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9/11, Terrorism and US Foreign Policy:

The Cases of the KSA and Iraq

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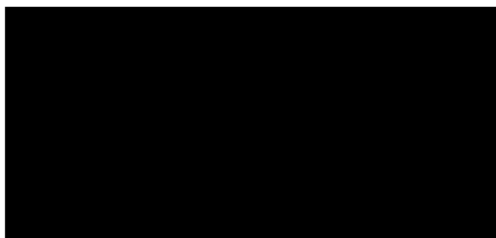
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Dedication

This thesis would remain incomplete without a word of solidarity to all the victims of terror; whether they be victims of terrorist attacks or victims of the foreign policies subsequent to them. I hope that my research, would at least give a voice for those who do not have one.

I would also like to dedicate this thesis to my father Jack, whom was a victim of terrorism, and without whom it would not have been possible to achieve this work. My lovely mother Irma, I thank you for your support and patience throughout this difficult period. Your love and support throughout my academic years kept me going, especially when I had the urge to stop; I thank you both.

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Abstract

National security has become a large focus for President Bush and Congress, as well as the international community. Following the tragic events on 9/11/2001, the importance of allies and partners became even more important to the United States. While the United States had not looked to act unilaterally in the past, multilateralism became crucial in order to determine how to thwart terrorism in the most effective way (Smith, 2005). In other words, the United States asked for the help of the whole world in order to fight terrorism. There is big difference between the pre- and post-foreign policy of the United States, particularly as it concerns the issue of terrorism. This current study analyzes the history of terrorism and how it has been addressed in the scholarly literature before turning to discuss how the US has addressed it. The thesis then looks at US foreign policy toward two countries in the Middle East: the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Iraq. The study concludes with an analysis of how and why US foreign policy regarding terrorism has shown both continuity and change.

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Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

National security has become an important focus for President Bush and Congress, as well as the international community. Following the tragic events of September 11, 2001, the importance of allies and partners grew to the United States. While the United States had not looked to act unilaterally in the past, multilateralism became crucial in order to determine how to thwart terrorism in the most effective way (Smith, 2005). There is a big difference between the pre- and post-9/11 foreign policy of The United States. The United States and its allies have successfully rid Afghanistan of the Taliban and denied Al-Qaida a safe harbor, as well as taken over Saddam Hussein's terrible reign in Iraq. Following American internationalism, the United States and its allies have encouraged democracy and democratic ideals in these countries, as it has been proven that democratic systems provide better security and human rights for their people (Smith, 2005). While the United States led "War against Terror" has been difficult, the support of the international community in terms of intelligence as well as resources has proven invaluable (Smith, 2005).

The use of pre-emptive force has also arisen as a major issue, as the United States and United Kingdom took pre-emptive force against the Iraqi regime in an attempt to dismantle the government as well as find weapons of mass destruction (Bleek, 2007). This was a major shift in foreign policy, as force, especially military force, is usually used as a direct result of being attacked by another group. It has

opened a new precedent in warfare, as it now appears that countries can act on assumption rather than hard evidence. America and its allies face a world that has become more and more dangerous with its weapons of mass destruction and a shadowy world of terrorists more than willing to use them. The wisdom of the past does not have the prescience or universal insight to deal with this new threat. America and its allies must change direction if they wish to respond to the challenge in an effective manner, even if it means employing policies that seemed dubious in the past. The state is called to protect its citizens in a Machiavellian world, filled with depravity and compromise.

Today the situation that confronts the American people is not so different. It is similar to that of their ancestors in many ways and more direct in regard to the number of lives at stake. One can debate whether the times have 'waxed worse and worse', but it is beyond question that the times have proved 'more and more critical' with their weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and the ever-increasing number of potential users. Israel felt this threat in 1981 when it conducted a pre-emptive strike against an Iraqi nuclear reactor. The United States roundly condemned the action at the time, but with the threat now facing them from this and other rogue nations a new policy has emerged (Bleek, 2007). The nefarious intentions of the Iraqi regime were apparent to most observers. It appears as if this regime planned to continue the production of WMD and deliver these weapons themselves or distribute them through the shadowy world of terrorist networks to designated targets in this clandestine manner. By the time the US invaded Iraq, Iraq already had under Saddam violated over fifty UN resolutions to date (Bleek, 2007). The UN inspectors

revealed that Saddam was vigorously working on a stockpile of WMD—chemical, biological and nuclear—and by the mid- 1990’s he had begun to deny them access to his supply. He already had used these weapons against his own people and waves of foot soldiers in his war with Iran (Leavitt, 2004). He had pledged on a number of occasions to bring destruction upon the United States. He had subsidized and continues to support terrorist groups throughout the region, including Hamas and Islamic Jihad. The US government was able to argue that Saddam’s relationship to terrorism was a matter of grave concern (U.S. State Department report, 2002).

For the past half century, the Middle East has grabbed the greatest attention in matters of oil. It remains critical to future energy supplies. It produces a quarter of the worlds' energy supplies, yet it holds between two- thirds and three-quarters of all known reserves. Iraq alone possesses 11% of the worlds known reserves and is second only to Saudi Arabia. Iraqi oil also is of high quality and is inexpensive to process, making it very profitable. Moreover Iraq possesses promising untapped hydrocarbon potential (Bleek, 2007). The US Energy Information Administration estimates that these reserves may possibly reach 220 billion barrels, which is approximately 80% of Saudi Arabia's proven reserves. Although the Saudis have demonstrated repeatedly to the US in many events that they are willing to compensate for losses from other supplies, things have been shaky of late. Growing worries about Saudi Arabia, heightened by the events of September 11, with the Saudi extremist involvement in the terror attacks, and the growing instability in the Kingdom has prompted the US strategists to seek a back up plan. Therefore it is not

surprising that the US needs Iraqi oil. Iraq is the only nation that may be able to challenge the Saudi production in the future (Perkovitch, 2003).

If conditions in Iraq improve, new technology implemented and oil production increases, whoever gains access to these fields will be able to implement a massive influence over the global energy markets as well as the world. Rising world demand is depleting reserves in most world regions over the next decade. US oil reserves are running out. Whole US industries depend on oil for survival. The US is the largest consumer of oil in the world with its consumption levels rising (Perkovitch, 2003).

1.2 Methodology

The current study uses a deductive approach, which means that existing theories and ideas will be identified and studied to shed light on the topic of whether or not US foreign policy regarding terrorism has changed since 9/11. These are used to gain information and insight to prior incidents with similar signatures or modus operandi. Police reports, field interview cards, property pawn transactions, public records, and traffic citations are some common sources of information on known criminals. Ordinary street criminals often have lengthy arrest histories and numerous encounters with law enforcement officers documented on their criminal records (Lieberman, 2003). Criminals do not seek to have run-ins with the law, but they do not shy away from them. Terrorists, on the other hand, go to great extremes to avoid detection, as noted in the profiles of the September 11, 2001 hijackers, other than a traffic infraction they had little if any contact with the law enforcement community. Therefore, gathering information on these individuals requires analysts to think outside the box and to identify nontraditional

sources of information. Other sources used are the Internet, various published materials, court records, handouts, and self-published books such as *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter* by Andrew MacDonald.

There are inherent difficulties in categorizing terrorism, which are compounded by the shaping of policy for a type of behavior that does not fall into known or familiar categories. Terrorist acts are considered both crimes and forms of warfare, unlike what we are used to. Understanding the larger possibilities, such as warfare, law enforcement will be able to make informed decisions on matters concerning data collection. When gathering information it is important to document and standardize every step of the process. This will alleviate any complications when categorizing behaviors or activities and will ensure that all participants in the process are on the same playing field.

Limited quantitative data was also used for this research. The data include the views of general public and executives of different security departments of United States. To meet the objectives and answer the question of this research, the thesis relies heavily on secondary data. The secondary data comes from various academic books and peer-reviewed articles relevant to the study. In the following section which includes the literature review we will thoroughly discuss what authors, historians and scholars think on this perspective. In the analysis section we will analyze the data through international relations (IR) theories and literature presented in this thesis. Finally in the light of methodology, literature review, and analysis we will draw a conclusion and a few personal thoughts on the issue.

In this respect, the important question that poses itself here is: How did the September 11, 2001 attacks affect US foreign policy towards terrorism, especially in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) and Iraq”?

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Terrorism can be defined as the resort to violence against a specific group or a population. Terrorism is conducted for a variety of reasons that can be political, religious, cultural, and national. Treating the reasons of terrorism can be more efficient than treating the results of terrorism. Governments should of course attempt to be fair treating the phenomenon of terrorism (Mastny, 2003).

2.1 General overview of terrorism

Terrorism constitutes a major phenomenon in today's politics. The world is busy combating this phenomenon. Terrorism constitutes a major concern for various nations around the globe (Depke, 2000). In the following sections, I will define the general ideas and definitions to define the term terrorism.

2.1.1 Definition of terrorism

Terrorism is "the use of violence or the threat of violence, to create a climate of fear in a given population" (Mastny, 2003, p. 1). Terrorist violence targets ethnic or religious groups, governments, and political parties, corporations, and media enterprises. Organizations that engage in acts of terror are almost always small in size and poor compared to the populations and institutions they attack. Through publicity and fear generated by their violence, they seek to magnify their influence and power to create political change on either a local or an international extent (Mastny, 2003).

2.2 Reasons behind terrorism

According to current research, terrorism is caused by several reasons. These reasons can be religious, political, and cultural and can be based on natural resources as well. In this respect, terrorism is conducted for several reasons around the world and these reasons shall be treated as well as the results of terrorism (Depke, 2000).

2.2.1 Religious reasons

A key United States foreign policy goal today is to manage and minimize the threat of religious intolerance, and sectarian violence. To date the US has failed to effectively address the complexity of religious extremism with at times deadly outcomes. Since the US invasion of Iraq some regions are still overwhelmed by sectarian violence. Peace and stability within the country and region have not been met. Afghanistan and Pakistan are both American allies in the war on terror. Yet in Afghanistan, the Taliban presence has led to an increase in instability and human rights abuses. Pakistan on the other hand, has religious extremists that have continued to erode that country's stability as well as that of the region.

In the Middle East and central Asia, religion's relevance is not limited to current conflicts. For example, Christian churches played a important part in the 1980's revolutionary movements. In Lebanon, churches were involved in the Lebanese civil war. In the 1990's and beyond religion, ethnicity and nationalism played a destabilizing role across the political economic and social areas of many countries. Therefore, there is a growing recognition in all circles, for example policymakers, diplomats, and scholars,

that informed attention must be paid to the role of religion in world affairs. The U.S. Department of State took action by enacting the International Religious Freedom Act. This act prompted religious freedom in foreign policy. Since the issue of religion was brought to light it has helped address harmful religious issues. As a result, an annual report on the status of religious freedom worldwide was issued (Stern, 2006).

U.S. actions have resulted in some important achievements. In Vietnam for example, forced renunciations of faith was eliminated and the Saudi government rewrote their textbooks to no longer include explicit racism (Leavitt, 2004). Even with these big changes, the act has not been embraced and integrated among the various US departments that are involved with foreign policy. Outsiders misunderstand and mistrust this law as just another form of US unilateralism. The law focuses more on identifying problems rather than solutions that could foster religious tolerance.

“The current focus on extremism has skewed official U.S. policy toward viewing Islam through a threat lens, rather than as a community of actors who may also be able to play a positive role in international relations.” Military and foreign service officers have not been sufficiently trained to utilize and encourage the involvement and support of various religious and tribal leaders to promote peace and stability in the region (Leavitt, 2004).

Since the late 1970's, Islamic terrorism has become so widespread that it has become a major problem for the entire world (Francis, 2006). Of course, non-Muslim related terrorism also seems to have escalated since the 1970s, such as the Red Brigades in Italy, (Rogers, 2004) the IRA in Ireland (Dunn, 2006) and the Shining Path in Peru. (St. John, 2008) Islamic terrorist attacks have not had any enemy in particular

(Perkovich, 2003). They have attacked all kinds of military targets diplomatic institutions, entertainment and trade centers, religious establishments and innocent civilians and children (Smith, 2005). It is difficult to accuse one Islamic group with terrorism because in various parts of the world, including the US, the Middle East and many others, Islamic terrorism has attacked different targets that did not always have much in common. In many cases, Islamic terrorism was carried out in order to assert a political point of view, but in many other cases, it has also been an expression of anger and violence. During the 1980's and even today, many people have lost their lives in Islamic terrorist attacks, only because they happened to be in the place and time of the explosion or shooting (Depke, 2000). However, the majority of Islamic terrorist attacks today aim at western targets, particularly those related to the United States. Most Islamic terrorist groups consider the US as their first enemy. Islamic terrorism developed in the 1970s following the Islamic Revolution in Iran, and it has taken an anti-western identity, and attacks western targets all over the world. Islamic terrorism has developed out of hostility and hatred toward the west. Western governments, especially the US, have been involved in policies that resulted in feelings of defeat and frustration among many Muslims. Islamic terrorism has also prospered because of the support from many Muslims and from a number of Muslim states, especially Iran. Islamic terrorism is a violent trend through which frustrated political hatred of Muslims towards the west is represented (Depke, 2000).

Islamic terrorism is mostly identifiable with Islamic fundamentalism. For many years, Islamic fundamentalism has called for 'the return' to the origins of Islam. However, Islam and terrorism only became strongly related after the outbreak of the

Iranian Revolution in 1979. From the very beginning, this revolution was involved in a violent clash with the western world, especially with the US. At the outbreak of the Islamic Revolution, Iranian fanatic students, backed by the new regime, attacked the American embassy in Tehran. The incident which started on November 4, 1979 lasted for 444 days, reflecting the beginning of Islamic terrorism backed by the state (Mohaddessin, 2002).

During the 1980's, Islamic terrorism prospered as Iran fostered many terrorist activities against the west. The Iranian government legitimized Islamic terror by calling it a divine duty of every Muslim. The religious leaders of the regime encouraged Muslims to involve in terrorism against the West and to the extent of losing their lives during these missions, in return of "a place in heaven" (Mohaddessin, 2002). Thus, religious support and legitimization made it much easier for Islamic groups to adopt terrorism as a means of dealing with their enemies (Mohaddessin, 2002).

2.2.2 "Clash of Civilizations" Theory

This theory is tied closely to American political scientist, Samuel Huntington, and his article of the same name (Huntington, 2005). Through this theory, Huntington and others try to explain terrorism by noting that there are innate conflicts between 'civilizations'. Civilizations are defined as a group of cultural, social, political norms and values (Dunn, 2006).

Paz and among other describes that after the collapse of the USSR, the world is now divided into two major parts: the west under the leadership of the US and the Arab World countries which is mostly made up of Muslims (St John, 2008). There is conflict

between the two parts, especially as the Muslims feel the need to be united against the rich and powerful west (Paz, 1999). However, while this line of thinking still has many supporters, others have called it reductionist.

2.2.3 Fight over resources

The United States lacks sufficient energy resources to meet its current and future needs and its foreign policy has always focused on securing access to energy. In addition to the oil resources, the United States aims to dominate over other natural resources all over the world. As international theory describes that the power of state lies when you have enough resources within and outside the state (St John, 2008). In other words, the United States has a major goal to dominate important oil resources in the Gulf and other regions of the world.

2.2.4 Fight against foreign policies of specific countries

Overall, lots of theories about terrorism and its measurement in American foreign policy came up to justify the recent attacks on the United States (Gelb 2003; Rosenthal, 2003). On the one hand, some theories claim that United States' foreign policy has constituted a major trigger of the attacks. On the other hand, willingness to use terrorism and fanaticism are attributed to Muslims. However, is United States' policy behind the attacks? Based on some evidences, a positive answer might be quite suitable. Thus some diplomatic alterations might have a better solution than the war that might exacerbate the hatred among Arabs and the United States (De Mesquita, 2007).

The United States interferes militarily in many cases around the globe and refuses to interfere in others. In other words, the United States launched a war against Iraq because it did not abide by the United Nations rules and resolutions (Jamal, 2003). However, it refused to interfere in Lebanon when the United Nations adopted the 425 and 426 resolutions that call upon Israel to withdraw from all occupied regions (Jamal, 2003). This behavior raises question marks, why here and not there? In addition, many other places in the Arab world suffer from the same type of discrimination (Giuliani, 2007).

The most powerful issue that triggers the Arabs is the United States seemingly blind support of Israel. In addition, the United States is perceived as having supported numerous criminal and repressive regimes in the Middle East which have caused untold death and suffering upon the Muslim people (The Attack, 2003). The United States is always for the Israeli policy and against Arabs who do not 'tow the US line' whether it is right or wrong. This issue has made some Arabs hate the United States. For example, according to Bin Laden, "the United States should not relax unless the Palestinian children relax" (*The Attack*, 2003). So, the blind American support to killing hundreds of innocents is a major and considerable cause behind the hatred against the United States. This issue is one important part in the United States foreign policy that might be so biased (Depke, 2000).

US foreign policy also can be seen in other arenas. The United Nations is an international organization of countries created to promote world peace and cooperation. In spite of being so, the United Nations' decisions are sometimes shaped by the United States but gradually it is becoming a fade episode now due to strong conspiracy on US foreign policy (Jamal, 2003). In other words, the United States influences very

considerably the decisions of the United Nations Security Council, which has considerable power, while the decisions of the General Assembly, which are rarely enforced, are also often ignored by the US. For example, Lebanon was supposed to receive financial aid after the liberation of the South. Unfortunately, the aid was deleted upon a request from the United States which preferred that benefits be given to Israel (Jamal, 2003).

In this respect, the doctrine of containment is the premise that all out war should be avoided but the US should be vigilant in stopping potential threats from rising against the country anywhere in the world. For many years, the doctrine of containment was focused on stopping the creation of new communist governments and the growth of existing communist regimes. For years it was thought that all communist governments were tools of the USSR and their desire for world domination. The nuclear capabilities of the USSR, the large military in place and their dislike of the US made them a perceived enemy of the US (De Mesquita, 2007).

The theory of containment was and remains flawed, however. The assumption that all nations must be allied with either the United States or the USSR in the past and with either the US or an 'enemy' state such as Iran today is not completely defensible. The major example is China which is a communist nation with a long history of struggle over its borders and a different culture than the USSR. The problem with the theory of containment is that it made it difficult to see nations as distinct, different problems, and different histories.

2.2.5 Defense of nation

Americans are increasingly perceived as a colonial force in the Arab world. Countries like Egypt and Kuwait always sent a kind of informal invitation to the US troops to help them and the United States has forces distributed throughout the Arab world. This might reflect pessimistic pictures in Arab minds. Americans exploit Arab resources while Arabs' hearts rattle (*Historical Causes*, 2002). Yet, it is in many cases unelected Arab governments themselves that invite in the US; in other words we can say that Arabs want to be exploited due to security reasons. This does not endear United States foreign policy to the Arab public (Scraton, 2002).

To begin with, one of the most important things that the American dream is to achieve is having extensive financial power. To do this, Americans established numerous military bases in some rich regions of the Islamic world. For example, the Gulf which is a region that is full of oil is full also of American military bases (*Historical Causes*, 2002). Seeing foreign forces in their holy lands, Muslims get enraged and infuriated. In addition, Muslims start having pessimistic forecasting of the future. They fear being colonized by other forces that will live as parasites on their lands. This is one clear part of the United States' foreign policy that might exacerbate the emotions of Arabs, Muslims specifically (Depke, 2000).

2.2.6 Liberation of occupied territories

In addition, Arabs do not want Israel to be a state that jeopardizes their existence. The United States supports Israel. This means for them that Israel will sooner or later invade and occupy their territories (Francis, 2006). Thus, having such strategic

goals, Arabs intend to weaken the supporters of Israel especially the United States. So, another super power like the European Union, for example, will come up and be somehow the leader of the world. Therefore, Arabs have terrorist intentions that have to be restricted and captured (*Historical Causes*, 2002).

2.2.7 Cultural reasons

On the public level, many Muslims, especially among the lower classes accept and acknowledge terrorism because they have suffered from disappointment with ideologies imported from the west, such as democracy, socialism, communism and other ideologies. In Lebanon, Muslim Shiites resorted to the use of terrorism because for many years they remained an ignored minority in the Lebanese society. More importantly, Islamic terrorism has gained a lot of ground and support among Muslims because most attacks were against the west and the US in particular (Esposito, 1999). American policies toward Muslim countries were usually seen to be biased by the majority of Muslims. For example, the US supported the Shah of Iran when he was repressing and terrorizing his own people. When the Islamic Revolution started in Iran, the US was seen as the number one enemy. The west in general and the US in particular, are seen to be enemies by the majority of the Muslims, especially as support to Israel continues, on the other side in various surveys by many online organizations such as BBC world and others have shown a dramatic drop down in thinking of Muslims regarding extremism and terrorism (Rotter, 2007)

The majority of Muslims today do not believe that there is one Muslim state that represents them or their aspirations. Even Iran is not acceptable to most of them because

it is based on Shiite not Sunni Islam. The majority of Muslims believe that their frustration and feelings of inferiority and defeat are the result of a conspiracy by the west and Israel. Since they are deprived from uniting and organizing themselves in a powerful state, many of them see Islamic terrorist organizations as the best means through which Islamic power is reflected (Esposito, 1999).

Islamic fundamentalism is like a genie that was set free out of a small bottle. It has grown too big that it is impossible to return it to where it came from (Dobriansky, 2003). In the late 1970s and during the 1980s, Islamic terrorism was directly related to the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Today, many Islamic terrorist groups are independent of Iran. The Iranian government for example, has finally announced that it was no longer responsible for the *fatwa* (verdict) made by the late Khomeini, rewarding \$2.5 million for the murder of Salman Rushdi for publishing his anti-Islamic book, *Satanic Verses*. However, following this announcement, many Islamic fundamentalists argued that the *fatwa* was final and valid, even if it is denounced by the Iranian government (Depke, 2000). While Salman Rushdi might be safe in Britain where he lives under very tight security, Islamic fundamentalists will be after him whenever he appears in public. British Airlines, for example, would still not allow him to travel on its flights because this might endanger other passengers (Depke, 2000).

Islamic terrorism might be facing a lot of changes in the future. In Iran, there is a power struggle at the top of the state between the moderates and the hardliners. If the moderates win the struggle, Islamic terrorism will certainly lose a lot of diplomatic and financial support from Iran (Depke, 2000). Currently, the conservatives rule the state of Iran and this supports the issue of terrorism.

Indeed, whether or not Iran will continue to support Islamic terrorism is no longer as important as it was before. Islamic terrorism is now supported and financed by a number of Islamic fundamentalists who have access to arms and funds, and who are also protected in their hiding areas. For example, the CIA believes that Osama Bin Laden, the Muslim leader of a terrorist group was responsible for giving orders to bomb the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in August 1998 (Waller, 2000). Osama Bin Laden's operations have so far proven to be successful because his organization depends on terrorist cells that are not related in their communication. Hence, one cell does not know of the existence of other cells that may be operating in the same area (Waller, 2000).

Although Iran is now taking a moderate political line and even though many Arab and Muslim countries enjoy better relations with the west than they used to in the past, Islamic terrorism continues to threaten American and western targets and goals, many of which are purely civilian (Dunn, 2006). Islamic terrorism is a major problem because it is a violent behavior (Lieberman, 2003). This violent behavior could be the result of frustration, disappointment, and failure to express political needs. It is also facilitated by support from states such as Iran, Sudan, Afghanistan, Libya and others. Furthermore, popular support from the frustrated Muslim public is another important factor giving Islamists more prestige and motivation. The US is now putting a lot of effort in fighting Islamic terrorism. So far, its attempts have not succeeded, and in the future, little success may be witnessed. The US is right in not accepting terrorism (Murden, 2002). However, the US must understand that Islamic terrorism is considered to be a crime by many Muslims. It is rather considered to be the only way through which these Muslims can

make their message clear to the world and the United States shall assess the reasons behind terrorism. The US might succeed in eliminating terrorism if it tries to listen and take into consideration the points of views of Islamic fundamentalists. Whether this is acceptable or not, it remains the most effective solution. Examples from Northern Ireland show that terrorism continues as long as there is frustration and disappointment among many people.

Therefore, eliminating Islamic terrorism can not be achieved by attacking Islamic terrorists. Instead, what is needed is an open policy of understanding between the west and the Muslim world. Until then, Islamic violence will continue, especially that Islam itself – as some other religions – is a political religion that has a lot of place for violence and military activity in its teaching (Murden, 2002). Other issues such as the economy, poverty, education and other factors also contribute when it comes to change an individual mind. America also plays a large role in the global economy. As technology and communications have improved, the United States has become even more industrialized and economically advanced. With a GDP of over 10.4 trillion dollars, the United States is a powerhouse in the international market. The government looks to encourage international trade by opening markets and freeing capital, goods, and services for all nations (Leavitt, 2004). The United States benefits when other countries prosper, so it must pursue positive economic policies in order to encourage others to prosper. The decision of who to interact with economically has become even larger as a result of September 11, 2001. While the government has had restrictions and embargoes on certain governments in the past, the problem has become even more severe in terms of terrorist financing. This is a large focus in American foreign policy, as the ever present problem

of national security has come to the forefront of American consciousness. The issue of developing countries is also relevant, as the government has to decide how much money to allocate to help these struggling countries each year (Sorrentino, 2002).

Chapter Three: US Foreign Policy on Terrorism

US Foreign Policy on Terrorism

On September 11, 2001, the U.S and the world as a whole experienced a new generation of terrorist attacks. In synchronized attacks, hijackers took control over four commercial jet planes, using three of them as missiles to assault U.S targets. Two of the hijacked planes hit into the twin towers of New York's World Trade Center, which led to their destruction. The third plane hit the Pentagon in Virginia. Luckily, the fourth plane went down in an open area in Pennsylvania. Around four thousand people lost their lives in this devastating event (Terrorism in 2002, p.15). However, while this tragedy was undoubtedly the most devastating terrorist act on American soil, it is not a unique terrorist act but rather one of numerous terrorist acts which have occurred since the beginning of the 20th century and even before.

The threats of weapons of mass destruction were enough to cause the United States to attack pre-emptively in Iraq. In the Middle East, as well as elsewhere, the threat of chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear weapons (CBRNs) has increased exponentially. The government does not know which groups have them, what their capabilities are, or when the United States and its allies could be attacked by them. As technologies have increased and become more available, the need to know this information has become even more crucial in order to strategize and prepare. The United States must remain close to both its allies and enemies in order to avoid the possibility of being attacked at home or abroad. (Rogers, 2004). This chapter demonstrates the overall

idea of American foreign policy regarding terrorism after the 9/11 attacks on the United States while also focusing in on US foreign policy toward Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

While the United States has hundreds of foreign policy goals and objectives, its most important goals currently are national security and limiting weapons of mass destruction. A divided government within the United States sometimes makes it difficult to create clear strategies both domestically and internationally, but both groups are usually willing to compromise in order to deal effectively with any problems. Media and public opinion often present challenges as well, as leaders must represent the concerns of the people. Yet, the freedom of Americans to give their opinions and have them represented is central to the government of the United States. This is something that the United States hopes to provide in other nations in order to encourage development and future governmental progress. As President George W. Bush said, “We will defend the peace by fighting terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. We will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent” (as quoted in Kelley, 2006). The United States will continue to lead along with its allies where necessary in the international system in order to promote democratic ideals and a better world for all countries in the future (Bleek, 2007).

The United States maintains relations with nearly every nation state in the international system. The US also conducts frequent relations with many international organizations for a great deal of different reasons. All actors in the international system are important to the US, but current situations elevate temporary importance of certain actors and countries. Traditionally, issues concerning international trade and security

dominated US international relations. Today issues of terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and Middle East peace are frontrunners in American foreign policy. These current issues facing the US, compiled with traditional objectives in international relations, dictate the current most important countries and actors to the United States in the following sections the pre and post 9/11 American foreign policy.

3.1 US policy towards terrorism before 9\11

On September 17, 2002 George W. Bush submitted to Congress a document entitled “The National Security Strategy for the United States” in which he stated that the national security strategy “is based on a distinctly American internationalism that reflects the union of our values and our national interests. The aim of this strategy is to help make the world not just safer but better”. China, Russia, India, and North Korea are very important to US security because they rank among the top in size of armed forces. The United Kingdom, France, Japan, Germany, and Italy are also important because they have the highest levels of military spending. Additionally, all countries that currently have the technology and capabilities, or are developing the capabilities, to use nuclear warfare, are important to the US and international security objectives. The United States consults regularly with the United Nations and other countries regarding arms control, regional security, and defense relations.

Trade issues have also traditionally dominated US objectives in pursuing foreign policy. As stated by the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, the aim of US policy making regarding trade is to advance “economic prosperity by increasing trade through the opening of overseas markets and freeing the flow of goods, services, and capital.”

(Rotter, 2007). Many organizations dominate matters regarding trade. Among these important organizations are the World Trade Organization (WTO), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), European Union (EU), and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). With the help of these organizations, and the associated countries, the US aims to expand open market approaches to trade and promote US trade interests.

September 11, 2001 was a turning point in U.S. history. With the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and the tragic deaths of thousands, a new shift in policy began to emerge (Lieberman, 2003).

3.2 US policy towards terrorism after 9\11

After September 11, the United States changed its policies towards terrorism and insisted on the use of force to combat terrorism worldwide (Gelb, 2003). In this respect, the United States launched a global war to neutralize terrorism in the world. For the United States and many other countries of the world, Islamic terrorism is a major threat that has to be dealt with immediately. The United States has already declared its policy towards terrorism. The message that the American administration passed after the bombing of its embassies in Africa was that it will continue to fight terror with all its power and as Secretary of State Albright said, “sooner or later, terrorists will be held accountable for their crimes” (Barry, 2003).

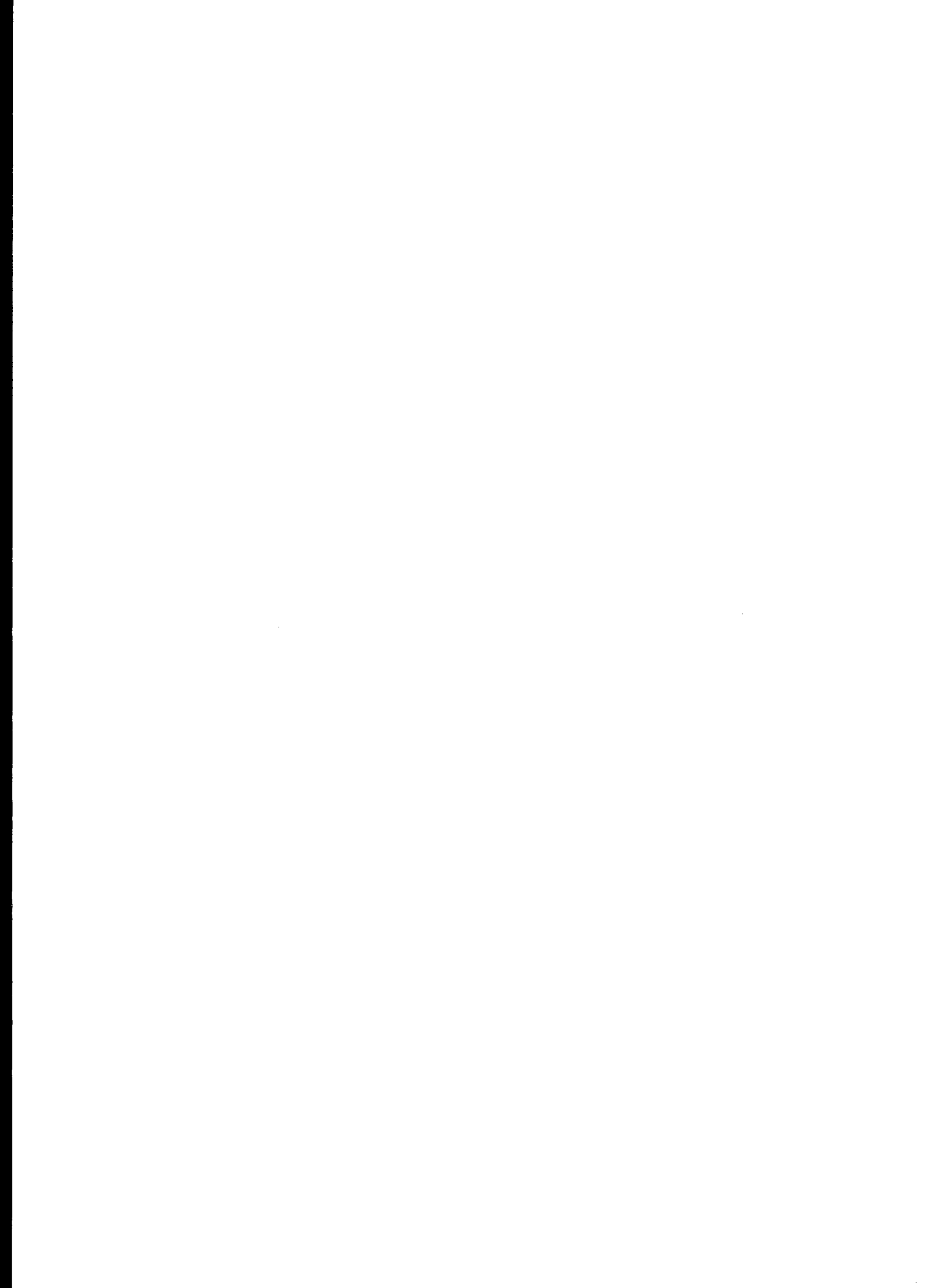
One of President Bush's four objectives in the war with Iraq was the removal of weapons of mass destruction. These weapons included chemical, biological, and nuclear capabilities. Many countries have, or are trying to obtain, nuclear capability and the

numbers will only increase. Not all of these countries are known but some of importance includes North Korea, Pakistan, India, Iran, and every other country with related technologies. All nuclear capable countries, both allies and otherwise, are vital to defense policy making of the United States.

Since the attacks of 9/11, the United States, and its allies and partners, have dismantled the Taliban, denied Al-Qaida a safe haven in Afghanistan, and defeated Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq. Many countries play a vital role in this effort, with US assistance, especially regarding intelligence. Preventing terrorism on the homeland is a priority but prevention elsewhere is also an important goal. This is why consistent relations are maintained especially in the Middle East, but also elsewhere (Smith, 2005).

Middle East peace is a critical objective of policy that determines important actors and states. Rebuilding Iraq and Afghanistan are priorities for the US and allied countries. The establishment and maintenance of peaceful relations among and between the United States and all nations within the Middle East is of top importance. The improvement of conditions for women and children in these areas are also goals for US policy. These goals and objectives make all nations and actors within the Middle East very important to current policy. The United Nations plays a large role in collaboration with the US regarding peaceful objectives in the Middle East (Giuliani, 2007).

Foreign policy activity and the decision making process have two driving motivations: an external, and a domestic, or internal. The external motivation affects foreign activities, politics and policies on US foreign policy. For example, external threats such as the Cuban Missile Crisis during the Cold War, and more recently, Saddam Hussein's alleged stockpile of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. On the other end of



the spectrum, domestic politics plays a large role in influencing US foreign policy. For example, the diminishing public support for the "conflict" in Vietnam that contributed to the decision to withdraw US troops. That is, domestic considerations such as the idiosyncrasies and the role of the individual, the government, society and the system of government together influence the formation of foreign policy and action (Sorrentino, 2002).

To varying extents, a combination of each of these five domestic considerations (the idiosyncratic, the role of individual, the government, the society and the system) influences US foreign policy. To what degree each of these has on the decision making process is dependent on the context of the situation. It is difficult to determine to what degree each of these considerations has an affect on a specific decision because they are not all measurable. However, from possessing a basic knowledge of each variable and how they interconnect, one may derive a better understanding of how they shape US foreign policy.

The idiosyncratic role of the individual (i.e., President Bush) has a large impact on foreign policy making. As allocated in the constitution, the president plays a variety of roles among which are the chief decision maker, chief diplomat, and commander-in-chief. How both he and the system view his role plays an important part in understanding his decisions as chief decision maker and ultimately the shaping of foreign policy. With an emphasis on the president as an individual, the idiosyncratic dimension explains how his past experiences, personality traits, values, background and psychological predisposition influence foreign policy decisions. That is, from an understanding of the individual one can better understand why they chose to approach a problem a given way.

However, it is only possible to speculate to what extent this influences his decisions in a given context. President Bush, as a Republican with an apparent strong belief in the efficacy of military intervention, chose such action towards Iraq. Due to his background and personal beliefs as an individual, rather than further diplomatic measures, Bush sought a more militaristic solution. Some speculate there are different reasons for Bush's foreign policy decisions (Bloodgood, 2003). For example: personal gain, following in the footsteps of his father, or a personal drive to be remembered in history. As we know, Bush chose to invade and conquer. This option, although connected to his choices and experiences as an individual, is also related to or influenced by his role as the president of a hegemonic power. Bush, as well as American society, feels the president should be strong especially in international politics and policies. When the United States was attacked on September 11, 2001, the people looked to the president to lead, and in essence, seek revenge. On both of these levels of domestic considerations, we will never know to exactly what extent they influence the president's choice of action, but they help us in understanding some of the foreign policy decisions. Going beyond the individual to the expectations of the position, the role consideration plays an influential domestic part in the response to an external event and ultimately foreign policymaking (Francis, 2006).

What was traditionally used to deter US enemies in the past was now considered obsolete and not practical. During the Cold War, deterrence and containment worked because understandings among rival governments were generally clear (Sorrentino, 2002). However, these policies that worked during the Cold War have taken a new form, a form that could be effective in dealing with rogue states and terrorists. These new threats posed by chemical, biological and nuclear weapons are more scattered and

the rules less clear. In a speech given by President Bush June 1, 2002 at the Military Academy in West Point, he declared a new policy of pre-emptive strike also known as the Bush Doctrine. He claimed that the US had the right to use military force against countries or terrorist groups that were close to acquiring weapons of mass destruction and had long range missiles to deliver them. He warned that the US was faced with “a threat with no precedent” (Barry, 2003).

With the emergence of global terrorism, Bush declared that the traditional strategies of prevention and suppression were no longer adequate. Deterrence would not work “against the shadowy terrorist networks with any nation or citizens to defend and containment could not work when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles or secretly provide them to terrorist allies. New threats require new thinking.” (as quoted in Barry, 2003). The new way of thinking President Bush was talking about was ways to attack a potential enemy before he attacks you. He added that “we cannot put our trust in the word of a tyrant who solemnly signs non- proliferation treaties, and then systematically break them. If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we have waited too long.” The dictator/tyrant President Bush was referring to is no other than Saddam Hussein (Barry, 2003).

According to Michael Sherry, a historian at Northwestern University in Chicago, “The United States has considered preemptive strikes in the past. There was much talk about it in the earlier days of the Cold War of a pre-emptive attack on the Soviet Union. However invading Iraq would be a radical break with the past if they actually went ahead and did it” (Rotter, 2007). As Jonathan Schell put it in the issue of

The Nation, "In short the US will establish, preserve and make free use of an absolute military supremacy over every other nation on earth" (Murden, 2002).

However this new doctrine is not without flaws. If pre-emption is the new order, this may encourage other countries that feel threatened to act against the 'potential' aggressor when maybe under normal circumstances the conflict may have been resolved without force. Or even this may encourage a nation to decide to use chemical, biological or nuclear weapons when under a sudden attack when normally that would not be the case. For example India may choose to attack Pakistan if it feels threatened by it, or China attack Taiwan (Murden, 2002).

Now we would turn towards American think tanks and analyze what they are thinking. The American administration is aware that cutting the money supplies of terrorists is very important. Iran has so far declared that it is no longer supporting Islamic terrorist activities through funds. This, however, has not cut the supplies. The major concern for the American administration right now is to bring Islamic terrorism against its interests under control by preventing Osama Bin Laden from accessing his \$300 million empire he uses to finance his operations (Waller, 2003).

Apart from using economic weapons, the US has attempted to eliminate terrorism by using military power. However, these military attacks have not succeeded so far. The US attacked Osama Bin Laden's camp in Afghanistan using cruise missiles but he managed to escape and the damage was not serious (Barry, 2003). Another failure was recorded as the US attacked with its missiles a Sudanese plant which was suspected of producing chemical weapons. Instead, the plant turned out to be a factory that produced medical products (Barry, 2003). The two failures led to raising the public, especially in

the Muslim countries against the US and its policies toward Islam and Muslims (Rogers, 2004).

Now we would evaluate what should be done to endorse and how foreign policy could have helped to solve these problems through both diplomacy and military actions. Moreover, concluding that Saddam could not have been deterred is not quite true. If we go back to 1991 and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the US was not clear about its position with Kuwait when Iraq decided to invade. Since the US subsequently made it clear to Iraq not to meddle with Kuwait's affairs, Saddam did not attack it or any US allies in the region. Saddam was aware that there is a high risk involved and did not challenge US interests. Another point to note is that acquiring nuclear weapons is a threat to the US, true, but preventing Saddam from achieving them did not require pre-emption. The doctrine was not needed in the first place (Dobriansky, 2003). However, we cannot just understand foreign policy through this simple model because there is a number of rational and irrational factors that impact the way in which foreign policy is applied. These factors happen to be interacting with each other at the same time despite the fact that they may be of different nature, and at most times, they are at conflict, thus making foreign policy more difficult and complicated both for the foreign policy maker and analyst (Harmon, 2000).

The first factor we are dealing with here comprises the goals and objectives of foreign policy. Goals and objectives are often of political or economic nature. Political goals can be related to power, such as enjoying influence and position over other countries or in certain areas in the world. These goals may also be related to the image which the government wants to create in international circles. Economic goals and

objectives are related to the economic aspirations of the government. Goals of a government can be both economic and political at the same time, depending on the overall vision that the foreign policy in this government is (Frum, 2003).

The pre-emptive strike was a major departure from the internationally accepted practice. In international law as in the UN and NATO charters, nations may attack others only in self-defense. A pre-emptive strike is an attack against a sovereign state to remove its internationally recognized government without authorization from the United Nations. The war that was launched against Iraq is an example of this new policy of pre-emption. The Bush administration's justification for attacking Iraq under this new policy was that an attack against Iraq would be an act of self-defense (Carter, 2006). The pre-emptive strike was in violation to the UN Charter, however. If we accept the pre-emptive strike as a means of self-defense, the question is how far can it extend? According to Michael Byers an associated professor of Duke University School of Law, "you have the right of self-defense until such time as the Security Council takes action. And therefore it's implied that if you have the time to deliberate and to go to the Council before you take pre-emptive strike action, then you have to go to the Council" (Chomsky, 2002). Hence the right of self-defense does not allow you to take the law into your hands when you have time to call the police or shoot the first person you see for that matter. Is the new US policy towards Iraq justifiable? The answer would have to be no. The Bush Doctrine is illegal because there is no suggestion that Iraq was an immediate threat and was going to attack the U.S. There is no evidence that the Iraqi leadership remains to possess such weapons or the means to deliver them to the US or that they intended to (Chomsky, 2002).

3.3 U.S. National Interest

After World War II, the national security strategy of the U.S. was derived from the perceived national interest to contain communism. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union a transformation of world politics came about. The national interest has many strands namely political, economic, and military (Rotter, 2007). The maintenance of America's strength is a long term commitment if America does not make wise investments in preserving its own strengths, its interests will be challenged in the future (Lieberman, 2003). American national interests are divided in to three levels: those relating to survival interests, critical interests, and significant interests.

U.S. survival interests include safety from a direct attack, especially involving weapons of mass destruction by either states or terrorists (Giuliani, 2007). Critical U.S. national interests include the continuity and security of key international systems. Energy and economic issues are critical to the lives and well-being of Americans. Significant U.S. national interest includes the deepening and institutionalization of constitutional democracy under the rule of law, market based economies and universal recognition of basic human rights (Leavitt, 2004).

A key significant national interest to the U.S. is that international terrorism and criminality be minimized with out jeopardizing the openness of international economic and cultural exchanges. The United State's key objectives include to defend the U.S. and to ensure that it's safe from the new era. This includes weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, while maintaining America's social cohesion, economic competitiveness, technological ingenuity and military strength. Also to adapt U.S. alliances to other

regional mechanisms in a new era in which America's partners seek autonomy and responsibility. Following in this line of argument, the United States has a continuing critical interest in keeping the Persian Gulf secure. Others add that the United States should also support its allies in the region, notably Israel, Turkey, and Jordan (Rotter, 2007).

3.4 Drive for continued US hegemony

Amongst the architects of this new American Empire and the dream of a "Pax Americana" have been a group of powerful people in Bush's administration with no military experience. These people include the assistants of the president Bush such as the former defense minister, Rumsfeld and the current vice president. These people had a great influence over the decisions of the president. The most influential of these people is Dick Cheney who is very conservative. He is still a member of the US administration.

According to this group, the war on Iraq was intended to mark the official emergence of the United States as a full fledged global empire, with sole responsibility and ultimate authority over judging its national interests and how best to pursue them (Chomsky, 2002). The war on Iraq was the culmination of the plan carried out by the neoconservatives who have believed that the U.S. must seize the opportunity for global domination. In essence this plan lays out for a permanent military and economic domination of the regions unfettered by international treaties. With this plan in mind, it is no wonder containment and deterrence would not work, because even if it did work, it would not allow the Americans to expand their power (Chomsky, 2002).

The US drive for hegemony is going forward into the 21st century by establishing policies and arrangements that will preserve and extend American military, economic, and political dominance (Moller, 2001). The National Security Document states the necessity to re-affirm the essential role of American military strength and to build and maintain US defenses beyond challenge. The US will also have the right to launch a pre-emptive attack at anyone it perceives as a threat and the reservations to act alone (Moller, 2001).

Second, Moller contends that the neoconservatives aim to severely weaken the framework of the international law and traditional norms of diplomacy. This has revived the use of force in international relations displaying the US as the world dictator. Maintaining relations with allies as a means to promote American global domination, treating peace keeping missions as a US rather than UN objective can work as successful strategies. Even though the language of the document expresses appreciation for the International Organizations like the UN, WTO and NATO, it emphasizes the special status of the US as the world's only superpower and mentions that the president has no intention of allowing foreign nations to compete with the US in military power (Kanovsky, 2002).

In the economic arena, Rogers (2004) argues that the US will do whatever is necessary to undermine the European Union's ability to become a world power without undercutting its economic strength. In addition, key to the project of maintaining US hegemony is reshaping the Middle East according to US imperial schemes. For example, the reasons given by the US for launching a war on Iraq are to hide the true intention of dominating the Middle East and its oil to keep Europe and Asia in check.



The purpose is not just a new regime in Iraq but a new Middle East. Dominance over the Middle East is important to the U.S. U.S. domination of the oil rich Middle East would facilitate the domination of the world. The goal is one of the key forces of preemptive action against Iraq, which is the world's second largest oil reserve (Rogers, 2004).

In a column of *The New York Times* entitled, "Coup de Crawford," Maureen Dowd notes that those in the Bush administration who had been planning the war against Iraq were mostly civilians with no wartime experience. She mentions, "We used to worry about a military coup against the civilian authority. Now we worry about a civilian coup against military authority" (Murden, 2002).

Unlike the traditional conservatives who favor a concrete conception of national interest, many neo-conservatives are former liberals who advocate an aggressive unilateralist vision of the U.S. as a global super power. This includes a close strategic alliance with Israel. The neo-conservative pro-Iraq war coalition in the Bush Administration can be further categorized into three main groups:

The first group is comprised of "neo-conservatives" including Wolfowitz, Perle, Feith and Libby amongst others are the big thinkers who envision a wave of liberation and open markets and democratizing the Middle East. Here two factions are seen: the core neo-conservatives who are strong Zionists and who may ultimately care about Israel more than the U.S. Another faction, the relatively liberal Zionists who are sincere about liberalism and democracy and eager to see such reform in the Arab countries the second group constitutes the blunt imperialists like Cheney and Rumsfeld (Dobriansky, 2003). They want to control the oil in Iraq, break the power of OPEC, ensure cheap oil

supply and rely less on the Saudis for oil, and increase U.S. bases in the region. Moreover they want to see the restoration of the dollar instead of the Euro as an oil transaction standard in Iraq (Murden, 2002). Some of these figures, though prominent in the first Bush administration, are no longer officially part of the administration (Wolfowitz and Rumsfeld, among others).

Finally the third group is the 'Christian Crusaders' or the Christian radical right. This group is further divided into two: the hard core Christian crusaders who are keen to see chaos in the Middle East that will herald the second coming of Jesus Christ. Their visions meet those of the hardcore neo-cons who would also like to see chaos prevail in the Middle East. The other group of the radical right simply wants to mobilize a crusade against the Islamic religion. Many contend that the US president belongs to the Christian radical right. However his strong and personal beliefs may link him with all three groups. It is not known how much the president cares about Israel; however it constitutes a core vision in the Bible as well as an outpost of liberalism and democracy in the region. Moreover Bush clearly likes the use of force to solve issues and seeks to build the empire. In all the neo-conservatives are allied with the anti-Semitic Christian fundamentalists, they are anti-Oslo, and support Israel (Dobriansky, 2003).

According to the neo-conservatives, war is too important to be left to the generals. Peter Beinert, the editor of *The New Republic*, a weekly neo-conservative paper, argues, "over and over during the 1990's, the generals with firsthand battlefield experience guessed wrong and the civilians without it guessed right about when the United States went to war." He also referred to Collin Powell for opposing carrying the

Gulf War from Kuwait to Baghdad and US intervention in Bosnia. Basically the neo-conservatives have warned the uniformed military to keep their reservations to themselves. Anthony Zinni, a retired Marine Corps general and President Bush's special representative to the Middle East first posed the question of whether the administration's eagerness to go to war against Iraq was being driven by civilians who have never been to war (Mehta, 2003). In a speech he made before the Florida Economic Club on August 23, 2002, Zinni believed that finishing the war on terrorism and negotiating a peace plan in the Middle East had a higher priority than forcing Saddam Hussein from power. He was quoted stating in his speech that all the former generals surrounding Bush namely Brent Scowcroft, Norman Schwarzkopf, then Secretary of State Collin Powell and himself were not convinced that the pre-emptive strike against Saddam made good sense (Pelletiere, 2001).

Following the fateful day of the 9/11 attacks, Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld took matters in to his own hands and presented plans to attack Iraq in a meeting at the White House. It is important to note that when these statements were made, the US had not yet determined that the suicide bombers were Al-Qaeda and had no evidence that Al-Qaeda had any connections to Iraq (Leavitt, 2004). Hence, Rumsfeld's early intentions in targeting Iraq implied that the US administration had a hidden agenda. According to Neil Mackay of *The Sunday Herald*, Bush planned the Iraqi regime change before he became president. In a secret blueprint for U.S. global domination, the president and his cabinet were planning an attack on Iraq even before they took power in January 2001 (Migiletta, 2002). The blueprint entitled "Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategies and Forces and Resources for a New American

Century” was written by the neo-conservative think tank Project for the New American Century (Dobriansky, 2003).

All of this can also be looked at from a more theoretical perspective. In this respect, the Bush administration’s actions have often been tied to the Realist school. Realism is based upon a series of fundamental assumptions, which when looked at, can explain why indeed realism has been so successful within the sphere of international relations. Its first and key assumption is a pessimistic view of human nature. This sees humans as primarily concerned with their own interests, looking to further themselves in a selfish demeanor, as Morgenthau put it, a ‘will to power’ (Scruton, 2002).

This means human beings everywhere are assumed to behave in the same way, regardless of nationality, and looking to be one step ahead of the opposition so as not to be taken advantage of. Hobbes also shares this view, “Where there is no common Power, there is no Law: where no Law, no Injustice if there be no Power erected, or not great enough for our security; every man will and may lawfully rely on his own strength and art, for caution against all other men” (Hobbes, 1976). Therefore, as a result, the international arena is a constant battle for survival to ensure the constant advantage for one’s nation, thus world politics unfurls into international anarchy, in which the state is the pre-eminent actor. This leaves states’ foreign policies as the only means to best protect national interests and advance the status of the state against all others in the international hierarchy of power. If it is the sovereign state that wields all of the power on the global stage, then it is an assumption that any other organization is of little or no importance in the effect it has on international relations as a whole. The prominence of international figures, independent international organizations and NGO's are all

dismissed by the realist thinker, as it is the states that hold the power, the amount depending on the standing of the state in question (Clark, 2007).

This leads to the fact that if realists believe the above to be true, they envisage the global stage as one that houses many powers that distrust each other in a constant and inevitable competition. If each state is the rational actor, looking to act in its own interest, it leaves a distrust of long term co-operation or alliances. This is echoed by Thucydides, who saw conflict as inevitable between ancient Greek cities; states have the need to adjust themselves according to the unequal power in order to flourish (Clark, 2007).

In this respect, the impact of Realist thinking on US foreign policy can be seen in the repositioning of permanent bases in the Middle East, the modernization of U.S. forces, and increasing military spending amongst others issues. The plan also shows that Bush's cabinet had intended to take military control of the Gulf Region and Iraq despite if Saddam was in power or not. The National Security document states, "The United States has for decades sought to play a more permanent role in the Gulf regional security. While the unresolved conflict with Iraq provides the immediate justification, the need for a substantial American force presence in the Gulf transcends the issue of the regime of Saddam Hussein." This shows why the Bush administration went to war even though at the last stages prior to the war, Saddam had complied with the UN inspectors and Resolution 1441 (Migiletta, 2002).

Hence the *Project for the New American Century* (PNAC) document supports "the blueprint for maintaining global US pre-eminence, precluding the rise of a great power rival, shaping the international security order in line with American principles and interests." This blueprint is for a new world order and US global domination not

taking into account whether this plan would be useful for the rest of the world. However, this is precisely what the IR theory of Realism would predict. Moreover the document makes it very clear that the US supports multilateral approaches to problem solving only when that coincides with US interests (Migiletta, 2002).

If we go back to the Gulf War of 1991, many Bush White House officials who had planned and carried out the war wanted to go back and finish what they had started. In several reports written by these officials to the then George H.W. Bush administration and from the period of 1992-2000, they drew up plans outlining what they would do if the Republicans were to retake the White House (Durham, 2004). In 1997, a number of these officials of the Project for the New American Century began to lobby for a regime change in Iraq (Neumann, 2007).

President Clinton was passive on this topic and believed that the policy of containing Saddam in a box was successful and the Iraqi regime was not a threat to the US. President Clinton did not consider a war with Iraq an option and instead encouraged the UN weapons inspectors, believing they could handle the situation (Sorrentino, 2002). However Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz disagreed stating that the only way to deal with Saddam was by war. They felt the policy of containment was eroding US hegemony; hence they wrote yet another letter where they stated that the U.S. could no longer depend on its partners in the Gulf War alliance to continue to endorse sanctions or to punish Saddam when he blocks or evades UN inspections. They felt that if Saddam did require the capability to deliver weapons of mass destruction, as he was almost certain to do, the safety of American troops in the region, allies like Israel and the moderate Arab states, and a significant portion of the world's supply of oil will be

put at hazard. The only acceptable strategy they called for is one that eliminates the possibility that Iraq will be able to use weapons of mass destruction. In the near term, it meant removing Saddam Hussein and his regime from power (Lieberman, 2003).

Two main events brought the PNAC into mainstream American government: the election of President George W. Bush and the events of 9/11. After President Bush was elected into the White House, these men waited for the time for the “Rebuilding America's Defenses” for a “catastrophic and catalyzing event-like Pearl harbor” that would organize the public and allow them to execute their plans. These letters and reports seem to have become blueprints for Bush's foreign and defense policy. September 11, 2001 opened the window for this opportunity (Pelletiere, 2001).

In this respect, we have identified the policy of the United States toward terrorism and the aspects on this policy in Iraq and the recent war launched against terrorism in addition to the hidden interests behind such wars. In addition, linking all of these aspects to the U.S. foreign policy was another aspect. From these aspects, it is worthwhile to shed light on U.S. foreign policy regarding terrorism in Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

Chapter Four:

U.S. Foreign Policy toward Iraq and Saudi Arabia regarding terrorism

In this chapter, we are going to identify U.S. policies against terrorism in both Saudi Arabia and Iraq and relate these policies to the global war against terrorism. Actually, Saudi Arabia and Iraq constitute two typical places in which terrorism is fought. The goal in choosing these two cases was to allow for better analysis of the overall goals of US foreign policy regarding terrorism.

Two more influential aspects of foreign policy making on the domestic level are the governmental and societal. At the governmental level, the type of administration influences the actions and decisions taken. In a democratic system, such as the United States, there are rules and norms that order societal interactions and governance. It is a system unique from a military regime with a single actor or a unified group because there exist different bureaucracies and government branches interacting together in the formation of foreign policy (Sorrentino, 2002). According to the bureaucratic decision making model, the country appears to be acting as a unitary actor, but underneath the surface there are competing bureaucracies (responding to society and public opinion on some level), who are mostly self-interested and concerned with self-preservation (Neumann, 2007).

Each formulates an understanding of the situation or an option with which to approach the situation. As the chief decision maker, the president often has a difficult time picking and choosing from the advice of each branch to formulate a policy or course of action. In a democracy, the final decision made is more likely than not in line with



public opinion because politicians (in the case of the U.S., the president) are held accountable for their actions in the next election. In a democratic system it is a politician's main goal is to get reelected, so they are often more likely to act in the interests of their constituents and follow public opinion. This is especially true of the president because his/her actions as "the chief decision maker" are viewed as his/her own, and are constantly portrayed in the media. Therefore, societal and governmental considerations play an influential part in shaping US foreign policy (Francis, 2006). That is, the opinions and values of the public (as well as interest groups that represent those beliefs) are often an important consideration in a democracy's foreign policy decision-making (Carter, 2006).

The final domestic variable is at the structural level. This level takes into consideration the physical resources available to a country. That is, the size of the military, the technology available and the means available for which to finance a given option. This may play a larger role in smaller countries with limited resources, however for the United States is often at the bottom the list for things to consider when formulating foreign policy (Carter, 2006).

4.1 Iraq and Terrorism

From a historical perspective, the United States had positive relations with the former dictator Saddam Hussein prior to his decision to invade Kuwait. The US played a major role in supporting Iraq against Iran during the Iraq-Iran war (Bleek, 2007). However, after the invasion of Kuwait, the interests of the United States changed and thus, relations with Saddam became problematic (Gendzier, 2002). While President

Bush allowed Saddam to remain in power following Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait in 1991, the United States launched a major global war against Saddam in order to change his regime. Scholars have offered various additional reasons for the US invasion, among them for the US to dominate over Iraqi natural resources, (Garten, 2005) to have a stronger strategic existence in the region (Moller, 2003), as well as one more reason to protect Israel (Rotter, 2007).

Overall, the US administration has argued that the war in Iraq and the removal of Saddam Hussein from power was part of the war against terrorism. The administration felt that Saddam Hussein was a threat to the US and eliminating him would represent a great defeat of international terrorism as well as weaken Iraq's capacity to attack the US. The administration offered a variety of evidence to support its claim (Lee, 2004). It was claimed that Saddam Hussein produced weapons of mass-destruction. However there is little evidence that this is the case (Moller, 2003). Two main issues can be traced here: Saddam's relations with Al-Qaeda and Saddam's relations with other terrorist group's namely Palestinian ones such as the PLO and other organizations. Three days after 9/11, former CIA director James Woolsey began a campaign to link Saddam to the events of 9/11. In a statement he made to *The New Republic*, "in the immediate aftermath of Tuesday's attacks, attention has focused on terrorist chieftain Osama Bin Laden. And he may well be responsible. But intelligence and law enforcement officials investigating the case would do well to at least consider another possibility: the attacks whether perpetrated by Bin Laden and his associates or by others were sponsored, supported, and perhaps even ordered by Saddam Hussein" (Moller, 2003).

In Woodward's interview for his book, *Bush at War*, Bush offered a few insights into his reasoning for the invasion of Iraq in comparison to the Afghan invasion. It stresses that Bush is not afraid of acting unilaterally, stating that "it is clear; we're never going to get people all in agreement about force and use of force" (Woodward, 2004: page 162). He says the U.S. may need to take "confident action that will yield positive results [and thus] provide a kind of slipstream into which reluctant nations and leaders can get behind" (Carter, 2006: page 96).

Critics allege that Woodward was 'easy' on President Bush in *Bush at War* and only slightly more critical of the administration in *Plan of Attack* (Woodward, 2004). This may be due in part to the sway in public opinion as the nation gears up for a war in Iraq. There is a sense in Woodward's account that the war in Afghanistan was somehow justified or more justified than the war in Iraq. The development and strategy leading up to the war in Iraq was on the president's agenda as early as November 21, 2001. However, it is clear from Woodward's account that while Afghanistan was the immediate business at hand, the removal of Saddam Hussein was only a matter of time. The plan about the war was kept secret at the beginning. Yet it seemed to have leaked out to the media, and when questioned administration denied any war plans (Smith, 2005).

That the president knew of Department of Defense (DOD) plans to attack Iraq only two months following the attacks was evident in both books. But Woodward points out distinctly that Bush was conscious of the political backlash that would ensue if the public knew of the plans. In Bob Woodward's *Plan of Attack* Bush reflected that "It was such a high-stakes moment and when people had this sense of war followed on

the heels of the Afghan decision, it would look like that I was anxious to go to war” (Woodward, 2004: page 3). However the war leaders’ accusations are illogical despite the fact that the evidence they presented was insignificant if we look at the objectives of Al- Qaeda, an Islamic extremist (Francis, 2006).

Al Qaida’s professed aim is to overthrow any government which does not conform to their version of Islam. If we look at the case of the Baathist regime in Iraq, it was a secular regime that did not match with the doctrine of Al-Qaeda and hence must be replaced. Saddam has historically regarded Islamic movements as a threat to his leftist regime and has been wary of participating in groups he could not control. Hence the aim of removing Saddam’s secular regime and replacing it with another secular government would not solve the problem but rather fuel more hatred. It is important to note that the US was accusing Saddam that he may supply Al-Qaeda with weapons of mass destruction, however, if Saddam did indeed possess them, he would not have handed them to a group that may have used them against him and in turn removed him from power (Moller, 2003).

This is not to say that Saddam had no links to terrorists. The Americans accused Saddam of supporting Palestinian terrorists. The Americans long tolerated the use of terror tactics by Israel against the Palestinians, while accusing Baghdad of supporting Palestinian terrorist organizations. The US accused Saddam of supporting the Palestinian continued armed conflict, i.e. terrorism (Bleek, 2007). However this is not a justification to wage war with Iraq. Iraqi assistance to the Palestinian cause has taken several forms, including funds to families of freedom fighters or “terrorists” that have died for their cause, training and directing terrorists and using propaganda to ensure that the

Palestinians continue to take up arms in the struggle for liberty against the Israeli aggressor. Why is it okay for Israel to continue to kill thousands of Palestinians and it is not okay for the Palestinians to fight back for their land? (Anderson, 1981)

As previously noted, the Bush administration has offered several reasons for going to war with Iraq namely being that Iraq was linked to the events of 9/11 and Al-Qaeda, that it was a state sponsor of terrorism, and a threat to the Middle East overall as well as US allies and interests there. Iraq developed and possessed weapons of mass destruction and had a history of using aggression against its neighbors, and Saddam Hussein was a brutal dictator who used chemical weapons against his people (Giuliani, 2007). Moreover, Iraq violated UN Security Council Resolutions. US Foreign Policy thus worked to neutralize Saddam's regime and dominate the resources of this country. In addition, occupying Iraq has given the United States a strategic existence in the Gulf area (Lee, 2004).

As in Iraq, the United States is on good terms with Saudi Arabia, a country that plays the role of partner with the United States. Saudi Arabia plays a major role in combating terrorism and supports the United States in the global war against terrorism. In the following section, we are going to shed light on the Saudi-US relationship in this context (Lieberman, 2003).

4.2 US Foreign Policy toward Saudi Arabia

Generally, the US is on good terms with Saudi Arabia. Both countries act as partners in fighting terrorism throughout the world. Saudi Arabia constitutes a major

ally for the United States in the region. However, the US has also discussed – often privately not publicly – Saudi support of fundamentalist Islam and its ties to Islamic terrorism (Giuliani, 2007).

Still, this relationship is based on mutual interests. Saudi Arabia searches for US protection while the US has an interest in the oil of the area. Another point to note here is the link between terrorism and OPEC. The neoconservatives have long expressed their dissatisfaction over OPEC and Saudi dominance in the organization. It is felt that terrorism is financed and spread by the revenue that is earned from the export of oil. Prior to the US invasion of Iraq, the neo-cons argued that by controlling Iraq, the Bush administration would be able to break certain oil interests that are used to support terrorism such as Saddam's use of smuggled oil funds to support the Palestinian uprising against the Israelis or even Iran's use of oil funds to support terrorist organizations. By bankrupting terrorism, the US could destroy the infrastructure of terrorism, their ability to purchase weapons, training camps, and all. However it is important to mention that by destroying the financial means to terrorists does not prevent individual acts of terrorism (Anderson, 1981).

4.2.1 Saudi Arabian Policies and Terrorism

Saudi Arabia can not afford going to war in the Middle East. Its foreign policy relies heavily on maintaining security within the Persian Gulf region and to do this, they need to be at peace with other oil producing countries. Their aim is to keep radicals out and maintain the peace within. Saudi Arabia is thus often a mediator in the region. It

needs to keep good ties with countries like the United States, United Kingdom, and France because of their reliance on oil.

Oil production and exportation is Saudi Arabia's main industry. The dependence of oil by other major countries makes it important that Saudi Arabia maintains close ties to both world consumers as well as producers of oil in the area (Migilietta, 2001).

For the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to achieve their economic goals it requires a steady influx of outside technology. For this to be achieved they invite foreigners to aid them in the process. This is another reason for the good relations with other major countries. Therefore, Saudi Arabia's current policy does not impose any restrictions on capital moving in and out of the country (Neumann, 2007).

With the start of the war on terrorism, the United States chose, for various reasons (not least of which was its concern about alienating the Muslim population in the United States and the rest of the world), a propagandist strategy employing a "positive ideology" (Sorrentino, 2002). Emphasis was placed more on what the United States should defend, then on what it should attack. Moreover, the elements of negative ideology that were employed by U.S. President George W. Bush and his administration focused on a single negative agent (Osama bin Laden), but almost ignored the structural component of the enemy (Islamic fundamentalism). According to content analysis done by Carter (2006), of forty-six of the president's statements after 9/11, he named Osama bin Laden as the prime suspect 57 times and characterized the perpetrators in terms of "Islamic extremism" once. This refusal to describe the structure and ideology of the enemy represents a striking contrast to the U.S. government's presentation of opposing forces during WWI, WWII, and the Cold War.

The only evident structural component of Bush's rhetoric was a reliance on "good versus evil" terminology. Again, Carter demonstrated through content analysis that out of 25 references to the perpetrators of the attacks, 59 percent contained the word "evil." In addition to being vague, the descriptor is also unpopular. According to a Pew study conducted in April 2002, 75 percent of western Europeans disapprove of Bush's "axis of evil" rhetoric while one third U.S. respondents disapprove. Although many factors determine how a country perceives the threat of terrorism, one of its most direct components is the image of the enemy publicized by the United States (Leavitt, 2004). Saudi foreign policy seems vague towards United States and the world; on one side they are with the US in the war of terror but on the other side Saudi Arabia is the forefront for funding certain organizations who are listed as terrorists (Sherifa, 2007: 11-23). After shedding light on terrorism in Saudi Arabia and its links with the United States, it is worthwhile to clarify this link and the other aspects of foreign policy in the following chapter.

Chapter Five: Conclusions

Generally, it was apparent through my thesis that the foreign policy in the United States changed towards terrorism after the September 11 attacks. Before this period of time, the US maintained focus on diplomatic solutions to solve terrorism concerns. However, after September 11, some policies got changed and military tools and power became the key components of US foreign policy (Scraton, 2002). The ensuing “civil war” and fight against the US occupation has led to the deaths of thousands upon thousands of Iraqis. Consequently, “the stronger the United States military role has become in the Middle Eastern region in recent decades, the less safe U.S. interests have become” (Schweitzer, 2002).

Perhaps it is not just U.S. economic interests that have been jeopardized by the U.S. government, but maybe the welfare of the American people all across the globe has been jeopardized too (Neumann, 2007). Over the past decade the American government has repeatedly aided in the Middle Eastern conflicts in order to secure its assets in the region. Historically, we can see the building of anti-American sentiment in the Gulf area, as the United States has time after time made impossible promises to the Saudi Royal family, only to maintain major control over the world's largest oil producing country.

It is from this, known, but perhaps forgotten information that one can begin to evaluate the September 11th terrorist attacks in another perspective. History does not lie. The greatest cause of anti-American feelings in the Middle East is almost simply due to the tunnel vision of American foreign policy in which the government purposefully ignored the issue of justice (Dobriansky, 2003). In its war for freedom and independence,



the U.S. clearly showed the firm belief that their nationalist rebellion fighting Great Britain was truly a revolutionary event. Their objective was to accomplish integrity for their people and introduce a new democratic age throughout history. Thomas Paine stated, "We have it in our power to begin the world over again, indicating how, from the very beginning, Americans have believed that their policy represents a new development in human history, a particularistic community of universal significance" (as quoted by Francis, 2006: page). Therefore, U.S national identity has been based on the idea that principles established throughout the nation are by the traits and capabilities used by people all around.

Therefore, American foreign policy repeatedly attempts to assume that its interest and the greater interest of mankind as a whole are both on the same track (Smith, 2005). This has created a 'self-referential' perspective of how the world should be governed. Meanwhile, the U.S. has often encouraged the anticipation of one day having the United States the universal figurehead and governor of the new world order, while maintaining its self-rule principle. Furthermore this feeling reveals a belief in American exceptionalism; the belief that the U.S is relatively different and better than other countries (Bleek, 2007). America's "civil religion" offers a means for its people to deduce its united experiences based on the "logic of greatness" (Schweitzer, 2002). For instance, the two most momentous and influential incidents that affected the United State's civil religion were both the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. Both clashes instilled a message (Schweitzer, 2002). A historian of religion, Ernest Lee Tuveson, shows how the second war was considered at the time by stating "more than just another war about a moral issue, even if a great one; it was the crisis of mankind, even if only one nation was

involved” (Smith, 2005). Such an analogy proclaimed in terms of complete destruction, shows how the “nation-state” is considered as a prominent figure that is directly guided by God for the greater good of mankind. This kind of civil religion permits the American people to state in the language of independence that the U.S is an outstanding nation with its people being fortunate.

If the United States seeks to both implement God’s purpose and leads the secular progress of mankind, other states cannot have legitimate interests that go against America's (Lieberman, 2003). By conceptually integrating the U.S. national interest with the improvements and advancements of other countries in this way, the idea of American mission allows the United States to increase the clarity of its own power on the world stage, not by “conquering” other states, but by “liberating” them. When one experiences such a catastrophic event as that of September 2001, framing and contextualization needs to be provided to aid those unable to understand such events (Lieberman, 2003). Assistance needs to be available to help people affected by such life altering circumstances; that in need have questions that have to be answered in order to move forward with their lives. In the United States, the president takes full responsibility to provide this service, to maintain the well being of his/her citizens. As the leader of the nation, the president is to fully express and embody values, character and purpose allowing the president to converse with and to the nation. The president’s role as leader holds significant power which in turn creates support for policies that she/he may favor. The president must be able to shape public opinion; when a crisis comes along, this is where the American people look for that leadership and solutions to the problem (Smith, 2005).

As Smith notes in regard to President Bush, the president's words and actions

“provided implicit moral justification for the outcome of his second goal, which was to prepare the public to accept the policy manifestations of the eventual administration response. [These two rhetorical strategies worked in tandem, so that in the course of employing emotionally charged and provocatively nationalistic imagery. Bush incrementally introduced to the public the core elements of his antiterrorism and subsequently broader foreign policy agenda. In the chaos of September 11 and its aftermath, the desire for vengeance understandably surged through Americans' veins]. Bush plainly stated that the United States will hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts” (Smith, 2005).

Even though the United States is at the core of the “international system”, it is lacking the “moral self-justification” in being unclear with a fraudulent world. It is important for the United States to understand their ties with the “international order” have differed from days of the American national identity foundation. For instance, moral distinctiveness to traditional claims has to be let go (Rogers, 2004).

The world perhaps has not reached Francis Fukuyama's “end of history,” but international law and current world opinion still rest on liberal democratic standards which the U.S claims to want to spread. The challenge facing the American people as they go into a “new world order” is to straighten out this realization of certainty that they are the only moral agency which can guide the recognition of civilization's guarantee (Dobriansky, 2003). In this respect, unilateral militarism is a strategy showing American exceptionalism in a repulsive manner, but misrepresents claims to American universalism (Lieberman, 2003).

Lieberman (2003) contends that it is apparent through the president's speeches that “American national rhetoric” is set. Consider the concept on which Bush has depended greatly to describe the United States, “freedom”. A term like freedom can only

have an important meaning which is partially explained by its cultural framework. Perkovich (2003) among others notes that in the U.S, the term “freedom” has changed and developed over the years, just as American concepts of justice have been altered. Connecting a broad idea with a “particularistic community” the way both President Bush and American nationalism connected the U.S to freedom and human dignity, the effect will identify the theory based on the deficiencies of the people. Neumann (2007) further states that in the “new age of American imperialism”, President Bush persists on demeaning U.S values with a careless precedence of its power, and jeopardizes representing American beliefs as pointless. Good merits and values can only take ever so much double standards before it mislays its moral strength all around the world. It would be an infamy if the U.S were to waste the chance of helping broaden democracy in a significant and efficient way by only using methods which contemplate the ends. A century later, after the American mission stretching the country’s ideals and principles towards other countries, the United States is only exceptional because of its prevalence of power. Being successful with the spread of democracy, the U.S can no longer be ideologically exceptional. Furthermore, it cannot avoid the regular necessities of ‘geopolitical participation’, because it is extremely set-up in the international system. The values that have always represented the U.S should not be projected as images of American identity, but moreover principles of that the people desires, domestically and globally (Rogers, 2004).

E.H. Carr, a leading international relations theorist, has pointed out that following “black-and-white” morals at the cost of available political objectives is not just risky, but critical as well. What took place on September 11 was a “counterproductive” explanation



due to the fact that the attacks proved to be violent on the world from the sides of the terrorists who committed them and the reaction of the United States (Neumann, 2007). In this context, we can notice the interaction between the United States and the currently considered terrorist states before and after the September 11 attacks. Before that day, US foreign policy used diplomacy and politics more than military tools. However, Frum (2003) and others argue that the policy has changed to be warlike. As for the issue of Saudi Arabia, it maintains a strong relationship with the United States to boost the amount of investments in the Saudi Arabian economy. In addition, foreign investment that fulfills the requirements of the Foreign Capital Investment Code enjoys all privileges of nationwide capital and is entitled to the same treatment, protection, and incentives accorded to national capital (Bleek, 2007). The Code requires that foreign capital be invested in economic development projects (which, under the Code, do not include petroleum and mineral projects) and that it be accompanied by technical knowledge. Development projects are defined by the Ministry of Industry and Electricity (Goldberg, 1986).

U.S and Saudi Arabia are partners at the forefront in war against terrorism but due to internal problems in Saudi Arabia the policy remains an ambiguous issue, such as trade economy barriers connected with many terrorist organizations and that linked with sources and collect huge amount of money for terrorist groups. But overall the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the US has been long lasting and strong enough for the two countries to understand each other weaknesses and strengths and cooperate on terrorism (Francis, 2006).

Generally, foreign policy changes from one period of time to the other. Although foreign policy is a self-defining term, since it is made up of the terms "foreign" and "policy," it actually underlies much more than it seems to do. In theory, foreign policy is what we can call a road, path or method through which a government can reach one of the various choices it has in its relations with countries, nations, states, organizations and affairs beyond its boundaries (Frum, 2003). Thus, the dimensions of foreign policy are the possible sets of choices, the particular relationships involving one or more international factors, and above all, the specific time when the policy is applied.

Thus, for example, the foreign policy of the US towards Iran is different today from what it was in 1980. This is because the time is different, the circumstances are different, and because the related international actor, Iran, is also in a different position (Schweitzer, 2002). In 1998, a letter was sent to then President Bill Clinton to start a war with Iraq, calling for the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime, claiming that Iraq posed a threat to the US due to its suspected ability to develop weapons of mass destruction. They added, "we should establish and maintain a strong US presence in the region and be prepared to use that force to protect our vital interests in the Persian Gulf and if necessary, to help remove Saddam from power" (Carter, 2006). The letters were signed by none other than Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, John Bolton, and Richard Perle to name a few who subsequently held key positions in the Bush administration. They wrote to President Clinton urging him to change the US current policy towards Iraq and to express a new strategy that would secure the interests of the US. They felt that the current policy was not succeeding and the US may soon face a threat in the Middle East (Ibrahim, 2003). To quote directly from the letter:

"We urge you to turn your administration's attention to implementing a strategy for removing Saddam's regime from power. This will require a full complement of diplomatic, political and military efforts. Although we are fully aware of the dangers and difficulties in implementing this policy, we believe the dangers of failing to do so are far greater. We believe the US has the authority under the existing UN resolutions to take the necessary steps, including military steps, to protect our vital interests in the Gulf. In any case American policy cannot continue to be crippled by a misguided insistence on unanimity in the UN Security Council" (Migiletta, 2002, pg. 6).

For example, a rich and powerful country with significant resources such as the US is expected to have powerful and complex foreign policy involving goals such as supremacy and leadership in the world. It is also noticed, however, that in countries with poverty and instability, adventurous individuals in command may create unstable foreign policy whereas in industrial and conservative nations, foreign policy tends to be more stable. Similarly, a democratic country is more likely to follow a more rational and stable foreign policy whereas an undemocratic system is more likely to be influenced by the irrational drives of the high rank leaders (Harmon, 2000).

Usually, foreign policy is measured against a system of interests known as the national interest. A foreign policy by definition is supposed and assumed to serve national interests. The relationship between national interests and foreign policy is a very critical one. The reason is that national interests are seen and felt inside the nation or country, whereas foreign policy that is supposed to preserve these interests can only be applied outside the borders of this country.

For example, what were the national interests of the US when it got involved in Iraq and Afghanistan? Harmon (2000) contends that the US itself had no direct interest in either of these countries, but with respect to its national security interests, it was concerned about the potential for future threats coming from these two countries. He goes

on to argue that this is very ironic because these interests are not national, but rather, they are interests of the few. This is true, but these few are in control of the government and the system, and therefore, their interests are national interests, whether we are talking about a democratic or a totalitarian system.

Whether a system is democratic or totalitarian has a very strong impact on the way in which foreign policy is formed. Community dissatisfaction can force a government to stop adopting certain policies or it can force a government to adjust its policies (Harmon, 2000). By and large, democratic countries are less likely to go to war with other democracies because they are bound by the public who are more likely to avoid war (Bleek, 2007). By contrast, totalitarian systems are not bound by public opinion and therefore, as less open to impact from the public, they are freer to involve in radical foreign policy decisions (Durham, 2004). Also important at this level of analysis is the degree of cohesiveness within the system. If a government suffers from many internal conflicts, both politically and economically, it will in theory resort to war or other radical foreign policy decisions in order to divert the attention of the population from internal conflicts (Harmon, 2000). Governments may even go to war for the reason of providing peace and security and in the name of preserving the political and economic national interests of their people.

We must not forget, however, that in the end, foreign policy is just like any other form of policies set by a government. Its overall intentions are to serve interests, but the question is: whose interests? It is no secret that governments are always ruled and driven by minorities often related to interest groups. These groups may represent their own interests or the interests of larger groups in the community. It is the thrust and impact of



these groups that impose policies of the government. Similarly, foreign policy is formulated to satisfy a balance in the national interests of these interest groups within the system (Mehta, 2003).

Money and profit are among all interests the most powerful today. Foreign policies are formulated on these bases today more than ever. Egypt after the 1973 War decided to pursue a peaceful policy with Israel to achieve peace, but beyond the peace, the goal was to achieve economic growth and investment (Neumann, 2007). The US today has similar motives in China, Russia and Vietnam, and even in Iran. Capitalists as representatives of money and capital support foreign policies that will result in greater investments and larger markets. They will avoid war unless necessary, and even if they agree to support war, they will actually support a war that is short, fast and with positive economic consequences. Owners of capital in any system are interested in maintaining profit, economic growth and prosperity. They want to see the world as an open market where their economic interests are continuously growing (Kemp, 1997). When governments formulate their foreign policies today, they do so in the name of national interests, but their definition of national interest can be very limited or wide. For example, the "military-industrial complex" was an expression used by President Eisenhower relating to the fact that the US was ready to pursue foreign policies that did not necessarily benefit all the interest groups in the community, but at least a few of them. But we must not forget above all that foreign policy is also dependent on the way in which leaderships perceive situations and interests.

The perceptions of leaders may not always be logical or rational, but they are certainly influenced by many factors such as culture, occupation, experience, beliefs and

many others (Kemp, 1997). But more importantly, leaders will decide their policies based on their positions within the system and with respect to the interest groups to which they belong. Kemp (1997) notes that in a system such as the US, business leaders are likely to support aggressive but not extreme foreign policies, whereas religious leaders are likely to support conservative and dovish decisions.

After the September 11 attack, the Bush administration shaped its foreign policy to suit American interests in the world as they perceived them and customized this policy to accomplish these goals. Belonging to a certain interest group may or may not reflect the belief systems of individuals. Belief systems influence leaderships if these systems are coherent, especially such as in an ideology. Belief systems enable individuals to perceive changes, values, and aspects of policy in certain ways that are relevant to ideology. Needless to say, if formulation of foreign policy is based on ideological beliefs of foreign policy makers, then flexibility for change might be difficult to achieve (Schweitzer, 2002). On the other hand, if leaders are driven by weak belief systems or by incoherent belief systems, then it is more likely that they will be influenced by changes and they will be more open to change.

Foreign policy formulation is a procedure that does not differ much from other procedures of policy formulation. It is true that the goals and objectives may be of a different and even of conflicting nature and it is true that the impact of foreign policy will be different from the impact of other policies. But the processes are the same. Interest groups will try to have as much impact on the process as possible (Sorrentino, 2002). Interest groups will be setting the guidelines of foreign policies, regardless how different and conflicting these groups may be such as business groups, the military, religious

groups and many others. Similarly, like in other decision making processes, foreign policy is influenced by the belief systems, perceptions, ideologies, and characters of those who occupy the prominent positions in leadership (Kemp, 1997).

In conclusion, US foreign policy has changed quite dramatically in regards to terrorism since the September 11 attacks and this change was caused by the new strategic goals that were set by the Bush administration. As stated by President Bush in the introduction of the *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism*, "No group or nation should mistake America's intentions: We will not rest until terrorist groups of global reach have been found, have been stopped, and have been defeated." In my view, the decision President Bush and his administration made to strike back was actually the right decision to retaliate against those assaults on innocent human lives, even though it will be hard and expensive over the long run. Furthermore, as Leavitt (2004) and others have noted, it will need the American peoples support in order to see it through. The U.S does not have to deal with a hostile "nuclear-armed rival" anymore. But this superiority is taken for granted by many Americans. They feel that they are untouchable in the absence of a cohesive danger to their nation.

There is a belief implanted in the American culture that the United States should incorporate democracy, pluralism, limited government, free markets, constitutionality, the rule of law, free trade and individual freedoms and fights. These ideals are in reality worldwide ideals, spread by different people across countries and continents. It is evident how people from across the world have moved to the United States in search of their inherent faith in the "American idea", and how to this day the, "American idea" is still considered relatively strong (Dobriansky, 2003).

By universally accepting the “American idea”, U.S. foreign policy supporting freedom, democracy, the rule of law, and free trade, is clearly the significant means by which the world’s strongest democracy is supporting what the majority of the world already wants and needs (Dobriansky, 2003). Not only has the United States always been standing up against communist totalitarianism, but also for freedom (Neumann, 2007). The principle objective of the American policy of this century is having a world where their political and economic values stand a chance in becoming a “global creed” (Dobriansky, 2003). As American values are deemed universal, their interests are far-reaching. The United States is probably the only country that identifies at least some level of national interests in the actions of nearly every country in the world. If the U.S. engages actively in international events, they have the power and vision to shape the world around them and promote their long-term interests. But if they fail to engage, they can not prevent other nations from eventually affecting their interests (Dobriansky, 2003). But there must be caution, because of their values and far-reaching interests there are often temptations to inject the United States into every foreign policy issue that arises. Yet the U.S. has limited resources, and not all of their perceived interests are of equal importance. It is clearly neither possible nor desirable for the United States to simply dive into every foreign problem and devote whatever efforts are necessary to reach a solution (Stern, 2006).

The U.S needs a focused strategy that would allow it to address the daily problems which come up and guarantee that their resources would be applied where they are mostly needed for the long term benefit of the country. If problems are not addressed accordingly, they will only escalate even more (Stern, 2006).



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