

**THE ROLE OF NEOCONSERVATIVE IDEAS
IN THE SECURITY POLICIES OF
THE FIRST GEORGE W. BUSH ADMINISTRATION**

A Master's Thesis

**by
ARİF ÇELİK**

**Department of
International Relations
Bilkent University
Ankara
September 2005**

THE ROLE OF NEOCONSERVATIVE IDEAS
IN THE SECURITY POLICIES OF
THE FIRST GEORGE W. BUSH ADMINISTRATION

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

by

ARİF ÇELİK

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE DEPARTMENT OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

September 2005

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Tore Fougner
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Jeremy Salt
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Paul Williams
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Institute of Economics and Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Erdal Erel
Director

ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF NEOCONSERVATIVE IDEAS IN THE SECURITY POLICIES OF THE FIRST GEORGE W. BUSH ADMINISTRATION

Çelik, Arif

M.A., Department of International Relations

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Tore Fougner

September 2005

This thesis attempts to make a contribution to the debate on the role played by neoconservative ideas in the first George Walker Bush Administration's (2000-2004) foreign and security policies. While supporting the view that such ideas have had a significant impact on the policies in question, the thesis moves beyond a simplistic cause-effect analysis of the relationship between ideas and policy to a concern with the greater complexity involved in the transformation of neoconservative ideas into US foreign and security policies. More specifically, and based on a constructivist analytical framework emphasizing the interactive relationship between ideas and material circumstances, the thesis draws attention to the crucial role played by September 11 terrorist attacks in paving the way for a neoconservative influence on US foreign and security policies. Through its focus on the interactive relationship between neoconservative ideas and various material circumstances, the thesis provides an improved account of how these ideas came to influence US foreign and security policies.

Keywords: Neoconservative Ideas, George W. Bush, Foreign and Security Policies, Constructivism, September 11, Material Circumstances.

ÖZET

İLK GEORGE W. BUSH YÖNETİMİNİN GÜVENLİK POLİTİKALARINDA YENİ-MUHAFAZAKAR FİKİRLERİN ROLÜ

Çelik, Arif

Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Assist. Prof. Tore Fougner

Eylül 2005

Bu çalışma, ilk George Walker Bush Yönetimi'nin dış ve güvenlik politikalarının belirlenmesinde, bu Yönetimin üst kadrolarında yeralan yeni-muhafazakarların rolü konusundaki akademik tartışmalara bir katkı sağlamak amacını gütmektedir. Yeni-muhafazakar fikirlerin, Bush Yönetimi'nin 11 Eylül sonrası güvenlik politikaları üzerinde önemli oranda etkili olduğunu savunan bu çalışma, fikir ve politika arasında basit bir sebep sonuç ilişkisi kurmanın ötesine geçerek, sözkonusu fikirlerin politikaya dönüşüm sürecinin karmaşık yapısına dikkatleri çekmektedir. Siyasi sonuçların (political outcome) fikirler (ideas) ile çevremizdeki materyal dünyanın (material circumstances) karşılıklı etkileşimi sonucu ortaya çıktığını savunan Konstrüktivist (Constructivist) bir yaklaşımla konuyu inceleyen bu çalışma, yeni-muhafazakar fikirlerin dış ve güvenlik politikalarına dönüşme sürecinde 11 Eylül 2001 terörist saldırılarının önemini vurgulamaktadır. Fikir ve politika arasındaki karşılıklı etkileşime odaklanmasıyla bu çalışma, yeni-muhafazakar fikirlerin ABD dış ve güvenlik politikalarını nasıl etkilediğine dair önemli bir perspektif sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeni-Muhafazakar Fikirler, George W. Bush, Dış ve Güvenlik Politikaları, Konstrüktivizm, 11 Eylül, Materyal Şartlar.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Tore Fougner, without whose intellectual support and emphasis on work discipline this dissertation would not have materialized. More than this, I will be ever grateful for the standard of academic work that he has contributed to set for me. I am also grateful to the two other members of my dissertation committee, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Jeremy Salt and Assist. Prof. Dr. Paul Williams, for both their valuable comments related to the dissertation, and their pieces of advice pointing beyond it. Furthermore, I thank Bilkent University for having provided me with both a deep interest in academic work, and the necessary background for an academic career. Last, but not least, I express the deepest gratitude to my family for its support, encouragement and sustained patience during this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I: IDEAS AND FOREIGN POLICY	6
1.1. Ideas Matter	7
1.2. The Role of Ideational Factors in Political Explanation	8
1.3. Ideas and Security Studies	13
1.4. Ideas and Foreign Policy Analysis	15
1.5. The Analytical Framework	17
1.6. Discussion on the Application to the Case of George W. Bush's Security Policies	21
CHAPTER II: NEOCONSERVATISM	24
2.1. Origins	25
2.2. Beliefs and Foreign Policy Proposals	26
2.3. Intellectual Background	28
2.4. Today's Neoconservatives	29
2.5. Institutions	31
2.6. Publications	35
2.7. Neoconservatives in the First George W. Bush Administration ...	35
2.8. Neoconservatives and Israel	38
CHAPTER III: US FOREIGN POLICY MAKING AND THE BUSH TEAM	41
3.1. The Debate on the Neocon Influence	42
3.2. Constitutional Powers, Institutions and Ideologies Regarding US Foreign Policy	44
3.2.1. Constitutional Powers	44

3.2.2. Institutions	45
3.2.3. Ideological Foreign Policy Trends	47
3.3. George W. Bush's Foreign Policy Team	51
3.3.1. Colin Powell	51
3.3.2. Condoleezza Rice	53
3.3.3. Donald Rumsfeld	54
3.3.4. Dick Cheney	55
3.4. Who Pulled the Foreign Policy Strings?	56
CHAPTER IV: SEPTEMBER 11 AND THE NEOCONSERVATIVE	
INFLUENCE	58
4.1. First Eight Months: Neoconservative Influence?	59
4.2. September 11 As a Material Factor	62
4.3. After September 11: Bush Junior's Rhetoric	66
4.4. After September 11: Neocon Ideas and US Security Strategy ...	70
4.5. After September 11: Neocon Ideas and US Security Policy	74
CONCLUSION: A MIXTURE OF IDEATIONAL AND MATERIAL	
FACTORS	79
BIBLIOGRAPHY	86

INTRODUCTION

This thesis attempts to make a contribution to the debate on the role played by neoconservative ideas in the security policies of the first George W. Bush Administration (2000-2004). Taking the significant impact of neoconservative ideas on the policies in question for granted, the thesis moves beyond a simplistic cause-effect analysis of the relationship between ideas and policies to a concern with the greater complexity involved in the transformation of neoconservative ideas into US foreign and security policies.¹ Based on an analytical framework emphasizing the complex interaction between ideas and material circumstances, the thesis draws attention to the crucial role played by September 11 in paving the way for a neoconservative influence on US foreign and security policies. Through its focus on the interactive relationship between neoconservative ideas and various material circumstances, this thesis provides an improved account of how the neoconservative ideas came to influence US foreign and security policies.

¹ It is difficult to draw a certain line between foreign and security policies. Therefore, although there are conceptual differences between 'foreign' and 'security' policies, of which the former involves the latter conceptually, the terms 'foreign policy' and 'security policy' will be used interchangeably throughout the thesis as it has become a common usage. For an analysis on the vague distinction between foreign and security policies see Waever (1995).

By demonstrating that post-September 11 US security policies, to a great extent, accord with the formulation of long-lasting neoconservative foreign policy suggestions for the US, this thesis argues that neoconservative ideas played a significant role in shaping the Bush Administration's security policies only after September 11's terrorist attacks. While September 11, as a material factor in its own right, played the role of a stimulus for policy change, neoconservative ideas have been largely effective in determining which types of new policies would replace the old ones.

September 11's terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center (WTC) and Pentagon provoked the Bush Administration's² aggressive posture on foreign policy. Alleging that the Taliban harbored terrorists, the US's immediate counter-attack on Afghanistan and its later offensive against Iraq, precipitated a debate in the media as well as in academic circles. The object of such discussion was provision of meaningful expressions as to the causes and implications of these 'distinct' foreign and security policies pursued by the US.³

The influence of what has been called "neoconservatism" on US foreign and security policies became a significant focus of attention during these debates. According to Patricia Greve, two interpretations of the neoconservative role in these debates predominated: one positing that a smart and powerful neoconservative clique had taken "over the American political system in a coup-like fashion," leading the US to wage two wars in two years, and the other proposing that "neoconservative ideas had carried the day with the only justifiable antiterrorism strategic response to September 11" (Greve, 2004).

² Unless otherwise is mentioned, the phrase "Bush Administration" will refer to the first George W. Bush Administration throughout the thesis.

³ Daalder and Lindsay (2003b) term these "distinct" policies of George W. Bush as a "revolution" in foreign policy.

Greve approves neither of these interpretations, arguing that the first interpretation can be labeled as a conspiracy theory that not only fails to “explain *in what manner* neoconservative ideas and actors became important,” but that also “draws conclusions about the direct influence of neoconservatives from their mere presence in the Bush Administration.” She further argues that the second interpretation “is apologetic and similarly one dimensional,” serving as a justification for the wars waged despite the strong opposition of the international community (Greve, 2004).

The proponents of the first argument are right when they cite empirical evidence that the individuals with a neoconservative conviction - who have advocated a reorganization of the Middle East since the beginning of 1990s - have been inside the Bush Administration as well as in the media and think tanks in the US. However, their argument ignores the fact that the neoconservatives have been only a part of the heterogeneous circles in the Administration, where the strategic and political discussions about security-related decisions take place. Thus taking this neoconservative influence during this Administration for granted, it is perhaps more remarkable to note that they could not realize many of their policy proposals during the George W. Bush Presidency prior to September 11. Neocons⁴ became effective after September 11, which made top Bush officials feel the need to reconsider their foreign policy paradigms. September 11 gave the neocons - undeniably a well-prepared intellectual community, with a successful articulation of their policy proposals for decades - an opportunity to guide the US foreign policy. Therefore September 11, with its political and psychological effects regarding the internal state

⁴ As it has become a common usage in the literature, the terms “neocon” and “neoconservative” will be used interchangeably in the remaining parts of the thesis.

of the US as well as the international conjuncture, paved the way for neocons to influence the Bush Administration's foreign and security policies.

In the first chapter of this thesis, a constructivist framework of analysis is established, with a clarification of its position within the International Relations (IR) discipline. This chapter discusses the significance of ideas in political explanation firstly. The literatures of Security Studies and Foreign Policy Analysis are then outlined with specific reference to works concerning ideas prepared under the frameworks of these literatures. After establishing an analytical framework for a constructivist analysis emphasizing the interactive relationship of ideas and material circumstances in the production of political outcomes, the chapter continues with a discussion on the application of its framework to the case it handles: the role of neoconservative ideas in the Bush Administration's security policies.

Neoconservatism is introduced in the second chapter, which identifies neoconservatives as an ideological cohort with parts of its network in think tanks, media and politics. The identification of the neoconservative ideology, its origins, intellectual background, institutions and publications, is also located in the second chapter. This chapter further introduces the people in the Bush Administration known by their neoconservative convictions, and outlines what they had prepared as foreign policy proposals prior to the Presidency of George W. Bush.

Chapter Three addresses the context of decision-making in the US with reference to key foreign policy officials of the Bush Administration. By outlining the foreign policy apparatus and also ideological traditions operating in the US and introducing the foreign policy ideas of top Bush officials all of whom influence foreign and security policy decisions, this chapter emphasizes that the

neoconservative presence in the Bush Administration did not guarantee their influence on the formulation of US security policies.

Chapter Four investigates the neoconservative influence on US security policies before and after September 11, discovering a high level of consistency between US security policies after September 11 and long-lasting neoconservative policy proposals. Trying to find an answer to the question of how US foreign and security policies came to conform to neoconservative prescriptions, within the context of which the role of September 11 - with its political and psychological effects both internally and externally - comes to be the focus of attention; the chapter argues that other than the role of neoconservative ideas, also September 11 had a remarkable role on the shaping of Bush Administration's post-September 11 security policies.

The concluding chapter of this thesis offers a summary of the study and argues that it provides a better account of how neocon ideas came to influence US foreign and security policies. It also addresses some additional factors that helped shape post-September 11 US security policies, besides neocon ideas and 9/11.⁵ Perceived as an ongoing problem in itself for the US, the first of these factors was Iraq. A second factor was the domestic political coalition of which neoconservative actors became a part. Neocons shared several views with aggressive realists like Cheney and Rumsfeld, including skepticism about the effectiveness of international institutions, treaties and diplomacy. And this sharing of ideas facilitated the transcription of neoconservative prescriptions into policies after 9/11. A third factor was Bush's domestic political considerations, which might have informed his decision to adopt a radical posture in foreign policy.

⁵ As it is also a common usage, the phrase "9/11" will be used interchangeably with the phrase "September 11" in order to refer the terrorist attacks on World Trade Center and Pentagon in 2001.

CHAPTER 1

IDEAS AND FOREIGN POLICY

This chapter outlines the analytical framework informing this thesis and discusses this framework in relation to the specific case being analyzed – namely, the role of neoconservative ideas in George W. Bush’s security policies. Accordingly, the chapter begins with a consideration of the importance of ideas in political explanation. Before outlining its analytical framework, however, the thesis firstly reviews different theoretical views regarding the role of ideas in political outcomes. These views are classified under three titles: idealism, materialism and constructivism. The chapter further reviews literatures on Security Studies and Foreign Policy Analysis, with specific reference to works concerning ideas published under the context of these literatures. Knowledge of both literatures is crucial to this thesis, as the decision-making process of US security policies are analyzed throughout. Pursuant to surveying relevant literatures, the chapter then explains its constructivist approach as one that considers political outcomes as products of a complex interaction of material and ideational factors. The chapter concludes with a

discussion on the application of this analytical framework with respect to the specific case analyzed.

1.1. IDEAS MATTER

“How many divisions has the pope?” was Stalin’s mocking question to hint at what he considered the power of ideas apart from the tools of force (Brands, 2003:1). Ironically the dissolution of Stalin’s country came by a couple of ideas: *perestroika* and *glasnost* (Farrell, 2002: 71).⁶ Although ideas are not independent factors to shape social and political life, political scientists have only relatively recently afforded them the role they deserve. Although material force is the “final arbiter of international affairs,” ideas are, according to H. W. Brands, the “trigger of force, governor of force, and the measure of whether force has accomplished what its authors desire” (Brands, 2003: 1). As Brands further summarizes, “Force may be *how* international affairs are waged; ideas are *why*” (Brands, 2003:1).

Ideas should be accorded a crucial role in political explanation, since “*ideas provide the point of mediation between actors and their environment*” (Hay, 2002: 209-210). Actors behave the way they do because they hold certain assumptions and views about the social and political environment in which they find themselves. In other words, the ideas actors hold about the contexts they inhabit are crucial to the way they act; and, hence, to political outcomes. This suggests an important role for ideational factors in political analysis.

Political ideas are of importance also for the *definition of interests*. Definition of interests is a very significant determining factor for the nature of policies actors choose to implement. And those interests are both socially constructed and value

⁶ For the importance of ideas for the dissolution of the Soviet Union, see Checkel (1993) and Mendelson (1993). See also Brands (2003:1).

laden. Ideas matter because they serve policy makers as ‘road maps’ for action, supplying them with insights into which policies will beget which conclusions (Goldstein and Keohane, 1993: 16). Max Weber emphasizes this relationship metaphorically: like switchmen at the railway junctions, ideas have determined the tracks along which action has been pushed by the dynamic of interest (Hall, 1993: 48).

1.2. THE ROLE OF IDEATIONAL FACTORS IN POLITICAL EXPLANATION

The role of ideas in social and political life has been a highly contested issue for a long time.⁷ The main reason for this lengthy debate is participants’ underlying attributions of various degrees of importance to the *ideational* versus *material* dimensions of the world we live in. The role attributed to ideas in political analysis varies from one analytical approach to another, reflecting deep-rooted assumptions about, among others, the role of theory, the value of parsimony and the status of knowledge claims political analysts make. An overview of various positions on the role of ideas in determining political outcomes will help this chapter identify its analytical framework, as the underlying assumptions of the thesis will be clarified towards the end of this chapter.

What lies at the core of the debate among the principal positions regarding the role of ideas in political analysis, is the question of whether ideas should be accorded a causal role independent of material factors. Thus framed, the debate distinguishes between three main positions: idealism, materialism and constructivism (see Figure 1).

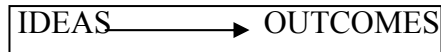
⁷ In this part, this dissertation to a great extent benefitted from the excellent overview of the issue by Hay (2002).

As summarized in Figure 1, the first of these positions is that adopted by contemporary idealists – postmodernists, deconstructivists, interpretivists, hermeneuticists and poststructural discourse analysts. Idealism posits that no relationship between the material realm and the realm of ideas exists since language is everything and there is nothing outside of the text. Contemporary forms of idealism tend to reject a causal approach to social and political analysis in which the relative weights of the material and ideational factors are assessed. They rather focus on constitutive logics and processes – the construction, in discourse, of those objects on which material status is conventionally conferred. In this way, idealists tend to ‘deconstruct’ and dissolve the distinction between the ideational and the material. Since the main purpose of idealists' analysis tends to be less the elucidation of causal factors responsible for particular outcomes than an attempt to establish the (discursive) conditions of existence of specific social and political practices, Figure 1's schematic depiction is not completely accurate. In the final analysis, what is more accurate is that the contemporary idealists confine their analyses to the discursive (which they perceive as coextensive with the social).

Figure 1: The role of ideational factors in political explanation (Hay, 2002: 206)

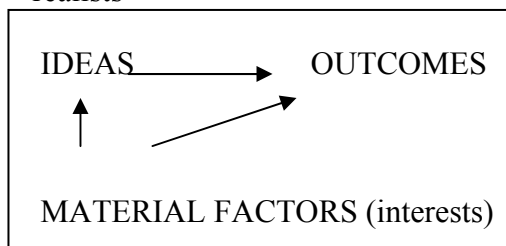
1. Idealism:

Postmodernists; interpretivists; some discursive analysts



2. Materialism:

Marxists (historical materialists); rational choice theorists; realists and neo-realists



3. Constructivism:

Constructivists; critical realists; some historical institutionalists; some ‘critical’ discourse analysts

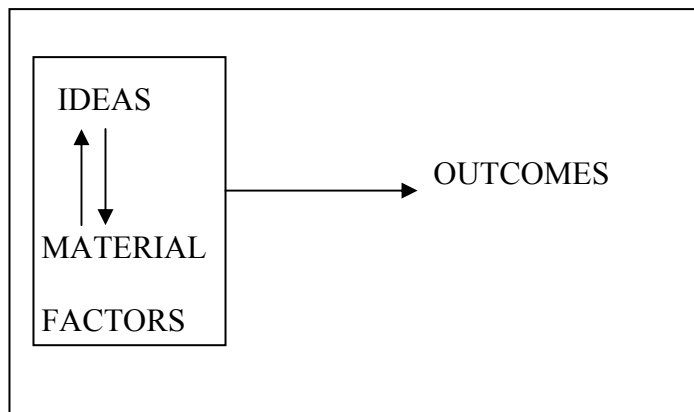


Table 1: Positions in the material-ideational debate (Hay, 2002: 206)

Account	Prioritises ideational factors and constitutive logics	Prioritises material factors and causal logics
Simple view of material-ideational	Idealism	Materialism
Dialectical view of Material-ideational	“Thick”constructivism	“Thin”constructivism; critical realism

The second position, contemporary materialism, usually takes one of two forms. The first of these, often associated with an aggressive and assertive behavioralism, dismisses non-material factors as irrelevant to political science, which is modeled closely on the natural sciences. In this rigid positivist position, the ideational realm is dismissed as a mere rhetorical distraction whereas the material is accepted to circumscribe the realm of the real. Advocates of this view argue that the purpose of political science should be the elucidation of the ‘genuine’ (read material) causal mechanisms responsible for specific political outcomes.

Recent years have witnessed a subtle shift in emphasis and a remarkable softening in tone among materialist scholars. Many contemporary materialists are prepared to concede the seeming dependence of political outcomes upon the ideas actors hold about the environments in which they find themselves. However, according to their view, ideas which animate and inform political behavior are, in fact, shaped by material circumstances – principally by material interests; thus, ideas should not be attributed any independent causal role.

The third position is that of constructivism. Constructivists recognize that we cannot hope to understand political behavior without understanding the ideas actors

hold about the contexts in which they find themselves. They argue that political outcomes are not produced directly from the desires, motivations and cognitions of the immediate actors themselves, but emerge from a complex interaction of material and ideational factors. As Colin Hay puts it, according to constructivists:

Political outcomes are, in short, neither a simple reflection of actors' intentions and understandings nor of the contexts which give rise to such intentions and understandings. Rather, they are a product of the impact of the strategies actors devise as means to realize their intentions upon a context, which favours certain strategies over others and does so irrespective of the intentions of the actors themselves (Hay, 2002: 208).

Yet there is not a homogeneous school of constructivism. Constructivism is constituted from a wide range of positions. As illustrated in Table 1, the idealist end of the spectrum contains varieties of 'thick' constructivism eager to privilege the constitutive role of ideas without entirely denying the significance of material factors. At the other end of the spectrum there are varieties of critical realism whose rather 'thinner' constructivism tends to emphasize instead the constraints that the material world places on such discursive constructions. However, each of these positions shares a complex or dialectical view of the relationship between the ideational and the material.

As it is interested in the decision-making process of the US security policies, this thesis benefits from the literatures of both Foreign Policy Analysis and Security Studies.⁸ Therefore, an historical overview of the place of ideas in those literatures will follow.

⁸ It is sometimes difficult to draw a certain line between foreign and security policies. Security issues mostly include military component, whereas foreign policy issues are broader to include political, economic, environmental and also security issues. Therefore, although there are conceptual differences between 'foreign' and 'security' policies, 'foreign policy' can be used instead of the term

1.3. IDEAS AND SECURITY STUDIES

It is not easy to write on the role of ideas on security policy because the field of security in particular, and the discipline of IR more generally, have long been influenced by materialist approaches. Thanks to progress achieved in studies of ideas since the end of the Cold War, however, current IR theory now shows signs of overcoming this materialist predominance, paving a way for the examination of the ideational context of policy formation.⁹ The contributions of constructivist scholars, along with this constructivist turn in International Relations, has created more space and also recognition for ideational analyses of world events.¹⁰

After World War II, 'states,' perceived as the main players in international arena, became predominant in the field of economics and security. Under the influence of Keynesian economics, advance towards the realization of welfare states expanded state functions. Governments regarded themselves as responsible for providing for the economic well being of their citizens and this naturally extended the powers of state. In this context, the protection of national security, perceived as an objective identification and neutralization of threats to the state, became a central priority of government. The realist or conventional understanding of security, which this international context helped to establish, continued to dominate IR until the international realm faced different types of events - such as the demise of the Soviet

'security policy' since the latter is involved by the former conceptually. For an analysis on the vague distinction between foreign and security policies see Waever (1995: 46-86).

⁹ The works on the role of ideas in International Relations have so far been published mostly on International Political Economy. Probably the most known work on the role of ideas on foreign policy is the *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change* (1993), edited by Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane, which also does not really address security issues. The terms 'ideas' and 'security' are brought together for the case of Gorbachev Revolution in 1989, which mark the end of the Cold War, under the framework of the role of 'epistemic communities' on the so-called revolution. However the analytical framework of this "epistemic communities" approach is not fully consistent with the one of this dissertation. See Mendelson (1993). For a special issue on the 'epistemic communities,' see *International Organization* (1992).

¹⁰ For some of the constructivist contributions to the field of security studies see Hopf (1998) and Farrell (2002).

Union, which the traditional security studies hardly explained (Dalby, 1990).

The collapse of the Soviet Union, which could not have been anticipated in the scenarios of traditional security analysts, the influence of the idea of liberalism after 1990s and the crises in Yugoslavia challenged conventional studies of security (Katzenstein, 1996: xi-xii). These substantial changes in the international arena in 1990's paved way to the alternative approaches in International Relations discipline. Security Studies have also been effected by these new inclinations in IR (Desch, 1998: 141-45).

Within this context of emerging challenges to traditional security studies, the role of ideas on security issues and international relations was developed mostly by constructivists. While conventional security studies handled the status quo to analyze general patterns of state behavior as their areas of research, constructivists analyzed sources of change. Constructivists regarded security as a phenomenon of intersubjectivity, as a social construct and focused on culture as well as civilization; the role of ideas, norms and values in the constitution of the object which is to be secured; and the historical context within which the process takes place (Adler, 2002: 100-104). Constructivist analyses also focused on collective identity formation to determine how contemporary insecurities are created and intensified by settled oppositions of inside/outside, self/other, particularity/universality and identity/difference (See Walker, 1993; Wendt, 1987; and Wendt, 1992). According to the constructivist view, the definition of security is important. By the usage of the security discourse, the meaning of 'security' can be extended to include a wider range of issues and this may have important implications (Waeber, 1995).

1.4. IDEAS AND FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

As a reflection of the broad scope of analysis of the Political Science discipline, the field of Foreign Policy Analysis has always been diverse and dynamic, with scholars addressing an assortment of substantive topics through a variety of methodological approaches (Gerner, 1995: 17). These topics ranged from societal sources of foreign policy to cognitive processes and psychological attributes, as well as from crisis decision-making and artificial intelligence to bureaucratic structures and processes.¹¹

Since the 1960s, studies on foreign policy analysis have evolved gradually by the contributions of scholars with various approaches to foreign policy making. In this respect, some scholars analyzed *societal factors*, such as public opinion, ethnic or special-interest groups, the media and multinational corporations, all of which influence the foreign policy making within the state. Other analysts interrogated the *cognitive processes and psychological attributes* of decision makers to discover how an individual's belief system, the way s/he perceives, interprets and processes information about an international situation. Such analysts also tried to understand how idiosyncratic personal attributes explain foreign policy choices. Scholars who focused on *crisis decision making* used content analysis within the framework of a stimulus-response model, taken from psychology, to examine interaction between decisional units. A somewhat different approach - *computational modeling* (or *artificial intelligence*) - employed case-specific information to model foreign policy process. Computer scientists using such models also attempted to model the cognitive process itself.

Another approach to the study of foreign policy studied the impact of *bureaucratic structures*, subcultures and decision making processes on eventual

¹¹ For the general overview of the studies on foreign policy analyses, this dissertation benefitted from Gerner (1995) and also from Hudson and Vore (1991).

choices made. In the 1970s, research by Graham Allison and a few of his colleagues on bureaucratic politics was especially significant in the development of this field.¹² Allison's well-known volume *Essence of Decision* (1971) on the Cuban missile crisis proposes three complementary models to analyze the decision-making process that occurred in October 1962: namely, the rational actor, organizational processes and bureaucratic/governmental politics models. Model I (rational actor) argues that foreign policy choices are the purposive actions of unified, rational governments, based on plausible calculations of utility and probability, to achieve definable state goals. Model II (organizational processes) asserts that foreign policy is best understood as the choices and outputs of a group of semifederal, loosely allied organizations within the government that are interested in their own interests and following standard operating procedures. Model III (governmental politics) claims that foreign policy is the result of intensive competition among decision makers and bargaining along regularized channels among players positioned hierarchically within the government bureaucracy, each with his or her own perspective on the issues of discussion. In this scenario, it is the "pulling and hauling" of individual actors that produces the final outcome (Allison and Zelikow, 1999).

Among these three approaches to foreign policy analysis, the bureaucratic approach has enjoyed a privileged status among academic descriptions of the decision-making process in the United States and Western Europe. There were at least two reasons for this. Firstly, scholars trained in these regions usually focused on these areas. Secondly, bureaucratic factors are often most significant in countries with massive and complex governmental structures, like those existent in both Western Europe and the US.

¹² Some of these valuable contributions are Neustadt (1970), Allison and Halperin (1972), Halperin and Kanter (1973) and Halperin (1974). See also Allison and Zelikow (1999).

Some foreign policy analysts have had a wide research agenda since decades to analyze how cognitive processing has affected foreign policy choices. This type of research included issues concerned with ideas, since it investigates individually held beliefs about social reality that identify possibilities for action, reflect moral principles, and specify causal relationships (Goldstein and Keohane, 1993: 6-7). The focus on ideas within the context of foreign policy analysis has been further enriched by the constructivist turn in IR towards the end of the 20th century. In accordance with studies of the concept of identity, which are consistent with the constructivist perspective, the study of foreign policy analysis has also had an ideational turn. The argument of this ideational analysis was that foreign policy developments originate in influential ideas and beliefs. Although the focus on *identity* began with the constructivist turn, some scholars who have adapted this concept at the state level to explain foreign policy have been careful to distance themselves from the constructivist approach.¹³

1.5. THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This dissertation's conception of 'ideas' approximates that expressed by Goldstein and Keohane in their book *Ideas and Foreign Policy* (1993). Accordingly, "ideas" specifies the *beliefs individuals have about the foreign and security policies of their country* – that is, those ideas which reflect different types of understandings of national interest and possess correspondingly different types of proposals for the country to implement as foreign and security policies.

The conception of ideas in this thesis may also be understood as a dimension of an ideology – that is, a system of ideas to gather people around it (Brands, 2003: 2).

¹³ For the critics of constructivist approaches by these scholars, see Kaarbo (2003).

An ideology may have its own interpretations of and proposals for state issues of domestic and foreign concern. These areas of concern may include government policies on economy, education and social rights, as well as on national foreign and security policies.

As previously specified, this dissertation adopts *a constructivist approach* to the issue it analyses. Accordingly, this thesis argues that ideas are not determining factors on their own, independent from the material circumstances. Ideas and material factors do not exist independently of each other. They constitute, not cause, each other. Political outcomes, thus, are reflections of neither the intentions and understandings nor the contexts, which help shape those intentions and understandings. Rather, such outcomes are a product of a complex interaction of material and ideational factors.

It can be alleged that there is an “elective affinity” between ideas and ‘circumstances’¹⁴ – that is, the material dimension of the world (Hall, 1993: 45). A phrase borrowed from eighteenth-century chemistry, “elective affinity” was popularized by Goethe who thus entitled one of his novels in 1809. A part of that novel is worth noting, since it exemplifies how the ideas and circumstances are closely intertwined:

Those natures which, when they meet, quickly lay hold on and mutually affect one another we call affined. This affinity is sufficiently striking in the case of alkalis and acids which, although they are mutually antithetical, and perhaps precisely because they are so, must decidedly seek and embrace one another, modify one another, and together form a new substance (Goethe, 1971: 52-53; Quoted in Hall, 1993: 45).

This interrelation and interpenetration of ideas and circumstances is so deep and subtle that it is a difficult task to detect the relative weights of the two influences -

ideational and material - on policy choices. This problem of isolating ideas from circumstances perhaps explains social science scholars' historical disregarding of ideas' role in their analyses. However, because of this disregard their analyses have been bound to be simplistic (Hall, 1993: 45).

How can this difficulty of separation be overcome? As long as the fit between ideas and circumstances remains tight, how can we detect the influence of ideas on foreign or security policies and thus indicate and illustrate their determinant importance for political outcomes? John Hall proposes two methods that deserve attention. Firstly, he argues that, as the examples in Goldstein and Keohane's *Ideas and Foreign Policy* demonstrate, when circumstances change and responses remain culturally stable, the influence of the institutionalized ideas can be examined. This is a relatively easier way to detect ideas' role. In explaining his second proposal to detect ideational impact, Hall asserts:

There is another point at which an independent ideational impact can sometimes be detected. If a Marxist would be able to accept Weber's account of the rise of capitalism, it remains the case that Marxism imagines, effectively ...that there is a virtual correspondence between circumstance and idea such that the stimulus of circumstance will *automatically* bring forth an ideological response (Hall, 1993: 47).

In other words even Marxism's imagination of 'ideas and the circumstances' is in the way that they are so bound to each other that a stimulus of circumstance might cause an ideological reaction. Hall's second way to detect ideas' role may well be accepted to be applicable to our case. If the analysis presented in forthcoming chapters demonstrates a substantial correspondence between neoconservative ideas and US security policy choices after September 11, we may conclude that the Bush

¹⁴ This distinction is used repeatedly by Hall (1993) to refer to the material and the ideational dimensions of the world.

Administration's foreign policy after 9/11 was a reaction, based largely on ideas, to a material incident.

Despite the difficulties of distinguishing the role of ideas, which stems from the interpenetration between ideational and material realms, there are some situations in which the influence of ideas on political outcomes becomes more obvious: in cases of crisis or, for example, of tremendous historical upheaval or, indeed, in any situation that provokes a questioning of the causal relationships between political strategies and their expected outcomes (Greve, 2004). Thus, studies about the influence of ideas on policy outcomes and policy change can explain, for instance, how Keynesian thinking had a decisive effect on the postwar creation of an open world economy regulated by international organizations. The atmosphere of uncertainty after such crisis situations, like war or depression, may create such domestic instability that leaders feel compelled to disregard as outmoded conventional political solutions, thereby introducing new methods of both understanding and handling their countries' "new" problems. And, thus, they turn to their advisors for new insights or new recipes for the countries' problems. These new ideas, if they prevail in the policy-making discussions of the administration, in turn precipitate different foreign and security policies, which then modify the societal structure of the states within which they are located.

Because ideas' role on political outcomes is more obvious in some cases, interested scholars necessarily focus their analyses on those types of historical events that demonstrate the role of ideas on foreign policy.¹⁵ The world has faced two such historical events in the last fifteen years: the first, the end of the Cold War, triggered work on ideas' role within international relations, effectively challenging and shifting

¹⁵ For instance, The Gorbachev Revolution in 1989 is analyzed by Checkel (1993) and Mendelson (1993) to demonstrate the effects of ideas on foreign policy.

the longstanding materialist dominance within academic IR circles; the second such event, September 11's attacks on New York and Washington offer a similarly conducive case study for examining the impact of ideas on the formation of foreign and security policy (Greve, 2004).

To be clear, however, the above schematization in no way claims a lesser role for ideational factors in situations other than historical upheavals, as the ideational and the material are always closely connected. But it does ascribe to the notion that the role of the ideational factors becomes more obvious in a context of shifting perceptions and cognitions. Once "crisis" is resolved - and a new paradigm installed - ideas held by the actors often become internalized and unquestioned once again, but this does not mean that ideas thereby cease to affect actors' behavior.

Keohane and Goldstein argue that "Ideas serve the purpose of guiding behavior under conditions of uncertainty by stipulating causal patterns or providing *compelling* ethical or moral motivations for action." (Goldstein and Keohane, 1993: 16; emphasis added). The ability of ideas to constrain and compel actors to behave in certain ways is shaped by the degree to which actors are bound to their ideas. In other words, the more devoted actors are to their ideas, the more constrained by - or enslaved to - their ideas are their actions.

1.6. DISCUSSION ON THE APPLICATION TO THE CASE OF GEORGE W. BUSH'S SECURITY POLICIES

This dissertation's constructivist approach eases the assumptions of Graham Allison and some of his colleagues' well-known approaches, and proposes a more flexible approach to the decision making process for US security policy. Allison's bureaucratic politics approach involves strict assumptions about the role of agencies

competing with each other within the Executive branch, arguing that the political outcome is often a result of a bargaining among government agencies. The constructivist approach of this thesis modifies Allison's paradigm by including the role of *ideological cohorts* within and without the Executive. In this regard, Michael Nacht's term 'ideological cohort' provides a better explanation for the course of policy making within the Bush Administration. According to Nacht:

[Ideological cohorts] are people with a set of value systems in common. They have the same value system, but they do not work in the same place. Some could be in press, some could be on Capitol Hill, some could be in the State Department, the Defense Department, the Arms Control Agency, when it existed, ...and elsewhere. And they all have a similar view of things. This becomes a powerful "congeniality" force, because they actually even collaborate with each other, even though it's sort of not part of the rules. Opposed to them is another cohort, with diametrically opposed, markedly different views, that is equally across agency lines. So sometimes the struggle is not the Defense versus State or Executive versus Congressional, it's ideological group A versus ideological group B. And then the media and others, people in academia, are used in a way as pawns to justify these arguments. That's a very powerful force I have not seen in the literature (Nacht, 2003).

Analyzing the effects of neoconservative ideas on US security policy faces a methodological problem of drawing conclusions from the presence of neoconservatives on one hand, and of reducing complex decision-making processes to inputs of ideas and outputs of foreign policy, on the other (Greve, 2004). I attempt to solve the first problem by clarifying to what degree neoconservatives are bound to their ideas - a factor determining whether they will transform ideas into policy when opportunity to do so arises. I similarly attempt to solve the second problem by addressing the structure of security-related decision-making within the US.

Of course, proponents of one ideology do not always share fully the same mindset. Similarly, there often exists different branches within particular ideologies. However, in order to make analysis possible, this dissertation focuses areas of

intersection. That is, granting the necessary multiplicity of neoconservative mindsets, I concentrate on areas of identifiable agreement: namely, advocacy of an active foreign policy predicated on the spread of democracy, the preservation of American supremacy and the fight against non-democratic regimes (Greve, 2004).

CHAPTER 2

NEOCONSERVATISM

This chapter outlines neoconservatism and introduces key neoconservatives within the Bush Administration. Neoconservatives are discussed intensely in the media especially in the run-up to the Iraq war in early 2003. Much has been told about the moot influence of the neoconservatives on the Bush Administration. Before embarking upon the evaluation of the role of neoconservative ideas on Bush's security policies, neoconservatism itself requires exploration.

Today's neoconservative actors operate within a larger neoconservative network of advisory boards, think tanks, foundations and media (Greve, 2004). As the neoconservative voting base within America's population at large is itself unremarkable, the relative success of neoconservative influence on US foreign and securing policy-making derives from precisely this existence of a large neoconservative network. The following sections thus introduce neoconservatism as an ideological cohort, mentioning both neoconservatism's ideology and the neoconservative network with its presence in various areas such as think tanks, media and politics.

2.1. ORIGINS

‘Neoconservatism’ is a phrase first used by the American socialist author Michael Harrington in his book *The Other America* (1962) to solely define his former left-wing allies (Taube, 2000). He considered these “neo” conservatives because many of them had been anti-Stalinist leftists or liberals before moving to the far right (Lind, 2003). A small group of New York intellectuals, primarily Jewish, began their intellectual careers as young Trotskyites or socialists. Early members of this clique included Irving Kristol, his wife Gertrude Himmelfarb, Norman Podhoretz and his wife Midge Decter. As years elapsed, many of these people abandoned their Marxist pasts and morphed into liberal anti-communists, becoming politically active within both the Democratic Party and journalism. As the Democratic Party itself shifted further Left over time, neoconservatives gravitated toward the right-wing Republican Party during the 1970s and 1980s. Considering the neocon beliefs supportive of a hawkish foreign policy, and also the Left’s moderate foreign policy position in American politics, this shift was understandable for the neoconservatives.

Even the founding fathers of neoconservatism, Irving Kristol and Norman Podhoretz, thought that neocoseratism no more existed after 1980. Irving Kristol, co-editor of *The Public Interest* with fellow neocon Daniel Bell, believed that conservatives and neoconservatives have largely merged since Reagan’s presidential victory in 1980. In his 1995 book *Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*, Kristol asked “Where neoconservatism stands today?” and himself answered: “It is clear that what can fairly be described as the neoconservative impulse ... was a generational phenomenon, and has now been pretty much absorbed into a larger, more comprehensive conservatism.” (Wolfson, 2004) A year later, Norman

Podhoretz declared in an address before the American Enterprise Institute that “neoconservatism is dead.” (Wolfson, 2004) And, arguing that neoconservatism’s death was not a failure but a success, he articulated in the March 1996 issue of *Commentary*, the journal he edited for nearly fifty years, this is because “the conservative work which remains to be done in every realm will be marked and guided and shaped by the legacy neo-conservatism has left behind.” (Taube, 2000) This interpretation of Podhoretz is consistent with Irving Kristol’s, considering the latter’s definition of “the historical task and political purpose of neoconservatism” as “to convert the Republican party, and American conservatism in general, against their respective wills, into a new kind of conservative politics suitable to governing a modern democracy,” in August 25, 2003, issue of *The Weekly Standard*. Not even a decade after these obituaries for neoconservatism by its founding fathers, in the same issue of *The Weekly Standard*, in 2003, Irving Kristol declared that “neoconservatism began enjoying a second life” with the George W. Bush Administration (Kristol, 2003).

2.2. BELIEFS AND FOREIGN POLICY PROPOSALS

Although neoconservatives’ social policy proposals are at least as important as their views on foreign policy, they are mostly identified with the latter. This was reasonable since their focus turned towards foreign policy as their social policy proposals, such as welfare reform, have become mainstream in American politics (Economist, 2003). The following few paragraphs will offer a brief overview of the neoconservative foreign policy proposals, which will follow by the origins of the latter under the next subtitle: “Intellectual Background.” Having some knowledge about the current neocon policy proposals while analyzing the sources of their views

on foreign policy in the next part, will offer a better insight about the neoconservatives with their past and present.

Neoconservatives are mostly associated with their hawkish foreign policy beliefs. Neoconservatives of the first generation were staunch anti-communists who favored confrontation with, rather than containment of, the Soviet Union. The second generation of the neocons was identified and has risen on the public agenda again with a hawkish stance in foreign policy: they advocated the recent Iraq war, fostered regime change and supported America's war against terrorism.

Neoconservatives base their arguments on the notion that the US faces the challenge of managing a unipolar world after the collapse of the Soviet Union. They argue that the US should not hesitate to *use its unrivaled power* to promote its *values around the world*. They believe the new threats the US faces can no longer be reliably contained, and thus must be prevented, sometimes through *preemptive military action*. They contend that the US should increase its defense budget and *confront threats aggressively enough*. One such threat, they argued, was the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq and its alleged pursuit of weapons of mass destruction. Since the first Gulf War in 1991, the neocons insistently advocated *Saddam Hussein's ouster*.

The neocons believe that the *authoritarianism and theocracy* have allowed anti-Americanism to flourish in the Middle East, which in turn *fostered international terrorism*. Therefore, they advocate *democratic transformation in the Middle East*. They see *Iraq as a first step*. This is why their role in the US decision to launch the war against Iraq in 2003, came under intense public debate before and after that war.

Another characteristic of the neoconservative ideas is the lack of trust to multilateral institutions. They argue that the multilateral institutions, which they do

not trust to effectively neutralize threats to global security, unnecessarily hamper the US (Christian Science Monitor, n.d.b). They are especially suspicious of the United Nations, which they believe is working according to the rules of ‘realpolitik,’ rather than being the source of international ethics (Krauthammer, Winter 2002/03: 11; Quoted in Han, 2004: 140). Not surprisingly, however, the neocons are not that much critical of NATO, in which there is an apparent US weight.

2.3. INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND

Intellectually, there have been marks of various strands of ideas on neoconservative thinking. The most prominent ones are Max Schachtman’s version of Trotskyism – in the area of anti-Sovietism - and the elitist ideas of a political philosopher, Leo Strauss, who is a German citizen of Jewish origin (The Free Dictionary, n.d.b). The neocon desire to spread democracy abroad, if necessary by force, parallels Trotsky’s aim of a world socialist revolution. Neocons’ anti-Soviet tendencies may also have emanated from the influence of this Trotskyism, especially considering the Great Purges targeting alleged Trotskyites in the Soviet Union.

Not only Max Schachtman’s, but there are also signs of Leo Strauss’s beliefs on the neoconservative thinking. Strauss believed on the “existence of a universal truth, and the public’s incapability to understand or accept those universal principles of right.” Therefore, according to him, there was a necessity of a “perpetual deception of the citizens by those in power,” because the citizens needed to be led, they needed strong rulers to tell them what’s good for them (The Free Dictionary, n.d.b). It is not difficult to discern the marks of Strauss’ elitist views on the neoconservative objective to transform the Middle East by a top-down approach.

A number of neoconservatives such as Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Richard Perle and Paul Wolfowitz were Schachtmanites in their youth, while some other neoconservatives were involved in the Social Democrats of the US, which was formed by Schachtman's supporters in 1970s. And two neoconservatives, Michael Ledeen and Paul Wolfowitz, are the supporters of Straussianism. The latter, especially, is a self identified Straussian who pursued his PhD. in Political Science at the University of Chicago during Strauss' tenure there (The Free Dictionary, n.d.a).

2.4. TODAY'S NEOCONSERVATIVES

To put it briefly, today's neoconservatives are Washington intellectuals, primarily Jewish, who "believe in using American might to promote American ideals abroad."¹⁶ They form a cohesive group, having close relations among themselves with nearly similar ideals for enhancing the security of the United States. If there was a need to place the neoconservatives within the IR discipline conceptually and to name them accordingly, their place would be close to an "ideological cohort," which is explained in the previous chapter. Because they have the characteristics of an ideological cohort: They are part of a larger neoconservative network of advisory boards, think tanks, foundations and media, which will be discussed later in this chapter. Most of them have similar backgrounds. They are dominantly professors (such as Paul Wolfowitz and Steve Cambone) or lawyers (like Douglas Feith, Scooter Libby and John Bolton). They are members of the same think tanks, such as the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). They write for the same magazine, *The Weekly Standard*, edited by Bill Kristol, son of Irving Kristol who is known as one of neoconservatism's founding fathers. And they co-author the same papers or reports

¹⁶ This definition in quotation belongs to neoconservative Max Boot, quoted from his December 2002 Wall Street column entitled "What the Heck is a Neocon?" Quoted in Hagan (n. d.).

[The PNAC Report “Rebuilding America’s Defenses” (2000), for instance, with many neocons among its 27 co-signatories, became highly influential in the US.] *New York Times*’ summary of the position of the neocons, also fits highly with the one of an ideological cohort: “They [the neocons] have penetrated the culture at nearly every level from the halls of Pentagon,” which adds that “they’ve accumulated the wherewithal financially [and] professionally to broadcast what they think over the air waves to the masses or over cocktails to those at the highest levels of government” (Quoted in Muravchik, 2003).

Although neoconservatives sometimes differ among themselves in terms of foreign policy ideas (some of them are hardliners, others are more moderate), this does not mean that the neoconservative clique does not exist. Irving Kristol calls this clique as “neoconservative persuasion.” (Kristol, 2003) Whether it is called as a movement, clique or a persuasion, the existence of such an ideological group in American politics has become a widely acknowledged issue in academia.

It is often difficult to draw borderlines for sociological or ideological groups. This has been the case also for the neoconservatives. Many people were alleged to be neocons in the previous years, and some denied those allegations while others accepted them. Some observers even confused whether some hardliners such as Dick Cheney or Donald Rumsfeld, two of the founders of the neoconservative institution The Project for the New American Century, were neocons or not. These two figures, and many other hardliners in American politics, shared some foreign policy ideas with the neocons, but not as much as to be called ‘neoconservatives.’

2.5. INSTITUTIONS

Since the end of the pre-Vietnam consensus and the decline of the old foreign policy establishment in the 1970s, intermediary institutions have become more significant for the US foreign policy. Institutions like think tanks or advisory boards have started to contribute to the US foreign policy making more than before. Previously, the Council on Foreign Relations' journal *Foreign Affairs* was the voice of the foreign policy establishment. There are currently hundreds of think tanks in the US concerned with foreign policy (Greve, 2004). The most important neoconservative institutions include the American Enterprise Institute and the Project for the New American Century, with some additional ones, founded after September 11, 2001, to support the US struggle against terrorism. Their memberships overlap to a large extent.

The oldest think tank supportive of neoconservative ideas is the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). The AEI is a research think tank, which was founded in 1943. It is funded by conservative foundations. It has 50 resident scholars and fellows including Irving Kristol, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Richard Perle, Joshua Muravchik, Danielle Pletka, David Frum, Thomas Donnelly, Reuel Marc Gerecht, Lynne Cheney and Robert Bork (Eurolegal, n.d.).

The agenda of the regime change in Iraq was mostly advocated by another neoconservative institution, The Project for the New American Century (PNAC), whose founding members include neoconservatives like William Kristol, Robert Kagan, Paul Wolfowitz, and Lewis Libby; together with other important figures such as Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld, who are not neoconservatives. Housed in the same building with the AEI, PNAC has only seven full-time staff members, in addition to its board of directors (Wikipedia, n.d.d). However, its voice was heard

when many of its members later held important posts in the George W. Bush Administration (Economist, 2003).

Although PNAC is not purely composed of neoconservative members, its ideological stance is definitely neoconservative. Since PNAC's establishment in 1997, the PNAC's founders wrote about the United States' global responsibilities and reminded the essential elements of the Reagan Administration's success within PNAC's "Statement of Principles." They argued that Clinton Administration's foreign and defense policy was adrift. And they continued: "We aim to change this. We aim to make the case and rally support for American global leadership" (PNAC, n.d.). A PNAC open letter to former president Clinton, dated January 26, 1998, came up to public agenda in the run-up to the Iraq war, in 2003. In that letter, the signatories wrote:

Given the magnitude of the threat, the current policy [of containment towards Iraq], which depends for its success upon the steadfastness of our coalition partners and upon the cooperation of Saddam Hussein, is dangerously inadequate. The only acceptable strategy is one that eliminates the possibility that Iraq will be able to use or threaten to use weapons of mass destruction. In the near term, this means a willingness to undertake military action as diplomacy is clearly failing. In the long term, it means removing Saddam Hussein and his regime from power. That now needs to become the aim of American foreign policy.

We urge you to articulate this aim, and turn your Administration's attention to implementing a strategy for removing Saddam's regime from power (PNAC, 1998).

What they urged Clinton to do was embarked upon by George W. Bush when those signatories held important positions in that Administration, but not before the reassessment of the threat perceptions by the latter Administration as a conclusion of September 11 terrorist attacks.

After September 11, 2001, some smaller neoconservative lobby groups were established to support a hard-line US stance against international terrorism such as

Americans for Victory over Terrorism (AVOT), Foundation for the Defense of Democracies (founded by William Kristol), and the Committee for the Liberation of Iraq (CLI) (Greve, 2004; see also Rightweb, n.d.f). These groups, together with the other neocon-led and some supportive rightist institutions,¹⁷ became part of a campaign to support Bush Administration's preemptive agenda and security policies after September 11 (Rightweb, n.d.f). The following few paragraphs will offer brief explanations about only some of these institutions.

Americans for Victory over Terrorism was founded in 2002 by a William Bennett-led group of neocons and right-wingers to defend George W. Bush's interventionist policies. L. Paul Bremer and James Woolsey were members of this institution's adviser team. AVOT aims "to defend America's war on terrorism against those who would weaken the nation's resolve and erode our commitment to end the international menace of terrorism. AVOT will take its campaign to where it is needed most - college campuses, seminar rooms, editorial pages, and other media outlets" (Rightweb, n.d.a).

The Committee for the Liberation of Iraq was set up in late 2002 by Bruce Jackson. Although the committee's advisory panel included a few relative moderates like Steven Solarz and Robert Kerrey, it was dominated by neocons and foreign policy hawks like Jeane Kirkpatrick, Robert Kagan, Newt Gingrich, Richard Perle, William Kristol, and James Woolsey. Its mission statement is the following:

The Committee for the Liberation of Iraq was formed to promote regional peace, political freedom and international security by replacing the Saddam Hussein regime with a democratic government that respects the rights of the Iraqi people and ceases to threaten the community of nations.

¹⁷ Only some of them are Center for Security Policy, Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, National Endowment for Democracy, Council of Conservative Citizens, Democratic Leadership Council, Council for National Policy, Empower America, Earhart Foundation, Freedom House, Hudson Institute, Lexington Institute and Manhattan Institute.

The regime of Saddam Hussein has attacked its neighbors, acquired weapons of mass destruction, and directed those weapons against innocent men, women, and children. It has supported international terrorism and has savagely murdered and repressed the Iraqi people. The current government of Iraq poses a clear and present danger to its neighbors, to the United States, and to free peoples throughout the world.

The Committee for the Liberation of Iraq will engage in educational and advocacy efforts to mobilize US and international support for policies aimed at ending the aggression of Saddam Hussein and freeing the Iraqi people from tyranny. The Committee is committed to work beyond the liberation of Iraq to the reconstruction of its economy and the establishment of political pluralism, democratic institutions, and the rule of law (Rightweb, n.d.e).

Center for Security Policy was established by Frank Gaffney, and it champions a hard-line foreign policy for the US, including support for Likudnic policies in Israel, missile defense deployment, new nuclear weapons testing, development of space weapons, get-tough policies regarding China and North Korea, increased military spending, an expansive war on terrorism, and the trashing of any and all arms control treaties. Some of its former members were Dov S. Zakheim, Douglas Feith and Elliott Abrams (Rightweb, n.d.b).

There is also another important institution which is alleged to be closely associated with the neoconservative movement, Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA), whose self-expressed aim is threefold: to ensure a strong and effective US national security policy, to strengthen US cooperation with democratic allies and to foster the strategic relationship between the US and Israel. JINSA's home page puts the third one with the sentence: "U.S.-Israel strategic cooperation is a vital component in the global security equation for the United States, and has been at the heart of JINSA's mission since its inception in 1976" (Quotations are from JINSA, n.d.). JINSA also supports regime change in states known to provide support to terrorist groups (Disinfopedia, n.d.). In the last analysis, the views

about foreign policy that JINSA supports are highly consistent with the ones of neoconservatism.

2.6. PUBLICATIONS

Among the prominent neoconservative publications are *Commentary* (the editorially independent journal, founded in 1945 by the American Jewish Committee), *The Public Interest* (founded in 1965 by Irving Kristol), and *The National Interest* (founded in 1985 by Irving Kristol). Although the magazine *The New Republic* (founded in 1914) is close to Democrats, it supports some neoconservative positions in foreign policy.¹⁸ The journal *The Weekly Standard*, founded by Irving Kristol's son William Kristol in 1995 and funded by the Australian-American media mogul Rupert Murdoch, is the mouthpiece of today's neoconservatives. *The Weekly Standard* has become one of the most important journals in Washington D.C., in spite of its small circulation of around 65,000. The editorial and opinion pages of *The Wall Street Journal* also have a neoconservative orientation (Greve, 2004).

2.7. NEOCONSERVATIVES IN THE FIRST GEORGE W. BUSH ADMINISTRATION

While searching on the neoconservatives' past and present, their dedication to their ideas stands out. For decades, neoconservatives have been publicly supportive of the same ideas. They have been working in neoconservative institutions and writing for neoconservative publications for a long time. And they are "political ideologues," rather than "ideological politicians" (Greve, 2004). Concession about their neocon beliefs for political gains is alien to them. If necessary, they can shift from one

political party to the other, where they believe they can find the opportunity to realize their ideals. The main neocon figures that held offices in the first George W. Bush Administration will follow.¹⁹

Paul Wolfowitz – as Under Secretary of Defense - was the most prominent neoconservative in the first Bush Administration. He served as Under Secretary of Defense for Policy from 1989 to 1993. In that era, Wolfowitz, in charge of a 700-person team that had major responsibilities for the reshaping of military strategy and policy at the end of the Cold War, co-wrote with Lewis “Scooter” Libby the 1992 draft Defense Planning Guidance which called for US military dominance over Eurasia and preemptive strikes against countries suspected of developing weapons of mass destruction (New York Times, 1992). When that draft leaked to the media, it had to be revised because of harsh criticisms. Although Wolfowitz later stated that the mentioned draft was prepared by his official personnel, and had leaked to the media before he saw it, he has been known as the main supporter of such arguments as that draft’s for a long time (Christian Science Monitor, n.d.a). Wolfowitz was one of the three strongest proponents of a hawkish foreign policy within the first Bush junior administration, together with Vice President Mr. Cheney and Secretary of Defense Mr. Rumsfeld. During and after the first Gulf War, Wolfowitz had advocated extending the war’s aim to include toppling Saddam Hussein.

Richard Perle, who resigned in March 2003 as chairman of the Pentagon’s Defense Policy Board after accusations about conflicts of interest, had been the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy between 1981 and 1987. He is also one of the most high-profile neoconservatives, known with his

¹⁸ Although *The New Republic*’s senior foreign policy editor, Lawrence Kaplan, co-authored a neoconservative manifesto on Iraq together with William Kristol (*The War over Iraq*, 2003), some harsh criticisms of neoconservative policies may also find place in the same magazine (Greve, 2004).

hard-line stance on national security issues. Perle helped establish two think tanks: The Center of Security Policy and the Jewish Institute for National Security. He was also a former director of the Jerusalem Post. He is a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and an advisor of the counter-terrorist think tank Foundation for the Defense of Democracies. Perle is a prominent architect of the agenda to reshape the Middle East. In a report he wrote for Israel's right-wing Likud Party with some other neoconservatives, entitled "A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm," he briefly outlined the main points of this agenda (Christian Science Monitor, n.d.a).

Douglas Feith, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, was the third civilian at the Pentagon after Donald Rumsfeld and Paul Wolfowitz during the first Bush junior Administration. During the Reagan administration, he was the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Negotiations Policy. Before that, he served as Special Counsel to Richard Perle and as a Middle East specialist for the National Security Council in 1981 and 1982. He is well known for his support for the Israeli Likud Party. He was Vice President of the advisory board of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs in 1992. Feith was formerly a member of the neocon-led institution Center for Security Policy.

I. Lewis Libby, who was Chief of Staff and national security advisor for Vice President Dick Cheney during the first Bush junior Administration, served as Principal Deputy Under Secretary (Strategy and Resources), and later, as Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy during the Bush senior's administration. Libby was one of the founding members of the neoconservative institution The Project for the New American Century (PNAC). He co-authored the once-shocking

¹⁹ For this part, this dissertation benefitted from Christian Science Monitor (n.d.a) and also from

Defense Planning Guidance with Paul Wolfowitz. These two, also joined William Kristol, Robert Kagan and some other neoconservatives in writing an influential report entitled, “Rebuilding America’s Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century” (PNAC, 2000).

Elliott Abrams was the special assistant of the president and Senior Director on the National Security Council for Southwest Asia, Near East, and North African Affairs during the first Bush junior Administration. Abrams is a former Henry Jackson democrat. He served in various posts of the State Department during the Reagan Administration. Abrams pled guilty in 1991 to withholding information from Congress about the Iran-Contra Affair. The following year, George H. W. Bush pardoned him. It may attract attention to mention that Abrams is married with Rachel Decter, daughter of the neoconservative couple Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter.

John Bolton was the top non-proliferation official of the US during Bush junior’s first term. He was one of the very few neoconservatives in the State Department under Colin Powell. Bolton previously worked for Reagan and Bush senior’s Administrations. Before his post as Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security, he had been senior vice president of the neoconservative think tank American Enterprise Institute.

2.8. NEOCONSERVATIVES AND ISRAEL

While discussing the characteristics of the neoconservatives, this chapter should not leave out one of the most discussed issues about them: the question of their dual loyalty. A number of critics, such as Pat Buchanan, have accused them of putting

Israeli interests above those of America's, and some other few critics have gone further and alleged them to be a secret Zionist cabal (Buchanan, 2003). Many neoconservatives have turned down these criticisms by labeling those critics as anti-Semites. The following part is a brief discussion of this issue.

It is a fact that all neoconservatives do not have Jewish origins. Therefore, it seems difficult to blame neoconservatives totally of being a Zionist cabal. Although a large proportion of the neoconservatives has Jewish origins, the non-Jewish neoconservatives include some prominent figures such as Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Max Boot, Frank Gaffney, and Michael Novak. It is also a fact that neocons are preoccupied by Israel's security interests. However, their interest in Israel's security was not such intensive before the June 1967 Six Day War, which has raised the specter of Israel's military invincibility, that the neocons have become more preoccupied by Israel's security interests (The Free Dictionary, n.d.b).

The neoconservatives' partisan support for Likud may suggest their support for Israel not to be merely motivated by blind ethnic loyalty (The Free Dictionary, n.d.b). The neoconservatives argue that the US should emulate Israeli tactics of preemptive attacks in response to the threats against its security, and should act in its national interests, regardless of international law as the policies of the current Likud administration. The neoconservative support for Israel may be emanated from the neocon's love of the Likud style Israeli tactics in responding threats, rather than because of ethnic reasons.

Neocons' relations are most of the times oriented by their dedication on their views such as the spread of democracy and fight against terrorism. Therefore, one should not seek conspiracy theories behind the neocons' interest in the security of one of the important democratic allies of the US in the Middle East; especially when

Israel's currently pursued foreign policy paradigm is highly consistent with the neoconservatives'. Of course, at the same time, it is difficult to claim that ethnicity never mattered for the neoconservative actors. The security of their Jewish relatives in Israel may matter for a proportion of the neoconservatives. However, this does not prove them to be a secret Zionist cabal. They were not a secret group to have clandestine plans with regard to the fate of the US. Their ideas and policy proposals have been open to public knowledge since decades. PNAC sent an 'open' letter to former president Clinton (PNAC, 1998). The neoconservative institutions also explicitly articulated their aims and proposals on their Internet websites, by including their support for Israel.

CHAPTER 3

US FOREIGN POLICY MAKING

AND THE BUSH TEAM

Analyzing the US foreign policy apparatus, this chapter argues that the neoconservatives in the Bush Administration were among the many factors having effect on the US decision-making process. First of all, the chapter goes through the debate on the neoconservative influence in the Bush Administration. It continues by outlining foreign policy making in the US with regard to the constitutional powers and traditions of the relevant state institutions. Then, it summarizes the long-term ideational currents in US foreign policy and introduces top Bush officials with respect to their foreign policy ideas. The chapter concludes with the remarks that in such complex nature of the US decision-making apparatus, the rules of which are established by the constitution, the presence of the neocons in the Bush Administration does not guarantee their influence on the formulation of the US security policies.

3.1. THE DEBATE ON THE NEOCON INFLUENCE

The debate between the neocons and their critics about the neocon influence on George W. Bush's foreign policy has not produced remarkable outcomes. The critics accused the neocons, who are mostly of Jewish origin positioned at key foreign and security policy posts in George W. Bush Administration, of distorting the US foreign and security policies in favor of Israel's interests. The neoconservative writers were highly motivated to answer the critics on equal tones, by accusing them of racism and conspiracy, probably because some less careful critics tended to use the terms "neoconservative" and "Jewish American" interchangeably implying that both groups are undermining the US interests.

The critics argued that the neocons took advantage of the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon to advance a long-standing agenda that is only tangentially related to keeping the United States safe from terrorism. In this view, the US invasion of Iraq and the threatening of Iran and Syria have little to do with the fight against terrorism, the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, or promotion of democracy. Instead, those actions mostly have to do with settling old grievances, putting oil-rich territory into friendly hands, and tilting the balance of power in the Middle East toward Israel. "Syria, Iran and Iraq are bitter enemies, with their weapons pointed at each other, and the terrorists they sponsor target Israel rather than the US," wrote Michael Lind, a senior fellow at the New American Foundation, in the left-leaning British publication *New Statesman*. Lind was not alone in his argument that US policies have become far more closely aligned with Israel's in recent years. *The Washington Post*, in a front-page article in early-February 2004 concluded that "[f]or the first time, a US administration and a Likud government in

Israel are pursuing nearly identical policies,” and cited the prominent role of the neocons in bringing this shift (Kosterlitz, 2003).

“The neoconservatives ... are largely responsible for getting us into the war against Iraq,” puts Elisabeth Drew in the *New York Review of Books*. “The neocon vision has become the hard core of American foreign policy,” observes *Newsweek*. “They have penetrated the culture at nearly every level from the halls of Pentagon,” declares the *New York Times*, adding “they’ve accumulated the wherewithal financially [and] professionally to broadcast what they think over the air waves to the masses or over cocktails to those at the highest levels of government.” “Long before George W. Bush reached the White House, many of these confrontations [with other nations] had been contemplated by the neoconservatives,” asserts the *National Journal* (Quotations are from Muravchik (2003)). These citations from the US press reflect an attribution of a much effective role to the neocons in driving the US foreign and security policies. Not surprisingly, the European press has become more intense than the American in accusing the neocons (Muravchik, 2003).

The neoconservative writers hardly accepted the impact of the neocons in the George W. Bush Administration on the revolutionary shift of the US foreign and security policies. “All the officials cited as neocons such as National Security Council staffers Elliott Abrams and Wolfowitz are second tier policy makers,” wrote self-expressed neocon Max Boot (2004a), a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and contributing editor to *The Weekly Standard*. Boot noted that the new, more aggressive US foreign policy has the imprimatur of the most senior decision makers as the President George W. Bush, Vice-President Dick Cheney, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, none of which is a neocon. These traditional, national interest conservatives, who in the

past have been suspicious of mixing ideals into US foreign policy "...have woken up to the need to spread democracy not because of the impact of the neocons, but because of the impact of the four airplanes that were hijacked on September 11, 2001. These horrendous attacks made Bush realize that America could no longer ignore the despotism and fanaticism that had given rise to international terrorism" (Boot, 2004a).

As regards the neocon support for Israel, neoconservative writers often described their support as a reflection of their broader support of democracies. They came up with the explanation that Israel has been a long-term strategic ally of the US in a very volatile region where anti-Americanism is widespread, making Israel's and America's interests converge to some point. Some added the personal impact of the Holocaust on the views of the prominent neoconservative thinkers, noting that Wolfowitz, for instance, is the son of a Polish Jewish immigrant whose family was killed in the Holocaust (Kosterlitz, 2003).

3.2. CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS, INSTITUTIONS AND IDEOLOGIES REGARDING US FOREIGN POLICY

Constitutional powers, institutions, ideologies and actors are important determinants in the US foreign policy making. They all have a role in the foreign policy decisions. It is therefore important to know them before evaluating the role of the neocon ideas on US foreign policy.

3.2.1. CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS

"Presidential dominance ... is the usual way to characterize the US foreign policy making" (McCormick, 1998: 276). However, the Congress constitutionally balances

the President's power on foreign policy. While the president is the chief executive of the United States, Congress decides which laws to be enforced; while the president may command the armed forces, Congress has the power "to declare war," "to raise and support armies" and to provide for the Common Defense"; and while the President may negotiate treaties, they become binding when approved by the two-thirds of the Senate (Wikipedia, n.d.c). In this way, the powers and responsibilities in the making of US foreign policy is shared between the legislative and the executive branches.

3.2.2. INSTITUTIONS

In the making of US foreign policy, the State Department, Department of Defense, National Security Council, National Security Advisor and especially the President himself are the key essentials to determine US foreign policy, alongside the other elements with more indirect influences such as the Director of CIA, ethnic lobbies, think tanks and the public opinion.

Like many countries, one of the most prominent institutions in the US is the State Department. State Department's traditional trend is towards solving the problems by diplomacy by creating international agreements. And the power of the Secretary of State in determining foreign policy is mostly related to his closeness to the president and how much the president trusts him. The intellectual circles in Washington, where the liberal views are predominant, feel sympathy for the State Department. In contrast, many people with conservative views criticize the State Department and argue that it cannot sufficiently protect the national interests of the United States with its traditional view depending on multilateralism.

Another significant institution to help determine US foreign and security policies is the Department of Defense (Pentagon). Pentagon has special relations with the other militaries all over the world and has an international policy agenda of its own. Having four command posts (Central, Europe, South and Pacific Command Posts) under its order with responsibilities for the military operations all over the world and having 700 thousand civilians and 1.4 million military personnel, together with a budget of hundreds of billions of dollars Pentagon has a significant place in the US bureaucracy. It is headed by the Secretary of Defense, who has always been a civilian in the US history, but among those with sufficient degree of familiarity about military affairs.

Pentagon attributes the US a more active role in world politics. It does not attribute importance to diplomacy as much as the State Department. When these two come into an argument (as is the case most times), Pentagon does not easily retreat. Rather, it tries to keep its view on the agenda insistently.

As originally constituted under the National Security Act of 1947, the National Security Council was to be a mechanism for coordinating policy options among the various foreign affairs bureaucracies. By statute, members were to be limited to the president, the vice president, secretary of state and secretary of defense, with the director of central intelligence and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as advisors. These members, along with others that the president might choose to invite, met to consider policy options at the discretion of the president. Over time, the NSC system has evolved with a set of interdepartmental committees to support the National Security Council itself. In 1993 some additions were made to the regular attendees at NSC meetings. Most notably, by executive order, the secretary of treasury and the head of the National Economic Council were designated

as members of the NSC as well (McCormick, 1998: 394-400; See also Americanpresident, n.d.).

The National Security Advisor also has a prominent role in US foreign policy making. His/her mission is to coordinate the foreign policy institutions of the US. Having her own personnel, the National Security Advisor is among the ones who meet with the president very often.²⁰ Therefore, the National Security Advisor is very influential on President's views. Of course this influence is related to the closeness and trusteeship between the two. Among the other foreign policy actors, the Vice-President is influential according to his interest in foreign affairs. The Director of CIA and the Chief Commander of the Central Army are of secondary importance in foreign policy. Their mission is restricted to giving reports to the government.²¹

3.2.3. IDEOLOGICAL FOREIGN POLICY TRENDS

Traditional views on US foreign policy have faced some changes since the establishment of the country in the 18th century. Two foreign policy approaches are generally predominant today: realism and idealism, both of which can be subdivided into two schools of thought: hawkish and traditional realism versus liberal internationalism and democratic imperialism.²² Although another approach to US

²⁰ National Security Advisor's office in the White House, is a few steps far from the President's Oval Office.

²¹ The Director of CIA gives the President a short briefing about the intelligence he has got from all over the world every morning.

²² Regarding the ideological foreign policy trends in the US, this thesis has chosen to use the typology of Hakan Tunç (2004), in order to benefit from his more update analyses on the issue, including specific references to Bush junior's first Administration. There are also other sources on the ideological trends regarding the US foreign policy. Walter McDougall's book *Promised Land, Crusader State* identifies two main impulses that influenced American foreign policy throughout its history: one isolationist and the other is more interventionist. McDougall, 1997). Also Walter Russell Mead classifies the ideological currents in terms of American foreign policy since the establishment of the US. He explains four schools of thought, which dominated US foreign policy interchangeably throughout the history: Hamiltonianism (including the elements from liberal internationalism, but more hospitable to the instruments of warfare than the liberal internationalists, when the global order of economic and trade relations – which is believed to keep the US extremely strong - is threatened by a country), Wilsonianism (a version of idealism with a conviction to spread democracy in the world,

foreign policy, isolationism, has some legacy on the anti-war sentiments of the American society (Muravchik, 1991: 13-15) and though authors like Pat Buchanan are still supportive of an isolationist view on US foreign policy, realism and idealism have interchangeably been dominant in US foreign policy since the end of the Cold War. Neither Clinton nor Bush junior Administrations could be uninterested of the politics outside the US. Clinton militarily engaged to the Balkans whereas Bush junior did the same to the Middle East.

National security, strategic interests and a cold-blooded approach to the balance of power relations among countries, are significant elements of the realist view. Realists emphasize the necessity of military power and attribute importance mostly to militarily powerful and strategically significant states such as China and Russia. Most realists, for instance, do not regard today's militarily weak European Union as a serious threat despite its remarkable economic power. Realists argue that foreign policies should not be made under the light of ethical standards. Giving prominence to values such as democracy and human rights in foreign relations, realists assert, will be wrong and harmful since such a view regards national security of secondary importance.

As the proponents of the realist paradigm are united on the importance of military power and national security, they differ on the strategies of how to maintain that security. Some realists favor multilateral policies depending on international

which differs from democratic imperialism by its belief in multilateral institutions and its respect for international law as well as in multilateral institutions like the International Criminal Court and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty), Jacksonianism (close to hawkish realism) and Jeffersonianism (close to traditional realism). In his book published in 2002, Mead argues that the prominent ideological trends in the first year of the Bush junior Administration were Jacksonianism and Jeffersonianism. (Mead, 2002: 308). There is also Joshua Muravchik's book *Exporting Democracy* (1991), which brings arguments to explain why "democratic imperialism," (or in Muravchik's own terms "democratic internationalism,") serves for the best of the US foreign policy.

agreements and coalitions. These are widely called “traditional realists.”²³ According to this “traditional realist” view, deterrence and containment are two useful policies to decrease the threats posed by rival states. Traditional realists see ‘war’ as a last resort. Diplomacy is a key tool for them in foreign policy. In their view, every state is a potential ally if strategic interests are followed.

The US Department of State is traditionally known as a representative of the traditional realist view. The State Department attribute special importance to NATO allies’ approval in any foreign policy step. Multilateral realism was predominant on US foreign policy during George H. W. Bush Administration (1988-1992). As a reflection of the traditional realist approach, for instance, Syria, a traditionally anti-American country, is included in the coalition built against Saddam Hussein in 1990.²⁴

In contrast to the traditional realist view, “hawkish realists” (in other words, “assertive nationalists”) appear as another part of the realist camp. Attributing great importance to military power and strategic objectives as the traditional realists, hawkish realists favor unilateral policies when needed, to maintain national security. They do not fully disregard multilateral diplomacy. Therefore their difference from the traditional realists is more of an issue of the emphasis. Pentagon’s civilian side is generally known as full of the proponents of this hawkish realism.

The second fundamental approach to American foreign policy is “idealism.” Idealism gains insight from the foreign policy principles formulated by Woodrow Wilson at the end of the First World War. This approach regards the US as the

²³ Some also call them “multilateral realists.” Henry Kissinger is known as a leading figure of traditional realism. His book “Diplomacy” is assessing the Cold War period with such a view. While translating the terms used by Tunç for these different ideological trends, generally the terms of Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay have been chosen in this thesis. See Daalder and Lindsay (2003b).

²⁴ For a book supporting George H. W. Bush’s traditional realist approach to foreign policy, see Scowcroft and Bush (1999).

prominent actor to spread freedom and justice in the world. They believe that both the security of the United States and world peace can be achieved by this spread of 'American' values such as democracy and freedom. "Democratic peace theory" is a reflection of such idealism with the argument that 'democracies do not fight with each other.'²⁵

Like realists, proponents of idealism are also divided into two camps: "democratic imperialism" and "liberal internationalism." According to the "liberal internationalists," the US should present itself as a model of democracy and freedom via promoting free trade and economic integration among nations. They argue that the US can easily spread its political and cultural values by economic and cultural integration. They argue that this is the real power the United States has. In other words, in the view of "liberal internationalists," the US should try to spread democracy by using its "soft power" via economic, cultural and technological means; rather than the "hard power" of its military.²⁶ According to "liberal internationalists," commercial and economic integration will make states more interdependent, will bring the peoples closer, and thus serve to the world peace. Clinton Administration had such a view and thus pursued a foreign policy to promote free trade and economic integration in 1990s.

Another branch of the idealist approach to US foreign policy has a more active attitude towards spreading American values. According to this view, named "democratic imperialism," the greatest threat against the US comes from the countries headed by non-democratic regimes. It does not matter whether they are strong or weak, they argue, these countries are potential threats to the US. Therefore

²⁵ This theory appeared as a separate literature in the discipline of IR. For a discussion of this theory, see Ray (1995).

²⁶ The term "soft power" became famous after it is used by Joseph Nye (2002), a Harvard professor who has also worked in the Clinton Administration.

“democratic imperialists” assert that the US should aim to spread democracy by toppling the authoritarian regimes, by using military power when necessary. The proponents of this view in the US, has only been a minority so far. The neoconservative clique has been the last but the most effective representatives of this approach.

3.3. GEORGE W. BUSH’S FOREIGN POLICY TEAM

Proponents of the aforementioned foreign policy views have been also in George W. Bush’s first Administration. However, the Clintonian liberals have not been effective in the George W. Bush Administration, as the conservative ideology of the Republican Party has been dominant in it. The other three camps of foreign policy views have appeared at the top posts. The main posts on foreign policy making, such as Secretary of State and National Security Advisor, were filled by representatives of traditional realism (Powell and Rice), while other important posts like Secretary of Defense, and the Vice-President were filled by proponents of hawkish realism (Rumsfeld and Cheney). “Democratic imperialists” (in other words, neoconservatives) have been situated in the second and the lower tiers of the Bush administration. Foreign policy ideas of top Bush officials will be examined in the following sections.

3.3.1. COLIN POWELL

When Colin Powell was appointed to the State Department by George W. Bush, he had an excellent career in the US army. (He is a Vietnam veteran with two wounds and half a dozen medals from that war.) He was also a very experienced statesman, particularly on foreign policy after his former long-standing posts in previous

administrations. (He was the National Security Advisor of Ronald Reagan, and the Commander in Chief during the first Gulf War). With this career, Powell was a very famous figure in the US. George W. Bush, too, expressed his admiration for Powell when he declared the names in his cabinet, by terming Powell as an “American hero.”

Powell has a somewhat softer version of the realist foreign policy approach. He actually represents the majority viewpoint among realists in Republican foreign policy circles. Although it may seem sometimes he was isolated in the Bush White House, this broader base of support provided Powell with significant clout.²⁷ This realist wing, including Powell, sees a world of competitive states but believe that the US can best achieve its aims through leadership of a multilateral system. In their view, this is the preferable, although not essential, method of global leadership. In this strategy, the soft power of US culture, politically democratic history and economic might can be used to influence and lead, relegating military power to one choice among others.

Powell’s foreign and security policy views can be followed by the doctrine now remembered by his name. When Powell served as then-Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger’s top military assistant, the Pentagon propounded what was known at the time as the “Weinberger doctrine”. This doctrine embodied the lessons Powell had learned from the Vietnam War. In fact, Powell later embraced the principles of that doctrine so thoroughly and so publicly that it is now better known as “Powell doctrine.” According to this doctrine, American troops should not be committed to combat overseas unless vital US interests are at stake, unless the US objectives are clearly defined and unless overwhelming force is used to achieve those

²⁷ Especially the support of Bush the senior’s National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, alongside the support of former Secretaries of State James Baker and Lawrence Eagleburger, is of importance.

objectives. The ‘vital interests’ are all about national security and they include neither humanitarian interventions nor nation-building missions (Harris, 2004).

3.3.2. CONDOLEEZZA RICE

None of the members of George W. Bush’s foreign policy team was closer to the president than Condoleezza Rice, Bush’s National Security Advisor. She was a member of the National Security Council, responsible for Soviet and East European Affairs, during Bush senior Administration before serving at Stanford University as provost. She has been groomed by, among others, Brent Scowcroft, George H. W. Bush’s National Security Advisor. She is engaging, dynamic and articulate. She can impress crowds with good speeches with no notes. She is also devoutly religious. In her own words, she is a “prochoice evangelical” (Heibrunn, 1999/2000).

Until September 11, 2001, Condoleezza Rice was sharing Colin Powell’s foreign policy views generally. As regards foreign policy agenda Rice, as Powell, focused on big powers like Russia and China. Both Rice and Powell believed that national interest should determine US foreign policy. Both felt that the presence of US troops in lengthy US peace missions should be reduced. Both believed the United States should focus on acute troubleshoots where US interests are at stake; instead of helping rebuild a war-ravaged country. In one of her articles published during the Campaign 2000, named “National Interest”, Rice criticized the Clinton Administration that it tried to rebuild war ravaged less important countries in Bosnia and Kosovo, and thus gave insufficient importance to national security. 9/11 terrorist attacks changed her views and she became one of the main supporters of the more aggressive policies that Bush started to pursue after September 11.

Condoleezza Rice was the closest foreign policy advisor to George W. Bush. She had been the leader of the “Vulcans,” Bush’s foreign policy team during his election campaign in 1999 and 2000.²⁸ During Bush’s first term in presidency, not only she talked with Bush many times on the weekdays, but also she was often with the Bush family at the weekends.

This close relationship between George W. Bush and Condoleezza Rice was partly thanks to the consistency between their foreign policy views. They seem to share a similar view of the world. It is a balance of power, realist Republican approach that is generally short on details and might be summed up like this: strengthen America’s military, scale back military commitments abroad and focus on the big powers (Sciolino, 2000). And their closeness was partly backed by their religious stances.

3.3.3. DONALD RUMSFELD

Donald Rumsfeld has a vision to decrease the potential threats to the United States and to increase America’s credibility in the world. To achieve this, he believes that the US should pursue a proactive foreign policy and should not hesitate to take risks. In Rumsfeld’s view, in case of a serious threat to US national security, it is not inconvenient for the United States to launch a unilateral military intervention without the approval of its allies. However, he supports military interventions only under serious threats. He does not share the ideals to spread democracy or to export American values abroad. Because, in his view, those ideals are not only unnecessary but also dangerous since it may cause harmful consequences for America’s security.

²⁸ The name “Vulcans” come from the ancient god of the forge, whose statute is a symbol of Birmingham, Ala., Ms. Rice’s hometown.

Rumsfeld's main area of interest is his objective to reform American military and to transform the Pentagon bureaucracy. He believes that it is no more the time of pitched battles, thus new American military should be organized for fights against terrorism and missiles. He planned a dynamic military, which could mobilize and reach points of crises in a very short time limit. In this way, the US will be able to decrease its military presence in various parts of the world. In Rumsfeld's view, military presence abroad is not very efficient. This is not only because of the fact that those military bases abroad are very expensive, but also they make the US dependent on its allies. Before September 11, Rumsfeld had anticipated a surprise attack against the US either from a rogue state like North Korea, or from terrorists. And he had proposed, thus, the US to immediately focus on a missile shield to protect US soil, which will destroy the offensive missiles on the air, before hitting its target (Defenselink, n.d.; see also Wikipedia, n.d.b and Tunç, 2004: 59-61).

3.3.4. DICK CHENEY

In the Bush Administration, Vice-President Cheney held the closest set of foreign policy ideas to the ones of Donald Rumsfeld. Both Cheney and Rumsfeld favored a more aggressive foreign policy for the US. For instance, both Cheney and Rumsfeld supported the idea of pursuing a more aggressive containment policy against Iraq even before 9/11 terrorist attacks. Also, both Cheney and Rumsfeld agreed with the traditional realists on the need for the US to avoid nation-building and peace enforcement missions. In their views, the main focus of attention should be turned towards the big powers like China and Russia, and also to 'rogue' states like North Korea. Though removing Saddam regime from power was a desirable end for both of these two close friends (they have had a decades-long friendship), in their views, Iraq

was a problem among the many in terms of foreign policy and a full-fledged invasion of Iraq should be the last alternative.

Cheney was the person who had a strong trust of the President George W. Bush. Because of his 25 years-long experiences in American politics and his excellent knowledge of the US bureaucracy and the Congress, he became among the few who advised Bush on political issues. Therefore the sources close to the White House even claimed Cheney to be among the strongest Vice-Presidents in the American history. When Bush told to a Republican Senator to assume Cheney's words as if Bush himself told them, this also demonstrated Bush's level of trust for Cheney. Cheney was also known to be effective in the appointments of Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz to Pentagon (Wikipedia, n.d.a; see also Rightweb, n.d.c and Tunç, 2004: 61-62).

Cheney was among the few, who had taken the threat of weapons of mass destruction into serious consideration before September 11. When Bush Administration has taken the decision to establish an Office for National Preparedness within the framework of the fight against terrorism, Cheney's office carried out the necessary procedures. And later sitting in the presidential bunker deep beneath the White House in the hours after the attacks on Washington and New York, Cheney would reflect his increased concern about WMDs with the words "as unfathomable as this was, it could have been so much worse if they had weapons of mass destruction" (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003b: 119).

3.4. WHO PULLED THE FOREIGN POLICY STRINGS?

Did the neocons take over the American political system in a coup-like fashion and waged two wars in two years? How much do this claim reflect reality? The idea that

US politics is under the tight control of a closely-knit group seems to be nothing more than a superficial exaggeration. The making of foreign and security policies in the US is a product of consultation and many times bargaining among the top officials of the administration. And the last word is often that of the President. All these politicians do not ignore the internal and the international conjuncture while making the decisions. The president, possibly, has to think also about the next elections to have a second term. All these determinants help shape the US foreign and security policies. Therefore, the neocons have not pulled all the strings from the very beginning of the first George W. Bush Administration. However, this is not to say that the neocons have not become effective on US foreign policy. On the contrary, they have had their highest influence in their history after September 11.

By outlining the constitutional powers and ideological trends in current American politics, and thus, by demonstrating that it is difficult for an ideological group to acquire full control on US foreign policy, this chapter refused the claim that neocons acquired control of the US decision making with a “coup-like take over.” In fact, a bureaucratic system with long-lasting legislative rules, various ideological trends with massive public support, and key foreign policy actors situated in the top posts of the Administration, who may not want to give the foreign policy strings to others easily, would create difficulties for the neocons in realizing their foreign policy proposals. Nevertheless, September 11 would come up with opportunities for the neocons to have an influence on US security policies. And this is the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

SEPTEMBER 11 AND THE NEOCONSERVATIVE INFLUENCE

This chapter assesses the role of neoconservative ideas on Bush's security policies and analyzes how the neoconservative ideas came to conform US foreign and security policies, in the context of which the role of September 11 attracts attention. The chapter firstly compares the neoconservative ideas and Bush's security policies. In this context, some neoconservative documents, where the neoconservative foreign policy proposals were articulated, are compared with the National Security Strategy (2002) of the Bush Administration. By demonstrating that neocon ideas began to play a determining role to a great extent after September 11, 2001, and not before that time, the chapter will emphasize the role of September 11, as a material factor, which had political and psychological effects within the US as well as on the international context, to help neocon ideas shape George W. Bush's post-September 11 security policies.

September 11 tragedy made Bush's foreign policy team to think of a need for a new security policy paradigm, and the neocon ideas helped determine what kind of a policy formulation would be adopted. In other words, the ideational (neocon ideas) held the ground to shape the policy, with the stimulus of the material (September 11). None of the roles of the two (ideational and material realms) can be ignored in terms of analysis.

4.1. FIRST EIGHT MONTHS: NEOCONSERVATIVE INFLUENCE?

The neoconservative ideas were not much effective in determining US foreign policy during the first eight months of the Bush Administration. Instead, a mixture of traditional realist and hard-line conservative ideas (by just reflecting the composition of the top tier of the Bush Administration) guided George W. Bush's foreign and security policies prior to September 11 (Mead, 2002: 308).

During his presidential campaign, Mr. Bush outlined his foreign policy approach, which he named "A Distinctly American Internationalism," at Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, on November 19, 1999. His speech included promises that if he was the president, he would "develop and deploy missile defense systems – both theater and national" and also he would "never place troops under U.N. command." But most important about this speech was that Bush pointed at the two Eurasian powers, China and Russia, as the main concern of the American foreign policy agenda. He asserted "Our first order of business is the national security of our nation" and talked about the risks of a rising China and the nuclear capabilities of Russia at nearly half of his speech (Bush, 1999).

In fact, foreign policy was not the top priority during his presidential campaign. Instead, during the campaign he mainly focused on a \$1.6 trillion tax cut

and an education reform (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003a: 110). And in the first eight months in office, Bush followed the policies he promised, which does not include major foreign policy initiatives that the neocons might have expected Bush to undertake. Though world affairs had not been on the top of Bush's campaign agenda in 2000, neoconservatives might well have expected him to turn the defense budget tap wide open, to move aggressively on regime change in Iraq, a rapid withdrawal from the ABM Treaty and a new Manhattan Project to build a missile defense shield. Bush's policies in its first eight months were to disappoint the neoconservatives. And the neocons in academia, naturally, criticized the Administration for these policies in their writings (PBS, n.d.).

Disappointing the neoconservatives, and in favor of the traditional realist flank in the Administration, Bush took a reluctant approach to undertake major foreign policy initiatives in his first eight months in office. In early February 2001, Bush told members of Congress "there will be no new money for defense this year" (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003b: 63). And he decided to proceed with the Clinton Administration's proposed 2002 defense budget request of \$310 billion. He also declined to seek a supplemental appropriation to add more funds to the 2001 budget.²⁹ Bush, with a similar approach, neither withdrew from the ABM Treaty immediately, nor ordered rapid construction of a system capable of defending the US from ballistic missiles. Powell announced in February 2001 that the US would not remove its troops from Bosnia or Kosovo without the agreement of the NATO allies. During his first eight months Bush offered no concrete plans for resolving the

²⁹ Bush's decision to stick with Clinton's defense budget proposals infuriated defense hawks on Capitol Hill, and they quickly moved to open the spending tap. Rather than being trumped by the Congress, the White House changed its tune. By August 2001, Bush submitted a 2001 defense appropriation request and raised the 2002 defense budget request to 343.3 billion. This showed that Bush was not above reversing course to accommodate domestic political realities. (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003a: 114; see also Daalder and Lindsay, 2003b: 71-72).

outstanding issues in US-Mexican relations. Bush also did not move ahead aggressively on a policy of regime change in Iraq, either through direct US action or by empowering Iraqi exile groups to do so on America's behalf. Instead, the Administration moved to replace the existing Iraqi sanctions with so-called 'smart' ones that expedited trade in civilian goods but tightened controls on military goods (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003b: 62-77).

Besides these, in the first eight months of his presidency, Bush also pursued some policies in favor of the hard-line conservative flank in the Administration. In March 2001, Bush announced his decision to abandon Kyoto Protocol on curtailing emissions of carbon dioxide from power plants, which was taken because of internal considerations. In this respect Bush argued "idea of placing caps on CO₂ does not make economic sense for America" (White House, 2001). His opposition followed by some other international agreements among them: a pact to control trafficking small arms, a new protocol to the Biological Weapons Convention, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and the International Criminal Court. Bush's staunch posture in opposing the above mentioned international agreements, despite the increasing complaints abroad, might have well been favorable also for the neoconservatives, besides the hard-line conservatives in the Bush Administration. However, this does not actually be interpreted as the production of a pure neoconservative influence. In fact, there have been a closeness between the ideas of neocons and the hard-line conservatives in the Administration, and this marriage of ideas between them made each groups' converging proposals stronger in the decision-making process before and after September 11.

4.2. SEPTEMBER 11 AS A MATERIAL FACTOR

With its political and psychological effects within and outside the United States, the September 11 tragedy, as a material factor on its own, paved the way to neoconservative ideas to be effective in the determination of Bush Administration's post-September 11 security policies. Firstly, it can be argued that 9/11 transformed the views of the US administrative elite about world politics and this, in turn, had an important role in changing the US foreign policy after September 11. And secondly, 9/11's psychological impacts on both the US and the world public opinion had a significant role in the creation of an appropriate political atmosphere to give the opportunity to Bush and his aides to adopt more aggressive foreign and security policies after September 11.

The political impacts of September 11 were remarkable both within and outside the United States. September 11 came with nearly 3000 deaths and a great shock on both the administrative elite and the citizens of the US. The US moved fast to keep the terrorist network Al-Qaeda responsible for the attacks. Many states condemned terrorism and expressed support for the US against that terrorist network. US citizens gave massive support to their Administration to find and punish the people who are responsible for this tragedy. Democrats were silent since they hesitated to raise a great opposition to the government in those dreadful days of the country, especially when the Administration had a massive support of the public. As long as Bush's policies produced success abroad, or at least did not obviously fail, Congress was not about to stand in his way (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003b: 80). With all these internal and external impacts, the atmosphere inside the United States as well as the international context after September 11 constituted an opportunity for the Bush Administration to undertake major foreign and security policy initiatives.

September 11 also had psychological effects on the administrative elite and citizens in the US. The new foreign policy stance of the US was not only a production of the realist calculation to take the advantage of 9/11, and thus try to ‘maximize the US national interests,’ as it can be interpreted according to the IR theory of realism. Instead, the US public’s acceptance of Bush junior’s more aggressive security policies after September 11, should be regarded as a reaction of the US to 9/11, with its citizens and the administrative elite, who experienced such a dreadful event on their soil firstly after Pearl Harbor surprise attacks. The following few paragraphs will explain the horror US faced during and after September 11, in order to better grasp the psychological impacts of September 11 on the people of the United States.

With its citizens and the administrative elite, the US felt a real horror on and after September 11. George W. Bush was on the way out of the White House by Airforce-1 for security reasons, when another plane was directed on the White House as a target. Cheney took refuge in the presidential bunker deep beneath the White House in the hours after the attacks on New York and Washington, expressing his anxiety of a far more lethal terrorist attack using radiological, biological, or even nuclear weapons as possible: “As unfathomable as this was, it could have been so much worse if they had weapons of mass destruction” (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003b: 118). It is not hard to guess what the Pentagon staff felt when the plane hit on one of the blocks on their site. Many US citizens lost their relatives or friends on the twin towers on that tragic day, and far more others watched the tragedy on TV for months.

The anthrax attacks in the fall of 2001 and the relevant intelligence information implying terrorists’ approach to weapons of mass destruction, increased the concerns of the Bush Administration and the US public about biological

terrorism. Three weeks after September 11, Robert Stevens, an editor at the *Sun*, a weekly supermarket tabloid in Boca Raton, Florida, died of inhalation anthrax. It was the first reported case of anthrax since 1976 and one of only eighteen cases in the previous century. Over the next two weeks envelopes, containing a sophisticated form of anthrax, were received by news organizations and the offices of two Democratic senators. The anthrax mailings, which ultimately infected eighteen people and killed five of them, and the panic they caused in the country even if they failed to kill many people; demonstrated the ease with which a highly lethal attack could be launched and also the ease to create panic in the country (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003b: 118).

By the late October, 2001, US intelligence was picking up rumours of another terrorist attack, possibly involving a so-called dirty bomb, radiological material wrapped around a conventional explosive. Although a dirty bomb would be nowhere near as lethal as a nuclear bomb, it could release significant amounts of radiation in the air. Depending on the amount and type of radiological material involved, a dirty bomb could contaminate a large part of a major city and create wholesale panic. Such an attack, Condoleezza Rice mentioned, would “make Sept. 11 look like child’s play” (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003b: 118).

After all these events, the US public became much more concerned about their security and the Administration’s risk perceptions were changed. The Bush officials, then, started to take every single intelligence rumor on terrorism into consideration seriously.

Other than the political and psychological impacts inside and outside the US mentioned above, September 11 also had an impact on Bush Administration’s view about world politics, which was in turn reflected to the security policies of the Bush

Administration. Firstly, September 11 heightened Bush Administration's threat perceptions. September 11 "produced an acute sense of our vulnerability," said Rice. "The coalition did not act in Iraq," explained Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, "because we had discovered new evidence of Iraq's pursuit of WMD; we acted because we saw the existing evidence in a new light – through the prism of our experience on 9/11." Having failed to foresee and prevent a terrorist attack before September 11, the Administration's threshold for risk was dramatically lowered, its temptation to use force remarkably heightened (Lefler, 2004: 24-25).

The tragedy on September 11 brought about a climate where fundamental policy changes were widely discussed, and the clique which had a ready-made strategy was the neoconservative one. By the impact of September 11, US decision makers thought that it was necessary to question or rethink the foundations of foreign policy. Realist, libertarian, or left-liberal institutes or experts had no ready-made strategic plans to pull out of the drawer to propose as an alternative action plan for the US Administration to be followed in the newly established conjuncture after September 11. They also lacked access to the Administration, which, with all its divisions in other matters, was united after September 11 in the belief that old strategies, especially the policy of containment, could not cope with the new threats (Greve, 2004). The neocons had been concerned for years with new threats and had been arguing for a new foreign policy vis-à-vis individual countries and regions, and thus, September 11 raised the stock of neoconservatives within the Republican Party.

Since neocons had focused more on the threats posed by the so-called "rogue states" before September 11 than the threats posed by terrorism, they were not directly confirmed by 9/11 (Greve, 2004). The neocons nevertheless had an analysis of what had gone wrong in American foreign policy. They also stood ready with

proposals for what to do: to wage war on the terror groups and to seek to end or transform governments that harbored them, especially those possessing the means to furnish terrorists with the ability to kill even more Americans than on 9/11. Neocons also proposed a long-term strategy, which is called “Greater Middle East Project,”³⁰ for making the Middle East less of a hotbed of terrorism: implanting democracy in the region and thereby helping to foment a less violent approach to politics (Muravchick, 2003: 33-34). And as a result, their proposals were highly embraced by the Bush Administration.

4.3. AFTER SEPTEMBER 11: BUSH JUNIOR’S RHETORIC

The changes in the Bush Administration’s thinking and rhetoric after the 9/11 attacks were striking. Soon after September 11 Bush junior started to borrow, to a great extent, from neoconservative ideas in his public pronouncements. In accordance with the set of neoconservative ideas, he declared a total war on international terrorism. Soon after the 9/11 attacks, foreign policy, or more precisely war on terrorism, became the defining mission of his presidency (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003b: 80). In an address to the US Congress on September 26, 2001, Bush told his nation that they should expect a long and unprecedented war, aimed at uprooting terrorism once for all (Ari, 2004: 495). And he gave a firm message to other nations warning them “[in this war on terrorism] you are either with us or with the terrorists” (Bush, 2001).

“Our nation will continue to be steadfast, and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives,” Bush declared in his famous State of the Union address he delivered to Congress in January 2002, “First, we will shut down terrorist

³⁰ The Greater Middle East Project, proposed by the Bush Administration after September 11, has the goal to give an end to the factors which -the US administrative elite thought- helps terrorism to flourish in the region laid at the arc of countries extending from Morocco to Pakistan. The method

camps, disrupt terrorist plans and bring terrorists to justice. And second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world” (Bush, 2002). Naming North Korea, Iran and Iraq as such regimes, Bush continued “States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world” (Bush, 2002).

Bush, in his speeches, also gave signs of United States’ adoption of the policy of preemption as a way to counter terrorism. “And all nations should know” Bush boldly declared in his State of the Union Address on January 2002, “America will do what is necessary to ensure our nation's security. We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons” (Bush, 2002).

Bush’s rhetoric after September 11 have more or less the same underlying logic with the neocons’ about how America should act in the world. This logic rests on five basic elements. First, the United States lives in a dangerous world. One of Bush’s previous statements reflects this way of thinking about world politics: “This is still a world of terror and missiles and madmen” (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003a: 107).

Second, self-interested nation-states are key actors in world politics. This element is interesting because Bush’s claim about even a stateless act, terrorism, was that it is sponsored and flourished by states – namely the so-called “rogue states.” “We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and

was the spread of democracy and the transformation of the societies in the region. The Project had its first targets in Afghanistan and Iraq.

those who harbor them,” Bush declared the night of the attacks, in a statement now remembered as enunciating the Bush Doctrine (in other words, the National Security Strategy of the US). Days later, Wolfowitz pledged that the United States would focus on “removing the sanctuaries, removing the support systems, ending states who sponsor terrorism.” The link between terrorist organizations and state sponsors became the “principle strategic thought underlying our strategy in the war on terrorism,” said Douglas Feith, a neocon and the number three official in the Pentagon during the first Bush Administration (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003a: 119-120). Bush would later express also, “Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.” And he would continue “So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk and America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it” (Bush, 2002).

The third element is power, especially military power, which is seen as the coin of the realm even in a globalized world. Fourth, multilateral institutions and agreements are neither essential nor necessarily conducive to American interests. And the last element is that the United States is a unique power, and others see it so (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003a: 106-108).

9/11 elevated the focus on ideals and suppressed the careful calculation of interest in Bush’s rhetoric. In search of eliminating, or at least lowering, terrorism from its source, which is said to be the “rough states,” the Bush team adopted a policy to spread American values abroad, and firstly to the “Broader Middle East.” However, before September 11, the Bush team prided itself on a foreign policy that embraced realism. Then-National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice boldly

declared during the 2000 presidential campaign that American power should not be employed for “second order” effects, such as the enhancement of humanity’s well-being. Bush claimed that freedom, democracy, and peace would follow from the concerted pursuit of the United States’ “enduring national interests.” This foreign policy would reflect America’s character, “The modesty of true strength. The humility of real greatness” (Bush, 1999).

Bush Administration’s planned configuration of foreign policy has faced changes after that tragic day. September 11 added “values” to this configuration of foreign policy in the strategy paper released in 2002. The National Security Strategy (NSS) states under the sub-title of “Overview of America’s International Security,” “The U.S. national security strategy will be based on a distinctly American internationalism *that reflects the union of our values and our interests*” (NSC, 2002: 1; emphasis added). The overall goal of the US foreign policy, said the Bush NSS of September 2002, is to configure a balance of power favoring freedom. “Our principles,” says the strategy paper – besides national interests - will “guide our government’s decisions about international cooperation ... they will guide our actions and our words in international bodies” (NSC, 2002: 4). The strategy statement also declares “... the national security strategy of the United States must start from these core beliefs and look outward for possibilities *to expand liberty*” (NSC, 2002: 3; emphasis added).

It may come to minds that in times of crisis, U.S. political leaders have long asserted values and ideals to evoke public support for the mobilization of power. However, this shift was more than rhetoric. The terrorist attacks against World Trade Center and Pentagon transformed the Bush Administration’s sense of danger and impelled offensive strategies (Lefler, 2004: 24-25). And within the framework of the

values and ideals expressed, the US waged two wars in two years following the 9/11 tragedy. The NSS, besides revealing the will of the Bush Administration to expand liberty (NSC, 2002: 3), would evaluate the outcome of the Afghan war with its own words “Afghanistan has been liberated” (NSC, 2002: 5).

4.4. AFTER SEPTEMBER 11: NEOCON IDEAS AND US SECURITY STRATEGY

No neoconservative was elevated in office after 9/11, but policies espoused by neoconservatives were highly embraced by the Bush Administration since then. The neoconservative style formulation of the new security strategy of the Bush Administration was revealed after the release of the new National Security Strategy in September 2002. It looked like a neocon manifesto. As self-expressed neocon Max Boot also evaluates “(t)he ambitious National Security Strategy that the administration issued in September 2002 - with its call for U.S. supremacy, the promotion of democracy, and vigorous action, preemptive if necessary, to stop terrorism and weapons proliferation - was a quintessentially neoconservative document” (Boot, 2004b: 20-21). What was new on the NSS in comparison with the decades-old neoconservative foreign policy ideas, was the emphasis on international terrorism, which seems to be used as a justification for the long-lasting foreign policy proposals of the neoconservatives. There were great consistencies between the NSS and the decades-long defended neocon theses, which are also expressed systematically in various neocon documents such as Wolfowitz’s controversial 1992 Draft Defense Planning Guidance, which called for US military dominance over Eurasia and preemptive strikes against countries suspected of developing weapons of mass destruction (New York Times, 1992, emphasis added; see also Gellman, 1992

and Tyler, 1992), and the 2002 PNAC Report “Rebuilding America’s Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century” (PNAC, 2000).

The first consistency between them is the hegemonic view, which dominates all these documents. The NSS makes it clear - just as both of the neocon documents mentioned above - “our forces will be strong enough to *dissuade potential adversaries* from pursuing a military build-up in hopes of surpassing, or equaling, the power of the United States” (NSC, 2002: 30; emphasis added). The NSS also declares “It is time to reaffirm the essential role of American military strength. We must build and maintain our defenses *beyond challenge*” (NSC, 2002: 29; emphasis added). The 1992 Draft had a resembling argument emphasizing:

Our first objective is *to prevent the re-emergence of a rival*. This is a dominant consideration underlying the new regional defense strategy and requires that we endeavor to prevent any hostile power from dominating a region whose resources would, under consolidated control, be sufficient to generate global power. These regions include Western Europe, East Asia, the territory of the former Soviet Union, and Southwest Asia.

There are three additional aspects to this objective: First the US must show the leadership necessary to establish and protect a new order that holds the promise of convincing potential competitors that they need not aspire to a greater role or pursue a more aggressive posture to protect their legitimate interests. Second, in the non-defense areas, we must account sufficiently for the interests of the advanced industrial nations to discourage them from challenging our leadership or seeking to overturn the established political and economic order. *Finally, we must maintain the mechanisms for deterring potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role* (New York Times, 1992; emphases added).

“Rebuilding America’s Defenses” was another document, analyzing the military requirements for an American hegemony in the world. To this end, it mentioned the need to “shape the security environment in critical regions,” “maintain nuclear strategic superiority, basing the US nuclear deterrent upon a global, nuclear net assessment that weighs the full range of current and emerging threats, not merely the U.S.-Russia balance,” “develop and deploy global missile defenses ... to provide a

secure basis for U.S. power projection around the world” and to “reposition US forces to respond to 21st century strategic realities.”

It may come to minds that “Rebuilding America’s Defenses” is a military-strategic evaluation paper, and such military papers in every state are, naturally, prepared by taking the worst possible scenarios into account in their analyses to protect their countries from others’ attacks. However, “Rebuilding America’s Defenses” is different than any other military-strategic evaluation paper, because it focuses not only on the protection of a country, but also on the ways to have and maintain the hegemony of the sole superpower in the world.

The second resemblance of the NSS to neocon documents was its focus on the need to promote American values abroad. The NSS mentioned “The U.S. national security strategy will be based on a distinctly American internationalism that reflects *the union of our values and our national interests.*” (NSC, 2002: 1; emphasis added). “In pursuit of our goals, our first imperative is to clarify *what we stand for*: the United States must defend liberty and justice because these principles are right and true for all people everywhere. No nation owns these aspirations and no nation is exempt from them. ... the national security strategy of the United States must start from these core beliefs and look outwards for possibilities to expand liberty” (NSC, 2002: 3; emphasis added).

1992 Draft had similar arguments. According to the 1992 Draft Document, the US should aim “to address sources of regional conflict and instability in such a way as to promote increasing respect for international law, limit international violence, and *encourage the spread of democratic forms of government and open economic systems*” (New York Times, 1992; emphasis added).

The third main resemblance between the NSS and the neocon ideas is the emphasis on unilateral and preemptive actions. The NSS declares “While the United States will constantly strive to enlist the support of the international community, we will not hesitate to act *alone*, if necessary, to exercise our right to self-defense by *acting preemptively* against such terrorists, to prevent them from doing harm against our people and our country” (NSC, 2002: 6; emphases added). 1992 Draft also contemplates the use of American military power to preempt or punish use of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, “even in conflicts that otherwise do not directly engage U.S. interests.” Preemption has been favored by many neocons as a foreign policy instrument for a long time. It was also a recommendation of Perle and seven other neocons in their report for Israeli Likud Party leader Benjamin Netanyahu in 1996, which urged Israel to take a more aggressive posture - shifting to a “principle of preemption, rather than retaliation alone” (Kosterlitz, 2003).

1992 Draft Document mentioned that if necessary, the United States must be prepared to take unilateral action. The document states the coalitions “hold considerable promise for promoting collective action,” but it also states the US “should expect future coalitions to be ad hoc assemblies” formed to deal with a particular crisis and which may not outlive the resolution of the crisis. The document states that what is most important is “the sense that the world order is ultimately backed by the U.S.” and that “the United States should be postured to act independently when collective action cannot be orchestrated” or in a crisis that calls for quick response (New York Times, 1992).

4.5. AFTER SEPTEMBER 11: NEOCON IDEAS AND US SECURITY POLICY

The first George W. Bush Administration took mainly two important security policy steps after September 11: Afghan war (2001), and the Iraq war (2003). These two wars, especially the war in Iraq, augmented the discussions about the neocon influence on the Bush Administration.

Even after 9/11, the neocons were effective as much as they could convince their colleagues in the Administration. Not all of their proposals, but only the ones Bush and his other top aides are convinced to undertake, were adopted by the Bush Administration. Wolfowitz's suggestion, short after 9/11, to engage with the Iraqi regime before the one in Afghanistan, was an example to this situation in the Administration. Just four days after September 11, Wolfowitz had proposed in a meeting of Bush's war council, convened to discuss the response to 9/11 at Camp David, that a war in Afghanistan was risky and stability would be difficult to achieve once Taliban was ousted; terrorism laid elsewhere and Iraq should be dealt firstly since Saddam's regime could be easily overthrown. "Wolfowitz seized the opportunity," Bob Woodward writes "[a]ttacking Afghanistan would be uncertain. He worried about 100,000 American troops bogged down in mountain fighting in Afghanistan six months from then. In contrast, Iraq was a brittle, oppressive regime that might break easily. It was doable. He estimated that there was a 10 to 50 percent chance Saddam was involved in the September 11 terrorist attacks" (Quoted in Geyer, 2003). There was little support for Wolfowitz's argument except his superior Rumsfeld's (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003b: 104). Woodward continues "They would need successes early in any war to maintain domestic and international support." And Rumsfeld was "deeply worried about the availability of good targets in Afghanistan"

(Quoted in Geyer, 2003). At last, despite this call of Wolfowitz on dealing with Iraq first, as a consequence, the Bush Administration took the decision to firstly deal with Afghanistan.

The neocon influence on the Bush Administration, however, started to be realized in increasing levels day by day after September 11. Soon after that meeting at Camp David, Bush began to a great extent borrowing from neoconservative arguments about how the United States should reposition itself in the world and use its unprecedented power. Rather than only seeking vengeance against Al Qaeda, Bush declared a total war on international terrorism. And “rather than treating terrorism as a matter of policing renegade organizations and lobbing the occasional retaliatory missile” (Kosterlitz, 2003) as past Administrations had done, Bush adopted the neoconservative view that countering terrorism meant waging war against governments that harbor them. Therefore, the goal of the US war in Afghanistan was not merely to destroy Al Qaeda but to topple the Taliban regime, which had welcomed bin Laden’s terrorist training camps (Kosterlitz, 2003).

Regarding the issue of the neocon influence on the Bush Administration, the war in Iraq (2003) appeared to be more controversial than the one in Afghanistan. Afghanistan was a first reaction to September 11. George W. Bush wrote to his diary at the night of September the 11th, 2001, that what happened that day was the Pearl Harbour of the 21st century (Woodward, 2004: 25). A Democrat Administration would also likely have proceeded militarily against Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan as Bush Administration did, but it would not have declared and carried out a forcible regime change in Iraq as part of the fight against terrorism (Greve, 2004). Therefore, especially the Iraq war augmented discussions about the neocon influence on Bush policies.

When the alleged reasons of the Bush Administration before going to war with Iraq revealed to be misleading short after the war, the focus were directed more on the neocon weight in the Bush Administration. Bush publicly declared mainly three aims for the war against Iraq: “(1) to eliminate Saddam’s WMD arsenals; (2) to diminish the threat of international terrorism; and (3) to promote democracy in Iraq and the surrounding areas” (Klare, 2003). These reasons no more seemed to be credible short after the war because (1) CIA intelligence about Saddam regime’s WMDs were proved to be wrong short after the toppling of Saddam’s regime and the Bush Administration had to accept this by the public statements of its high level officials; (2) Saddam’s link with neither 9/11 attacks nor Al-Qaeda could be backed by persuasive evidence by the US; (3) the discourse on bringing democracy to Middle East seemed to be a distant objective for that region, especially when the long-lasting resistance and terror in Iraq revealed that Iraqi people were hesitant about what this US Administration tries to bring them by force.

Toppling Saddam regime have, for a long time, been on the top of the neoconservative agenda and several of the authors of the neocon documents, proposing insistently for a regime change in Iraq, were in influential posts joining the discussions of the top Bush officials about foreign and security policies within the Bush Administration (Woodward, 2004: 51-52), when it waged war against Iraq in 2003.

The neocons had insistently proposed for a regime change in Iraq, but without clarifying how to reach it. Richard Perle, one of the most high profile neoconservatives who resigned as chairman of the Pentagon’s Defense Policy Board in 2003, mentioned in an interview that he had first demanded Saddam’s ouster in 1987, shortly after he had left the Defense Department and well before Iraq invaded

Kuwait. Perle's view was shaped by "the nature of the regime and Saddam's ambitions" which, Perle argued, "became evident when he invaded Kuwait" (Kosterlitz, 2003).

The neocon calls for toppling Saddam accelerated over time. In 1997, Afghan-born neoconservative Zalmay Khalilzad, a foreign policy adviser in the Reagan Administration and a special envoy of George W. Bush to Afghanistan and Iraq, made the case with Wolfowitz for Saddam's ouster in a *Weekly Standard* article, "Overthrow Him." And in early 1998, an open letter to President Clinton, by the neoconservative think tank PNAC, spelled out a plan for squeezing out Saddam and recognizing a "provisional government ... representative of all the peoples of Iraq" (PNAC, 1998). Signatories included a number of people who became later part of the Bush Administration later: Wolfowitz, Khalilzad, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, Undersecretary of State for Arms Control and International Security John Bolton, Undersecretary of Defense (comptroller) Dov Zakheim, and Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Douglas Feith.

Some of the neoconservatives, including Perle, envisioned regime change in Iraq as part of a fundamental transformation of the entire Middle East. In 1996, Perle and seven other neocons drafted a white paper for Benjamin Netanyahu, who was the incoming Prime Minister of Israel and leader of its Likud Party. The goals of that report included "removing Saddam Hussein from power" and "weakening, containing, and even rolling back Syria" (Kosterlitz, 2003: 1544).³¹ After years-long neocon calls for toppling Saddam regime, this ouster was finally realized in 2003, when the neocons were in important posts in the US Administration.

³¹ It is interesting today to witness the attempts on the realization of the latter proposal by the second Bush junior administration, after the realization of the former during his first term.

In conclusion, there are full of elements to be borrowed from the neoconservative ideas in the National Security Strategy (2002) and also in George W. Bush's post-September 11 speeches. Also the policies Bush implemented after September 11 fit to a great extent with the decades-old neoconservative ideals in terms of foreign policy. All these clues, in the last analyses, are convincing enough to believe on a high degree of neoconservative influence on the determination of Bush's post-September 11 security policies.

CONCLUSION

A MIXTURE OF IDEATIONAL AND MATERIAL FACTORS

This thesis has argued that neocon ideas became effective in determining the post-September 11 foreign policy stance of the Bush Administration only after September 11's terrorist attacks, which produced an appropriate psychological and political ground for the operation of neocon ideas.

Wars waged by the US following 9/11 focused world public attention on neoconservatives within the Bush Administration - the war in Iraq, especially, had long and insistently been proposed by prominent neoconservatives, ultimately taking place when these neocons occupied second and third tiers of the Bush Administration. Although, so far, neoconservative ideas represent only a minority in American politics, and although, to date, this minority retains an insignificant voter support within the US population, this numerically insubstantial minority comprises an important and well-connected network within American society - containing, as it does, active members in influential think tanks, politics and media. When Dick

Cheney placed many prominent neoconservatives in the second and lower levels of the Bush Administration, this minority acquired further clout in the form of opportunities for making their voices heard, alongside those of their superiors, in the country's highest level policy-making discussions.

The existence of neoconservatives within Bush's Administration prior to and during September 11's attacks meant both alternative policy options and ready support for a "new foreign policy paradigm" to replace the "demonstrable failure of the old." To this extent, then, neoconservative ideas had a significant role in shaping Bush's post-September 11 security policies. The National Security Strategy, released by the Bush Administration in September 2002, and Bush's post-September 11 speeches, which mostly reflect the essence of that document, possess a highly neoconservative tone. Bush's security policies after 9/11, especially war in Iraq, seem to be the realization of neocon policy proposals.

Arguing a high degree of neocon influence, this thesis does not deny the role of September 11, as a material factor on its own, on Bush's post-September 11 security policies. September 11, in fact, with the conditions it produced, impacted the formulation of Bush's post-September 11 security policies. First, and perhaps foremost, 9/11 induced Bush's top foreign policy team to consider the efficacy of the US's foreign policy paradigm against heightened threat perceptions ensuing from the 9/11 tragedy. Secondly, September 11 created an appropriate psychological and political atmosphere both within and without the United States for the implementation of a new foreign policy paradigm, effectively facilitating both the renunciation and replacement of the prior one.

In fact, neither the influence of neoconservative ideas on the Bush Administration, nor the events and consequences of September 11, were the only

ideational and material factors, respectively, that motivated post-9/11 foreign and security policy changes. Political outcomes are, in many cases, complex and, thus, ultimately incapable of reduction to two causal factors. Such reduction, however, represents an inescapable exigency of much analysis - in effect, the tool making analysis possible.

While the Afghan war perhaps represented the US's reaction to the events of 9/11 - that is, to the threatening violence of a successful terrorist attack occurring on US soil and unparalleled in scale since that of Pearl Harbour, several supplemental factors also contributed to the materialization of subsequent Bush policies.

First, Iraq was an ongoing problem according to George W. Bush, who believed Iraq needed handling in one way or another. After a year of Bush Administration to tidy up the situation in Iraq, which is believed to be worsening by time as a matter of US prestige in international arena, it had become clear that America's Iraq policy was collapsing (Tunç, 2004: 78-105). As Perle emphasized:

[T]here was a political dimension [for the war in Iraq], too. By 9/11, it was clear that American policy toward Iraq was collapsing. Support for sanctions was collapsing and could not be sustained. The sanctions were leaky, anyway. And [Saddam] would emerge out of sanctions as a hero in the whole Arab world" (Kosterlitz, 2003).

Bush's awareness of this need to "handle" the Iraq problem also emerged in his comment to British Prime Minister Tony Blair during the latter's visit to Washington a few days after 9/11. As Bush prophesied, "Iraq, we keep for another day" (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003b: 105).

Iraq, Bush thought, needed to be handled anyway. But the method was a matter of question. The CIA's last analysis of the issue declared that it was impossible to topple Saddam's regime with covert operations. The only way to oust

Saddam was, CIA officials claimed in a briefing given to George W. Bush regarding Iraq, with a full-fledged military intervention (Woodward, 2004: 76). Accordingly, Bush authorized the Pentagon to accelerate planning for possible military action against Iraq, only three months after 9/11 (See Hamilton, 2004 and also Daalder and Lindsay, 2003a: 123).

Another decisive factor in going to war with Iraq was that neoconservative actors became part of a domestic political coalition. They shared with aggressive realists, like Cheney and Rumsfeld, skepticism about the effectiveness of international institutions, treaties and diplomacy. This informal alliance proved mutually reinforcing during policy-making discussions. In the case of Iraq, for instance, differences of opinion about postwar strategy and additional American commitment in the region faded into the background. Moreover, some moderate, internationalist Republicans, and even some Democrats, supported the war against Iraq – out of different motives than those of the conservative hardliners: they were hoping for an international coalition that would jointly deal with new threats. Such politicians hoped for backing from the United Nations, rather than from neoconservatives (Greve, 2004).

Bush's domestic political considerations might also have impacted his decision to effect radical change in his Administration's foreign and security policies. Before September 11, Bush's approval rating was quite poor. A slumping economy, the Enron scandal, growing anger in foreign capitals over his Administration's unilateralism, and criticism of his month-long "working" vacation in Crawford combined to obscure his impressive success in engineering the passage of a \$1.35 trillion tax cut. Correspondingly, early September polls in 2001 revealed that his approval rating had fallen to 51 percent. Only Gerald Ford, who alienated

many voters when he pardoned Richard Nixon, had experienced lower ratings during his first eight months in office. David Frum, a Bush speechwriter at the time, probably exaggerated only slightly when he later wrote, “on September 10, 2001, George Bush was not on his way to a very successful presidency” (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003b: 78).

Bush had already been known as an inexperienced president in terms of foreign policy and was criticized about his Administration’s “humble” (Greve, 2004) and unilateral foreign policy during his first eight months in office. 9/11 thus provided an opportunity for Bush to claim and pursue a more proactive foreign policy, attracting more domestic support at a time when US citizens needed a staunch leader to catch and bring to justice those responsible for 9/11's terrorist attacks. The other option available to Bush - to continue the ‘humble’ foreign policy of his pre-9/11 tenure promised only to attract more citizen criticisms. Bush chose the more powerful alternative.

Bush was - surprisingly for many people, after his “bloody” first term - elected for a second presidential term in December, 2004. Bush’s appointments in his second term provide insight into what plans for foreign policy he incubated during his first term. Traditional realist Colin Powell no more stays in office after his isolation during the first term (Woodward, 2004: 82; see also Daalder and Lindsay, 2003b: 57) and Rice, who has increasingly espoused the neocon-inclined Bush policies after September 11, was appointed to Powell’s post. Moreover, Bush nominated Paul Wolfowitz, a prominent neocon, as the president of the World Bank (BBC News, 2005) – a very significant institution capable of giving credits to developing countries. Such a post should be very pleasant for a neoconservative, whose prior aim is to spread democracy, especially at a time when a President, as

Bush, espoused policies to spread democracy in the world. After his confirmation by the United States' European partners, Wolfowitz became the new Head of the World Bank. Similarly, Bush used his constitutional authority to appoint John Bolton, a prominent neoconservative, as the US's Permanent Representative to the United Nations. This appointment offers an important indication of what sort of an engagement Bush plans to have with the UN.

Bush's policies in his second term in office also shed light on the role of the neocons influence on his policies during his first term. The peaceful revolts in Georgia, the Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan, during Bush's presidency and the following replacements of democratic (read US-inclined) governments shortly afterwards, have created questions about possible CIA involvement in these revolts, as the CIA has received both greater authority and budget under Bush Junior's presidency. Irrespective of vague CIA involvement, however, what remains clear is that the US has been remarkably supportive of the "democratization" of these states by solely diplomatic means. It seems, today, the spread of democracy in the world, which is a neocon ideal, continues with the support of the second Bush Administration.

Second Bush Administration's policies against Syria and Iran likely also indicate neocon influence on George W. Bush, as neocon proposals about a wide range of democratic transformations in the Middle East included Syria and Iran as the objects of attention following regime change in Iraq. Strong US pressure on Syria to withdraw its forces from Lebanon, after the assassination of Lebanon's former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri on April 14, 2005, and similar US pressure on Iran not to use its nuclear program for weapons production, further indicate abiding neocon-inclined influence within Bush Junior's second term policies. During a meeting with his advisors for planning the war against Afghanistan on September 17, 2001, Bush

declared “Let’s hit them hard,” and continued “[w]e want to signal this is a change from the past. We want to cause other countries like Syria and Iran to change their view” (Daalder and Lindsay, 2003a: 123). The second Bush Junior Administration’s continuation of a neocon-inclined foreign policy is important perhaps because it suggests what kind of foreign policy objectives Bush aimed to achieve in his first term.

In sum, this thesis has evaluated the role of neocon ideas within the security policies of George W. Bush. In fact, the foreign policy pursued by Bush after September 11, was the product of a complex interaction of material and ideational factors. With the least reduction it could achieve, this thesis has addressed two important constitutive factors of the political outcome of US foreign and security policies after 9/11: namely, neoconservative ideas and September 11 terrorist attacks, referring briefly some supplemental factors in this regard. A future analysis, incorporating investigation of Bush’s policies throughout two full terms, may offer better insight still into the role of neoconservatives within Bush’s presidencies. This thesis might be perceived as a preparatory work for such a broader analysis.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adler, Emanuel. 2002. "Constructivism and International Relations." In Walter Carlsnaes and Thomas Risse (eds.) *Handbook of International Relations* London: Sage: 95-118.
- Allison, Graham T. 1971. *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Glenview: Scott, Foresman, and Company.
- Allison, Graham T., and Morton H. Halperin. 1972. "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications," *World Politics* 24 (supplement): 40-79.
- Allison, Graham T., and Philip Zelikow. 1999. *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (2nd ed.) New York: Longman.
- Americanpresident. n.d. "National Security Council."
<http://www.americanpresident.org/action/orgchart/administration_units/nationalsecuritycouncil/a_index.shtml>
- Arı, Tayyar. 2004. *Irak, İran ve ABD: Önleyici Savaş, Petrol ve Hegemonya*. İstanbul: Alfa Basım Yayım Dağıtım Ltd. Şti.
- BBC News. 2005. "Wolfowitz Confirmed at World Bank," March 3.
<<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4396107.stm>>
- Boot, Max. 2004a. "The Myth of an American Neoconservative Cabal," *The Daily Star*. January 14.
<http://www.cfr.org/publication_print.php?id=6700&content=>
- Boot, Max. Jan/Feb 2004b. "Neocons." *Foreign Policy* 140: 20-26.
- Brands, H. W. "Chapter One: Ideas and Foreign Affairs." In Robert Schulzinger (ed.) 2003. *A Companion to Foreign Relations*, Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
<http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/content/BPL/Images/Content_store/Sample_chapter/0631223150/001.pdf>

- Buchanan, Patrick J. 2003. "Whose War?" *The American Conservative*, March 24.
<http://www.amconmag.com/03_24_03/cover.html>
- Bush, George W. 1999. "A Distinctly American Internationalism," speech given at Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, November 19.
<<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/bush/wspeech.htm>>
- Bush, George W. 2001. "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People," Washington, D.C. September 20.
<<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>>
- Bush, George W. 2002. "The President Delivers State of the Union Address," Washington, D.C. January 29.
<<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>>
- Checkel, Jeff. 1993. "Ideas, Institutions, and the Gorbachev Foreign Policy Revolution," *World Politics* 45(2): 271-300.
- Christian Science Monitor, The. n.d.a. "Empire Builders: Neoconservatives and their blueprint for US power."
<<http://www.csmonitor.com/specials/neocon/index.html?leftNavInclude>>
- Christian Science Monitor, The. n.d.b. "Neocon 101: Some basic questions answered."
<<http://www.csmonitor.com/specials/neocon/index.html?leftNavInclude>>
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2003a. "Bush's Foreign Policy Revolution." In Greenstein, Fred I. (ed.) *The George W. Bush Presidency: An Early Assessment*. Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 100-137.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2003b. *America Unbound: Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*. Washington D. C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Dalby, Simon. 1990. *Creating the Second Cold War: The Discourse of Politics*. London: Pinter.
- Defenselink. n.d. "Donald Rumsfeld."
<<http://www.defenselink.mil/bios/rumsfeld.html>>
- Desch, Michael C. 1998. "Culture Clash: Assessing the Importance of Ideas in Security Studies," *International Security* 23(1): 141-171.
- Disinfopedia. n.d. "Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs."
<<http://www.disinfopedia.org/wiki.phtml?title=JINSA>>
- Economist, The. 2003. "The Shadow Men," 24 April.
<www.servizilocali.com/documenti/shadowmen.pdf>
- Eurolegal. n.d. "Towards a New World Order: America's Neoconservatives."
<<http://www.eurolegal.org/useur/usneocon2.htm>>

- Farrell, Theo. 2002. "Constructivist Security Studies: Portrait of a Research Program," *International Studies Review* 4(1): 49-72.
- Free Dictionary, The. n.d.a. "Leo Strauss."
<<http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Leo%20Strauss>>
- Free Dictionary, The. n.d.b. "Neoconservatism."
<<http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Neoconservatism>>
- Gellman, Barton. 1992. "Keeping the US First: Pentagon Would Preclude a Rival Superpower," *The Washington Post*, A1, March 11.
Available at <<http://www.yale.edu/strattech/92dpg.html>>
- Gerner, Deborah. "The Evolution of the Study of Foreign Policy." In Neack, Laura, Jeanne A. K. Hey and Patrick J. Haney (eds.) 1995. *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall: 17-32.
- Geyer, Georgie Anne. 2003. "You're Invited to the War Party." January 13.
<http://www.amconmag.com/01_13_03/geyer7.html>
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. 1971. *Elective Affinities*. R. J. Hollingdale, trans. London.
- Goldstein, Judith, and Robert O. Keohane. 1993. "Ideas and Foreign Policy: An Analytical Framework." In Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane (eds.) *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 3-30.
- Greve, Patricia. 2004. "Neoconservative Ideas and Foreign Policy in the Administration of George W. Bush: A German View." January 23.
<<http://www.aicgs.org/c/greveengl.shtml>>
- Hagan, Joe. n.d. "President Bush's Neoconservatives Were Spawned in N.Y.C., New Home of the Right-Wing Gloat,"
<www.baja.com/ubb/Forum5/HTML/000096.html>
- Hall, John A. 1993. "Ideas and Social Sciences." In Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane (eds.) *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 31-54.
- Halperin, Morton. 1974. *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution.
- Halperin, Morton H., and Arnold Kanter (eds.) 1973. *Readings in American Foreign Policy: A Bureaucratic Perspective*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Hamilton, William. 2004. "Bush Began to Plan War Three Months After 9/11." April 16.
<<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A17347-2004Apr16.html>>

- Han, Ahmet K. 2004. "Tarafsız Olmayan Savaş: Yeni Muhafazakar Komplo ve Bush Doktrini." In Ateş, Toktamış (ed.) *Kartal'ın Kanat Sesleri: ABD Dış Politikasında Yeni Yönelimler ve Dünya*. Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 115-153.
- Harrington, Michael. 1997. *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (4th ed.), New York: Touchstone.
- Harris, Jerry. 2004. "Political Division in the White House."
<www.net4dem.org/cyrev/editorials/Jerry/Political%20Division.pdf>
- Hay, Colin. 2002. *Political Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Heibrunn, Jacob. 1999/2000. "Condoleezza Rice: George W.'s Realist," *World Policy Journal* 16(4). <<http://www.worldpolicy.org/journal/sum99-4.html#heilbrunn>>
- Hopf, Ted. 1998. "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security* 23(1): 171-200.
- Hudson, Valerie M., and Christopher S. Vore. 1991. "Dış Politika Analizinin Dünyası, Bugünü ve Yarını," *Mershon International Studies Review* 39: 209-238.
In Göka, Erol, and Işık Kuşçu (eds.) 2002. *Uluslararası İlişkilerin Psikolojisi*. Ankara: ASAM Yayınları: 1-53.
- Nacht, Michael. 2003. "Changing Paradigms in National Security Policy." Interview with Michael Nacht as part of the "Conversations with History" series by the Institute of International Studies. September 1.
<<http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/people3/Nacht>>
- JINSA n.d. "Mission Statement: JINSA's Major Agenda Items."
<<http://www.jinsa.org/about/agenda/agenda.html>>
- Kaarbo, Juliet. 2003. "Foreign Policy Analysis in the Twenty-First Century: Back to Comparison, Forward to Identity and Ideas." In Garrison, Jean A. (ed.) "Foreign Policy Analysis in 20/20: A Symposium," *International Studies Review* 5: 156-163.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. (ed.) 1996. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Klare, Michael T. 2003. "The Coming War With Iraq: Deciphering the Bush Administration's Motives," January 16.
<www.foreignpolicy-infocus.org/pdf/gac/0301warreasons.pdf>
- Kosterlitz, Julie. 2003. "The Neoconservative Moment," *National Journal* 35(20): 1540-1547.

- Kristol, Irving. 2003. "The Neoconservative Persuasion," *The Weekly Standard* 8(47). August 25.
<<http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/003/000tzmlw.asp>>
- Kristol, Irving. 1995. *Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*, New York: Free Press.
- Lefler, Melvyn P. September 2004. "Bush's Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy* 144: 22-28.
- Lind, Michael. 2003. "How neoconservatives Conquered Washington – and Launched a War?" April 10. <<http://antiwar.com/orig/lind1.html>>
- McCormick, James M. 1998. *American Foreign Policy & Process*. (3rd ed.) Itasca Illinois: F. E. Peacock Publishers Inc.
- McDougall, Walter A. 1997. *Promised Land, Crusader State; The American Encounter with the World Since 1776*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Mead, Walter Russell. 2002. *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed The World*. New York and London: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
- Mendelson, Sarah. 1993. "Internal Battles and External Wars: Politics, Learning and the Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan," *World Politics* 45(3): 327-360.
- Miniotaite, Grazina. 1999. "The Security Policy of Lithuania and the Integration Dilemma." <www.nato.int/acad/fellow/97-99/miniotaite.pdf>
- Muravchik, Joshua. September 2003. "The Neoconservative Cabal," *Commentary* 116(2).
- Muravchik, Joshua. 1991. *Exporting Democracy: Fulfilling America's Destiny*. Washington D.C.: The AEI Press.
- National Security Council (NSC). 2002. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. Washington. <www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf>
- Neustadt, Richard E. 1970. *Alliance Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- New York Times, The. 1992. "Excerpts From Pentagon's Plan: 'Prevent the Re-Emergence of a New Rival,'" 14, March 8.
Available at <http://www.princeton.edu/~ppn/docfiles/pentagon_1992.html>
- Nye, Joseph. 2002. *The Paradox of American Power*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- PBS. n.d. "Analyses 1992: First Draft of a Grand Strategy," interview with William Kristol. <<http://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/iraq/themes/1992.html>>

- PNAC. 1998. "Letter to the President Clinton on Iraq," January 26.
<<http://www.newamericancentury.org/iraqlintonletter.htm>>
- PNAC. n.d. "PNAC: Statement of Principles."
<<http://www.newamericancentury.org/statementofprinciples.htm>>
- Project for a New American Century (PNAC), The. September 2000. *Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century: A Report of the Project for a New American Century*.
<<http://jillennium.com/misc/pnac.pdf>>
- Ray, James Lee. 1995. *Democracy and International Conflict*. Columbia, C.C.: University of South Caroline Press.
- Rightweb n.d.a. "Americans for Victory over Terrorism."
<<http://rightweb.irc-online.org/org/avt.php>>
- Rightweb n.d.b. "Center for Security Policy."
<<http://rightweb.irc-online.org/org/csp.php>>
- Rightweb n.d.c. "Dick Cheney."
<http://rightweb.irc-online.org/ind/cheney_r/cheney_r.php>
- Rightweb n.d.d. "Government Web."
<<http://rightweb.irc-online.org/govt/index.php>>
- Rightweb n.d.e. "The Committee for the Liberation of Iraq."
<<http://rightweb.irc-online.org/org/cli.php>>
- Rightweb n.d.f. "Org Web." <<http://rightweb.irc-online.org/org/index.php>>
- Sciolino, Elaine. 2000. "Bush's Foreign Policy Tutor: An Academic in the Public Eye," *The New York Times*.
<<http://www.casi.org.uk/discuss/2000/msg00703.html>>
- Scowcroft, Brent and George H. W. Bush. 1999. *A World Transformed*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Taube, Michael. 2000. "There is more to a conservative than meets the eye," August 26. <http://www.vdare.com/letters/taube_article.htm>
- Tunç, Hakan. 2004. *Amerika'nın Irak Savaşı*. İstanbul: Harmoni Yayınevi.
- Tyler, Patrick E. 1992. "Pentagon Drops Goal of Blocking New Superpowers," *The New York Times*, 1, May 24.
Available at <<http://www.yale.edu/strattech/92dpg.html>>
- Waever, Ole. 1995. "Securitization and Desecuritization" In Ronnie D. Lipschutz, ed., *On Security*. New York: Columbia University Press, 46-86.

- Walker, R.B.J. 1993. *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1987. "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," *International Organization* 41(3): 335-370.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Levels of Analysis vs. Agents and Structures: Part III," *Review of International Studies* 18(2): 181-185.
- White House, The. 2001. "Remarks by the President and German Chancellor Schroeder in Photo Opportunity," Washington, D.C. March 29.
<www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/03/20010329-2.html>
- Wikipedia n.d.a. "Dick Cheney." <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dick_Cheney>
- Wikipedia n.d.b. "Donald Rumsfeld."
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Donald_Rumsfeld>
- Wikipedia n.d.c. "Presidential Powers in Foreign Affairs."
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_the_United_States>
- Wikipedia n.d.d. "Project for the New American Century."
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Project_for_the_New_American_Century>
- Wolfson, Adam. Winter 2004. "Conservatives and Neoconservatives (and, of course, the paleoconservatives)," *The Public Interest*.
<<http://209.157.64.200/focus/f-news/1045539/posts>>
- Woodward, Bob. 2004. *Saldırı Planı* (Plan of Attack). Melih Pakdemir and Şefika Kamcez, trans. Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi.