

INTRODUCTION

For decades, hard power has been the traditional tool for the American foreign policy. However, in the two last decades soft power has been emerging, the scholar Josef Nye has studied Soft Power as a behavior which influences the outcomes in the post September 11 era. On the morning of Tuesday September 11, 2001, the United States was struck by a series of unprecedented terrorist attacks designed to cause mass casualties, civil as well as material. Four hijacked commercial planes crashed: two on the World Trade Center towers in Manhattan, which collapsed little after, and one on the Pentagon, in Washington, and the last one in Pennsylvania. More than 3,000 people were killed, including hundreds of lifeguards. This attacks made by Al-Qaeda highly affected the United States of America. The symbols of their power were attacked: the World Trade Center (Soft Power) and the Pentagon (Hard Power). After this, the United States accused the “Axis of Evil” such as Iraq and Iran, of harboring terrorist networks or wanting to build a network of weapons of mass destruction. And they were afraid that Iraq’s chemical and biological weapons could be obtained by terrorists linked to or inspired by Al-Qaeda.

These attacks have highly influenced the governmental approaches of George W. Bush concerning National Security. In order to protect America, he took the fight to the enemy, and announced a world war against terror. The enemy of the United States this time is not a single regime or person or religion. The enemy is terrorism, the awful use of violence and intimidation against innocent civilians for the pursuit of political aims. America’s fight against it is different from any other war in its history. For this reason, serious measures had to be taken. At the end of 2001, the United States and other countries led a war in Afghanistan against Taliban Islamist regime. Although victorious, the pacification of the country is a failure. In 2003, they make a Second Gulf War that led to the fall of Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Pacification territory is again a failure. These two operations based on the use of hard power

undermine the image of the United States and feed Anti-Americanism for some: interventions in Iraq without the UN agreement, torture of prisoners accused of terrorism ...etc. This pushed the United States to a new strategy based on the use of soft power to prevent its decline, and eliminate terrorist organizations.

The events of 9/11 lead to the creation of an intersection between soft power and terrorism. Since terrorism is a transnational concept, and terrorists have spread all over the world, and with technology they can communicate with the whole world, and brainwash the youth, it became a major contemporary problem. In addition to its intrinsic horror, it has upset international relations and posed a permanent threat to the future of the world. It may also corrupt democracies to the extent that the threat it represents is used to justify human rights abuses. Even though combating terrorism is so hard, due to terrorists' readiness to sacrifice themselves for their beliefs, the United States had to react. However, it could not fight them with traditional methods, for this reason it presumed that the 9/11 future can be avoided only by a whole transformation of Middle East societies, by controlling their ideas through persuasion and attraction.

In order to enhance its interests, the U.S used soft power, a method that helps to fight the long-term terrorist threats, on the contrary of hard power, which is used to fight short-term threats. This method rests on primarily three resources: culture, if the country's culture includes values which are universal, and attractive. Political values, if the government exercises human values, such as democracy, promoting peace and human rights ...etc. And foreign policies, if others see them as legitimate with moral authority. This will increase the possibility of desired outcomes, and highly affect the preferences of others. Even though before the attacks, the United States stayed out of the picture of Afghanistan, after the attacks Afghanistan became its initial target against which it began a military operation. However, this operation was a short-term terrorist threat against the U.S. In 2002, with the Enduring

Freedom Operation, the U.S sent troops to Afghanistan, with the aim of capturing Al-Qaeda troops but it joined a soft power strategy to its hard power, by providing humanitarian assistance. So, the U.S strategy in Afghanistan was a combined one.

Significance of the study

At the end of the First World War, the United States asserts itself as the second World-economy after Britain in the nineteenth century. Nowadays, they constitute a complete power in all the domains. From 1918 to 1945, the United States is reluctant to impose its domination on the world. Then, from 1945 to 1991, it becomes the leader of the free world. After the end of the Cold War, the United States alone dominates the world. They use this position of strength to try to organize a new world order. However, the attacks of September 11, 2001 lead to the development of a unilateralism that weakens the American position.

This research will shed light on the way the leader of the free world shifted from the unilateralist temptation to the idea that the best way to impose in a sustainable American power is to do it by means of strategies of influence, excluding as far as possible the use of armed force. This study will be significant in investigating the influence of the 9/11 attacks on this shift of power. This research will give an idea about the effects of this policy on the Middle East mainly on Afghanistan.

Aim of the study

The main aim of this study is to shed light on the conditions under which the United States re-used soft power, and to provide a clear picture on the ways the attacks of 9/11 weakened the most powerful country in the world. Also this study aims to offer more explanations about the different ways that the U.S followed in order to ameliorate their image and influence the world especially the Middle East to get the desired outcomes, and then analysing the impact of these plans used by American government on Afghanistan.

Research question

The work tackles a main subject in the studies of the impact of the 9/11 attacks on the United States and how they dealt with such a problem. Among the other inquiries that drive this research work, the following will be profoundly examined: Why did America stop using Soft Power after the cold war and why did it re-use it after the 9/11 attacks? Why does Soft Power matter and how can it be used effectively in order to eliminate terrorism and prevent its spread? What are the different strategies used by the U.S.A to regain the sympathy of the world after losing it? To what extent did the tragedies of September 11th, 2001, affect the Americans and how did they recover from it? What was the role of Al-Qaeda in the attacks? What is the role of soft power in enhancing international cooperation in combating terrorism? What strategies did the U.S use in Afghanistan and in what way did it use soft power to stop Terrorist groups and Isolate them? Why was combating terrorism so hard for the U.S, and did it succeed in its fight? These questions will be discussed in the research with the addition of other concepts that will occur during the process of developing the subject of study.

Literature Review

The term Soft Power was first coined by the Harvard professor Josef Nye in 1990 in his book *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. And popularized in his book entitled *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. In this book the author gives a clear explanation of the term “power” with its two main forms, “Soft Power” and “Hard Power” clarifying the meaning of each and explaining the way in which both work together, or separately. The book also sheds light on the importance of a country’s culture and ideology in attracting others, and reducing resistance to its wishes. Nye also clarifies the main sources of soft power: culture, Political values, and foreign policies, and gives practical suggestions to

wield them effectively. This book focuses on the American experiences with soft power and the way in which the country used it as a means to reach its political aims.

In his paper entitled “How Soft Power Works”, Alexander L. Vuving tries to answer the questions of how power works? And what constitutes soft power? He also tries to complement the definitions made by Josef Nye about soft power, by giving more clarifications, among them, presenting two major senses of soft power, a narrow one similar to cultural influence and a broad one synonymous to non-military power. Vuving also tries to make clear the different misunderstandings of people about the concept of soft power, such as the confusion between behavior and resources of power, or what he calls the “vehicle fallacy” which according to him can be overcome through making a distinction between “power currencies” and “power resources”. At the end, he provides the major tools of soft power as well as its production (Benignity, beauty and Brilliance).

In her paper entitled “The Power Politics of the Bush Doctrine: International Security and the War on Terrorism” Totoonchie examines George Bush’s new policies after the terrorist attacks of 9/11, stating that the attacks influenced the United States to take more preventive measures. For this reason, the president made up a national security strategy for combating terrorism. This strategy aimed at destroying terrorist organizations and winning the war of ideas. It is composed of two main components: Soft Power and Hard Power, based on the promotion of human rights and international values, and the inclusion of military actions against states containing terrorist threats respectively. These components aimed at reinforcing each other. However, in her paper Totoonchie shows that the opposite happened, due to the government’s focus on the use of hard power, neglecting some of the core values of the United States, this led to the decrease of attraction and cooperation from other states, a cooperation that the United States need for its war against terror.

In his paper entitled “United States Soft Power- Free and Open Media to Bolster Afghan Democracy” Taylor Smoot depicts the main instruments of soft power, and their use by United States in Afghanistan. He also explains how U.S used soft power their, focusing on both the non-official forms of soft power: due to the fact that most of afghan citizens are illiterate and isolated, with no interest in television, Hollywood movies ...etc The U.S found other ways to attract them such us humanitarian assistance. And official forms, such as aid programs, exchange programs...etc.

Methodology

The research would be conducted through both historical and qualitative methods aiming at explaining the U.S.A’s use of Soft Power after the attacks of 9/11. This study is based on the qualitative method used to give deep explanation of the different procedures the U.S used to fight against the September 11, 2001 attacks expecially soft power. The historical approach as well, to explore different facts and reasons of the subject through a detailed investigation of the intervention of the United States in Afghanistan. These are the two predominant approaches used for the achievement for this research work.

This work is to be divided into three chapters. The first is entitled “Soft Power Instruments and their Usage”. It explores the history of soft power, during the Cold war era and during the 9/11 era, as well as its instruments such as public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy ...etc and their use. “The Effects of Terrorist Attacks to the concept of Terrorism, and Soft Power.” is the title of the second chapter which focuses on the brainwashing activities of terrorist organisations on the youth, and measures taken by the United States against those activities. The third chapter “Case Study: Afghanistan” is about the Soft Power strategies made by the United States in Afghanistan after the attacks of 9/11.

Primary and Secondary Sources

This research is based on both primary and secondary sources. The available material sources like newspapers, media reports, and the news will be used to carry out this research and eventually reach an impartial or objective stand. The requirement of data collecting is a crucial inducement to rely on numerous material related to the subject matter .The dissertation is also based on a variety of other references and materials including; articles, e-book, dissertations, and books.

Tentative Outline

Introduction

Chapter One: Soft Power Instruments and Their Usage.

Chapter Two: The Effects of Terrorist Attacks to the concept of Terrorism, and Soft Power.

Chapter Three: Case Study: Afghanistan.

Conclusion

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