previously taken decisions, on the other hand, the dynamic process is seen as a sequential process in which the foreign policy making is related to previously taken decisions and policies (Kuperman and Ozkececi-Taner, 2006).

Many of these studies have offered definitions for foreign policy, these definitions vary to different degrees, but they all agree that foreign policy includes state's behavior towards another states, institutions and groups. In that, Julius Pratt defines foreign policy as, "The foreign policy of any nation comprises the objectives that it seeks in its international relations and the means and the methods by which it pursues them"(Pratt, 1955, pp. 1).

Peter Calvert offers the following to define foreign policy: "by foreign policy we mean, decisions and actions which involve to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others... including in this relations between the state and external non-governmental organizations (NGOs)" (Calvert, 1986, pp. 1).

Cox and Stokes define it as "a consequence of pressures emanating from the distribution of power in the international system. In other words, the international distribution of power is an autonomous force that has a direct influence on the behavior of states" (Cox and Stokes, 2008, pp. 11).

Although these definitions have mainly considered foreign policy as the main tool that guides the activities, interactions and relationships of state in the international

system, one can argue that the development of foreign policy has been influenced by cultural and domestic considerations in addition to the policies and behaviors of other states (Cox and Stokes, 2008). Foreign policies are usually designed to help protect a state's national identity, national interests, national security, ideological goals, and economic prosperity. This can occur through peaceful cooperation with other nations, or through aggression, war, and exploitation. Its conduct has also been determined - in the course of century - by many factors and variables. Cultural factors can be considered as one of these variables that have affected the conduct of foreign policy, especially that cultural differences have demonstrated an effect on many kinds of human behavior, relationships and activities; foreign policies conduct lies beneath these human relationships that have been affected by cultural factors and physiological characteristics, in that the elite theory highlights how the elite's cultural and social backgrounds heavily affect the conduct of foreign policy.

Culture and Foreign Policy

Different states have different predominant strategic preferences that are rooted in early or former experiences of the state and are influenced to some degree by the philosophical, political, cultural, and cognitive characteristics of the state and its elite. Walter Isard, (1992) argues that cultural perspectives and belief systems strongly influence the way in which national leaders view political problems and often determine the solutions they choose to deal with these problems; he writes, "These differences often pertain to beliefs and behavior that give rise to and perpetuate conflict" (Isard, 1992, pp. 9). Renteln - in her cultural defense theory - writes that

"cultural differences deserve to be considered in litigation because enculturation shapes individuals' perceptions and influences their actions" (Renteln, 1996, pp. 47), she argues that the acquisition of cultural categories is an unconscious process, so individuals are usually unaware of having adopted them. The premise of the cultural defense argument is that culture exerts a strong influence on individuals. The theoretical basis for a cultural defense hinges on the idea that individuals think and act in accordance with patterns of culture (Renteln, 1996). As a result, one can argue that culture strongly influences political behavior in the international scene. Consequently, culture exercises a strong influence on the behavior and prospects of states in the world community especially when focusing on its variables i.e. religion and ideology. For that, culture exercised and will continue to exercise an important effect on foreign policies conduct.

Culture can be considered one of the most dominant frameworks for foreign policy and international relations; it is a primary base for state actions and it is their chief source of conflict in world affairs. It serves as the dominant blueprint for many aspects in the state, such as, social, economic, financial and military structures and institutions. Patricia Goff and Jacinta O'Hagan argue in their article "*How Do You Do Culture?*" that various dimensions of culture can expand the understanding of current world politics and that culture is one of the most significant factors in international relations (Goff and O'Hagan, 2000). Furthermore, Alker, a post-positivist scholar, highlights the role of culture and context in political dialogue, he stresses on the impact of structural and social values on the political behavior (Alker, 1992).

Evidence on the correlation between culture and foreign policy making can be

borrowed from history. Many scholars, such as Fukuyama and Huntington, have stressed the importance of the role of ideology in shaping a state foreign policy by examining the case of the Cold War. Once its motives and incentives are examined, one can notice that the ideological factor has played a major role in shaping the conduct of both the U.S. and the former USSR foreign policy. The incentive of this War was an ideological one resembled in two contradicting political stances: capitalism and communism. Some of the literature reviewed here contends that with the end of the Cold War cultural factors have finally emerged as predominant in international relations (Huntington, 1996, Fukuyama, 2006).

However, in the post Cold War era, nations - including the great powers - obviously define national interest as much in terms of particularistic domestic motivations and define imperatives in terms of international balance of power considerations. The lines between civilizations - which are the highest cultural groupings of people differentiated from each other by religion, history, language and tradition - are theorized to be the engine of inter-state conflict in the post Cold War world (Huntington, 1992).

In reinforcing the religious factor as an integral part of culture, Samuel Huntington in his book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* puts forward a theory that explains why conflicts occur among states. In his thesis, written in 1992 and developed in 1996, Huntington argues that the primary axis of conflict in the future would be along cultural and religious lines. He suggests that the concept of different civilizations, as the highest rank of cultural identity, will become increasingly useful in analyzing the potential for international conflict (Huntington,

1996).

Samuel Huntington's thesis about the coming "clash of civilizations" has raised important questions: Why does culture cause conflict? Why nations with different cultures are more likely to go to war than nations from within the same culture? Huntington offers six reasons to these questions. First, he states that the real and basic differences among cultures will cause war, because although "differences do not necessarily mean conflict," still over the centuries "differences among civilizations have generated the most prolonged and the most violent conflicts." Second, "the world is becoming a smaller place," and this is due to the process of globalization and the technological and communication developments, which results into cultures rubbing against one another more tightly leading to greater tension. Third, modernization and social changes "are separating people from long-standing local identities". This, on its behalf, has led to a general threatening sentiment among nations, which led on its turn to a reverse into religion, hence, "religion has moved in to fill this gap." Fourth, Huntington contends that an increasingly bitter reaction to Western ideas and values exacerbates civilization's conflict, which would lead to a draw back into one's own culture thus playing a major role in shaping the nations' decision. Fifth, "cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable and hence less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones". This explains their major effect as undercurrent sources of influence. Finally, with the increasing of economic regionalism, "civilization-consciousness" is becoming more reinforced (Huntington, 1996, pp. 25-27). One good example on this is the European Union, which started as economic but then led to strengthening cultural ties.

Huntington thesis has received much criticism from wildly different paradigms.

Nonetheless, after the September 11, 2001, Huntington thesis is increasingly receiving more attention. Further, the United States invasion of Afghanistan, the 2003 Invasion of Iraq, the 2004 Madrid train bombings, the 2005 London bombings, the 2006 Danish cartoons, the 2006 Lebanese-Israeli War and the ongoing Iranian nuclear crisis all have fueled the argument of Huntington theory about the clash of civilizations. September 11, however, in a sense proved Huntington correct by creating an international order in which the divisive character of identities and cultures is being highlighted and reinforced almost daily. In post Sep. 11, a high sentiment of the "American" nationalism pervaded the U.S. Further, a strong sentiment of the religious identity pervaded the Islamic world.

In a poll which was conducted regarding the U.S. foreign policy post the events of 9/11 and was designed for the purpose of this study, it questioned whether culture - in general - can affect the conduct of any country's foreign policy, more than eighty five percent of the sample have agreed that culture does affect a state's foreign policy. The results of the poll are illustrated in the below chart.

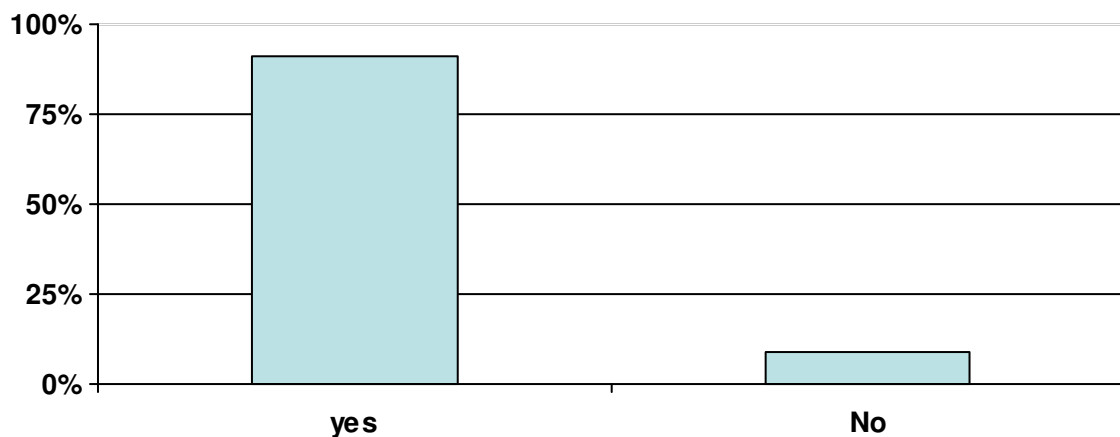


Figure (1). Whether culture - in general - can affect the conduct of any country's foreign policy?

The same poll questioned whether cultural variables in the U.S. influenced its foreign policy after 9/11, more than seventy percent of the sample agreed that cultural variables have influenced the conduct of U.S foreign policy post the events of 9/11. The below chart correspond to the results of this question.¹

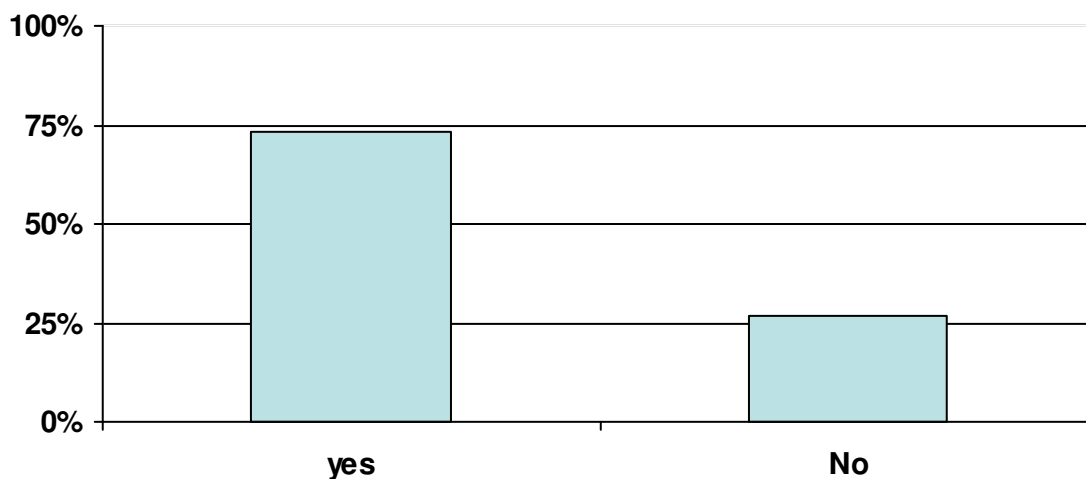


Figure (2). Whether cultural variables in the U.S. influenced its foreign policy after 9/11?

In summary, scholars and theorists have come to the understanding that cultural factors could have a deep effect on the strategic behavior of nations and its conduct of foreign policy. They have also highlighted the role of both religion and ideology in shaping a state's foreign policy. The orientation in this study towards culture and foreign policy comprises elements of established theory in which ideology, religion and language as cultural factors have demonstrated a fundamental effect in shaping human behavior, and thus, in shaping a states' foreign policy as they shape the political behavior. In regards to the nature of culture, religion, ideology and language

¹ The Sample of this poll can be found at the end of this thesis.

can be seen as evolving factors from which humans acquire ideas, meaning and knowledge. Hence, one can argue that cultural differences are relative; they are a reflection of the way in which people decide on accepted meaning. As for thinking, actions, behavior and decision making, individuals are able to create their own understanding, but in this they are supported by interaction within a social structure and cultural context, thus, individuals and social aspects are interrelated. This reflects the social constructivist orientation towards understanding human and political behaviors. In that, and in the case of the United States, many scholars pointed out to the impact of a liberal political culture, which advocate democracy and freedom, to prove its impact on the U.S. foreign policy making (Cox and Stokes, 2008). Therefore, it is arguable that in each case international conditions have had a crucial influence on the U.S. strategic behavior. Nevertheless, certain cultural legacies, unique to the United States, such as religion, ideology, idealism and unilateralism, related to American values of exceptionalism, self-reliance and individualism have had a powerful impact on patterns of change and continuity in American grand strategy and subsequently in its political behavior (Cox and Stokes, 2008, Hastedt, 2009).

To conclude one can put forth the argument that the shift in the U.S. foreign policy conduct post 9/11 can be explained by the theoretical framework outlined in this chapter and social constructivism theory. The social constructivism theory has affected the nature of the discipline of international relations and emphasized on the social approaches as it treats identities and interests as malleable social constructions (Cox and Stokes, 2008). These cultural and social approaches have also affected the tools and methodologies utilized in examining recent world events; thus, in this study

the methodology to be employed is the discourse analysis, which will be explained profoundly in the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Methodological Framework

The first chapter has described the ambivalent status of culture in global politics from the perspective of several traditional international relations theories. Despite the fact that there are methodological challenges related to explaining, measuring and understanding the role of cultural factors in foreign policy, many international relations theorists have come to recognize the need to study the role and the impact of culture and psychological processes in the international arena and in world affairs.

In the last two decades, new theoretical and methodological paradigms emerged to challenge, critique and sometimes conflict with the basic foundation of traditional international relations theories, and the epistemological and ontological assumptions of knowledge claim. The post-positivist approaches, particularly the critical social theory and the social constructivism, are good examples of these new theoretical and methodological developments. The assumption underpinning the epistemology of post-positivists theories is that all human actions are meaningful and have to be interpreted and understood within the context of social practices. To make the social world sensible, it's important for researchers to understand the meanings formed by interactive social behavior.

Advocates of the critical social theory believe that the positivist approach did not address the culture and social structures thoroughly as they promote objectivity, which consists of the separation of individuals from the matter under examination, a

deficit that critical social theory and social constructivism are trying to address through making people aware of their cultural and social structures and to find out how to recreate and reconstruct their personal and social experiences and realities (McNiff and Whitehead, 2002). Critical social theory has shown a particular tendency towards social constructivism, this broad social constructivist approach to critical theory has been situated in the methodological approach of discourse analysis, especially that it understands discourse as a link between social activity and social structure (Fairclough, 1995).

Social Constructivism and Discourse Analysis

Scholars using a wide range of methodological perspectives have begun to examine the ways in which a variety of cultural factors and social constructions are central to politics and international relations. As a consequence, they have shed light upon new methodologies which traverse fields such as ontology, epistemology, phenomenology, linguistics, hermeneutics and cultural studies. One of these methodological approaches is the discourse analysis, which is generally perceived as the product of the post-positivists period (Fairclough, 1995). It is placed in an attempt to understand the social construction of the world. It asserts that social reality is not pre-existent, but is humanly made and socially constructed in an ongoing mode and fashion (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Foucault (1972) defines discourse analysis as:

"A task that consists of not treating discourse as a group of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Of course, discourses are

composed of signs; but what they do is more than using these signs to designate things. It is this more that renders them irreducible to the language and to speech. It is this 'more' that we must reveal and describe" (Foucault, 1972, pp. 49).

The contribution of the post-positivists discourse analysis methodology is presented in the application of critical thought to social situations and the unveiling of hidden politics within the socially dominant interpretations of world events. Post-positivists theories conceive the term "discourse analysis" as every interpretation of reality and reality itself as a text. In other words, discourse analysis is wide deep and open ended; it can refer to many levels as what it does is not only content analysis; it conceives actions, reactions, declarations, events and foreign policy making as texts, and is distinguished by both, being applicable to any text that is, to any problem or event, and by the way in which it approaches certain events or problems (Parker, 1999). It combines contexts of leadership, events, texts and foreign policy; it deconstructs and decomposes these contexts in order to better understand the matter under examination. Thus, discourse analysis perceive meanings and actions as a text, it is not a static model or behavioral approach taking certain action or event in time, rather it is an ongoing approach utilized and applied all through the study, especially that what discourse analysis tries to do as a methodology is to recreate and reconstruct social and cultural structures of a certain action or decision by deconstructing and analyzing the meaning system of that action or behavior.

Context Analysis and the U.S. Foreign Policy

Traditional explanations of the U.S. foreign policy, in particular realism and the balance of power, have concentrated on the materialistic approaches as the primary force driving the U.S. foreign policy. On the contrary, this study examines the central role of cultural factors, social structure and identity, it adopts the discourse analysis methodology and argue that cultural factors and social context shape human behavior, hence, providing the foundation for the U.S. foreign policy post 9/11.

Discourse analysis is helpful in explaining and understanding American foreign policy post 9/11 since it enables one to understand the motives and incentives behind the new strategies and tools adopted and implemented by the U.S. government and it makes one realize the pretext preceding the decisions and actions taken by the Bush administration, as it allows the deconstruction of these decisions and behaviors and reconstructs them again based upon the analysis of the study and the understanding of the issue. In other words, the methodology allows one to examine American foreign policy post 9/11 from a higher stance, allows one to gain a comprehensive view of it and provides a higher level of awareness of the incentives that lie in the foreign policies and the political decisions taken by the U.S. government (Cox and Stokes, 2008). Although, it does not provide us with definite answers to the problem, it gives us an access to the ontological and the epistemological assumptions behind the event under examination, since it describes, interprets, analyzes deconstructs, tries to understand and reconstruct the social milieu, which can be reflected in texts, actions and reactions (Fairclough, 2000). For example, from discourse analysis point of view, one way to understand the American global war on terrorism is in terms of the

identity and historical reality America holds about its self as the exceptional state and as the global guardian of liberty and freedom (Cox and Stokes, 2008).

Thus the purpose of utilizing the discourse analysis methodology is to expand the horizon of cultural factors role in shaping a state's foreign policy; particularly the U.S. foreign policy conduct post 9/11. Furthermore, it makes the relationship between cultural factors and any unacknowledged agendas conducted by a state's foreign policy understandable since it decomposes the action or the decision; in this case the unacknowledged agendas and motivations of the U.S. government in its conduct to foreign policy post 9/11.

As have been explained in the first chapter, this study is guided by the idea that human behaviors and actions take place within a deep level of awareness in which culture is a key element of any behavior, decision or action (Wendt, 1999, Smith, 1996). The study is also guided by the commitment to investigate the ways in which specific individuals, groups and contexts would have been plausibly influenced by cultural factors, this will be done once the U.S. foreign policy conduct after 9/11 is examined and analyzed utilizing the discourse analysis methodology which permits the deconstruction and the double reading of the U.S. foreign policy making post 9/11. Moreover, the study analyzes the role of cultural factors, religion and the neo-conservatism ideology in particular, in the decision making process and how they have contributed in marking a shift in the conduct of the U.S. foreign policy. It examines the ideological and religious backgrounds and orientations of the Bush administration and traces the influence of their backgrounds on American foreign policy post 9/11.

Methodological Challenges

A number of potential methodological challenges should be taken into consideration when investigating the role of culture in politics. In the course of century, the most prominent difficulties lied in the attempts to study and explore the influence of cultural and other psychological factors of interpersonal characteristics and interactions, what's worth mentioning is that these difficulties did not evaporate nor disappear through the years, and researchers still have to deal with them till these days.

People are seldom self-conscious of the factors that are stirring their thinking, their decision-making processes and their actions, in particular, they rarely observe both the explicit and implicit motives that stimulate their actions and hence, they are less able to accurately analyze their impact. Moreover, even if they are capable of monitoring and accurately analyzing the impact of their actions and behaviors, they often do not openly express the influence of these actions (Connolly, 1999, Davies and Harré, 1990).

Therefore, understanding individuals' behavior and taking into consideration the ways in which groups might interact, behave and embody the cultural factors are considered some of the difficulties that researchers need to overcome. What makes this situation even more complicated is when it is overtly political; this happens because in politics individuals and groups have more reasons and motives as not to reveal the real impact of certain cultural and psychological factors even if they were capable of correctly

analyzing them (Connolly, 1999). Hence, this study aims at understanding and explaining the impact that cultural factors might have had on the behavior of the decision makers of the U.S foreign policy post the events of 9/11.

Since the study addresses cultural factors, particularly religion and the neo-conservatism ideology, the aforementioned discussion clarifies that a classical methodological approach to explain cultural factors' role in the conduct of the U.S. foreign policy post 9/11 would be incoherent with the study's theoretical framework. In addition, the relevance of discourse analysis in politics and the methodological and theoretical practices embarked on it have opened wide range debates and arguments which are considered to be essential not only to its efficacy and refinement, but also to the recognition that different formulations of discourse analysis may be used for different research and political purposes (Parker, 1999, 2004). Consequently, the discourse analysis methodology is becoming more and more accepted among researchers; and this is due to its potential to provide novel and innovative insights into new areas of investigation as well as into the realm of culture and politics. Part of its strength has been its users' recognition of the inseparability of theory, practice and politics. On the one hand, theory and practice of discourse analysis are constantly formulated in arguments and discussions. Research, on the other hand, is inextricably linked to politics; and thus, scholars have encountered a pressing need to make discourse analysis accountable to political issues in world affairs (Parker and Burman, 1993). As a result, it's notable that the most consistent and reasonable methodology for this paper is discourse analysis, which allows us to make a contribution to literature regarding the strategies and foreign policies adopted and implemented by the U.S. government post 9/11 and the role cultural factors played in it.

In addition to the discourse analysis methodology, as mentioned in the first chapter, a poll which has been designed and conducted for the purposes of this study, regarding the U.S. foreign policy post the events of 9/11, has been distributed to people pertaining to different nationalities and backgrounds. The results of this poll have been incorporated to strengthen and enhance the study's argument.

The questionnaire and the variables of the sample are annexed to the thesis.

Chapter 3

American Political Culture

This chapter discusses American political culture and its historical background; subsequently it analyzes the effect of the political culture on the American foreign policy. The aim of this chapter is to give a better insight of how the political culture is considered one of the most influential factors in American foreign policy.

What is Political Culture?

Considering culture as the main umbrella from which a state stems its economic and political ideologies, the political culture traces the effect that culture has on the political system, as being the main director and the one that shapes its ideologies. A good example of this is the economic system of capitalism that derives its ideologies from the core values of individualism that is a main characteristic of the American culture. In that, unlike the communist system, the capitalist system encourages individuals rather than the government to lead economy (Chomsky, 2004, Huntington, 2004).

In order to thoroughly address and understand the American political culture, first, one needs to know what is meant by a state's political culture. The term political culture was brought into political science to promote the American political system (Almond and Verba, 1963). The concept was first used by Gabriel Almond in the late

50s, and outlined in his book *The Civic Culture* (Almond and Verba, 1963). Almond and Verba state that "political culture is the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations toward politics among the members of a political system. It is the subjective realm that underlies and gives meaning to political actions." (Almond and Verba, 1963, pp. 15)

It is also defined as "a short hand expression to denote the set of values within which a political system operates. It is something between the state public opinion and the individual's personal characteristics" (Rosamond, 2002, pp. 83).

Thus, once the political culture of a specific state is discussed, one will be referring to the synthesis of trends, values, beliefs and conventions that characterize the relationship between social groups and political power and that condition the political development of the whole society. In other words, one can view political culture as a key to the understanding of the doctrinal content and the ideological bases of the political system, which include its portrayal of national interests, its discourse about national security, its public perceptions of the national leadership, and its arguments that fuel foreign policy (Almond and Verba, 1980).

The above mentioned demonstrates the agreement on the fact that culture affects and shapes the attitudes, behaviors and perceptions of politics, the decisions of policy makers and even the policy makers themselves. For this, studying American political culture provides a better insight to what this study aims at.

American Political Culture

At large the American political culture is part from the European culture, what's make it distinguished is the special American experience during the discovery, formulation, establishment and development. Therefore, in order to be able to understand the contemporary American domestic and foreign policies and how they have historically been developed, some fundamental events in the American history need to be emphasized.

The first experience that distinguishes the American political culture is the discovery and the early colonial settlement of the Country by Europeans during the late fifteenth century, which led to the establishment of specific social values and structures such individualism, isolationism and exceptionalism. The American Revolutionary War, which was caused by tensions between American colonials and the British during the Revolutionary period of the 1760s and early 1770s, in which the American were fighting the Europeans colonies and European's kingdoms system (Mauk and Oakland, 2005).

Then, the formulation and establishment of America was triggered by The War of Independence from Britain; the War was followed by the writing of the Declaration of Independence which pronounced the colonies as sovereign states. By June 1788, nine states had ratified the United States Constitution, which was sufficient to establish the new government (Mauk and Oakland, 2005).

The historical development of the Country's political culture has been marked by several events, the most dominate one was the "WASP" (the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant), which was a result of the high effects of the large-scale immigration into

the Country, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This led to religious and ethnic diversity (Mauk and Oakland, 2005, Cox and Stokes, 2008).

American approaches towards the rest of the world also contributed to the development of the political culture of the State. During World War I America remained neutral. Although some American citizens, originally from Ireland and Germany, opposed intervention, America sympathized with the British and the French. In 1917 the United States joined the Allies against the Axis powers (Levering, 1978).

As a consequence of America's reluctance to be involved in European and world affairs, the Senate harbored Wilson's attempt to lead a more active foreign policy when it did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles, which led to the establishment of the League of Nations. Thus the Country continued its adoption to policies of unilateralism and isolationism (Pratt, 1972).

During most of the 1920s, the United States enjoyed a period of unbalanced prosperity as farm profits fell while industrial profits grew. A rise in debt and an inflated stock market culminated in the 1929 crash that triggered the Great Depression, which was the first to demonstrate that even though Americans had followed an isolationist foreign policy, yet its economy was not immune. After his election as president in 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt responded to the Depression with the New Deal, which consists of a range of policies increasing government intervention in the economy. The Nation didn't fully recover from the economic depression until the industrial mobilization spurred by its entrance into World War II. The United States remained neutral during the War's early stages after the Nazi invasion of Poland in September 1939. It began to supply material to the Allies in March 1941 through the Lend-Lease program. In December of 1941, the United

States joined the Allies against the Axis powers and this occurred after a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor by Japan (Taylor, 1978). The attack had shocked the American psyche as it proved that although the U.S. adhered itself to an isolationist foreign policy, its security, similarly to its economy, wasn't immune as well. Consequently, having developed the first nuclear weapons, the U.S. used nuclear weapons to bomb the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the end of the war was marked by the surrender of Japan (Pratt, 1972).

Allied conferences at Bretton Woods and Yalta outlined a new system of international organizations that placed the United States and the Soviet Union at the center of world affairs. As the victory was achieved in Europe, in 1945, an international conference was held in San Francisco. Its result was the emergence of the United Nations Charter, which became active after the war (Sherwood, 1948). After World War II and during the Cold War period, The United States and the Soviet Union dominated the military affairs of Europe through NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The United States promoted liberal democracy and capitalism, while the Soviet Union promoted communism and a centrally planned economy (Appy, 2000).

With the coming of the conservative Ronald Reagan as a president in 1980, major changes in taxation and spending priorities occurred in an attempt to decrease domestic spending while lowering taxes, these changes were mainly represented in reducing marginal tax rates on income from labor and capital, reducing the growth of government spending, reducing government regulation of the economy and controlling the money supply to reduce inflation (Gantz and Roper, 1993).

In the late 1980s and 1990s, the Soviet Union's power diminished, leading to its collapse and effectively ending the Cold War (Huntington, 1993, Fukuyama, 1996).

The Collapse of the Soviet Union pronounced the development of the U.S as the

world's sole power and its dominance over economic and military forces since the beginning of the twentieth century (Mauk and Oakland, 2005, Cox and Stokes, 2008). In addition, American political culture has witnessed the salience of the neo-conservatism ideology combined with strong tendencies to religiosity among Americans, in particular, Protestantism.

The aforementioned events mainly laid the foundation for the emergence of the U.S. as an independent Country, the emergence of the cultural and political systems in the U.S., the emergence of values and beliefs of exceptionalism and American supremacy, and finally the unexpected emergence of the U.S. as the world sole super power post the Cold War (Cox and Stokes, 2008).

These events have been fundamental as well in creating the three major cultures in the U.S., which in turn have had their effect on the political culture and the United States' foreign and domestic policies. The first is the ethnic culture which is centered on Native American civilizations, European colonial settlement, Anglo-American, African-American slavery and the immigration movements; all reflect the U.S. society's ethnic diversity, which also contributed in creating the religious diversity (Cox and Stokes, 2008).

The U.S. ethnic culture has dealt with numerous tensions resulting from ethnic diversity. A major historical problem for the U.S. has been how to balance the national unity with the existence of ethnic, race and religious diversity, thus, how to avoid the dangers of fragmentation. In order to avoid the pressures of integration - known as the "salad bowl"-, the "melting pot" comes as the way to assimilate all people from different ethnic backgrounds into the "American" (Mauk and Oakland, 2005).

The second one is a political-legal culture which is based on individualism,

constitutionalism and the supremacy of the law. This political-legal culture tries to unite the people of America under the concept of "Americanism" which includes egalitarianism, morality and patriotism reflected in political and legal institutions. The third is the economic culture which is driven by corporate and individual competition that encourages profit and the consumption of goods and services. Since the U.S. independence in 1776, these elements have created a unique national and cultural identity in the U.S. and most aspects of the U.S. society are directly or indirectly conditioned by these major cultures (Mauk and Oakland, 2005).

Throughout the years many values have been added to the American political culture, accordingly, American political beliefs and behaviors today reflect an accumulation of these values (Partt, 1972, Mauk and Oakland, 2005). For example, tension between Slaves and Free states mounted with increasing disagreements over the relationship between the state and federal government, and with violent conflicts over the expansion of slavery into the new states. Seven slave states declared their secession from the United States, forming the Confederate States of America. The federal government maintained that that secession was illegal, and with the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter, the American Civil War began and four more slave states joined the Confederacy. The Union freed Confederate slaves as its army advanced through the South. Following the Union victory in 1865, three amendments to the U.S. Constitution ensured freedom for the nearly four million African Americans who had been slaves, made them citizens, and gave them voting rights. The war and its resolution led to a substantial increase in federal power (Mauk and Oakland, 2005).

In addition, the Industrial Revolution of the late 1800s radically altered the values of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The most profound economic change was the increase in the inequality in the distribution of wealth and income. By the end of the century great wealth was placed in the hands of a few people which are the entrepreneurs. Although these changes, in a sense, reinforced the emphasis on individualism, the era illustrated conflicts among the core values which existed for more than a century. The result of these changes was the adoption of new government regulations to ensure fair treatment in the market place; consequently, another belief was added to the U.S. political culture which states that the government is responsible for the general welfare (Mauk and Oakland, 2005).

The Great Depression brought about the near collapse of capitalism, and the New Deal was an assertion to the government's responsibility for the welfare of its people. In Roosevelt's 1944 inaugural address, he outlined the Second Bill of Rights that reflected his firm commitment to economic security. For instance, he asserted every citizen's right to a useful job, food, clothing, a decent home, adequate medical care, and the right to a good education (Roosevelt's State of the Union Message to Congress, 1944). These beliefs paved the way to the creation of the civil rights and welfare legislation of the 1960s (Cox and Stokes, 2008).

These values and beliefs which constitute the American political culture have been mostly applied throughout two broad schools of thought that have been dominant throughout the history of the U.S.: the first one is liberalism, which consists of a belief in the positive uses of government to bring about justice and equality of opportunity, and the second, is conservatism, which consists of a belief that government ensures order, competitive markets, and personal opportunity (Hunt, 1988). Arguably,

Americans share an extensive commitment to liberalism and it is central to the American political culture (Huntington, 2004, Cox and Stokes, 2008). The reasons behind that are numerous. First, liberalism embraces the importance of individual liberty, freedom, equality, private property, limited government and popular consent; moreover, it asserts the dignity of the individual and their rational ability to control their own destinies. (Devine, 1972).

These ideological orientations have had an effect on both the domestic and foreign policies; they had an effect on how the U.S. reacts to the views and the conduct of other states. For example, liberals tend to be more permissive, whereas conservatives generally favor tradition, stability, and greater levels of "law and order." These differences have had consequences on electoral contests, judicial interpretation, and policy development in the U.S. political system (Hunt, 1988).

Yet the neo-conservatism ideology, which is an offshoot of conservatism, has proved to be playing a major role in American political culture, it has pervaded American political culture since the early 60s but its principles and values have been strongly applied during the Bush administration presidency. The fifth chapter explains in depth how this ideology is considered to be of a major influence in the American foreign policy and political culture (Fukuyama, 2006).

In a poll conducted by *Outside the Beltway* journal of politics and foreign affairs analysis, the salience of conservatism and neo-conservatism ideologies in the American political culture in the last few decades is reinforced. 41% of the sample identify themselves as "conservative," 34% as "moderate," and 21% as "liberal". Furthermore, 14% consider themselves "strong conservatives" and only 6% "strong liberals." The results indicates that there is twice as many who consider themselves

“conservatives” as “liberals,” and two thirds as many who consider themselves as “strong conservatives” as “liberals,” (James Joyner, 2007).

Huntington argues that the U.S. political culture is not an "optional extra". It is more than the values and beliefs that Americans share among each other, more than what makes America different from other countries, and distinguishes Americans from any other people. Rather it is the fundamental base of the American nation (Huntington, 2004). Thus, the American political culture consists of a widely held set of indispensable political values, beliefs, accepted processes and institutions which have been developed throughout the history of the State. These political values included in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the writings of the Founding Fathers are being taught in the U.S. schools as the Country's governing ideologies (Mauk and Oakland, 2005).

Moreover, one of the early scholars who studied American political culture, Alex Tocqueville in his book *Democracy in America* has investigated the reason behind the success of democracy in the U.S. especially that in his country, France, it seemed to have so many difficulties. In his book, he identifies several factors that he believes to be critical in shaping the U.S. democracy such as the lack of a feudal aristocracy that blocked others' ambitions, and the independent spirit encouraged by frontier living (Tocqueville, 2004). Tocqueville stated that the values of the U.S. political culture are based on the Enlightenment philosophies of the eighteenth century which had a great influence on the Founding Founders (Tocqueville, 2004). Although many years have passed since Tocqueville made his remarks about the U.S. political culture, it has been emphasized throughout the history that the aforementioned factors shaped the U.S. basic values of liberty, individualism, exceptionalism, equal opportunity, democracy,

rule of law, and civic duty (Cox and Stokes, 2008).

A recent trend in the U.S. political culture is the growing distrust in the government. Trust in government and its officials has declined significantly since the mid of 1960s (King and Karabell, 2002). Many scholars argue that the Vietnam War and Watergate marked the beginning of this drop. However, the trend has grown in the early 21st century, with Americans expressing disgust with their leaders (King and Karabell, 2002). According to Chomsky, the broader "War on Terror", the "axis of evil", and, in particular, the doctrine of preemptive war began to weaken the level of international and domestic support for the Bush administration (Chomsky, 2004).

At this point the study highlights the results of a poll conducted by The Program on the International Policy Attitudes Center (PIPA), the poll demonstrates that Americans highly desire for a change in the U.S. foreign policy approach during Bush presidency; seven out of ten (71%) expressed that they are looking for candidates who will pursue a new approach in the U.S. foreign policy making. Only about one-fourth prefer candidates who support the existing approach. However, the results have presented that the Democrats' desire for a change is stronger than the Republicans', 91 percent of Democrats want a candidate who will pursue a new approach while less than half (43%) of Republicans do (PIPA, 2006).

Analytical Context

The American political culture has played a very important role in the Nation's domestic and foreign policies since the independence up until now. The historical and developmental processes described above could be seen as a combination of conservative and progressive values, moments of development and decline. The

Founding Fathers principles and values such as: democracy, liberty, human rights, and justice along with some of the main ideological values and components of the United States political culture which are individualism, isolationism, exceptionalism and idealism have become relative throughout the history of the United States (Huntington, 1981, Cox and Stokes, 2008, Hastedet, 2009). The “American creed,” as some writers, such as Huntington, have called it would develop out of these values as well, creating an outline for the political organization of the U.S., along with the U.S. national identity (Huntington, 1981, Myrdal, 1972, Hodgson, 1976).

The historical developments outlined above suggest that the political culture of the U.S. has been supported - and is still - by the notion of national security; which has occupied a central place in designing the U.S. strategies and policies (Leffler, 2007). The ideas that constitute it have been present in American political discourse for a long time; a good example to this is the assertion of the Bush administration on the "war on terrorism" in the National Security Agenda of America in 2002. This discourse consists of a series of ideological and religious traditions that are inherited throughout the development of the U.S. capitalism and national history (Leffler, 2007, Borón, 2004). In particular, they could be related to the evolution of the capitalist society that began during the colonial period and was strengthened after the War of Independence. Since then, the United States has become known with a capitalist system, and this explains both the presence of these ideas and ideologies in the contemporary era and the consensus in regard to their legitimacy and validity (Hernández Martínez, 1990).

In addition, one can notice that liberal and conservative tendencies have filled a niche

in American politics and culture (Borón, 2004, Fukuyama, 2006). During the previous decades, when the U.S. had faced several events, including the great depression, the economic recession of the mid 1970s, the Cold war, the Vietnam War, as well as domestic conflicts and freedom movements. The U.S. presidents and politicians sought to recover through an ideological political movement, emerging from a variety of conservative and liberal tendencies embedded in the national history and the political culture which fashioned itself against all other tendencies that contradict with the U.S. interests, and threats the national security (Borón, 2004, Hernández Martínez, 2004).

However, although George W. Bush's first and second terms have served to institutionalize the political culture that has characterized the Country's historical development, and that analyzing the historical background of American political culture can lead to the conclusion that Bush's opposition to terrorism and non-democratic governments is stemmed from the United States historic opposition to fascism, communism and other forms of totalitarianism, (Meyerson and Roberto, 2006) it is arguable that a shift in American foreign policies has been witnessed during the Bush administration presidency (Chomsky, 2004, Cox and Stokes, 2008). That is, the successful assertion on "the War on Terrorism" has created the political environment, which has designed post 9/11 U.S. foreign policy and allowed it to be carried out. Arguably, September 11, 2001, resulted in a political turn and the "War on Terrorism" was instituted to legitimize the foreign policies undertaken by the Bush administration (Fukuyama, 2002, 2006, Chomsky 2004).

To conclude, the events of September 11 have revealed that the United States'

technological sophistication and global trade made it both more powerful and more vulnerable. More powerful in terms of possessing the latest technologies in military and communicational developments, and more vulnerable for being hated and threatened by other states, nations and groups as it became the center of the world. This event led to a turn in designing the U.S. foreign policies and to a profound change in the U.S. political culture since international terrorism came to exist in the American psyche (Anderson, 2004). September 11 has become a mark in contemporary history; it has shocked the U.S. society and has generated worldwide sympathy. It took place when the U.S. was the strongest and sole successful power in the world, and when the Nation's foreign policies were becoming increasingly unilateral. Therefore, they have had a profound impact on the national psychology and the political culture in the United States (Cox and Stokes, 2008).

The social and cultural contexts created by 9/11, and the Bush administration's understanding and shaping of the new reality which faces the U.S. foreign policy are important variables in understanding the course of the U.S. foreign relations since then. Following the events of 9/11, the Bush administration presented a clear, coherent vision of the world in its public statements, constructing a reality that defined the identity of the United States, its enemies, and the rest of the world in ways which served to enable subsequent foreign policy (Chomsky, 2004, Fukuyama 2006). As a result, describing, understanding and explaining the evolution of the U.S. foreign policies post 9/11 in terms of interests, power and material capabilities alone could not achieve a full understanding of foreign policy since then. As the first and second chapter explained, constructivist perspectives, which acknowledge the role of cultural factors and identity, are necessary for a full understanding of these patterns of change

and continuity in the American politics and foreign policies, especially that the importance of both the ideological and the religious factors are highlighted throughout the present of the U.S. political culture.

The study asserts that a set of core factors related to culture were the important ingredients in the Bush administration's construction of the post 9/11 world. Moreover, one of the most important changes in the U.S. domestic policy after September 11 was followed by reinforcing the President's central role and the Legislature's full support of executive decisions. September 11 is the reason behind the Bush administration's creation of this new facet of national security and the domestic consensus of both domestic and foreign policies (Bremmer, 2005). In that, Brzezinski writes that "When the U.S policies are especially offensive, it is advocate of counter culture - identification that tends to provide the political leadership in galvanizing populist resentment against American's failure to live up to popular expectations" (Brzezinski, 2004, pp. 212).

The next chapter examines the history of American foreign policy; it elaborates on the ideas that are discussed in this chapter and this study, and reiterates on how cultural factors and the political culture are influential in shaping the U.S. foreign policy.

Chapter 4

American Culture and American Foreign Policy

This chapter sheds light upon the most significant events that created the concepts and strategies for American foreign policy throughout the history and made tangible effects on the historical consequence of American foreign policy. Then it looks in depth at the foreign policies of the Bush administration - in particular those after 9/11 - and relates them to culture.

Historical Background and Analytical Context

To be able to examine and analyze the change which has occurred in the American foreign policy post 9/11, it is central to understand the historical development of the American foreign policy. The history of American foreign policy begins with the Declaration of Independence. Since the establishment of the United States after the American Revolution until the Spanish-American War, the U.S. foreign policy has reflected the Country's regional focus (Pratt, 1972). Then, during the Revolution, the United States established relations with several European powers, convincing France, Spain, and Netherlands to intervene in the War against Britain, a mutual enemy (Pratt, 1972). Following the French involvement in the Revolution, the United States maintained significant relations with France, and this was manifested by France with giving the United States the Statue of Liberty in 1886. After the Revolution, the U.S.

moved to restore peace and resume its substantial trade with Great Britain in what is called the "Olive Branch Policy" (Pratt, 1972).

After that, the United States had mainly followed an isolationist foreign policy. However, the Barbary Coast corsairs' attacks against the American ships encouraged the Country to develop a naval force, resulting in the First Barbary War in 1801. Following that conflict, the United States engaged in a quasi-war with France and the War of 1812 with Great Britain (Oren, 2005).

Then, the United States had followed an expansionist foreign policy. And in response to the independence of Spanish colonies in Latin America in the early 1800s, the United States established the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, a policy declaring its opposition to European interference with the U.S. and Latin America (Pratt, 1972). Around the same time, the U.S. expansion, ideologically fueled by "Manifest Destiny", led to war against Mexico, which resulted into the U.S. taking what are now the territories of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. It also led to the diplomatic conflict with Britain and Russia over the Oregon Territory and with Spain over Florida, and later Cuba. In 1854, the U.S. used its Navy to force Japan to open up for international trade (Lafeber, 1989).

After the end of the British colonization in 1815, consolidating its territories following the Civil War and the withdrawal of the last remnants of the French influence in the region in 1867, the United States was unchallenged regionally. This stability, combined with the country's natural resources and growing population, resulted in substantial domestic prosperity and growth of geopolitical influence (Pratt, 1972).

The victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898, expelling Spain from the Americas, and the subsequent acquisition of the Philippines and Guam, marked

America's shift from regional to global power. The 1904 Roosevelt achievements to the Monroe Doctrine, asserting the right for America intervention to stabilize weak states in the region, further weakened European influence in Latin America hence establishing America's regional hegemony (Gates, 1984).

Despite the United States reluctance to be involved in European affairs during World War I, it supplied the Allies with substantial loans (Lafeber, 1989). In the Peace Conference at Versailles, the U.S. attempted to shift international relations to an idealist model (Lafeber, 1989), but this was hindered by the secret agreements made during the War and the geopolitical horse-trading. As a result, the U.S. politics turned against idealist international relations policies and the country returned to a more isolationist stance (Pratt, 1972).

The United States entered World War II in 1941 on the Allied side just after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Similarly to WWI, the United States supplied the Allies with loans, and its domestic industries boomed to produce weapons. After the War and the devastation of the European rivals, the United States completed its transition from regional to global hegemony along with the Soviet Union (Hastedt, 2009). The United States was a major player in the establishment of the United Nations hence becoming one of the five permanent members of the Security Council (Sherwood, 1948, Cox and Stokes, 2008). It is arguable that from 1890s the United States began to emerge as one of the world's super powers. It was a world power throughout the 19th century but at the turn of the century, the U.S. began to be seen as the most prominent power of the world (Pratt, 1972).

From around 1947 until 1991, American foreign policy was characterized by the Cold War, and by its huge international military involvement. The United States defined

itself against the spread of the Soviet communism in a policy called Containment. During the Cold War, one of the American foreign policy's main objectives was to limit the communist influence. And this involved the U.S. and its allies in the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and the overthrow of the Iranian government, as well as diplomatic actions like the opening of the People's Republic of China and the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (Pratt, 1972, Lafeber, 1989, Cox and Stokes, 2008).

August 1991 marked both the collapse of the Soviet Union and the initiation of the Gulf War in response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. During the 1990s, the United States minimized the scale of its foreign policy budget while focusing on its domestic economic prosperity (Gantz and Roper, 1993, Fukuyama, 1989). The end of the Cold War and the success of America have pronounced it as the world sole power, by this the theme of exceptionalism has been reinforced locally and internationally (Hastedt, 2009, Cox and Stokes, 2008). As previously mentioned, the post-Cold War era had been characterized with stability in the American foreign policies and a concentration on the domestic policies especially during the presidency of Bill Clinton. The most salient features of this period were the making of "The New World Order" by Bush Senior, in which he tried to define the nature of the post Cold War era and the foreign policies to be implied by America in cooperation with the world's powerful states, and the "Democracy Enlargement" by Clinton, in which he aimed at promoting democracy all over the world (Cox and Stokes, 2008). After September 11, the stability in the United States has been hindered and America has adopted new foreign policy approach in which America has declared a "War on Terrorism." Since then, the United States has launched wars against Afghanistan and Iraq while pursuing terrorist

groups on a global level (Chomsky, 2004, Fukuyama, 2006).

As discussed above, one can notice that the foreign policies of America are affected by several strategies that have been adopted throughout the course of the centuries. Arguably, the American foreign policy during its first centuries was formed of several notions and ideas, the most dominant one was isolationism; during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the American foreign policies appeared relatively inactive and isolationist. In underlining the American isolationist's behavior Bradford Perkins, in his article *The Creation of a Republican Empire, 1776-1865* in 1993 characterizes the American Revolution as "an act of isolation" (Perkins, 1993).

Further, the notion of isolation reoccurred over and over again throughout the foreign policy of the early Nation. Perhaps one of the most significant expressions of new world separatism came from the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine had two central aspects. First, President James Monroe asserted that the Americas were "not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers" (President James Monroe address to Congress, December 2, 1823). Although the United States did not propose to challenge existing colonial territories, it pledged to resist any further extension of European power into the Western Hemisphere. The second aspect of the Doctrine asserted the American opposition to European intervention in future conflicts. The President declared that his government would view any European effort to intervene in Latin American affairs as "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States" (President James Monroe address to Congress, December 2, 1823). The Monroe Doctrine was of lasting significance. Bradford Perkins argues that Monroe's 1823 statement amounted to a "diplomatic declaration

of independence" (Perkins, 1993). Consequently, until the end of the eighteenth century the American ideology had little influence beyond its borders. The writings of the founding fathers and the American identity served to reinforce unity at home; this made the United States perceived as a Nation that adheres itself to isolationist attitudes.

American growing power and the expansion of commercial and political interests in a way produced a turn to a more active foreign policy in the early years of the twentieth century (Pratt, 1972). President Woodrow Wilson redefined American traditions to meet the new circumstances of the twentieth century such as, the growing power of nationalism and the ideological challenge of Marxist-Leninism. Despite the importance that Wilsonian ideology seemed to have in shaping the American foreign policy in the aftermath of World War I, prosperity at home took precedence over idealism abroad, and this happened particularly after the Great Depression in 1929 (Pratt, 1972).

The isolation from the world could not last. The effects of Nazi power in Germany in 1933 soon flowed throughout the global system. After the invasion of Poland in 1939, the United States proved to be able to avoid direct intervention in World War II, until the Japanese pilots bombed Pearl Harbor at the end of 1941. However, these events came to emphasize the fact that the United States could not continue to isolate itself from world affairs and that its security is not immune.

In the 20th century, there was an emphasis on America's emergence as a world power; the role of America in WWI and WWII, the internationalist initiative of the Cold War era, its triumph, and the collapse of the Soviet Union, all together have reiterated on

this fact (Pratt,1972).

After a decade of stabilized foreign policies, as mentioned earlier, the events of September 11, 2001 came to cause a shift in America's domestic policies in general and foreign policies in particular. President George Bush has announced a global "War on Terrorism", in which the United States military and its international allies invaded Afghanistan and later Iraq. It is arguable that September 11th and its aftermath were a turning point in the history of the U.S. and its foreign policy making, in that Chomsky also writes, "It is widely argued that the terrorist attacks changed everything dramatically as the world entered a new and frightening (age of terror)" (Chomsky, 2004, pp. 188). Moreover, it is arguable that 9/11 has changed the Bush administration's foreign policy approach to be "offensive" and this is based on the neo-conservative ideological stance in which counter terrorism and counter proliferation of weapons of mass destruction were main themes (Fukuyama, 2006, Chomsky, 2004).

In President Bush's January 29, 2002 State of the Union address, he asserted that an "axis of evil" consisting of North Korea, Iran, and Iraq were "arming to threaten the peace of the world" and "pose a grave and growing danger" (Bush's 2002 State of the Union address). Bush said that he was preparing to open a new front in the U.S. global "War on Terrorism". Bush declared, "Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror." Announcing that he would possibly take action to overthrow the Iraqi government, he said, "The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade" (Bush's 2002 State of the Union address). Moreover, The Bush Administration proceeded to assert

its intention to engage in preemptive war in response to perceived threats. This would form a base for what has become known as the "Bush Doctrine" which goes in line with the neo-conservatism ideology as will be explained in the next chapter (Fukuyama, 2006, Abramowitz, 2008). Thus, 9/11 has made a shift in the American foreign policy; it is arguable that cultural factors are the chief source of this shift hence one can put forth the argument that the shift in the U.S. foreign policy is a cultural one.

Foreign Policy

The events of 9/11 have come to mark a turning point in American foreign policy making. Post-Cold War era foreign policies in America, to some extent, were stable; the major events that characterized this era were the "New World Order" presented by Bush Senior. The increase of the diplomatic relations, humanitarian aids and the "Democracy Enlargement" were during Clinton's presidency. 9/11 was a turning point in the sense that it has provided a point of reference for the American foreign policy in which cultural factors have been dominant in directing it, and identity has been reinforced almost daily by both the U.S. and its rivals (Cox and Stokes, 2008, Hastedt, 2009).

As the first chapter explained, examining the effect of culture and cultural factors in foreign policy making needs the adoption of a post-positivist theoretical approach that acknowledges their role. In this chapter, international relations theories and foreign policy models are combined in an attempt to understand and explain the behaviors and actions undertaken by the American government post 9/11. To start, the rational actor model, which is based on rational choice theory, takes individuals as the primary

unit of analysis; in this model, the individual is seen as a monolithic unitary actor who is capable of making rational decisions based on preference ranking and value maximization. According to the rational actor model, individuals take decisions based upon their self-interests.

The elite model, on the other hand, maintains that a single elite group takes decisions over important issues for the nation as a whole, for instance, it maintains that the president and his key advisors play the major role in making the foreign policy agenda. In this model, as in critical social theory and social constructivism, the social and cultural contexts of the group are taken into consideration so as to be able to analyze the behaviors and actions of the members of the group. Another foreign policy theoretical model is the Bureaucratic model; in this model different government departments and agencies make decisions competitively and decision making is divided among them.

As previously mentioned, this study adopts the discourse analysis methodological approach which is the product of the post positivists' theories, in particular, Social critical theory and social constructivism. In this part of the study, the elite model in combination with the social constructivism theory are going to be employed in order to be able to study the elites' backgrounds and orientations, and conduct a deconstructive analysis of their decisions, actions, relating them to the cultural factors that have influenced their decisions and in turn affected the conduct of the American foreign policy post 9/11.

Cultural Factors and American Foreign Policy

As discussed in the first chapter, foreign policies are highly complex and controversial; they are not designed randomly and do not occur in the vacuum. There are many factors playing a role in influencing foreign policy; the cultural factors play a pivotal role in shaping it. In the case of the U.S., in particular after the events of 9/11, many scholars suggest that the President has become the central figure for foreign policy making. Mauk and Oakland write that "The President has several powers that make him the single most important figure in U.S. foreign policy today" (Mauk and Oakland, 2005, p: 177). Often the cultural background and the social context of the decision maker may have a huge impact on the political behavior and subsequently affect foreign policy as they affect the political behavior (Bremmer, 2005).

Furthermore, foreign policy making is not simply made by the President; key advisors also play an important role in making and evaluating the foreign policy agenda. This is probably the case with President Bush. Even though he has a relatively small number of advisors and he is very decisive in making the decisions on his own; he relies heavily on them to identify the issue and analyze the situation. Therefore, the perceptions of his inner circle remain important (Allen and Broder, 2004).

Significant cultural factors of ideological and religious bases discussed in this study were relevant within Bush's senior advisors. In fact, members of the senior team such as Cheney, Perle, and Rumsfeld - all of whom share the same ideological background of the President-, might have felt these cultural factors, which are mainly related to

ideology and religion, even more intensely. (Fukuyama, 2006) It is highly possible that all of them may have seen 9/11 as a challenge to America. Hastedt in his book *American Foreign Policy Past, Present, Future* analyzes the Bush administration foreign policy using the elite model actor as this study does, he articulates that "George W. Bush administration has been subject of conspiratorial-style analysis" (Hastedt, 2009, pp. 274). He argues that the focus was on the effect that the neoconservative's ideology had on foreign policy making, particularly in the Middle East (Hastedt, 2009). As the next chapter illustrate, it has been notable that several members of the Bush administration during his first term like Colin Powel, Paul Wolfowitz, and Dick Cheney had significant roles in the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq; several other political appointees were associated with the neo-conservative think tank that had been advocating regime change in Iraq for years prior to the 2003 invasion. Their previous experience in war on Iraq and the ideological unity of many of the President's close advisors certainly influenced the direction of U.S. foreign policy (Hastedt, 2009).

Hence, throughout Bush's presidency, the influence of the neoconservative political stance of the administration had been heavily reinforced (Fukuyama, 2006, Hastedt, 2009). During his presidency America witnessed a major turning point in both the domestic and the foreign policies equation of the U.S. (Chomsky, 2004). The conflict in Afghanistan, the events that led to the war and the war in Iraq coincided with a reassessment of foreign policy by the administration, which President Bush articulated in his first State of the Union address on January 29, 2002 (Bush's 2002 State of the Union address). Therefore, it can be said that the American foreign policy is the product of the decision making process, in which the cultural background of the

decision makers has heavily influenced their behavior and subsequently the political behavior. This supports the argument which states that there is a cultural shift in the American foreign policy.

Even though many scholars have been interested in examining the American foreign policy, the Spainer and Uslaner model examining the U.S. foreign policy making falls in line with what this study aims at. The model emphasizes the role of the President and his administration in shaping the foreign policy. This model is called "The Concentric Circles of Power Model" (Spainer and Uslaner, 1974, pp. 55); this model is composed of four concentric circles. The inner most circle consists of the President and his key advisors, the second circle is composed of Bureaucracies, the Armed Services and Scientists, the third one consists of the Congress, the Political Parties and Interest groups and in the fourth and the outermost circle comes the Public Opinion and the Mass Media which have become influential in the U.S. foreign policy.

Below the figure of "The Concentric Circles of Power Model" of Spainer and Uslaner is outlined, the model illustrates the actors who influence in the U.S. foreign policy.

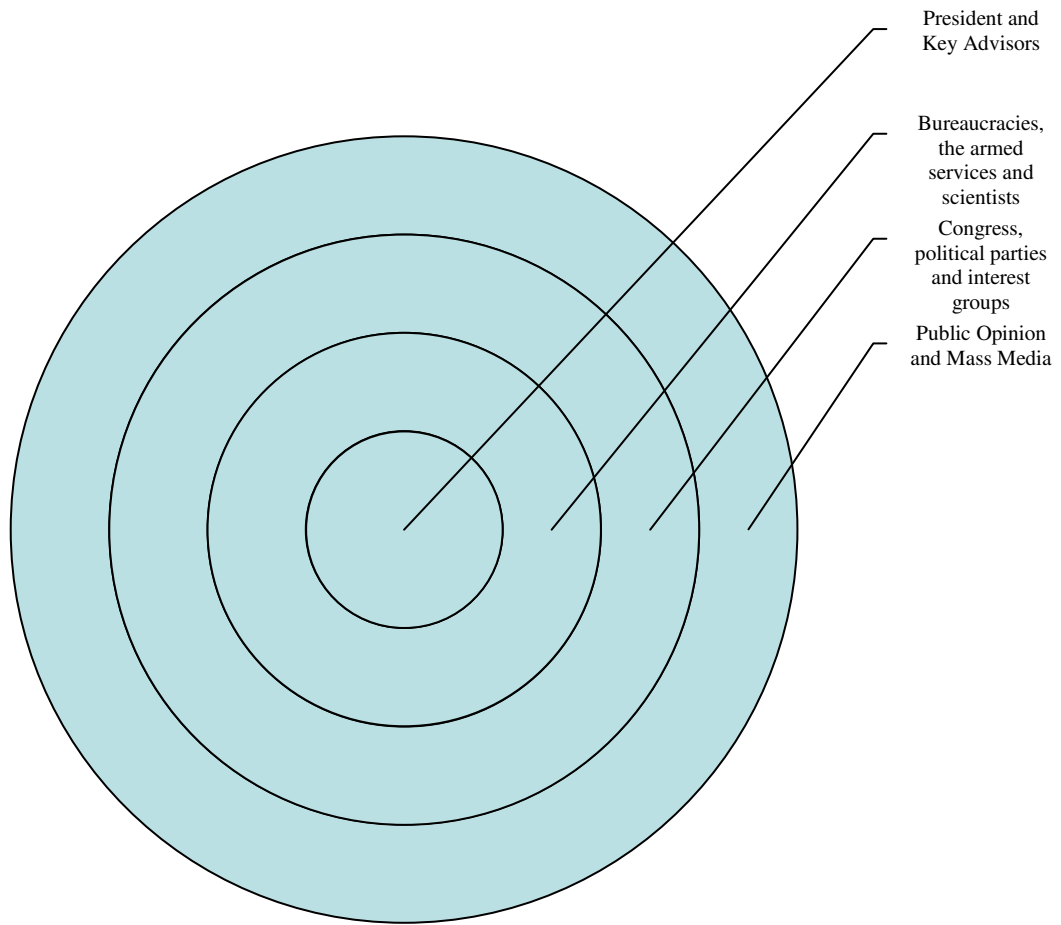


Figure (3). "The Concentric Circles of Power Model"
(Spainer and Uslaner, 1974, pp. 55)

In spite of the fact that this model suggests that there are several actors playing a role in influencing American foreign policy, many scholars as well as the study and the model suggest that the President and his key advisors, which are normally appointed by him, are the central figures in the American foreign policy. Thus one can say that the cultural background and the social context of the Bush administration have affected their political behavior. As a result, since many scholars have labeled Bush and his administration neoconservatives when it comes to ideology, and evangelical when it comes to religion, the argument which states that the ideological factor resembled in the neoconservative stance and the religious factor resembled in the Evangelical Christianity have played a major role in influencing the political behavior of the Bush administration and subsequently the foreign policy making of America post 9/11 is highly reinforced and enhanced. Thus, this leads to the conclusion that the above-mentioned cultural factors have contributed in shaping American foreign policy post 9/11 (Fukuyama, 2006, Huntington, 1996).

Before concluding this chapter, the study highlights results for several polls regarding the American foreign policy during the Bush administration presidency; each of these polls is distinguished by a different sample, for this reason the results of these polls are followed to show the consistency and disagreement among these samples regarding American foreign policy post 9/11. One of these polls is conducted by the Program on International Policy Attitudes Center (PIPA), the poll examines the perceived effect of Bush foreign policy among Americans and whether they think that the way in which the Bush Administration has been conducting the U.S. foreign policy has increased or decreased "the likelihood of terrorist attacks against the U.S." and "the goodwill towards the U.S.", sixty percent think that the way in which the

Bush administration has been conducting the U.S. foreign policy has increased "the likelihood of terrorist attacks" and 78 percent think that it has decreased "the goodwill toward the U.S" (PIPA, 2006).

The World Service survey at BBC also conducted a survey regarding the Iraqi war in 25 nations including America and find that every three out of four respondents, an average representing 73% of respondents, disapprove how America deals with Iraq. The poll also shows that the image of America's role in the world is deteriorating both internationally and domestically (BBC, 2007).

Thus polls, reflecting attitudes from different parts of the world toward American foreign policies post 9/11 show that the high majority are not satisfied with American foreign policies post 9/11.

Chapter 5

American Political Culture and Foreign Policy

Religion, Neo-conservatism and Language

Religion

Most social and political scientists have not given a lot of focus on religion, they have tended to see it as something belonging to past ages, but things have begun to change, phrases like "liberation theology," "fundamentalism," and "moral majority" were loudly spoken from politicians in many countries (Huntington, 1993, 1996). As a result, several scholars have written important works that deal with religion and politics such as Max Weber and Huntington (Weber, 1963, Huntington, 1993, 1996).

Perhaps one of the most valuable sources on religion is Weber's work on the sociology of religion. In this work his three main themes were the effect of religious ideas on economic activities, the relation between social classes and religious ideas, and the distinguishable characteristics of Western civilization. Weber's main objective was to find reasons for the different development paths of the Western and Eastern cultures. Weber maintained that the Puritan ideas had made a major impact on the development of the economic and political system of Europe and the United States, but he also noted that they were not the only factors that contributed to this development. Hence, according to Weber there is a correlation between religion and politics and they share an intimate and complex relationship (Weber, 1963).

Lindbeck defines religion as, "a kind of cultural and/or linguistic framework or

medium that shapes the entirety of life and thought, it is similar to an idiom that makes possible the description of realities, the formulation of beliefs, and the experiencing of inner attitudes, feelings, and sentiments."(Lindbeck, 1984, pp. 33) According to this definition, religion refers to one's view of the world and how this view shapes thoughts and actions. Thus religion is a set of beliefs and practices that are determined by one's view of reality. Politics, on the other hand, is a process by which groups make decisions. Since one's view of reality has a powerful effect on decision-making, the two realms are tightly linked in a number of ways (Weber, 1963, Huntington, 1993, 1996).

Religion and American Foreign Policy

Religion has always been a main force in American political culture and foreign policy, and it has always affected its domestic and foreign policies (Judis, 2005, Mauk and Oakland, 2005, Cox and Stokes, 2008). Moreover, religion has a fundamental role in shaping the Nation's identity (Mauk and Oakland, 2005). Arguably, it has helped in forming Americans' ideas about the world, and has influenced the ways in which Americans respond to events outside their borders. In some way, religion explains Americans' belief which states that they have a "call" or a "mission" to spread their values and beliefs throughout the world (Judis, 2005). Though, not all Americans believe in these values, these ideas exercise a profound influence over the Country's domestic and foreign behaviors (Judis, Mann and Lind, 2004).

To this, many American presidents have acknowledged the importance of religion in politics. For example, in some of President Bush's speeches on foreign policy one can

frequently find three ideas which are related to the American history and recall that they have been voiced by other presidents throughout the history of foreign policy of America (Judis, 2005). The first one is the idea that the United States has a "mission" to change the world. During the debate over the invasion of the Philippines, Senator Albert Beveridge mentioned in one of his speeches that God had "marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the redemption of the world" (Pratt, 1972, Judis, Mann, Lind, 2004, Judis, 2005). Richard Nixon also affirmed, "America came into the world 180 years ago not just to have freedom for ourselves, but to carry it to the whole world" (Remarks of the Vice President, Wheaton College Field, Wheaton, IL, October 29, 1960). And, George Bush declared in April 2004 that "as the greatest power on the face of the Earth, we have an obligation to help the spread of freedom. That is what we have been called to do, as far as I'm concerned" (President Bush, Information Sharing, Patriot Act Vital to Homeland Security, 2004). The second notion is that in carrying out this mission, the United States is representing the forces of good over the forces of evil. President Roosevelt said about the conflict America had with Germany and Japan in World War II "There never has been - there never can be - successful compromise between good and evil". President Bush also declared that, "We are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name" (President Bush Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point, 2003). The third and last notion is that the United States is the God's "chosen nation". Abraham Lincoln has first articulated this idea, when he said, "We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth" (Abraham Lincoln's Annual Message to Congress Concluding Remarks, 1862) (Judis, 2005).

Although the above illustrates that most of the American presidents have almost

agreed on similar points, the balance among the different religious sects in the U.S. has been shifting over time; these shifts have brought many consequences (The Pew Forum, 2006). Recently, the conservative sects within American Protestantism have gained adherents, and the liberal Protestantism, which had dominated the Country throughout the middle years of the twentieth century, has weakened. These shifts have already affected the U.S. domestic and foreign policies in many ways (The Pew Forum, 2006). For that, these changes are required to be fully and widely understood, especially that cultural differences which are related to religion can have important consequences on politics and the foreign policy making. Therefore, interpreting the impact of religious changes in the United States on American foreign policy needs the construction of a profound and cautious examination to the beliefs different dominate religious sects hold (Mead, 2006). It has been noticed that most of the studies conducted on religion in the U.S. have focused on Protestantism; the reason behind this is the fact that Protestantism, with its different sects, has shaped much of the U.S. religious identity as a Country and remains today the majority faith in the United States (Mead, 2006, Judis, 2005).

Recent decades have witnessed significant changes in the balance of religious power in the United States. While the number of American Christians has grown, the number of citizens of the U.S. which identify themselves as mainline Protestants has fallen; meanwhile the number of evangelical Protestants has rose. The Pew Research Center reports that in 1988, 59 percent of Americans Protestants identified themselves as mainline Protestants; by 2002, the percentage had fallen to 46 percent. Meanwhile, the percentage of the evangelical's Protestants rose from 41 percent to 54 percent (Pew Research Center, 2006). The impact of these changes was easy to detect in the

State's politics; evangelicals voted 68 percent in 2000 and 78 percent in 2004 for President George W. Bush, and that constituted about 40 percent of his total votes in his second term in 2004 (Pew Research Center, 2000, 2004, McMahon, 2006). Evangelicals have been playing a major role in congressional and Senate elections as well, and the number of self-identified evangelicals in the Congress has increased from around 10 percent of the membership in 1970 to more than 25 percent in 2004 (Pew Research Center, 2006). It's arguable that Evangelicals have made a name for themselves, mainly through their involvement in domestic issues, but recently they have also been involving themselves in foreign policy affairs (McMahon, 2006, Mead, 2006).

In the same poll which has been conducted for the purpose of this study, it questioned the sample whether they consider religion one of the main factors that have influenced American foreign policy post 9/11. More than seventy five percent of the sample agreed that religion have played a major role in shaping American foreign policy post 9/11 whereas less than twenty five percent of the sample have answered negatively. The below chart corresponds with the results.

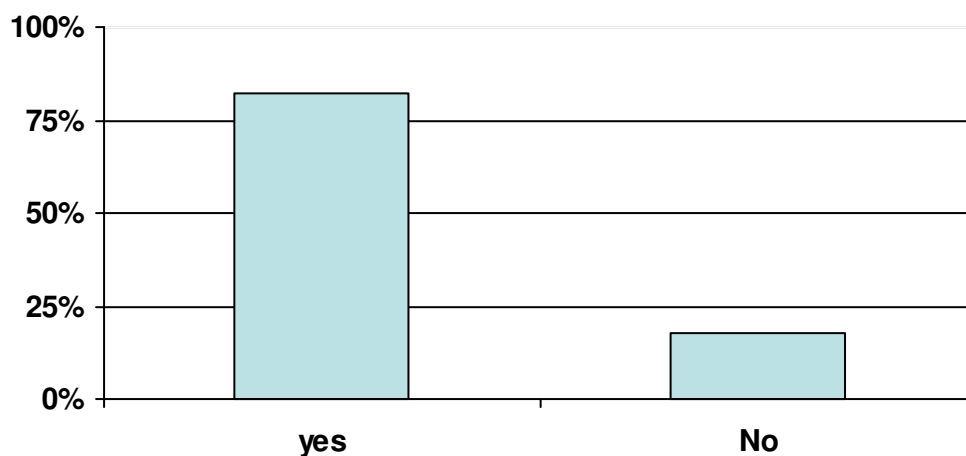


Figure (4). Whether people consider religion one of the main factors that have influenced the U.S. foreign policy post 9/11?

Evangelicalism and American Foreign Policy

The growing influence of evangelicals has affected American foreign policy in several ways; to start, on the subject of humanitarian policies; evangelicals have been increasing general support for both foreign aids and the defense of human rights. Evangelicals were consistent supporters of national liberation movements during the nineteenth century. They led a number of reform campaigns, often with feminist overtones: against suttee in India, against foot binding in China, in support of female education throughout the developing world, and against human sexual trafficking (LaHaye and Jenkins, 2005, Mead, 2006). As evangelicals have recently returned to a position of power in American politics, they have supported causes which are similar to the abovementioned and have given support to American humanitarian efforts; as a result a rise in American humanitarian aids has been witnessed during Bush presidency (The Pew Forum, 2006, McMahon, 2006).

Another area where the increased influence of evangelicals can be noted is in its relation to Israel. The growing evangelical influence has strengthened a strong support for a pro-Israel foreign policy in America. This support is mainly stemmed from the belief of Christian evangelicals in the stated narration of the Bible that holds the return of Jesus is possible only when all of the Jews around the world return to the Holy Land. Consequently, they support Israel so as to fulfill prophesy, which will lead to the end of the world, and the judgment between good and evil. These people believe the end of the world is close, and they want to help make it come sooner (LaHaye and Jenkins, 2006, Mead, 2006). Moreover, evangelicals are also called

“Christian Zionists” (LaHaye and Jenkins, 2006), and they are mainly found in the U.S., especially in the South and the Midwest and they are politically powerful; they mobilize an important Republican constituency. Since Christian Zionists tend to favor war and have less sympathy for Palestinian they bolster the neo-conservative policies of the Republicans particularly in the Middle East (Oren, 2007). Evangelicals also find that the continued existence of the Israeli state is a strong argument for both the existence of God and his power. Many of the evangelicals believe that the promise of Genesis still stands and that God will bless the United States if the United States blesses Israel (LaHaye and Jenkins, 2005, McMahon, 2006, the Pew Forum, 2006).

It has been illustrated earlier in this chapter that evangelicals were of great influence in politics during the Bush presidency; and this have been demonstrated by the votes President Bush acquired from evangelicals, especially in his second term (The Pew Forum, 2006). The reason behind this is that Evangelicals have seen that President Bush foreign policies fall in line with their beliefs, values and principles and that is why they have voted for him so intensively in his second term. For example, they have supported the war against Iraq because Saddam has threatened Israel (Judis, 2005). Furthermore, some scholars and writers state that President George Bush pertains to the born again evangelical Christianity, in that Julian Borger in his article *How Born-Again George Became a Man on a Mission* published in 2005 writes, "George Bush was born again as an evangelical Christian in 1985 " (Borger, 2005).

In addition, throughout Bush presidency, the use of religious rhetoric in some of his speeches can be vastly detected; it is highly probable that the Bush presidency was one of the most overtly religious in the history of America. As mentioned earlier, the

President has stated that he has been called by God and has acted as if Americans are God's chosen people (Judis, 2005). Many scholars have argued whether Bush has talked about his own faith, or whether he has used politics to fulfill his religious and political aspirations leading to what is called "Armageddon" in the world (The Pew Forum, 2006, Mead, 2006). To be sure, by analyzing President Bush speeches, behaviors and foreign policies, many scholars have labeled him evangelical, in particular an evangelical pertaining to the born again group (Borger, 2005).

Neo-conservatism Ideology

Ideology has been influential in the course of the U.S. foreign policy making history. Nonetheless, it mostly led to America's isolationist behavior (Hunt, 1988); however, in World War II and during the Cold War the American participation and its role in world affairs marked a change in its foreign policies to a more active stance (Parrrt, 1972).

Although America was the world sole power before September 11, 2001 (Hastedt, 2009), the Bush administration ideological orientations not only has come to lead the Country to an entirely new unilateral direction but has also been more active and dominant in world affairs. Many scholars like Chomsky maintain that by this, America was trying to build a world empire, especially that the international shaky system, the power distribution and the social reality have highly helped in the adoption of the strategies implemented post 9/11 (Chomsky, 2004, Fukuyama, 2006). It's arguable that the source of this change is a cultural one; at large it is due to the neo-conservatism ideology. For this, the following section has first cast light on how ideology, specially liberalism, conservatism and neo-conservatism, has worked throughout the history of the American foreign policy, and then it explains how the

neo-conservatism ideology has been of great influence on the Bush administration causing cultural shift in the U.S. foreign policy post 9/11.

Malcolm Hamilton, in his article *"The Elements of the Concept of Ideology,"* offers a definition for ideology, he writes that ideology is "a system of collectively held normative and reputedly factual ideas and beliefs and attitudes advocating and/or justifying a particular pattern of political and/or economic relationships, arrangements, and conduct" (Hamilton, 1987, pp. 18). Meanwhile Michael Hunt views ideology as performing a particular function, it is "an interrelated set of convictions or assumptions that reduces the complexities of a particular slice of reality to easily comprehensible terms and suggests appropriate ways of dealing with that reality" (Hunt, 1988, pp. 11). Thus, ideology may be utopian and progressive or protective of the status quo. It offers a way in which one can order the world, defines his enemies and allies, dangers and opportunities, us and them. Ideologies are formal, structured, and logical, often appearing in the guise of science or objective knowledge (Hamilton, 1987, Hunt, 1988).

Ideology and the American Foreign Policy

In *U.S. Ideology and Foreign Policy*, Hunt (1988) argues that there is an ideology that has shaped American foreign policy; an ideology based on a conception of national mission and national greatness, on the racial classification of other peoples and a hierarchy of race, and on a fear and hostility toward social revolutions, this ideology has been implemented by two broad political philosophies: liberalism and

conservatism (Hunt, 1988).

To start, the Monroe Doctrine was one of the most significant expressions of American ideologies that reiterated on the U.S. isolationism, as mentioned in the previous chapter. The Doctrine asserted American opposition to European intervention in future conflicts and that the U.S. is not a subject for future colonization by European powers (President James Monroe address to Congress, December 2, 1823).

Territorial expansion was also one of the ideas that constituted the ideology that shaped American foreign policy in its early ages. In the nineteenth century, the U.S. territorial expansion seemed to be a destiny. The same destiny that had guided the founding seemed to give a right to expansion. To this, in the 1840s the writer John O'Sullivan gave the name "Manifest Destiny" (O'Sullivan, 1845). O'Sullivan believed in the necessity of the American example for the world. Americans must "carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than that of the beast of the field," he wrote. The United States had a mission "to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions" (O'Sullivan, 1845, pp. 5-10). In that, the historian Anders Stephanson explains that Manifest Destiny served as a legitimizing myth of empire. It helped to reconcile the national notion of exceptionalism and virtue with ambition and acquisitiveness (Stephanson, 1995).

The United States quickly overspread the continent. Thomas Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase in 1803 marked the first major expansion, extending the boundaries of the United States to the Mississippi River. Subsequently, John Quincy Adams became a key architect of American expansion, negotiating the 1819 Transcontinental Treaty with Spain, which extended American claims all the way to the Pacific (Pratt, 1972).

Although these claims did not go entirely unchallenged, by the mid part of the century, with a combination of war and treaty, the United States managed to secure seize over much of the continent. During the Mexican American War from 1846 to 1848, President James K. Polk turned away from conquering the whole of Mexico; the reason behind this was the belief that Latin Americans were not ready for a republican government. This belief in Latin American inferiority from the U.S. side proved lasting, though its ambivalence toward spreading democracy did not (Hunt, 1988).

The search for global markets has driven American foreign policy as well; efforts to protect the trade of America have always been a major objective of American foreign policy. The U.S. has long shown a tendency to assert universalistic claims that serve only the U.S. interests. Capitalism, liberalism, conservatism and neo-conservatism ideologies have shown great interests in trade and free markets. Many scholars, such as Appleman, argue that the revolution against Britain was to some extent over trading privileges (Appleman, 1988, 1961).

At the end of the nineteenth century, Secretary of State John Hay passed the "Open Door Notes" to the other great powers. Hay hoped to establish the principle of free trade and open markets. The main subject was the China trade, but the principle involved transcended the particulars. Much as the Monroe Doctrine had expressed a long held belief in the separation of the Old and New Worlds, the "Open Door Notes" signified the importance of trade and commerce to American policy makers. Williams argues that the "Open Door" represents the foundation of the American foreign policy, in that, America throughout its history has sought to secure global markets, an open door, for the U.S. goods (Appleman, 1988, 1961). To Williams and other

scholars, the impetus of the "Open Door" has essentially made for the U.S. expansionist foreign policy that has in effect created an informal empire under the guise of asserting neutral rights (Appleman, 1988, 1961).

Capitalism and communism Ideologies seemed to have a central place in the analysis of the Cold War. Some Realist scholars like, Marc Trachtenberg, emphasize the fact that policy makers of America reacted to the perceived dangers and opportunities of particular situations. In this respect, external conditions drove the U.S.'s Cold War foreign policy. The problems related to the reconstruction of Germany and the future of European powers were challenges for American policy makers. In addition, with the beginning of the Cold War, the global political and economic instability that followed World War II posed a potential danger to the security of the U.S. and to its prosperity.

Since American political ideologies are derived from their basic political cultural ideologies i.e.: freedom, independence, exceptionalism, and democracy, their presidents' interpretations of threats and opportunities were influenced by these ideologies. For them, communism, the ideological system held by the Soviet Union, was considered a source of both economic and political instability. Truman and his key advisers defined the Soviet Union in explicitly ideological terms; the threat was not the power of the Soviet state as much as the communism ideology and the promise of the revolution that it held (Trachtenberg, 1999).

On the other hand, the writers of the 1950s, such as Kennan, drew their researches on the official rationales that the Truman administration had used to explain the nature of the Cold War and the necessity for the American Cold War policy of containment.

The Truman administration portrayed the Soviets as bent on expansion, driven by a

combination of interests and communist ideology. The United States in response acted prudently and pragmatically to defend its interests against this obvious security and ideological threats (Kennan, 1959). Kennan argues that the Truman Doctrine overcommitted the United States to define its interests in capitalist ideology and expansive terms. For Kennan, the communist and liberal ideologies heavily influenced both the Soviet and the U.S. policy makers (Kennan, 1954). This idea has been enhanced in the 1990s; when available archival sources from the Soviet side of the conflict during the War brought up the question of the close relationship between communist ideology and the Cold War. In that, John Lewis Gaddis in 1997 declared in *We Now Know* that the new Cold War history must of necessity concern itself with ideology. Similarly, Martin Malia in her work *The Soviet Tragedy*, 1994 provides an account of the Soviet foreign policy, in this work she places ideology at the center of the conflict between East and West and she argues that the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution virtually guaranteed the Cold War that followed (Malia, 1994). Moreover, Odd Westad has emphasized on the importance of America's capitalist ideology during the Cold War. As Westad states in his 2000 Bernath Lecture, "It was to a great extent American ideas and their influence that made the Soviet-American conflict into a Cold War." (Westad, 2000) Thus one can notice that scholars suggest a center role to ideology during the Cold War era.

The agreement regarding the ideological conflict of communism and liberalism, the expansive tendencies of the Soviet Union, and the necessity for a policy of containment was taking hold, and the American foreign policy developed to match these opinions. It is remarkable how powerful this analogy became and how repeatedly officials referred to it during the post war period. The decision to renounce negotiation and the tools of traditional diplomacy held an appeal linked to the

American heritage of exceptionalism and isolation from European politics. The failed diplomacy of 1939 fit neatly into the existing preconceptions and tendency of the U.S. foreign policy. Moreover, the lessons of history seemed to lend legitimacy to the desire to contain the Soviet Union and wait for it to fall to its own "internal contradictions" (Partt, 1972, Yoder, 1993).

Thus, one can put forth the argument that the threat of communism ideology to the U.S. interests determined the form of the U.S. intervention in global politics, defined the nature of the U.S.'s national interests, and affected the decisions that were issued from Washington. Ideological doubts about communism reinforced distrust of the Soviet's intentions. Moreover, these fears warred with the U.S. ambivalence toward European affairs and intervention abroad. Arguably, the U.S. Cold War policy grew out of these contradictions. Containment policy, which reflects a realists approach, drew from the ideological foundations of capitalism, conservatism, liberalism, anticommunism, and the American mission discussed above (Gantz and Roper, 1993).

From the aforementioned discussion, one would find that the most dominant ideological philosophies in America have been liberalism and conservatism. Liberalism has been ruling for a longer time, however, with the coming of Ronald Reagan, the conservatism ideology has intensely pervaded America. Yet, with the presidency of Bush, conservatism has continued to play its role by the adoption of the neo-conservatism ideology which is an offshoot of conservatism.

In practicing the neo-conservatism ideology; upon the events of Sept. 11, the Bush administration maintained that the United States is going through a global war; a war of ideologies, in which the U.S. enemies are bound together by a common ideology that contradicts with the American ideology, interests and hence threatening the security of the U.S. and its existence as the only sole power in the world (Schmidt,

2007).

Besides, while examining the U.S. National Security Strategy, one can find four main themes that are highlighted as the principles of the "Bush Doctrine" and have frequently been repeated in his administrations' speeches. The Bush Doctrine has a number of shared values that are found in common with the neo-conservative rhetoric language, these main values are mainly related to liberty and democracy, and they include the themes of Preemption, the Spread of Democracy, Military Primacy, and New Multilateralism (Schmidt, 2007, Harvard International Review, 2006).

In addition, many central figures in the Bush administration consider themselves as neoconservatives or strongly support their foreign policy ideas (Podhoretz, 2006 Fukuyama, 2006). One example on that can be detected upon tracing the neoconservatives influence, neoconservatives were known for their support to the overthrow of Saddam Hussein government in Iraq. The Project for the New American Century (PNAC) whose members are mostly neoconservatives sent a public letter to President Bill Clinton on 26 January 1998 stating: (PNAC, 1997, Elliot, 1997)

"As a result, in the not-too-distant future we will be unable to determine with any reasonable level of confidence whether Iraq does or does not possess such weapons. Such uncertainty will, by itself, have a seriously destabilizing effect on the entire Middle East. It hardly needs to be added that if Saddam does acquire the capability to deliver weapons of mass destruction, as he is almost certain to do if we continue along the present course, the safety of American troops in the region, of our friends and allies like Israel and the moderate Arab states, and a significant portion of the world's supply of oil will all be put at hazard. As you have rightly declared, Mr. President, the security of the world in the first part of the 21st century will be determined largely by how we handle this threat" (Elliot, 1997).

The Project for the New American Century's PNAC is a nonprofit, educational organization whose goal is to promote American global leadership and hegemony; it was established in the spring of 1997, the Project is an initiative of the New Citizenship Project. William Kristol, the son of Irving Kristol who's widely referred to as the godfather of the neo-conservatism, is the chairman of the Project, Robert Kagan, Bruce P. Jackson, Mark Gerson and Randy Scheunemann are the directors. In addition, Gary Schmitt is the executive director of the Project (PANC, 1997). Among its members are a number of people who have later occupied important positions in the Bush administration, such as Rumsfeld, and Perle (Elliot, 1997). In the Project's founding Statement of Principles there are many values that go in line with the neoconservative ideology and the Bush Doctrine, for example, they state "[The United States must conduct] a foreign policy that boldly and purposefully promotes American principles abroad; and national leadership that accepts the United States' global responsibilities." "Of course, the United States must be prudent in how it exercises its power. But we cannot safely avoid the responsibilities of global leadership or the costs that are associated with its exercise. America has a vital role in maintaining peace and security in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. If we shirk our responsibilities, we invite challenges to our fundamental interests. The history of the 20th century should have taught us that it is important to shape circumstances before crises emerge, and to meet threats before they become dire" (PANC, 1997). Such statements reflect two main ideologies of the neoconservatives: the supremacy of the U.S. and the attack first ideology.

Prominent and former neoconservatives have disagreed amongst themselves over many issues i.e. the war on Iraq (Harvard international review, 2006). Some of the

PNAC members and the chairperson of the Defense Policy Board Advisory Committee, the neoconservative Richard Perle, expressed their regret over the U.S invasion to Iraq, and so Perle has put the blame on President George W. Bush for this invasion (Borger, 2006). On the other hand, other neoconservative ideologists like Joshua Muravchik and Norman Podhoretz maintained that neoconservatives must take intellectual leadership and that traditional conservatives lack the insight on how to solve terrorism. They argue that the strength of neoconservatives is the fact that they hold their unconventional ideology as the foundation for their policies (Muravchik, 2006).

Other than Bush and Rumsfeld, traditional conservatives who are thought to have adopted neoconservative think tank in the U.S. foreign policy making include Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (Krauthammer, 2005).

By tracing President Bush's rhetoric and actions, one can argue that the “Bush Doctrine”, which falls in line with long-standing ideas of the neoconservative, holds that the United States is entangled in a global war of ideas between the western values of freedom on one hand, and extremism seeking to destroy them on the other. A war of ideology where the United States must take responsibility for security and show leadership in the world can only be by actively seeking out the enemies and seeking out countries which are supporting enemies (Drake, 2005). The Bush Doctrine and the neoconservative reasoning hold that the enemy of the United States must be destroyed before it attacks using all the United States' available means, resources and influences (Drake, 2005, Fukuyama, 2006).

The ideas of the neoconservatives and the Bush Doctrine principles existed almost since the middle of the 20th century but they were mainly developed and were put into

action post the events of September 11 (Fukuyama, 2006). According to the Doctrine, the events presented a challenge to the U.S. In the address to the Nation on the evening of September 11, Bush stated his solution of the issue by declaring, "We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them." This policy was first used as a justification to the invasion of Afghanistan and later of Iraq and since that time, it has been applied to the U.S. foreign policy and military actions (Fukuyama, 2006).

President Bush made an even more powerful and aggressive restatement of this principle in his September 20, 2001 address to the United States Congress: "We will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime" (Bush address to the United States Congress in September 20, 2001).

Francis Fukuyama, a former neoconservative, in his book *After the Neocons: America at the Crossroads* explains the notion that many of the Bush administration's policies are based on neoconservative thoughts; he supports his argument by tracing the roots of neoconservatives from the 1940s and onward. He criticizes the neoconservative ideology practiced by the Bush administration, he states that the opportunity presented by 9/11 led to the adoption of the principles of unilateralism and preemptive war in the National Security Strategy of the United States published in 2002. Fukuyama suggests that to some extent, Bush's foreign policies since 9/11 have been influenced by Wilson's traditional liberal internationalist assumptions that all along have had a troubling impact on the U.S. foreign policy behavior and have led to the current situation in Iraq and the position of the U.S. in the world (Fukuyama, 2006).

From the above discussion, it may be true that ideology existed in the U.S. political culture and shaped its foreign policy conduct since the early years of its establishment as a Nation, but these ideologies have been advanced mainly to protect and pursue the U.S. interests and national security. After the events of 9/11, many scholars, such as Chomsky and Fukuyama, have argued that things have changed, and that the U.S. foreign policies since September 11 2001 resemble a radical departure from the conventional attitudes towards the U.S.'s status and responsibilities in the world (Chomsky, 2004). Accordingly, the "Bush Doctrine", which is affected by both his ideological and religious beliefs and values, has represented a shift in the U.S. government's attitude towards foreign policy. In that Peter Berkowitz, in a workshop at Keshet Foundation in Israel, said, "Bush's decision to remove Saddam was bound up with the judgment that once Baghdad had been liberated, America could restore order and promote democracy. This is where Bush's Christian progressivism comes in. As a devout Christian, he believes in the universality of the human desire and capacity for freedom, beliefs which converge with the progressive impulse in neo-conservative foreign policy" (Berkowitz, 2005).

Another question that is directed by the poll is if the sample believe that the Neo-conservatism as a political stance has influenced the U.S. foreign policy after 9/11, and the results are similar to the result we have in regard to the role religion has played in American foreign policies post 9/11. More than seventy five percent agreed that neo-conservatism has influenced the U.S. foreign policy; the below chart represents the results:

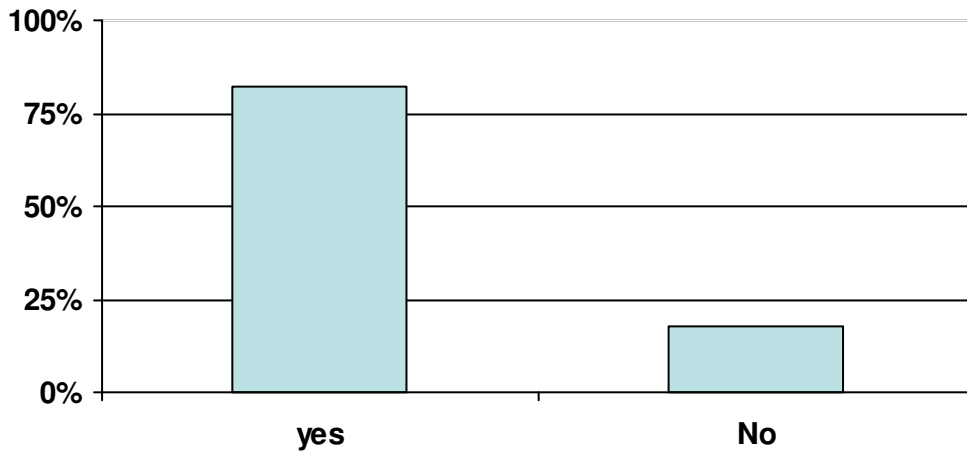


Figure (5). Whether people believe that the Neo-conservatism as a political stance has influenced the U.S. foreign policy after 9/11?

Thus, the U.S. interaction in the international sphere reflects cultural interpretations of the domestic State and its perceived position in the world. The Bush strategy reflects that American unilateral policies show a strong belief in the certainty of its will and its mission, and its pursue to military action preemptively and preventatively illustrates confidence that the decisions policy makers undertake are both acceptable and permissible on a higher level locally and internationally (Fukuyama, 2006).

Language

Many scholars working in fields like sociology, political science, and history have turned their attention to the study of cultural factors such as language, religion and

ideology to understanding human behavior (Weber, 1963, Huntington, 1996, Campbell, 1998).

Drawing on the work of prominent theorists such as Michael Foucault, Jacques Derrida and Norman Foucault who examine the language used by policy makers and analyze the meanings, or "genealogies," of the words that compose their policies, one can notice that these theorists tend to place language at the center of social reality; the "linguistic turn" reaffirms ideology and religion's importance (Foucault, 1969, Campbell, 1998, Parker, 1999).

The rhetorical analysis does not involve simply identifying and labeling linguistic features, but also consists of an examination of the entire context of communication; especially that speech or writing never occurs in the vacuum, but in some historical, cultural, temporal setting that is intimately tied up with how one frames discourse (Alker, 1992). In one sense, the rhetorical situation refers to what inspires communication: an ideology, religious belief, pressing need, or a specific intention. The discourse analysis serves to bring attention to the hidden, or implicit meaning behind a text, drawing on a wide range of disciplines and tools, it decodes the meaning and the ideological assumptions behind a text (Parker, 1999).

For postmodernists, language constitutes reality; that is, one cannot understand the world outside of the words that one uses to describe it. For these theorists language serves to replicate and reinforce power (Alker, 1992). Fairclough argues that the words and language the person uses help to shape people's identities, relations, and systems of knowledge, beliefs and values. Thus, one's identity, the nature of their

social relations, and their knowledge and belief systems are shaped and constrained by the language and words one adopts (Fairclough, 2000). Furthermore, he argues that language determines the relationship between three levels of analysis: the actual text; the discursive practices, which is the process involved in creating, writing, speaking, reading, and listening; and the larger social context which stands on the text, the rational and discursive practices (Fairclough, 2000).

More precisely, according to Fairclough, the text is a record of an event in which something was communicated and involved the presentation of values and beliefs, often ideological and religious ones, the construction of identities of participants discussed in the communication, and strategies to frame the content of the message. Arguably, discursive practice refers to rules, norms, and mental models of socially accepted behavior in specific roles or relationships used to produce, receive, and interpret the message. They are the spoken and non-spoken rules and conventions that govern how individuals learn to think, act, and speak in all the social contexts they occupy in life (Parker, 1999).

Moreover, many scholars suggest that language covers many aspects of the relationship between the results the decision makers achieve and the rhetoric they choose when they speak and write. A study titled *The Effect of "Conflict Framing" on U.S. and Arab Approaches to the Case of Iraq from 2000-2004* uses a discourse analysis approach to describe and understand the power of linguistics and discourse in 'framing' a policy issue. In this study there is an analysis of the language and political discourse of foreign policy making groups within the U.S. and the Arab world. The study demonstrates how the discourse leading up to the invasion of Iraq led to contrasting policy options from the American and Arab sides (Jonsson, Jordan

University, 2008).

In addition, postmodernist scholars of the Cold War have discovered the meaning of national security and the language that was often used in the context of the Cold War foreign policy. For example, David Campbell has examined closely the ways in which foreign policy and the language used to describe it reinforce ideology and identity and serve to define a state. In *Writing Security*, 1998 Campbell argues that the United States represents an imagined community, which relies on the language and metaphors in designing its foreign policy to affirm its existence (Campbell, 1998).

The Bush administration provides a case in point to the relationship between the rhetoric chosen by a policy maker and the set of beliefs and values the policy maker holds, the administration members have frequently used language that leads to their ideological and religious backgrounds and orientations, arguably, the use of religious language has differed from the language used by earlier American presidents. President Bush has utilized religious expressions and rhetoric intensely in his speeches. Many scholars argue that by taking a closer look at his speeches, one can identify him as an evangelical (Kelley, 2005). An example to Bush's religious rhetoric is when President Bush made his famous statement that his favorite political philosopher was Jesus Christ because he changes one's heart (Green, 2003). Choosing this rhetoric did have a very important political effect; Evangelical Christians and other conservative Protestants comprehensively understood the speech, and hence supported President Bush. The importance of this statement lies in the fact that in the 2000, Bush was in a contest with Gary Bauer and Steve Forbes who had a claim on the votes of both evangelical and the conservative Christians. By using that religious reference and rhetoric, Bush had effectively undercut the campaigns of his rivals, and

had brought many millions of evangelicals and conservative Christians into his side (Green, 2003).

With regard to the neoconservative's ideology and the language and rhetoric used by the Bush administration, one can note that many terminologies and concepts that reflected the principles, ideas and values of the "Bush Doctrine" and the neoconservative's ideology such as "War on Terrorism", "Fundamentalism", "Preventive War" and "Preemptive War" have been repeatedly utilized by the Bush administration. These terminologies and concepts have demonstrated that the strategic language choices approaches proved to be effective to settling them in the minds of the mass (Kristol, W. and Kagan, 2003). Neo-conservatism ideology encourages the U.S. to embrace the burdens of being the world superpower and to be courageous in resorting to military action. It also aims to give "moral clarity" to American foreign policy, which has been reflected in the language in Bush's speeches on freedom and liberty (Harvard International View, 2006).

The neo-conservative ideas were also evident in the prologue to the war on Iraq. In addition, the democracy theory, which is highly related and connected to the neo-conservatism ideology, has been identified in the administration speeches by words like "liberation" and "freedom".

Three of the statements which showed support for initiating the war in Iraq were offered first by Cheney in August 2002, then by Rumsfeld in September 2002 and finally by President Bush in his 2003 State of the Union address. In each of these speeches, the need for preemptive actions to eliminate Saddam's Weapons of Mass Destruction capability was the central theme, along with the inability of the United Nations or containment policy to secure that objective. According to Cheney, "if Saddam Hussein was allowed to develop nuclear weapons, he could then be expected

to seek domination of the entire Middle East, take control of a great portion of the world's energy supplies, directly threaten America's friends throughout the world and subject the United States or any other nation to nuclear blackmail". "He and his regime must therefore be eliminated before that circumstance arose" (Vice President Speaks at VFW 103rd National Convention, 2002). At the very end of the speech, Cheney noted that the U.S. would help to build democracy in the new Iraq (Vice President Speaks at VFW 103rd National Convention, 2002).

Rumsfeld, in his testimony before Congress, asserted that the Iraqi regime was "determined to acquire the means to strike the U.S., its friends and others with weapons of mass destruction, acquire the territory of their neighbors and impose their control over the Persian Gulf region. Even if Saddam sought WMD not in order to engage in an unprovoked attack but merely as a deterrent to US retaliation, he must still be eliminated if the US was not to risk a forced isolationism. Moreover, if the US failed to act country thinking about acquiring weapons of mass destruction will conclude that the US has been deterred by Iraq's chemical and biological weapons capabilities and they would then resolve to pursue those weapons to assure their impunity" (Rumsfeld before the House and Senate Armed Services Committees regarding Iraq, 2002).

Finally, Bush, in his 2003 State of the Union address, began his discussion of the "War on terror" by asserting, "The gravest danger facing America and the world is outlaw regimes that seek and possess nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Of such regimes, that of Saddam Hussein was the worst, and a brutal dictator, with a history of reckless aggression, with ties to terrorism, with great potential wealth, will not be permitted to dominate a vital region and threaten the United States" (President Delivers "State of the Union", 2003). What is significant about these three speeches,

however, is the prevalence of neo-conservative ideas, especially the idea they hold in destroying the enemy before it destroys them.

To sum up, this chapter asserts that religion, ideology and language as cultural factors are interrelated and co-dependent. The beliefs and values of the religion and ideology that the policy-makers hold affect their behavior in a significant way, in addition, these religious and ideological beliefs have much in common, and altogether they have shaped the political behavior of the decision makers of the U.S. post 9/11, causing a shift in the U.S. foreign policy which is highly influenced by these cultural factors. To understand them, one could notice the necessity to examine not only the actions and behaviors of policy makers, but also the rhetoric they have utilized in their speeches.

Chapter Six

Summary and Findings

The study has started with several objectives and goals; the main objective was to show that there is a clear-cut shift that has occurred in the American foreign policy post the events of 9/11 and that the cultural factors, in terms of religion and neo-conservatism ideology, have had an important role in leading to this change. To achieve this objective the study has begun by analyzing the role of cultural factors in international politics and it has shown that these cultural factors can be examined in a reasonable and rational way through the discipline of International Relations. To demonstrate this, the study has started by developing a theoretical framework of the role that cultural factors, particularly religion and ideology, can play in world politics; then the study has utilized this framework to offer an analysis of the American foreign policy post the events of 9/11.

One of the results of this study has shown that classical international relations theories did not give great importance to culture and cultural factors, and that they have failed in explaining new world events. Both the concluding of the Cold War and the U.S. government response to the events of 9/11 were the major events to prove the limited

explanatory capacity of these traditional theories. Nevertheless, at the same time the study has also shown that the post-positivist approaches to international relations have heavily relied on culture and the social context to explain and understand the political behavior in international politics. It has argued that it is both theoretically and methodologically possible to develop a better and valuable understanding of the role of cultural factors. Accordingly, this study develops a framework for understanding and explaining how cultural factors and psychological processes work and affect human behavior and subsequently the political behavior. It has also been outlined that the characteristics of psychological and cultural factors can be used to identify and interpret their impact on subsequent actions and events.

After presenting an analysis of the relationship between cultural factors and human behavior, the study suggests that cultural factors greatly affect the political behavior of the policy maker. Moreover, the study provides evidence on how religious and ideological factors have been of great influence throughout the history of America and how they are also important in shaping a state's behavior and thus they had basic influence in the foreign policy of the Bush administration. In addition, the high possibility that cultural factors, particularly religion and ideology, were profoundly experienced by a variety of policy makers while shaping the American foreign policy post 9/11, and that the political actions and decisions of America seemed to be influenced by these factors, were presented in the study. In that, the study demonstrates that neo-conservatism ideology and Evangelical Christianity stance have been practiced and have been influential in the conduct of the American foreign policy post 9/11 in several aspects.

Further, our results to some extent appear to confirm Huntington's clash of civilization thesis. However, we argued at the outset that theories linking culture and political behavior are recently gaining more importance. Since theories linking culture and political behavior seem credible and intuitive, it remains a subject of reference by policy makers. Furthermore, the study has also shown that the notion, which implies that conflicts tend to have a cultural basis, has achieved new impetus with the events of 9/11 and the ongoing "War on Terrorism."

The study has shown as well that the rhetoric of the administration has many ideological and religious connotations, and that these three factors, religion, ideology and language are highly related and co-dependent. An example to this was what has been witnessed by the U.S. President Bush's call for a "crusade" against terrorism and evil-doers, mostly in Muslim countries, and the claims of the U.S. General Boykin that Islamic militants sought to destroy the USA "because we're a Christian nation" and that the enemy in the war on terrorism was the devil. (Cooper, 2003)

Here, the study highlights that David Campbell was one of the first to bring critical theory into dialogue with more traditional approaches to international relations. He has provided a fundamental assessment of the American foreign policy that enhances the results of our study, Campbell stresses on a new closure to address current world affairs and the growing focus on culture and identity in the study of international relations. (Campbell, 1998)

To conclude this study, the result of the poll which was conducted regarding the U.S. foreign policy post the events of 9/11 and was designed particularly for the purpose of

this study go in line with the results of our study and support both our argument hypothesis. The results were as follows: more than seventy five percent 75% of the sample agreed that cultural variables in general can affect the conduct of a state's foreign policy, and more than seventy percent 70% of the sample agreed that cultural variables have influenced the conduct of the U.S foreign policy post the events of 9/11.

Appendices

Questionnaire

Section one: General Information

1. Age_____ years.
2. Gender 1.Male 2.Female
3. Social status 1.Single 2.Married 3.Other
4. Academic qualification 1.Elementary-Preparatory 2.Secondary 3.Diploma
4.BA 5.MA and above

Please answer by yes or no.

- Do you think that culture - in general - can affect the conduct of any country's foreign policy?

Yes No

Culture: "is a dynamic value system of learned elements, with assumptions, conventions, beliefs and rules permitting members of a group to relate to each other and to the world, to communicate and to develop their creative potential" (Renteln, 1996, pp. 10). Consequently, the study is concerned with the total pattern of norms, ideas and belief systems that influence and shape human's behavior and subsequently its products.

- Do you think that cultural variables in the U.S. influenced its foreign policy after 9/11?

Yes No

- Do you consider religion one of the main factors that have influenced the U.S. foreign policy post 9/11?

Yes No

- Do you believe that the Neo-conservatism as a political stance has influenced the U.S. foreign policy after 9/11?

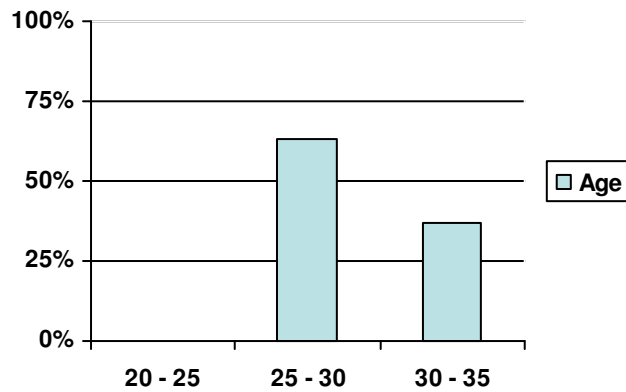
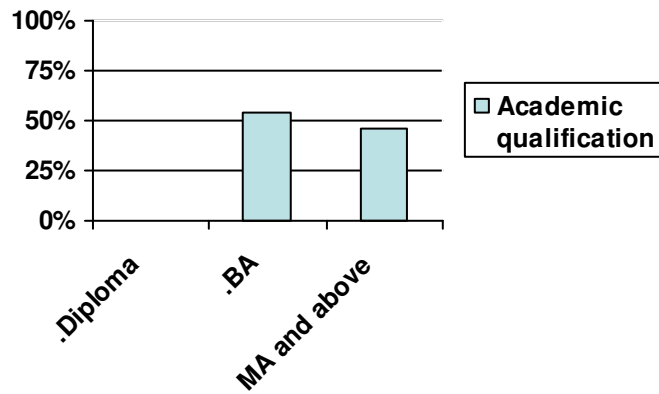
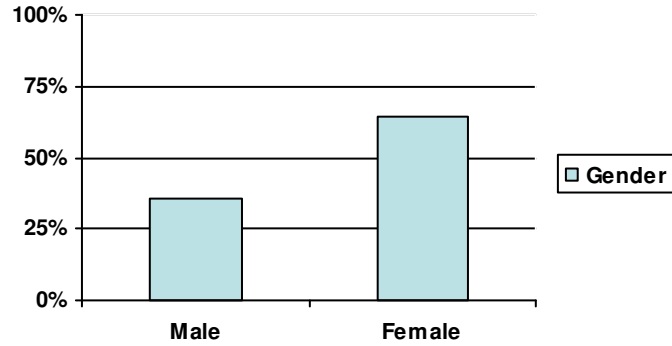
Yes No

Neo-conservatism: 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, it developed from the mid-twentieth century to the present, and its key principles are deeply rooted in a variety of American traditions (Fukuyama, 2006,pp.226).

- Do you think that the political speeches of the Bush administration post 9/11 have had certain ideas and terminologies to be delivered to the mass?

Yes No

Figure (6). The below charts represent the variables of the samples that have been taken for the poll.



References

Periodicals:

- Davies, B. and Harré, R. (1991), **Positioning: the discursive production of selves. Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior**, Theory and Psychology, Vol. 1, No. 1, 51-63.
- Downing, John D. H. (2007), The Imperiled 'American': Visual Culture, Nationality and U.S. Foreign Policy, **International Journal of Communication**, Vol, 1, 318-341.
- Fukuyama, Francis. (1989), The End of History and the Last Man, **The National Interest journal.**), Summer 1989.

Books

- Almond, Gabriel. and Sydney, Verba. (1980), **The Civic Culture Revisited**, London: Little, Brown.
- Appleman, William. (1988), **The Tragedy of American Diplomacy**, W. W. Norton and Company.
- Appleman, William. (1961), **The Contours of American History**, the world publishing Co. Cleveland and New York.

- Axford, Barrie, Browning, Gary K., Huggins, Richard. and Rosamond, Ben. (2002), **Politics: An Introduction**, London and New York: Routledge, second edition.
- Appy, Christian G. (2000), **Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of United States Imperialism, 1945-1966**, Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press.
- Berger, Peter L. and Luckmann, Thomas. (1966), **The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge**, Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew. (2004), **The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership**, Basic Books.
- Calvert, Peter. (1986), **The Foreign Policy of New States**, Peter Clavert, School of Social Sciences, University of Southampton.
- Campbell, David, (1998), **Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity**, University of Chicago Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. (2004) **Hegemony or Survival America's Quest for Global Dominance**, Henry Holt and Company, LLC.
- Cox, M and Stokes, D. (2008), **U.S. Foreign Policy**, Oxford University Press.
- Crane, Michael. (2004), **The Political Junkie Handbook**, Specialist Press International.
- Devine, Donald John. (1972), **The political culture of the United States; the influence of member values on regime maintenance**, Boston, Little, Brown.
- Drake, David F. (2005), **Winning the War on Terror: A Triumph of American Values**, iUniverse, Inc.

- Fairclough, Norman. (1995), **Critical Discourse Analysis**, Boston: Addison Wesley.
- Foucault, M. (1972), **Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings**, New C. Gordon. Trans. C. Gordon, L. Marshal, J. Mephram, and K. Sober. York: Pantheon Books.
- Fukuyama, Francis. (2006), **After the Neocons, America at the Crossroads**, Yale University press.
- Gates, John M. (1982) **The U.S. Army and Irregular Warfare, the Pacification of the Philippines**, The College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio.
- Gantz and Roper, (1993). **Towards a New Partnership: US-European Relations in the post-Cold Era**, The Institute for Security Studies, The Western European Union, Paris.
- Hastedet, G. P. (2009), **American Foreign Policy, Past, Present, Future** Prentice Hall, 6th Edition.
- Huntington, Samuel P. (1996), **The Clash of Civilizations Remarking of World Order**, Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data, Huntington, Samuel P.
- Hodgson, Godfrey. (1976), **America in Our Time: From World War II to Nixon, What Happened and Why**, New York: Vintage Books.
- Hunt, Michael. (1988), **Ideology and U.S Foreign Policy**, Yale University Press.
- Hudson, Valerie M. (1997), **Culture and Foreign Policy**, Lynne Rienner.
- Isard, Walter. (1992), **Understanding Conflict and the Science of Peace, Cultural Background: Anthropological and Social Organization approaches**, Blackwell.

- Lafeber, Walter, (1989), **the American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad Since 1750**, W W Norton and Co Inc.
- LaHaye, Tim. and Jenkins, Jerry B. (2005), **The Rising: Before They Were Left Behind**, Left Behind series, Tyndale House Publishers.
- LaHaye, Tim. and Jenkins, Jerry B. (2005), **The Regime: Evil Advances**, Left Behind series, Tyndale House Publishers.
- LaHaye, Tim. and Jenkins, Jerry B. (2006), **The Rapture: In the Twinkling of an Eye / Countdown to the Earth's Last Days**, Left Behind series, Tyndale House Publishers.
- Lindbeck, George A. (1984), **Nature of Doctrine**, Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press.
- Lloyd, C. Gardner. (1988), **Approaching Vietnam: From World War II through Dienbienphu, 1941-1954"**, NY: W.W. Norton and Co.
- Linklater, Andrew. and Burchill, Scott. (1996), **Theories of International Relations**, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lichbach, Mark. and Zukerman, Alan. (1997), **Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leffler, Melvyn P. (2007), **For the Soul of Mankind: The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Cold War**, New York: Hill and Wang.
- Logevall, Fredrik. (1999), **Choosing War, the Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam**, University of California Press.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. (1972), **An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy**, New York: Pantheon Books.

- Mauk and Oakland. (2005), **The American Civilization**, London, UK Routledge.
- Pratt, Julius W. (1972), **A History of the U.S. Foreign Policy**, The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations.
- Perkins, Bradford. (1993), **The Creation of a Republican Empire, 1776-1865**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Renteln, Alison. (2004), **The Cultural Defense**, Oxford University Press.
- Spanier, John. Uslander, Eric M. (1975), **How American Foreign Policy Is Made**, New York.
- Sherwood, Robert E. (2001), **Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History**. New York: Enigma Books.
- Smith, Steve. (1996), **International Theory: Positivism and Beyond**, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, A. J. P. (1972, **Beaverbrook**, New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Tocqueville, Alex. (2004), **Democracy in America**, (Arthur Goldhammer, trans.; Olivier Zunz, ed.), The Library of America.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. (1999), **A Constructed Peace: the Making of the European Settlement, 1945-1963**, Princeton University Press.
- Tylor Edward. (1871), **Primitive Culture**, New York: J.P. Putnam's Sons.1.
- Wendt, Alexander. (1999), **Social Theory of International Politics**, Cambridge University Press.

Chapter in an edited Book

- Borón, Atilio, (2004) **Hegemonía e imperialismo en el sistema internacional**, in Atilio A. Borón (ed.), **Nueva hegemonía mundial: Alternativas de cambio y movimientos sociales**, Buenos Aires: CLACSO/Libros.Castro Mariño, Soraya.
- Parker, I. (1999), **Introduction: Varieties of Discourse and Analysis**, In I. Parker and Bolton Discourse Network, **Critical Textwork: An Introduction to Varieties of Discourse and Analysis**, Buckingham: Open University Press, p. 1-12.

Articles

- Anderson, Lisa. (2004), **The Shock and Awe Interpretation of the event of September 11th** , World Politics; Jan; 56, 2; Research Library p. 303.
- Burman, E. and Parker, I. (1993) **Discourse analytic research**, London: Routledge.
- Chomsky, Noam. (2003),**The war on terrorism**, Wickedness Net.
- Chomsky, Noam. (2001) **The New War Against Terror**, Transcribed from audio recorded during Chomsky's talk at The Technology and Culture Forum at MIT.
- Finnemore, Martha. (1996), **National Interests in International Society**, Cornell Studies in Political Economy.
- Fukuyama, Francis. (2005), **How Academia Failed the Nation, The Decline of Regional Studies**, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

- Goff, Patricia. and O'Hagan, Jacinta. (2000), **'So How Do You Do Culture?'** California, Center for International Studies, University of Southern California,
- Hayward R. Alker, (1992), **The Humanistic Moment in International Studies: Reflections on Machiavelli and Las Casas**, Blackwell Publishing.
- Hernández Martínez, Jorge, (2003), **Estados Unidos-América latina: el contrapunteo histórico entre la hegemonía y la seguridad nacional**, Cuadernos de Nuestra América 32.
- Hernández Martínez, Jorge, (1990), **Seguridad nacional y política latinoamericana de Estados Unidos**, Havana: Ediciones ENPES.
- Huntington, Samuel P. (2004), **Who Are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity**, Simon and Schuster.
- Huntington, Samuel. (1981), **American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony**. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Judis, John, Mann, Jim. and Lind, Michael. (2004), **What War in the Philippines Should Have Taught George Bush**, panel discussion, Washington, D.C.
- King and Karabell, (2002), **The Generation of Trust, Public Confidence in the U.S. Military since Vietnam**, Harvard University.
- Meyerson, Gregory. and Roberto, Michael Joseph. (2006), **It Could Happen Here**, Information Clearing House.
- Stephanson, Anders. (1995), **Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right**. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Weber, Marx, (1963), **The Sociology of Religion**, Beacon Press, Boston.
- Wendt, Alexander. (1992), **Anarchy Is what States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics**, in International Organization.

- Whitehead, Jack. and McNiff, Jean. (2002), **Action Research: Principles and Practice**, Falmer Pr.
- Yosef, Lapid. (1989), **The Third Debate: On the Prospects of International Theory in a Post-positivist Era**, International Studies Quarterly, 33.
- Kuperman and Ozkececi-Taner. (2006), **Sequential/Dynamic Foreign Policy Decision Making**, International Studies Review, volume 8 Issue 3, Pages 545 – 554.

Conferences Proceedings:

- Kelley, Colleen E. (2005), **With God on his Side: Deconstructing the post-9/11 discourse of President George W. Bush**, The Annual Meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Communication Association Christchurch, New Zealand.
- Schmidt. Brian C. (2007), **The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives vs. Realists"**, Carleton University and Michael C. Williams, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, Annual Conference of the British International Studies Association.
- Berkowitz, Peter. (2005), **BUSH'S FOREIGN POLICY and NEO-CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY AFTER SEPTEMBER 11**, Harold Hartog School of Government and Policy Faculty of Social Sciences Tel Aviv University , keshet Foundation lectures, The Tel Aviv workshop for Science, Technology and Security 13.

Unpublished Dissertations/Thesis:

- Jonsson, Ben. (2008), **The Effect of "Conflict Framing" on U.S. and Arab Approaches to the Case of Iraq from 2000-2004**, Not Published Yet.

Institute Publications:

- Cohen, Raymond. (2001), **Turbulent Peace, the challenges of managing international conflict, negotiating across Cultures**, Washington, DC, United State Institute of Peace.
- Cooper, Richard T. (2003) **General Casts War in Religious Terms, The top soldier assigned to track down Bin Laden and Hussein is an evangelical Christian who speaks publicly of 'the army of God**, Common Dreams news Center. Published on Thursday, October 16, 2003 by the Los Angeles Times.
- Elliot, Abrams. (1997), **PNAC Statement of Principles**, Project for the New American Century, Electronic Copy.
- Eskridge, Larry. (2008), **Defining Evangelicalism**, Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals.
- Fukuyama, Francis. (1999), **Social Capital and Civil Society**, The Institute of Public Policy.
- Muravchik, Joshua. (2006), **"Operation Comeback"**, American Enterprise Institute.
- Poll, Program on International Policy Attitudes, 2006.
- Pew Research Center, (2002, 2006), Electronic Copy.
- The Pew Forum, Electronic Copy, 2006.

Newspapers:

- Kristol, W. and Kagan, R. (1999), **The Senate Republicans Finest Hour**, The Weekly Standard.
- Kristol, W. and Kagan, R. (2003), **Exit Strategy or Victory Strategy?**, The Weekly Standard.

Internet Article based on a print source:

- Abramowitz, Michael. (2008), **Many Versions of 'Bush Doctrine'**, **The Washington Post**, Saturday, September 13, 2008; Page A01.
- Allen, Mike. and Broder, David S. (2004), **Bush's Leadership Style: Decisive or Simplistic?**, **The Washington Post**, Monday, August 30, 2004; Page A01.
- BBC, (2007), **View of US's global role "worse"**, The World Service survey, BBC, Tuesday, 23 January 2007.
- Borger, Julian. (2006), **Neocons turn on Bush for incompetence over Iraq war**, The Guardian, Saturday 4 November 2006.
- Bremmer, Ian, (2005), **The axis of tyranny: Bush signals a revolution in foreign policy**, **International Herald Tribune**, Saturday, January, 29, 2005.
- Fairclough, Norman. (2000), **Discourse, social theory and social research: the discourse of welfare reform**, **Journal of Sociolinguistics**, 4 (2), p. 163-195.
- Hamilton, Malcolm B. (1987), **The Elements of the Concept of Ideology**, **Political Studies** 35 (1987): 18–38.
- Krauthammer, Charles. (2005), **The Neoconservative Convergence**, **the Wall Street Journal**, Thursday, July 21, 2005 12:01 A.M. EDT.

- O'Sullivan, John. L. (1845), Manifest Destiny, **The United States Magazine and Democratic Review**, *July-August 17(1): 5-10*.
- Podhoretz, Norman. (2008), Is the Bush Doctrine Dead? **The Wall Street Journal**, Wednesday, August 23, 2006 12:01 A.M. EDT.
- Huntington, Samuel P. (1993), **The Clash of Civilizations**, Foreign Affairs, Summer 1993, The Council on Foreign Relations.
- Mead, Walter Russell, (2006), **God's Country?**, Foreign Affairs, September, October, 2006, the Council of Foreign relations.

Article in an Internet-only Journal:

- Green, John. (2003), **The Jesus Factor**, interview with John Green, Frontline, Electronic Copy.
- James, Joyner. (2007), **Outside the Beltway, electronic journal**.
http://www.outsidethebeltway.com/archives/twice_as_many_americans_conservative_over_liberal/.

Electronic Copy of a Journal Article:

- Connolly, W. E. (1999), Brain Waves and Transcendental Fields, **Radical Philosophy Journal**, March/April 1999.

Electronic Copy of speeches:

- Abraham Lincoln's Annual Message to Congress Concluding Remarks, 1862,
<http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/congress.htm>.

- Vice President Speaks at VFW 103rd National Convention, 2002,
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/08/20020826.html>.
- Oren, Michael B. (2005), **The Middle East and the Making of the United States, 1776 to 1815**, Speech by Michael B. Oren, BA '77, MIA '78 , Senior Fellow, The Shalem Center , Delivered at Columbia University, Nov. 3,
<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/news/05/11/michaelOren.html>.
- Remarks of the Vice President, Wheaton College Field, Wheaton, IL, October 29, 1960, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25515>.
- Rumsfeld before the House and Senate Armed Services Committees regarding Iraq, 2002,
<http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=287>
- President Delivers "State of the Union", 2003, President Bush's 2002 State of the Union address,<http://archives.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/01/29/bush.speech.txt/>
- President Bush: Information Sharing, Patriot Act Vital to Homeland Security,
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/04/20040420-2.html>.
- President James Monroe address to Congress, December 2, 1823,
<http://www.law.ou.edu/ushistory/monrodoc.shtml>.
- President Bush Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point, 2002,
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/06/20020601-3.html>.
- <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html>.
- President Bush Conservation about strengthening the Social Security programs, 2004.

Electronic Copy

- **Oxford English Dictionary**, (2002), 2nd Edition, CD Version 3, Oxford University Press.
- Catholic encyclopedia “Baptism”,
<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02258b.htm>

السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية بعد الحادي عشر من أيلول: تفسير ثقافي

إعداد:
يارا الغلابيني

المشرف:
الدكتور زيد عيادات

تلخيص

بعد أحداث الحادي عشر من أيلول قامت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية بتبني سياسة خارجية أثارت الكثير من الأسئلة وأعطت تفسيرات مختلفة. لذلك تقوم هذه الدراسة بتفسير التحول و الإستمرارية في السياسات الخارجية الأمريكية قبل وبعد أحداث الحادي عشر من أيلول، وتهدف أيضاً إلى تقديم تفسير ثقافي للسياسات الخارجية الأمريكية بعد أحداث الحادي عشر من أيلول.