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**The Impact of 11th September Attacks on the United States of America
Soft Power: A Historical Analysis**

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

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Dedication

I dedicate this humble work to my big family, especially my father, to my teachers, colleagues, mates, friends and the Palestinians, namely the inhabitants of Gaza.

This work is also dedicated to my small family: Soheib, Lina, AbdEnnour, Amane, Doha, Abd ennafaa, Lokman and namely my devoted wife. Special thanks and dedication to my supervisor, Dr. SAOUD Ammar.

MOKHTARA Ahmed

“This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my dear father, Ahmed Amoria, Your love, wisdom, and strength continue to inspire me every day. Though you are no longer with us, your spirit lives on in my heart and my work. This dissertation is a testament to your enduring influence and the values you instilled in me” To my mother, my wife and my dear children.

AMORIA Salem

Acknowledgements

The current study is the result of lot of time and effort that's why we would like to confirm that the completion of this dissertation makes us more experienced and powerful in overcoming the difficulties and challenges concerning the methodology of making a dissertation, such as time management, the lack of documents in the university library that have relation with the topic studied. In doing this dissertation also we faced a big problem concerning time restriction in gathering information, using computer properly, coordination between us because we live far from each other, as well the application or the respect of the academic writing criteria properly.

We would like to be thankful and grateful to the people and excellent persons who helped us and gave their invaluable time, support and assistance. We thank also our supervisor Dr. Ammar SAOUD for his guidance, patience and precious remarks and recommendations, Dr. Soheib MOKHTARA for his patience in using the computer and in the academic English writing, and Mr. Hicham GUELLIL who helped us in find some precious documents that have relation with our topic of research.

At the end, we would like to confirm that we have done our best to give and produce good work, but as human beings, we are so sure that this work will not be perfect, and certainly will be completed and improved by other researchers.

Abstract

The study is about the impact of the American soft power after the Attacks of September 11, 2001. The study aims at having an idea or a glance about the causes and the aspects of the decline of the American soft power after the 11th September events. It tries to provide the target audience with the necessary information and knowledge concerning the decline of the United States' soft power. In order to achieve the aims and objectives of the study, the qualitative approach in addition to the descriptive and historical methodology are used. A case study is also used to compare between the American and the Chinese soft power. After different readings, analyses, and observations, the study confirms that the American soft power declines after the 11th September 2001 Attacks as a result of the United States negative practices or its foreign policies and policy makers. Moreover, many universal politicians predict and assume certainly that China will gain attractiveness and take the American place or position in the global scene sooner or later. This study can help university students that have the same topic in their future dissertations as a guide to avoid references' shortage.

Keywords: Attacks, Impact, Soft, Power.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
Anholt-JMI	The Anholt-GMI Nation Brands Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
RMB	The official currency of the People's Republic of China
CNP	Comprehensive National Power
PRC	The People's Republic of China

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General Introduction

1. Background of the Study

Conflicts are found since man's existence on earth and have different aspects and types, cultural, social, ideological, economic and political. Nowadays, many countries are fighting each other to solve their problems and conflicts using many ways and instruments. They use also different policies . In recent years, America for instance, has used soft power so as to spread its values, principles, culture and language as well to gain and attract minds, hearts and even new lands. It also sells goods and services to open new Univerisal markets. However, the 11th September attacks have changed completely and dramatically the American foreign policy as well the minds of the policy makers of America. This abrupt and non-well planned reaction led to the misuse of power and negative practices against many countries and people. The latter has given a bad image of the United States of America all over the world which led also to the gradual decline of the American soft power.

2. Statement of the Problem

The decrease of the America's soft power after the attacks of 11th September has become a hot topic of research which urged many researchers and politicians to conduct and issue several research and studies, such as the study that was published in the Summer edition of political science 2004 under the title “ Soft Power and American Foreign Policy”(Nye Jr, 2004a), the research entitled: “ The Decline of American Soft Power” by Joshua Kurlantzick (Kurlantzick, 2005), the study made by Xu Ping Wang Li under the title: “ The China model versus American Soft Power: Going global and Peaceful”(Ping & Li, 2015), as well the thesis of Chiara Mormile under the title: “ Sports as a means of Soft Power: a Focus on Chinese and United States of America”(Mormile, 2017).

3. Research Questions

The study is going to deal with the coming key and main questions:

1. What are the causes that led to decline of the American soft power after the attacks of 11th September 2001?
2. What are the instruments and means of soft power? And how they can be put into practice?
3. What are the aspects of the decline of American soft power?

4. Research Hypotheses

Based on these research questions, the following hypothesis can be developed:

1. The American soft power is decreasing after the attacks of 11th September
2. The decrease of the American soft power after the 11th September attacks is being faced and challenged by other powerful countries.

5. Aims of the Study

The current dissertation aims at:

1. Highlighting the relationship between the 11th September attacks and the American soft power.
2. Searching whether the American soft power is really decreasing after the attacks of 11 September 2001.
3. Knowing if there are other powerful countries that are benefiting from the decrease of the American soft power after the 11th September attacks
4. Shedding light on some implications of the decrease of the American soft power on the global scene.

6. Significance of the Study

The topic under investigation is still unclear for some other people and countries , that is why the current dissertation is going to shed light on some unclear points and aspects that led to the decrease of the American soft power after the Attacks of 11th September 2001.

7. Research Methodology

In trying to provide answers to the raised questions, the qualitative approach as well the descriptive and historical methods are going to be used.

8. Structure of the Study

The present study includes two chapters. The first one includes the theoretical part which includes some of the following titles: the definition of power and its various kinds, some causes of the attacks, and some negative results of the misuse of the American power after the 11th September attacks. The second begins with the aspects of the decline of the American soft power after the attacks of 11th September and it ends with a case study that compares between the soft power of the United States of America and China in the economic domain.

CHAPTER ONE

Types of Power and its Use

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Introduction

Soft power is a political notion or concept used in 1990 by the American professor Joseph S. Nye. The notion cannot be understood unless one clarifies, explains, and measures its results and consequences in the real world. Moreover, the relationship between the attacks of the 11th September, 2001 and the American soft power decline is going to be discussed. The first chapter focuses on the following: certain crucial and functional definitions such as the meaning of the keywords: attacks, impact, soft, power, as well, the practical definitions like the definitions of: hard power, smart power, great power and soft power. Besides in chapter one, the types of soft power, sources of soft power, instruments of soft power are going to be discussed. Furthermore, the chapter finishes with causes of the 11th September attacks and negative results of the misuse of the American soft power in Afghanistan and Iraq.

1.1. Definitions

Before discussing the impact of the 11th September attacks on the American soft power, one should shed light on the definitions of some terms and notions such as: Attacks, Impact, Soft, Power, Hard Power, Soft Power and Smart Power.

1.1.1. Attacks

The term attacks is used in many fields, especially in wars or civil life: according to Oxford Dictionary (Oxford English Dictionary, 2008) attacks as a noun means: (1) attempt to hurt or defeat somebody or something using force. (2) Also, it means strong criticism in speech or writing. (3) Short period when you suffer badly from a disease. The term attack as a verb has the meaning of trying criticising or defeat somebody or something using force. It means also criticise somebody or something severely. The following meanings can also be used: Have harmful effects on something, as well “Attack” can mean deal with something with a lot of energy and determination. The current study deals with “Attack” as an attempt to criticise or defeat somebody or something.

1.1.2. Impact

The second term used in the study is “Impact”, Which can be defined as strong effect that something has on somebody or something (Oxford English Dictionary, 2008). This is a noun, but as a verb it means have an effect on something or hit something with great force (Oxford English Dictionary, 2008). The current study deals with “impact” as a noun Which can be defined as strong effect that something has on somebody or something .

1.1.3. Soft

The word soft has the meaning of having a pleasant quality involving a subtle effect or contrast rather than sharp definition (Oxford Languages Dictionary, 2008). But, as an adverb “Soft” means in a quiet or gentle way (Oxford Languages Dictionary, 2008). The study deals with “Soft” wich means having a pleasant quality involving a subtle effect.

1.1.4. Power

The term “Power” according to Oxford Languages Dictionary as a noun means the ability to do something or act in a particular way (Oxford Languages Dictionary, 2008), it means also the capacity or ability to direct or influence the behaviour of others or the cause of events (Oxford Languages Dictionary, 2008).

After the definitions of the word power, as one of the keywords of this study, one should bear in mind that there are different kinds and types of power, so what are the other definitions of power and what are its types?

According to Mormile’s dissertation (MORMILE, 2017), power is not an easy word to be defined because it's so complicated and ambiguous notion. Many researchers and sociologists tried to find a conventional definition, one of those researchers is Weber who defines power as follows: Power is nothing more than the chance that men have to realize their own willingness through several actions against those who are contributing to the movement (Weber, 1946): The previous definition shows that power is a means to obtain what you like and achieve following the way you have previously chosen even if it's unlike other methods, in addition to the previous

belief of power by Weber, he also sees power as a means to exert authority in its different types: the Traditional Authority, the Charismatic Authority, and the Rational Legal Authority (Mormile, 2017; Weber, 1946). The three types of authority can be explained as follows: According to Weber, the former authority is a power acquired during centuries and that often belong to dynasty or to families. It is considered hereditary and Weber made a comparison with the medieval families so as to demonstrate his theory. While the first kind of authority has a hereditary feature, the second one tends to be the opposite. In this case, power is in the hand of a figure, chosen by subordinates, because of his own special and personal feature that determined his charisma: something that no one else has. Weber took as a case study MAHATMA GHANDI. The latter type of authority is frequently used in recent years and has replaced the traditional one. It consisted in the follow of norms and laws in order to elect a fundamental figure capable of ruling (Mormile, 2017). Power is a vague word and conception, It is also defined by another researcher, Joseph S. Nye, as the ability to get the outcomes one wants (Nye Jr, 2008).

After the previous definitions, one should bear in mind that power has different definitions. And that is based on the different contexts and as well it is depended on whether the possession of resources will produce such outcomes or results. In the old decades, it was believed that military power dominate most affairs, but in recent days or years, the context of power differs enormously on military, economic, and transnational issues or problems (Nye Jr, 2008).

Another practical definition of power that can be added according to the dictionary means the ability to do things and control others, to get others to do what they otherwise would not. the ability to control others is often linked and associated with the possession of some resources. Politicians, political scientists and diplomats commonly define power as the possession and owning of population, territory, natural resources, economic size, military, forces, and political stability (Nye, 2023b).

The current dissertation focuses also on the different notions, types, and kinds of power that is why one should clarify. In the coming lines the definitions of Hard Power, Soft Power, and the diverse types of Soft Power will be addressed or defined.

1.1.5. Hard Power

The notion or the concept of “Hard Power” can be defined as: Hard Power rests on an actor's capacity to get others to change their positions through either the making of threats or the proffering of incentives or it's known as, that is to say, hard power is the power associated with “Sticks and Carrots” (Nye Jr, 2004a). There is also another definition and meaning to what is called hard power that one should be aware of that is: hard power consists in the use of military and economic means to get others to change their opinions and positions, it's based on the use of coercion and payments and its strategies focus coercive diplomacy (Nye Jr, 2008).

1.1.6. Soft Power

In addition to what is known as hard power, there is the notion or the concept of Soft Power, which means: the use of a country's cultural and economic influence to persuade other countries to do something, rather than the use of military power (*Cambridge Dictionary*, 2019). Also, it has several definitions like: Soft Power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion, coercion or payments (Nye Jr, 2004a).

One should know as well that there are other definitions Of Soft Power that are used in the real world, especially in the political domain. As Nye points out, as “attraction” soft power is therefore exerted through the use of attraction; the co-option of others so as to get them to want what you want, to embrace (Nye Jr, 2004a). So, the overuse of the notion soft power as a useful weapon by the Americans leads to other types and kinds of the former notions and definitions.

1.1.7. Smart Power

Before speaking about smart power and its usefulness and practical side, one should know its definition. So, Smart Power as Joseph S.Nye points out: “Smart Power is the ability to

combine the hard power of coercion or payment with the soft power of an attraction into a successful strategy” (Nye Jr, 2008).

After the previous definitions and clarifications concerning hard power, soft power and smart power, one takes a clear vision that smart power is a combination of the two kinds of power (hard and soft powers). In addition to the first definition and meaning of Smart Power, another one can be added, Smart power means “the capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the actor’s purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently” (Wilson III, 2008). All the previous types and kinds of power are used in the world and especially by the American officials, leaders and their foreign policy makers, but each one has its positive and negative results, also each kind of power has its source, means and instruments.

As an addition to the information above, which concerns the concept or the notion of Smart power, Joseph S. Ney (2011) adds, “The concept of smart power – the intelligent integration and networking of diplomacy, defence, development, and other tools of so-called hard and soft power.” Moreover, the term smart power is linked only to the United States of America, the latter is referred to by certain analysis. Critics complain that the use of the term by the American political leaders is merely a slogan like ‘Tough love’ that sugar coats nasty stuff. But, even the notion or the term ‘smart power’ lands itself to slogans (No one wants and likes to be “dumb”), through counterproductive strategies goes and fits with that description. Smart power can also be utilised or used for analysis and is by no means specialised, limited and liked to the United States of America (Nye, 2023b).

1.1.8. Great-Power

As what was reported and cited by Joseph S.Ney,the famous historian A.J.P Taylor who wrote the book “The Struggle for Mastery of Europe in Nineteenth Century”, defined a great power as “a country that was able to prevail in war”. But, it is important to go beyond that

limited way of thinking about what power means in the twentieth century, and see it as much more three dimensional, including not only military power but also economic power and also soft power (Nye, 2023c). Also, great-power refers to the powerful and great countries such as Russia, China and other future powerful countries; Russia is a declining country and China is a rising country As Joseph S. Nye argues, “After al-Qaeda's attacks on September 11th 2001, American foreign policy focused on ‘Terrorism’ and particularly the Middle East region. Since 2017, however, attention in Washington has shifted more toward Asia and great-power competition. While those changes in priorities make sense, a strategy of great-power competition has two problems. First, it lumps together very different types of states. Russia is a declining power and China is rising power”(Nye, 2023b). In addition to the previous clarification of the notion great-power, one can notice that this term or concept represents a different issue or problem to the USA and the rest of the world countries as what is cited and argued in Nye's book, “a different problem is that the concept of great power rivalry is the new challenges, the USA and the rest of the world face” (Nye, 2023b). Furthermore, many specialists, researchers and specialised politicians or policy makers see and believe that national security and the global political agenda have changed since World War (1914-1945), but focusing and emphasizing solely on great-power rivalry strategy under appreciates the recent challenges, difficulties and threats from environmental and ecological globalization. Besides, policy makers and political scientists argue that rational great-power competition, vision or strategy needs and requires a wise and careful net assessment and evaluation. As a former Australian prime minister Kevin, Rudd has argued, “The objective of great-power competition with China is not total victory over an existential threat, but rather managed strategic competition” that will require America and China to avoid demonizing each other. They should instead see relationship as a “cooperative rivalry” that requires equal attention to both sides of the description at the same time. That will require face-to-face meetings, both at the level of leaders and the people, as well as the awareness of the new environment. On those terms, coping with that will be successful, only if

it is realised that this is not the great-power competition of the nineteenth or twentieth century (Nye, 2023b).

To sum-up great-power competition is unavoidable and inevitable and surely will be continued in a world of sovereign nations, countries and states, but cooperation and mutual help to approach and deal with the transnational threats, challenges and difficulties can simultaneously be hopeful and positive sum gain on the globe scene.

1.2. Types of Soft Power

Soft Power is a way or one of the different weapons used by some countries to settle problems and exert force on other countries to surrender then so as to achieve some economic or political aims, the former, Soft Power, has different kinds some of them are: (1) Using culture, using culture is one of the types of soft power, many European and West countries using their cultures to influence others, people or countries. America is one of these Western countries, it spreads its culture through organizing exhibitions and international events. They also use arts and fashion to attract foundations to invest their funds and money in the spreading and improvement of culture.

The previous aspects and affairs are so used to ameliorate and improve attractiveness, besides, influencing others' countries policy and the people's minds. Moreover, the use of music is another type of Soft Power that can impact others' minds, feelings and emotions, therefore others' countries policies and visions. Western countries, namely America, invites people so as to take part in festivals and contests. Another kind of Soft Power is through the use of science and technology as it is said "knowledge is power" (Noam Chomsky). Science and technology are so influential and useful means of attraction to support and sponsor scientific or medical inventions or discoveries in order to enhance a country's situation, placement and visibility. Furthermore, sport is another vital type and source of soft power especially nowadays, its impact and influence is so clear through financial measures and organizations or of big international

events, as examples Great Britain, China, America and other countries organized mega, sports events and Olympic Games to give good impression to the world about their power and policies. So, one should be aware of the diverse types of soft power in order to benefit from them in his personal life or as a leader or official to make one's country powerful and gain respect in the world as other Western countries like America (Mormile, 2017).

1.3. Sources of Soft Power

Soft Power is one of the three types of power used by the Americans to settle its issues and problems with other countries and the world in general has three resources as Joseph S. Nye declared: “Three main resources of soft power consisting of: culture, political values and foreign policies” (BELLAZI, 2018; Nye Jr, 2008). The previous three resources that soft power is based on cannot be effective and beneficial unless they are attractive to the other countries and nations and are also adopted and adapted legitimately by the authority of the home country or the country that wants to use them.

Before shedding light on these resources, the resources of soft power, one should have a look to the definition of certain terms and notions as culture: Culture is the set of values and practices that create meanings for a given society (Nye, 2004). So, culture as one of the major resources of soft power includes and consists of two principle types: popular culture as pop music, movies...etc and high culture like education, literature, history...etc. However, possessing and having cultural resources, it's not enough to attain one's goals and aims. There should be a need to some means to put these cultural resources into practice and make them attractive to a foreign population, through exchanges and other tools or means. Popular culture for instance, can be transported, exposed or transmitted among many values that a given society advocates or possesses. Television for example, can be used to convey and transmit the image of a given society, its symbols, its values and traditions. Sport for instance, can play a great role as a medium to convey political hidden letters and messages. Even Mega and popular sports events can play a vital role in communicating values (Nye, 2004). Besides to what is said previously,

high culture is as well an effective way and means in the implementation of soft power, the latter has a deep relation with the scientific and academic exchanges between nations and countries. It's assumed and believed that high culture is a very effective means and way in enhancing and deepening soft power. The Western countries especially America or the United States of America started applying each since a long time in history. A group of American researchers noticed that “the millions of people who have studied in the United States of America over the years constitute a remarkable reservoir of goodwill of our country” (Nye Jr, 2007).

The second resource of soft power is political values. Before discussing the nature of the second resource of soft power that is political values, one have to know its definition. So, political values are the political measures taken by a government. The values that its privileges in its domestic policy, its ideals and the nature of the regime being democratic or authoritarian. The values a government champions in its behaviour at home for example democracy in international institutions working with others and in foreign policy promoting peace and human rights strongly affect the preferences of others (Nye, 2004). Like what is said and written before, this resources need to be put into practice and in real life or world as the cultural resources, that is to say the results cannot be achieved or attained until the means and the ways used to be attractive and beneficial to the targets and designed population. The ideological system plays a vital role in the power of any country so, countries and nations should take it into consideration when they take any political, economic or social decision. As an example, Western countries are so attracted by the democratic ideologies due to their belief in free life and equal opportunities, the latter leads to the spread of values of democracy. For this course or reason, many countries started to defuse democratic ideas to upgrade the process of democracy.

The third source of soft power is foreign policy, which is considered by many scientists and researchers a pivotal resource as S. Nye points out: “some elements of foreign policy are considered as sources of soft power, as well”. He also states that: “the attractiveness of the United States also depends very much upon the values we express through the substance and

style of our foreign policy” (Nye, 2004). By substance he means and refers to the values of a country or a state conveys while making decisions of foreign policies. The values mentioned earlier can be attractive when they are shared, the example that can be given in this case and which is well known is Marshal Plan, which turns and makes the Europeans so happy and prosperous. Moreover, they accept it with pleasure and happiness. Furthermore, Nye refers to the ways used by the United States of America to manage its relationship and report with the other countries. When it wants or needs to influence and guide some distant governments concerning diverse affairs and issues as the proliferation movement, commerce, religious and ideological issues etc. Nye links the form and style of foreign policy to the attitudes of the foreign states and countries. That means, it does consult its co-friends or allies when making decisions. In addition, they think that it's probably in favour of unilateralism instead of being painful or harmful for its “Soft Power”(Nye, 2004).

1.4. Means of Soft Power

Soft power as one of the well-known types of power cannot be put into practice or in real world unless its means and instruments are known, so what are its famous means?

It should be noted that soft power can be implemented or put into practice through official forms that is to say by the institutions of the state or by non-official forms, that means by the civil society. Several researchers, politicians and scholars approve and agree that public culture is considered to be one of the most influential and effective non-official means of soft power, it's the accumulation or the gathering of attitudes, ideas, images that are preferred or favoured by other nations and countries (Smoot, 2012). The United States of America achieved and realized many of its foreign policy aims and objectives over the use of public culture: by spreading its ideologies, values, customs and traditions, and affecting other countries, preferences and choices. As Joseph S.Nye argues: “American popular culture embedded in products and communications has widespread appeal. Nicaraguan television, played American shows even while the government fought American backed Gerrilas. Similarly, Soviet-teenagers

wear blue jeans and seek American recordings and Chinese students protesters used a symbol that resembled the states of liberty during 1989 appraising (Nye, 2004). Exchanging programs also is one of the most important means of soft power, which belongs to non-official forms of soft power, the latter appeared in 1948, even before the appearance of the term or the notion “Soft Power”, the exchange of programmes was agreed and approved by the United States Exchange Community and the United States Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs that they represent a vital and great role in making and creating new relations, commitments and reports between the United States of America and the rest of the world nations (Ragavan, 2011). That’s why the students who go to the New World (USA) study there and get in touch with its culture, most time, they enjoy and appreciate it more and more, especially those who ignore their origins, values, traditions and principles. Joseph S. Nye says: “international students usually return home with a greater appreciation of American values and institutions” (Nye, 2004).

Now, let's have a look and shed light on the second type of the means of soft power, those that are called official forms or the government (state) means or instruments. For instance, exchanging programs as it is mentioned above can be put in real world or life through non-official forms but in case, the government administers manages them they become official. For example, the United States Full-bright Programme that was issued and created in 1946 emerged to be very successful in building bilateral relationships and reports with several countries and realizing or achieving many goals. It acts at promoting the American goodwill and intention through attraction high educated and well-versed foreign students to the United States and in the other side sending American students abroad. Moreover, foreign aids are considered so crucial and pivotal official instruments of soft power as an example, giving money to buy goods as economic aids for the development assistance and military aids for buying and purchasing arms (BELLAZI, 2018; Smoot, 2012).

One can add also to the means or instruments of soft power that are used by American governments or policy makers to exert soft power, easy globalization that is to create it and

invent it to serve the American interests and benefits. That is why some politicians in the world believe that globalization means or equals Americanization. As Thomas Friedman declares or writes in the Lexus and Oliver Tree, “The global economy ‘richly’ rewards countries and societies that meet its needs...Places that have strong property rights, open minds and a flexible attitudes ; but it inflicts devastating punishment on those who fail to live up to global standards”(Friedman, 2000).

1.5. Causes of the 11th September 2001 Attacks

After several readings and observations, one can notice that the causes of the eleventh September Attacks in America are so many, but in the current dissertation or study in the coming lines only some of them are going to be cited. Due to its harmful and abusive decisions and the policies, America creates and makes many opponents and enemies overall the world, the latter let's make it and its policies hated by foreign people and countries. So, one should know that the 11th September Attacks or events are only as reactions and results have their original causes. As what was written by many researchers and politicians, among these researchers Frank Luis Rusciano who points out: “what perceived grievance could motivate individuals on the other side of the world to plot and carry out suicide attacks within the United States?”. So, one can cite or should be aware that the American policy in the Middle or the Arab East as it's known in the Islamic culture, particularly the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the latter is one of the most important causes of the 11th September Attacks. Moreover, the weakness of many Muslim countries and nations as the results of the interior conflicts and rifts between the secular governments supported or backed by the Western countries and the forces that believe in the ability of the Islamic civilization to rule and lead the Muslim countries. Furthermore, it is important to do not forget or neglect the relationships among the events of September 11th and other forms of religious and ethnic violence since the fall of the Berlin Wall as other analysts said or noted out (Rusciano, 2006). As what was stated above, the causes and reasons of the eleventh September events are several. These events or attacks showed or heralded the first or the clear blow is a

“Clash of Civilizations”, Western versus Muslim. As the same writer points out, That is to say Mark Luis Rusciano, “In the aftermath of the Attacks on September 11th, 2001, an editorial writer stated in International Herald Tribune that these events heralded it the first blow in a “Clash of Civilizations”, Western versus Muslim” (Rusciano, 2006).

In addition to the above causes of 11th September events or attacks, one can add also the following reasons, as it is said and noticed by many politicians and diplomats that much anti-Americanism originates and finds its roots in the United States universal unilateralism, working and acting alone to promote its own special interests, benefits, and gains over all the world. In contrast to the initial USA Post-war policy of constructive unilateral globalism, moreover, Huntington as well believes that Much anti-Americanism in Muslim world is driven by USA foreign policies, despite all talk and speech of a clash of civilizations. He firmly believes that what he calls or terms the age of Muslim wars will only end and finish when it causes and reasons change or are changed, and he also reminds America that its double standards is a part of the reasons behind the violent responses of Muslims and Arabs (Huntington, 2001).

1.6. Negative Results of the Misuse of the American Power in Afghanistan and Iraq

After the 11th September Attacks, America or the United States of America reacted aggressively against some countries, firstly Afghanistan and secondly Iraq. Its overuse of force or power led to some negative results on America and on the world in general, as Joseph S. Nye has pointed out: “The Bush administration failed to use the USA hard power smartly, which accordingly does enormous damage to America's image all over the world. (Nye Jr, 2003). In addition to the negative image of America in the world, there are also other bad results as what was said by the PEW Research Centre and the Press reported in December 2002 that images of the United States of America had become increasingly tarnished in the public of NATO allies, former East European nations, developing nations and especially Muslim nations and on a variety of dimensions (Mcintosh & Stokes, 2002). Besides, one can notice that since the shock of the 11th September 2001, the United States of America has been sending and exporting fear and

anger to the foreign world as negative effects and results of the misuse of power, rather than exporting the America's positive and traditional values of hope and optimism. For instance, Guantanamo has become a more powerful global image or picture than the statue of liberty. In addition to what it is said previously, there are more negative results as a result of the misuse of the American hard power, that is to say, military power, such as what was done in Abu Ghrib and Guantanamo. This leads to create more new enemies, rivals and opponents to the American policy and values, also as what was stated previously after the attacks of eleventh September 2001, America took different new measures to protect itself, those measures were based on the use of hard power. On the contrary, instead of solving the problem, they made things worse. Its foreign policy or policies undertaken that time led to the emergence of what was called anti-Americanism, such as or like the famous two cases of Afghanistan 2001 and Iraq 2003 that undermined the image of the country and minimized its soft power abilities and forces (BELLAZI, 2018). In addition to what it was said above, one should also bear in mind that the misuse of the American hard power leads to unlimited negative and bad results over the world as the wars of Afghanistan and Iraq showed. The United States of America lost its position which became more vulnerable. In 2007, the BBC published an opinion Poll made on 25 countries, the results for USA were really negative and underlined that it played a negative role within the international scenario (BBC, 2007). Moreover, some polls conducted by Gallup International have found that America's policies had a negative impact on the total opinion of the United States and it showed that many Europeans consider the Americans' decisions as painful and harmful to the international community (Nye Jr, 2004b).

Conclusion

To conclude, The American soft power has been exercised on foreign countries since a long time. One can confirm that American gained a lot from the use of the different types of power, especially its soft power in 1990, but because of its negative practices and illegal interventions all over the world, the United States of America created many opponents, rivals

and enemies on the globe, and the attacks of the 11th September 2001 is just a sign of what was cited and discussed earlier. In addition, it shed light on some causes of the 11th September 2001 attacks and concludes with some negative results of the misuse of the American power in Afghanistan and the country of Iraq.

CHAPTER TWO

United States of America and China: Case Study

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Introduction

The search for power is the quest of Men in all domains, that's why powerful countries keep working hard to stay powerful. Nowadays, the USA represents an example of the previous ideas and thoughts. Chapter two discusses some aspects of the decline of the American soft power and the practical side of the relationship between America and China as a case study. It also gives an overview of the use of the American soft power with China in the economic domain. Moreover, the second chapter highlights the soft power policy of the USA in the economic field as well. The chapter also speaks about the soft power policy of China in the domain of economy and the Chinese relationship with the foreign countries, especially America. In the end, it concludes the discussion with the USA and China's future position and relationship on the global scene.

2.1. Aspects of the Decrease or Decline of the American Soft Power after the Attacks of September 11, 2001

Many researchers and the politicians, especially those who are concerned with the American policy note that the American soft power decreased after the 11th September events because of diverse reasons and causes, this decline or decrease can be seen or noticed through several aspects and different fields: these aspects and images of the decline of the USA's soft power has been discussed and debated by many specialists such as Joshua Kurlantzick who writes a political article about the decline of American soft power in 2005 (Kurlantzick, 2005). The article highlights with a certain aspects concerning the United States decrease of its power in general and the soft power in particular. As is shown in the results of a poll taken in the beginning of 2005 by the Lowy Institute, a respected Australian research organization, that the results are shocking in this survey, more than half of the Australian's questioned or polled had positive feelings about America, although 84% saw Japan positively and 68% viewed or saw the United Kingdom positively (Kurlantzick, 2005). Worse, 57% of Australians perceived the United States foreign policies as a potential threat and represents a danger even the historical

deep rapport and relation between the American and Australian governments (Kurlantzick, 2005). Moreover, Australia is not alone, there are many nations and countries made polls and suggested anti-American administrations feelings and sentiments that developed between 2002 and 2004 have changed and strengthened into a broader anti-Americanism. Also, a study issued in August by Anholt-GMI, an organization that placed the brands of the nation found that the questioned people from divergent countries or several nations placed and ranked the United States of America 11th overall in terms of its cultural, political, popular and business attractiveness (Kurlantzick, 2005). Besides, America was last in the domain of cultural heritage as Simon Anholt points out, “widespread scepticism about Americans’ wisdom, intelligence, and integrity”(Kurlantzick, 2005). He adds, “America's governance its cultural heritage, and its people are no longer widely respected or admired by the world” (Kurlantzick, 2005). In addition to what is said by the previous authors and researchers, Keith Reinhard, head of a coalition of Companies, Business for Diplomatic Action, declares, “Foreigners are transferring anger of the USA government to anger at the United States and anger at USA business” (Kurlantzick, 2005). Furthermore, the American war on Iraq has minimized the global acceptance of legitimacy of the USA role in the world and a number of America's actions has aggravated this decline. Other aspects concerning the decline of American soft power the new and multi-reports and relations of China with other countries in the world, the latter can be noticed through various and different ways. China international radio, the recent days broadcasts to South East Asia 24 hours per day and also the Chinese officials had augmented China's aid budget in many parts of Asia. Unlike America, China emphasizes mutual interests and promotes the idea of multi-polarity down playing any Chinese desire to dominate the region (Kurlantzick, 2005). The writer of the article concerning the American decline of soft power confirmed, “The evidence of America's declining attractiveness is both particular and widespread. It is specific in that many groups once drown to

the United States are now abandoning it, if they choose to avoid America, they are unable to witness American values and ideas first hand (Kurlantzick, 2005).

In addition to what it is said earlier and to the previous findings concerning the decline of the American soft power, other polls taken and done in 22 nations all over the world show that nearly all believed China does a more positive and effective rule in the world than the United States of America (Kurlantzick, 2005). As well, other polls and surveys done by different institutions show the approximately the same results. For instance, an April 2005 poll of 23 nations by the programme on international policy attitudes found that 20 countries want Europe to be more influential than the United States. Another poll or survey of Interbrand study of corporate marketing found that trust in American brands is declining. On the other hand, a 2004 poll done by the Global Market Institute revealed that some 60 percent of European countries French and German consumers have negative image and impression of American business and economy. As Hughes declares, “America's image and reputation abroad could hardly be worse” (Kurlantzick, 2005). All the previous aspects and other can depict and show clearly the decrease and decline of the United States of America's soft power. One also can add other practical real and obvious aspects or implications, such as: the drain in foreign talent coming to the America, the negative feelings against American firms, the increasing attractiveness to China and Europe (Kurlantzick, 2005). As what is said in the previous account that the aspects of the decline of the American soft power are so many, and the researchers who are numerous among them, John Bradley Kiesling who adds and quotes, “...this administration holds to the Roman emperor, Caligula's Maxim: ‘Let them hate as long as they also fear’ ” (Kurlantzick, 2005). the previous American diplomat expressed these feelings and sentiments in a message or a letter of resignation in protest against the decision to go to war with Iraq without the UN approval. The same opinion or point of view was given or believed by the other American diplomat John Brown who points out, “That is why I believe that we should expect the United States' soft

power to continue to fail in the globalising post-September 11th world, ushering in what has called anti-American century” (Kurlantzick, 2005). Moreover, other researchers like Emad El-Din Aysha in his article writes and mentions other aspects of the decrease of the American soft power such as the declining status of the public diplomacy budget seems to show that America's leaders have resigned themselves to the belief that military power alone can protect them against the long-term results or consequences of anti-Americanism (Aysha, 2005).

In addition to the cited aspects of the decline and the decrease of the United States soft power, one can add also the following ones: the military withdrawals from Iraq and Afghanistan, which represent a clear sign and image of the decline of the American strong hard and material abilities and capacities, therefore, the decline or the decrease of its image in the eyes of other countries and the whole world in general.

Anti-Americanism as an aspect of the decline of the American soft power is defined by many researchers and scholars as follows: Anti-Americanism in terms of actions or statements that involve sanctions or attacks against the policy, society, culture, and values of the United States (Rubinstein & Smith, 1988; Tai et al., 1973). The previous definitions depict nothing concerning the sources of these actions and statements. Other specialised scholars give a more complicated a complex vision or a point of view of anti-Americanism and conceptualise it as a form of prejudice, in which views towards the United States of America, are immutable, not reasonable and even obsessive (Berman, 2004; Haseler, 1986; Hollander, 1992; Minogue, 1986). The latter definitions don't give a full or clear explanation of how people and individuals are able to change their attitudes, opinions and views toward America over time. Moreover, other scholars give the following definition: anti-Americanism as an attitude, based on feelings within the context of fluid, inter-subjective social relationships and the ongoing updating of information about what the U.S. is and what is what it does. (Chiozza, 2007; Isernia, 2006; Katzenstein & Keohane, 2007). An effective and practical definition of anti-Americanism helps in providing

greater theoretical leverage than those that deal with it as immutable, or that don't give an explanation of how anti-Americanism emerges, originates and changes over time. It's not an easy task to characterise and operationalise anti-Americanism definition as a feeling or sentiment, because it is not a concrete thing or object. Most of the data about anti-Americanism are represented in a form of survey data from a various of polling organizations, institutions and centres. Such as the PEW Research Centre and the United States Information Agency, which typically administer standardised survey questions like: “do you have a very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable, or very unfavourable opinion of the United States of America?” Even though such a skilled answers permit for a large range of difference and variation in the extent to which a respondent evaluates his or her level of sentiment with or against America. The previous measures fail or don't succeed to address and reach those underlining components such as: cognitive, emotional, and normative elements that constitute or form the totality or the whole of an individual's view and opinion. The earlier data, that is to say the data gathered from the respondents concerning their feelings and sentiments towards America, helped in measuring the rate of anti-Americanism. Taking a snapshot of top line results from the PEW Research Centre's Global Attitudes Projects, depicts and portrays a substantial decrease in cross-national favourable opinion towards the American country since the beginning of the new millennium. When one have a look at the public opinion in some European countries such as: France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, Turkey...etc. In 2006, there is a dangerous and dramatic decline in approval of the American state in comparison with 1999/2000. In Great Britain, favourable attitudes and feelings towards the United States of America, fell or plummeted from 83% in 1999/2000 to 56% in 2006. In France and Germany, public sentiment toward the American nation according to the PEW Research Centre's Global Attitudes Projects, nose-dived along similar trajectories with 62% of French and 78% of German respondents reporting a favourable impression of the United States in 1999/2000, but after that only 31% and

37% in 2006, respectively. Russia and Turkey as well witnessed a steady erosion of popular respect and support for USA along the same gradients. Russian attitudes and sentiments towards the Americans were at a high in 2002 approval and welcome with 61% approval, but, decreased to 43% by 2006. In their turn, the Turkish people attitudes and feelings towards America were among the lowest in the world, declined from 52% in 1999/2000 to 12% in 2006. As among the exceptional cases Pakistan, where United States of America has spent and expanded more than \$10 billion dollars in foreign aids, has public sentiment toward the Americans being on gradual tendency and incline, even though it's not deep (Datta, 2009).

Also, one can notice that the decline of the American Soft Power can be seen in the United states of America shift from public diplomacy effort of the past, and towards subtle Soft Power guidance, which requires the building and founding of cultural, language and domestic or national image institute that must be a part of the equation. But, it should be clear and obvious that the gains of such an effort would maximise and outweigh the costs.

2.2. The Use of the American Soft Power with China in the Economic Domain

As it is known, United States of America is a super power on the international scene but, since a long time many countries and nations try to compete with it, one of these nations that is trying to be a universal power especially economically is China. The latter is struggling and doing its best to take the place and the position of America or it's working hard to gain an international status as Frank Luis Luciano states, “he clash between the Chinese government and other nations as a China struggles to achieve the international status that felt its sending as an emerging economic superpower warranted double” (Rusciano, 2006).

2.2.1. The Soft Power Policy of the United States of America in the Economic Domain

The USA of America is doing its best and all its efforts to remain a super power in all domains, and is trying to exert its soft power, especially on certain countries among them China,

which is the first rival, adverse and competitor to America, namely or solely, in the economic field. As it's known for all countries in the universe that America owes the powerful economy in the world and its annual budget is so high as Nye points out, "It's not whose army wins, It's also whose story wins. And we have to think more about narratives and whose narrative is going to be most effective." (Nye Joseph, 2010). Besides to what he said and written by politicians and researchers concerning the Americans of power, especially in the economic side, the latter can be seen and touched in the United States budget reserved to attract and exert its soft power and smart power on powerful countries or nations and China in particular as what is written in Kevin Brett and Todd Schaefer (Brett & Schaefer, 2019). By most standards, it's not common part lance. America or the New World is the one superpower, the universal leader. The United States of America is the first Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at 20.19 trillion dollar exceeding China's 13.11 trillion dollar (Statistics Times, 2018). And its economy accounted and is considered to be for a quarter of the world wide total in 2017 the largest and greatest (Gray & Gills, 2017). Moreover, in the military side or field, America is arguably the most powerful country on the globe, on the earth or universe.

The USA spends around 66 hundred billion dollar yearly or annually, far more than the estimated to 216 billion dollar by the second ranked or classified China. The states nuclear arsenal is rich and large at more than 600 warheads (Secondly, only to Russia) and more than 20 times its next closest competitor a remarkable universal or global benchmarks, it's first among 136 countries (www.globalfirepower.com, 2018). America also, used divergence and different ways or instruments to lead guide or attract its rivals or opponents as foreign aids, the latter are so crucial in exersing soft power. As it's mentioned in Bellazi Hanane's dissertation, "foreign aids are crucial officials instruments, which can be considered as forms of soft power" (BELLAZI, 2018). When the given money aims at economic aids for the development assistance and military aids for buying arms (Smoot, 2012). Furthermore, to remember that in late 1990s

and early or in the beginning of 2000s, the United States of America who's seen and considered as the greatest and the highest soft power in the world and exerted its influence on many countries, Russia and China in particular because they are its competitors universally. American soft power is touched and its superiority in information, technology powered America's economy and classified the American businesses at the highest or at the leading age of internet and IT revolution (Kurlantzick, 2005). In addition to all what is said and written earlier, the use of economy as an influential tool to exert, influence soft power by the USA is known and confirmed by lots of researchers, among the well-known ones is J.S.Nye who argues, "Soft power, essentially, is the ability of a nation to persuade and influence other countries not with threats or coercion, but through the attractiveness of its society, its values, its culture, and its institutions, and leaders of foreign countries view their policies as legitimate and want to follow their lead". As what Nye Jr, (2007) said also, "If I can get you to want to do what I want, then I don't have to force you." He also adds to what he mentioned, which concerns attractiveness, "this attractiveness can be conveyed through various means, including popular culture, public and private diplomacy, how a nation's leaders participate in multi-national organizations and other forums, businesses' actions abroad and the drought, gravitational pool of nations economic strength".

The United States of America's soft power in the economic domain is going to be less influential and less powerful as a result of its abusive use of the budget, the funds and the economic power against the weak countries in general or any country which adopts other policy that does not go with America's point of view. So, many nations, politicians, and academic researchers believe that the United States of America with its present foreign policy is finding and creating new enemies in all over the world in all domains: social, military, political, cultural and particularly in the economic field. The daily observations confirm and depict all what was believed, assumed and confirmed by the specialised institutions, politicians and researchers.

To sum, the USA is militating and resisting so much to impose itself on the universal scene as an influential and the powerful country in all domains, especially in the economic field, as a tool of the American soft power, but things are going to change in favour of China as a future power on the whole scene. So, one should and have to be aware and well-informed that the competition between America and China will be continued for decades in all domains, sites and aspects of life.

2.2.2. The Soft Power Policy of China in the Economic Domain

In trying to impose itself on the international scene, China expanded and spread not only its culture all over the world but also its language that had become well known by many people in the world and many populations want to learn it. Moreover, the spread of the Chinese culture attracts more students from foreign countries to live in China so as to study and know its values, principles and traditions, consequently they will be more attracted to China's policy. This process has led to the increase in the Chinese economy and to real economic boom (Mormile, 2017). On one side, China is becoming on the universal scene and has seen an international expansion in all domains, especially in the economic field. On the other side, the American education as an important means of soft power had a considerable decline, therefore a begging of decline in other fields namely, the economic domain and the policy. So, one has to know that the decline in the American education and other domains and the subsequent growth and progress in the Chinese one, coincides and goes with the 11th September 2001 (McGrath, 2004; Mormile, 2017). As what was said earlier, the Chinese soft power is increasing rapidly in different aspects, domains and fields. This increase is noticed and discussed by many researchers such as XU PING, Wang, LI who declares: “As a rising power with a global outlook, China has been regarded as a potential model for the developing countries in the 21st century” (Ping & Li, 2015). So, the competition between America and China is going faster so as to gain a status of greatness globally or on the world scene as XU Wang LI points out: “There are two races between China and the United

States today one is for national prestige based on hard power and another for image building in terms of soft power, China as a rising power has aspired for a status of greatness globally”(Ping & Li, 2015).

In addition to what is confirmed by several politicians and researchers concerning the exertion of the American soft power on China, especially in the economic domain, is still a rising power and its economy will be the first one in the world. The latter is seen and noticed since 2008, the financial crisis that has contributed and helped to the erosion of the American soft power influenced by calling into question the liberal capitalist model of modernity. That crisis was seen as a symbol or evidence by the world that China's economic power is finding its way universally. Also, the 2008 crisis was a direct cause that attracts the world to the China's authoritarian developmental model which is called or so-called “Beijing's consensus”, and China's own initiative to improve and promote its developmental model abroad (Xinhua, 2014). China's increasing ability or soft power to attract or grasp international attention is an obvious and a clear indication or sign of a dramatic decline in the United States of America's soft power.

The China's model that is promoted and improved by a great deal of the Chinese rulers as a type of attractiveness is considered and the perceived by the world media and the press as an attractive to liberal capitalism, and aims to mention and address why these processes reflect the decline of America's soft power. China on the other hand is trying to impose and spread its model that is to say it's technical, cultural, military and especially economic model, as what is said in the Beijing's consensus. What draws more international attention is China's financial strength loomed behind its overseas cultural promotions. The spectacular growth or prosperity of Chinese economy over the past few decades has been so enough to finance the language training programs. On contrasts, Stefan Halper clarified this point in 2009 as law makers in Washington and London wrangled over where to find the cash to pay for expensive stimulus plans, the

Chinese government unveiled an ambitious budget of 45 billion RMB (then approximately 6.8 billion USA dollar) for a new project literally called “Overseas Propaganda”.

As what was noticed and declared by most political scientists and researchers, China has changed completely in all most domains so as to impose itself on the universal scene, especially in the economic domain as an aspect of its soft power, as what was written by S.Ney in his book “Soft-Power and Great Power: Competition shifting Sands United States and China” (Nye, 2023b). China's relatively weak military position and emphasis on a peaceful raise have made “soft-power” an attractive option for China, leveraging its cultural and economic resources with programs like the Confucius Institute and the Belt and the Road Initiative, while these programs have made headway with developing nations, China's position on both domestic and foreign issues has created a fundamental rift with the West and even neighbouring countries. The question is how can China get “smart” on how it uses soft power?(Nye, 2023b). Many observers tried to depict China's soft power these days by analysing both sides, its strength and weaknesses. On the positive side, to many people all over the world, China's improvement and admirable in sustaining the high rate of economic progress and growth over the past 30 years, that has helped the Chinese inhabitants get rid of poverty. The economic and social development would not have been achievable if China's political institutions were not strong and powerful. Whether its performance has provided and produced a developmental model (Beijing Consensus) for other nations to follow that can be subject to discussion and other points of view. But, a continued economic growth, progress and power as well social capital have surely boosted and asserted China's confidence, pride and capacity to send out its political power and cultural impacts to its neighbours and other foreign countries all over the world (Nye Jr & Jisi, 2009). All in all, in recent years there has been an important interest in the notion of soft power in the minds of the Chinese policy makers, strategic studies and programs. Soft power cannot be neglected in the China’s grand strategy, as an evidence and mentioned by its crucial role in conceptualisation

of CNP (Comprehensive National Power). Three mechanisms and systems through which soft power can back the PRC's (The People's Republic of China) long-term progress and development have been debated. Firstly, their efforts to gain international respect and mutual understanding of each Confucian values, culture, principles, traditions and its heritage in general, and namely to court students. Secondly, their involvement of its leadership status in the third world, and focus on “economic diplomacy”. Thirdly, their plans and policies through which the Chinese can improve their image as a responsible power within the Asian countries. China's soft power development can be discussed, judged and investigated for more and further research studied and identified, along three interlocking dimensions. The first one is the degree to which the non-coercive strategies identified in discourse and debate can by themselves be beneficial in shaping an international environment conducive to and coping with China's long-term growth. Certain plans and programs, like cultural initiatives, and appeal of the “Beijing Consensus” have already been judged and criticised by specialists and strategists. However, it is questionable that any programs or plans don't bear directly on other countries' foreign policies, as Confucius Institutes, amelioration in peace-keeping operations and efforts to reach more balanced progress and growth within China, will have an effect on the ways in which others treat the PRC, at least in the short term. Studies to determine the casual mechanisms over which these kinds of programs affect actually the foreign policies of other nations towards China had better be continued. The second one is whether and the level to which the different aspects China's soft power are mutually compatible. In essence, the analysis has neglected and abandoned the desire to depict and the project three disparate images to the foreign countries: one, as an ancient civilisation needs to be respected. Two, as a leader and a guide of developing nations and the attendant focus on the norm of a country sovereignty. Three, as a new and modern state that welcomes and accepts to the Western-led universal order. The third one, one should know that there is a raised question by the specialised researchers and analysts that is whether China's

non-coercive plans and strategies may effectively blunt the international anxiety and panic resulted from its hard power improvement, particularly its quest and research for scarce resources, its growing and developing economic prowess, and also, its rapidly modernising military. Even though specialised strategists have noticed and identified methods in which this may be reached and realised. Foreign leaders and the peoples of other countries are as well exposed to information concerning the negative side of China's growth through intelligence collection, the media commentators, besides divergent other channels. The writer of the article adds a remark and points out, “Unfortunately, there is little mention in the discourse about the probability that any of the strategies suggested therein may ultimately be capable of making a dent in concerns by actors within Asia and around the world that China's rise will truly be a ‘peaceful’ one. For this reason, ongoing research on the determinants of global perceptions of China should be sustained with an eye to the relative efficacy of China's growing soft power” (Wuthnow, 2008).

China as an augmentable economic power is working hard and doing its best to place or rank itself in a high position in all fields, especially in the economic domain all over the world. The previous vision that is to say, the high position of China, is touched, confirmed and approved by divergent and several politicians, nation and specialised researchers.

The Chinese powerful economy as a means of China's soft power is seen and noticed in the daily life in all aspects and domains, lifestyles, agriculture, technology...etc. Also, the Chinese soft power was discussed and noticed in the past and recent years. For instance, China under Mao founded and built its military strength (including nuclear weapons) and used the soft power of Maoist revolutionary doctrine and developing countries to gain allies abroad, but the Maoist strategy in 1970s, the Chinese policy makers turned to the market mechanisms to shape and foster economic development. In the year 2007, the Chinese president Hu spoke and proclaimed the importance of investing in China's soft power. From the viewpoint of a country

(China) that making large and enormous strides in economic and military power. The latter was a smart strategy as what Joseph S.Nye cited, “By accompanying the rise of its hard power with efforts to make itself more attractive, China aimed to reduce fear and tendencies to balance Chinese power that might otherwise, grow among its neighbours”(Nye, 2023b).

2.3. United States and China Future Position on the Global Scene

No one can doubt that America and China are to pivotal powers in the world, especially in the two famous fields, economy and military. The United States is doing its best to keep its position and status on the world's been in all aspects of life: culture, economy, education, foreign policy, military...etc. But many policy makers, politicians and researchers confirmed that the American soft power in particular is decreasing and declining because of its negative and bad practices in divergent spots or countries in the world, as a well-known examples, the American practices in Iraq and Afghanistan during its war concerning what was called the War on Terror. On the other side, others see that America is still powerful and it's resisting to remain a superpower that is to say it possesses hard, soft and smart power and the latter can be seen in its military and economic powers. China on the other hand, as a powerful and huge country is working hard to gain a prestigious position or image on the globe scene. And this can be felt and seen in different domains such as the spread of its language, culture, values, traditions, military inventions and discoveries, and in the fast development of the Chinese economy, as Joseph S. Nye, J.R. writes in his book “is the American century over?”. For more than a century, the United States has been the world's most powerful state. However, some analysis predicts that China will soon take its place. The latter urges Joseph S.Nye to rise the following questions: “Does this mean that we are living a post-American world? Will China's rapid rise spark a new cold war between the two Titans?” (Nye Jr, 2015).

As what was confirmed and believed that China’s soft power is increasing in comparison with America, one should bear in mind and take into account that belief is argued by many

researchers and politicians as what Halper declared, “China’s economic success is due to the successful integration of government led growth model into the world economy. In the process, the political structure remains stable, that enabling the authoritarian government to mobilise the social resources for its power seeking activities in international politics”(Halper, 2010). Moreover, many other countries, researchers and politicians believe that the Beijing Consensus is a creation or an invention of Western nations in response and answer to the noticeable, touchable and perceived American decrease. Besides, one should notice that China's universal practice and behaviour in the new and recent years also participated to the appearance of the Chinese consensus. The capital of China is transmitting the message that the Chinese country has the ability and required qualities to take the leadership status or position that Washington which represents America could no longer afford. It is seen that the Beijing consensus depicts or reflects the declining and decreasing confidence in the United States of America's ability or capability to lead and the prediction or expectation for an alternative leadership. The consensus of Beijing may be a passing fad, the consensus carries and includes particular implications and indications for America's soft power. As it is known that soft power is a function of image in the audience and the people's minds. The appearance or the emergence of the Beijing consensus is a good sign, signal, indication or an index of the decline of USA's soft power (Ping & Li, 2015). The discussion or the debate concerning American and China will not have an end soon, as several political scientists and researchers confirm and believe, an example of what was declared previously as Joseph Nye’s citation in his book, “Soft Power and Great-Power, Competition Shifting Sands the United States and China”, who writes a variety of visions or perspectives on the nature of the American soft power and its universal rule (Nye, 2023b). A smart observer, reader or specialist can notice some changes and differences of emphasis over the past years, but as well challenges difficulties and hindrances. The United States of America and China are without doubt two greatest and largest economies in the globe; China is rising and developing

power and America a real and an established power, but the latter doesn't lead to a war or an armed conflict which would be devastating for the two great nations. On the contrary, both countries can benefit and gain from cooperation. While level or degree of Great-power competition is inevitable and unavoidable. It would be better to think of it in terms of a managed and discussable competition or a cooperative rivalry (Nye, 2023b).

China's size and high rate of economic growth will almost surely augment its relative power and strength towards the United States of America in the coming years. The latter will certainly make the Chinese country closer and nearer to the American country in terms of power resources, but China will not necessarily defeat the USA which is considered as a powerful country nowadays. Even if China faces no great domestic political pitfalls, many present projections based on GDP progress also are too one-dimensional: they ignore and neglect the United States military and soft power benefits, also China's geo-political negative points in the international Asian balance of power. The estimation by political researchers is that among the different and divergent possible futures, the more practical and likely scenarios are those in which China gives America a run for its money, but does not overcome it. According to Nye's opinion, in overall power in the first mid of this century. Most crucially, the United States of America and China ought to avoid developing excessive fears of each other's capacities and intentions. The prediction and expectation of war and conflict can itself become a reason of conflict. In the real world, China and America don't have profoundly and deeply rooted conflicting interests. The two countries along with others, have a lot of affairs to benefit from cooperation and mutual help (Nye, 2023a).

In brief, one should bear in mind that America and China remain two global powerful actors in all domains and aspects, each one of them is trying to exercise, influence or impose its soft power on other foreign countries and also on each other. That is to say, the competition between China and America will not be ended soon, and will last for many years because the two

nations are working hard and doing their best to remain powerful. However, certain policy makers, observers, researchers and political scholars or thinkers predict and believe that sooner or later China will be the alternative power of America. And this will be seen as a reality in the coming years because of the American misuse of the different kinds of powers and also as a result of the Chinese officials and peoples' hard work in all domains and aspects of life, namely, the military and economic ones.

Conclusion

As a conclusion of chapter two, one should take into consideration that power is like Men's life or the wheel of civilisation; emerges, develops and then falls or declines. As a result of its negative practices and applications, America lost a lot of its soft power, the aspects of the decline of the American soft power that were discussed in chapter two represented a clear proof of its decline. Furthermore, the present and the future competition or conflict between America and China and how that conflict would be ended or managed is another sign of the discussed decrease. Consequently, one have to benefit from the previous information, thoughts and ideas of both chapters so as to have an obvious and clear vision for the future relationship concerning the soft power between countries and even people in general.

General Conclusion

The quest for power is the demand and the occupation of people and countries so that is why many nations tried to be powerful by using different means, instruments and Several types of power to achieve their aims. Among those countries, America which is concerned by many countries as the powerful country in the world. But many politicians and researchers assume and confirm that its power, namely its soft power, is decreasing after the attacks of September 11th 2001 as the result of its negative political practices toward other foreign nations. The current study aimed to shed light on the causes and the aspects of the decline of the American soft power and answer the raised questions concerning the relationship between the 11th September Attacks and the decline of the United States soft power. After many readings, investigations and comparisons of different studies, one can notice that the results can confirm the reported hypothesis which assumed and predicted the gradual decline and decrease of the American soft power after September 11th 2001 events and its rival China will replace and take America's place or status in the world. In addition to what is said and confirmed earlier, one should bear in mind that power has different kinds like: soft, hard and smart power, also it has different instruments that should be put into practice. Furthermore, the study shows that America is fighting and militating to keep its soft power towards the most countries of the universe, and China in particular. Moreover, the study confirms that the conflict between the United States and China will continue for a long time in all domains and fields, especially in the military and economic ones.

The current study answered all the raised questions, the definition of power which briefly means the ability to get the outcomes one wants, the meaning and the notion of soft power that means attraction, soft power is therefore exerts through the use of attraction, the co-option of others so as to get them to want what you want, to embrace. Moreover, the study gave answers also to the other questions, such as the kinds or the forms of power that include hard power, soft

power, smart power, as well great-power. It also shed light on the main instruments and means of soft power, which include the official forms and non-official forms, globalization and so on. In addition to the previous answers, the dissertation responded to questions concerning the policies and the strategies used to put and make soft power effective, useful and beneficial. The study has finished with a case study as a practical example of the American soft power, especially in the economic domain against the world and China in particular.

In sum, one should bear in mind and take into account or into consideration that the 11th September 2001 events or attacks have influenced greatly the American soft power and its results will stay for a long time and have long-term implications on the USA soft power and on the world in general. As well, the conclusions gained, benefited or taken from the current dissertation or study provide others with precious insights, hints and tips that the other nations should benefit wisely from and put them into practice so as to be successful, influential and powerful.

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ملخص

تتحدث الدراسة وتدرس تأثير القوة الناعمة الأمريكية بعد هجمات 11 سبتمبر 2001. تهدف الدراسة إلى الحصول على فكرة أو نظرة عامة حول أسباب وجوانب تراجع القوة الناعمة الأمريكية بعد أحداث 11 سبتمبر. تحاول الدراسة تزويد الجمهور المعني بالمعلومات والمعرفة اللازمة بخصوص تراجع القوة الناعمة للولايات المتحدة. لتحقيق أهداف الدراسة، تم استخدام النهج النوعي بالإضافة إلى المنهج الوصفي والتاريخي. كما يتم استخدام دراسة حالة لمقارنة القوة الناعمة الأمريكية بالقوة الناعمة الصينية. بعد قراءات وتحليلات وملاحظات وتفسيرات متعددة، تؤكد الدراسة أن القوة الناعمة الأمريكية تتراجع وتنخفض بعد هجمات 11 سبتمبر 2001 نتيجة الممارسات السلبية للولايات المتحدة أو سياساتها الخارجية وصانعي السياسات فيها. علاوة على ذلك، يتوقع العديد من السياسيين العالميين بشكل مؤكد أن الصين ستكتسب جاذبية وتأخذ مكانة الولايات المتحدة في الساحة العالمية عاجلاً أم آجلاً. يمكن أن تساعد الدراسة صانعي السياسات في العالم على أن يكونوا حذرين وحكماء عند اتخاذ القرارات المتعلقة بمصالح الدول الأجنبية لتجنب النزاعات والحروب كما يحدث الآن في العالم بين الولايات المتحدة والدول الأخرى التي تعارض السياسات الخارجية الأمريكية في القضايا المدنية والمسائل المشتركة.

كلمات مفتاحية: هجمات، تأثير، ناعمة، قوة.