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**Investigating the Efficiency of U.S. Strategies in the War on Terror
During George W. Bush's Presidency: Afghanistan as a Case Study**

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization**

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Dedications

We dedicate this academic effort to our admired parents in gratitude for their unending support,

to our brothers and sisters and

to our friends for being there for us.

Big thanks to all of you.

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Abstract

The study tries to assess the success of American foreign policy in the war against terrorism in Afghanistan during the George W. BUSH administration in terms of time and area. It also highlights the issue of how effective American strategy has been in eliminating terrorism in Afghanistan. The first chapter of this dissertation defines terms related to the issue and covers the historical history of both US and Afghan relations before delving into the strategies utilized by the US in its fight against terrorism in that country. The second chapter discusses the operational parameters of the American campaign in Afghanistan, the methods used to carry it out, and the outcomes of this strategy. It also examines and assesses the success of American foreign policies in the fight against terrorism in Afghanistan. The research employs several methodologies: the historical approach to events, the descriptive approach to describe them, and the analytical approach to evaluating the used strategies and the degree to which they accomplish the programmed aims. The study's findings and recommendations are summarized, with the most significant being that the American war in Afghanistan is one of the longest contemporary conflicts with the greatest number of material losses and human deaths.

Keywords: American Foreign Policy, US Strategies, War on Terrorism.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAU	Afghan Affairs Authority
ABA	Applied Behavior Analysis
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNN	Capital News Network
DOD	Department of Defense
EOP	The Executive Office of the President
GWOT	The Global War on Terror
ISIS-K	Afghanistan affiliate, Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (Khorasan Province)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Team
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development.
USSR	Union of Socialist Republics

Table of Contents

Dedication	I
Acknowledgements	II
Abstract	III
Table of Contents	V
General Introduction	1
1. Background of the Study.....	1
2. Statement of the Problem.....	1
3. Research Questions and Research Hypotheses	1
4. Aims of the Study.....	2
5. Research Methodology.....	2
6. Significance of the Study.....	3
7. Literature Review.....	3
8. Structure of the Study.....	4

Chapter One

Investigating US Foreign Policy against Terror

Introduction	6
1. Notions of US Foreign Policy	8
1.1. Definition of US Foreign Policy	9
1.2. Factors that Influence US Foreign Policy	10
1.2.1. Governmental Factors Influencing US Foreign Policy	11
1.2.1.1. The Role of The President.....	11
1.2.1.2. The Role of Congress.....	11

1.2.1.3. National Security Council	12
1.2.1.4. The Central Intelligence Agency	12
1.2.1.5. Department of State.....	12
1.2.1.6. Department of Defense	13
1.2.2. Non-Governmental Factors that Influence US Foreign Policy	13
1.2.2.1. Public Opinion	13
1.2.2.2. Mass Media	13
1.2.2.3. Interest Group.....	13
2. Afghanistan and US	15
2.1 Taliban and Al Qaeda.....	15
2.2 Afghanistan's Foreign Policy against the USA	16
3. US Counterterrorism Concerns.....	16
3.1. US Assistance to the Afghan People.....	16
3.2. Economic Relations.....	17
3.3. Political Relations.....	17
3.4. Afghanistan's Membership in International Organizations	17
3.5. Bilateral Representation	17
3.6. September 11, 2001, Terrorist Attacks on the United States.	18
4. USA Foreign Policy during BUSH's Presidency Period.....	19
4.1. Features of George.W. BUSH's Presidency Period	19
4.2. The Impact of the Cold War on the GWB Foreign Policy.....	19
Conclusion.....	21

Chapter Two

The Efficiency of US Foreign Policy against Terror Afghanistan as a Case Study

Introduction	24
1. The Effects of the US Foreign Policy on Afghanistan.....	24
2. Analysis of Some Reports and Political Decisions Made for these Affairs.....	25
2.1. DohaAgreement Analysis	25
2.1.1. Part one (Appendix A)	25
2.1.1.1. Part One Analysis.....	25
2.1.2. PartTwo (Appendix A)	26
2.1.2.1. Part Two Analysis	26
2.1.3. Part three(Appendix A).....	26
2.1.3.1. Part Three Analysis	26
3. Analysis of Some Political Speeches givenby G.W.B.....	27
3.1. Analysis of President George W. Bush's 9/11 Public Address (Appendix B).....	27
3.2. Analysis of the G.W. Bush speech, "Address to the Nation on Afghan Operations" (AppendixC).....	29
Conclusion.....	32
General Conclusion.....	33
References	35
Appendices	40
Appendix A: Doha Agreement retrieved fromhttps:.....	40
Appendix B: President George W. Bush's 9/11 Public Address.....	43
Appendix C:G.W. Bush address, "Address to the Nation on Afghan Operations"	45
ملخص.....	48

General Introduction

1. Background of the Study

One of the longest modern Wars is the one involving the United States and Afghanistan. It took place in Afghanistan in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on four flights, which resulted in commercial aircraft colliding in a field in Pennsylvania, the World Trade Center in New York, and the Pentagon in Washington, DC. In response, there was a global war on terrorism, which included Afghanistan dropping on US people without a court order and standing between the Guantanamo detention facility in Cuba. President George W. BUSH signed a bipartisan resolution into law enabling the US government to pursue individuals responsible for the September 11 attacks. Due to the causes and effects of the events on a social, legal, political, and educational level, the topic is a vital one. Numerous studies regarding it have been conducted, however, they remain unfinished.

2. Statement of the Problem

The study deals with the evaluation and effectiveness of US foreign policy against the war on terror during George Walker BUSH's presidency in the framework of Afghanistan, including the four flights and the empowering defense made to make solutions to the national crisis and to combat the new terrorism challenge through the war declaration, so several researchers made some researches for the strategies of the American foreign policy in general, but this is not one of them, it is devoted to investigating the analysis of these strategies in specific era and location.

3. Research Questions and Hypotheses

The following questions are raised in order to achieve the study's objectives :

- Why did the United States attack Afghanistan ?
- How did the war conclude, and what were the US withdrawal policies?

- How successful has US foreign policy been in countering new terrorists in Afghanistan?

The following are the hypotheses of this study:

- The Taliban retaliated against the US because it invaded Afghanistan, resulting in them complete control of the country.
- To address the issue, President George W. BUSH and his administration produced various reports and took active initiatives.
- The US government's counter-terrorism strategies were successful.

4. Aims of the Study

The main goal of the investigation is to look at the United States foreign policy in Afghanistan under the administration of George W. BUSH. The study's goal is to determine the actual causes of the American invasion of Afghanistan. It also emphasizes aspects of the George W. BUSH administration, such as the declaration of war and a series of disengagement techniques. Finally, it seeks to examine US counter-terrorism measures and their ramifications for both the US and Afghanistan.

5. Research Methodology

The current study is qualitative in nature. The consequences of American counter-terrorism activities are generated through historical and descriptive methods. The data is compiled from a number of sources, including books, articles, journals, and videos. Historical research records numerous events related to the issue under investigation, descriptive research describes its characteristics, whereas analytical one is adopted to evaluate the used strategies and the degree to which they accomplish the programmed aims. The data investigation intends to further investigate the matter at hand and examine the efficiency of American policies in the War on Terror under George W. BUSH.

6. Significance of the Study

This research is critical for understanding the rationale for the American invasion of Afghanistan and assessing the performance of American foreign policy against terrorism under the George W. BUSH administration (2001-2009). It also helps to investigate American foreign policy efforts towards Afghanistan. It is useful for academics and researchers interested in US foreign policy toward the rest of the world and Afghanistan.

7. Literature Review

A review of the literature finds a variety of previous studies that cover various aspects of American foreign policy in Afghanistan's war against terrorism, defining and assessing its benefits and drawbacks.

In an article titled "*American Mass Media and Foreign Policy: A Study of the Role of the White House and Main Stream Print and Electronic Media is Affecting the Process of Development of American Foreign Policy*", Khan (2008) examined the role of the media in determining foreign policy, with particular reference to the United States. In this perspective, the next section of the paper explores two of his notions critically: The CNN impact, as well as manufacturing licenses. The article investigated how foreign policy and the media interact, with a focus on mainstream media coverage in the United States. Similarly, it examined how the media influenced and contributed to the evolution of foreign policy. It is widely acknowledged that the American mass media, via their contributions as observers, participants, and catalysts, have a substantial effect on foreign policy creation. Despite the article's quantity of information, it is possible to argue that it does not cover all of the important factors that affected US foreign policy.

On August 15, 2022, the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs issued a fact sheet on relations between the United States and Afghanistan. The paper discussed US-Afghan diplomatic relations, US counterterrorism concerns in light of the Doha Agreement, US assistance to the

Afghan people, economic and political relations, Afghanistan membership in international organizations, and military representation, but it did not discuss military operations involving the two countries.

Finally, but not least, another paper headlined Who Supported the Afghan War? What is the relationship between American foreign policy and global opinion? Goldsmith et al.(2005)present three theories of global public opinion: profit, socialization, and influence. sociocultural influences. They observed significant effects in policy and the economy that favored US interests, while other shared defenses with the US had a punitive impact. As a result, they neglected numerous major effects in favor of concentrating on a few minor ones.

8. Structure of the Study

The study is divided into two chapters. The first chapter discusses the history of the links between the US and Afghanistan war on terror as well as the theoretical foundations for US geography, policy, and Afghanistan. The case study of the American war in Afghanistan, its impact on intellectual interactions, and an analysis of American military tactics are all highlighted in the second chapter.

CHAPTER ONE

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Introduction	6
1. Notions of US Foreign Policy	8
1.1. Definition of US Foreign Policy	9
1.2. Factors that Influence US Foreign Policy	10
1.2.1. Governmental Factors Influencing US Foreign Policy	11
1.2.1.1. The Role of The President	11
1.2.1.2. The Role of Congress	11
1.2.1.3. National Security Council	12
1.2.1.4. The Central Intelligence Agency	12
1.2.1.5. Department of State	12
1.2.1.6. Department of Defense	13
1.2.2. Non-Governmental Factors that Influence US Foreign Policy	13
1.2.2.1. Public Opinion	13
1.2.2.2. Mass Media	13
1.2.2.3. Interest Group	13
2. Afghanistan and US	15
2.1 Taliban and Al Qaeda	15
2.2 Afghanistan's Foreign Policy against the USA	16
3. US Counterterrorism Concerns	16
3.1. US Assistance to the Afghan People	16
3.2. Economic Relations	17
3.3. Political Relations	17
3.4. Afghanistan's Membership in International Organizations	17

3.5. Bilateral Representation	17
3.6. September 11, 2001, Terrorist Attacks on the United States.	18
4. USA Foreign Policy during BUSH's Presidency Period.....	19
4.1. Features of George.W. BUSH's Presidency Period	19
4.2. The Impact of the Cold War on the GWB Foreign Policy.....	19
Conclusion.....	21

Introduction

Because of its geographical position, robust economy, powerful media, and political system of governance, the United States of America is one of the most effective countries in the world. One of the key aspects that have contributed to the United States of America's status as a superpower state in comparison to other nations is its tactics and processes for safeguarding its interests under the umbrella of accomplishing foreign policy objectives and goals. This chapter analyzes the theoretical basis of US foreign policy and gives an outline of significant ideologies that ruled from the inception of the American Constitution through the administration of America's forty-third president. BUSH, George Walker.

Terrorism is usually understood to refer to various acts of violence directed towards people in order to achieve political or ideological goals. The international community has not yet developed a comprehensive definition of terrorism in legal terms; nonetheless, current declarations, resolutions, and general provisions of "sectoral" treaties dealing with certain issues describe specific legal acts and essential features. The General Assembly's Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, set out in resolution 49/60 in 1994, stated 6 that terrorism includes "criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons, or particular persons for political purposes" and that such acts: "are in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious, or other nature." 2008 July, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

1. Concepts of US Foreign Policy

The definitions of US foreign policy varied from one author to another, from one trend to another. Rosati and Scott (2011) defined foreign policy as the scope of governmental involvement abroad and the collection of goals, strategies, and instruments chosen by policymakers. Ghosh(2020) differentiated the idea of there are two components to foreign policy. A policy is a collection of

decisions and activities that an organization takes in order to attain a specified objective. Foreign countries, on the other hand, demonstrate territorial sovereignty that extends beyond national borders. He recognized then that by combining the two phrases, foreign policy was viewed as a set of standards for making judgments concerning people, places, and things outside our boundaries.

Gibbs(1978) conceptualized that foreign policy as the collection of methods and techniques used by a national government to manage its directives and relationships with other nations. It includes a wide variety of actions such as diplomacy, trade defense, and international cooperation. Foreign policy development and implementation are critical for protecting national interests and supporting global stability and security. Governments often use well-established diplomatic norms and procedures to manage and sustain their international relations and alliances with other countries.

Due to a University of York (2022) research, foreign policy represents a country's essential beliefs and aims and catalyzes the achievement of its political and economic aspirations. The domain of International Security encompasses a complex set of factors that have a large influence on nation-states' interactions with the global community. By engaging with and understanding these factors, a country can develop effective strategies for engaging in international relations. Together, the two policies complement one another to strengthen the country's position both within and outside its borders.

To summarize, all of these definitions agree that foreign policy is a set of values, strategies, decisions, and tactics devised by policymakers to achieve the interests and goals of the state with other states, such as defense and national security, overseas trade and commerce that leads to economic prosperity, global stability, and controlling relations between states.

1.1. Definition of US Foreign Policy

Bojang (2018) stated that the understanding that foreign policy decision-making involves a number of processes and players. It is extremely important in a state's foreign relations. A country's

prominence might be diminished by a lack of a well-thought-out foreign strategy. Increasing a country's reputation and prestige on the global stage might eventually impair its capacity to fulfill local goals. Those with consistent foreign policy have lower levels of disinterest than those with uneven policies.

According to Wittkopf et al. (2007), "the goals that a state's officials seek to achieve abroad, the values that give rise to those objectives, and the means or instruments used to pursue them."p9 This definition covers some of the most important topics in US foreign policy, such as national goals overseas and how the US strives to accomplish them. Also, keep in mind the dichotomy between outward-looking foreign policy and domestic policy, which determines the US's internal strategy. However, these two sorts of policies may be interwoven. For example, while discussing educational policy geared at boosting the number of Hispanic Americans who enroll in and graduate from US institutions, one may refer to Latino politics as a domestic problem.

Allison and Zelikow (1999) believed that decisions are made not just by the president but also by Congress, the military, the media, the State Department, and the general public. It's a sort of bargaining procedure. As a result, each stakeholder designs foreign policy on specific concerns with the proper authorities and capacities to achieve its goals.

1.2. Factors that Influence US Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is influenced by various elements, including history, geography, the home economy, and international politics. Every country protects its own interests overseas, but domestic policy also influences foreign policy. The United States foreign policy is comprised of two major variables that might impact American foreign policy decisions, which can be classed as governmental and non-governmental ,Universidad Europea (2022) .

1.2.1. Governmental Factors Influencing US Foreign Policy

Narcy-Combes(2006) argued that, US foreign policy is founded on governmental variables that include branches, agencies, and organizations. The constitution establishes the separation of powers between three branches of government: the legislative branch, which consists of Congress, a parliament made up of two parts; the House of Representatives and the Senate, and the executive branch, which is led by a President and Vice-President, and the judicial branch, which consists of the Supreme Court and several lower courts created by Congress.

1.2.1.1. The Role of The President

The President of the United States of America is both the head of state and the head of government, as well as the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. According to McCormick (2013), the President is responsible for executing and enforcing the laws approved by Congress under Article II of the Constitution. There are 15 executive departments, each led by a member nominated by the Presidential Cabinet and in charge of the federal government's day-to-day operations. Other agencies are also joining, and its responsible person. Even though they are not members of the Cabinet, they are fully subordinate to the President. The president also appoints the chairmen of over 50 independent federal commissions, such as the Federal Reserve Board, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and others, as well as federal judges, diplomats, and other government agencies. The Executive Office of the President (EOP) includes workers who report directly to the President as well as entities such as the US Office of Management and Budget and the US Trade Administration representative.

1.2.1.2. The Role of Congress

According to McCormick (2013), foreign policy is crucial. Foreign policy has the authority to enforce all laws, ensure national security, provide financing for declaring war, and control foreign trade. Universidad Europea (2022) affirmed that, Congress is made up of the House of

Representatives and the Senate, which make up the United States Congress. The Constitution grants Congress the sole authority to legislate and declare war, as well as the authority to accept or reject numerous presidential nominations and conduct comprehensive investigations.

Even though the House and Senate are distinct organizations with distinct duties and responsibilities, they collaborate to pass legislation. No law may be passed unless it is approved by both the Senate and the House. Find out how the measure will be passed.

1.2.1.3. National Security Council

The White House (2022) emphasizes the importance of The National Security Council as The President's primary forum for national security and foreign policy decision-making, where senior national security advisers and Cabinet members meet, and the President's primary arm for coordinating these policies across federal agencies (McCormick, 2013).

1.2.1.4. The Central Intelligence Agency

McCormick (2013) asserted that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is defined by the US government as gathering, analyzing, and disseminating critical information on economic, military, political, scientific, and other events across the world in order to protect national security.

1.2.1.5. Department of State

Merriam-Webster (2023) described the Department of State as a noun phrase: The branch of the US government in charge of how the US treats other countries. The federal executive branch of the State Department was in charge of US foreign policy. This is the principal channel through which the President negotiates treaties and enters into agreements with other governments. Various bureaus, including US missions to the UN, seven political bureaus, the US Department of State, and so on.

1.2.1.6. Department of Defense

Department of Defense is responsible for ensuring that America's military force is sufficient to secure national security. It is the largest federal agency in the United States. Because the armed forces date back before the Revolutionary War, the sector has developed and changed with the country. The purpose of the department is to prevent conflict and provide the military resources required to keep the US secure (Universidad Europea, 2022).

1.2.2. Non-Governmental Factors that Influence US Foreign Policy

1.2.2.1. Public Opinion Factor

Public opinion, personal opinion, attitude, and body of opinion are all examples of opinions. A belief regarding a certain subject is voiced by a big portion of the community. Some researchers regard completeness as the synthesis of all or a specific segment's social ideas. Some consider it a collection of disparate and contradictory viewpoints. Rather than a condition of loose agreement, public opinion is a process of interaction and reciprocal influence, Davison(2017) .

1.2.2.2. Mass Media Factor

After 9/11, America's mainstream media, according to Khan (2008), adopted a strategy of subordination in order to respond to the White House agenda on the war on Iraq, Iran, Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and, most significantly, al Qaeda/terrorism. In comparison to the manufacturing license notion, his media influence and influence over CNN in affecting the government's foreign policy were rather little. In general, no nation or state can avoid the international arena nowadays. All countries should take part. External relations should be founded on systematic and well-defined principles.

1.2.2.3. Interest Group Factor

Ambrosio (2007)defined that , a foreign policy interest group is a domestic advocacy group that aims to influence their government directly or indirectly. According to Nowaczyk (2021),

interest groups are a collection of individuals who have common aims and actively endeavour to influence legislators. They serve a role in the government, the most essential of which is to coordinate groups of individuals working towards certain government goals. They generate funds to achieve their objectives, such as the ABA Commission on Homelessness and Poverty, etc.

1.2.2.4 The Principles that Make US Foreign Policy

Rosenberg (2021) resumed that , the ten principles that Make US foreign policy are:

1. As the first cardinal principle of its foreign policy stance, the United States asserts its conviction in peace and diplomacy.
2. The United States should continue to be an active member of the United Nations. The people of the United States should be proud of their country's engagement in international organizations.
3. If and when it becomes necessary to contemplate changing one or more aspects of US foreign policy, the White House should initiate an open dialogue with both Congress and the American people.
4. Above all, foreign policy should reflect the United States' unwavering devotion to constitutional ideals and democratic ideas.
5. The United States would be well-advised to discontinue its backing of military dictatorships across the world.
6. Non-interference in other countries affairs. If the people of the United States expect their sovereignty to be respected, they must also respect the sovereignty of other nations.
7. The United States should show a considerably greater readiness to invest in other countries infrastructure, economic growth, and technology.

8. The United States should never forget that its most successful foreign policy is to retain a democratic system of government at home while also providing a good level of living for its people.
9. The goodwill and generosity of the American government and people should be reflected in American foreign policy.
10. The United States must acknowledge that excessive global poverty is causing devastating social disintegration of states and destabilization of entire regions. It is insufficient for the United States and other Western countries to state that peaceful diplomatic engagement with other governments is one of their foreign policy aims.

2. Afghanistan and US

At the end of 2001, Afghanistan and the United States reestablished diplomatic ties. The United States gave billions of dollars to Afghan National Security Forces to spearhead rebuilding across Afghanistan, including the construction of national roadways and government and educational facilities.

2.1 Taliban and Al Qaeda

Although the Taliban and Al-Qaeda are distinct Islamic extremist organizations, they share certain doctrinal similarities and have had a complicated connection in the past. The Taliban is a Sunni Islamic extremist organization that arose in Afghanistan in the mid-1990s. They took over the nation in 1996 and implemented a stringent interpretation of Islamic law, including limits on women's rights and harsh punishments for those who broke their rigorous code of conduct. A US-led coalition overthrew the organization in 2001 because it offered a safe haven for Al-Qaeda, which was responsible for the 9/11 attacks (Rosenberg (2021)).

According to Britannica (2023), Al-Qaeda is an Islamic militant group. It is a global Islamic extremist group created in the late 1980s by Osama bin Laden. Al-Qaeda had tight relations with the

Taliban throughout its leadership in Afghanistan, and both factions embraced harsh views of Islamic law.

2.2 Afghanistan's Foreign Policy against the USA

The United States established diplomatic links with Afghanistan in 1935. They signed a Strategic Partnership Agreement in 2012 to strengthen bilateral ties, strengthen Afghanistan's capabilities as a partner, and enhance Afghan lives. The US and the Taliban signed the Doha Accords on February 29, 2020, culminating in the departure of US and ally forces from Afghanistan on August 30, 2021. Since the Taliban's violent takeover in August 2021, culminating in the surrender of Kabul on August 15, the US has shifted its attitude in Afghanistan in favor of pragmatic engagement. The US has yet to decide whether or not to recognize the Taliban and other groups as part of the Afghan government or any other administration (Goldsmith et al., 2005).

3. US Counterterrorism Concerns

The White House (2022) acknowledged that the Doha Accords outline US pledges to remove troops from Afghanistan as well as Taliban land usage agreements to all parties and people, including Al-Qaeda. Afghanistan jeopardizes the security of the United States and its allies, while the Taliban's vows to engage intra-Afghan discussions with other Afghan organizations to build a post-conflict government are thwarted. The US will continue to work with the Taliban to ensure that these agreements are fully implemented.

3.1. US Assistance to the Afghan People

The US Department of State (2022) stated that the US has stopped assisting in the reconstruction of Afghanistan since the Taliban gained power in August 2021. The US modified the nature and scope of its activities in Afghanistan, focusing instead on humanitarian aid and targeted support to address basic human necessities and avert total and impending economic collapse. As part of these efforts, the US is leading the international response to offer humanitarian assistance to the people

of Afghanistan through UN agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), contributing \$775 million in aid until July 2022. The US is increasing its efforts to deliver essential aid.

3.2. Economic Relations

Human Rights Watch (2022) confirmed that the US has gone to tremendous measures, in collaboration with other members of the international community, to keep Afghanistan's economy from collapsing without helping the Taliban. These measures have improved financial sector liquidity and allowed Afghan banks to maintain access to the international banking system.

3.3. Political Relations

Office of the Press Secretary (2012) reported that , Presidents Obama and Karzai agreed to create a strategic partnership that would serve as the foundation for their future cooperation. President Barack Obama and President Hamid Karzai signed the Permanent Strategic Partnership Agreement between the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the United States on May 1, 2012.

3.4. Afghanistan's Membership in International Organizations

Afghanistan and the United States are members of several international organizations, including the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. Afghanistan is also a member of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and it became a member of the World Trade Organization in 2016. However, none of these organizations has acknowledged Taliban officials' credentials on behalf of Afghanistan (Office of the Press Secretary, 2012)

3.5. Bilateral Representation

The US Department of State (2022) declared that the US Embassy in Kabul closed on August 31, 2021, and the Afghan Affairs Authority (AAU) was established in February 2022 as the US diplomatic mission to Afghanistan in Doha, Qatar. The AAU is in charge of the Taliban's interactions and contacts with friends, partners, and regional and international stakeholders, as well as the management of diplomatic connections with Afghanistan, including consular issues and humanitarian

assistance administration. Qatar will function as a US protectorate in Afghanistan as of December 20, 2021, and will be able to provide consular and other services to US citizens there. The Afghan Embassy and two US consulates will close their doors on March 23, 2022.

3.6. September 11, 2001, Terrorist Attacks on the United States

The Commission's final report was titled Circumstances surrounding September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks prepare for an attack and respond promptly again suggestions to defend against future attacks. Britannica Encyclopedia (2022) shows that Al-Qaeda joined forces with a number of Islamic extremist organizations in the aftermath of September 11. Their leaders have vowed holy war on the United States on multiple occasions. They established camps for Islamic extremists from all over the world, as well as training for tens of thousands of militias and their agents.

The US administration targeted Taliban and al-Qaeda troops in Afghanistan within weeks of the 9/11 strikes on the US. Thousands of Militants were murdered or detained, including some prominent members (including militants accused of planning and organizing the 9/11 attacks), and the remainder of their commanders were pushed underground(Britannica, 2023).

Following the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, President George W. BUSH outlined a comprehensive strategy to track down and eliminate terrorists across the world. On March 11, 2006, a local Iraqi child was attacked by Iraqi troops as they distributed flyers and counter-terrorism information in Taji city as part of Operation Iraqi Freedom in support of the worldwide battle against terrorism. President George W. BUSH urged on September 20, 2001, that the Taliban stop harbouring al-Qaeda members and warned that the GWOT would not end until terrorism was destroyed (George W. Bush Library, 2003).

4. USA Foreign Policy during BUSH's Presidency Period

George W. Bush's presidency was a vital period for numerous reasons that pushed the US government to confront terror and face terrorism. In addition to exercising control over foreign relations.

4.1. Features of George.W. BUSH's Presidency Period

Many features distinguish the GWB presidency period, such as: - It was the second time in history that a son of a previous president was elected president after John Quincy Adams, elected the sixth president in 1824, was the son of John Adams, the second president. - It was a blood era because he faced two wars, the first in Afghanistan and the second in Iraq. - He was trying to share peace, freedom, and democracy throughout the world and destroyed terrorism. BUSH was re-elected president in 2004 with 51 per cent of the vote to 48 per cent. BUSH found himself in command of the war, and his father, the 41st President, stated that his son faced the "biggest task of any President since Abraham Lincoln (George W. Bush Library, 2003).

4.2. The Impact of the Cold War on the GWB Foreign Policy

Knott (2023) noted that Bush spent most of his attention throughout his administration on international affairs, an area in which Presidents traditionally have greater leeway than in domestic matters. Throughout the Cold War, the US was active in attempting to halt the rise of Communism in Latin America and had developed ties throughout the region. When George H.W. Bush became President in 1989, the United States' relations with the Soviet Union had already begun to improve. In his inauguration address, Bush spoke about improving relations.

Bush's relationship with Gorbachev began with the Pauza (pause), as the Soviets called it. With his instinctive caution, the President sought to investigate the issue before implementing his own program. Although the Soviets were afraid that Bush's pauza signified a shift in US foreign policy, it actually contributed to the consolidation of better US-Soviet ties. Bush, Gorbachev, Baker,

and Shevardnadze's efforts yielded outcomes in strengthening US-Soviet ties that would have been impossible ten years before. Critics criticized the Bush administration for being too close to Gorbachev and too prepared to compromise(Knott, 2023).

The White House (2022) said that George W. Bush's background is full of hurdles and that Bush (his father) contributed to the peaceful end of the Cold War. W. Bush's surge prevented a post-invasion disaster in Iraq. It looks at the significant events of the second Bush administration, as well as its freedom agenda and larger counter-terrorism measures. President Bush has retained a Cold War-era approach to foreign affairs, saying that Russian domination remains a serious issue. Bush's Russia policy, particularly during the Russo-Georgian War, mirrored that of his Cold War forefather.

Conclusion

Consequently speaking, the first chapter addressed the study's fundamental topics, such as foreign policy investigation and efficiency, and discussed foreign policy in detail. The chapter emphasized the significance of Afghanistan's Taliban and Al Qaeda. Finally, it concentrated on parts of George W. Bush's administration and the United States' war in Afghanistan, beginning with BUSH's declarations and the preparations to attack Afghanistan. Following the theoretical scope and explanation of US foreign policy events. The second chapter will look over some of G.W. BUSH's reports and speeches in order to evaluate and assess the effectiveness of the US war on terrorism.

CHAPTER TWO

The Efficiency of US Foreign Policy against Terror Afghanistan as a Case Study

The Efficiency of US Foreign Policy Against Terror

Afghanistan as a Case Study

Introduction	24
1. The Effects of the US Foreign Policy on Afghanistan.....	24
2. Analysis of Some Reports and Political Decisions Made for these Affairs.....	25
2.1. DohaAgreement Analysis	25
2.1.1. Part one (Appendix A)	25
2.1.1.1. Part One Analysis.....	25
2.1.2. PartTwo (Appendix A).....	26
2.1.2.1. Part Two Analysis	26
2.1.3. Part three(Appendix A).....	26
2.1.3.1. Part Three Analysis	26
3. Analysis of Some Political Speeches givenby G.W.B	27
3.1. Analysis of President George W. Bush's 9/11 Public Address (Appendix B)	27
3.2. Analysis of the G.W. Bush speech, "Address to the Nation on Afghan Operations" (AppendixC)	29
Conclusion.....	32

Introduction

The second chapter discusses the effects of US Foreign Policy in Afghanistan and the world, then it provides an Analysis of one of the famous political decisions made for these affairs, and finally an Analysis of two political speeches given by George.W. BUSH. The main aim of this analysis is to highlight the effectiveness of the American foreign policy in Afghanistan during the presidency of GWB.

1. The Effects of the US Foreign Policy on Afghanistan

US foreign policy has played a critical role in international relations during peace and war, affecting areas of conflict like Afghanistan and elsewhere. According to Goldsmith et al. (2005), there are three models of world public opinion: profit, socialization, and influence. Variables related to socialization (such as the Muslim population and terrorist attacks in the past) are likely to have a significant impact. Obtaining membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a variable that measures common security interests, has significant and favorable effects on US policy, while other mutual defense agreements with the US are counterproductive. Trade levels also represent common economic interests. Conflicting security interests and US efforts to influence foreign public opinion have a negligible or weak impact.

According to the Combat Studies Institute (2010), a rural rehabilitation team was developed in Afghanistan in early 2002 as part of a program dubbed the Joint Humanitarian Liaison Force. These units were made up of 5 to 10 army civil affairs officers and were stationed in tiny outposts in rural Afghanistan where coalition forces were deployed. Their responsibilities included assessing humanitarian needs and carrying out small-scale restoration initiatives as an extension of security operations. These units were overseen by the Coalition Joint Civil Military Task Force, which was sponsored by the Department of Defense under its Overseas Humanitarian, Disaster, Disaster Relief Operations and Fund for Civil Relief. Throughout 2002, these organizations developed significantly, eventually including security personnel and US

government officials by the end of the year. They were called the Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) at this point.

2. Analysis of Some Reports and Political Decisions Made for these Affairs

Throughout history, Afghanistan suffered from different types of problems so the International Community used to help Afghans by giving them freedom and security to strengthen their economy. There are Several reports that have been made for these affairs.

According to the White House (2022), in February 2020, the US and the Taliban negotiated a deal known as the Doha deal, in which the US committed to remove all American soldiers from Afghanistan by May 2021. The Doha Agreement, also known as the US-Taliban pact, is a peace treaty signed by the United States and the Taliban on February 29, 2020, in Doha, Qatar, to end the 2001–2021 Afghan conflict.

2.1. Doha Agreement Analysis

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the United States published a three-part joint statement. Part one comprises four articles, Part two contains five, and Part three contains four.

The US Embassy in Kabul was closed on August 31, 2021, according to the US Department of State (2022), and the Afghanistan Affairs Unit (AAU) was established as the US diplomatic mission to Afghanistan in Doha, Qatar in February 2022. The AAU is in charge of diplomatic relations with Afghanistan, including consular contacts and humanitarian aid management, as well as Taliban engagement and communication with allies, partners, and regional and international players. Since December 2021, Qatar has acted as a US protectorate in Afghanistan and may provide consular and other services to US people in Afghanistan. The Afghan Embassy and two US Consulates General ceased operations on March 23, 2022.

2.1.1. Part one (Appendix A)

2.1.1.1. Part One Analysis

The first part reaffirmed the US's continued refusal to cooperate with or authorize foreign terrorist organizations or individuals, as well as its continued support for Afghan security forces

and military operations in Afghanistan. At the end, the United States stated that it will act as a peace broker between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

2.1.2. Part Two (Appendix A)

2.1.2.1. Part Two Analysis

Part two included a list of US concessions. It reviewed the rapid reduction in the number of US military personnel and the withdrawal of armed forces 14 months after the announcement which reinforced its willingness to help Afghan Security personnel with training, equipping, and advising. Afghanistan would enable talks between the United States and the Taliban. In addition, the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan will assist Taliban members in removing themselves diplomatically from the US Secretary Council's sanctions list.

2.1.3. Part three(Appendix A)

2.1.3.1. Part Three Analysis

In the third part, the United States utilized the UN Security Council to confirm its acceptance and endorsement of the accord and related arrangements. The United States agreed to maintain a constructive economic relationship with the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. The United States has stated that it will refrain from any danger to Afghanistan's independence. Finally, the US continues to reconstruct Afghanistan economically.

According to Schubert et al. (2002), the 2003 Iraq War had significant popular support because the Bush administration was able to successfully convert the fight into an extension of the War on Terror in reaction to the September 11, 2001 assaults on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Because I created it. An examination of President Bush's speech reveals that the administration consistently linked Iraq to 9/11. The New York Times' coverage of the president's address included minimal discussion of the Iraq conflict being classified as part of the War on Terror.

3. Analysis of Some Political Speeches given by G.W.B

President George W. BUSH delivered several political speeches that influenced public opinion and helped create the United States' new foreign policy. The talks chosen for discussion and analysis are from 9/11/2001 and 07/10/2001.

Schubert et al. (2002) stated that the popular support for George W. BUSH increased following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. A within-response quasi-experimental approach was utilized in this study to assess the relative impact of his five elements on the traditional rally effect. The economic event itself, President BUSH's address that night, media coverage, party support, and gender implications all played a role. On the morning of the attack, respondents were pre-screened. The first group was retested immediately following the lecture, whereas the second group was retested 41 hours later. A follow-up study of President BUSH'S address to the Joint Congress on September 20, 2001, looked at the stability of the impacts. This finding implies that BUSH's 9/11 statement played a significant role in the rally's impact. None of the other factors had a substantial impact.

3.1. Analysis of President George W. Bush's 9/11 Public Address (Appendix B)

Historically, George W. Bush's public speech came after a terror attack on September 11, 2001, in which Al-Qaeda hijacked four planes and carried out suicide assaults against American targets. Bush, the president of the United States at the time, had to answer by proclaiming that, while terrorist assaults can rock the foundation of America's tallest structure, they cannot harm the country's foundation. The speech was the most renowned during his administration; it was delivered from the oval office on the evening of the 9/11 attacks. It was a short public broadcast statement presented to the Americans.

Following an examination of the video of the 9/11 statement, it is evident that there are various comments regarding the choice of words, tone, sentence structure, and symbolism. Bush began his remarks by welcoming the audience. He used the pronoun (our) to emphasize that this issue affects all Americans. He classified the assaults as a terrorist and the victims' identities.

Then he detailed the events saying that there are aeroplanes flying into buildings and massive fires and thanked and praised the efforts of those who offered help.

Then he displays the exceptional relationships and solidarity of the American people who cannot damage America's foundation. He contributed to the fact that America is speaking out for freedom. He discussed the functioning of the US government and offered a tour to the American people about the results of the study to locate offenders and bring them to justice. He praised the work of members of Congress, friends of America, and allies. He contributed to the fact that this day is painful (unforgettable) for all Americans.

George W. BUSH had to give a forceful speech since the attack threatened his presidency and all Americans as it occurred just one year after he was elected president of the United States. His speech has a straightforward framework that connects the listener, the event, and the speaker. The speaker can employ a range of tactics to address the needs of the audience at the event, which can be reduced into three rhetorical appeals: pathos, logos, and ethos. Bush chooses to utilize these appeals to achieve his persuasive purpose by using genre, the capacity to construct self and audience, and the use of visual imagery to animate the September 11, 2001 event. These speaking methods shaped his power, allowing him to control public perception and interpretation of the incident. He employs austere body language and a solemn monotone tone to emphasize the depth of the catastrophe and to outline the road to be taken, yet it reads almost detached. He expresses anguish and fury, but the emotions do not appear to be there in his delivery (Bush, 2022)

Rielly(2008) confirmed that one of the Bush strategy's main aims is to "defend the United States, the American people, and our interests at home and abroad by identifying and destroying the threat before it reaches our borders." While the United States will continue to seek the international community's cooperation, we will not hesitate to act alone if necessary to exercise our right to self-defence by striking proactively against such terrorists to prevent them from causing harm to our people and our country". According to the strategy statement, "the United States has long maintained the option of taking preventive actions to counter a sufficient threat to

our national security." The higher the threat, the greater the risk of passivity, and the more strong the reason for taking preemptive action to defend ourselves, even if the timing and location of the enemy's strike remain unknown. To deter or prevent such aggressive measures by our enemies, the United States will act proactively if necessary."

According to the preceding analysis, President Bush aimed to emphasize the previously mentioned primary elements and strategies of US foreign policy and invest in these assaults to spread his popularity and utilize them as a tool for electoral propaganda.

3.2. Analysis of the G.W. Bush speech, "Address to the Nation on Afghan Operations" (Appendix C)

On 07/10/2001, the president delivered another speech to the country about the operations in Afghanistan at the White House. According to George W. Bush Library (2003), after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, President George W. Bush announced a comprehensive plan to seek out and stop terrorists around the world. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were part of the Global War on Terror, or "GWOT," but the term was also used to describe diplomatic, financial, and other actions taken to deny financing or safe harbour to terrorists. Coalition partners from around the world also participated in the GWOT.

On September 20, 2001, President George W. Bush demanded that the Taliban stop harbouring members of al-Qaeda, and warned that the GWOT would not end until terrorism was eradicated. On October 7, 2001, the President announced that the United States had begun military action in Afghanistan. The initial strikes were against al-Qaeda terrorist training camps and Taliban military installations. In addition to military action, the United States and its Coalition allies would provide humanitarian aid to the citizens of Afghanistan (George W. Bush Library, 2003).

After examining the video of the 7/10 speech, it was clear that the president when opened his speech with a welcome (Good afternoon), his language was direct and uncomplicated, which aids in the delivery of the message. He claimed that the US military operation had commenced

(the US military had launched attacks in Afghanistan against al Qaeda terrorists...Taliban). He said that this invasion was joined by friends from the United States (We are joined in this operation by our weird friends from the United Kingdom, Canada, Germany, and France. In addition, over 40 nations in the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and Asia).

He also made precise requests to the Taliban (for more than two weeks) (but they did not answer). He threatened the Taliban with military action, but the Taliban resisted, so the US launched the strike (and now the Taliban will pay the price).He showed the world peace and freedom and justice of the US (We will drop food medicine ... men and women and children of Afghanistan).

BUSH declared that there is no problem with Afghans and Islam (the US is a friend to Afghan people... who practice the Islamic faith)

The president expects the fight against terror to be won by military action, diplomacy, and intelligence (this military action is part of our anti-terror effort). President BUSH divided the world into two camps, one against terrorism and the other even if they are neutral (there is no neutral ground).He supported the global war on terror by stating (but the struggle is larger) He indicated the purpose of his speech (I'm speaking to you today from the White House, where American presidents work for peace).

He increased global awareness about the purpose of the conflict (Today's military operation called Enduring Freedom, we safeguard not just our cherished freedom, but also the freedom of all people everywhere.). He characterized the current state of Americans' emotions and passions (Americans are afraid nowadays). Then he discussed the techniques used in national airport security (many governors have deployed the National Guard to boost airport security at my request).

He recognized and praised all members of the military forces' leaders for their sacrifice. Members of our military services are making such sacrifices. They are committed. They are decent individuals that reflect the finest of our country. We appreciate it). Before he finished, he

referred to this as operations. Duty and America will go all-out to win this battle (We'll do everything for all men and women... you'll have every tool you need to accomplish your job).

He concluded his speech with motivating remarks (we will not waver, we will not tire...a bit of Freedom will win), then he acknowledged and supplicated to everyone in the crowd (Thank you. May God continue to bless the United States).

Finally, George W. BUSH, the 43rd President of the United States, implemented several initiatives in Afghanistan throughout his presidency, most notably in response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. The Bush administration implemented the following important strategies:

- ✓ Following the 9/11 attacks, the major goal was to remove the Taliban administration in Afghanistan.
- ✓ BUSH administration attempted to develop a wide international coalition to support military operations in Afghanistan.
- ✓ The emphasis changed after the initial phase of combat operations to stabilization and reconstruction. The Bush administration wanted to restore basic services and reconstruct the country's infrastructure by establishing a strong Afghan government.
- ✓ In several locations in Afghanistan, the Bush Administration formed Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRT). These teams were made up of military, civilian, and diplomatic professionals who worked to improve local security, government, and development. PRTs sought to promote stability, strengthen local capability, and gain the support of Afghan communities.
- ✓ Afghanistan was a major producer of opium and heroin, posing a serious threat to peace and security. To combat the drug trade, the Bush Administration pursued a variety of methods, including encouraging alternative livelihoods for farmers, executing crop eradication efforts, and pushing anti-drug measures.

- ✓ During the Bush administration, the necessity of fostering democracy and human rights in Afghanistan was highlighted. They pushed for the development of a democratic government, the holding of elections, and the involvement of women in political and social arenas. Education, healthcare, and women's empowerment were all prioritized.
- ✓ One significant goal was to strengthen Afghan security forces, such as the Afghan National Army and the Afghan National Police. The United States and its allies supplied training, equipment, and advisory support to Afghan troops in order to improve their ability to maintain security and battle insurgency. It is crucial to remember that these methods were in place for a long time, and succeeding governments tweaked the approach in Afghanistan.

Conclusion

The history of the United States has been altered as a result of the 9/11 September attacks. As a result, the war on terror had begun. Several political choices were taken by the United States about Afghanistan and the rest of the globe. Bush's presidency was serious and essential since he dealt with contemporary challenges, therefore he was forced to make some tough decisions in order to deal with terrorism. He oversaw the Global War on Terror. This chapter examined US foreign policy in Afghanistan via two pivotal choices and speeches .

General Conclusion

The 9/11 attacks accelerated the war on terrorism, wreaking on Afghanistan's political, economic, social, and physical infrastructure. The research looked into different facets of the American war in Afghanistan, including the invasion and withdrawal strategies. The primary research literature backed up Afghanistan's strategic geographic placement as a halt along the historic Silk Road.

The first chapter discussed the history of US-Afghanistan ties as well as the country's present counterterrorism policy. It also addressed the proclamation and rationale for the American invasion of Afghanistan. The second chapter examined the benefits and drawbacks of American counterterrorism strategies and tactics in achieving the study's purpose of assessing American foreign policy in Afghanistan under the G.W.B.

As a result, the study raised two questions. The first examined the rationale for the American invasion of Afghanistan, as well as the war's outcomes and consequences until the Americans left. The second question focused on the effectiveness of American counterterrorism measures and the reasons for their failure. The fight influenced the global economy through the 2008 financial crisis, which happened during Obama's administration, and the US exit after Afghanistan was decimated. The US-Afghan War is a carbon replica of what happened in Iraq in 1990. It was a conflict waged in the name of liberty and democracy, a collision of interests and principles.

Answering the research question, "How successful has US foreign policy been in countering new terrorists in Afghanistan?" through the analysis and discussion of reports and speeches, it becomes clear that the United States failed in its war against terror, as evidenced by a large number of dead soldiers and internal problems with the issue.

The analysis concludes that neither the United States nor Afghanistan won the war. There were also trends from the US perspective: the first is the continuation of the war in Afghanistan based on various arguments; it is necessary to stay in Afghanistan to combat terror and promote self-

defence, as well as to be in contact with the East (Russia, China...), conflicts of nuclear energy in Iran, and it destructs Afghanistan and Al Qaeda. The second viewpoint is against remaining because of the tremendous cost of material and human casualties, the appearance of a perpetual battle, and the difficulties of the geographical terrain. Finally, the United States chose to withdraw from Afghanistan beginning in February 2020 and ending in May 2021.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Doha Agreement retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/02.29.20-US-Afghanistan-Joint-Declaration.pdf>



Joint Declaration between the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the United States of America for Bringing Peace to Afghanistan

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, a member of the United Nations and recognized by the United States and the international community as a sovereign state under international law, and the United States of America are committed to working together to reach a comprehensive and sustainable peace agreement that ends the war in Afghanistan for the benefit of all Afghans and contributes to regional stability and global security. A comprehensive and sustainable peace agreement will include four parts: 1) guarantees to prevent the use of Afghan soil by any international terrorist groups or individuals against the security of the United States and its allies, 2) a timeline for the withdrawal of all U.S. and Coalition forces from Afghanistan, 3) a political settlement resulting from intra-Afghan dialogue and negotiations between the Taliban and an inclusive negotiating team of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, and 4) a permanent and comprehensive ceasefire. These four parts are interrelated and interdependent. Pursuit of peace after long years of fighting reflects the goal of all parties who seek a sovereign, unified Afghanistan at peace with itself and its neighbors.

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the United States have partnered closely since 2001 to respond to threats to international peace and security and help the Afghan people chart a secure, democratic and prosperous future. The two countries are committed to their longstanding relationship and their investments in building the Afghan institutions necessary to establish democratic norms, protect and preserve the unity of the country, and promote social and economic advancements and the rights of citizens. The commitments set out here are made possible by these shared achievements. Afghan and U.S. security forces share a special bond forged during many years of tremendous sacrifice and courage. The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the people of Afghanistan reaffirm their support for peace and their willingness to negotiate an end to this war.

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan welcomes the Reduction in Violence period and takes note of the U.S.-Taliban agreement, an important step toward ending the war. The U.S.-Taliban agreement paves the way for intra-Afghan negotiations on a political settlement and a permanent and comprehensive ceasefire. The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan reaffirms its readiness to participate in such negotiations and its readiness to conclude a ceasefire with the Taliban.

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan furthermore reaffirms its ongoing commitment to prevent any international terrorist groups or individuals, including al-Qa'ida and ISIS-K, from using Afghan soil to threaten the security of the United States, its allies and other countries. To accelerate the pursuit of peace, the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan confirms its support for the phased withdrawal of U.S. and Coalition forces subject to the Taliban's fulfillment of its commitments under the U.S.-Taliban agreement and any agreement resulting from intra-Afghan negotiations.

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the United States therefore have made the following commitments:

PART ONE

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the United States recognize that al-Qa'ida, ISIS-K and other international terrorist groups or individuals continue to use Afghan soil to recruit members, raise funds, train adherents and plan and attempt to conduct attacks that threaten the security of the United States, its allies, and Afghanistan. To address this continuing terrorist threat, the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the United States will continue to take the following steps to defeat al-Qa'ida, its affiliates, and other international terrorist groups or individuals:

1. The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan reaffirms its continued commitment not to cooperate with or permit international terrorist groups or individuals to recruit, train, raise funds (including through the production or distribution of narcotics), transit Afghanistan or misuse its internationally-recognized travel documents, or conduct other support activities in Afghanistan, and will not host them.
2. The United States re-affirms its commitments regarding support for the Afghan security forces and other government institutions, including through ongoing efforts to enhance the ability of Afghan security forces to deter and respond to internal and external threats, consistent with its commitments under existing security agreements between the two governments. This commitment includes support to Afghan security forces to prevent al-Qa'ida, ISIS-K, and other international terrorist groups or individuals from using Afghan soil to threaten the United States and its allies.
3. The United States re-affirms its readiness to continue to conduct military operations in Afghanistan with the consent of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in order to disrupt and degrade efforts by al-Qa'ida, ISIS-K, and other international terrorist groups or individuals to carry out attacks against the United States or its allies, consistent with its commitments under existing security agreements between the two governments and with the existing understanding that U.S. counterterrorism operations are intended to complement and support Afghan security forces' counterterrorism operations, with full respect for Afghan sovereignty and full regard for the safety and security of the Afghan people and the protection of civilians.
4. The United States commits to facilitate discussions between Afghanistan and Pakistan to work out arrangements to ensure neither country's security is threatened by actions from the territory of the other side.

PART TWO

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the United States have consulted extensively on U.S. and Coalition force levels and the military activities required to achieve the foregoing commitments including through support to Afghan security and defense forces. Subject to the Taliban's fulfillment of its commitments under the U.S.-Taliban agreement, the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, the United States, and the Coalition jointly assess that the current levels of military forces are no longer necessary to achieve

security objectives; since 2014, Afghan security forces have been in the lead for providing security and have increased their effectiveness. As such, the parties commit to take the following measures:

1. The United States will reduce the number of U.S. military forces in Afghanistan to 8,600 and implement other commitments in the U.S.-Taliban agreement within 135 days of the announcement of this joint declaration and the U.S.-Taliban agreement, and will work with its allies and the Coalition to reduce proportionally the number of Coalition forces in Afghanistan over an equivalent period, subject to the Taliban's fulfillment of its commitments under the U.S.-Taliban agreement.
2. Consistent with the joint assessment and determination between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, the United States, its allies, and the Coalition will complete the withdrawal of their remaining forces from Afghanistan within 14 months following the announcement of this joint declaration and the U.S.-Taliban agreement, and will withdraw all their forces from remaining bases, subject to the Taliban's fulfillment of its commitments under the U.S.-Taliban agreement.
3. The United States re-affirms its commitment to seek funds on a yearly basis that support the training, equipping, advising and sustaining of Afghan security forces, so that Afghanistan can independently secure and defend itself against internal and external threats.
4. To create the conditions for reaching a political settlement and achieving a permanent, sustainable ceasefire, the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan will participate in a U.S.-facilitated discussion with Taliban representatives on confidence building measures, to include determining the feasibility of releasing significant numbers of prisoners on both sides. The United States and Islamic Republic of Afghanistan will seek the assistance of the ICRC to support this discussion.
5. With the start of intra-Afghan negotiations, the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan commits to start diplomatic engagement with members of the UN Security Council to remove members of the Taliban from the sanctions list with the aim of achieving this objective by May 29, 2020, and in any case no later than 30 days after finalizing a framework agreement and a permanent and comprehensive ceasefire.

PART THREE

1. The United States will request the recognition and endorsement of the UN Security Council for this agreement and related arrangements.
2. The United States and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan are committed to continue positive relations, including economic cooperation for reconstruction.
3. The United States will refrain from the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Afghanistan or intervening in its domestic affairs.
4. The United States will continue to work to build regional and international consensus to support the ongoing effort to achieve a political settlement to the principal conflict in Afghanistan.

Appendix B: President George W. Bush's 9/11 Public Address

The Speech of BUSH 9/11

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rGwxw4tUzlo>

Good evening. Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, and our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The victims were in aeroplanes, or their offices; secretaries, businessmen and women, military and federal workers; moms and dads, friends and neighbours. Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror.

The pictures of aeroplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, and huge structures collapsing, have filled the US with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed; our country is strong. A great people have been moved to defend a great nation. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve.

America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining.

Today, our nation saw evil, as the very worst of human nature. And we responded with the best of America — with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbours who came to give blood and help in any way they could.

Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government's emergency response plans. Our military is powerful, and it's prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington D.C. to help with local rescue efforts.

Our priority is to get help to those who have been injured and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks.

The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for

business, as well.

The search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts.

I've directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbour them.

I appreciate so very much the members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance.

America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism. Tonight, I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, and for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened. And I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of US, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: "Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me."

This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. None of US will ever forget this day. Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world.

Thank you. Good night, and God bless America.

Appendix C:G.W. Bush address, "Address to the Nation on Afghan Operations"

G.W. BUSH Speech "ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON OPERATIONS IN AFGHANISTAN "

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SGXRMIP3XI&t=32s>

Good afternoon.

On my orders, the United States military has begun strikes against al Qaeda terrorist training camps and military installations of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. These carefully targeted actions are designed to disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations and to attack the military capability of the Taliban regime.

We are joined in this operation by our staunch friend, Great Britain. Other close friends, including Canada, Australia, Germany and France, have pledged forces as the operation unfolds. More than 40 countries in the Middle East, Africa, Europe and across Asia have been granted air transit or landing rights. Many more have shared intelligence. We are supported by the collective will of the world.

More than two weeks ago, I gave Taliban leaders a series of clear and specific demands: Close terrorist training camps; hand over leaders of the al Qaeda network; and return all foreign nationals, including American citizens, unjustly detained in your country.

None of these demands were met. And now the Taliban will pay a price. By destroying camps and disrupting communications, we will make it more difficult for the terror network to train recruits and coordinate their evil plans. Initially, the terrorists may burrow deeper into caves and other entrenched hiding places. Our military action is also designed to clear the way for sustained, comprehensive and relentless operations to drive them out and bring them to justice.

At the same time, the oppressed people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of America and our allies. As we strike military targets, we'll also drop food, medicine and supplies to the starving and suffering men and women and children of Afghanistan.

The United States of America is a friend to the Afghan people, and we are the friends of almost a

billion worldwide who practice the Islamic faith. The United States of America is an enemy of those who aid terrorists and of the barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by murdering in its name. This military action is a part of our campaign against terrorism, another front in a war that has already been joined through diplomacy, intelligence, the freezing of financial assets and the arrests of known terrorists by law enforcement agents in 38 countries. Given the nature and reach of our enemies, we will win this conflict through the patient accumulation of successes, by meeting a series of challenges with determination and will and purpose.

Today, we focus on Afghanistan, but the battle is broader. Every nation has a choice to make. In this conflict, there is no neutral ground. If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers, themselves. And they will take that lonely path at their peril. I'm speaking to you today from the Treaty Room of the White House, a place where American Presidents have worked for peace. We're a peaceful nation. Yet, as we have learned, so suddenly and so tragically, there can be no peace in a world of sudden terror. In the face of today's new threat, the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it.

We did not ask for this mission, but we will fulfil it. The name of today's military operation is Enduring Freedom. We defend not only our precious freedoms but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear.

I know many Americans feel fear today. And our government is taking strong precautions. All the cement and intelligence agencies are working aggressively around America, around the world and the clock. At my request, many governors have activated the National Guard to strengthen airport security. We have called up Reserves to reinforce our military capability and strengthen the protection of our homeland.

In the months ahead, our patience will be one of our strengths patience with the long waits that will result from tighter security; patience and understanding that it will take time to achieve our goals; patience in all the sacrifices that may come.

Today, those sacrifices are being made by members of our Armed Forces who now defend us so far from home, and by their proud and worried families. A Commander-in-Chief sends America's sons and daughters into a battle in a foreign land only after the greatest care and a lot of prayers. We ask a lot of those who wear our uniform.

We ask them to leave their loved ones, travel great distances, risk injury, and even be prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice of their lives. They are dedicated, they are honourable; they represent the best of our country. And we are grateful.

To all the men and women in our military — every sailor, every soldier, every airman, every coast guardsman, every Marine.

I say this: Your mission is defined; your objectives are clear; your goal is just. You have my full confidence, and you will have every tool you need to carry out your duty.

I recently received a touching letter that says a lot about the state of America in these difficult times — a letter from a 4th-grade girl, with a father in the military: "As much as I don't want my Dad to fight," she wrote, "I'm willing to give him to you."

This is a precious gift, the greatest she could give. This young girl knows what America is all about. Since September 11, an entire generation of young Americans has gained a new understanding of the value of freedom, and its cost in duty and sacrifice.

The battle is now joined on many fronts. We will not waver; we will not tire; we will not falter; and we will not fail.

Peace and freedom will prevail.

Thank you. May God continue to bless America.

ملخص

سعت الدراسة إلى تقييم فاعلية السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية من خلال حربها على الإرهاب، زمنيا في عهد جورج بوش الابن ، ومكانيا في أفغانستان. وذلك بتحديد مدى نجاح الولايات المتحدة في سياستها للقضاء على الإرهاب في أفغانستان، و تحليل الاستراتيجيات الأمريكية في الحرب على الإرهاب في هذا البلد .

قسمت الدراسة إلى فصلين: حددت في الفصل الأول مصطلحات التقييم والفعالية والاستراتيجيات والسياسة الخارجية وغيرها ، أما الفصل الثاني فقد أوضح آثار السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية على العلاقات بين البلدين، ثم سلط الضوء على تحليل بعض الوثائق والخطابات من أجل تقييم وتحليل فاعلية السياسات الأمريكية في الحرب على الإرهاب في أفغانستان. استخدمت الدراسة المنهج التاريخي في تتبع الأحداث، والمنهج الوصفي في وصفها، والمنهج التحليلي في تقييم الاستراتيجيات المستخدمة ومدى تحقيقها للأهداف المبرمجة. و اختتمت الدراسة بالتأكيد على نهاية الحرب الأمريكية على أفغانستان، و التي تعد من أطول الحروب الحديثة، كونها حصدت أكبر الخسائر المادية والبشرية، وذلك من الطرفين المتحاربين. ولجئنا إلى تبني حل النزاعات بالطرق السلمية وتجنيب جميع الأطراف الأضرار والمحافظة على السلم والأمن الدوليين.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الحرب على الإرهاب، السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية، الاستراتيجيات الأمريكية .