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**The US Grand Strategy and National Security during
Barack Obama's Presidency**

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and English Language in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in Language and Culture**

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my father, who has always been my source of inspiration, and my guide, hope I made you proud, we shall meet in heaven insha'allah.

To my beloved mother, words can't describe how amazing you are.

To my brothers Mehdi and Zinou for always having each other's back.

To all my friends that I have known throughout this journey especially, Malik, Oussama, Jazil, Iheb, Khalid, Housseem and Brahim, It was a pleasure meeting you all.

Last but not least, as a wise man once said: what would I do if didn't win....

Guess! we'll never know.

Jalile –M.

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Abstract

This work aims to understand the meaning of the state Grand Strategy and the various factors involved in its establishment by examining and researching its historical development. The United States of America has relied on drawing up its grand strategies since its beginnings as an independent country to achieve its goals and ensure its national security. The motive for studying this topic is to explain the impact of the grand strategies on the national security and understand the policies taken by the American presidents during international crises. This work also studies the effect of September 11th Attacks on the strategies of the United States domestically and internationally. Many important decisions and policies were undertaken by Presidents George Bush and Barack Obama to respond to these Attacks in order to keep America safe and preserve its interests and maintain its global position. This work focuses primarily on Obama's presidency and his orientations, and what are the major policies and decisions taken by the president for the preservation of US national security and international interests.

الملخص

يهدف هذا العمل إلى فهم معنى الاستراتيجية الكبرى للدولة والعوامل المختلفة التي ينطوي عليها إنشائها من خلال فحص وبحث تطورها التاريخي. اعتمدت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية منذ بداياتها كدولة مستقلة على رسم استراتيجياتها الكبرى لتحقيق أهدافها وضمان أمنها القومي. الدافع من دراسة هذا الموضوع هو شرح تأثير الاستراتيجيات الكبرى على الأمن القومي وفهم السياسات التي اتخذها الرؤساء الأمريكيون أثناء الأزمات الدولية. يدرس هذا العمل أيضاً تأثير هجمات 11 سبتمبر على استراتيجيات الولايات المتحدة محلياً ودولياً. اتخذ الرئيسان جورج بوش وباراك أوباما العديد من القرارات والسياسات الهامة للرد على هذه الهجمات من أجل الحفاظ على أمريكا آمنة والحفاظ على مصالحها ومكانتها الدولية. يركز هذا العمل بشكل رئيسي على الفترة الرئاسية لأوباما وتوجهاته ومختلف القرارات والسياسات التي اعتمدها الرئيس من أجل الحفاظ على الأمن القومي والمصالح الدولية للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

APEC	The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DOD	Department of Defense
FDR	Franklin Delano Roosevelt
G 2	Group of Two
GATT	The General Agreement On Tariffs and Trade
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
P 5+1	United Nation Security Council's Five Permanent members
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
TTIP	The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Introduction

The United States is considered as the most dominant power in the world since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War conflict. The US supremacy is mainly achieved by the accurate and precise design of the Grand Strategies for the country by the president and the accordance of the country's political institutions. Drawing the country's grand strategy requires the identification of national security objectives that need to be accomplished. The grand strategy must match with the capabilities of the country's human, financial, and economical resources. It demands a total awareness of the international environment, dangers and threats and how to face and respond to these threats. The grand strategy provides the suitable decisions for the protection of the international interests of the United States.

Throughout its history, the United States, represented in its officials, had known a consistent change and shift in its Grand Strategies. During the 1950 and the Cold War conflict, the US used containment strategy to restrain the development of the adversary, the conflict lasted till 1991, and ended by the fall of the Soviet Union, and the emergence of US as the only international power in the world. During the post-cold war era, the United States grand strategy focused on promoting its core liberal values across the world. However everything changed when the country witnessed one of the most tragic events in its history, the September 11.

The attack on the United States within its territory had a huge impact on the US grand strategy orientation, and the world. President Bush launched a global strategy named the war on terrorism in which he shifted his interests from internal affairs of the country to the international environment. Bush's administration initiated two wars against terrorist groups in Afghanistan, and against Saddam Hussein's totalitarian regime

in Iraq, with the accusation of developing weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The war on terrorism used different strategies from the traditional direct confrontation, due to the change of the nature of the enemy, who had shown his ability to hit the United States in its own territory. Bush's strategy of destroying any potential threat to the US continued in the period of his successor President Obama, in different ways.

The significance of this study is to examine the US Grand Strategies since the country's early years. The paper also sheds light on the United States strategies during particular times, specifically the world wide conflicts such as the World Wars, the Cold War and the 9/11 events. This research aims at investigating the impact of the September 11 Attacks on the US national security, and the shift that occurred in the United States grand strategy especially during Bush and Obama presidencies. This work seeks to examine Obama's administration orientations and the major policies the president used for the preservation of US national and international interests.

The present research provides answers for questions: what is the grand strategy and what are its major elements? How is it applied? What is the relation between the grand strategy and the national security? The paper also examines how the United States managed to deal with global events, the reasons of the consistent shift in US Strategy, and how the country worked to maintain its status as a global dominant power. The paper seeks to answer how the 9/11 Attacks changed the US officials orientation, and their consequences on the world, and how both Bush and Obama dealt with the events and what are the major policies used for the maintaining of US National Security.

The topic under discussion is one of the primary studies that have sparked a wide range of opinions among academics and researchers. Numerous articles and books have tackled this topic. In her article "What is grand strategy, Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield", Rebecca Friedman Lissner mentions that the grand strategy represent an integrated scheme of interests, threats, resources, and policies. Mainly, the grand strategy is the conceptual framework that

helps nations determine where they want to go and how they ought to get there; it is the theory, or logic, that guides leaders seeking security in a complex and insecure world.

Furthermore, Leonard C. Sebastian, in his article “The Changing Dimensions of U.S. National Security Strategy: A Review Article” claims that, the quick change in the nature of international relations and policy obliged the US officials to consistently change the strategy of the country, to achieve its national security objectives.

The article “Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy” by Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross states that the dramatic event that marked the end of the Cold War and the subsequent early end of the twentieth century, requires the United States to reconsider its national security policy. The United States highest officials need to redefine the US interests and objectives, and identification of threat to the country's national security and how to respond to those threats. In short, what should be the new grand strategy for the United States?

The United States in its modern history witnessed one of the tragic events that led to a radical change in its grand strategy orientation, which was the 9/11 Attacks. John G. Ikenberry writes in his article “American Grand Strategy in the Age of Terror” The surprising attacks on the World Trade Center have been called this generation’s Pearl Harbor, exposing America’s vulnerabilities to the outside world and reoriented the US foreign policy strategy. The 1990s was a decade of peace and prosperity marked by the ‘new economy’, budget surpluses and brief phase of geopolitical stability which contributed to a certain naïve liberal optimism about the future. The events of 11th September and the Bush administration’s declaration of war on terrorism will have an enduring impact on world politics.

The research work uses a qualitative method, descriptive and analytical methods, all of which are considered important for a thorough understanding and interpretation of the various data and literature. In addition, the topic makes use of the qualitative method in order to go

further into the topics of interest, provide a more in-depth explanation of the subject matter, and investigate the complexities that are associated with the situation at hand.

This work is divided into three main chapters. The first chapter under the title Understanding US Grand Strategy and National Security, tackles the definitions of the grand strategy, means, ends, and ways of applying it. It also discusses, the meaning of National Security, Vital and national interests, and the major strategies utilized by the United States. The second chapter entitled “US Grand Strategy and National Security during Post-Cold War Era and The Emergence of Terrorism” deals with the major changes in the international environment after the collapse of the Soviet Union. It investigates the US Presidential Administrations’ policies in the end of the Cold War. It examines the events of 9/11 and their consequences on the world and how it shifted the US strategy orientations with a particular focus on Bush and Obama administrations. The final chapter under the title Obama’s Grand Strategy in Maintaining US National Security, discusses the Obama Doctrine, and the major policies used by Obama’s administration. It also tackles the different strategies that were used by the President to maintain the national security and the international position and interests of the United States.

Chapter One

Understanding US Grand Strategy and National Security

The president of the United States sits at the epicenter of the US foreign policy establishment, widely regarded at home and abroad as the most powerful person in the world. The primary responsibility for any president is the protection of the American people and security of the state itself. Thus, the grand strategy is the way the executive branch sets out to achieve those objectives, each president designs his grand strategy following the national security policy. In attempting to formulate and implement a grand strategy ; the US presidents face a number of operations and constraints at both domestic and international levels.

1. What is Grand Strategy?

The concept of grand strategy has been defined differently by scholars who are interested in this domain. One of the definitions of the concept is introduced by Dr. Richard D. Hooker, a non-resident senior fellow with the Atlantic council. He states:

grand strategy can be understood simply as the use of power to secure the state
Thus, it exists at a level above particular strategies intended to secure particular ends and above the use of military power alone to achieve political objectives. Grand Strategy can be understood by observing long-term state behavior that is determined by continuous essential security interests and how the state promotes and protects them through time. (Hooker jr. 1)

The grand strategy is therefore related to national security strategies, national military strategies, quadrennial defense review, or defense strategic guidance. Furthermore, the American international relations scholar of US foreign policy Hal Brands provides a definition for the concept stating that the strategy is considered as "the highest form of statecraft, but it can also be the most perplexing. Reduced to its essence, grand strategy is the

intellectual architecture that lends structure to foreign policy"(Brands 16). In other words, it is the logic that helps states to operate in complex and dangerous world.

The making of grand strategy is a task that requires defining and organizing a coherent, effective approach to international politics with taking in consideration the difficult situations of the world and the chaotic nature of global affairs. A grand strategy is an intentional and well-coordinated set of ideas about what a country hopes to achieve in the world and how to do it (16). This means that the grand strategy is not just an instant reaction toward a particular policy or a decision. However, it is a complete, clear plan that is about how the country is going to function during that period according to the world wide situation and the country's capacities.

The grand strategy requires a clear understanding of the nature of the international environment and to the country's highest goals and interests within that environment. It also needs an identification of the primary threats to those goals and interests, and the ways that state's resources can be used to deal with competing challenges and opportunities. Thus, the grand strategy planners must have a precise vision about the national resources and international situation.

Collin Dueck, defines the grand strategy as, planned agreement of aims and methods on the part of a nation's leaders in the face of potential foreign adversaries. It begins by outlining certain national aims, goals, or interests, identification of potential obstacles or dangers to those interests. Third, it chooses and suggests specific methods for achieving national goals and overcoming obstacles. Policy tools could be, for instance, economic sanctions, international aid, military action, and diplomatic relations (14-15). Simply meaning, the grand strategy is a well-structured plan, aims at achieving a national goals, with a clear understanding of the obstacles and challenges that may face the state. grand strategy implies

methods and policies to overcome those obstacles through military actions or political and economic sanctions.

1.1. Means of Grand Strategy

The term "means of grand strategy" refers to the components and elements of the grand strategy, which means the ways used to apply it. Hooker Jr, in his book *A Grand Strategy for the United States*, states that the US grand strategy fundamental components includes: maintaining strong alliances and security arrangements, preserving a strong and survivable nuclear deterrent, and maintaining a balanced, powerful, and capable military forces. These elements are connected to solid economy and industrial base, advanced technology, an enormous military reserve component, and a political system founded on classically liberal democratic ideals (19). Hence, those elements are directly related to the state's resources either economically, financially, and militarily. The human aspects can be also an important resource.

The grand strategy of the United States is based on five major components that are functioning to preserve and achieve the country's national security objectives. Those components include; liberalism, defending the US homeland territory, maintaining a favorable balance of power among the great powers, and the utility of military power (Miller 8). Furthermore, the American historian Williamson Murray explains that grand strategy includes policy, military strategy and strategies to achieve a specific goal. It necessitates an awareness of, and ability to respond to the changing environments of war and peace (80). According to Murray, the grand strategy doesn't have to be so rigid and difficult to change. However, it needs to be flexible and adaptable to any situation and threats that may occur. It also needs to maintain a relation between the means that are the components and the resources for the grand strategy and the ends that present goals and objectives.

Above all, the grand strategy always needs the integration of political, social, and economic capacities with military power, as well as the understanding that politics must always drive military necessity. Thus, considering the development of a grand strategy concept necessitates not only a deep understanding of the past, but also a comprehensive and realistic understanding of the present (Murray 80). The primary means of strategy can be found under the umbrella term of power, which is defined as "the ability to act, produce, or destroy." This ability is dependent on three factors: the environment, resources, and group action (Milo 8). It means, resources include things like the quantity of men and the capacity to make them into forces. In other words, they are the number and quality of soldiers in addition to their equipment.

1.2. Ends of the Grand Strategy

Ends of grand strategy refer to the aims and objectives that are intended to be achieved through the application of a particular strategy. This term has been defined by many scholars, mainly, Hooker, Jr. who mentions that it is critical to distinguish between long-term core strategic interests and those that are less important (14). The 2014 Quadrennial Defense Review sees that the current security environment is rapidly changing and becoming unpredictable, and in some cases more threatening. Nonetheless, despite those hard worldwide conditions, the US long-term strategy and vital or core national interests have remained remarkably stable. These include defending US territory, citizens, and allies, supporting and defending constitutional values and forms of government, and promoting and securing the US economy and standard of living. By this, it can be understood that the grand strategy encompasses all forms of national power from protecting the border, to maintaining the domestic security, to preserving the usual way of life for the political institutions and individuals as well.

The General in the US Army, Maxwell, D. Taylor was the first to provide an understanding of what ends of grand strategy means. He explained that ends are what is going to be accomplished, and are directly related to vivid actions such as: wars, invasions.....etc to serve national interests. Those objectives are related to:

1) To maintain the security of the nation and its allies. The United States, in cooperation with its allies must seek to deter any aggression that could threaten that security. This means that the United States and its allies and countries that share the same vision must work together cooperatively in the face of any potential threats to their national security.

2) To respond to the challenges of the global economy. As the global economy evolves and is consistently changing, the US must be aware of economic factors that may affect the national security.

3) To defend and advance the cause of democracy, freedom, and human rights throughout the world.

4) To settle disputes that affects the US interests in troubled areas of the world in a peaceful manner. In other words, the United States seeks to interfere in the territories that may threaten its interests and attempt to solve their Problems without affecting it.

5) To build effective and friendly relationships with all nations with which there is a basis of shared concern (Reagan 3-4). In other words, the US always tries to build and finds a relationship with countries that share the same ideas, vision, and interests.

1.3. The Ways of Grand Strategy

The ways of grand strategy explain how the ends; objectives and aims, are going to be achieved through the use of means; resources. According to the professor of national security policy in the department of national security and strategy at the US army college Harry R. Yarger , and George F. Barber, the grand strategy methods explain "how" the ends are going to be achieved through the use of resources. The concept must be explicit enough to provide

planning guidance to those responsible for implementing and funding it (6-7). That is to say, this methods need to be direct and precise so that grand strategy planners produce the effective strategy that goes with the country resources, for the purpose of achieving the intended objectives. Describing the ways of the US grand strategy professor Hooker, jr, mentions that the essence of grand strategy is how the United States addresses direct threats to its core or vital interests over time (21). This refers to how the United States plans to face threats.

The primary rule for the US strategy would be to deal with the threat as far away from home. Since the end of World War II, the United States has created bases, deployed forces, and deployed weapons and ammunition throughout the world. All supported by a strong economy, official treaties, and alliances. Second, the US likes to respond to significant threats using a variety of tools at once; depending on intelligence, diplomacy, forward presence, and economic power. US utilize military forces as a last option, additionally, it uses international organizations like the United Nations or NATO, and the United States will confront threats with friends, partners, or like-minded states (21).

The United States as the dominant worldwide power tries to influence the international security environment to avoid or reduce threats to security where it can. Military force is frequently employed when it cannot be avoided and when important or crucial interests are at risk. The use of military action by the United States to protect or promote its security interests has happened constantly since World War II, with different degrees of effectiveness (Layne 9). In other words, the US used its military power in the international affairs when there was a direct threat to its interests and security or to protect and develop its interests.

2. Defining National Security

The concept of national security was analyzed and defined by many scholars and professionals. One of the definitions provided was by the full professor of political science at

Georgia University Lamont Colucci who refers to the term used to describe the measures taken by the government to protect the nation, citizens, and its interests from threats both domestic and foreign. It encompasses a wide range of activities, from intelligence gathering and analysis to military operations, diplomatic negotiations, and economic sanctions. National security also includes measures taken to prevent terrorism, cyber-attacks, and other forms of aggression (135). In other words, the national security simply refers to the measurement, policies, strategies used by the government for the sake of protecting both its citizens and its international interests. It includes the use of different instruments and tools to prevent the occurrence of any danger.

The National Security Strategy which is developed by the President and approved by Congress, outlines the nation's security objectives and the strategies and actions to achieve them. The strategy is based on the principles of protecting the homeland, promoting American prosperity, and advancing American influence. Ultimately, the goal of the National Security Strategy is to ensure the safety and security of the United States and its citizens.

The Department of Defense (DOD) defines National Security simply as: A collective term encompassing both national defense and foreign relations of the US (357). The American international relations scholar Michael Doyle acknowledges that the national security strategy (NSS) aims to represent a country's plan for the coordinated use of all instruments of state power, both non-military and military, to pursue goals that defend and advance the country's national interests (35).

2.1. Vital and National Interests

The definition of national security interests from the DOD: The foundations for the development of valid national objectives that define US goals or purposes. National security interests include preserving US political identity, framework, and institutions; fostering economic well-being; and bolstering international order supporting the vital interests of the

US and its allies (358).

In fact, the nation's independence, values, institutions and territory is aimed to be preserved by the national security interests. The structure of interests in a country is usually divided into three categories: important, national, and peripheral interests. A civilization's failure to protect its vital interests could result in its destruction (Colucci 136). This shows the importance of the national interests and the necessity to work on preserving them by making the suitable grand strategy.

The US national interests are the representations of the US principles in international and domestic areas. The goal of the interests is to create and maintain an international environment that is most suitable to the peaceful development of US values. Accordingly, the interests support and develop democracy and open systems. Similarly, the US seeks to prevent the spread of closed systems through the use of force or indirect conflict (Sarkesian et al. 9). It means, these interests represent what the United States symbolizes and believes in, and they aim at providing and creating a global conditions that help in promoting and achieving the US objectives.

2.2. US National Security Doctrines

Lamont Colucci defines the concept of Doctrine as "a nation's strategic-level security interests that must function within a comprehensive national security doctrine capable of resisting the circumstances of time shifting administrations party Lines and Personalities , in addition to safeguarding its Citizens land and way of life" (137). The primary objective of national security doctrines is to establish a broad goal that serves as the basis for a national security strategy that will be able to guide a particular administration. After that, the administration will be able to create specific strategies that are suitable with the foundation.

2.2.1. American Exceptionalism

American exceptionalism refers to the belief that the United States differs qualitatively from other developed nations, because of its unique origins, national credo, historical evolution, and distinctive political and religious institutions (Thimm 3). The term —American exceptionalism‖ is attributed to Alexis de Toqueville who notes that the United States held a special place among nations, because it was as a country of immigrants and the first modern democracy. The United States' particular past, geography, or demography are not the only factors that contribute to this asserted uniqueness. Americans believe that they are unique. A gap between the United States and all other countries was established by this American ideology of liberty. American pride and exceptionalism have therefore always been synonymous, in accordance with this (qtd. in Colucci 140). The US exceptionalism refers to the ideology of the uniqueness of the United States regarding several factors including geographical, historical, and cultural ones.

2.2.2. Unilateralism

The concept of unilateralism has been defined by many scholars, mainly John Allen Williams who refers to it as a desire to choose to act alone or refuse to join a group of nations (the current or potential future) in order to deal with a particular global or regional situation (Williams 515). In fact, unilateralism means the state's willingness and ability to act individually in the international affairs, without the help or the accordance of its allies or even the international organizations like the United Nations. Michael Clarke, a British academic who is specialized in defense studies, claims that, since the end of the Cold War, many of America's closest allies have expressed worries about the development of American unilateralism and the tendency in Washington to make choices without giving any consideration to the interests or perspectives of its own allies or the rest of the world (Clarke

39). In other words, in the post-World Wars the United States raised as the supreme power in the world having all the authorities to act, interfere, and decide when it is needed.

2.2.3. Internationalism

The American historians Warren F. Kuehl and Gary B. Ostrower, believe that nearly every generation of Americans and diplomats had a different perspective on internationalism in American foreign policy. It has been connected to all forms of interaction with the outside world, with the relationships developing and becoming more political through time. It has included political commitments established through international accords as well as membership in international organizations, and in terms of foreign policy (10).

Internationalism is typically considered as the opposite of isolationism. This shows that the United States' current policy of internationalism runs counter to its earlier isolationist attitude. How the state will perform its affairs in the global community is referred to as internationalism (10). John G. Ikenberry, in the article entitled "The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Internationalism" states that Internationalism is an ancient concept that is defined as efforts to create laws, institutions, and connections that link governments and peoples across territorial boundaries. However, by the nineteenth century, internationalism had become a distinct and organized field of activity

3. US Grand Strategy and National Security Development by the End of the Cold War

3.1. US Grand Strategy and National Security during its Early Beginning

The early years of the U.S. foreign policy were defined by the founding fathers including Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, John Adams ...etc, who believed that the nation's highest priority should be looking inward and build a stable and prosperous country removed from the internal affairs of Europe. This means that foreign policy decisions would involve choosing when, where, and how to get involved with other countries while at the same time building its own (Clarke 51). The professor Joyce P. Kaufman writes in her book *A Concise*

History of Us Foreign Policy, that the United States would remain removed from the political and military affairs of the rest of the world but would engage in specific ways and in areas of its choosing (39). In other words, the US policy was based on staying away from the European conflicts, and focusing on building the rising country of America and strengthening the economy, with the intention to act decisively against any threat to the country's interests.

The US grand strategy in 1800 was guided by the "Manifest Destiny" principle that is defined as "the belief that it was the destiny of the United States to spread across the continent"(Kaufman 46). "Manifest destiny" is an American ideology that believes that it was a destiny from God to spread across the Americas. The United States acquired the great Mississippi Valley via the "Louisiana Purchase" from France (1803) and Florida from Spain (1819), doubling the original thirteen colonies' territorial extent.

This process continued apace in the decades following the Monroe administration (1817-1824), with the Gadsden Purchase (covering the southern parts of Arizona and New Mexico) in 1854 completing the acquisition of the remaining territory of the present continental United States (Clarke 74). It can be understood that the ideology of manifest destiny have had an impact on the development of the United States, it allows the country to expand its territory and add new states that were colonized by European forces, and eventually it made the US to abandon the isolationism policy and start acting when necessary.

The picture below shows the territory acquisition that the US initiated against the Spanish, French and British colonizers. Influenced by the concept of Manifest destiny, the US started acquiring the territories beginning with Louisiana Purchase. The geographical expansion gave the United States an international weight when the world started to see the country with a different view. This helped the nation to build its political dominance later in the world

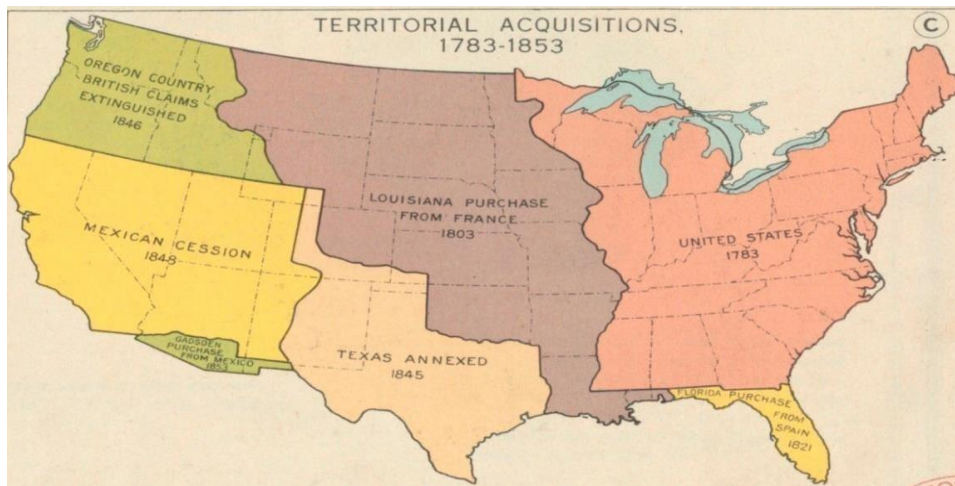


Fig.1. Territorial Acquisitions, 1783-1853

Source: Wright, John Kirtland. —Territorial Acquisitions, 1783-1853, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, 1932, collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:q524n331q. Accessed 30 May 2023.

3.2. From Neutrality to Engagement in WWI

By 1900, there was huge and rapid change in the international economic and geopolitical situation and the Industrial growth in the world. The United States became a significant power, quickly overtaking Europe. The Progressive Era was a period of reform that lasted from 1900 until the outbreak of World War (Kaufman 62). That is to say, the global condition in that period helped the United States to develop its economy, its political status, and seize more territories, enabling it to become an emerging world power.

Woodrow Wilson, was elected President in 1912 and attempted to maintain American neutrality, and not to interfere in European affairs. . During Wilson's first term, the United States focused on Asia, Latin America (particularly Mexico), and the Caribbean. Wilson deployed US military forces to those areas to help protect or maintain order, rather than just to protect US interests. World War I broke out in Europe; Wilson's goal was to keep the US out of the conflict. He declared the United States neutral on August 4, 1914 and tried to keep the United States far as possible from the war in Europe. However, he was unable to keep the United States out of the European war (Clarke 124). In short, the primary objective of the US

officials during the War period was to stay away from the conflict but it was not possible due to several factors. Willing to interfere for the safety of its people and the preservation of its interests was one of the motives

The article "Isolationism and U.S. Foreign Policy After World War I" mentions that German forces sank a British passenger ship, the *Arabic*, in August 1915 and French steamer, *Sussex* in March 1916 killing more Americans. With the massive loss of life came a moral imperative that could no longer be ignored, requiring the US to take the lead in preserving and promoting freedom, sovereignty, and self-determination for all nations. On April 2, 1917, President Wilson requested permission from Congress to enter the War and make the world "safe for democracy". So after the German forces attacked US ships and made loss of American lives, America started to impose its weight on the international arena as a powerful country.

3.3 From Isolationism to Dominance

The United States returned to isolationism during the period between the two Wars. In response to the growing threat from Nazi Germany, the Congress passed a series of neutrality acts (1935-1937) that were intended to keep the United States out of the European conflict. The First World War had positive results on the United States because it enabled it to become the superpower of the world. The main strategic desire was to send large field forces to France in time to prevent the collapse of the Allies. Russia, Italy, France, and Great Britain all provided their own equipment and weapons. The United States suffered significant losses in only three months of severe war, but the arrival of the Americans was crucial to the success. By the end of the War, the United States had emerged as a great power and a defender of the international order(Hooker jr. 5).

The United States' grand strategy during WW II was to defeat and destroy Germany and Japan as a means to reestablish stable international order, strong global economic

system, and US population free of military threat at home and abroad. After the War ended, the United States stood alone as the victorious. United States became the world's greatest economic and military power. American grand strategy at mid-century continued to rest on the foundations described above and could be summarized mainly as maintaining and enforcing a stable international order and economic system that preserve American interests, security, and prosperity. Ensure the security of the homeland through nuclear deterrence, alliances, forward-deployed forces; and preventing the rise of any competitors that might challenge its economic and military superiority (Layne 12). In fact, the United States post World War Two stood alone as the dominant power in the world. With the mass destruction of Europe, there was no direct competitor to the US superiority, for that it worked on maintaining its superiority and developing the national and international interests.

3.4. US Grand Strategy and National Security from the End of WWII till the End of the Cold War

The American grand strategy at the end of the War was based on close cooperation with Stalin and the USSR. Building a strong personal relationship with the Soviet leader would domesticate the USSR and integrate it into US plans for global liberal world order (Popescu and Owens¹⁰⁶). In other words, after the two wars ended, the United States attempted to maintain a friendly relationship with its ally the USSR, and tried to work together in the global affairs. At the beginning of their presidencies, both FDR and Harry Truman pursued a careful and cooperative policy toward the Soviet Union, willing to accept the Soviet Union's essential security interests. Following the end of World War II, FDR aimed to maintain the Grand Alliance, which mainly meant maintaining friendly ties with Staline. The Truman administration made a difficult transition from FDR's policy of accommodation toward a more hard-line position against Moscow from late 1945 until the end of 1946; the government's view of the Soviet Union changed from being seen as a powerful ally to a

potential enemy (Miller and Rubinovitz 75). In other words, a shift occurred in the Soviet-US relations, in which it changed from being war allies, to a potential threat and danger to each other's interests.

The decade of the 1950s was characterized by ongoing and increasing tensions between East and West. Both the United States and Soviet Union created policies that strengthened their own power as well as send messages to the other country. The conflicts between the two superpowers almost reached the use of direct military confrontation, especially in the Korean crisis. The United States demonstrated that it would use military force when necessary to contain communist aggression (Kaufman 125).

During the 1945 – 46, the US grand strategy was defensive liberalism based on the perception that the Soviet Union was not a threat (a WWII ally). In 1947 there was a transition to defensive realism, articulated in the Truman Doctrine due to the emergence of a bipolar system (British decline and the Soviets emerged as powerful in Europe), augmented by some components of offensive liberalism as the Soviet threat grew in 1948. The growing Soviet threat (manifested in Korea 1950) led to a change from a defensive realist strategy to an offensive realist one (85). It can be seen that the United States used multiple strategies when dealing with the USSR, from friendly relationship, to a more aggressive one.

The grand strategy of offensive realism was based on the quest for and the maintenance of US superiority (Miller and Rubinovitz 85). This means that the United States during the post-world War period used several strategies and policies that suited the characteristics of each period, it shifted from seeing the Soviet Union as an ally in the world war, with the emergence of USSR as global power and with the ideological differences between them, it was seen as a possible threat to US supremacy. So, America changed its policies to contain communism and it showed that it had the will and ability to utilize military power when there was a threat to the United States interests.

The Cold War was at its peak prior to the Detente Era when both countries competed for supremacy and dominance. Since the start of the Korean War in 1950, the American grand strategy has been concentrating on the offensive realist concept of seeing the Soviet Union as a direct threat. Twelve years later, the Soviet Union had improved its relationship with the US as a result of the Cuban missile crisis. President John F. Kennedy's initial grand strategy, which contained a flexible response and settlement, was changed by the Cuban missile crisis into a new grand strategy that included talks with the Soviets in order to reach a compromise and increase international stability (Miller and Rubinovitz 102). The increasing tension between the two superpowers, started to decrease after the crisis. The strategies toward each other shifted to a more stable and calm relationship. Both of them initiated set of agreements, talks, and treaties, to create a peaceful international order.

There were some explanations to the reason behind the changing atmosphere in relationship between the US and SU. In fact, Reagan's approach to the Soviet Union has changed at different points. The Soviets officials started to change their view of the United States, and realized that they were no longer a threat to the US. The US was at that point already strong enough to negotiate from a position of strength. With the fall of the Soviet Union, the United States became the only superpower in the globe, and Gorbachev's message at the Geneva Summit was the first indication that he no longer want to win the Cold War (Miller and Rubinovitz 165). In fact, the Soviet Union was not able to match the United States strategies for several reasons including the high expenses for army, weapons and invasions, the harsh natural conditions, and the social instability that led to the collapse of USSR, and the remain of United States as the supreme power in the world.

In general, the term grand strategy refers to a country's plans and how it functions during a particular period of time, and specific conditions. The grand strategy is composed of objective, resources and ways of how it is going to be applied, in addition to a precise

identification of National security objectives. Throughout its history, the United States witnessed the use of different strategies that were planned according to the international environment and the country's resources.

Chapter Two

US Grand Strategy and National Security during Post -Cold War Era andThe Emergence of Terrorism

The Cold War conflict lasted till 1991 with the fall of the Soviet Union, during this phase the world witnessed various changes. The international community moved from being divided ideologically into communist east and capitalist west to being dominated by one global force. US strategy focused on promoting its liberal values internationally. However, everything changed after the 9/11 Attacks. September 11 revealed that the United States is facing new type of threat and rivals that uses new methods rather than traditional ways and have the ability to strike the United States with in its own soil.

1. Understanding the Grand Strategy and National Security in Post-Cold War Era

The end of the Cold War that resulted in the collapse of the Soviet Union had transformed the US policy. The focus of the US grand strategy switched from maintaining the balance of power and armaments control with its adversaries, to focusing on domestic politics and economic policies such as democracy, globalization, economic involvement, and humanitarian interventions (Miller and Rubinovitz 168). In fact, the breakdown of the USSR affected the way the US drew its grand strategy, it changed from focusing on keeping the balance of power between its competitors, to more reasonable strategies that relied on political and economic policies.

The American international relations scholar Hal Brands states that throughout the postwar period, the US officials constantly fought for an open, liberal economy, as well as a peaceful international environment in which democracy and human rights might flourish. They attempted to create stability and security in critical regions ranging from Europe to the

Middle East to East Asia, as well as to prevent any hostile nation from controlling these regions through force or otherwise (134). Simply meaning, the post War strategy was about spreading and defending the US liberal and economic principles, and attempting to preserve the international security.

The shift from bipolarity to unipolar act was arguably the most important shift in the power structure. The US continued to be the only superpower without a balancing alliance oriented against it due to this new power structure. This transformation has led to US dominance and superiority of western powers. The change in the balance of power in the West's favor was closely linked to the spread of western liberal concepts like democracy and free markets (Miller and Rubinovitz 179). This means that the change in the balance of power resulted in universality of American liberal values and institutions and that it was the role of the US to spread them globally.

Thomas H. Henriksen mentions that the rapid fall of Moscow's power, which at once secured and restricted its allies—both communist and noncommunist—ensured a disordered foundation for the new political order. No peer rival emerged suddenly to compete with American dominance. But a boiling pot of rogue nations, failed states, and "Islamist terrorism" spread over onto the international stage (Henriksen 30–3). The Soviet Union destruction made the United States as the supreme power in the international community with vast military force, huge global economy, and no potential rivals that might challenge its supremacy.

2. US Post Cold War Presidential Administration and the Grand Strategy

2.1 .George W. H Bush Administration and the New World Order

Ronald Reagan left the White House as a popular President. George W. H. Bush, his vice President, succeeded him. However, the world in which Bush began office in January 1989 was rapidly changing. Yugoslavia was breaking down and on the edge of ethnic conflict. The

Somali government was dissolving, leaving the country in a condition of instability and clan conflict, while the Soviet Eastern European bloc began the process of replacing communist leaders with democratically elected governments. And the Soviet economy was steadily declining leading to the belief that change was unavoidable in that country (Kaufman 121).

The new President chose a different path from his predecessor, Ronald Reagan. Bush stated in his address on January 20, 1989, that America's aim is "to make kinder the face of the Nation and gentler the face of the World." In his speech, Bush described a "new world order" centered on the UN, which "is founded to fulfill the historic vision of its founders" by embracing "freedom and respect for human rights." (qtd. in Henriksen 35). These and other similar statements created the perception that the United States' 41st President preferred the UN agenda over American interests. In other words, George W.H. Bush in his early years as a President sought that his country would focus mainly on the preservation of its interests.

The Bush administration's "new world order," had insisted primarily on state power, the sacred value of boundaries, and non-interference in other nations' internal affairs. The massive shift of 1989–1991, with all the events that occurred when the Soviet Union fall , was Handled by the administration in a careful and effective response (Miller and Rubinovitz 169) . Bush's major contribution was above all, devoted to protecting traditional American dominance in the face of a quickly changing environment and doing everything in his ability to prevent chaos from encompassing a rapidly changing world.

The expectations Bush established to pursue his objective had been achieved effectively. These included preserving relations with a stable China, , maintaining NATO, bringing Germany back together, negotiating a continental free trade zone to counter the rise of Asian and European economic consolidation, and defending the security of international supremacy and the significance of the United Nations in a post-Cold War world (Borgwardt, et al. 295).

Bush's main interest was focused on protecting US superiority, maintaining a global stability by not interfering in the state's internal affairs, and preserving international alliances.

2.2. Bill Clinton Administration and Enlargement Policy

Thomas H. Henriksen claims that William Jefferson Clinton entered a different world when he took the White House President office in January 1993. Geopolitical threats to the United States were reduced after the sudden fall of the Soviet Union. For a while, America had no real enemies (85). The upcoming president has made it clear that the United States would act as the world's policeman. At the end, Clinton was driven to lead military operations for the benefit of humanity (89). The United States would be leading the world, and had all the power and authority to act, operate and interfere when it was needed. The development of Clinton's grand strategy which was built on the related concepts of national security, prosperity promotion, and democratic advancement, was the result of a coordinated effort. The strategy rejected the idea of universality, believing that just because an approach of action was appropriate for the US did not always indicate that it was suitable for everyone else. Thus, the Enlargement strategy was created to ensure America's connection with the rest of the world through commerce and open markets (Boys 266). Indeed, the primary objective for the creation of the Enlargement strategy was to ensure the promotion of the US liberal values across the world.

Clinton's grand strategy promoted the idea that democracies were unlikely to pose a danger to American interests and would embrace free trade. To assure America's dominance, the administration worked to place it at the center of all important global organizations and structures, such as: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO), the World Trade Organization (WTO). Clinton's policy guaranteed that the US would continue to be "the world's crucial nation". Without harming US-Russian relations

permanently, the policy led to NATO's growth to protect the nation from foreign challenges (Boys 267).

The United States under the presidency of Clinton focused on domestic issues and the economy, with little interest of foreign affairs. The President's desire to be the man of domestic affairs was based on the assumption that the end of the Cold War would open up resources for the renewal of the American economy. Furthermore, there was no threat on the horizon, and by any measures; economic, political, or military, the US reigned supreme. But Clinton saw that the end of the Cold War brought —unfamiliar threats, not the absence of danger"(qtd. in Miller and Rubinovitz 169). That is to say, the President main objective was strengthening the US economy and taking care of domestic affairs since there was no potential rival for US superiority. However, unfamiliar dangers such as non-state actors could appear.

Inspired by Democratic Peace Theory, the Clinton administration adopted the "Enlargement" Doctrine. W. Anthony Lake, Clinton's national security advisor, articulated a key component of the new strategy. On September 21, 1993, he stated that "the successor to a containment doctrine must be an enlargement strategy—enlargement of the world's community of market democracies". Furthermore, the Clinton administration sought to promote free trade and economic interdependence, most notably through its engagement policy with China (Miller and Rubinovitz170). The Enlargement strategy can be seen as the direct opposition to isolationism, it was used for the promotion of US Liberalism, and to maintain its global control of the world.

2.3. George W. Bush and the Grand Strategy of Internationalism

George W. Bush entered office with the goal of limiting the American participation in nation-building, humanitarian operations, and democracy promotion. Bush criticized Clinton's administration for its involvement in too many foreign problems. This was particularly clear in the Middle East where Clinton committed time, energy, political capital,

and his presidential reputation to the unsuccessful Oslo Peace Process between Israel and the Palestinians and the unsuccessful Israel-Syria peace process. Bush was committed to reducing US participation in the region, particularly in light of the second intifada's start in late September 2000 (Miller and Rubinovitz 186). Thus, George W. Bush's main interest was to minimize and reduce the US involvement in international affairs that was utilized by the previous president.

President Bush outlined his administration's strategy when he said that, in contrast to the Clinton administration, the US would not rely on international arms control treaties that were not verifiable in order to diminish the evil attraction of these weapons for rogue states, but rather on developing ballistic missile defense capabilities and the US nuclear weapons (Clarke 437).

Furthermore, Condoleezza Rice, reflected these themes in her Foreign Affairs campaign article in 2000, emphasizing that a George W. Bush presidency would "renew and strengthen alliances," ensure that the US would have the military capabilities to "deter war, project power, and protect" American interests, and deal "decisively" with "rogue states," WMD proliferation, and terrorism (qtd. in Clarke 437). So, contrary to President Bill Clinton, Bush did not want to rely on the international treaties that were seen as an ineffective tool in protecting the United States security and interests, but he focused on establishing and developing nuclear weapons that were capable in destroying any potential threats.

Bush indicated that the United States would take actions with what the President perceived to be in the national interest during his presidency. He emphasized on strengthening ties south of the border (particularly with Mexico), rather than relying heavily on traditional European allies. President Bush states that the United States should not be in the business of nation building, declaring his intention to withdraw US troops from places such as the Balkans (qtd. in Kaufman 189). In short, Bush outlined a significant shift in the direction of

US foreign policy.

George W. Bush's worldview was best described as a sort of "hegemonic realism" that prioritized the pursuit of enduring primacy and the continuation of the "unipolar moment" as the greatest method of achieving American interests and national security (Quinn 141-2). The president, like his two predecessors, noted that "this is still a dangerous world, less certain, a less predictable one." The growing number of nuclear weapons and ballistic missile technology to "some of the world's least responsible states," for "whom terror and blackmail are a way of life," was to blame for this. The United States "must work with allies and friends to deter anyone who would contemplate their use" (qtd. in Clarke 437-8). In fact, Bush always believes that the absence of any strong rival for the US can lead to the rise of new and undefined dangers, with the increasing development of weapons of mass destruction made it necessary for the United States to work with its allies to stop and prevent the use of these weapons.

3. The US Grand Strategy and the Emergence of Terrorism

3.1. The Evolution of US Grand Strategy in Post 9/11 Attacks

On a clear early September morning in 2001, four groups of terrorists boarded planes that would serve as weapons of mass destruction, aimed symbolically and literally at the heart of America's economic, political, and military institutions. Two planes attacked and destroyed the World Trade Towers, symbols of American free enterprise. A third plane hit the Pentagon's South Wing, the headquarters and global symbol of America's military superiority. The fourth plane, which targeted the White House and Congress crashed in Pennsylvania after passengers managed to regain control of the plane from the terrorists.

Professor of political science Stanley A. Renshon at the City University of New York describes the results of these attacks saying that Thousands were killed as an immediate result of the attack, and tens of thousands more lost their husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sisters,

and brothers. It could also be measured in billions of dollars lost in actual physical destruction and many billions more lost in economic consequences (27).



Fig.2. The Second Tower of the World Trade Center Bursts into Flames after Being Hit by a Hijacked Airplane, September 11,2001

Source: Schwitek, Sara K. —The Second Tower of the World Trade Center Bursts into Flames after Being Hit by a Hijacked Airplane, September 11,2001.,|| Reuters , 2021, mobile.reuters.com/news/picture/defining-images-from-the-9-11-attacks-idUSRTXGV6X0. Accessed June 2023.

Americans awoke on September 11 to discover that they were personally vulnerable at home, at work, and abroad. They quickly discovered that the United States would be a primary target for individuals and groups seeking to kill or devastate it (Renshon 27). In short September 11 showed that the adversaries' objectives were to find and use weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Many scholars and researchers in the field of international politics including the theorist of international relations and United States foreign policy, John Ikenberry see that the unexpected strikes on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center have been referred to as "this generation's Pearl Harbor" because they exposed America's weaknesses to the outside world and led to a major reorientation of foreign policy.

On September 11, some people considered the post-Cold War era to have come to an end. The 1990s were a decade of peace and prosperity, and during that time, the 'new economy,' budget extra funds, and short periods of global calm helped encourage a certain naïve liberal belief about the future. The United States has recover its main strategic goal after a decade of drift (19). In fact, those attacks reoriented the US foreign policy after years of drifting from its main goal that is the preservation of global stability and the spread of US liberal values.

President George W. Bush administration recognized the events of 9/11 as unacceptable and hateful. The US needed to respond and to secure the state for the future. The National Security Strategy (NSS) of September 2002 was the result of a series of landmark speeches that crystallized and advanced the re-evaluation of US policies. The four pillars of the Bush Doctrine were laid out there: American military primacy; the acceptance of preventive war as an alternative to traditional deterrence; the war on terrorism; and democratization (Buckley and Singh 3-4).

Bush laid out the case against Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda, and their Afghan Taliban hosts. He wisely established the current strategy of separating "our many Muslim friends" from Islamist terrorists, "who are traitors to their own faith." The president emphasized that the terrorists "want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, including Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan." (qtd. in Henriksen 166). The US Congress passed the Authorization to Use Military Force Act, granting the President the "authority under the Constitution to take action to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism" (166). In other words, there was a worry of the spread of this rogue nation, across the Arabic countries, and the possibility of their taking the rule of these states. As a result, President Bush with the Congress support passed Acts in order to take actions towards these rogue nations.

After taking office, Bush reduced American involvement in the Middle East, as well as other regions. This policy took place for only eight months until the 9/11 Attacks. Before

Al Qaeda attacked the heart of Manhattan and the Pentagon, the violent non-state actors were not taken seriously. The al-Qaeda terror attacks in New York (the World Trade Center), Washington, DC (the Pentagon), and Pennsylvania (the plane that crashed on in its way to attack Washington) changed the Bush administration's strategy instantly. Following the 9/11 attacks, the Bush administration launched two wars to deter any potential threats to the United States (Miller and Rubinovitz 187).

The War on Afghanistan was the first war that the United States initiated as a reaction to the hostile attacks. It was considered an inevitable action to deter terrorism in order to assure the safety of the American people. The international community broadly supported the war because the attacks on US soil were masterminded and directed by al- Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden and his headquarters, which found refuge in Afghanistan under Taliban control. The US invaded Afghanistan in order to remove the Taliban and eliminate Afghanistan as a terror refuge by installing a new Western- friendly regime (187).

Iraq was the next target in Bush's Counterterrorism agenda. An Attack on the American soil was expected from Iraq under the rule of Saddam as Bush's administration pictured to the world. So, the purpose was to democratize Iraq by force and to remove Saddam Hussein's regime. In the view of Bush, Saddam was hostile towards the United States and its allies particularly Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Kuwait and the other Persian Gulf countries and had produced weapons of mass destruction in the past (188). In fact, Bush's administration shifted its strategy and launched two wars to respond to the 9/11. The purpose of the wars was to prevent and deter any potential threat to the United States.

3.2. Major Policies after 9/11 Attacks

After September 11, the Bush administration's foreign policy was defined by its active use of the military power as a tool of foreign policy. One of the most immediate consequences of September 11 was the use of Article 5 by NATO for the first time in its history which states that each Ally will support the assaulted Party by taking whatever action it seems

necessary (Kaufman 190). In short, the United States' NATO allies stood to provide assistance when required. NATO was ready to collaborate with the US to formulate a response to the attack. However, the US, under the Bush administration, preferred to work outside the NATO framework or any other formal alliance in determining next steps.

Professor of political science, Joyce P. Kaufman says that the Bush administration decided how to respond to the assaults. The administration immediately began looking at military options, including "a strike against al Qaeda forces in Afghanistan." The decision to invade Afghanistan was part of a bigger "global war on terror" that would last "until every terrorist group that had attacked Americans in the past, including the 9/11 attacks, or might launch attacks in the future, had been destroyed" (192). After the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the US policy makers led by George W Bush, decided to respond to those attacks by initiating direct military operation in the territories where Al Qaeda members lived.

3.2.1. Afghanistan - Iraq Invasion

Scholars and historians, mainly Professor Thomas Henriksen, argue that after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Americans started to engage in foreign policy and they gathered around their 43rd president as he moved against the terrorist network in Afghanistan. The idea was developed by the director of the CIA's Counterterrorism Center, who envisioned an unusual combination of CIA field agents on the ground, Special Operations Forces working with local militias, and intensive bombing by US Air Force and Navy planes. According to George Bush's plan for the Afghan operation, CIA field agents should enter the nation first and make contact with the anti-Taliban movement (172). It can be understood that the 9/11 acts drove the United States to the international affairs. Supported by American people, the President started a series of military power against the terrorist.

Intelligence information linked the hijackers to the terrorist group Al Qaeda, based in Afghanistan. Bush administration made the decision to send military forces to attack the

country that was ruled by government which supported and harbored terrorists. According to the president, this was a clear-cut case of an attack on the United States and a military response to that attack. The swift military victory over the Taliban in Afghanistan proved that the Bush administration was willing to take a decisive stand militarily when it mattered, reinforcing the confidence of both the allies and the American public in the president and his policies (Kaufman 193). This means that America utilized several military strategies and technics including gathering information, sending troops, and using air force bombing.

The September 11 Attacks depicted the US as weak and vulnerable country that was not able to provide the security for its citizens within its territory. The United States started a global war on anything that could harm its domestic security and international interests using military forces, interfering in internal affairs of states and at some points changing the whole regime. Allegations have been raised about Iraqi involvement in the 9/11 Attacks, but disproved. Professor Benjamin Miller mentions that the goal of militarily democratizing Iraq was to overthrow Saddam Hussein's dictatorship which was hostile to the US and its allies—particularly Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Israel, and Kuwait and the other Persian Gulf countries—and had previously manufactured weapons of mass destruction.

The claim that Iraq resumed manufacturing WMD was used as justification for starting the war, but it was later debunked. In any case, the idea of democratizing by force was to construct a democratic system that would stop from engaging in such activities as well as terror sponsorship which Saddam Hussein's regime have done for many years. The idea of democratizing by force is the most distinctive policy under offensive liberalism and operates to remove such threats by force-ful regime change (Miller and Rubinovitz 188).

By early 2002, Bush made it clear that the United States would not stop but would continue beyond the war on Afghanistan and expand the war on terror. In his State of the

Union speech in January 2002, Bush identified Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as an —axis of evil,‡ and he stated that —some governments will be timid in the face of terror..... If they do not act, America will" (qtd. in Kaufman 194). In other words, President Bush was sending notice to the American public and the world that the war on terror would continue.

Professor Kaufman states clearly that the United States's action was justified in going to war preemptively against any group that potentially threatened the country or its allies, and that it would do so alone if necessary. On October 2, 2002, Bush submitted to Congress a resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq. It included a list of all of Saddam Hussein's wrongdoings for more than a decade going back to the first Persian Gulf War and even earlier(Kaufman 194).

The Resolution claims that Iraq was building weapons of mass destruction and demonstrated willingness to use such weapons against the United States. The US suggested that Iraq was somehow involved in the attacks of 9/11. The President and Congress were determined to continue to take all appropriate actions against terrorists and terrorist organizations, including those nations, organizations, or persons who planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11 (195).

3.2.2. Military Budget and Homeland Security

The book *Security After 9/11 Strategy Choices and Budget Tradeoffs* published by Center for Defense Information declares that much budgetary and policy action was taken by the Bush administration and Congress in the immediate aftermath of the Sept. 11, 2001 Attacks before a long-term plan and strategy for responding to newly-emerging security challenges was worked out. The Defense Department's Quadrennial Defense Review outlines the nation's military strategy and plans, after Sept 11 with few changes. Billions of dollars were added to the defense budget with no clear plan for how they would be spent. Finally, a

year after the attacks, the White House released a National Security Strategy statement outlining foreign and national security policy objectives (5).

The tragic events of September 11, 2001 had a huge impact on federal funding for defense, homeland security, and terrorism combat. The US reaction to the 9/11 attacks was a comprehensive global war on terrorism abroad and mobilization of homeland security which included everything from increased border security on land, sea and air. Consistent with this fact, programs and activities related to homeland security and combating terrorism have been the main beneficiaries of the spending increases implemented since 9-11 (7). It means that the new approaches and methods that were used in the war on terrorism would be the main reason for the military budget increase regarding to the new type of military operation, weapons construction, and the development of weapons of mass destruction. The purpose was to keep the United States safe and maintain a global stability.

Figure 4 below shows an analysis of the US military spending from 1988 to 2009. It is clear that the spending has increased tremendously from 2000 to 2009 for the purpose of supplying the wars against Iraq and Afghanistan and supporting military activities around the world that worked to keep Americans safe and secure from dangers.

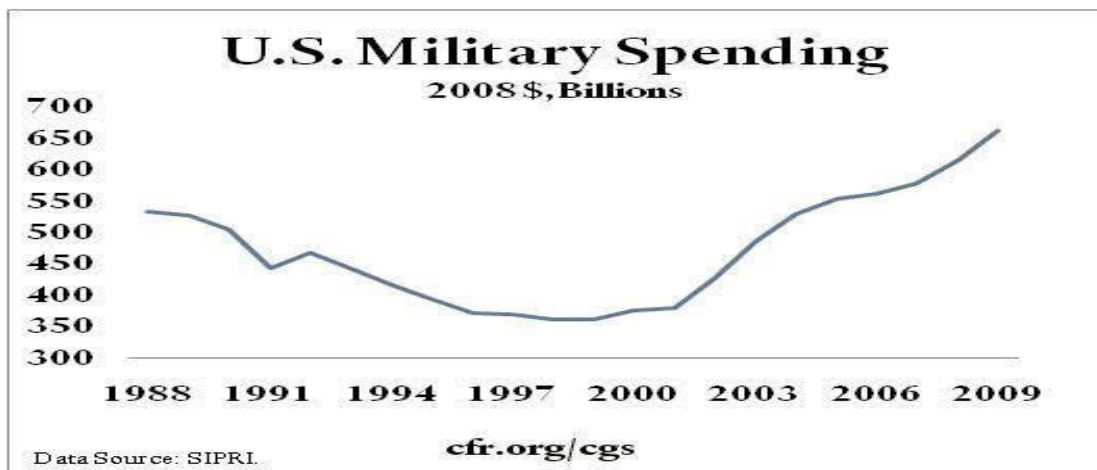


Fig.3. Trends in US Military Spending

Source: Walker, Dinah. —Trends in US Military Spending, Council on Foreign Relations, 2014, www.cfr.org/report/trends-us-military-spending. Accessed 30 May 2023.

3.2.3. The Global War on Terrorism

After 9/11, most of the decisions were crucial to reach the desired objectives, but it was difficult to maintain the reached results. The Bush administration has successfully employed American military power in late 2001 to defeat the Taliban, isolate al-Qaeda and remove Saddam Hussein's rule in 2003. However, it found it difficult to interpret these early victories into long-term strategic advantages. Both the Taliban and al-Qaeda immediately reappeared after Afghanistan's post-conflict peace effort failed. The invasion of Iraq, meanwhile, triggered an era of violence and instability as well as a number of negative consequences across the Middle East and worldwide (Brands 147). In other words, the US strategy was not able to become a permanent success and achieve its primary goals.

The president's new national security strategy encouraged to conclude that any government that supported, or used terrorism to achieve its political goals would be a potential target for long-term military action, for the hope to deter other governments from containing or helping terrorists by highlighting the negative consequences of doing so. This

was one of the goals of the battle against the Taliban. The US also had to go through the Taliban to get to Al Qaeda, which was secondary goal. To suppress Al Qaeda requires an altogether different set of tactics, techniques, and procedures. It also demanded a different approach and strategy, one that differed from conventional war in the same way and precisely because Al Qaeda differs from the Taliban (Mockaitis and Rich 76).

The events of 9/11, impacted the Bush administration's priorities, establishing the "global war on terror" as the highest foreign policy priority. Every aspect of the Bush administration's foreign and security policy was based and justified by the necessity to support the war on terror. The aim to spread freedom and democracy dominated the primary reasons of the attack, which worked on regime change and to eliminate the spread of weapons of mass destruction supposedly found in Iraq. Despite his readiness to use military action, which is a realist trait, Bush's emphasized on spreading freedom and democracy was essentially idealistic in perspective (Kaufman 189). In short, Bush's administration moved towards a global war on terrorism, using various strategies, huge military capacities and forces, and the promotion of US liberal democratic values, to prevent any futuristic acts that might pose a danger on US security.

Unlike Taliban, Al Qaeda does not represent a government and does not pursue its objectives through the use of military power, especially irregular military power. Rather, it funds terrorism. The idea that the war on terrorism differs from other conflicts makes sense in this situation. Less traditional military actions taken by the US to combat terrorism during the past 30 years. Other forms of power have long been used in addition to military power.

Traditional military action has been proved to be less effective than the employment of economic and diplomatic sanctions, accurate police work, and the attempt to develop global anti-terrorism agreement (Mockaitis and Rich 77). This means that the new rise of the nonstate actors or the rogue nations lead to the creation of new policies and military strategies

that differs from other utilized before, these new strategies proved their efficiency from the ones before.

In the early beginning of the post-Cold War era, the United States had known a continuous shift in its grand strategy according to the World circumstances. However, everything has changed since the 9/11 attacks that switched the country's orientation from focusing on the domestic affairs, to a global war on terrorism. The new conflict against new types of rivals had led to the creation and the production of modern strategies instead of traditional confrontation. Bush's administration launched two Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The purpose was to destroy the responsible for the 9/11 Attacks and prevent Iraq from having nuclear weapons. There was an extreme increase in the US spending during this phase. This did not last long; the arrival of Barrack Hussein Obama to the White House's office changed everything.

Chapter Three

Obama's Grand Strategy in Maintaining US National Security

Obama entered the White House as a president in 2009. During his campaign, Obama promised of a radical change in the United States policy at both domestic and international levels. Obama's main concern was to change the US situation internationally after engaging in two abroad wars that consumed the country's financial and military resources. He also started a nation-building policy domestically and proposed set of policies of a new type of grand strategy for the achievement of his objectives.

1. Obama Administration's Orientations

Barrack Obama became the first African American president winning the 2008 election. Obama stood out for his inspirational speech which the nation needed to hear during two international conflicts and an economic crisis. The international situation remained a difficulty while concentrating on domestic matters, particularly the economy and the adoption of the Affordable Care Act. Many believed that the ongoing instability in the Middle East would contribute to the rise of terrorism and fuel the sense of insecurity among Americans. This concern expanded to most U.S. allies who had fears about the emergence of ISIS (Kaufman 211). Obama took the president seat succeeding President George W. Bush taking in charge a mission under instable political and economic conditions, with his country involved in two major Wars Iraq and Afghanistan.

Barrack Obama took office on January 20, 2009 with high expectations. The financial crisis that the new administration inherited from the Bush Administration was directly discussed, along with efforts to rebuild the American economy and a fight over health-care reform (Lasher and Rinehart 851). That is to say, President Obama's first priorities as he began his term in office were tackling the nation's domestic issues. Starting with the financial

challenges brought on by the previous administration's massive spending on wars and the repair of the healthcare system.

The Obama administration did have a grand plan that concentrated mostly on preserving American dominance and a liberal world order. Obama, however, made an effort to explain his grand vision in response to the apparent errors made by George W. Bush. Obama specifically emphasized the need to use American military force with more restraint, economy, and precision; to increase in diplomatic engagement with allies and adversaries; and to rebalance American policy geographically in light of the Asia-Pacific region's emergence as a focal point of 21st century geopolitics and geo-economics (Brands 101–2). In fact, Obama's strategies basically focused on the preservation of US supremacy especially with the rise of new powers that could harm the United States dominance in the international relations and could affect world stability.

1.2. Examining Obama's Grand Strategy: Obama's Doctrine

Obama's first objective was to concentrate on "nation-building at home" instead of doing it abroad through reducing military commitments and interventions in general, According to Obama, rather than concentrating on regime change, US should work to improve its image abroad and focus on countering opposition to America by implementing much more diplomatic and moderate policies. Additionally, he believed in the importance and the necessity to work cooperatively with the world even with rogue states on particular subject similar to nuclear weapons development especially Iran and North Korea. While meeting rivals like Russia and China by making few adjustments and expecting cooperation and compromise, he agreed that while avoiding the use of force was desirable, but if intervention was necessary, it should be international (Miller and Rubinovitz 216). In other words, the

President main goal was to rebuild and strengthen the United States domestically, and restore the US economy after a massive spending on wars. Thus, reducing military operation and the promotion of US liberal values and beliefs internationally was among the President's agenda.

The international priorities received less attention than domestic ones under Obama's grand strategy. However, since domestic and foreign factors always interact to form grand strategy, Obama's foreign policy could be examined in terms of how it advanced, defended, or compromised important elements of his domestic agenda. Obama's scenario involved a relative shifting of resources from defense spending to domestic social and economic spending. Furthermore, it entailed avoiding party political conflicts about national security that could harm Obama's political status. In addition, it meant that any international relationships that could be expensive must generally be avoided (Dueck 33–4). In other words, Obama focused on a grand plan that linked domestic security with foreign policy.

By all appearances, Obama sincerely believed, and has repeatedly said over the years, that the United States should be more accommodating toward potential adversaries and rivals overseas accommodating of their interests, their perspectives, and their wishes. The reason was that, through accommodation, these potential rivals can be turned, into friends, then at least into something other than adversaries. Obama did not really believe that the conflict could be at the essence of world politics. On the contrary, he believed that genuine and overarching international cooperation could be possible, if apparent adversaries can learn to listen to and accommodate one another (Dueck 35).

The Obama Administration stayed within the historical mainstream. primarily pursued international agreements like the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) in order to advance the United States' long-standing globalization and free trade objectives. In order to protect civilians and support the establishment of more fair administration, the President militarily intervened in Libya in 2011

as part of his selective promotion of human rights and democracy (Brands 104). In fact, Obama grand strategy did not derive or shift from the original principle of the United States, he continued to spread the US economic liberalism and promote the US principles globally across the world. He also fought for the preservation of human rights and interferes if necessary for this purpose.

2. Obama and International Relations

2.1. Afghanistan

When Barack Obama took office, there were serious dangers to American foreign and security policy. He decided what the priorities of his administration's foreign policy should be. The responsibility of the Obama administration was to prove that it could keep its primaries-related obligations and that the United States could and would once again lead. Barack Obama took office with two international conflicts, one of which was very unpopular and going badly. Also a global financial crisis that was compared to the Great Depression with the growing number of nuclear weapons among rogue states (Kaufman 214). In short, President Obama began his presidency facing a number of challenges ; economic, financial, political, and geopolitical on both domestic and international levels.

The focus was on Afghanistan as Obama promised throughout his campaign. He made it obvious that there would be a new direction and that there would be a particular goal which was to destroy, demolish and defeat al Qaeda in Afghanistan. He guaranteed that it would not expand in any nation in the future. Accordingly, Obama said that more American troops would be sent to Afghanistan to help in the fight against Taliban, help protect the country's borders, and train Afghan forces specifically for the development of an Afghan army. The intention was to strengthen the Afghan military so that the United States could operate for limited amounts of time and with specific goals (Kaufman 215). In fact, Obama decided to go for a strategy that was clear, direct and less costly with the purpose of defeating Al Qaeda in

Afghanistan.

2.2. Iraq

President Obama has taken office in a country where its citizens were exhausted and discouraged by the brutal war in Iraq. The greater strategic challenges facing the nation were hidden by the Iraq War that has taken its place as the primary proxy issue. The timing of the withdrawal from Iraq has already been decided by President. Because of his predecessor's determination, he was able to end the conflict with some hope of success (Renshon 203).

Professor Stanley A. Renshon, suggests that the war on Iraq took too much time and spending. Gained most of attention as became the most prominent issue for the United States, something that affected the domestic issues that should receive more attention. Obama pursued a disengagement from the Iraq. He opposed the Iraq War well before it started (Miller and Rubinovitz 217). In other words, the war on Iraq that was initiated by George W. Bush, consumed the US financial resources and caused lot of concerns for Americans. Obama decided that this war should be ended.

President Obama extended a hand of peace to the Islamic world in an effort to fix relations with the west. Despite mentioning American themes such as advancing women's rights, religious freedom, and democracy in the Middle East, he pointed out failures in America's pursuit of these ideals, particularly in Iraq. He argued that once it was certain that Afghanistan was no longer hosting terrorists out to kill Americans, the United States would want to withdraw its soldiers from that country before moving on to Iraq (Henriksen 236). Obama wanted a new type of relationship and settle things down with the Islamic world, especially after the wars against Iraq and Afghanistan, as he mentioned that he wanted to retrain his military forces from those countries as soon as they no longer represent a terrorist threat against the US.

2.3. Russia

To recreate the peace of the early 1990s, Obama administration started a new chapter with Russia. The United States sent a proposal for Russian-American cooperation on East European missile defense. Moscow rejected the Defense Secretary's suggestion unless the US first eliminated certain components of the anti-missile system. One of the short-term objectives of the new Washington administration with Moscow was fulfilled. On April 8, 2010, President Obama and President Dimitry Medvedev signed an accord after restarting nuclear weapons negotiations with Russia (Henriksen 237-8). It is considered a positive step towards a better future between the two nations.

In fact, the United States and Russia have always had a complex relationship based on conflicts, arm race, and ideological differences. However, when Obama took the White House lead, he preferred a new direction in relationship towards Russia, and saw it as a potential friend rather than a traditional rival. Unlike previous US presidents, he worked on fixing the US-Russian relation, by making arrangements, guarantees, and international treaties for this purpose.

These promising relationship was about to last if there would be an encouraging behavior from one of the two parts. Things went bad when Russian invaded Crimea and intervened in favor of the separatists in eastern Ukraine in early 2014. In response to this, Obama's policy with Russia changed during his second term as president, moving from a diplomatic policy of adaptation to the initiation of economic sanctions (Miller and Rubinovitz 220).

The administration focused on reassuring its partners in Europe by expanding NATO deployments to front-line nations in Eastern Europe, prepositioning military equipment there, and boosting up its economic and security support for Ukraine (220). The Relations between the United States and Russia have been difficult, especially following Russia's 2014 invasion

of Ukraine and subsequent takeover of Crimea. In addition, the tension grew widely due to the differences between both countries concerning the Syrian crisis in which Russia supported Assad while United States and other Western countries would like to see him had gone (Kaufman225). It can be understood that the US - Russian relation changed during the second term of Obama's presidency. It moved from accommodation and cooperation, to sanctions and punishment due to the Russian aggression against certain lands in addition to the different visions of the Syrian civil war.

2.4. China

During the first term of Obama administration, the United States used a strategic initiative to strengthen its presence in East Asia. Often called the US —pivot toward East Asia, this policy has been characterized by development of enhanced strategic cooperation with a wide range of East Asia countries, including traditional allies and new security partners. In many ways the pivot to East Asia has replaced the United States early emphasis on acceptance and integration within the framework of economic globalization and international institutions with a more aggressive approach of rebalancing towards Asia (Ross 20). In fact the rise of China could be a challenge to US security in East Asia because, unless balanced, China could achieve regional hegemony.

The US pivot toward East Asia under Obama administration represented a major shift from previous attempts to stop China's rise. In contrast with previous administrations, which concentrated on increasing security cooperation with the region's offshore governments, the administration has improved ties with mainland states located on Chinese territory. Several containment-related programs were implemented by the US. There was also a financial component, especially the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a trade pact with twelve countries, including the US but excluding China (Ross 31). It can be understood that the relation between the two changes from competition and cooperation in the post-Cold War, to more

rivalry. Obama administration sought the vast development of China, so it worked on putting strategies to restrict and contain China, first by using military strategy of putting army bases in Asia. Second, it attempted to isolate the Chinese economy by making a territory of trading with excluding China. The nature of the relationship between the two changed from partnership and competition to a rivalry relation.

The difficulty of cooperating with China and the impossibility of adopting a confrontational strategy, led the Obama Administration to develop a Comprehensive approach. Given the complexity faced by the President, he sought to conduct a hedging strategy, which is, mixing cooperation with deterrence. Obama's cooperative strategy was reflected in his call for a US–China G2 to tackle the global financial crisis, nuclear proliferation, and climate change (Leoni 158). The huge and rapid development that china knew made it difficult for the United States to direct confront it, so the President had created a mixed strategy of Accommodation and deterrence to restrict and block the rise of china as a new global power, threatening the US supreme status.

The United States faces a variety of issues as a result of China's emergence as an important regional if not a global force. The options for U.S. strategy are limited by how much China is connected into the global economy in general and the American economy in particular. Since 2013, China's assertive actions in Asia, particularly in the South and East China Seas, have increased tensions between China and the United States and its regional allies. (Kaufman 219). In other words, the Chinese strong economy and its rising as a new international power not only in Asia but in the world have made difficulties for US policy makers guided by Obama to put a strategy that fit the US interests towards China.

2.5. Europe

The United States' choice to go to war with Iraq in 2003 has seriously caused tension with its European allies. Europe blamed the United States of causing the economic disaster of

2008. Obama had enormous popularity in Europe when he became president, and he was able to realize the fact that Europe was no longer an unquestioning ally, ready to follow American commands or do as the United States desired. In light of this, The President made considerable effort to rebuild his relationships with his European allies.

European nations continued to place their confidence in the leadership of the United States and President Obama. As they ought to decide how to react to the outcomes of the "Brexit" vote in June 2016. Although it may seem that the United States had little to do with this, the fact is that the European Union is the United States' greatest trading partner. The United States is economically linked to the European Union. Furthermore, the potential collapse of the European Union raised concerns about European security and what this would mean for NATO (Kaufman 227-8). In other words the US - EURO, relations started to get complicated, due to US decision to invade Iraq. The economic, political and military growth for Europe made Obama realize that Europe was no longer a following ally to US orders. In addition, the internal problem the EU represented in the "BREXIT" and what it could lead to for the economy and security of Europe, for that Obama sought to enhance and promote the US - EU relationship.

George Friedman an internationally recognized geopolitical forecaster sees that if the European Union broke down, it would be difficult to see how NATO could continue to function. He also says that US President Barack Obama has re-emphasized the importance of the European Union. This assertion came after he advised the British public that they should vote to stay in the EU, much to the displeasure of those who supported an exit. They felt Obama was interfering in the British domestic issues by taking side in a domestic quarrel. Obama responded that the European prosperity was an essential factor for NATO's strength and the United States has had a historical commitment in Europe including wars and recovery efforts (Friedman 20).

2.6. Iran

The United States and Iran had clear and tense official relations especially when George W. Bush's 2002 called Iran as a member of the "axis of evil". The new US administration spoke with more openness. President Barack Obama has shown that the United States would be ready to communicate with Iran. The new tone in the American politics has been established positively by President Obama's hopeful, forceful, and dynamic attitude. Obama appeared to be able to start productive conversations between the US and other nations. He supported constructive discussion with Iran without restrictions rather than portraying itself as an invincible and untouchable force (Jahanbegloo 2). This made many people to believe in an encouraging and positive relationship between Iran and the US in the future.

Large Iranian crowds took the streets on June 12 to protest on what they believed to be an illegal reelection of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. During his first summer in office, the President's administration stayed away from expressing tough criticism. Rather, Obama's strategy mainly focused on preparing the ground rule for nuclear negotiations with Iran. The US administration agreed to hold direct negotiations with Tehran in late September, along with the participation of China, Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. The discussions eventually led to the extended P5+1 negotiations on Iran's nuclear program, which dominated Obama's second term (Henriksen 239). That is to say, the US-Iran relations had known times of tension during George W. Bush presidency, and periods of tranquility and diplomacy during Obama. New chapter in the relationship between the two started, especially when both countries agreed to discuss Iran nuclear program.

3. Obama's Strategies for Maintaining US Security

3.1 Obama's Accommodation and Retrenchment Policy

Barack Obama's presidency represented a clear turn away from the policy of

aggressive internationalism of his immediate predecessor. In fact, among the post-Cold War leaders, Obama's foreign policy saw the most marked move back. US officials stressed the use of "soft power diplomacy" that means the capacity to influence other nations through the use of persuasion and attraction rather than the use of "hard power" and force (Henriksen 231).

During his campaign, Barack Obama's prescription for controlling the American foreign policy came to light. The 44th President of the United States tapped into significant sections of American society that were deeply disappointed with the financial and human costs of both wars. Americans had a significant rejection for the combat in Iraq, because no nuclear production or chemical weapons facilities were uncovered in the Persian Gulf country (231).

Many Americans did not understand the objectives of the invasion or the occupation's rising human and material costs. After taking the White House's office, Obama declared that, "the US military in Iraq would get new orders to safely redeploy our combat brigades at a pace that would remove them in 16 months" (qtd. in Henriksen 232). In other words, Obama choose a different way from his preceding who chose a policy of direct engagement that drained the country economical resources and put the lives of the US soldiers in danger in two unnecessary wars. He wanted to put an end for those wars and use those spending for domestic affairs.

Professor of international relations Collin Dueck mentions that Obama seemed to support some aspects of strategic engagement, such as being open to collaborating internationally and negotiating with US rivals or opponents in Tehran, Pyongyang, Beijing, and Moscow. The United States placed a lot of emphasis on retrenchment and international cooperation. Obama himself was very explicit on this point: he did not just propose to sit down and negotiate with current US enemies. On the contrary, he consistently advocated for open-minded diplomacy,

compromise, and mutual dialogue, which could be sparked by American leadership and example and result in significant changes in the demands, intentions, and ambitions of seemingly hostile foreign actors. This is the foundation of accommodation strategy (46).

Moreover, Obama made it clear that he would find out methods to reduce the US military's expenses, as well as the international responsibilities as a type of strategic retrenchment. In other words, this would be a hybrid strategy focusing on international accommodation and retrenchment. The ultimate goal of that new strategy as Obama made clear, was to promote a new domestic focus on liberal reforms within the United States, in addition to encouraging a more cooperative and peaceful international order (Dueck 46–7). It can be seen that Obama foreign policy directions changed. The primary objective was an international cooperation and diplomatic relation, even with what was considered as competitors or rivals for the US. He insisted on reducing the US operations in the world, since they were costly with no concrete success. The vision of the administration was the internal affairs of the United States and how to rebuild the US economy.

The figure below shows the number of US soldiers deployed in the battlefields across the world primarily in Iraq and Afghanistan. It can be seen the huge numbers of US army during the previous administration of George W. Bush. However, when Obama took the White House lead, in 2008, he launched a series of policies to reduce the amount of US military in the world. Since 2009 when the President announced the withdrawal strategy, the amount of the American army went down after Obama's policies.

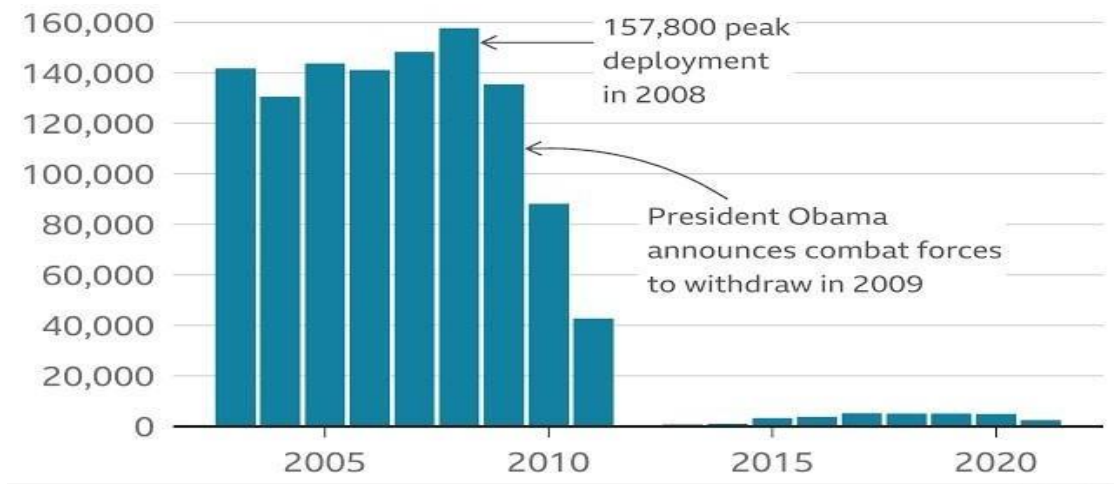


Fig.4. US Troops in Iraq since the Start of the Conflict in 2003

Source: Gardner, Frank. —US Troops in Iraq since the Start of the Conflict in 2003, | Bbc, 2021, www.google.com/amp/s/www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-57970464.amp. Accessed 30 May 2023.

3.2. Counterterrorism

US counterterrorism strategies would remain largely unchanged when Obama was elected president. Obama made several important changes, reducing the scope of counterterrorism efforts in some places while expanding them in others, such as US drone operations in Pakistan and Yemen. The American attack on Osama bin Laden's covert base in May 2011 was the President's most significant achievement in this area. The White House then cited this achievement as justification for further US strategic retreat, particularly in Afghanistan, on the grounds that al-Qaeda was close to extinction (Dueck 49). In other words, the administration's major goal remained to reduce the size of inherited conflicts, including the fight on terrorism. In order to counter George W. Bush's intense foreign engagement and military interventionism, Obama reversed it (Henriksen 231).

Obama has acted with remarkable decisiveness, targeting Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Pakistan, Somalia, Syria, and Yemen. The United States President acted with more aggression during the War on Terror. Throughout his administration, President George W. Bush authorized an average of two drone attacks daily. Up to the end of 2015, President Obama had

authorized roughly 10 drone attacks each day in the Middle East. Obama has ordered approximately 25,000 drone strikes through the end of 2015, compared to George W. Bush's around 5,000 drone strikes during his administration. Drone attacks were the strategy that the United States would use to maintain its military edge globally «without resorting to the lengthy, expensive, and unpopular wars and occupations that dominated the past decade (Lasher and Rinehart 875). So, despite his desire to choose a new foreign policy strategy that consisted less direct intervention and cost, Obama continue assertively the war on terrorism with the use modern technologies such as : drones that proves their efficiency in such situation.

3.3. Nuclear Proliferation

In order to defend the national security of America and protect its interests and international status as a dominant global power, the Obama administration attempted to reduce the developing and fabrication of weapons of mass destruction. Professor, Benjamin Miller sees that the most prominent deal was the multilateral great- power agreement with Iran (P5+1) in July 2015 on blocking its path toward acquiring nuclear weapons (at least for the next ten to fifteen years) in exchange for ending the heavy sanctions imposed on Iran because of its nuclear program. The Obama administration inflicted very painful sanctions on Iran— in multilateral collaboration with the other powers which led to the Iranian acceptance of the nuclear deal (221). In fact, President Obama wanted to limit any possible threat to the national security of the country, so that, he worked on making strategies to reduce and limit the production of WMD.

Under Obama's leadership, the United States has followed a nuclear nonproliferation policy. It took the initiative by making important concessions on nuclear weapons; the rest of the world would follow. The President has made it clear that the goal of his administration was to see all nuclear weapons eliminated, and that the US would take active steps to achieve

that aim. The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) conducted a Nuclear Weapons Posture Review. Concluded that; the United States would not develop or employ nuclear weapons to defend itself against chemical or biological attacks from any state that did not possess nuclear weapons (Dueck 57).

The New START Treaty which reduced the production of weapons for both United States and Russia was advocated for and signed by Obama to definitely stop the development of destructive elements. He called for an international rules and regulations. There was a sincere attempt to diplomatically engage Iran on the problem of its nuclear weapons program. All of these policy elements were meant to work together in a coordinated manner to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons (Dueck 57-8). Thus, the primary objective of Obama and his officials was to generate international treaties for the limitation and controlling the fabrication and development of nuclear programs. The aim was to prevent these weapons from being available for rogue states or terrorist groups, and become a source of an unpredicted danger.

3.4. Disengagement and Leading From Behind

Barack Obama ran his presidential campaign as an ally of foreign policy ready to lead America in addressing particular challenges. Committed to send more soldiers to Afghanistan while also pledging to withdraw the last of the American troops from Iraq, the United States leader declared that the US would work more closely with other countries than Bush did. President Obama gave notice that his country would take unilateral action when vital U.S. interests are at risk (Moyar).

Obama significantly increased the number of American forces deployed in Afghanistan. The withdrawal of US military was in a slower rate than what it was expected. The US engaged on business deals with foreign allies and employed drones alone to combat Islamists in Pakistani (Moyar). That is to say, the United States would no longer engage in extensive military conflicts, as it had done in Iraq and Afghanistan and would instead rely on special

operations forces and drones to eliminate the last of the terrorists. Obama believed that the one way to make up for the decline in American military power was to rely more heavily on the military strength of allies.

Tyrannical government had controlled Libya. Colonel Qaddafi's provocative actions and pursuit of chemical and nuclear weapons, made a conflict with the United States practically inevitable. From the beginning of the anti-Qaddafi rebellion, America's involvement in Libya was careful and limited. Although some of his closest advisers, including Hillary Clinton, felt that military involvement was necessary "to protect civilians and prevent a massacre," President Obama was hesitant to discuss the topic (Henriksen265). Obama stated clearly that:

The United States is not going to deploy ground troops in Libya. The expectations of the Obama administration have been changed in light of these ground realities. Now, its foreign policy employees pressed for the UN to approve military intervention to stop Qaddafi's tanked advances on the rebel base in Benghazi. The Security Council gave its approval for "all necessary measures (military actions) to be taken on March 17 in response to Washington's demands (qtd. in Henriksen 267). In the Libyan case the United States didn't want to take any major role or decisions as it used to do before, rather it pushed the UN council to order the beginning of military operation in Libya against AL Quadafi government.

Barack Obama took the White House's President Office during unstable international conditions. Inheriting two international wars from the previous administration in which US citizens were not satisfied with. In addition, United States economy was seriously damaged regarding the massive spending on wars. The President primarily focused on domestic affairs of the country, starting from, reforming the US economy and restraining the war spending and uses them for internal policies such as Health care. Additionally, Obama reoriented the United States foreign policy towards emerging powers and traditional rivals; he switched the direct military operation with much more diplomatic strategy toward the world. Obama established

international agreements with countries for the limitation of possession and production of nuclear weapons. Moreover, Obama's administration changed US unilateralism and acting alone to more cooperative and diplomatic relations with the world.

Conclusion

The United States' supreme status in the world requires a specific design of the country's Grand Strategies with a precise identification of the national Security objectives. The grand strategy and the national security policy demand a clear vision of how the country is going to function in a particular period of time. The domestic and international situations should be taken into consideration to respond to potential threats aiming protecting the citizens and the US status. The political history of the United States had known major strategies that were formulated by the US officials to guarantee the accomplishment of national security objectives. The Grand Strategies helped the country since its early days to liberate from the European colonization to expand and acquire new territories. It also worked to protect both of the country's domestic and international interests and to avoid global wars and conflicts

The strategic choices of US presidential administrations during particular times allowed the country to become a significant global power. The US decision to avoid the European conflicts during the World Wars and the strategy it used after the world war introduced the country as a dominant force in the world. The Cold war conflict had effected the way the US acted in the international arena. New strategies were introduced; military alliances, containment policies, financial aids were used to block the advancement of the rival. Eventually the collapse of the Soviet Union made the United States the sole power in the world.

During its modern history, America focused on its internal affairs and the promotion of its liberal, political and economic values across the world. However, the 9/11 impacted the country's orientation. Bush's administration launched two major wars against both

Afghanistan and Iraq regime, as a reaction to the 9/11 events and to prevent any similar acts in the future. The changing nature of the new adversaries obliged the US to change its strategies, and increase the expenditure on military and home land security. However, Americans felt disappointed to the decision of going to wars abroad because of the massive loss of lives and the huge spending on army and the false accusation.

The 44th President of the United States Barack Hussein Obama entered the White House's office with agenda to change the domestic and international situation of the country. Obama's grand strategy focused on repairing the US economy that was affected by the global wars reducing the United States military commitment abroad and decreasing the number of US soldiers deployed in foreign territories. On the international level, Obama changed the US orientation. It shifted from direct engagement and utility of military power to more diplomatic and accommodating international policy with the other global forces, traditional enemies and new emerging powers.

The Obama administration utilized different strategies to maintain the national security of the country and the promotion of the US liberalism in the world and preserving an international stable environment. Unlike his preceding, Obama choose an international policy based on understanding and cooperative relationship with the world. Obama insisted on developing the US economy after decades of extreme spending on global conflicts, and the preservation of American soldier's lives through a new Counterterrorism and Retrenchment policy.

The US worked on making restrictions and limitations on the weapons of mass destruction. United States started making international treaties and agreements with countries about their nuclear programs. It used political and economic sanctions when the countries refuse. Obama's counterterrorism Strategy was characterized by the use of modern

technologies such as: drones due to its efficiency in achieving better results than traditional army methods. Additionally, Obama initiated several acts and decisions to finally bring back the US soldiers from war areas.

The major change between both Presidents ; Bush and Obama was that, during Bush's administration, the United States used to work unilaterally, it used to act alone. When Obama came to the president's seat, he changed this policy as a part of his grand strategy to work cooperatively with the world. He started the leading from behind strategy in which the US would no longer act and directly engage individually. However Obama chose a disengagement policy for the preservation of the US human, financial, and military resources, instead the US would work in accordance with the international community.

The close examination in the policies taken by Obama lead to the conclusion that the change was not radical as it was supposed and proposed. Obama and his administration continued the policies of the previous administration in new indirect methods with much more aggression.

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