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# ***The Impact of the 9/11 Events on the U.S. Foreign Policy***

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“Master’s Degree”.

**Option:** Literature and Civilization.

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## -Dedication-

I would like to dedicate this work to all our beloved ones who have shared us our hard times: to our parents, brothers, and sisters. As I dedicate this humble dissertation which is a result of hard work and diligence.

*Boukhallat Abdelhak.*

## **Abstract**

This research is about the impact of the 9/11 events on the American foreign policy towards the world. Thus, we focus on the effect of these events on the American foreign political visions and strategies. In addition, the September 11<sup>th</sup> events are considered as a historical reference in changing the direction of the American foreign policy. So, through this research we see if the American foreign policy has been changed or not in the aftermath of the former events. We hypothesize that the U.S. foreign policy has not been changed since America cannot live without an external enemy and also since its foreign policy is based up to the local and international interests. At the end of this research, we have concluded that America cannot really live without an external enemy, because after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a new enemy appeared which is the terrorist groups or “Al-Qaeda”.

### **Keywords:**

Impact- 9/11 Events- U.S. Foreign Policy- Political Conduct- Foreign Affairs- Strategies- Political Act- Political System.

## **Résumé**

Notre recherche concerne l'impact des événements du 11 Septembre sur la politique extérieure Américaine dans le monde. Ainsi que nous nous concentrons sur l'effet de ces événements sur les stratégies et les visions Américain es vers le globe. En plus, les événements du 11 Septembre sont considérés comme une référence historique qui a changé la direction de la politique extérieure Américaine. Donc, à travers cette recherche, nous allons voir si la politique extérieure Américaine a été modifiée après les événements du 11 Septembre ou non. Alors, on va poser une hypothèse que la politique extérieure Américaine n'a été pas modifiée quand les Etats - Unis ne peut pas être forte sans l'existence d'un ennemie extérieure et aussi quand l a politique extérieure Américaine est basée sur les intérêts locaux et internationaux. Enfin, nous avons conclu que les Etats-Unis ne peut pas être forte sans l'existence d'un ennemie extérieur, parce que après l'écroulement de l'Union Soviétique, il y éta it un nouveau ennemie a apparu qui est les groupes terroristes ou « Al-Qaeda ».

### **Mot Clés :**

Impact- Les événements du 11 Septembre- La politique extérieure des Etats-Unis - La Conduite Politique- Les affaires étrangères- Les stratégies- L'acte politique- Le système politique.

## **List of Abbreviations:**

ACLU: The American Civil Liberties Union.

AECA: The Arms Export Control Act.

AEI: American Enterprise Institute.

AIPAC: The American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

BIOA: The Bureau of International Organization Affairs.

CIA: The Central Intelligence Agency.

CUFI: Christian United for Israel.

D/CIA: The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

DCI: The Director of Central Intelligence.

DDCI: The Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence.

DNI: The Director of National Intelligence.

FBI: The Federal Bureau of Investigation.

JCS: The Joint Chiefs Staff.

NATO: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

NCTC: National Counter-Terrorism Center.

NSC: The National Security Council.

OAS: The Organization of the American States.

PNAC: The Project for the New American Century.

UN: The United Nations.

UNSC: The United Nations Security Council.

USA: The United States of America.

USAPA: The United States' Patriot Act.

USSR: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

WMD: The Weapons of Mass Destruction.

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# General Introduction

The depiction of conducting the foreign policies in the world is very difficult, because every country has its own strategy to manage its foreign policy. In addition, the interests of a country play a great role in determining the nature of its foreign policy. In this research, we talk about an important event in the history of the world's most powerful nation, the United States of America, which is the 9/11 Attacks. These attacks might have an effect on the American foreign policy; the attacks might be a historical reference in changing some strategies and affairs toward the world. At the end of this research, we enforce or deny these interpretations only if we reach our objective of research which is the effect of these attacks on the American foreign policy.

In this study, we look for the effect of the 9/11 attacks on the American foreign policy, which means we have to find if the American foreign policy has changed or not. In addition, we look if these attacks were the real reference in changing the direction of the American foreign policy or not. Another point should be taken into consideration like: if there are new strategies or projects after the 9/11 attacks or not, and also if there have been some acts or something alike which was taken by the American government or not. Thus, the 9/11 attacks are the guidelines of the American foreign policy now.

Any research or any study has its own objectives or aims, so here are the aims of our study: First, the description of the process of making the political foreign decisions by mentioning the role of the main rulers in the government beginning with the President; Second, the looking for the internal sources of the American foreign policy; Third, the description of the American foreign political affairs and strategies before the 9/11 attacks; Fourth, the description of the American foreign political new strategies and projects after

the 9/11 attacks; Finally, we have the most important aim of our research is to look for the impact of the 9/11 events on the conduct of the American foreign policy.

In our research, we attempt to find how the 9/11 attacks affected the American political system. In addition, **M.K. Tomiak** has written in his article "**Did 9/11 Really Bring About a Revolution in American Foreign Policy?**" that America has done some reforms in many areas in the world the after the 9/11 attacks, and this in his point of view means that America should do more reforms in the Muslim world. This means that there might be a change in the American foreign policy after 9/11. Thus, **Robert J. McKeever** and **Philip Davies** also have written in their book "**Politics USA**" that George W. Bush is required to mobilize the people and the government and to achieve victory in "the War on Terror" as a response to the 9/11 Attacks. In addition, the American foreign policy knows a new shift from the hard power to the soft power, from the Bush Doctrine to the Obama Doctrine.

Finally, in our research, we attempt to find the great impact of the 9/11 attacks on the American foreign policy, then we compare it with the post 9/11 situation. We hypothesize that the American foreign policy has not changed since the aim of leading the world economically and politically did not change. So, the American foreign policy is between continuity and change.

***Chapter One:***  
***Research Methodology***

## **1. Introduction:**

In this chapter, we give the methodological framework of our research dissertation through mentioning the definition of the problem, the limitation of the study, the method of research, and the hypotheses of the research. Our work is divided into three main parts: First, we have the description of the process of making policy in America; Second, we have a historical overview about the American foreign policy before the September, 11<sup>th</sup> Attacks; Third, we have another historical overview about the American foreign policy but this time is in the aftermath of the 9/11 Attacks.

## **2. Definition of the Problem and Research Questions:**

Beginning with the title of the research dissertation "*The Impact of the 9/11 Events on the American Foreign Policy*", the main problem of the dissertation is the main impact(s) of the latter events on the American foreign political strategies and affairs. Since in this study we look for the effect of the 9/11 attacks on the American foreign policy, that means we have to answer the following questions:

- How does the process of making foreign policy run in America?
- Who are the main participants in this process?
- Has the American foreign policy been changed after the 9/11 attacks or not?
- Were these attacks the real reference in changing the direction of the American foreign policy or not?
- Are there new strategies or projects after the 9/11 attacks or not?

- Are there some acts or something alike which were taken by the American government or not in the aftermath of 9/11?

Additionally, the former questions are the main important issues that will be answered in the following chapters of the research dissertation. Thus, there are some sub-questions that should be answered also in the same research; such as what is the role of the main organs of the government's branches? Which one has the biggest part in policy making process?. So, the main issue in this study is looking for the Impacts of the 9/11 attacks on the American foreign policy conduct. Therefore, the American foreign policy might change its foreign strategies and affairs, but through this research we see if the American policy's aims have changed or not.

In the first chapter, we take an overview about the process of making policy in America including the role of: the President, the Vice-president, the Secretary of defense, the Congress, the National Security Council, and the State Department . Of course we are not going to mention the whole governmental functions of the latter jobs, but we focus on their influence on the American foreign policy making. In the same chapter, we also focus on how the internal sources affect the American foreign policy, like the interest groups and the public opinion which will be discussed later.

In the second chapter, we attempt to give a short glance at the conduct of the American foreign policy before 9/11 attacks. Our emphasis is basically on the American foreign relations and engagements in the world before 9/11 events i.e. we emphasize on: the position of America in the world, the American foreign policy and the Cold War, and the American engagements into the world organizations. In addition, the American foreign strategies before the 9/11 events, our focus is on the American foreign policy and the Cold



War and also the strategy of Containment. Finally, we talk about the 9/11 attacks and its consequences as well as the American governmental reaction towards the attacks.

In the last chapter, we highlight the conduct of the American foreign policy after 9/11 events, that's to say the Consequences of the 9/11 attacks on the American foreign strategies and decisions (whether positively or negatively). In this chapter, we aim to find the effect of the 9/11 attacks on the American foreign political affairs, strategies, and decisions. It is divided into three main points: First, we talk about the appearance of the "Anti-Americanism", we define the term of "Anti-Americanism" then we mention its causes. Second, we discuss the conduct of the American foreign affairs after 9/11 attacks including the dealing of America with its enemies (the terrorism), the focus towards the Islamic world, and also the "American Patriot Act of 2001" which aims at obstructing terrorism. Third, we add the Project for the New American Century organization (PNAC) its principles, its role and its end in 2006. Fourth, we talk about the nation-building project and its context in the American foreign policy. Fifth, we mention the hard and the soft powers in America. Finally, we put the light on the "American Grand Strategy", which its main objective is to reevaluate the American security system including the protection of the American interests.

Accordingly, we would like to analyze the title of the dissertation. First, we begin with the word "impact", it is defined according to the Oxford Dictionary 7<sup>th</sup> edition as follows:

- The powerful effect that something has on somebody or on another thing:  
The environmental impact of tourism. Her speech made a profound impact on everyone. We can say also consequences.

- The act of one object hitting another; the force with which this happens: *The impact of blow knocked Jack off balance.*

As we notice that the term impact has the same meaning as effect, so we use this term to the research as follows: the effect of the 9/11 attacks on the American foreign policy seems close in the meaning to the example given by the dictionary: how the environment affected tourism. In this research, we are looking for how the 9/11 Attacks affected the American foreign policy. The term "effect" is considered a closer synonym of the term "impact", thus it is used in the explanation of the former term.

According to YourDictionary.com, we notice that the term "effect" has many different meanings as follows:

- Something brought about by a cause or agent; a result.
- The power to produce an outcome or achieve a result; influence: *The drug had an immediate effect on the pain. The government's action had no effect on the trade imbalance.*
- The condition of being in full force or execution: *a new regulation that goes into effect tomorrow.*
- Something that produces a specific impression or supports a general design or intention: *The lighting effects emphasized the harsh atmosphere of the drama.*
- A particular impression: *large windows that gave an effect of spaciousness.*

Consequently, we conclude from the definitions of the two terms that there is another term which is close to them and it is "influence". This term also helps in determining the real meaning of the first term which is "impact". Although there are many other words and

terms which have the same meaning as impact, but this latter is the most suitable one to the title of research dissertation.

Thus, the main focus of the research is on the 9/11 Attacks also, since we talk about its impact(s) on the American foreign policy. In the context of our research, the 9/11 Events are considered as a historical reference which might bring new strategies and plans in the American foreign policy management. Besides that, the seeking of the concrete causes of these attacks are not mentioned in the aims of the study, but we look for the consequences of the attacks and the American governmental reaction to the attacks.

Since we are concerned with the 9/11 Attacks from the angle of its impact(s) on the American foreign policy, we should define them in order to put us in the context when it would be mentioned in the research chapters. According to Wikipedia, the 9/11 Attacks or the September 11 attacks, were a series of coordinated suicide attacks by al-Qaeda upon the United States on September 11, 2001. On that morning, 19 al-Qaeda terrorists hijacked four commercial passenger jet airliners. The hijackers intentionally crashed two of the airliners into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, killing everyone on board and many others working in the buildings. Both buildings collapsed within two hours, destroying nearby buildings and damaging others. The hijackers crashed a third airliner into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, just outside Washington, D.C. The fourth plane crashed into a field near Shanksville in rural Pennsylvania after some of its passengers and flight crew attempted to retake control of the plane, which the hijackers had redirected toward Washington, D.C to target the White House. There were no survivors from any of the flights. "The 9/11 Conspiracy Theories". As we mentioned before, our focus is not on the attacks themselves, but on the impact(s) on the conduct of the American foreign policy.

Following the title's terms, we should define the term "American foreign policy". But before that, we have to define first what is meant by the term foreign policy. A country's foreign policy, called the foreign relations policy, consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve its goals within international relations milieu. Since the national interests are paramount, foreign policies the government through high-level decision making processes. The national interests also play a great role in the way any nation treats other fellow nations such as the peaceful cooperation with them. Usually, creating foreign policy is the task of the head of government and the foreign minister (or equivalent). In some countries the legislature also has considerable oversight. ("**Foreign Policy**").

After the definition of the term foreign policy, we put it in the context of our research. In our research, we deal with one of the most powerful foreign policies throughout the world and through history which is the American one. According to Wikipedia Encyclopedia, the American foreign policy is the policy by which the United States deals with foreign nations and puts standards of interaction for its organizations, corporations, and individual citizens. Although the president has ultimately the full authority over foreign policy conduct, but since the U.S. Secretary of State is the foreign minister and he is charged with "state-to-state diplomacy". That policy aims to formulate the national interests as well as the strategies which are chosen to safeguard and achieve its political goals and targets. Besides that, the American foreign policy is considered as the most successful and powerful policy in the world, since it is based upon a strong economy with \$14 trillion and a big defense budget of \$711 billion. ("**The Foreign Policy of the United States**").

So, the main issue of the research is to look for the impact(s) of the 9/11 Attacks on the American foreign policy toward the world. In addition, to answer the questions which are mentioned at the beginning and the sub-questions, we try to show if the American foreign policy has changed or not.

### **3. Limitation of the Study:**

First of all, the issue is in the domain of the American civilization, more particularly in the field of the American politics, and more precisely in the American foreign policy. The American foreign policy has known many historical events by which it was affected, especially in the shaping process. The September, 11<sup>th</sup> Attacks were considered as one of the most noticeable events in the history of the American foreign policy.

Although, there is a great discussion about the 9/11 Attacks since it is considered as “the top terrorist act”, because; on one hand, some politicians say that those attacks were a conspiracy against America; on the other hand, some others consider America who simulated them in order to show that the United States also is a victim of terrorism. But, we are not looking for the source; we investigate the effect only.

Additionally, we talk about the consequences of the September, 11<sup>th</sup> events, but the main focus is on the nature of the American foreign policy in the aftermath of the former date. Therefore, we talk about the nature of the American foreign policy before the 9/11 Attacks, then after those attacks. After that, we are going to pick out the impact(s) of these historical attacks through mentioning the main new strategies and new radical security measures which were adopted by the government as a response to the attacks.

In the same context, the study aims at showing the main consequences of the attacks both inside and outside the United States. The "Global War on Terror" policy and the "Anti-Americanism" doctrine were the main and the most noticeable consequences of the attacks. So, repeatedly, our research is limited to the impact(s) of the September, 11<sup>th</sup> Attacks on the American foreign policy and it does not extend to the 9/11 attacks themselves as events. In addition, we limit the study only to the policy of the United States towards other nations, and not on other foreign policies to the American one.

#### **4. Aims of the Study:**

Due to the success of the American foreign policy through the history, we want to carry out a research about one of the most important events in the historical line of that foreign policy. Since throughout the history the policy of the United States was shaped up the international events and it has been based upon the American internal and external interests, the 9/11 Attacks played a great role in creating new strategies and affairs in the American foreign policy. Additionally, the American international military interventionism after the 9/11 attacks under the slogan of "Global War on Terror" led us to ask some questions about if the American government has changed its foreign strategies and plans or not. Although America has been surprisingly touched by what they called as "Terrorism", it succeeded in its response to these attacks by many ways and means, politically and militarily especially in the Middle East region. So, here are our aims from this study:

- The explanation of the process of making foreign political decisions in America by mentioning the roles of the main organs of the government starting with the President.
- The searching for the internal sources of the American foreign policy.

- The description of the American foreign political affairs and strategies before the 9/11 Attacks.
- The depiction of the American foreign political new strategies and projects after the 9/11 Attacks.
- The looking for the impact(s) or the effect(s) of the September, 11<sup>th</sup> on the American foreign policy conduct.

## **5. Method of Research:**

Since we are dealing with an issue in the American civilization, the method of research that will be followed in our study is the historical one. Any historical research is based on describing the past, and it includes investigations like recording, analysis and interpretation of events in the past with the purpose of discovering generalizations and deductions that can be useful in understanding the past, the present and to a limited extent, can anticipate the future. (Landman p65).

In the research, we follow the historical method in order to pursue the latter steps which match our study. In addition, the chronological order of the events is the pillar of the historical research, so chronologically; we try first to take an overview about the making foreign policy process in America. Secondly, we describe historically the American foreign policy by mentioning the most important events beginning with Isolationist policy and coming to the strategy of containment and interventionist policy. Therefore, we give some historical evidences with interpretations to make them clearer. Thirdly, we describe historically also the American foreign policy in the aftermath of the 9/11 by mentioning the new strategies and measures which have been taken by the American government as an

answer to those attacks and by adding some analyses and interpretations in order to put in the context.

So, we think that through this method of research, we discover some generalizations and deductions which would help us in understanding the past of the American foreign policy in the pre- and in the post-September, 11<sup>th</sup> Attacks.

## **6. Hypotheses:**

Here are the hypotheses that we expect before we carry out the research:

- If the American foreign policy is based upon the American internal and external interests, its interests cannot be changed.
- If America cannot live without an external enemy, the American interventionist foreign policy will continue.
- If after the collapse of the Soviet Communism, the 9/11 Attacks brought America facing a new external enemy.
- If the main aim of America throughout history is the political, economic and military dominance over the world, the American foreign policy will not be changed in the aftermath of 9/11.
- If the new strategies and projects which would come after the September, 11<sup>th</sup> might be different from the past, the American political, economic and military dominance will continue for many years later.
- If the American foreign policy has not been affected by the 9/11 attacks, the American military interventions should not be limited only in the Middle East.



## **7. Conclusion:**

So, after the explanation of the framework of the research dissertation, we will get directly into the heart of the work starting with the first chapter which gives a general idea about the process of making policy in America. Finally, we can say that at the end of this research, we try to find the results then we compare them with our hypotheses.

***Chapter Two:***  
***The Process of Making  
Foreign Policy in America***

## **1. Introduction:**

In this chapter, we take an overview about the American political system and the conduct of the American foreign policy. Thus, we mention the functions and the roles of the main organs of the American political system beginning with the president. But we just focus on their roles in the policy making process, and also we talk about the role of the public opinion, media, and the Interest Groups.

## **2. The Process of Making Political Decisions in America:**

### **2.1. The President and the Vice-President:**

#### **2.1.1.1. The Role of the President:**

Beginning with "Checks and Balances" and the separation of powers in the conduct of the American political system, the United States Constitution divides the foreign policy powers between the President and Congress so that both of them participate in the process of making policy. The executive and legislative branches each of them play important roles. Both branches have continuing opportunities to initiate and change foreign policy, and the interaction between them continues indefinitely throughout the life of a policy. So, we can say that the executive authority is more formally centralized in the president and more sharply separated from the legislature.

As Edward S. Corwin wrote:

"What the Constitution does is to confer on the President certain powers capable of affecting our foreign relations, and certain other powers of the same general kind on the Senate, and still other such powers on Congress; but which of these organs shall have the decisive and final voice in determining the course of the

American nation is left for events to resolve". (Corwin, 171).

In addition to what has been said by Corwin, the constitution has divided the foreign policy powers between the President and the Congress but not in a definitive way, this just because events have justified that together the President and Congress make foreign policy, but they have not resolved the question of which branch originates or finally determines policy. So, the two branches share in the process of making policy and each of them plays an important but different role.

According to Richard F. Grimmet, a specialist in national defense foreign affairs, we divide the role of the president and the role of the Congress in the American foreign policy into twelve parts, six of them for the first and the six others are for the second:

#### **2.1.1.1.1. The Response to the Foreign Events:**

Many of the current events that are happening in the world and the new actions of other countries are challenging the American interests. It means that since the President is the spokesman and the head of foreign service, the armed forces, the intelligence services, and the bureaucracy, he usually responds to such events and thus initiates the U.S. policy. So, here the congress ordinarily supports him but on occasion it seeks a change in policy. (04).

Historically speaking, this action was justified in many situations. For example; On August 2, 1990, President Bush responded to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait the previous day by immediately applying full economic sanctions against Iraq, than later, within a week, arranging U.S. Armed Forces to help defend Saudi Arabia against possible attack. Therefore, in October the Congress supported continued action through the United Nations, and passed the economic sanctions into law. So, in January 1991, Congress authorized the use of the U.S. Armed Forces to implement U.N. Security Council resolutions. (Clyde. 109-37).

Even though, the Congress has a hand in responding to the foreign events, but the President has more power in taking the decisions. Where as this does not that the Congress has no word in these decisions, because sometimes add some ratifications in the final response to the foreign events. So, in most of the times, the Congress supports the President in taking any requirements toward the foreign events. (04).

#### **2.1.1.1.2. Administration Proposal for Legislation:**

In case the executive branch or the president wants to start any foreign policy program that needs legislation or appropriation, he has first to propose it to the Congress then this later will legislate it. Consequently, in this situation the congressional approval is essential, because the Congress may play a more or less active role in the development of the legislation, modifying the Administration bill or developing entirely new legislation of its own. (06).

According to the historical examples which were mentioned by the author R.F. Gimmet, we notice that the President has the right to propose proposals for legislation and works cooperatively with the legislative branch. Such as, President Clinton in April 1993 proposed a major increase in United States assistance to Russia following a summit at Vancouver, Canada, with Russian Prime Minister Boris Yeltsin . Then, the President stated that 75% of the assistance would be used outside of Moscow to make it more highly visible to the average Russian citizen than earlier U.S. aid programs, because the main target of this process is to reach the privatization in Russia . But, since all such assistance efforts were aimed at advancing democratization in Russia and in many other nations which were assisted by the U.S. Government, this is clear it would be accepted and supported by the Congress. (06).

#### **2.1.1.1.3. Negotiation of International Agreements:**

The power of negotiation gives the executive branch a dominant role in making foreign policy through international agreements, but the President must take into consideration the congressional opinion because often agreements must be approved by the Senate or Congress. Congress also influences agreements by placing in legislation instructions and views concerning international agreements, indicating through various means what kind of agreement would be acceptable and attaching reservations or other conditions when approving an agreement. (6-7).

In this element, the author also mentioned that there some few international agreements which are called "sole executive agreements", this just because the President considers that he has the authority to conclude them under his own powers and does not submit them to the Senate as treaties nor to Congress for approval. For example; The Vietnam Peace Agreement of 1973, the Iranian Hostage Agreement of 1981, and the Afghanistan Settlement Agreement of April 14, 1988. (07).

In fact, this does not that all the negotiations of the international agreements are taken by only the President, because most of the international agreements have some form of congressional participation. So, the Senate must approve treaties by a two-thirds majority. Therefore, the majority of executive agreements are either authorized by the Congress prior to their conclusion or approved after their conclusion, and might be called "congressional-executive agreements".

#### **2.1.1.1.4. Policy Statement:**

The President can establish the U.S. foreign policy through unilateral statements or joint statements issued with other governments. Sometimes unilateral statements are broad descriptions of American goals and objectives. In addition, joint statements, or policy

statements made with other countries, are not legally binding international agreements, but they commit the President to a course of action. So, the Congress may support the policy enunciated by the President, attempting to change it, or find a way to participate in the further development of the policy. (08).

Therefore, the executive branch makes a policy statement when it casts the U.S. vote in international organizations. Most measures adopted by international organizations, such as United Nations General Assembly resolutions, are not legally binding, but they put the United States on record as for or against a proposed course of action. The executive branch also determines the U.S. position on resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, which many authorities consider binding, such as Resolution 678 (1990) calling for nations to use "all necessary means" to uphold earlier resolutions aimed at getting Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. (08).

In the light of the author's opinion, we conclude that whenever implementation of the measures promised by the executive branch in unilateral or joint statements requires legislation or appropriations, the Congress has more power in deciding whether to support or modify U.S. foreign policy.

#### **2.1.1.1.5. Policy Implementation:**

First, the term "implementation" means the realization or the performance of something, so in this part we see the realization of the policy of the president. Even though the Congress establishes foreign policy through legislation, i.e. the Administration continues to form policy as it interprets and applies the various requirements of law. This is illustrated in arms sales policy. When the Congress has established the objectives and criteria for arms sales to foreign countries in the Arms Export Control Act, and it has required advance notification of major arms sales and provided procedures for halting a sale it disapproves. On the other hand, the executive branch makes the daily decisions on

whether or not to sell arms to specific countries and what weapons systems to provide. As an example, on September 14, 1992, President Bush notified Congress of his intention to sell 72 F-15 fighter aircraft to Saudi Arabia, and after the 30-day congressional review period expired, the sale proceeded. (09).

Thus, even though the legislative branch or the Congress works with the provisions of the law, the executive branch or the President has more power in the performance of policy, although it works with "daily decisions ". (09).

#### **2.1.1.1.6. Independent Action:**

Sometimes, the President undertakes a dramatic or sudden foreign policy action before Congress is fully informed about it. Therefore, the Congress then is faced with the dilemma of supporting the action or being charged with undercutting the President before the world. So, the Congress usually supports the President, but on occasion it tries to halt or repeal the policy or pass legislation to restrain the President from similar actions in the future. (10).

In addition, this was illustrated when President Reagan ordered the bombing of Libya on April 15, 1986, to counter state-supported terrorism, and when President Bush ordered the invasion of Panama on December 20, 1989, to apprehend General Manuel Noriega, most Members supported the President's effort. Widespread public support greeted the President's action and was also a factor in determining the congressional response . (10-11).

So, we notice that when the President sees suitable and necessary decisions for any issue, he performs it directly without discussing with the other Houses.

#### **2.1.1.2. The Role of the Vice-president:**

According to Ishtiaq Hossein and Mohsen Moh'd Saleh Ph D professors of political science in the international university of Malaysia , we can say that historically, the vice-



presidents have not played a significant role in foreign policy making. For example, President Roosevelt did not consult Vice President Harry S. Truman on national security issues. So, it was not until Truman had become the president that he was told about the existence of the secret Manhattan project – the American nuclear program. The office of the vice-president was so neglected that it was not until 1975 that the office received the attention it deserved. In that year, President Jimmy Carter moved the office of the vice-president to White House, thereby elevating the office of vice-president. However, this was done to facilitate consultation with Vice-president Walter Mondale more on domestic than foreign policy issues. (61).

In the same context, Diana Walker points out that it's difficult to mention precisely what vice presidents do in any collective sense; in many cases vice presidents do what assignments they can wrestle out of the president's hands. Thus, some of them have done little at all, aside from being present in case the president can't perform his or her duties. Most often, vice presidents do what their presidents ask them to. In addition to that, she gave some examples like serving as a surrogate if the President travelled abroad, the reception of foreign dignitaries, and also presence in funerals ...etc. So the function of the Vice-president in foreign policy is not limited only in these functions because he serves as a “foil” of the President in many cases. (01).

## **2.2.The Congress:**

After the role of the President, we discuss now the role of the legislative branch or the Congress. According to Richard F. Grimmet, the Congress has six functions in the American Foreign Policy:

### **2.2.1. Resolutions and Policy Statements:**

Every year, the Members of the Congress set up huge numbers of simple or concurrent resolutions in order to shape the sense or the contribution of the House, Senate, or Congress in foreign policy. In addition, even though many of such resolutions are adopted, many observers are doubtful about the efficiency of these senses of the House, Senate, or Congress resolutions. This just because of: First, the executive branch who is in charge of performing the foreign affairs; Second, they express the policy of just one single branch of the government. (Grimmet.12).

That's to say that the effect of the legislature branch is often weaker because it does not execute the policy, and also the Congress or the legislative branch make these resolutions, even if they have no efficacy in the policy, just to say that this branch does have a role in the conduct of the American foreign policy. So, the function of the Congress in the policy statement is to support the executive branch (or the President) in carrying out the foreign affairs, because the legislative branch just introduces resolutions to the executive branch.

The author illustrated that by mentioning the following example: "The House adopted resolutions supporting the President's policy in Libya by expressing gr attitude to the United Kingdom for allowing U.S. bombers stationed there to participate in the April 14, 1986, raid aimed at terrorist bases in Libya"(13).

### **2.2.2. Legislative Directives:**

In addition to making resolutions to the policy statement, the Congress can set off a foreign policy program by using legislation. Thus the Congress can also set objectives and guidelines, as it can authorize and direct the executive branch to undertake specified activities, and by assigning appropriations to be used in a spe cified way. So, the executive

branch influences this kind of policy initiative because Members regularly search for Administration views in the process of formulating legislation, this means that the President must approve legislation unless it is passed over a Presidential veto, and the executive branch implements the legislation. (13).

The role of the Congress, in directing the executive branch through legislation, illustrated in many issues, such as; in 1991, the Congress took the lead in using defense funds to provide assistance to the former Soviet Union, authorizing and appropriating funds to take apart the Soviet nuclear weapons and provide military transportation for humanitarian assistance. (13). So, i.e. the Congress has a great role in guiding and directing the American foreign policy decisions in many issues and events.

### **2.2.3. Legislative Pressure:**

Like the legislative directives, the Congress sometimes pressures the executive branch into a new direction in foreign policy by menacing to pass legislation, even though the legislation is not enacted, or by continuing to exhort a policy through many ways. As Burns and Peltason mentioned that "In foreign affairs, Congress probably serves best as discussant, critic, sharp-eyed investigator, and watchdog rather than as policy initiator and formulator". (500). So, this means that Congress has at some extent an important role in undermining the decisions of the President by pressuring him through passing legislation.

The author Richard F. Grimmet illustrated it by a historical example by mentioning that the Congress for several years pressured President Bush to take a greater leadership role in protecting the international environment. But in 1989, many Members criticized the President for not leading a world effort to deal with global warming. After numerous congressional efforts to persuade the administration, including letters, hearings, and a Senate amendment calling for a global conference on the environment in 1989, the

President offered to host an international meeting as a step toward negotiations on an international agreement to deal with global warming. Congress also pressed other countries to take environmentally beneficial action in foreign aid legislation . (14).

#### **2.2.4. Legislative Restrictions:**

These legislative restrictions are also named “Funding Denials” and it means the placement of the legislative prohibitions or other limitations on the President’s freedom of action in foreign affairs. So, the Congress has been visible in its foreign policy role since often these measures have been amendments to legislation authorizing or appropriating funds that the President was unlikely to veto . In addition, the use of funding restrictions or denials by Congress is a classic illustration of the "power of the purse" under the Constitution. (15).

So, unlike other legislative action by Congress, its use is not subject to serious challenge by the President as an unconstitutional infraction on the President's foreign policy powers and also major legislative-executive confrontations have occurred when such restrictions have been passed despite the opposition of the President .

In the same context, we have many historical examples, but we will just mention one of them in order to show how the Congress performs these legislative restrictions. Such as in 1974 the Nixon Administration was pursuing a policy of normalizing trade relations with the Soviet Union as part of the broader policy of detente. Against the wishes of the Administration, Congress passed amendments to the Trade Act of 1974 which limited the amount of Export-Import Bank credits to the Soviet Union to \$300 million and made the granting of most-favored-nation treatment conditional upon Soviet adoption of more liberal emigration policies. (Grimmet.15).

### **2.2.5. Informal Advice:**

Often Members of Congress shape foreign policy by providing advice to the executive branch in informal contacts. Such advice can also be given at meetings between the President and Members where no formal decision-making is contemplated, but where general reactions to prospective policy initiatives may be solicited by the President. For example; to defend President Eisenhower's decision not to intervene militarily in Indochina in 1954, a meeting was held on April 3, 1954 by the Secretary of State Dulles and other executive branch officials. They met with congressional leaders including Senate Majority Leader William Knowland, Minority Leader Lyndon Johnson, Speaker Joseph Martin, Jr. and Minority Whip John McCormack. In that meeting, Secretary Dulles said a unanimous congressional opinion developed in the meeting that there should be no congressional action on a resolution to support involvement until commitments for support were obtained in other nations. So without assurance of either congressional or allied support, President Eisenhower decided against intervention. (16-7).

### **2.2.6. Oversight of Policy:**

Oversight of policy which is performed by the Congress means the supervision of all the committees of the executive and legislative branches. As Grimmet mentioned that: "Congress shapes foreign policy through regular oversight of executive branch implementation of foreign policy, this involves such mechanisms as hearings and investigations". (17). More particularly, hearings on annual authorizations and appropriations of funds for executive branch agencies carrying out foreign policy provide an occasion for committee members to question and influence activities and policies.

So, as the author mentioned, the Senate Foreign Relations and House International Relations Committees oversee the Department of State and other foreign affairs agencies;

the Armed Services Committees oversee the Defense Department; the Intelligence Committees oversee the Central Intelligence Agency, and other parts of the intelligence community. (17).

Grimmet said:

”Since the early 1970s, Congress has used oversight mechanisms to advance human rights as an important factor in U.S. foreign policy... In 1975, Congress established machinery in the State Department to carry out the human rights policy and required annual reports from the Department on human rights observance by each recipient of U.S. foreign aid...” (17).

Consequently, the author mentioned this example just to show the supervision of the congress over the executive branch’s committees in case of shaping foreign policy through the use of some mechanisms.

### **2.3. The National Security Council:**

First, we have to define what is meant by the National Security Council (NSC). According to Kenneth Janda et al. it is the President’s principal forum and it is a permanent group of advisers which help the President in integrating and coordinating in military, national security and foreign policy matters. This council is headed by the President, and it consists of: the President, the Vice-president, the Secretary of state, the Secretary of defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and others are selected by the President . (716).

Historically, the National Security Council was established by the National Security Act of 1947, amended by the National Security Act Amendments of 1949 . Later in 1949,

as part of the Reorganization Plan, the Council was placed in the Executive Office of the President. ("The National Security Council").

The role of the NSC in the shaping of foreign policy is illustrated in helping the President in combining and coordinating the details of domestic, foreign and military affairs as they relate to the national security. Through history the function of NSC differs from period to another, because Presidents Truman and Kennedy rarely met with the NSC. In the contrast, Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon put it into prominence, since in Nixon's administration, the NSC was clearly important in making foreign policy process. This importance was illustrated in the role played by Henry Kissinger, Nixon's assistant for national security affairs (the head of the NSC staff), when he used this staff for direct diplomacy and secret actions. (Janda et al. 716).

In the contrary, Ishtiaq Hossein pointed out that the NSC appeared as a key factor in the making of American foreign policy and security policy. David J. Rothkopf said that it is the "committee that runs the world" and in fact this is reality since it controls the mechanisms of the American foreign policy, because it is originally intended to be an advisory forum of senior officials evaluating foreign policy issues for the President usually in his presence and play a neutral role. So, normally the NSC's main role is in the national security and military issues, but it interferences in the making of foreign policy process has grown through the time. (52-3). But, since it is related to the executive branch, it should have a role in this process.

### **2.3.1. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA):**

Additionally, the NSC has two main branches, one is in charge of the foreign affairs and the other is in charge of the internal affairs. The first is the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and the second is the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Since our

research is focused on the American foreign policy, we focus only on the CIA. Because of the need to an agency specifically charged with seeking intelligence about the actions and objective of foreign powers, America decided to create the Central Intelligence Agency. To some extent, in response to intelligence failures of the sort that led to the Pearl Harbor disaster and partly in recognition of America's new international role, Congress created the CIA in 1947. (Janda et al. 715).

The Agency's agreement charges the agency with the following tasks: coordinating the information and data-gathering activities of various other government departments; collecting, analyzing, evaluating, and circulating its own intelligence relating to national security matters. On December 17, 2004, President George W. Bush signed the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act which restructured the Intelligence Community by abolishing the position of Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) and Deputy Director of Central Intelligence (DDCI) and creating the position of the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (D/CIA). The Act also created the position of Director of National Intelligence (DNI), which oversees the Intelligence Community and the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC). (“History of the CIA”).

## **2.4.The Department of Defense:**

This department was established to replace two cabinet-level departments which are the War Department and the Department of the Navy. It is called also “The Pentagon” this just because of the larger of the building in which it is situated. Thus it has a great role in foreign policy making process, since it has also a fundamental task of guaranteeing that America is able to defend militarily, whether inside or outside, the nation and its interests. In addition, this responsibility puts great power and influence upon the Pentagon, without



forgetting the massive budget which is given by the State , especially during an expanded period of international crisis like the Cold War. (McKeever and Davies. 333).

The Department of Defense was formed to provide a new modern technical organization which is required to manage and coordinate between the U.S. armed forces and also to preserve the American Military strength. In addition , this department was created in order to keep the American tradition of civilian control of the military by pointing a civilian head which is the Secretary of Defense; in the same time he is a cabinet member who has the authority and responsibility over the military establishment. Historically, due to some reorganizations at the level of the department, the Secretary of Defense gained more budgetary powers , the control over the defense research and the power to shift, eradicate, reassign, and join functions among the military services. (Janda et al. 714).

According to Jande et al. the civilian secretaries of the army, the navy, and the air forces, and also the military commanders of the individual branches of the armed forces make up the Joint Chiefs Staff (JCS). In addition to their formal roles, they meet to manage military policy because they are the primary military advisers of the president, the secretary of defense, and the National Security Council. Therefore, the JCS have other broad tasks for developing positions on foreign military matters such as alliances, plans for nuclear and conventional war, and arms control and disarmament . (714-5).

So, since the Department of Defense is considered as the ministry of defense as in other nations, it has a valuable role in foreign policy making process especially in the military issues. But to put a big touch on any political decision, the JCS must compete with the other foreign policy makers.

## **2.5. The State Department:**

The most concerned department with the issues of the American foreign policy is the Department of State or the State Department, because it helps in formulating, executing, and monitoring the plans and details of the American foreign policy. It is headed by the highest-ranking official in the cabinet which is the Secretary of State. And it is made up of political appointees and permanent employees selected under the civil service system in addition to some secretaries and undersecretaries of state and also some ambassadors. (Jande et al. 713).

The State Department was created in 1789 for the aim of managing the U.S. foreign relations. So, its main role is illustrated in: the representation of the United States throughout the world by using embassies and consulates; the negotiation of the treaties with other nations; it is acting as a storehouse of a specialized knowledge about other nations and developments in international politics; and the drawing up of policy advices to the President sometimes with implementing them. (McKeever and Davies. 332-3).

In the same context, Burns and Peltason mentioned five traditional functions of the State Department as follows:

- It provides the President with the information he needs to conduct international relations.
- It assists the President in forming and implementing policy by evaluating the information and making recommendations to the President, the National Security Council, and others.
- It has the primary responsibility for representing the United States in the dealings with other nations and international organizations.
- It has the primary (but not exclusive) responsibility for carrying on negotiations with other nations and international organizations.

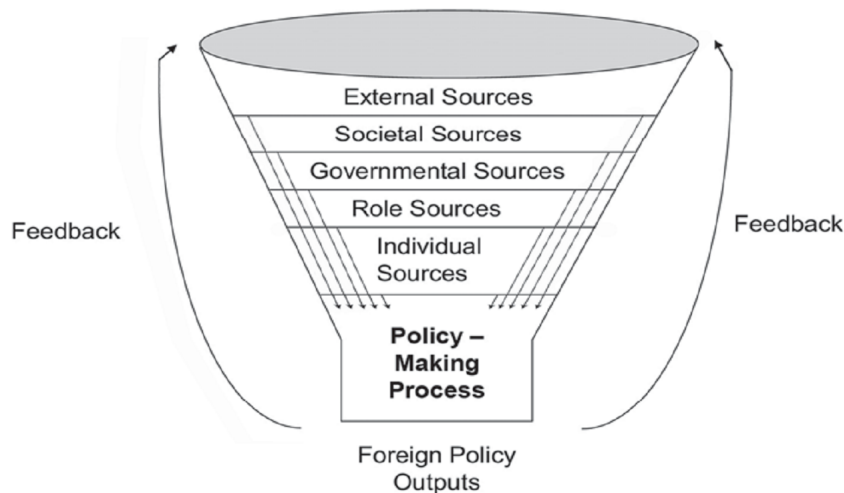
- It coordinates the activities of all the groups, agencies, and interdepartmental committees participating in the formulation of and execution of foreign policy. (504-5).

So, like other departments of the executive branch, the State Department has a great role in foreign policy making process. But according to Janda et al., the most noticeable trouble that the State Department faces is the lack of strong domestic public to exert pressure in support of its policies, not like the Department of Education for example which can just mobilize the teachers to support its activities. (714).

### 3. The Internal Sources of the American Foreign Policy:

#### 3.1. The Funnel of Causality of the American Foreign Political system:

This “funnel of causality” shows the main sources of foreign policy in America, it was drawn by Wittkopf et al. and it was based on James Rosenau’s identification of the following five main types of independent variables in formulating the American foreign policy which are: individual, role, governmental, societal and systemic. (Ishtiaq and Saleh. 31-2).



Source: Eugene R. Wittkopf, Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and James M. Scott, *American*

*Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition (Singapore: Thomson, 2008): 18. ( **Ishtiaq.32**)

In that picture, we notice the main five factors that can be considered as the main sources of the American foreign policy or in other words the main factors that influence the American foreign political decisions. So, Eugene R. Wittkopf has made up that “Funnel of Causality” to explain the American foreign policy system. In addition, Wittkopf gave us a good explanation about how the American foreign policy gets its inputs, since he explained also that the external sources illustrate the American foreign decisions and strategies up to the external environment and events; the societal sources illustrate the social environment of the nation (America); the governmental sources represent the institution in which the policy making takes place; the role sources illustrates the roles occupied by the policy makers including the individual sources which represent the individual characteristics of the policy makers’ elites. (Ishtiaq and Saleh. 31-2).

So, we conclude that this “funnel of causality” represents the ideology of “Checks and Balances” in the management of the American political system in general and particularly in the foreign policy conduct.

### **3.2.The Media and the American Foreign Policy:**

First, when we mention the term media, we mean the means of information and communication such as newspapers, magazines, TV screens, and radios... etc. According to Janda et al. politically, media is used as a tool to influence on the public opinion and also on policy makers’ opinions; in addition to that media is used also in promoting political programs or strategies. They added that media has great role in turning the public opinion by giving us a historical example which is: the Vietnam War in which media showed the cruelty of the U.S. soldiers against the Vietnamese people, this led to the refusal of this war and asking to stop it. So, the media’s focus on an issue can catch the

public attention even if it is a small issue. Therefore, media is also considered as references, because most of the foreign policy makers and the “attentive public” use it as source of information. (721-2).

In fact, human-beings are not born aware about politics or political issues. But through media, people can learn about politics, and this process is called political socialization. Although there are many elements or agents which are involved in creating the political awareness at people, but the mass media’s role in constructing political reality in society is more noticeable. One way that the media shapes the political reality is by mixing facts with opinions and in doing so manipulates messages. So, the amount of time and emphasis allocated to particular types of stories can also have an influence on what issues viewers perceive to be significant. (Mccullah).

As a result, we conclude that the media’s role is related to the average of political awareness at the level of the public opinion. In the same time, media play a great role in informing people about the political updates. In the next element, we will see the role of the public opinion in the foreign policy.

### **3.3. Public Opinion and Foreign Policy:**

According to Janda et al., the most of the Americans do not pay attention to politics, but they are still willing to express their opinions about political issues, especially the foreign affairs which have just 15% of Americans who care about. But in some cases, the public opinion in America influences the foreign policy such as in the Vietnam War, when 52% thought that the American involvement in Vietnam was a “mistake”. In addition, they said that:

“The public’s opinions on foreign policy issues are also extremely volatile. The American people have historically been willing to “rally

round the flag” and back presidential foreign policies, particularly in crisis situations”. (718).

In other words, the public opinion has a hand in foreign policy making especially in “crisis situations”. But there is something important we have to mention it, which is mentioned by Janda et al., that although the public opinion helps in formulating foreign policy, this support does not last for long periods of time. This just because Americans tell rapidly policymakers what should be done, but they seldom provide a plan how to do it. (717-8).

This situation of the American people, who do not stand for a long time in backing foreign policy decisions, leads us to a contradiction between if the public opinion affects foreign policy or it does not. As Ishtiaq and Moh’d Saleh mentioned in their book “The American Foreign Policy and The Islamic World” that researches performed by scholars and scientists of the American foreign policy led to ask the question of “how much influence public opinion has on American foreign policy”. In one side, they have found Americans allow the executive branch manages the country’s foreign policy as an area of particular proficiency. In the other side, it was argued that it is not probable to conduct a victorious foreign policy without the backing of the public opinion. (36-7).

So, we conclude that since America is a democratic country, the public opinion has its part in the foreign policy making process. But this does not mean that public opinion makes policy, because the American foreign policy is based firstly on foreign interests then secondly on domestic interests.

### **3.4. The Interest Groups and Foreign Policy:**

When we mention the term “Interest Groups”, we think directly in the Israeli lobby. In addition, there are not only the Israeli lobbies, but also there are other lobbies of many other ethnic groups. These groups are more effective behind scenes and they deal with non-crisis issues which are not likely important to the public at large. Therefore, there is a big competition between these interest groups, because each group wants to guide the policy into its own direction and interests resisting the other groups’ attempts to do so. So, as Janda et al. mentioned that this process (or competition between the interest groups) leads to find “solutions tending toward the middle of the road...” i.e. When each interest group puts its commands, this helps the government to make neutral policy which benefits the interests of the whole nation. (719-20).

Along with the diverse ethnic groups in America, the Jewish groups like the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), Christian United for Israel (CUFI), Israel Policy Forum are likely the strongest and the most noticeable groups since they are practical and possess the required directorial strength to defend and to proceed the benefits of Israel. Thus, lobbyists who represent various other ethnic groups are also slowly becoming vocal. According to a study done by Jason A. Kirk, an increasingly professional and well-funded “Indian lobby” among the Indian-Americans, was critical in pressing the members of Congress to support the US-India Nuclear Agreement. It must also be noted here that think tanks like the Heritage Foundation, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Carnegie Endowment, American Enterprise Institute (AEI)... etc are increasingly playing an effective role in the American foreign policy making, in addition to, Howard J. Wiarda concluded that “they may well become further instruments of divisiveness, fragmentation,

and disarray that now characterize American foreign policy making”. (Ishtiaq and Saleh. 39-40).

In the same context, McKeever and Davies called some of these groups as “Pressure Groups”. Therefore, these groups care a lot about foreign policy, such as the business and labor groups take a close interest in trade policy, because it affects directly the proceeds and jobs of their members. According to the same authors, the influence of the pressure groups on foreign policy is more limited than in the domestic policy, and the interest groups seem to be more effective in some special issues. So, the foreign policy making process is quite protected from direct pressure by interest groups. (340).

So, the American foreign programs and strategies justified how much the American foreign policy is affected by the interest groups. Even though, we did not mention all the interest groups, it is clear to say that not all the groups are gaining their interests.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Consequently, we conclude from this chapter that the notion of “Checks and Balances” really has its function inside the American political system, and more particularly in the managing of the American foreign policy affairs. So, the next chapter will clearly explain the effectiveness of that notion by telling us the most important historical phases of the American foreign policy shaping.



***Chapter Three:***  
***The American Foreign***  
***Policy before 9/11 Events***

## **1. Introduction:**

In this chapter, we try to cover all the most important phases of the American foreign policy through history beginning with the early years of the new nation until the last years of 1990's. In addition, we will take an overview about the shaping of the American foreign policy through history by mentioning the most important periods of the nature of the U.S. foreign policy. We will begin with the neutral isolationist policy until the policy of Containment.

## **2. The American Foreign Relations and engagements before 9/11Events:**

### **2.1. The Most Important Periods of the American Foreign Policy before 9/11 Events:**

Historically, America started with an isolationist foreign policy, then it replaced this policy by other policies according to the nation's needs and interests. First, we begin with the definition of Isolationism, and it is a policy was taken by the United States in the early years of the new nation. It was illustrated in the isolation from the world affairs. So, since this green nation was still politically and economically weak and under the slogan of "A Nation in Formation", the United States have taken isolationism as their first foreign policy.

Therefore, McKeever and Davies said that in the early years of the new nation, the American foreign policy was not really isolationist as it was thought, because geopolitically, when America wanted to be independent, it was surrounded and backed by some European colonial powers, and economically, American exports had increased due to

its backing of by the European great powers. (319-20). So, according to those authors, America was partially isolationist. Since the American economy was dependent to the international commerce, that's why we can consider it as a new weak nation.

Consequently, due to the French Revolution in 1789 and the Napoleonic Wars which were lasted until 1815, the case of national self-interest intersected with ideological positions among the Americans. So, Thomas Jefferson and his fellow Americans expressed their sympathy towards the republican radicalism of the French, with whom they identified as fellow revolutionaries in America. (319-20).

In addition to the impact of the French Revolution on the American one, the American Idealism which was embodied in the myth of American superiority might otherwise have convinced the United States to take on a truly isolationist position from the start. Although the American foreign policy during the Washington administration was more likely an "Active Neutrality" than isolationism, through that policy of "active neutrality", America was looking for avoiding engaging in wars. So, President George Washington issued the Neutrality Proclamation in 1793. In the same context, after some British attacks on the American ships two years later, the President signed the Jay Treaty with Britain in order to avoid a potential costly war with the British. (321).

Besides the Jay Treaty with Britain, President George Washington signed the Pinckney Treaty with Spain in order to permit tax-free use of the New Orleans which became vital later to the American traders in the West. Keeping good relations with Britain and Spain through these treaties, it was clear to mention the French-American relations were getting worse. Since the French attacks on the American ships had increased dramatically in the last years of the eighteenth century, the doors were widely opened to engage in wars with them. But to avoid this conflict, the US President signed the

Convention of 1800, which made financial concessions to France in return for its recognition of “America’s trading rights as a neutral country. ( McKeever and Davies. 321).

Before we mention the basic principles of the American neutral policy, we have to what is meant by the American neutral policy. It is defined as follows:

“The first established foreign policy of the United States was of neutrality or non-involvement. Having just defeated the English and gaining our independence, the US faced the challenging task of creating a new nation. In an effort to guard ourselves from involvement in the wider conflicts of the European and focus on domestic affairs, a course of neutrality was followed. The roots of this initial policy can be seen as early as the presidency of George Washington”. (DeLorenzo).

According to McKeever and Davies, the basic principles of the American neutral policy are:

- The pursuing of honest and open relations with all the countries.
- The United States must avoid becoming involved in conflicts having their origin in the corrupt Old World of Europe.
- The United States would indulge neither in intrigue nor war and simultaneously ensure that no nation felt compelled to invade American territory or attack American commerce. (321).

However, these principles could not be totally preserved, because in 1807 the Jefferson administration faced increasing restrictions on American shipping from both Britain and France. Remaining faithful to its principles of non-involvement, the US

government passed the Embargo Act which closed American ports and banned exports. But this act had greatly harmed the American economy, so this led President Jefferson to reopen the American ports again in order to make the economy better. (McKeever and Davies. 321).

Ideologically, there were many ideologies which helped in shaping the American foreign policy, such as the Monroe Doctrine, Manifest Destiny...etc. Through history, these ideologies were based upon the interests and the needs of America. First, we begin with the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, and it was the Monroe's address that would again mark a major landmark in US foreign policy. This doctrine was meant as a warning to the nations of Europe to end the colonization of the New World territories and to stop targeting it for inclusion to its old empires. The doctrine stated also that the establishment of new colonies or the disturbance of newly independent colonies in the Western Hemisphere would be taken as a direct menace to US interests and dangerous to the peace and safety of America. So, the Monroe Doctrine was not so much an attempt to lay claim to the territories of the Americas, but as a warning to the Old European World not to obstruct the natural development in the societies of the New World. (McKeever and Davis. 323).

Secondly, we have to mention the notion of the "Manifest Destiny". This ideology appeared in 1840's. This term means the belief that the New World was created by God to be possessed and run by the Americans. Therefore, this term went beyond its main belief, since there were some Americans who believed that one day Canada, Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean and perhaps South America would be part of the United States. (McKeever and Davies. 323). In addition to that, Cincotta et al. said that many Americans thought that United States had a "Manifest Destiny" to expand westward to the Pacific Ocean. (135). They said also that "Manifest Destiny" was used as a doctrine to justify America's continental expansion. (182). So, the "Manifest Destiny" was used as a tool by

Polk's Administration to reach the Pacific Ocean through what was called the westward expansion.

By the coming of the First World War, the American foreign policy shifted from a reserving homeland concerned nation to an active imperial power. Unlike Roosevelt's enthusiasm for military action, his successors were convinced that the United States must follow "an activist international policy". Since they were aware that the American economy was more depended on overseas markets, they decided to adopt an "open door" policy regarding to the international trade. This action would permit American business to enter to markets and raw materials simultaneously as other nations. (McKeever and Davies. 325). So, we can say that the American foreign policy began to get into internationalist period starting economically then later politically. The "Dollar Diplomacy" which was created by the administration of the President Taft (1909-13), could achieve the economic access and political influence through American capital investment in other nations. Like the economic self-interest of Taft's administration, Wilson's administration aimed to promote the American Values such as republicanism, democracy, free enterprise and individualism. In addition, McKeever and Davies added that under President Woodrow Wilson's administration, idealism in foreign policy achieved some elevations by concluding in Wilson's aims to create a new outline for the managing of politics between nations. (McKeever and Davies. 325).

On the outbreak of the First World War in Europe in 1914, the accustomed mixture of economic self-interest and American values convinced Wilson to stay neutral. This action allowed the American business to make great incomes from selling to both sides of the conflict, at the same time refusing to descend to the levels of the European power politics. (325). So, the American participation in the First World War served to confirm the view that the United States could and should avoid embarrassment in Europe by getting into

isolationist behavior even in the face of the obvious aggression of the Nazi Germany in 1930's.

By the coming of the Second World War, America entered a new phase which is internationalism. During Wilson's administration, the internationalist policy was greatly supported in the United States especially by foreign policy makers. However, isolationism was strongly accepted at the level of the congress, some progressive politicians from the Midwest and western states saw that the non-involvements in Europe might result "a threat to the American virtue stemming" and also some senators such as William Borah of Idaho Gerald Nye of North Dakota argued violently against any repetition of the First World War experience. In addition, the senators, which were against Roosevelt's proposal of 1935 for the United States to join the World Court of the League of Nations, were joined by demagogic populists. Then to prevent this proposal they passed three separate neutrality Acts between 1935 and 1937. Even though, Roosevelt had already started helping Britain and the Soviet Union to fight against Germany, he acknowledged to the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill that isolationist opposition prevented him from declaring war. (325).

Thus, until that period we can say that America did not get in Internationalism yet. But after Hitler's alliance with Japan and his decision to attack the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on 7 December 1941, Roosevelt did not find any difficulty to convince the Congress to declare war against Japan. So, this led Germany also to declare war against America. Therefore, America which spent the two past decades before the Second World War avoiding the military engagements, it found itself at war across both the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. (325).

Through this war against Japan and Germany, America appeared as “the world’s dominant economic and military power”. During the war years, the American economy had wholly recovered from the Great Depression, so this led to the unique position to lead the world out of the economic chaos of the previous two decades. So, this American economic dominance over the world led to a political dominance. This political dominance was illustrated in the dominance over the International Organizations such as the United Nations. We will see later how America engaged into the International Organizations, then we will have a look over the Cold War and the Containment Policy.

### **3. The American Engagements into the International Organizations:**

According to Burns and Peltason, the United States joins the most of international organizations in the world. The author added also that these organizations are the major instruments of the “American Diplomacy”. In addition to the United Nations and its related agencies, the United States engaged into more than 200 international organizations of different types. (513). So, since the United States is a member of the most important international organizations in the world, the American political and economic dominance over the world is very clear.

#### **3.1. The United Nations 1945 (UN):**

According to Burns and Peltason also, we can define the United Nations as follows:

“The United Nations is an organization designed to bring nations together to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations, to achieve international cooperation in solving world problems,



to promote and encourage respect for human rights, and to harmonize the actions of nations in attaining these common goals".(513-4).

Thus, it is an association which aims to make treaties and to claim reparations for injury to its agents or members. It also preserves its own legal staff, manages its own headquarters, and has its own flag. Its main branches are the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Social and Economic Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Secretariat, and the International Court of Justice. But the United Nations is headed by the five permanent members of the Security Council, the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France and China, which were the allies of the Second World War. The rest of the members of the council are elected and serve on a rotating basis. Therefore, the most important power of the Security Council is the capability to veto the UN initiatives that have been approved by the General Assembly, of which all member nations are voting members. (513-4).

In fact, the United Nations was established in 1945 at the end of the Second World War. It was the successor of the unsuccessful League of Nations that had been shaped after the First World War. However, the United Nations had the full support and funding of the United States and more considerably was gifted with a military force to provide its directives with some backing. So, the League of Nations had lacked such military powers and that was regarded as the chief reasoning behind its failure. (DeLorenzo).

Politically, the United States has its own influence on the United Nations by preserving a permanent diplomatic operation at the headquarters of this latter. This operation is headed by a chief, who has the position of ambassador and Cabinet status, and includes three other leading diplomats. All these diplomats are appointed by the President with the advice of the Senate. Additionally, the President, with the advice and approval of the Senate, selects five representatives of the General Assembly and these representatives

serve for the duration of a particular session. The chief of the operation is responsible for organizing the actions of the delegates to other divisions of the United Nations. Besides the chief's tasks, a separate Bureau of International Organization Affairs, within the Department of State, manages the policies and activities of the United Nations delegation, helps to prepare instructions to the US representatives on the delegation, serves as a technical adviser to them, disseminates information to the public regarding the United Nations, and assumes general responsibility for American participation. (Burns and Peltason. 513-4).

Thus, the United Nations is a functional organization for diplomatic consultation, because it offers techniques and machinery for discussion, for working out cooperative plans of action, and for creating international equipments to handle worldwide problems. In addition, he gave an example which is ; it has been a useful device by which the United States has been able to keep on its relations with the other nations of the world facing the world's division into separate national sovereignties. (514).

So, America has "a big hand" in managing the United Nations. Since the UN's headquarters is located in New York, the American Influence on it will be very clear. Therefore, since the five permanent members of the Security Council (the United States, Great Britain, Russia, France and China) have the right to veto the initiatives of the General Assembly, the United Nation's policy follows the American foreign policy.

### **3.2. The Organization of the American States (OAS) 1948:**

The Organization of the American States was established in 1948, and it is organized by the 35 nations of the Western Hemisphere. It was proposed to repeal the further spread communism. The treaty of this organization necessitates member nations to support other member nations in resisting armed attack as well as negotiating conflicts among members

in an effort to reach a peaceful resolution to disagreements among them. The Organization of the American States also aims to promote the development of democratic governments and protect human rights in the regions in addition to encouraging economic development, social and cultural exchange among the member nations. (DeLorenzo).

Therefore, in its own hemisphere, the United States is a member of the OAS. The OAS is made of a Permanent Council of the organization in addition to an Economic and a Social Council which are continuing groups. These councils consist one representative with the rank of ambassador from each member state. The decisions of the councils of the OAS are not a subject to veto, but any decision to be performed needs two-thirds of voters of the member states. In case of the American role in the OAS is illustrated in the famous Pan-American Union which serves as the general secretariat for the OAS, and the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress is the secretariat for the Economic and Social Councils. (Burns and Peltason. 513). So, the American great intervention in the OAS's Councils means the American dominance over the political decisions more than the rest of the member states.

### **3.3. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 1948:**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization or NATO was created in 1948 as a “collective security” power to oppose the increasing of Communism in Europe. After the Second World War, the USSR did not remove from the nations of Eastern Europe that it had released from the from Nazi control, then it started supporting the Communist regimes under the Soviet domination. So, as an opposition to Communists, the democratic nations of Western Europe, the United States and Canada made NATO as a resistance to further spread. In the contrary, as a response to NATO, the communist nations, under Soviet

control, formed the Warsaw Treaty as a Communist collective security power to face the NATO agreement.(DeLorenzo).

NATO was formed under the notion of collective security or “collective self -defense” as it worded in the NATO agreement. This notion claims that any attack on a NATO member to be considered as an attack upon all NATO member nations. This ideology of collective security played a great role in NATO’s success, so the menace of a collective response let the spread of Communism in Europe in decrease and this is the reason behind the peace and the stability in Europe in the past 50 years.(DeLorenzo).

Recently, after the falling of the Communist nations of the former Warsaw Pact, NATO has expanded its membership through the engagement of some Eastern European nations such as Poland and Czechoslovakia which were welcomed in the organization. In addition to its benefits, NATO alliance has not only served as a collective defense, but also it advanced economic ties and cooperation between the member states. Also in recent years, NATO has taken a more effective role in stopping European aggression before it flickers wider conflict which was the Cold War. Historically, the NATO’s function was illustrated in its bombing campaign in Serbia and Kosovo as well as the stationing of NATO troops in the former Yugoslavia to keep up peace, and these examples serve as the best ones of NATO’s evolving role in the post-Cold War world. (DeLorenzo). So, since America is considered as one of the most effective organs of NATO, it will guide this organization up the American interests first, then up to the rest of the member nations members’ interests second.

## **4. The American Foreign Strategies before 9/11 Events:**

### **4.1. The American Foreign Policy and the Cold War:**

At the end of the Second World War, a new different war has begun. This war was the war of ideas and politics, of economics and technologies. This war was called the Cold War. The Cold War was not one event, but rather a series of related events between the two polar powers which are Communism and Capitalism. Or in other words, these events were between the United States and the Soviet Union, Communism was led by the Soviet Union and Capitalism was led by America.

According to Mckeever and Davies, the Cold War is the crisis and tension between basically the United States and the Soviet Union, which started from the late of 1940's until the late of the 1980's. Additionally, they said that the liberal school of Western scholars blamed the aggressive and expansionist actions of America and the rhetoric actions of the Soviets in Eastern Europe for inflaming the conflict. Historians also pointed that the American political and economic systems are supported by the threat of military power. To create a post-war economic order that would serve the American interests, the United States announced an international meeting at Bretton Woods in New Hampshire in 1944. This international meeting resulted the creation of two powerful economic tools for the American economic dominance over the world which were The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (or the World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). (327).

So, since the Soviet Communism and the American Capitalism rest at opposite ideological poles and each one of them sees the progress of one as a menace to the other, the United States represented not just an economic threat, but a military danger to the

Soviet Union. This danger was illustrated in the American exclusive possession of the atomic bomb. The American atomic diplomacy heightened the fear of the Soviets, so they agreed with Germans to create a crash atomic bomb of their own in order to face the Americans. (327-8).

In the same context, Martin McCauley said about the problem between USA and USSR in the Cold War that every nation has its own interests and aims from this conflict, but a standing power is declining and a dynamic power expands. He added if this statement was a sophism, and he said also if this reveals the underlying causes of the monumental conflict which overcame the Soviet Union and the United States for over than four decades after 1945. In addition to that he said that the American way in this conflict was pluralistic and there were myriad economic decision makers, the Soviet way was to mobilize the population from the top down. (03).

Therefore, McCauley showed the ideas and beliefs of the two polar powers which are America and Russia. He said that the American idea of liberty evolved, from the English revolutionary ideas of the history of the civil wars and first and foremost, from the philosophy of John Locke which calls for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. He added that this liberty was illustrated in the fighting of Americans and their winning of liberty against Great Britain then later they had liberty of free enterprises. He thought also that both Soviet and American arms participated in defeating the Imperial Japan and National Socialist Germany. Martin McCauley talked about the détente of the American idealism in 1970's. He said that it was not caused by the defeat of the Soviet Union, but by the Communist Vietnamese. Because after the intervention of the Soviets into the world conflicts in South-East of Asia and in the revolution in Africa by the invitation of France, and playing with the rules of Washington in Moscow, President Reagan saw that the world

is not running as the Americans want. So, this led him to insult Russia or the Soviet Union by describing it as “The Evil Empire”. (5-6).

Howard Cincotta et al. talked about the Cold War, and they defined this war as follows: “the Cold War was the most important political and diplomatic issue of the early post-war period. It grew out of longstanding disagreements between the Soviet Union and the United States that developed after the Russian Revolution of 1917”. They said also that the Soviet Communist Party, under V.I. Lenin, considered itself as a leader of an international movement which would substitute the existing political orders in the West and throughout the world, so the American troops took part in the allied intervention in Russia on behalf of the anti-Bolshevik forces in 1918. Although, the American political acknowledgment of the Soviet Union did not come until 1933, in the Second World War, the two countries found themselves allied in order to face the Nazi danger which was basically the Germans. (132-3).

After the American disengagement in the First World War, the economy of the United States had known a great growth due to the increasing of the American exports in the European markets. This growth was illustrated in the avoiding the bad consequences of the Great Depression between 1929 and 1940. (Cincotta et al.132-3). So, throughout the Cold War, the United States wanted to get the economic dominance over the European countries first, including Russia, and then secondly the political dominance.

In fact, the main crisis between the United States and the Soviet Union began when the Russian historical tradition of centralized and autocratic government opposed with the American democratic government. In addition to that, Cincotta et al. said that the Cold War has developed as disagreements about the shape of the post-war world which created suspicion and distrust between the United States and the Soviet Union. Because, the first

conflict happened between them was about Poland, since Moscow wants it to be influenced by the Soviet model, in the other side Washington wants it to be an independent and representative government and to follow the Western model. After that they met at Yalta Conference in February 1945, then they decided to organize a “free and unfettered” election in Poland. (133-4).

At the first meeting between the Russian minister of foreign affairs Vyacheslav Molotov and the American President Harry Truman after the Yalta Conference, a big quarrel occurred between them because Truman had exposed his intention to confirm the Polish self-determination ordering the Soviet side to follow the Yalta agreements. So, Molotov protested about this order by telling Truman: “I have never been talked to like that in my life”. President Truman replied: “Carry out your agreements and you won’t get talked to like that”. Due to that quarrel, the American-Russian relation got worse and worse. (133-4).

During the last months of the Second World War, the Soviet military forces occupied most of the East European nations. This military occupation was done to support the efforts of the Communist parties in Eastern Europe and also to crush the democratic parties. So, the public statements revealed the beginning of the Cold War. In 1946, Stalin declared that the international peace was impossible “under the Capitalist development of the world economy”. The British wartime Prime Minister Winston Churchill had received a dramatic speech with Truman sitting in Fulton, Missouri, which said “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent”. Churchill added also that Britain and the United States should work together in order to face the Soviet danger. (133-4). So, we can say that the Cold War did not finish because it will enter a new phase which is the Containment.



## **4.2. The American Foreign Policy and the Strategy of Containment:**

Before we talk about the Containment and the American foreign policy, we have to define first what is meant by the term Containment. Containment is an American policy appeared in 1940's during Truman's term in order to stop the spread of Communism by using military, economic, and diplomatic strategies. Containment is considered as one of the Cold War's parts, since it was a response to the Soviet Union because of its movements in Eastern Europe, China, Korea and Vietnam to broaden the influence of Communism. The origin or the root of this policy was first expressed in a telegram written by an American diplomat George F. Kennan in 1946. The term Containment originated from Kennan's report which was submitted to Defense Secretary James Forrestal in 1947, in which he described the American Foreign policy. In that report, Kennan had translated the word containment from the French expression "Cordon Sanitaire", which was used to describe the Western policy toward the Soviet Union in 1920's. ("Containment").

Howard Cincotta et al. talked about the history of Containment in their book "An Outline of American History". They said that Containment of the Soviet Union became American policy in the postwar years. As we mentioned before that the "top official" in the American Embassy in Moscow George Kennan sent a telegram to the State Department in 1946, in which he broaden his analysis after he returned home in an article published under an unknown signature "X" in the high-status journal *Foreign Affairs*. Additionally, Cincotta et al. said that Kennan had focused in his telegram on the Russian traditional logic of insecurity, so, he pointed out that the Soviet Union would not reduce its attitude under any conditions. Therefore, he mentioned the following quotation and he said:

"Moscow was "committed fanatically to the belief that with the U.S. there can be no permanent *modus vivendi*, that it is desirable and necessary that the

internal harmony of our society be disrupted." Moscow's pressure to expand its power had to be stopped through "firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies....". (134).

So, Cincotta et al. wanted to say that Kennan necessitated the Containment as a suitable policy in order to avoid and stop the spread of the Soviet Communist tendency. That's why Cincotta pointed out that the first considerable function of the containment policy appeared in the eastern Mediterranean by mentioning some examples such as; when Great Britain had been supporting Greece, where communist forces menaced the ruling monarchy in a civil war, and in Turkey, where the Soviet Union hardly pressed for territorial concessions and the right to build naval bases on the Bosphorus. However in 1947 Britain told the United States that it could no longer pay for such aid. So, the U.S. State Department had directly developed a chart for U.S. support. But the U.S. assistance was intended for a new interfering policy, because Senate leaders such as Arthur Vandenberg told Truman that there was only probability if he was enthusiastic to start "scaring the hell out of the country." (134).

So, since President Harry Truman was known by the Containment policy, he was ready to do as he was advised by the Senators. In the same context, Cincotta said that there was a famous statement which came to be known as the Truman Doctrine, in which he declared, "I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." So that, he asked the Congress to provide \$400 million as an economic and military assistance to Greece and Turkey, and this amount of money was enough to realize this process. (134).

So, the most important benefit from that economic and military assistance that Truman had gained is the support of the American society to the Containment policy. Thus the

victory over Communist parties in Greece and Turkey through Containment has created a wave of anti-communism in all over the country, which led to the emergence of McCarthyism. Though, there was a price Truman himself and American society paid for his victory.

In the same context, McKeever and Davies said that the real beginning and application of the American Containment of the Soviet communism was in 1947 in Greece and Turkey. In addition, the Truman administration was ready to convert the United States into “the world’s policeman”, because such a change might go against the particle of a century and a half of the American foreign policy traditions. So, President Truman faced a difficulty to persuade the American people and the Congress which is controlled by the opposition of the Republican Party, that such a new departure was necessary and in the best interests of America. (328).

At a meeting with congressional leaders in February 1947, President Truman and Acheson argued that it was “imperative” to stop communism in Greece and Turkey, before “the infection” spreads throughout the entire Middle East and Europe. That’s why Senator Arthur Vandenberg told Truman that if he wanted to get aid for Greece and Turkey from Congress, he would have to “scare hell out of the American people”. (328).

Cincotta said that the American-Soviet conflict knew its highest peak when America, Great Britain, and France decided to unify the three occupied zones in the German capital Berlin in order to get a self-governing republic, but Russia allied with Germany against the three former nations. However, through containment the United States liberated Germany from Communism after a hard work which was alliance with France and Great Britain against Russia. So, after the falling of Communism through the falling of Berlin Wall in

1991, America started to be as unique nation leading the world politically and economically. (134).

Consequently, Containment is considered as; first, the most important phase in the series of events of the Cold War with the Soviets; then second in the history of the American foreign policy. So, America had taken Containment as its policy during the Cold War, because it found that this policy matches its external interests economically and politically.

## **5. The September 11<sup>th</sup> Attacks and the American Foreign Policy:**

### **5.1. The September 11<sup>th</sup> Attacks and its Consequences:**

On a clear autumn morning of an ordinary day in New York, a big terror struck from the sky. This terror was from an American Airlines flight number 11 which had left Boston a few minutes earlier which is potentially taken over by the Islamic hijackers. This hijacking attack flew in the World Trade Center northern tower. After 15 minutes, another United Airlines flight number 175 from Boston followed the same disastrous way striking the Southern tower. (M. C. Pauwels. 200).

Consequently, there were many New Yorkers fled to Manhattan, while some others were trapped inside the two buildings which scrambled down the stairways to safety only those who were lucky to reach the bottom. Unexpectedly, an unimaginable event happened which was the collapse of the Twin Towers burying several thousand innocent victims under the fragments. One hour later precisely at 9:43 am, an American Airlines flight number 77 hijacked the Pentagon in Washington DC killing some 200 people. Another

United Airlines flight number 93 targeted the White House, but it was miraculously taken over by heroic passengers to a forest in Pennsylvania southeast of Pittsburgh. (200).

Additionally, weeks later after the attacks, “mysterious envelopes” containing “anthrax powder” were posted around the country. These envelopes which contain a powerful and lethal germ were sent both to famous personalities in the political and information spheres and to anonymous individuals. So, the Senate was closed for weeks because of “decontamination” and also because of a general wave of terror following these chemical attacks swept across the country. But unlike the previous terrorist attacks, this time it was feared the menacing chemical threat of bio-terrorism. (200).

Therefore, this was not the first time that America was attacked on its soil, because in 1993, the very same World Trade Center had been already bombed. Yet, most of Americans still believed Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was their most dangerous enemy. Since the invasion of Kuwait more than a decade before and the Gulf War that followed, Iraqi’s President had indeed been topping America’s most wanted list. All across the terms of the three Presidents: George Bush Sr., Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush, the U.S. attempts were unsuccessful at catching the dictator whose total unwillingness to comply with the UN disarmament policies. This led to bringing the USA several times to the brink of war. (200).

So, after the decline of the conflict of the Cold War between the United States and the USSR, the 9/11 attacks opened the door to a new war with the terrorists of Al-Qaeda. This new war against new enemy is called the “Global War on Terror”.

## **5.2. The American Governmental Reactions to the September 11<sup>th</sup> Attacks:**

Before we talk about the American governmental reaction to the 9/11 attacks, we have to mention the reaction of the European nations, or more precisely the NATO's nation members. Europeans were shocked and they showed emotion and vigorous condemnation of the perpetrators of these terrorist attacks by reaffirming its unfailing solidarity with the United States. Since the article number 5 says that to attack one of its members is to attack all the eighteen nation members, three days after the attacks, millions of people all over Europe stood still for three minutes to pay a quiet tribute to the victims of the attacks. (200).

Therefore, after the attacks, the Islamic terrorist network which caused those events was soon brought to light. This terrorist network "Al-Qaeda" headed by a Saudi-originated millionaire Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan. Some days later, America started military operations in Afghanistan by the help of its allies, after that within few weeks the United States overthrew the Taliban regime which is suspected of conspiracy with Bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda. (200).

Thus, the American governmental reaction toward the 9/11 attacks was illustrated in three main acts which are: the launching of the Global War on Terror, the passing of the American Patriot Act of 2001, and the creation of the 9/11 Commission in the late of 2002. First, we begin with the "Global War on Terror", which is considered as another new war against a new enemy. The Global War on Terror is the international military campaign which was led by the United States and the United Kingdom with the support of other North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as well as non-NATO countries. Originally,

the campaign was intended against al-Qaeda and other militant organizations with the purpose of eliminating them from Afghanistan and Iraq. (“Global War on Terror”).

Second, the USA Patriot Act is also considered as one of the considerable act and reactions of America against terrorism. The USA PATRIOT Act is an Act of the U.S. Congress that was signed into law by President George W. Bush on October 26, 2001. The main aim of this act is “Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism”. (“USA Patriot Act of 2001”).

Third, the creation of the 9/11 Commission or as it is known “The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States” is also another valuable act towards the terrorist attacks. The 9/11 Commission is an independent, bipartisan commission created by congressional legislation and the signature of President George W. Bush in the late of 2002. It is chartered to prepare a full and complete account of the circumstances surrounding the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, including preparedness for and the immediate response to the attacks. Therefore, the Commission is also mandated to provide recommendations designed to guard against future attacks. On July 22, 2004 the Commission released its public report, which provides a full and complete account of the circumstances surrounding the September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 terrorist attacks and awareness for and an immediate response to the attacks. Finally, the Commission closed on August 21, 2004. (“The 9/11 Commission Report”).

Consequently, the United States has lost its invulnerability after the 9/11 attacks, because Americans did not expect any attack on their soil. So, that’s why the American reaction was clearly harsh especially in the military campaign against Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan ...etc.

## **6. Conclusion:**

As a result, we can say that the factors that led to the success of the American foreign policy are very clear; this is just because the U.S. foreign policy is based on the American internal and external interests. Beginning with neutral isolationism and continuing with Globalism or internationalism, the American foreign policy is always built up to the American needs and interests. But we see in the next chapter, how the American foreign policy would become after the 9/11 events.



***Chapter Four:***  
***The American Foreign***  
***Policy after 9/11 Events***

# **1. Introduction**

In this chapter, we discuss the American foreign strategies and plans in the aftermath of 9/11. We focus also on the main aims of these new foreign programs in order to compare them with the previous ones. First, we talk about the coming of the Anti-Americanism, then we talk about the American main foreign strategies including the USA Patriot Act of 2001 and the “Global War on Terror” which are intended to remove the terrorist groups. Finally, we talk about “the American Grand Strategy” and its goals.

## **2. The Coming of the Anti-Americanism:**

### **2.1. The Definition of the Anti-Americanism:**

Due to the American international interventions economically, politically, and militarily, a new doctrine has appeared worldwide called “Anti-Americanism”. According to Marie-Christine Pauwels, we define the term “Anti-Americanism” as follows; it is a mixture of condolences and sympathy with the feeling that Americans merited their destiny and are harvesting what they had implanted. In addition, most of the nations in the world are experiencing the doctrine of the Anti-Americanism in a form of “Schadenfreude”. This German term means the mix of sadness and satisfaction at seeing disaster strike someone else. (202).

Consequently, even though doubt and absolute disbelief followed horror at most of the Americans, the 9/11 terrorist attacks have no sense. This is simply because the majority of the Americans consider their country as a model of democracy and liberty whose its main goal is bringing peace and prosperity; in addition to the American relationship with other nations of the world which is habitually benevolent and devoid of enmity. Therefore, a big hostility appeared in many parts of the world, especially in the Western countries,

because of the 9/11 Attacks. Although the European countries offered immediate aids to the victims of the Attacks, European hostility went down the hardest. Thus most of Americans wonder why there is so much hatred in the Western countries, because they are convinced that America is the “champion of the free world” which had pulled Europe from tyranny and terror twice in addition to facilitating the West to a successful victory of the Cold War during the past century. (202).

In the same context, the term Anti-Americanism is a sentiment of opposition and hostility to the people, policies, culture, or government of the United States. Thus, this sentiment of hatred towards America is a range of attitudes and actions critical and opposed to America were called “Anti-Americanism”. (Hollander). Additionally, the political scientist Brendan O'Connor proposes that Anti-Americanism can not be alone as a dependable phenomenon and he adds that it is a term originated from a rough mix of stereotypes, prejudices, and criticisms towards Americans or the United States as a whole. (77-92).

Etymologically, in the first Noah Webster's American Dictionary of the English Language (1828), the term “Anti-American” was defined as “opposed to America, or to the true interests or government of the United States; opposed to the revolution in America”. (Webster's Dictionary). In addition, in France the use of the term “antiaméricanisme” has been acknowledged from 1948, then it entered the ordinary political language in 1950's. (Phillipe).

So, although Anti-Americanism has been defined through many angles by the scientists of both sciences politics and etymology, this term has lacked a precise definition of what the sentiment itself entails. This led to the broad use, in an Impressionistic way, of

the term which resulted also the inexact impressions of many expressions described as Anti-American.

## **2.2.The Causes of the Anti-Americanism:**

According to M. C. Pauwels, Anti-Americanism is illustrated in diverse appearances and is caused by different sorts of dislike. Some of these sorts aim the United States for many reasons: its deeds, its global overextend, its intervention in everyone else's business, its clumsy self-praise and its arrogance, and its sometimes debatable foreign policy alliances. Another sort of Anti-Americanism which targets the United States, it is a kind of contradiction, for what it symbolizes two opposite disciplines at once. On one hand, America is a free, prosperous, and democratic country; on the other hand, it allows the ownership of gun, passing of the death penalty law, the perseverance of racist attitudes, and deep pockets of poverty. (202).

Whereas in the developing countries, hatred is fueled by what they consider as "the spiritual decadence of a first world power" which in their eyes blatantly shows off its wealth in the face of the most destitute, all the while acting as if leading a crusade for freedom and human rights. So, to the former countries, the model conveyed by the *American way of life*, is mix of materialism and consumerism, is both envied and rejected. That's why Islamic fundamentalists particularly have been punctual to take advantage on this aspect in order to describe the United States as a "McWorld" to denounce American missionary zeal as imperialism and corruption in mask. (202).

Economically, M. C. Pauwels said that the continual declining of the American aid to the developing countries since the end of the Cold War is so far a source of hostility, in addition to the falling of the share of the budget going to foreign aid by approximately a half since 1980. Therefore, tensions also stem from the different financial policies imposed

by the international organizations which are dominated by the USA such as the World Bank or so-called the IMF, whose policies have absolutely proved inadequate, too rigid, and disastrous for the development of the poorer parts of the world. (202).

Politically, M. C. Pauwels added that there is another source of friction which is the gap between the superior and lofty political ideals and a foreign policy too often punctual to support or keep in place particularly authoritarian and oppressive regimes such as supporting Third World dictators in Central and Latin America. Thus too many dubious alliances and contradictions pepper the history of American diplomacy abroad, including the tragically ironic support given to Osama Bin Laden himself by the CIA in the early 1990's. So the relative lack of interest of most Americans is illustrated in their unashamed ignorance of the outside events and their stereotypical views as to how the rest of the world lives is also seen by many as evidence of their complacency and self-righteousness. (202).

Therefore, there was a survey of public opinion in 44 countries in the past few years, and it was noticed that America has faced a rising of anti-Americanism in almost all over the world. So, in these countries people are opposed to many of the American policies and decisions like: the American unilateralism, the decision to take on a war against Iraq and other countries, the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, the driving of the under-developed countries toward globalization, as well as its business, human rights, and its environmental practices. (A. M. Abdullah).

Thus, the most noticeable reason which fuel anti-American sentiment and divides the united States from the publics of its traditional allies and new strategies friends. So, huge majorities in the Arab and Islamic worlds, France, Spain, Britain, Germany and Russia opposed the use of military force against Iraq. This sentiment was illustrated in the big demonstrations and rallies that took place across the globe. Some anti-war activists thought

that the war against Iraq was caused by a colonialist desire to control the Iraqi oil , and they stated that the conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians was the greater threat to stability in the Middle East. Furthermore, many Arabs believe that the main purpose behind the U.S. occupation of Iraq is a desire to further Israel's security and oil supply. (A. M. Abdullah).

Additionally, the most important issue which allows the rest of the world, especially the Arab World, blame the United States is the unconditional support for Israel. This blame comes just because it was seen that America has one-sided and unfair position. This unconditional support for Israel is illustrated in the yearly sending of about 2 billion Dollars since 1972. So, Israel is the country which receives the most aid from the United States since the Second World War. (Pauwels. 203).

Therefore, Abdel Mahdi Abdallah a socio-political specialist mentioned four main reasons which led to the appearance of Anti-Americanism in the Arab and Islamic world:

- The American political, economic, and military support for Israel , which enables Israel to defeat the Arabs and continue its occupation of their land.
- The American military attacks and sanctions against some Arab countries and its military bases in the Arab World.
- The American support for some authoritarian Arab regimes , and its hostile policies toward Islam, and its own citizens of Arab and Muslim origins.
- The American hypocritical behavior regarding democracy and human rights in the Arab World.

Thus in the developed countries, especially in Europe, Anti-Americanism stems from many causes. Such as in France, “America-bashing” is a sort of politically correct attitude

mostly popular in intellectual circles (both right-wing and left-wing). But the most interesting thing is that as opposed to other European powers like England, Germany, Spain, or Italy, France was never at war with the United States. However, the author considers America as country of self-proclaimed high-brow culture which claims the paternity of human rights; she adds that America is always criticized louder than elsewhere. So, this love-hate relationship is very clear, since the French consider Americans with a mix of irritation and fascination. The author claims that America is always seen as a model, a sort of laboratory of the future, setting the pace of the world's destiny and dictating what new frontier to push further back, and a sort caricature of what awaits the Old Continent. (M. C. Pauwels. 203).

In a nutshell, the anti-American sentiment which became the main issue of the American foreign relations with the rest of the world, especially in the Arab and Islamic worlds, is fueled basically by the American political, economic, and military unconditional support for Israel in addition to the invasion of Iraq.

### **3. The American Foreign Affairs after 9/11 Attacks:**

#### **3.1.The American “Global War on Terror”:**

According to McKeever and Davies, the three presidents which are always considered as the greatest in American History were war time leaders: George Washington won the War of Independence; Abraham Lincoln won the Civil War; and Franklin D. Roosevelt won the Second World War. So, President George W. Bush, who came into office with the weakest of popular mandates, is required to mobilize the people and the government and to achieve victory in the war on terror. (04).

In the weeks that followed the September 11 attacks, the United States vowed to punish the criminals who had brought destruction to American territory and developed a comprehensive plan to dismantle terrorist networks at home and abroad. To justify the immediate measures that were taken to fight terrorism, President George W. Bush said: “We’re a nation at war”. Five years later, on the anniversary of the attacks, he repeated: “We’re engaged in a global war against an enemy that threatens all civilized nations. And today the civilized world stands together to defend our freedom; we stand together to defeat the terrorists; and we are working to secure the peace for generations to come”. Consequently, in this global war on terrorism, America stands again as a beacon for fundamental human values and as a fortress of freedom. (214).

Internally, institutional answers to the attacks came quickly, because Congress passed a joint resolution (107-40) to authorize the President to use all means, including military, to fight terrorism. On the executive side, in order to ensure domestic safety, George W. Bush established an Office of homeland security at the White House in early October 2001, led by former Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge. The agenda was to develop a new comprehensive strategy to strengthen protection against terroristic threats or attacks in the United States. The Office made recommendations and measures in order to increase the safety of the American citizens. (214).

In July 2002, the President proposed a National Strategy for Homeland Security and asked Congress to establish a new and single Department of Homeland Security, which its primary objectives were to prevent new terrorist attacks on the American soil and to reduce the vulnerability of the nation to terrorism. This department was later created by a congressional act in November, 25 2002 with an initial budget of \$20 billion. The Department worked to find proper tactics for “detecting, preparing for, preventing,



protecting against, responding to, and recovering from terrorist threats or attacks within the United States”, as its mission statement indicated. (214).

On Capitol Hill Congressmen were also active. On October 26 , 2001, the President signed a bill that had gone through both assemblies at full speed, which became the USA Patriot Act. Fighting terrorism domestically required expanded powers on the part of law enforcement agencies. As a consequence, stricter security standards were imposed on airlines and at borders. Immigrants, suspected of terrorism, could be detained and even deported. Monitoring of financial transactions and communications, even private ones, was increased at the expense of civil liberties. Among the potential tactics used by the terrorists were biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons, more generally identified as “weapons of mass destruction”. (214).

A week after 9/11, President George W. Bush had warned that there would be “a campaign against terrorist activity, a worldwide campaign” and singled out the governments which supported or sheltered terrorist groups. Operations Enduring Freedom, which began on October 7, 2001, was part of this global response, spearheaded by the United States, with the United Nations’ blessing. First, Afghanistan, with its fundamentalist Taliban regime, was targeted as a shelter for terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda. Heavy bombardments sought to destroy training camps and help capture Al-Qaeda leaders. The operation also involved American troops in the Philippines, to fight against the Islamist separatist group led by Abu Sayyaf, who were suspected of organizing the Bali car bombing of October 12, 2002, and in the Horn of Africa to conduct counterterrorist controls. By the end of 2001, the Taliban had been ousted from power in Kabul, but Osama Bin Laden has assumed hideout could not be located. Three years later, on October 9, 2004, Afghans elected their first post-Taliban president Hamid Karzai. (214).

Once the Afghanistan campaign had seemingly succeeded, the Bush Administration now turned to another nation notoriously supported or sheltered terrorists, which is Iraq. President Bush, in his State of the Union address of January 2003, designated Saddam Hussein as a dangerous dictator who eventually needs to be removed. Arguments ranged from the Iraqi regime's ties with terrorist networks to its assumed possession of "weapons of mass destruction", chemical, biological, and nuclear. International suspicions were fueled by Saddam Hussein's reluctant compliance with the United Nations' resolution 687 of April 3, 1991 that mandated all of Iraq's weapons to be destroyed. So, President George W. Bush warned the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in his January 2003 address by telling him: "If Saddam Hussein does not fully disarm... For the safety of our people and for the peace of the world, we will lead a coalition to disarm him". The beginning of the disarmament of Saddam Hussein was on March 20, 2003 with the help of a scanty coalition of military allies. (215).

The war in Iraq, which was originally labeled "Operation Iraqi Freedom", sought officially to remove Saddam Hussein and preventively destroy all of Iraq's deadly arsenal. On May 1, 2003, On board USS Abraham Lincoln in the Gulf, President Bush announced the end of major combat in Iraq and optimistically declared that, in the battle of Iraq, the United States and its allies had prevailed. Finally, Saddam Hussein was captured on December 13, 2003 and after a long hectic trial was found guilty of crimes against humanity and hanged December 30, 2006. Meanwhile, keeping civil peace in Iraq proved a formidable challenge for America and its allies. (215).

So, the global war on terror of the President Bush realized many victories against terroristic groups or Al-Qaeda, such as the hanging of Saddam Hussein and the Killing of Osama Bin Laden ...etc. But this war did not finish yet since the terroristic groups are still continuing their killing missions in many countries in the world.

### **3.2.The Patriot Act of 2001:**

#### **3.2.1. The Definition of the Patriot Act:**

An speedy legislative response to the 9/11 attacks, the “Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001”, or the Patriot Act, was introduced in Congress on October 23, 2001, it passed the House on October 24, and it passed on the Senate on October 25 by wide margins, and it was directly signed into law by President Bush the very next day. The sense of urgency and the need for immediate security transpires in the lack of debate that accompanied the votes and the lack of significant criticism against the curtailment of civil liberties which the Act commanded. (213).

Additionally, Ann Harrison stated that the USA Patriot Act was passed by Congress as a response to the terrorist attacks of 9/11. She added that this Act offers federal officials greater authority in tracking and intercepting communications, both for purposes of law enforcement and foreign intelligence gathering. Therefore, this Act gives also the Secretary of the Treasury regulatory powers to face corruption of US financial institutions for foreign money-laundering purposes; it more actively works to close the US borders to foreign terrorists and detain and remove those within the American borders; it establishes also new crimes, new penalties and new procedural techniques for use against domestic and international terrorists. (Ann Harrison).

#### **3.2.2. The Principles of the Patriot Act:**

The stated purpose of the law was to fight terrorism at home and abroad. Domestic security was to be ensured through:

- Increased surveillance procedures,
- Easing intelligence gathering on terrorism over the United States territory,
- Improving border protection and controlling immigration,
- Monitoring financial transactions, especially international money laundering activities.

All of these provisions implied an aggravated invasion of the private sphere by such agencies as the FBI, whose powers of investigation were widely extended. Searches of homes and businesses could now be secretly conducted, suspected immigrants could be detained indefinitely, telephones could be wiretapped and emails inspected. New controlling procedures were established, among which machine-readable passports and elaborate searches at points of entry into US territory. (213).

Arrests under the new law were officially to have reached over 400 but the American Civil Liberties Union, one of its most vocal critics and opponents to the “sneak and peek” practices it authorized, claims only about 10% of these arrests were really related to terrorist threats. Portions of the Patriot Act came up for renewal in March 2006 and Congress was careful then to include several major civil liberties protections in the new law. (213).

In addition to what was mentioned about the principles of the Patriot Act, Ann Harrison mentioned some others as follows:

- The enhancement of domestic security against terrorism.
- The enhancement of surveillance procedures.
- The abatement of money-laundering and terrorism financing.

- The protection of the northern border.
- The removal of obstacles to the investigation of terrorism.
- The provision of aid and assistance to victims of terrorism, public safety officers, and their families.
- Increased information sharing between federal, local, and state governments .
- The strengthening of criminal laws against terrorism.
- The improvement of intelligence capabilities.

Even though the USA Patriot Act's aim is to address the security requirements of the United States in the wake of the terrorist attacks of the September 11<sup>th</sup>, the act makes special provision for the preservation of the civil rights and civil liberties of all Americans, including Arab Americans, Muslim Americans, and the Americans from South Asia, and states that every effort must be taken to preserve their safety. The USA Patriot Act also denounces discrimination against Arab and Muslim Americans and demands acts of violence against those individuals be punished to the full extent of the law. (Ann Harrison).

So, even though the main aim of USA Patriot Act is to obstruct and stop terrorism, but it touched only the Arab and Muslim worlds as well as the Arab Americans and the Muslim Americans.

### **3.3.The Project for the New American Century (PNAC):**

#### **3.3.1. The Definition of PNAC:**

The Project for the New American Century or the PNAC was a neo-conservative think tank found in 1997. It had strong ties to the American Enterprise Institute. It was co-

founded as a non-profit educational organization by the neoconservatives William Kristol and Robert Kagan. The main aim or goal of the PNAC was to promote the American global leadership. Therefore, the fundamental view of the PNAC was that American leadership is both good for America and good for the world and support for a Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity. The PNAC exerted influence on high-level U.S. government officials in the administration of President George W. Bush and affected the Bush Administration's development of military and foreign policies, especially involving national security and the war in Iraq. (“Definition of PNAC”).

### **3.3.2. The Main Stated Principles of the PNAC:**

PNAC's first public act was releasing a "Statement of Principles" on June 3, 1997, which was signed by both its members and a variety of other notable conservative politicians and journalists. In addition to, the principles of the PNAC are based on the answers of the following questions: - Does the United States have the vision to build upon the achievements of past decades? – Does the United States have the resolve to shape a new century favorable to American principles and interests? So, in response to these questions, the PNAC states its aim to “remind America” of “lessons” learned from American history, drawing the following “four consequences” for America in 1997:

- We need to increase defense spending significantly if we are to carry out our global responsibilities today and modernize our armed forces for the future.
- We need to strengthen our ties to democratic allies and to challenge regimes hostile to our interests and values.
- We need to promote the cause of political and economic freedom abroad.

- We need to accept responsibility for America's unique role in preserving and extending an international order friendly to our security, our prosperity, and our principles. ("Project for the New American Century").

### **3.3.3. The PNAC's Role in the American Foreign Policy in the Aftermath of 9/11:**

The PNAC's role in the shaping of the American foreign policy process is illustrated into four helping ideologies and deeds given to the government:

#### **3.3.3.1. The Promotion of the US World Dominance:**

According to some writings, PNAC promoted American "hegemony" and the "full-spectrum" dominance in its publications. Ebrahim Afsah stated, according the German politician Jochen Bölsche's view, that the goal of the PNAC was "the world dominance or the global hegemony" by the United States . (Afsah). In the same context, Bölsche stated also that the ideology of "Rebuilding America's Defenses" was developed by the following neoconservative politicians: Rumsfeld, Cheney, Wolfowitz and Libby , and it is devoted to matters of maintaining US pre-eminence, preventing opponent powers and shaping the global security system according to the United States' interests. (Bölsche and Masterplan).

Consequently, the role of the PNAC in promoting the American dominance over the world is very clear, even though it has been stopped in 2006 and it was replaced by Foreign Policy Initiative. Therefore, it can be classified with the pressure groups, in case of its work or role in the foreign policy making not in case of its aims.

#### **3.3.3.2. The Excessive Focus on Military Strategies:**

Jeffery Record and other scholars announced that the PNAC's goals of military hegemony exaggerated what the military could reach, and that they failed to recognize "the

limits of the American power", and also that favoring pre-emptive exercise of military might over diplomatic strategies could have "adverse side effects". ("Bounding the Global War on Terrorism").

Additionally, an English translation of an article was published in The Sydney Morning Herald newspaper from the German one Der Spiegel. This article summarizes the position and the reaction of President Jimmy Carter toward the neoconservatives' actions. The summary of that article is as follows:

“... At first, argues Carter, Bush responded to the challenge of September 11 in an effective and intelligent way, but in the meantime a group of neoconservatives worked to get approval for their long held ambitions under the mantle of the war on terror... and finally an attack on Iraq, although there is no threat to the US from Baghdad...”. (“the Sydney Morning Herald”).

So, from that element, we conclude that the neocons want only the American dominance over the World even if it is at the expense of the American foreign strategies.

#### **3.3.3.3. The PNAC's Role in promoting the invasion of Iraq:**

Many politicians, such as Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Jody Williams and the former Republican Congressmen Pete McCloskey and Paul Findley, stated that the PNAC has influenced President G. W. Bush in his decision to invade Iraq. Some of others have regarded the PNAC's January 16, 1998 letter to President Clinton, which urged him to embrace a plan for “the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime from power, and large number of members of PNAC appointed to the Bush administration as evidence that the invasion of Iraq in 2003 was a foregone conclusion. (“The War behind the Closed Doors”).



As media focused especially on the PNAC's letter of 1998, it is clear that this is just a small example of the examples which show the intervention of the PNAC in some political decisions.

#### **3.3.4. The End of the Organization:**

Although the PNAC has a great role in some foreign affairs, it was stopped in 2006. According to BBC News, it was reduced to a voice-mail box and a ghostly website with just a single employee left to wrap things up. Therefore, when the project started, it was not intended to continue forever. This is just because it was thought that the PNAC has already done its job in giving ideological aids to the government. (Paul Reynolds). So, since America always renewing its foreign strategies and views, it is clear that the PNAC should be stopped if it did not match the American new foreign strategies. (Paul Reynolds).

### **3.4.The Nation-Building Project:**

#### **3.4.1. The Definition of the Nation-Building Theory:**

According to the study of James Dobbins and others which was done in 2003 for the Rand Corporation, we define the term nation-building as follows: "[it is] the use of armed force in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin an enduring transition to democracy". Thus, he illustrated this by comparing many historical cases: Germany, Japan, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and we can add Iraq; in which the American military power has been used in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin democratization elsewhere around the world since the Second World War. (James Dobbins).

Additionally, the term nation-building is often used simultaneously with state-building, democratization, modernization, political development, post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building. But each concept is different, though their evolution is

intertwined. Where as, the concept of nation-building came to be used, especially among American political scientists a decade or so after World War II, in order to describe the greater integration of state and society. Thus, Reinhard Bendix focused on the expansion of citizenship and of rights to political participation. Karl Deutsch also focused on the role of social communication and national integration in nation-building in Western societies. (7-8).

Consequently, the nation-building is a normative concept that means different things to different people. The latest conceptualization is essentially that nation-building programs are those in which dysfunctional or unstable or “failed states” or economies are given assistance in the development of governmental infrastructure, civil society, dispute resolution mechanisms, as well as economic assistance, in order to increase stability. Generally, nation-building assumes that someone or something is doing the building intentionally. (Carolyn Stephenson).

#### **3.4.2. The Nation-Building Theory in the Context of the American Foreign Policy:**

In the context of the American foreign policy, the nation-building theory was accompanied with the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq successively. According to Stanley A. Renshon, the main aim of the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq was to spread democracy and to remove the former undemocratic regimes at that time. In Afghanistan, the Taliban Party was the main target of America, as well as in Iraq, the main target was the removal of President Saddam Hussein. He added also that the two aforementioned invasions cost America economically, so Obama’s advisors sought to narrow the main goal in the region to nation-building as in Iraq, but without forgetting the great main goal which is the extermination of the Al-Qaeda. (217-218).

According to Mel Goodman, in both Afghanistan and Iraq, nation-building and peace-making must be internationalized under civilian control, not a military one, as quickly as possible. Thus, the Bush administration has commandeered more than a half of America's ground forces to pacify Afghanistan and Iraq, and the United States is spending \$5 billion a month in this effort with no end sight. Neither the American government nor the American people are prepared for the burdens of empire. (3).

Whereas, Zbigniew Brzezinski added that in areas controlled by the Taliban, a mutual accommodation should involve the willingness of the Taliban to eliminate or terminate any Al-Qaeda presence in return for western military disengagement from the pertinent territory. The process should also be accompanied by intensified American - European efforts to help with the reconstruction of Afghanistan's society and economy, both destroyed by the extraordinarily brutal war that the Russians conducted for a decade. Such reconstruction should not be confused with nation-building, which in the case of Afghanistan is unlikely to be achieved if the western presence becomes increasingly viewed by the Afghans as a hostile military intrusion. (53-60).

In a nutshell, we can say that America has used the nation-building theory as a mask in order to invade Afghanistan and Iraq and other nations. So, even though America might apply the main principles of the nation-building theory in invading Afghanistan and Iraq, but those invasions were the keys to control the region of Middle-East politically and militarily.

### **3.5.The Hard and the Soft Powers in America:**

Before we begin in explaining the context of the hard and the soft powers in the American foreign policy, we have to define first their literal meaning. Soft power is the ability to obtain what one wants through co-option and attraction. It can be contrasted with hard power, which is the use of coercion and payment. Soft power can be wielded not just by states, but by all actors in international politics, such as the international institutions. ("Soft Power").

Additionally, Daryl Copeland has mentioned the difference between the soft and the hard powers in the American perspective in the following five elements:

- **Definitions:** Hard power is about compelling your adversary to comply with your will through the threat or use of force. Soft power is about attracting your partner to share your goals through dialogue and exchange.
- **Objectives:** Hard power seeks to kill, capture, or defeat an enemy . Soft power seeks to influence through understanding and identifying of common ground.
- **Techniques:** Hard power relies ultimately on sanctions and flows from the barrel of a gun. Soft power is rooted in meaningful exchange and the art of persuasion.
- **Values:** Hard power is macho, absolute, and zero calculation. Soft power is supple, subtle, and win/win.
- **Ethos:** Hard power produces fear, suffering, and suspicion. Soft power flourishes in an atmosphere of confidence, trust, and respect.

So, if we use the previous definitions of the hard and soft powers in the field of the American foreign policy, we find that America really follows those two -edged powers. With some factual illustrations, we will understand the real meaning of those different powers. For example: America has used the hard power in Afghanistan and in Iraq, in the

same time, it has used the soft power in Egypt and other nations in the region. Following the definitions, objectives, the techniques, the values, and the ethos of the hard and soft powers, we find that the previously mentioned illustration match them at some extent.

## **4. The American Grand Strategy:**

### **4.1.The Definition of the American Grand Strategy:**

According to Steven D. Biddle, “the American Grand Strategy” integrates military, political, and economic means to pursue states’ ultimate objectives in the international system. American grand strategy had been in a state of flux prior to 2001, as containment of the Soviet Union gave way to a wider range of apparently lesser challenges. The 9/11 attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Towers, however transformed the grand strategy debate and led to a sweeping reevaluation of American security policy. It may still be too early to expect this reevaluation to have produced a complete or final response to 9/11 i.e. policies as complex as national grand strategy do not change overnight. But after three years of sustained debate and adaptation, it is reasonable to ask what this process has produced so far, and how well the results to date serve American interests. (05).

Additionally, Biddle argues that the grand strategic response has combined ambitious public statements with vague particulars as to the scope of the threat and the end state to be sought. This combination of ambition and ambiguity creates important but unresolved tensions in American strategy. If the costs are low enough, these tensions are tolerable; the United States can avoid making hard choices and instead pursue ill-defined goals with limited penalties. But the higher the cost, the harder this becomes. And the costs are rising

rapidly with the ongoing insurgency in Iraq. Eventually something will have to give, because the ambiguity in today's grand strategy is fast becoming intolerable. (05).

Consequently, there are two broad alternatives for resolving these ambiguities and creating a coherent strategy: rollback and containment. Rollback would retain the ambitious goals implicit in today's declaratory policy and accept the cost and near-term risk inherent in pursuing them. These costs include a redoubled commitment to nation building in Iraq and elsewhere, accelerated onset of great power competition, heighten incentives for proliferation, and hence an increased risk of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) use by terrorists in the near term. But in exchange, it offers the mid-term possibility of rolling the terrorist threat, and hence the ultimate danger of the WMD use back to a level below the severity of September 10, 2001. By contrast, containment would settle for more modest goals in exchange for lower costs and lower near-term risks. In particular, it would permit America to withdraw from nation building in the Mideast, it would slow the onset of great power competition, and it would moderate the risk of near-term WMD terrorism. But this retrenchment would leave the underlying causes of Islamist terror unassailed, and would therefore accept a persistent risk of major terrorist attack for the indefinite future. And it could never eliminate entirely the risk of those terrorists acquiring WMD; though it might reduce the probability per unit time, by extending the duration of the conflict indefinitely it could ultimately increase, not decrease, the odds of WMD use on American soil in the longer term. (05).

In the same context, Colin Gray says that Grand Strategy comprises the "purposeful employment of all instruments of power available to a security community". (283). Therefore, the military historian B.H. Liddell Hart announced also that the grand strategy is to co-ordinate and direct all the resources of a nation, or band of nations, towards the attainment of the political object of the war. He added that grand strategy should both

calculate and develop the economic resources and man-power of nations in order to sustain the fighting services. (322).

So, as N. M. Ahmed said that the elimination and removal of the international terrorism was not the real preoccupation of the American Global War on Terror, but its preoccupation was political, economic, and logistic, and this war hides other geostrategic plans. (399). We can say that the American Grand Strategy is included in the strategies and plans of the Global War on Terror.

## **4.2.The Goals of the American Grand Strategy:**

The American Grand Strategy has four main goals which were proposed by Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross in their paper “Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy”:

### **4.2.1. Neo-Isolationism:**

Neo-Isolationism advocates the United States to remove itself from the international politics in order to maintain its national security. Therefore, it holds that because there are no threats to the American homeland, the United States does not need to intervene abroad. Even further, its proponents argue that 'the United States is not responsible for, and cannot afford the costs of, maintaining world order'. They also believe that 'the pursuit of economic well-being is best left to the private sector' and that the United States should not attempt to spread its values because doing so increases resentment towards the U.S. and in turn, decreases its security. In short, neo-isolationism advises the United States to preserve its freedom of action and strategic independence. (Posen et al. 11).

#### **4.2.2. Selective Engagement:**

Selective engagement advocates that the United States should only intervene in regions of the world that directly affect its security and prosperity. Most proponents of this strategy consider Europe, Asia and the Middle East matter most to the United States. Europe and Asia contain the great powers that have the greatest military and economic impact on international politics and the Middle East is a primary source of oil for much of the developed world. In addition to these more particular concerns, selective engagement also focuses on preventing nuclear proliferation and any conflict that could lead to a great power conflict, but provides no clear guidelines for humanitarian interventions. (11).

#### **4.2.3. Cooperative Security:**

Cooperative security advocates that the United States should participate in the alliances and the international organizations in order to reach its national security goals. In other words, its proponents believe that the U.S. should act multilaterally in the pursuit of its interests. They propose that collective action is the most effective means of preventing potential state and non-state aggressors from threatening other states. Cooperative security considers nuclear proliferation, regional conflicts and humanitarian crises to be major interests of the United States. (11).

#### **4.2.4. The American Primacy:**

Primacy seizes that only a predominance of U.S. power ensures peace. Consequently, it advocates that the United States should pursue ultimate hegemony and should dominate the international system economically, politically and militarily. Therefore, its proponents argue that U.S. foreign policy should focus on maintaining U.S. power and preventing any other power from becoming a serious challenger to the United



States. With this in mind, some supporters of this strategy argue that the U.S. should work to contain China and other competitors rather than engage them. In regards to humanitarian crises and regional conflicts, primacy holds that the U.S. should only intervene when they directly impact national security. It does, however, advocate for the prevention of nuclear proliferation. (N. M. Ahmed. 405-409).

Finally, we can say that the goals of the American Grand Strategy are also classified in the list of the American pragmatic foreign policy. This is just because all of the American foreign strategies and affairs after the 9/11 attacks are approximately the same. So, as the previous strategies, the American Grand Strategy looks for the American primacy through the stated goals including the military intervention.

## **5. Conclusion**

As a conclusion, after our focus on the main American foreign plans and strategies in the aftermath of the 9/11, we say that the American foreign strategies and visions towards the world did not change in case of the aims especially the leadership of the world. So, the American foreign plans and strategies changed only in the time, the space, and the manner.

# General Conclusion

At the end of this research, we look for the results and generalizations to the questions and hypotheses of the research dissertation. First, we start with the questions. Before we answer the main question of the research, we have to answer first the sub-questions. Beginning with the first sub-question which looks for the process of making foreign policy in America, we find that the notion of “Checks and Balances” works partially in this process. Thus, the process of foreign policy making in America runs up to the American local and international interests. After the mentioning of the role of each organ of the policy making organs, we conclude that the main power of the policy making process is on the hands of the president and the congress. But this does not mean that we deny the notion of “Checks and Balances”. So, we just clarify that since the president always needs the approval of the congress in order to pass any political decision, this means that they weigh more than other departments of the government.

In addition, we have a look at the internal sources of the American foreign policy, and we find that the most powerful source, which is in link with the policy making, is the interest groups such as the AIPAC which is a Jewish organization. At the second level, we find the public opinion and the media which have a valuable role in influencing some foreign political decisions. Therefore, since the American public has a little knowledge about politics, the American government can use media in order to attract its public up to the American interests. So, we conclude that the internal sources of the American foreign policy have a considerable role in the shaping process. But in the same time, these sources are used by the American government as tools in order to get a continuous support in any foreign political decision or program.

Consequently, we are going to answer the following question which looks for if the American foreign policy has been changed after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks or not. Thus, we can say that since the American foreign policy is pragmatic throughout the history, it has not been changed in the aftermath of 9/11. In addition to the world leadership politically, economically, and militarily, the United States cannot leave without an external enemy. So, after the falling of the USSR in the late of the 1990's, there was a new enemy coming to threaten the American interests in the Middle East which is the terrorist groups or "Al-Qaeda". Apparently, the 9/11 attacks has created a new enemy to the United States, and it opened the door to another new war which is the "Global War on Terror".

Accordingly, we are going to give an answer to another important sub -question which seeks if the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks were a real reference in changing the direction of the American foreign policy or not. For this question, we say "yes" the 9/11 attacks were a real reference in changing the direction of the American foreign policy towards the Islamic World, because before 9/11 it was directed to the Soviet Union. So, the American foreign political focus was directed to the USSR, but after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks it moved to the Islamic World especially to the Middle East.

In the same context, we have mentioned in the last chapter the main results of the 9/11 attacks on the American in order to answer the two last sub -questions. First, we begin with the American acts and foreign strategies which have appeared in the aftermath of the 9/11. The USA Patriot Act of 2001 and the creation of the 9/11 Commission were the first immediate answers and acts of the United States towards the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks. In addition to the previous acts, America has launched the "Global War on Terror" and the "American Grand Strategy" which are still continuing. In fact, the responses to the 9/11 attacks did not stop yet even after the death of the leader of the terrorist groups "Al -Qaeda" Osama Bin Laden. So, even though we did not mention the latest American foreign

strategies, our research seeks the impacts of the 9/11 attacks on the American foreign political vision towards the world.

After answering the main questions of our research, we discuss the stated hypotheses which approximately match our results. First, we have six stated hypotheses, and most of them match our results. First, we have said that if the American foreign policy is based upon the American internal and external interests, its main goals might not change throughout history. So, this hypothesis is right, because the American foreign policy is based upon the American internal and external interests, and it has not changed its main goals throughout the history. Second, we have said that if America cannot live without an external enemy, the American interventionist foreign policy would not change at all, and we have the example of the falling of the USSR and the coming of the terrorist groups or “Al-Qaeda” as a new enemy. Thirdly, we have mentioned that if the main aim of America throughout history is the political, economic, and military dominance over the world, the nature of the American foreign policy will not be changed in the aftermath of 9/11. So, this is illustrated in the continuity of the American interventionist policy.

Continually, in the fourth hypothesis, we state that if the new strategies and projects which would come after the September 11<sup>th</sup> might be different in case of manner, the American dominance over the world will continue for many years, this just because of the new strategies differ from the previous ones in case of their pattern, not in case of their aims. In the last hypothesis, we mention that if the American foreign policy has not been affected by the 9/11 attacks, the American military interventions would not be limited only in the Middle East such as the military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Finally, we conclude from this research that the main impact of the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks on the American foreign policy is the beginning of a new war which is the “Global

War on Terror” and the creation of a new suspected enemy which is basically Islamic groups which are called “Al-Qaeda”. In addition to the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, the American interventionist policy is still continuing in other Islamic countries even after the killing of the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and the death of Osama Bin Laden. So, we think that the main impact of these historical attacks on the American foreign policy is the direction of the American foreign focus from the USSR to the Islamic countries under the Slogan of “Global War on Terror”. So, America cannot live without an external enemy.

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