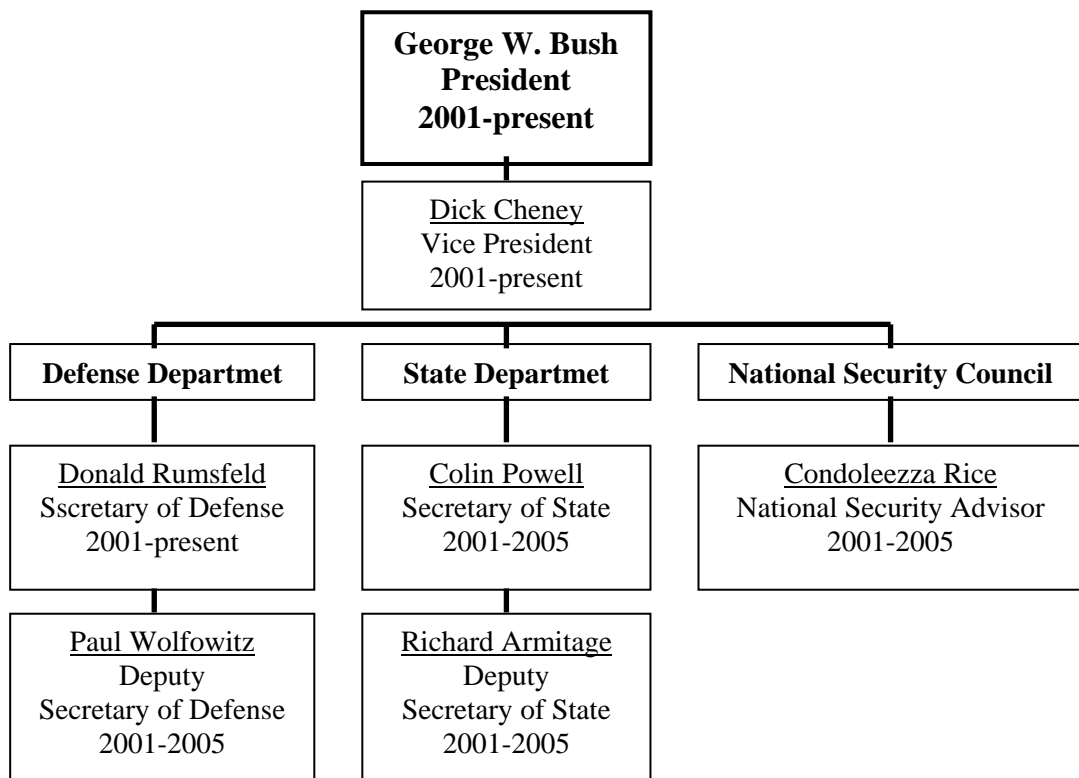


CHAPTER 3
NEOCONSERVATIVES INFLUENCE ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

U.S. foreign policy prior to the September 11

George W. Bush inaugurated the 43rd presidency on January 20, 2001. He became elected president along with an assembly of the new administration foreign policy team in their own name of Vulcans. The word Vulcans captured perfectly the image of the Bush foreign policy team sought to convey a sense of power, toughness, resilience, and durability.²⁹ Six leading members of Vulcans comprise of ;



** This paper limit the scope on 1st Bush administration (2001-2005)
 For the 2nd term of Bush administration, some advisor have been changed their position.*

²⁹ James Mann, *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet*. (USA: Viking Penguin, 2004), p. x.

The Bush team operated from a core of arrogance, they believe the course on which they were embarked (in the name of the United States) had to succeed. The team members showed by their actions, and by their comments on events that they believed what they were doing represented an advance for the whole of civilization. On the progressive movement, any single decision could not be objected. In other words, elements of the leadership was enforced to endow their performance with a moral justification. Moreover, they acted on the assumption that America had the most advanced weaponry, which entitled it to do whatever it wished.

The first eight months under the first Bush administration (January 20-September 10, 2001) focused largely on matters concerning the economy and relations with North Korea, particularly on how to deal with North Korea nuclear efforts.³⁰ In addition, issues were concerned with how to handle the stem-cell research debate. On August 8, 2001, in a televised address to the nation from his ranch in Crawford, Texas, Bush announced that the federal government would fund the research, yet only use human embryos which had already been destroyed.³¹

Importantly, in April 2001, U.S. military spy plane was forced to land at a Chinese military airport. The U.S.-China spy plane incident or Hainan Island incident was one of the first major international challenges that the new administration faced.³²

U.S. foreign policies respond to the September 11

Just eight months after Bush has been in power, the administration's distinctive approach to the world became more criticized after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. As a result of September 11, U.S.

³⁰ "Reported Test Fundamentally Changes the Landscape for U.S. Officials" *Washington Post*, October 9, 2006, A14.

³¹ Remarks by President Bush, "President Discusses Stem Cell Research," August 9, 2001, retrieved March 10, 2007, from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/08/20010809-2.html>.

³² Markham B. Daniel, (2006), "China: The Mob Rules," retrieved March 13, 2007, from http://www.whattofix.com/blog/archives/2006/05/china_the_mob_r_1.php.

foreign policy under Bush administration has been amended to deal with present world situation. It can be categorized into two beliefs. First, a position as the most powerful country of the world, the U.S. makes it the most likely target for any country hostile to the West. Unsurprisingly, other countries who do not want to get in risky situation will ignore an engagement in the U.S. affairs. Therefore, the U.S. should rely on itself. Second, the U.S. should utilize its strength to preemptively destroy rough states before they will have a chance to attack U.S. These two beliefs led to several policies that rely mainly on a new and extraordinary emphasis of the Bush administration on war against terror.

War on terrorism

According to the definition of “Terrorism” on the Oxford Dictionary of Politics, it terms of Terrorism with no agreed definition among governments or academic analysts. It almost invariably used in a pejorative sense, most frequently to describe life threatening actions perpetrated by politically motivated self-appointed sub-state groups”.³³

Terrorism has a global definition that using violent actions include hostage-taking, hijacking, bombing, and other indiscriminate attacks, usually targeting civilians for the benefit of their interests such as regime change, separate territory, gain independence for their national identities or take action against an intervention from external power.

Kurth Cronin document has categorized types of terrorists group into four different types.³⁴ First, *left-wing terrorism*, develop an idea from working-class movement attempt to eliminate class distinctions. Communism evolved from left-wing terrorism. Second, *right wing terrorism*, drawing its inspiration from fascism. This form of terrorism have long traditions and violence against ethnic, racial, sexual and political minorities Third, *ethnonationalist or separatist terrorism*, accompanying

³³ Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan, *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 532.

³⁴ “Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism,” *International Security* 27, no. 3 (2002/2003), pp. 30-58.

the wave of decolonization. Fourth, *religious or sacred terrorism*, have developed and bred from the Iranian Revolution in 1979. The common resort to violence occurs when a religious group feels threatened and thinks of itself as a chosen people. There are some warning signs of a dangerous religious group. For example, when they strongly believe in reward after life, they can sacrifice themselves in any violent act to follow the way of God. Another example is preparation of a defensive nature, usually indicated by a buildup of guns, poisons or weapons of mass destruction.³⁵

Interestingly, the religious or sacred terrorism is becoming more significant. Before September 11, the character of terrorism mostly perceived as using violence for political purpose or representing of ethnic minority groups. Nevertheless, an emergence of new terrorism has use the excuse of religious reason such as belief in rewards in the afterlife by using suicide tactics or murder many of non-believers to extend their influences in many targeted area.³⁶ Religious terrorism uses a term *jihad* to justify their actions. The word Jihad represents a concept of Muslim effort against evil in themselves or societies. They deliberately sacrifice themselves by struggling to live a perfect life and a complete submission to God. Moreover, religious terrorists will not only sacrifice themselves but will also have little compunction about killing large numbers of civilians.

The definition of religious terrorists mentioned above is illustrated by American perception. A number of people today view Islam as a hostile and aggressive religion. This perception has been reinforced by the acts of terrorists on September 11. Therefore, the world opinion views Islam as a violent religion. People associate Islam with Saddam Hussein, suicide bombers, Osama bin Laden, and September 11. Few people perceive Islam as a religion that forbids any kind of aggression, and permits fighting only in self-defense (Quran 2:190). The religion of Islam, described by God in the Quran stands for peace and tolerance. It does not

³⁵ Robert Burton, "Religious Terrorism: One religion is as true as another," retrieved February 19, 2007, from <http://faculty.ncwc.edu/TOConnor/429/429lect13.htm>.

³⁶ Walter Laqueur, "Postmodern terrorism," *Foreign Affairs* 75, no.5 (1996), pp. 24-36.

condone or encourage terrorism.³⁷ In addition, jihad is defined as “defensive warfare because Islam cannot justify aggressive war. Muhammad and the Tradition are also against killing non-combatants, torturing of prisoners, the destruction of crops, animals and homes.”³⁸ This has shown common misconceptions about the Islamic and Quranic perspectives on war and peace, which is dominated by Western media. Besides the religious cause of September 11, it is interesting to explore a reason why so called Islamic extremist attacked the U.S.

September 11 was accused by the U.S. that the attack led by a series of coordinated terrorist suicide attacks by Islamic extremists became the most devastated event in American history. A few days after the attack, the U.S. government determined to show the world that Al-Qaeda headed by Osama bin Laden was responsible for the attacks. To respond to such accusation, Bin Laden had publicly revealed involvement by giving a reason to pose the U.S. and its citizens as prime target that it was a result of the U.S. has close ties with Israel, they want to force U.S. to stop its support for Israel, which kills many of them.

Bin Laden also claimed that he wants to restore freedom to its nation, to punish the aggressor, and to inflict economic damage on America. Bin Laden said, “We swore that America wouldn't live in security until we live it truly in Palestine. This showed the reality of America, which puts Israel's interest above its own people's interest. America will not get out of this crisis until it gets out of the Arabian Peninsula, and until it stops its support of Israel.”³⁹ Such statement indicates that internal political conflicts within the Muslim world are the primary causal factors for the attacks of September 11.

War on Terror has shown how fundamentally American conservatism and liberalism have changed in recent year. Conservatives have historically preferred

³⁷ “The Quran on Wars And Aggression,” (2002), retrieved March 26, 2007, from <http://www.submission.info/perspectives/striving/wars.html>.

³⁸ Sajid Iqbal. (2006). “True Lies - Misconceptions about Islam,” retrieved March 26, 2007, from <http://www.therevival.co.uk/?p=251>.

³⁹ “Bin Ladin: Reasons to attack remain,” retrieved March 30, 2007, from <http://english.aljazeera.net/English/archive/archive?ArchiveId=7382>.

isolation, only in cases of obvious threats to American territory that such statement would be changed. Liberals also oppose the war in Iraq. The American ideology has transformed itself by replacing conservative with neoconservative, particularly in the case of Iraq.

In the days after September 11, the Vulcans were determined to do things differently from the past. Now they were no longer willing to listen to old excuses, old rationalization, and old way of thinking of the sort that they had had to tolerate when they had deal with the world in previous administration. Evidently, the declaration of war on terror and Iraq case, they show how the U.S. acted unilaterally and aggressively against its enemies.⁴⁰

Bush and the Vulcans delivered the policies and strategies over the following year. One important speech that implied self-will of the U.S. “You’re either with us or against us.” To the Vulcans these words were meant to demonstrate that it was a new era and America had changed after September 11. “History starts today.” There would be no more long-winded explanation, no more shades of gray.⁴¹ Wolfowitz, who is characterized as neoconservatives hawks, was in any real way experts on Iraq. He called for a strategy of ending states support for terrorism as well as proposed to move to overthrow some existing governments that is Iraq and Saddam Hussein.⁴²

Bush's policy respond to September 11 came on October 8, 2001 during a speech to Congress, he announced the creation of the Office of Homeland Security and appointed Tom Ridge as its director. The stated goal of the Homeland Security office was set to develop and coordinate the implementation of a comprehensive national strategy and, to secure the U.S. from terrorist threats or attacks.

⁴⁰ James Mann, *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War cabinet*. (USA: Viking Penguin, 2004), p 297.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p 299.

⁴² “Wolfowitz Defense Department briefing,” An interview on *Fox News with Brit Hume*, September 13, 2001.

Subsequently, the U.S. government did not hesitate to set up the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States⁴³, which commonly called the 9/11 Commission. It was created by congressional legislation in late 2002. The 9/11 Commission is responsible for providing an explanation to what happened and recommendations designed to guard against future attacks.

Moreover, regarding international organization resolution against terrorism, the UNSC set up a Counter Terrorism Committee (CTC)⁴⁴ with a mandate from Security Council resolution 1373(2001), which was adopted on September 28, 2001. The CTC measures the criminalization of terrorism-related activities and provision of assistance to carry out those acts, denial of funding and safe to terrorists and exchange of information on terrorist groups.

Bush administration declared a war on terrorism with the stated goals of bringing Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda to justice, ending produce or deliver of weapons of mass destruction, and preventing the emergence of other terrorist networks. These goals include economic and military sanctions against states perceived as harboring terrorists and increasing global surveillance and intelligence sharing.

Bush Doctrine

"As a matter of common sense and self-defense, America will act against emerging threats before they are fully formed. We will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defense by acting preemptively against terrorists, to prevent them from doing harm against our people and our country."

National Security Strategy of the United States, September 2002

⁴³ The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. (2004), retrieved December 13, 2006, from <http://www.9-11commission.gov>.

⁴⁴ The Committee's Mandate. (2006), retrieved December 13, 2006, from <http://www.un.org/sc/ctc/mandate.shtml>.

As mentioned above on War on Terrorism, it accompanied by the widely criticized doctrine of 'pre-emptive' military action, later termed the Bush Doctrine. Bush doctrine is a set of foreign policy outline a broad new phase in the U.S. policy. A new policy of the U.S. to retaliate terrorism does not only emphasize on terrorists group themselves, it also against any groups or individual who harbor them. In addition, this the U.S. decisive policy implies that any nation that does not take a proactive stance against terrorism would be seen as supporting it. It seems that the U.S. play a dominating role to force other nations to take side either ally with the U.S., or with terrorists.

According to short phrase from National Security Strategy of the United States, core element of Bush doctrine is *preemptive action*. It illustrates that the U.S. confident to launch actively policy by ignoring to deliberately consider whether its enemy decides to attack or not. In addition, there are other elements of bush doctrine, which are *Unilateralism, Strength Beyond Challenge, and Extending Democracy, Liberty, and Security to all regions*.⁴⁵

To explain each element of Bush doctrine, we begin with a notion of *Preemption*. An essential concept of this strategy authorizes an action to launch strike firstly to enemy before they strike against the U.S. However, to achieve this strategy, website of the White House mention remarkable conditions such as building better, more integrated intelligence capabilities to provide timely, accurate information on threats, wherever they may emerge. Coordination closely with allies to form a common assessment of the most dangerous threats, however this condition is less respected in many case due to an arrogance of the U.S. unilateralism.

As mentioned earlier on *unilateralism*, it means the action in disregard for other parties. Interestingly, Iraq War is a debatable issue because a number of the U.S. allies such as France, Germany and Turkey are not willing to participate in the U.S.

⁴⁵ The Transmission of Military Doctrine in a Unipolar World: The Diffusion of the Doctrine of Preemption and Preventative War. (2005), retrieved January 7, 2007, from <http://www.allacademic.com>.

decision on the Iraq War. Therefore, the U.S. operations in Iraq acted alone without the support of multilateral institutions.

The last two strategies are *Strength beyond Challenge, and Extending Democracy, Liberty, and Security to all regions*. The former emphasizes on a continuity to maintain status of the world's sole military superpower. The latter relates to a notion of American exceptionalism that the U.S. perceive itself is responsible to ensure security of the world by spreading democracy and liberty to all nations.

However, a legitimate concept of unilateralism is discredited when it compare with a concept of preventive action. Preemptive action and Unilateralism have implicitly shown that the U.S. still possesses a position of superiority and the U.S. cannot tolerate threat from anyone. Nevertheless, comparing a definition of preventive action and preemptive action, the former occur when we know exactly what our enemy are, and what they decide to do. On the contrary, the latter have no guarantee that what our enemies are going to do. Therefore, preemptive action is considered that it is legitimate when the threats are emerging or sufficient, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy's attack.

Importantly, critics of the Bush doctrine have two sides. The first side criticizes the doctrine that violate Article 2 (3) of the UN Charter, which states, "All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered." On the other hand, Supporters of the doctrine quote Article 1 of the UN Charter: "To maintain international peace and security and, to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace."

Thinkably, U.S. foreign policies toward each country operate differently. It seems that the power of neoconservatives in the Bush administration is apparent in the U.S. policy toward the Middle East, it has not been seen in the U.S. policy toward China and Russia or in the handling of the North Korean nuclear crisis.

Invasion of Iraq

In fact, the decision to invade Iraq was planned since the inauguration of Bush's presidency but it had little movement toward an invasion until September 11. The U.S. officials speculated on possible involvement by Saddam Hussein to public acceptance for invasion of Iraq. The argument for war with Iraq was pressed by many Bush advisors particularly Richard Perle, who served as Chairman of the Defense Policy Board that "The *casus belli* is that we know Saddam Hussein possess chemical and biological weapons, we know that he hates the United States and we know that he is working on nuclear weapons"⁴⁶

Initially, some Bush advisors favored building an international coalition and obtained United Nations authorization, while others advocated an immediate invasion of Iraq. The former group who favor building coalition is Brent Scowcroft. His preoccupation was in furthering American interests through stable relations with other major powers, no matter what form of government those powers has. Also he operated his own private consulting firm to maintain close ties with Saudi Arabia and the other Arab governments in the Middle East that had joined with America in the Gulf War. He proposed that the administration should not go to war with Iraq until making progress toward peace between Israel and the Palestine.⁴⁷ Colin Powell was putting forward the same argument that the administration should first go to the United Nations and get it to insist on the return of weapons inspectors to Iraq. On the contrary, Cheney rejected the argument that the Bush administration should not seek to have UN weapons inspectors sent back to Iraq.

Bush administration attempted to propose the United Nations on the idea of war in Iraq by promoting the concept of terror as a great threat to the entire world's peace. Therefore, terrorism has become the new bogeyman, which replaced communism.

⁴⁶ Debate between Richard Perle and Leon Fuerth on the issue of "The use of Islamist militants by American and Israeli militarists: The war in Afghanistan to September 11 and beyond," sponsored by University of Maryland School of Public Affairs and Hudson Institute, section 4, April 17, 2002, p.1.

⁴⁷ Transcript of interview with Brent Scowcroft, *Face the Nation*, August 4, 2002.

Importantly, behind the painted scene of a willingness to promote democracy and an attempt to devastate WMDs as well as terrorist network, the fact is that the objective of neoconservative on war in Iraq is a willingness to overthrow Saddam's regime and set up Iraqi puppet government for the purpose of dominating OPEC.⁴⁸ Regime change in the Middle East is the first step to reorder the entire region according to neoconservatives. Moreover, neoconservatives argued that removing Saddam will do a number of positive things. As a result, the U.S. and friends can build a peaceful, prosperous, democratic, secular state in Iraq. Therefore, in turn, the U.S.'s role will be a powerful catalyst for promoting change and reform throughout the Islamic world.

⁴⁸ Stephen Pelletiere, *American's Oil War*. (USA: Green Wood Publishing Group, 2004), pp. 133-134.