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## **Exploring Perspectives of U.S. Soft Power**

**The Marshall Plan and the War on Terror as  
Cases Studies**

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*In English*

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# *Dedication*

*To my beloved family*

*And*

*To all my friends*

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*First of all, I would like to thank "Allah" who guides and gives me the patience and capacity for conducting this research.*

*I wish to extend my sincere thanks to the Department of Foreign Languages at Mohammed Zheider University, Biskra.*

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## **Abstract**

The present thesis intends to explore some of the perspectives of U.S. soft power. This power is based on the attractiveness of the American culture, political values, and foreign policies. The present study focuses on two policies when the United States tried to deploy its soft power. It probes the question about the circumstances that led the United States to rely on the strategy of soft power in the following two cases. The first case is the American reconstruction of Western Europe after the World War II 1948-1952 under a program called the Marshall Plan. During that period American policy makers made attempts to use soft power tools, for instance, public diplomacy, and foreign aid. The United States was able to manage a successful soft power campaign because it was able to understand the concerns of its target people. It succeeded also because American policy makers recognized how to achieve their national interest without offending any of the concerns of Western Europeans. The second case is the American policy of countering terrorism in the twenty first century. By contrast to the first case, the United States was not able to achieve any success for various reasons. The major reason beyond that failure was due to the absence of the American credibility. The United States tried to build national security without paying attention to the interests of its target people like those of the Middle East. As a result, instead of getting favorable opinions due to legitimate policies, the United States got opposition because it has put little consideration to human rights.

## ملخص

يعنى هذا البحث باستكشاف بعض خصائص القوة اللينة الأمريكية المبنية على جاذبية الثقافة الأمريكية قيمها السياسية، وسياستها الخارجية. ركز هذا البحث فقط على سياستين أين حاولت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية استعراض قواها اللينة. هذه الدراسة تفحص الظروف التي دفعت أمريكا إلى الاعتماد على هذه القوة في الحالات التالية. الحالة الأولى هي المحاولة الأمريكية إلى إعادة اعمار أوروبا الغربية بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية 1948-1952 في إطار برنامج يدعى مشروع مارشال صناع السياسة آنذاك استعملوا بعض وسائل القوة اللينة مثل الدبلوماسية العامة والمساعدات الخارجية حيث إنها استطاعت أن تحقق نجاحا لأنها تفهمت شؤون ومصالح تلك الشعوب. إضافة إلى ذلك فقد أدركت كيف تبلغ أهدافها الوطنية بدون أن تؤذي مصالح أوروبا الغربية. الحالة الثانية هي الحرب علي الإرهاب في القرن الواحد وعشرين. علي غرار الحالة الأولى فان الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية لم تكن قادرة علي تحقيق أي نجاح. هذا الفشل كان سببه الرئيسي غياب المصادقية فقد حاولت الولايات المتحدة أن تحقق أمنا وطنيا بدون أن تضع أي اعتبار لحقوق الإنسان.

## Acronyms

<b>CoCom:</b>	<b>Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Control</b>
<b>ECA:</b>	<b>Economic Cooperation Administration</b>
<b>ERP:</b>	<b>European Recovery Program</b>
<b>FOA:</b>	<b>Freedom of Information Act</b>
<b>GATT:</b>	<b>General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs</b>
<b>IGOs:</b>	<b>Intergovernmental Organizations</b>
<b>NATO:</b>	<b>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</b>
<b>NGOs:</b>	<b>Non-Governmental Organizations</b>
<b>OEEC:</b>	<b>Organization for European Economic Cooperation</b>
<b>PSYOPS:</b>	<b>Psychological Operation</b>
<b>UN:</b>	<b>United Nations</b>
<b>USIA:</b>	<b>U.S Information Agency</b>
<b>USSR:</b>	<b>Union Soviet Socialist Republics</b>
<b>USTAP:</b>	<b>United States Technical Assistance Program</b>
<b>VOA:</b>	<b>Voice of America</b>
<b>WMD:</b>	<b>Weapons of Mass Destruction</b>
<b>WWII:</b>	<b>World War the Second</b>

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## **Introduction**

*“When you have a big Stick, it is wise to speak softly” (Teedy Roosevelt)*

*(Nye, Soft Power 68).*

Foreign policy is a process conducted with other countries, and it is based on the combination of two elements: interest and security. One of the objectives of the United States is to live in security at internal and external levels. In the course of its history, America has conducted its foreign policy according to its security by two ways: military threat and pressure, or through economic domination and political subversion. The latter is the origin of the American soft power. Some observers argue that it is an intelligent strategy in foreign policy. It is the ability of one nation to make another do something that it would never do in other cases. Although Joseph Nye was the first to use the term “Soft Power” in 1990, Barbara Haskell was the first to discuss the idea of information as a power in her article “Access to Society: A Neglected Dimension of Power”. Soft power is also called Co-Optive power which is the ability to shape what others want. Its resources are culture ideology, values, and institutions. They have no physical existence, they are difficult to understand, and they are impossible to measure.

There are certain conditions under which deploying soft power can gain success and acceptance. The basic instrument of soft power is public diplomacy, which is the interaction with foreign governments and primarily with nongovernmental individuals and organizations and presenting a different view besides the government’s view. While diplomats are presenting their views and sending public diplomacy messages, there are three elements that those messages must have. First, the source of the message must be credible, trustworthy, and should not contain any intentions of self-interest or arrogance. Second, the content of the message must be attractive and persuading. Third, the

recipients of the message should have the ability to communicate, and this can be only by the presence of a marketplace of ideas.

Soft power is a strategy that shares common thoughts with liberalism as an ideology, and as a political and intellectual movement. The more countries have access to liberal norms the more they are able to gain an effective soft power. This latter supports peaceful relations among countries, and encourages economic investments. Liberalism defends civil liberties and free market. It is the most influential force in the post Cold-War era. Liberal scholars believe that economy could enhance the power and security of states. Moreover, Liberalism stands at the idea that mutual benefits of trade and economic interdependence will lead to foster cooperative relations. To sum up, economic investments and open market can unify people.

Throughout its history, the United States of America has organized different soft power campaigns. However, this work is concerned only with two specific cases. The first case is The Marshall Plan which occurred after the Second World War between 1948 and 1952. It is a classical example of an American soft power project. The plan aimed at the reconstruction of Europe. It was an economic and political rebuilding program. Indeed, such program could enhance the image of the American president in the eyes of the globe as well as it could push many nations towards capitalism rather than communism. The second case is the American War on Terror by the beginning of the twenty first century. This struggle needs to collect hearts and minds for its support, and hard power-military and economic power- is not an effective tool all the time. The United States of America declared that it will wage a war of ideas against international terrorism.

The present proposal is an attempt to inquire into some perspectives of U.S. soft power in two specific periods of its diplomatic history, the Marshall Plan and War on Terrorism. It deals with its nature, its motives and basically its origins and circumstances.

In light of what has been said, the research will deal with a major research question:

Why did the United States rely on soft power policies in the cases of the Marshall Plan and the War on Terror?

Through the proposed research, we are going to probe the administrations goals to depend on soft power policy in the cases we have chosen. The administrations we are concerned with them here are the Truman administration that announced for the Marshall Plan, and George W. Bush administration which declared the Global War on Terrorism. Moreover, we shall focus on the economic and political challenges that motivated the United States to conduct its foreign policy by depending on soft power.

This research is worth doing in the sense that it makes students of international relations understand how America is related to the rest of the world. It is significant as it makes us understand the nature of an aspect of the American power. This study has an important significance because it provides the major perspectives of United States soft power and the common circumstances under which America can implement soft power projects.

The Marshall Plan and the War on Terror are appropriate cases in this study for reflecting the perspectives of the United States' Soft Power. The selection of these cases offers an important advantage for our research and question. By focusing on two presidential administrations we maximize our ability to generalize our findings.

Furthermore, this selection is good because even if we find differences between the results of two soft power campaigns, we can relate them to the government's efforts and not to the soft power resources.

Through these cases we will recognize the importance of soft power in U.S modern history. The fact that the Marshall Plan determined the future of Europe is important to trust the important role of soft power in the Foreign policy of the United States of America.

In order to explore the research question, we are going to rely on the descriptive, historical and analytical types of methods. Description will be used to explain different concepts, and historical events. Indeed the analytical approach will be effective in investigating the roles of some speeches, legislations and acts that has contributed in the adaptation of soft power in certain times of U.S. foreign policy. We will rely also on primary and secondary sources written by different scholars in the field of U.S foreign policy and international relations.

Through this thesis we investigate the concept of soft power, its roots and its definition. In addition, we deal through the world conditions that influenced America to adopt soft power as a strategy in foreign policy.

In this research we are not interested in describing chronologically the different acts of the Marshall Plan, or the emergence and the evolution of the terrorism. The core of the study is to detail how effective the various tools of soft power were used by the U.S government in the two cases. It intends also to investigate the results and the achievements of the Marshall Plan and the War on Terror.

The present thesis is divided into three chapters, this introduction and a conclusion. The first chapter is devoted to explore the strategy of soft power. In this

part of the work, an attempt has been made to cover perspectives of United States soft power, its tools, its resources, and its basis which is the liberal philosophy. Moreover, it tackled the issue of how private public diplomacy can enhance America's soft power. The chapter ends with a small discussion about the vulnerabilities that characterized some aspects of soft power

The second chapter is like an evaluation of the degree of success characterized American soft power campaign during the reconstruction of Western Europe 1948-1952. It investigates the efforts and the information campaign made by Marshall Planners which guided their plan into an infinite success. The European Recovery Program helped the United States to achieve its international interests which were defeating communism by helping Western European nation to embrace the principles capitalism.

The American attempt to use soft power tools to counter terrorism in the twenty first century is the concern of the third chapter. The latter emphasizes the failure characterized American efforts to project soft power in Muslim countries, especially in the Middle East. It begins with prospect of the tools implemented by the United States government such as foreign aid, information campaign, and the role of diplomatic leaders. Within this context, the chapter reveals that the United States was not in the race for getting favorable opinions compared to the great effectiveness of the terrorists on the people of Middle East. That failure was due to the credibility gap while the most important reason was that soft power was not taken seriously.

## **Chapter One**

### **The Strategy of Soft Power**

#### **1.1. Introduction**

Before examining the motives beyond the United States policies of Marshall Plan and the War on Terror, it is important to understand the strategy of soft power. The United States is famous for its foreign national strategy of defense which embodied on its military power. Despite this fact, that strategy was substituted in different circumstances by a number of policies that rely on soft power as an act in foreign policy. This chapter is a way to grasp the meaning of soft power. It deals with the concept of soft power, its resources, its origins, and its relation with public diplomacy and the liberal philosophy.

#### **1.2. Definition of Soft Power**

Power is the ability to get from others what you want. In the international system, employing power among countries can be undertaken by three ways. It can be done through military threat, through economic pressure, or by non-material inducement. This latter is called soft power. Joseph Nye defines Soft Power as “The capability of a nation to achieve the desired objectives through diplomatic persuasion by employing a deep knowledge of culture and history” (Syed Arif P1). Thus soft power is the ability to win support without using either coercive military, economic pressure, or offering material inducements.

Joseph Nye argues in his book *Soft Power: the means to success in world politics* that the United States has a good deal of soft power. He gives various examples of soft power from the American history. One of them was the impact of Franklin Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms in Europe by the end of the Second World War. He adds

that the American Bill of Rights is an example of soft power. In 2001 Afghans asked for a copy of the Bill of Rights. This is soft power when you make other nations admire your culture, your political values, and your policies (x).

The basic instrument of soft power is public diplomacy that broadcasts its resources (culture, political values, and legitimate foreign policies) to foreign people. Effective public diplomacy implies listening as well as talking. In order to deploy soft power effectively, the United States needs to understand what is going in the minds of others. It is crucial to know what values and ideals they appreciate. Soft power means to get others want what you want. The task of public diplomacy is to make other understand a country's culture, institutions, and political values (Nye, "Public Diplomacy" 103).

### **1.3. Soft power Vs Hard Power**

The United States of America can conduct its foreign policy by depending either on its hard power, soft power, or a combination of the two. Soft power is the power of attraction and seduction while the former is the power economic and military command. Both aspects of power can help the United States to affect the behavior and preferences of others, as a result, the United States can reach its desired objectives.

Hard and soft powers share the same aim which is getting the most wanted objectives for the United States, but they depend on different resources while conducting foreign policy. In term of resources, hard power uses the military force and the rule of economic domination. By contrast, soft power resources are intangible; they depend on the attraction of country's culture, political values, and the legitimacy of its foreign policies. Hard power resources can lead to change what others do while soft power resources aimed to shape what others want (Zahran and Ramos 17).



The following table drawn by Harvard's professor Joseph Nye is the best illustration of the differences between soft and hard power.

**Table 1.1.** Differences between Soft and Hard Power (Nye, *Soft Power* 8).

	Hard Power	Soft Power
Spectrum	coercion                      Inducement	agenda Setting                      attraction
Of Behaviours	Command ←                      *                      *                      →	*                      *                      → Co-opt
Most likely resource	*Force                      * Payment *Sanctions                      *Bribes	*Institutions                      *Values *Culture                      *Policies

Hard power is the use of command to change the preferences of the target. Command is a form of authority practiced upon the targeted audiences and it can be done by various ways. It can be done through threatening one nation by force, the use of economic sanctions, or the use of economic power for the sake of payment and making bribes.

Whereas hard power resources are associated with the spectrum of command behavior, soft power resources are purely based on attraction. Co-optive power which is the ability to frame the interest of others depends on the attractiveness of country's culture, values, legitimate policies, and the ability of setting the agenda. The target audiences are more likely to be perceptive in given course of actions. One way of establishing this situation is agenda setting. The latter means to list number of topics.

Diplomats have to focus on limited issues while communicating with the target people. Moreover, they can set the agenda by staying on a message i.e. emphasizing and repeating the same message for a long period of time (Pratkanis 113,131). Limitation of the topics of discussion impact effectively public opinion because they become overwhelmed by the discussed issues and then they became unable to express their preference (Nye, *Soft Power* 7).

#### **1.4. The Origins of Soft Power**

Soft power is an American idea that originated in the 1970s during the Vietnam War. The American armed forces were paralyzed and the United States was suffering from economic decline. At that time, U.S scholars Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye advanced the concept of “Interdependence”. They implied that true interests of states do not completely depend on conflict and violence. Such ideas of soft power became a kind of counter-orthodoxy and started to develop and to maintain intellectual respectability (Proudman 336-337).

The idea of soft power was first advanced by the American political scientist Joseph Nye in his book *Bound to Lead: the Changing Nature of the American Power* (1990). Since then, the concept has gained important attention. Even the secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates stated on 26 November 2007 that “.....I am here to make the case for strengthening our capacity to use soft power and for better integrating it with hard power” ( Garcia, Rake and Yunt 16). In addition, Robert Cooper has noticed in his article “Hard Power, Soft Power and the goals of Diplomacy” that a society based only on hard power does not deserve a name of society. He also claims that if every relationship depended on coercion, alliances would be impossible (169).

*Bound to Lead* is a reply to a group of American foreign policy scholars, the declinists, who emerged during the 1980s. They claimed that the American military and economic power was becoming weaker. The declinists feared that United States was losing the influence of its hard power. Nye claimed that the declinists were wrong because of two reasons. First, U.S hard power was still of great validity. Second, he thought that they have missed and disregarded America's co-optive power (Layne 52).

The United States is not the first country to use the power of attraction for diplomatic goals. The British Empire used that since the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth century. Great Britain did not depend much on its military force to control its colonies. The use of hard power against its colonies meant the beginning of its collapse. The long existence of the British Empire was based mainly on the attraction of its technology, organizations, and the believe of the white men superiority (Cooper 173-174). From this we can say that the United States put attention on its power of attraction too late in comparison to the British Empire. Only during the First World War the United States founded The Committee on Public Information in 1917 which was also known as the Greel Committee named after its founder George Greel (Snow 4).

The Greel committee used to manage propaganda for the World War I. It arranged voluntary censorship of all news and organized large propaganda campaigns that included the use of stickers, posters, books, and films. Furthermore, members of the Greel Committee used to train teachers and speakers known as "Four Minute Men". The mission of that group of people was to speak in schools and at civic clubs across the country in support of the American intervention in the First World War. One of the main roles played by the Greel Committee was its distribution of more than one million copy of Woodrow Wilson' Fourteen Points speech in Germany alone. Wilson's

Fourteen Points attracted people all over the world because of its appeal for peace rather than continuing the war (Macdonald 53).

### **1.5. Soft power and the Liberal Philosophy**

Liberalism is a philosophy or a movement that has as its basic concerns the development of personal freedom and the absolute faith on social progress (Shimko 43). The liberal economic order of free trade was first advanced by Adam Smith-liberal economist-(1723-1790) and David Ricardo- English Economist-(1772-1823). During their time, Smith and Ricardo outlined free trade in opposition to trade policies of Mercantilism. Their argument was that restriction reduced economic competition, promoted economic inefficiency, and harmed the consumer when he becomes obliged to pay more money for goods (Shimko 142-143). Their second argument was due to the existence of comparative advantage and labor divisions. The latter concept argues on the fact that nations do not produce all its needs. Each nation is specialized on producing certain goods and trade what they produce with the commodities of another nation. The theory of comparative advantage implies that each nation is specialized or has more advantages in producing certain goods and they produce it more efficiently and more cheaply. Thus, Japan will never produce oil, Saudi Arabia will never grow rice, and Canada is unlikely to produce coffee (Shimko 143-144). In addition to that, economic liberalism suggests that trade, industry, and commerce have not to be under the authority of the government. Furthermore, the liberal doctrine insists on the absolute freedom of individual entrepreneurs (MacMillan 25).

Soft power is the application of some of the liberal norms in foreign policy. Liberalism is a large intellectual theory that deals with politics as well as economics. First, liberalism is a conception that stresses the role of interdependence in trade and

investments as a key element to establish peace among countries. Second, liberal institutionalism outlines the importance of international organizations-NGOs, IGOs- to advance cooperation and democracy among different nations. The basic principle of liberalism is the harmony of interests. Modern liberal people and nations are aware of the reality that war is no more inevitable and cooperation is likely to succeed between them (Shimko 43-45).

### **1.6. Soft Power Resources**

Joseph Nye claimed that soft power has three main resources which are expressed in the following quotation.

“The soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority)” (Nye, Soft Power 11).

This introductory quote implies that power over opinion can come from various sources. Any country can possess soft power if its culture is attractive, if its institutions are democratic and if it depends on multilateralism to lead its foreign policies. Those resources need too much time to be created and to be expanded because of their complexity (Nye, Soft power 99). Soft power is very complicated and elusive strategy since it is based on legitimacy which is also complicate concept (Cooper 175).

#### **1.6.1. Soft Power Driven From Culture**

Culture is a set of values and attitudes that are shared among a group of people. Commerce, educational system, media, and business are all tools that express a country's culture. When cultural values and attitudes are admired by external people,

soft power is created. In this context, culture includes high culture and popular culture. They can be presented through literature, art, music, and programs of entertainment. Robert F. Delaney, director of the Edward R Murrow Center of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, declared in 1969 that the expansion of radio and television all over the world was a diplomatic weapon that would enhance the American image (Arsenault 135).

American cultural diplomacy influenced foreign audiences even before America has put attention to this aspect of power. Non- Americans have acknowledged the achievement of many American writers. Johan Huzinfa, a Dutch Historian, claimed that works such as those of Walt Whitman were the strong means that can carry out America's message. The works of this latter praise the values of equality and individual freedom. Whitman expresses through his themes the American principle of equality (Mellisen 149).

American popular culture has always been a source of influence and profit overseas. Peter Van Ham, professor at the college of Europe in Bruges Belgium, says that no one can deny that United States' culture such as TV series and products were instrumental in winning the Cold War (52). Joseph Stalin also confessed that if he could restrain the American motion picture, he would be able to convert the world to communism (Rosendorf 185).

Hollywood and the American popular music are the best cultural tools, according to some scholars, which provide the United States with soft power. Films that express universal values and dominate cultural norms are more likely to produce soft power than movies that tackle limited cultures and beliefs. There many foreign channels

that appreciate the American TV programs and even tend to record them on their televisions due to their high quality (Rugh 8).

### **1.6.2. Soft Power driven from Political Values**

The American political values are the most important resource of soft power. William A. Rugh – U.S ambassador to Yemen and United Arab Emirates- argues that The American political system, the electoral process, democracy, and freedom of speech are all desired values (9). Political values such as freedom of speech do not always contribute in enhancing country's soft power. Speeches of a number of American citizens that offense Islam and Muslims are widely reported in the Muslim world and contribute negatively to the American reputation as a result soft power of the United States is reduced (Rugh 16).

American institutions are sometimes desired and others not according to the different cultures and regions. The American weak gun control (any one can own guns without opposing the law) is not a dominant political value. While Americans support this kind of laws, Europeans think that such institutions harm country's soft power. Another example of undesired institutions has occurred in the twentieth century. The racial discrimination of the 1950s against African –Americans undermined America's soft power in Africa while it got support from other cultures who believed in the white men superiority (Nye Soft Power 13).

People all over the world may have favorable opinions towards America's culture and political values but it is not necessary to love its foreign policies.

### 1.6.3. Soft power Driven from Foreign Policies

Beside culture and the political values, foreign policy is the third soft power resource. It is a set of actions and principles adopted by any government to define its relations with other countries. Foreign policy is the third resource of soft power when it is considered as legitimate and has a moral authority. The attractiveness of the United States depends too much on its foreign policies so that it has to be careful with its acts towards other nation and countries because wrong decisions may affect negatively soft power.

The United States, like all nations, conducts its foreign policy to get its objectives and interests. Foreign policies that depend on soft power intended to maintain these interests in a domestic way by employing cooperation among countries. In addition, positive soft power results depend much on the ability of the United States to understand the concerns and the interests of target people before projecting any foreign policy (Rugh 10).

American economic assistance programs can enhance its soft power. The United States received positive attitudes for it help to the victims of tsunami in Indonesia and other damaged areas (Garcia, Rak, and Yunt 19). In spite of the American good relief toward the safety of Asians, United States' foreign policy proved in several occasions its unwillingness to be in favor of democracy.

In 2006 the Pew Global Project conducted a poll in several European countries concerning their views toward the United States. At that time the researchers founded that 39% of the populations of Great Britain, Germany, Spain, and France had favorable opinions of the U.S. and its policies and 68% of the population of the same countries had a positive opinion of the American people. The low percentage directed to the American



policies was caused by their thought that the War on Iraq was illegitimate policy (Garcia, Rak, and Yunt 19).

### **1.7. Public Diplomacy**

As mentioned above, public diplomacy is an essential tool of soft power that involves American communication with the people of foreign countries. Public diplomacy has various definitions. Paul Sharp defines it as a process of direct relations toward the target people. During that process, the political and cultural values of those being represented are extended (qtd. In Van Ham 115). In addition to that, the University of Southern California's Center on Public Diplomacy defines public diplomacy as the following: it is when one country understands the attitudes and values of foreign audiences and trying to influence them through the exchange of educational programs and citizens (qtd. In Kilbane 187).

The various previous definitions agree upon that public diplomacy is directed to other nations to shape their opinions. Moreover, it is aimed to promote the national interest through direct influence of behaviors, opinions, and beliefs.

Public diplomacy is not about authority; rather its mission is to show the target audiences that the United States wants to be desired. Public diplomacy relation might be between government and foreign audiences as well between the United States people and the people of the target nation (Van Ham 117). It is not about actions or words of the heads of states and their representatives. It consists of civic actions, cultural exchange programs, and the involvement of non-governmental organizations (Grass and Seiter 155).

Public diplomacy is not always a governmental task. It can be out of the state's control. This job can be transformed from the state ownership to the private sector.

Moreover, it can have more efficiency if the government links its efforts with the private sectors. The best partners for this task are Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). According to Kathy Fitzpatrick, Professor Quinnipiac University, this situation is called privatization of public diplomacy. It has more beneficial outcomes than traditional public diplomacy, which implies that the relation is between the representatives of the states (157).

Non-governmental Organizations can help support and ameliorate a country's status among foreign publics. They are perceived by foreign publics as more credible than the United States government. People respond more to messages that come from private sectors. According to a study made by Edelman Public Relation Worldwide, NGOs are the most trusted, businessman come in the second rank, and finally the American government in the third place (Fitzpatrick 163). Besides that, NGOs can carry out better results in areas that have already negative background concerning U.S. policies. Holtzman -a public relation executive- argues that only private actors have the credibility to make a difference in areas such as the Middle East (Fitzpatrick 163).

### **1.8. The Role of Credibility in Enhancing Country's Soft Power**

To generate soft power diplomatic leaders have to understand the role of credibility in promoting the United State's soft power. Daniel J.O'Keefe-politican scientist- defines credibility as the willingness of the communicator to inspire the belief and trust of the message recipient (Grass and Seiter 155-156). Nye advances in his article "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power" that accepting criticism of country's own policies is often a way of establishing credibility. By contrast, he argues that manipulated information and exaggerated news are good reasons for the loss of credibility. American exaggerated news about Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction (WMD) affected negatively the United States credibility (100-105). There

are three main resources that can give diplomats of soft power the opportunity of owning credibility. They are expertise, trustworthiness, and goodwill.

### **1.8.1. Expertise**

One of the most important sources of credibility is *expertise* or what is called qualification to deal with issues. Diplomats must have the experience in different fields such as the ability to seek religious knowledge, montage, translation into different languages; journal and publication design (Taylor 61). Private companies have the experience needed for achieving credibility. They understand better the diversity of cultures and religious complexities because they are always in close touch with different people (Fitzpatrick 161-163). A good example of the lack of experience is Bush's action of adopting "anti-science" positions in a number of issues such as Global Warming. Bush Withdraw from Kyoto Accord. He claimed that jury was still out. Furthermore, officials in the Bush administration have tried to make propaganda campaigns concerning climate change and to convince many scientists to stop speaking on the issue (Grass and Seiter 155).

### **1.8.2. Trustworthiness**

Very often, a source of the message or the information might possess experience, but it can't be trusted. Thus a second dimension of credibility is *trustworthiness*. Trust is one aspect of credibility in which people have confidence on people or private sectors due to their qualities of fairness, honor, and truth. Trustworthiness is the basis for cooperation among countries. Many foreign students trust the United States because of its values of equality and meritocracy. The United States gives opportunities and advantages to those students because of their abilities and achievements rather than their wealth or their social status. At the same time,

governments of the student's home country distrust the American government because they consider those students as representatives who serve the interests of the United States (Geiger 97).

### **1.8.3 Goodwill**

Beside expertise and trustworthiness, a source of the message must have *goodwill*. In order to be perceived as credible, a source must show respect and interest in the audience's welfare (Gass and Seiter 159). After the 9/11 events, a conservative journalist called Andrew Sullivan reported:

“Getting any kind of visa can be a nightmare of bureaucracy; being fingerprinted and treated like a criminal is the first actual experience many foreigners have of entering the U.S...” (Qtd. In Rosendorf 180). Since the fact that foreign tourism is important for soft power, we can say that such treatment made by America is costing for the U.S international goodwill.

Goodwill can be presented through the work of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Amnesty International, Doctors without Borders, and Human Rights Watch are more familiar with humanitarian issues because they are independent in their work. They have no political or profit motives beyond their work since they are partners with local leaders to ensure that the aid can reach the target audiences (Gass and Seiter 160). American Non-Governmental Organizations such as Consumer Union and Environmental Defense Fund are sources that can give the United States in indirect way attraction (Kurzer 143). Without trust and credibility soft power campaigns is impossible (Pratkanis 128).

## **1.9. Vulnerabilities of Soft Power**

Despite the fact that there are many supporters who encourage the use of soft power as a strategy in foreign policy, there are many others who are completely against. Many realists prefer hard power over soft power. President Lyndon B. Johnson is famous for his belief that when the United States gets other people by the balls their hearts and minds will automatically follow (Qtd. in Cooper 169). There are others who think that soft power does not deserve the name of power at all. They claim that the concept of “interdependence” which relies on mutual assistance and shared interests is impossible to construct among countries (Proudman 337-338). This disagreement is sometimes due to the weaknesses soft power holds within it or because that the exclusive commitment to soft power may result to a kind of ideological blindness towards threat (Proudman 338).

The notion of soft power is based on attraction and seduction. This means that one state can follow another because it appreciates its ideals and values. This idea is not absolutely true for the reason that there are other primary considerations for the seduced states. For this later, the relevant factor in assessing foreign policy decisions is the national interest rather than the amount of attraction (Layne 53). When the seduced nations do not realize any self interests they do not respond to soft power campaigns.

There are two essential steps in the process of soft power campaign. The first one is to project it and the second is to wait for the response of the target people. Actually, foreign policy is operated by the state decision makers and do not depend on the public opinion. There is no strong evidence to consider that public opinion affects significantly their decisions. The argument for this is that there is no fixed public opinion. The effect of soft power is not enduring so that people usually change their attitudes. The other disagreement concerning the role of public attitudes is that many states -especially strong ones- show little consideration to civil society (Layne 56).

Beside all that, soft power depends on strict conditions such as building a functioning marketplace of ideas. The government which project soft power and the targeted nation compete to overwhelm that market. The designed marketplace can breakdown because the target state may try to control the information and to dominate the market. Those Governments reshape this information for domestic legitimacy and for regime survival. This also can be done to damage the reputation of other states. In short, the loser states in the competition of ideas will face more difficulties to exercise soft power (Kreonig et al 414).

As have mentioned before, there are different scholars who outlines the role of private sectors in conducting public diplomacy. Nevertheless, there are others who disagree with the notion of privatization public diplomacy. The latter have raised many debates. Privatization of public diplomacy cannot always achieve the intended outcomes. Non state actors, such as Non-Governmental Organizations, can go out of control. They can redirect their attention from purely function of public diplomacy to personal objectives. Despite the fact that governmental officials are the only decision makers, they are not the controllers who manage the messages. For this reason, Fitzpatrick thought that it is better to limit the scope of the private sector's authority also long term evaluation is needed (166).

The second weakness raises from privatization is a problem of accountability. Private sectors are disable or do not care in explaining their campaigns in foreign nations. American citizens are not aware of the efforts made by their government to influence publics abroad. Nye claims is that public diplomacy-soft power instrument- has three dimensions. One of them is daily communication which means that governments have to explain domestic policies to internal and external audiences (Soft Power 107-110). But with privatization this dimension is ignored. The American

citizens are unaware of their government's efforts. In this case, accountability is when the Freedom of Information Act ( FOIA) is not applied, for a certain degree, to private sector of public diplomacy (Fitzpatrick 167). Although, the primary mission of public diplomacy is to build relationship between the U.S. government and public abroad, private public diplomacy can result to make this relation between the private entities and the target audiences for personal objectives rather than the interest of the whole state.

### **1.10. Conclusion**

Soft power is a modern term used to refer to one side of power in the international system. Beside hard power, any country can use the power of attraction as a strategy in foreign policy. "Most power in a domestic context is soft power: authority without force" (Cooper175). Soft power is the creature of legitimate authority since it ignores any kind of military or economic pressure. It is one way of establishing hegemony in international relations due to the acceptance of foreign people rather than by imposing power upon them. As the chapter shows, soft power is based on harmony of interest among countries rather than to focus on the conflict of interests. The liberal view of international relations, precisely using soft power, is cooperative more than conflictive. Soft power is a strategy that encourages countries to sustain peace and cooperation to manage their foreign affairs. One of the best examples of America's soft power campaign is the Marshall Plan which is the matter of the coming chapter.





## **Chapter Two**

### **Soft Power and the Marshall Plan**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

After we have get through the strategy of soft power, we move to the first case of this study which is the Marshall Plan. This chapter discusses the Marshall Plan as an American policy that depended on the strategy of soft power 1948 -1952. In this part of the work, we deal with two important elements. First, we analyze the Marshall Plan to see the degree of soft power tools implemented by the American administration during the process of that project. Second, it is important to know whether the project was successful one or not. To achieve the latter, it is worthy to investigate what the United States did to improve European attitudes toward the Marshall Plan and America as a whole? Furthermore, we are going to probe the ability of the United States to create a functioning marketplace of ideas. Finally, we deal with the American ability to build a national credibility, and to show goodwill toward the welfare of Western European countries.

#### **2.2. What was the Marshall Plan?**

The Marshall Plan or as it was called the European Recovery Program (ERP) defined the United State's foreign policy after the Second World War(WWII). It was a consequence of the policy of Containment. It was also considered as an American reaction against the Soviet Union's command on Eastern European Nations (Zheng 52). The Marshall Plan was rooted in the Truman Doctrine of 1947. President Harry S Truman promised to give economic and military aid to any nation threatened by an external power (O'Bryan 56). In short, the Marshall Plan was United State's program of financial assistance that helped to rebuild European nations devastated by the Second World War.

### **2.3. The Aim of the Marshall Plan**

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Europe was completely destroyed. Its economy was devastated and it was suffering from a marketing crisis. The European market was in need to reconstruct, and European nations had to integrate in a multilateral system of trade (Hogan 26). On June 5, 1947, General George Marshall announced the Marshall Plan at Harvard University. According to Marshall, the plan was aimed to stabilize Europe economically as well as politically. George Marshall added that this policy was to encounter poverty and hunger and it was not against any regime or ideology. The European Recovery Program was signed into law in 1948 during the Truman administration. The United States sought to achieve different objectives with the Marshall Plan.

At that time some American policy makers thought that the recovery of Western Europe could enhance the role of the United States as a leading economic power. They thought that a good European market could be used to distribute the American goods, and to avoid a serious economic depression inside the United States (Zheng 177). There are others who believed that the Marshall Plan was a necessity due to certain world conditions. Without the American aid, west European countries might use communism to revive their economy (Lafeber p1). Furthermore, cooperation with Western European countries and giving them a say in their affairs was less costly than to operate like the Soviet Union in terms of hard power (Cooper 176).

The United States thought that Europeans may consider that with the Marshall Plan America wanted to achieve some desired objectives. At that time, Europeans doubted that America was self interested in projecting Anti-Soviet programs. Consequently, the United States responded to that by inviting communist countries to join the plan (Zheng 177).

#### **2.4. Foreign Aid of the Marshall Plan**

The major soft power tool used by the American administration in the construction of Western Europe was foreign aid. In 1947 the Marshall Plan provided \$497 million in the form of loans, and by 1952 the plan allocated over \$13 billion dollars for Western European countries. Table 2.1 below shows the total aid to recipient countries provided under the European Recovery Program (Callaway and Matthews 38).

United Kingdom	3,189.9
France	2,713.6
Italy	1,508.8
Western Germany	1,390.6
The Netherlands	1,083.5
Greece	706.7
Austria	677,8
Luxembourg/ Belgium	559,3
Denmark	273,0
Norway	255,3
Turkey	225,1
Ireland	147,5
Sweden	107,3
Portugal	51,2
Iceland	29,3

**Table 2.1.** Total Aid of the European Recovery Program (Callaway and Matthews 38).

The Marshall Plan represented United States' challenge to ease poor living conditions of Western Europeans. That economic reconstruction was based on purely

political ends. Immanuel Wallerstein- a social scientist- has once said “political structures do not contain economies, quite the contrary; the world economy contains political structure or states.” (Qtd. In Wood 6). This means that peaceful political relations depend much on healthy economic relations. The United States wanted to integrate Western European nations economically to construct peaceful political affairs. The argument that supports this idea is the liberal theory which claims that commercial partners are less likely to use force among each other (Pevehouse and Goldstein 58).

### **2.5. Multilateral International Cooperation**

Throughout the first chapter we have outlined the role of multilateral action in the possession of soft power. The Marshall Plan was based on liberal norms which is in turn the principle of soft power. Free market and the restriction of tariffs was a cornerstone of the Marshall Plan aid. The framework of the European Recovery Program was guided by a number of organizations. The institution which was responsible for the management of the plan was the Economic Cooperation Administration. As a first step, this administration put stress on western European countries in which it encouraged them to integrate together or they would not receive aid. As a result of that, Marshall Plan countries were obliged to create the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) (Reymen 88-89; Geiger 90). The second condition for receiving aid was the American emphasize on western countries to sign for the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (CoCom). It was a non treaty organization formed by the United States and its allies to prevent the transfer of technology and hardware that would increase the military power of the communist nations (Geiger 89; Libbey 64). The Unites States told Marshall Plan countries that if they proved of having any trade relations with the Soviet Union the aid would stop. Citing Joseph Nye, Till Geiger-Lecturer in International History- argues that multilateral

export control was considered as hard power tool but today they become institutionalized and accepted as a form of soft power (90).

The doctrine of economic liberalism is based on the notion of non-intervention by state in economy. To achieve this kind of economy and make the European market open to American goods, the United States participated in the limitation of tariffs. In 1947 the United States signed a treaty called the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to make the rules of importation more flexible than the past by removing that tariffs (Franklin 118).

The spirit of cooperation was the core element in construction of the Marshall Plan (1948-1952). The European Recovery Program created three dimensions of relation. First, there was a relation between the governments of the United States and Europe. The American mission was to provide humanitarian aid for European countries. The basis for that was to share mutual interests by helping each other. It means that the plan was based on the assumption which is giving resources to Europe to be able to buy goods from American companies. Moreover, Countries of Western Europe were having the opportunity to propose the needed aid. Then, the role of the Economic Cooperation Administration was to control that aid. That relation created a positive image of the Marshall planners amongst Europeans who worked with them in administering the aid program (Von Korff 9).

Second, there was an intra-European relation. The United States pushed western European countries to cooperate together. George Marshall said that “it would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this Government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically”. During that time, post World War the Second, European nations lacked diplomatic relations among each other. Despite the French opposition for the reintegration of Germany to Europe due to its

desire to take revenge from Nazi Germany, the United States was able to convince France to accept Germany's partnership. As a result of that, Germany had the chance to collaborate with the rest of the European countries. Germany's recovery was balanced by the preservation of French security to bring both of them into the European unity and to surround the Soviet danger (Hogan 21-22).

Third, even the American people and the different nations of Europe were able to contact. Marshall Plan aid permitted these nations to exchange ideas and culture. Europeans and Americans were gifted by visiting each other in their companies and farms to exchange strategies of production. The best illustration of that exchange was the United States Technical Assistance Program (USTAP). The latter assistance was provided by the Economic Cooperation Administration to train people in special Skills and techniques. The aim of that action was to show European technicians recent technological development in the United States (Price 107). USTAP was considered as an occasion that allowed common Europeans to see the United States for the first time. In addition, they had the opportunity to get in touch with private American citizens who chose to contribute on the European recovery. Because of that, the USTAP was regarded as a tool of Public Diplomacy (Von Korff 11).

These relations were made possible by the work of a number of intergovernmental organizations which made the integration easier and the success of the Marshall Plan as a soft power project faster.

## **2.6. The Role of Intergovernmental Organizations in the Marshall Plan**

Since the end of the World War II, the United States made concrete efforts to free trade and remove tariffs. That was taken by the work of several intergovernmental organizations. IGOs are organizations that have national governments as members. They have always been a server to the interests of powerful nations. Most of them were

established when one nation dominated the international system. They serve the interest and concerns of the participating countries that coordinate their efforts to get mutual benefits (Peter Sec 3). Intergovernmental organizations can enhance the United States image; as a result, America can develop its soft power which is the ability to influence others' decisions by using attraction and persuasion.

Soft power campaign of the Marshall Plan provided protection for the United States as well as for the cooperative countries of Western Europe. As a matter of fact, the Roosevelt administration recognized that that nation's security depended more on its capability to win in its favor the hearts and minds of other nations (Nye soft power 101). Marshall Planners recognized this fact in which the European Recovery Program really provided the intended security since the establishment of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The use of soft power in foreign policy after the Second World War during the reconstruction of Europe was an economic weapon against the spread of communism. The plan preserved the American hegemony on western European countries when they embraced the American principles of liberal capitalism.

By the end of 1945, the military power of Russia made non-communist countries of Western Europe fear that the Soviets would impose their power upon them. Besides that, the line of defense-Berlin Blockade- imposed by Stalin pushed Truman to recognize that European countries needed military protection beside the economic aid. In 1949, United States president invited Marshall Plan countries to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (O'Callaghan 119). NATO's mission was to protect western European countries from what was considered as Soviet aggression. In addition, NATO stated that an armed attack against any of the members of the treaty would be considered as an attack against all NATO's countries (Reeves 143).

There were also different Intergovernmental Organizations that- in a way or another- served the interests of the United States, for instance the United Nations (UN), and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT).

Intergovernmental organizations of the Marshall Plan were a force that showed that the United States was taken the needs of Europeans seriously. Europeans started to believe that that America did not have any intentions to sovereign them rather than its aim was to help them to reconstruct their economics, to protect them from poverty, hanger, and what considered as the Soviet threat. This was much clearer when the United States invited the Soviet Union and eastern European countries, communist countries, to join the European Recovery Program.

### **2.7. The Influence of the American Media and Culture**

The way into the hearts and minds of Europeans did not lie only through financial aid but also through promoting a good ground for that aid. When the people of western European countries became familiar enough with the American culture, they became more ready to accept the Marshall Plan. The American popular culture – especially films- affected the everyday life of Europeans. Many media campaigns, different themes and plots contributed to change European perception of the Marshall plan.

Peter van Ham, Director of Global Governance Research at the Netherland Institute of International Relations, argues in his book *Social Power* that the American policymakers after the Second World War made extensive efforts to use America's culture as a soft power instrument to practice it dominance over western European countries (Van Ham 51).

Marshall Plan aid included the use of Hollywood Films as a compulsory action to reduce the effects of the communist's propaganda. At that time communists tried to



convince Europeans that the Marshall Plan was not benevolent project, rather than, it was based on the principle of the American security. They even went to say that the European Recovery Program (ERP) could be considered as a threat toward the national supremacy of Western European countries (Van Ham51; Prentzas66).

The use of popular culture as a resource of soft power can affect the values, preferences, and even identities of target audiences. This reason led the Economic Cooperation Administration to establish a movie production office in Paris. The administration employed expertise European film makers to produce films that would enhance the image of the Marshall Plan in Europe. The movie office provided money for the production of about 280 short films. They were shown in theaters across Marshall Plan countries. The United States showed a willingness to record the twenty-minute movies recorded in thirteen-language that tackled different topics concerning the European Recovery Program (Prentzas 65).

### **2.8. Marshall Plan Films**

Beside the thirteen billion dollars exploited in aid, there was a mass information campaign for the reformation of the European ideals. Marshall Plan films were an important tool to achieve that goal. These films expressed different themes to convince Europeans that the best way to revive their economic position was through the implementation of American ways of trade and production. Marshall Plan films highlighted the role of modern techniques to get all their desired objectives.

Marshall Plan films advocated three major themes concerning the European Recovery Program. Filmmakers wanted to convince Europeans to increase the level of production because higher production meant higher consumption. They also motivated them to adopt the principles of capital market. Finally, the United States tried to inspire

Europeans to the necessity of preserving democracy, specifically protecting European free labor unions.

The theme of higher productivity was directed for both companies and farmers. *Man and Machines* was one of the productivity films. It was an effort to convince Europeans that higher productivity provided more goods for more people. Raising productivity faced an objection from Europeans who supported goods made by craftsman. The film stressed that quality was demanded as well as variety. *Man and Machines* showed respectability to European's culture in which it advised them not to forget about their craftsmanship since it was one side of their identity (Noble 32).

There were also numerous films that encouraged farmers to use modern techniques to raise production. *200,000,000 Mouths* was a multi-nation film that discussed problems of different European nations. The films began showing images of millions newly born babies. The narrator suggested that there was not enough food to feed all new born European babies. *200,000,000 Mouths* emphasized that Europeans had to feed themselves from their land because, each minute, there was new six- mouth born in Europe (Noble 41, 44).

The American desire to build an integrated Europe was also tackled by Marshall Plan films. One of the main concerns of the American policymakers was to build intra-European relations, unify economics, and free trade. *The Hour of Choice* delivered a message that divisions and disintegration could menace the security of Western European countries (Noble 84). The film urged them to hold close relationship and similar economic and political structures because differences were source of conflict. Furthermore, *The Hour of Choice* told Europeans that reviving differences and barriers was no vital, so that, they have to integrate and to open their frontiers between each other (Noble 85).

Marshall Plan films were a device to encounter communist's propaganda. Paul Hoffman, president of European Cooperation Administration, declared that he "came face to face with the fact that millions of people in Italy, France, and West Germany were convinced that Communism offered them a better way of life than democracy" (qtd. In Noble, 91). Communists guaranteed Europeans that they would get rid from poverty and misery. As a result, ECA warned the congress that they had to focus on labor organization where Communists had a good effect.

The free American labor unions made American political values attractive in the eyes of Western Europeans. They highlighted the values of democracy, freedom, and urged European nations to defend such values because it was the key element that would accelerate the reconstruction their status of living.

American filmmakers started to record films that showed the good conditions of the United States' workers. *Pursuit of Happiness* was a film that expressed that theme. The film implied that American workers were in a continuous prosperity. They worked for a few hours and received a good deal of wages. Films on American labor unions praised free labor unions of the United States and encouraged West European countries to protect such a system (Noble 94).

Marshall Planners used films to reach the everyday lives of common Europeans. Films were used to tell western Europeans about the aims of the European Recovery Program. Marshall Plan officials put an important attention to explain for European citizens the motives beyond the ERP. An anonymous administrator in the Plan said that "In all ERP countries it is fair to say that the average man in the street, if stopped and questioned about the Marshall Plan, would know what it is..."(Noble 19). To conclude, films of the Marshall Plan stimulated Europeans to believe in the notion of cooperation and that American aid was purely for humanitarian goals.

## **2.9. Conclusion**

The Marshall Plan or the European Recovery Program was a successful American soft power project that extended from the end of Second World War until 1952. The United States was able to establish a legitimate authority upon Western European countries. That authority was the result of American protection of Western European nations against what they called the communists threat. The American economic assistance was also a soft power tool that led European nations to integrate and cooperate together. The United States was able to get its desired objectives because it was able to understand the concerns of Europeans who were devastated by the terrible results of the World War II. Europeans needed to set up peaceful relations with neighboring countries and to live in healthy economic circumstances. As a matter of fact, The Marshall plan was a successful soft power campaign because it convinced Europeans that the best way to ameliorate their conditions was to share mutual interests. Accordingly, American efforts guided Europeans to adopt American values and ideals such as the federal system, democracy and principles of open market.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Soft Power and the War on Terror**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

Although military operations have dominated media coverage of the war on terror, a much broader range of policy options may hold the key to reduce the appeal of global terrorist networks. These options involve the use of the strategy of soft power as a way of conducting foreign policy. The present chapter addresses the American attempt to use soft power in countering terrorism by the beginning of the twenty-first Century. It suggests that the United States was not able to achieve success on the war on terror. That failure was due to that soft power resources were not taken seriously. The Bush administration put a little attention on soft power; as a result, its policies and its political values were unable to seduce the target audiences.

#### **3.2. Definition of Terrorism**

According to Joseph Nye terrorists are non-state actors and terrorism is the privatization of war (*The Paradox* x). They are also called violent non-governmental organizations (Mendelsohn 20). Terrorists are non-state actors because they have no nationality and do not make a service to any country's political agenda. Moreover, they used violence to manage their affairs. Thomas Mathiesen- Professor at the University of Oslo- argues that terrorism is uninformed aggressive actions consciously directed towards civilians, with a political or ideological goal. He adds that those who commit such action do not consider themselves as terrorists (85).

#### **3.3. Defining the American Enemy**

Who is the American enemy in the war on terror? What does the United States consider as terrorists? These questions have been answered by the U.S. Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Stephen P. Lambert, in his book *the Sources of Islamic Revolutionary Conduct*. He defines the terrorists as the fundamentalist Islamists, and then he divides them into two main groups. The first group is called Vanguard. He describes this latter as small groups who commit violent acts with the objective of establishing new unified Islamic states. They used Islam and Quran to justify and institutionalize what they called holy war against the United States. Stephen P. Lambert adds that the Vanguard are the once who carried out the attacks on the American embassies, the Pentagon, and the World Trade Center. The second group is called “non-violent supporters”. They are those who finance the Vanguard and who support their goals. Non-violent supporters exist in a large number throughout the world-especially in western countries- when they have the opportunity to collect money to be given to the terrorists. Furthermore, he termed the reminder of the Muslim population as the “target audiences” who the terrorists aim to influence and bring them to the line of “violent extremist” (Andrew Dobort 3).

To better understand terrorist’s identity, it is worthy to understand their arguments toward this conflict. Laurence Andrew Dobort- Deputy Director for the Missile Defense Agency’s Aireborene- noted that the conflict between Muslims and the West is rooted to various reasons. One cause of that conflict is terrorists’ believe that their nations are being oppressed by Western countries who built their wealth by depending on the natural resources of the Muslim countries. Poverty is the main excuse for the terrorist. They are convinced that their countries-Muslim Countries- are not using their wealth in accordance with the teaching of Islam which claims that every person has the right to take a certain portion from that wealth. Instead of doing that,

governments of the Muslim countries allowed Western governments to impose their rules upon them (Andrew Dobort 7).

The second major cause that leads to the evolution of terrorism is United States credibility gap in the Middle East. Actions of the United States were not the same as its words. In a social influence campaign deeds speak louder than words. It is influential to put actions in the line with words. The failure to follow words with action can lead to the loss of country's trust and credibility (Pratkanis 129). The United States has always claimed that its aim is to advocate democracy principles in the Middle East by encouraging the establishment of Moderate Muslim countries. With respect to the American claims that was not the case in the region. The United States has a strong and good relation with governments of the Middle East who are either monarchies or dictators (Andrew Dobort 8).

#### **3.4. The Declaration of War against Terrorism**

The years from 2000 till end of 2005 were disturbed by a series of major terrorist attacks. Those events indicated a rapid evolution of terrorism. On 11 September 2001, international terrorism attacked the American homeland. The attacks were impressive and seized the attention of the world, stimulating both the Bush administration's fight against terrorism and international engagement. Simultaneously, four US domestic flights were hijacked. Two airplanes crashed into the towers of the World Trade Center, which both soon collapsed, killing around 2,500 people. The third airplane crashed into the Pentagon. The fourth airplane, said to be en route to the White House or Camp David, crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. Some 266 crew and passengers were killed on the planes (Svendson 39).

In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 11/9 the Bush administration declared The War on Terror by the invasion of Afghanistan territory. Bush warned that that war

left no room for neutrality. “We will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism,” Bush continued “Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.” (Qt. in Daalder and Lindsay 86).

Besides that, the Bush administration published in February 2003 the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism. The latter aimed in 2006 to achieve two security challenges against terrorism. The first goal was to destroy Al-Qaeda network. Indeed the United States succeeded in killing, capturing, and degrading Al-Qaeda networks. The second goal was to establish unsophisticated environment in which terrorist cannot flourish. The way to achieve this goal was through the support of democracy in moderate Muslim countries (Andrew Dobort 1).

### **3.5. Soft Power Tools Used to Encounter Terrorism**

In 2002 the U.S National Security Strategy stipulated that the United States will wage the war of ideas to win the battle against terrorists. To achieve that, members of the U.S National Security Strategy said they would rely on several components. First, they would work with allies to convince the world that all acts of terrorists were illegal. Second, support moderate and modern governments, especially in the Muslim world, to be sure that the terrorists would not able to find a fertile ground to prosper. Third, we would use effective public diplomacy to advocate the free flow of information. Finally, reduce the conditions that can help terrorists to expand their framework by encouraging countries to enlarge their efforts to encounter the terrorists’ paradigm (Lennon vii-viii). These are soft power tools.

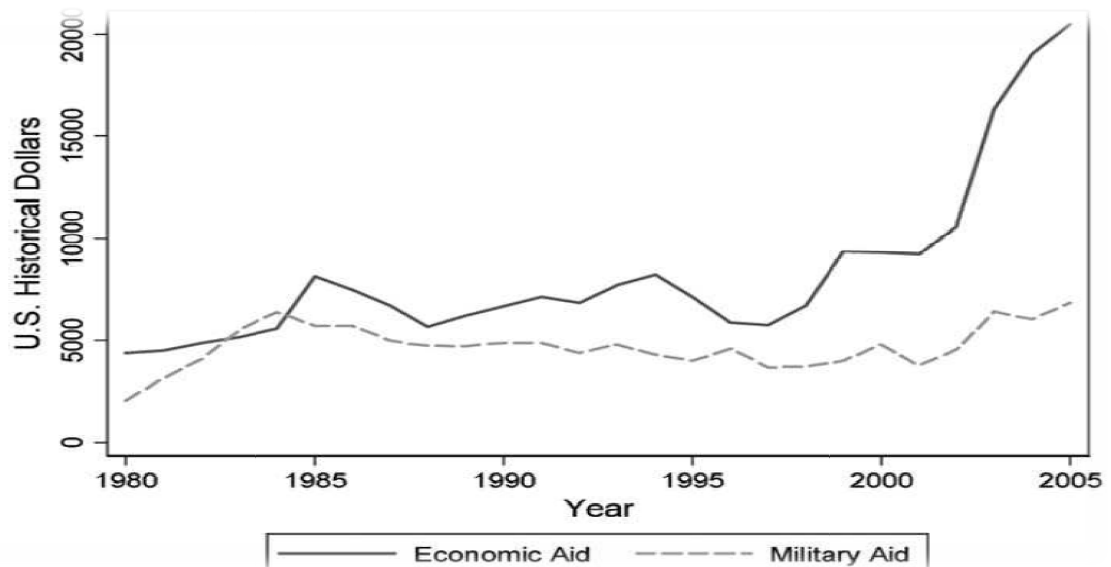
#### **3.5.1. Foreign Aide**

Foreign aid is one of the most important soft power tools that can help the United States to achieve its desired objectives. After the declaration of the War on Terror, President George Bush identified foreign aid as a tool that could help America



to undermine the danger of terrorism. That aid was allocated for promoting democracy and for reducing world poverty. The logic beyond this decision is President Bush's belief that terrorism is caused by the desperation of those who have no hope for better future (Callaway, and Matthews 62). Following this argument support for foreign aid increased since post 9/11. From this time, the United States of America increased its financial aid in South-east Asia. Countries such as India, Pakistan, and Philippine have received from 17% to 250%. Pakistan received \$200 million in 2002 and India received \$25 million in the same period. That aid was allocated for the promotion of democracy to defeat terrorism. (Leitich386).

The diagram below illustrates the increase level of the American foreign aid from 1980 -2005. The diagram shows that the United States increased the level of foreign aid since the year of 2002 in comparison with the previous years.



**Figure3.1:** Total U.S. Foreign Assistance 1980-2005 (Callaway and Matthews 62).

Unlike the Marshall Plan, when nations of Western Europe cooperated with the United States to revive their economics, this time- in the War on Terror- the United States' cooperation with countries like Pakistan and Turkey showed very little concerns to human rights. Soft power component which is foreign aid was allocated to preserve

the American national security at the expense of human rights conditions in countries like Turkey and Pakistan. The liberal view, which is the basis of soft power, suggests that higher levels of foreign aid lead absolutely to the improvement of human conditions and increase the scale of security. In the war on terror, this is not the case. While foreign aid was increasing, human rights conditions were decreasing. The United States gave aid to countries like Pakistan and Turkey who were abusing their citizens. According to Rhondal L. Callaway- Sam Houston State University, USA- and Elizabeth G. Matthews- California State University, San Marcos, USA- Pakistan gave little attention to women and religious minorities who were discriminated illegally as well as it gave also assistance to turkey (63). In addition to that, United States media dealt with the traffic events in America and in Muslim countries in a biased way. American media recorded the stories of the survivors of the 9/11 and described them as human loss. At the same time American media did not consider the loss of many Muslims in Afghanistan and Iraq as a threat to human rights (Andoni 276).

### **3.5.2. Non-Governmental Organizations and the War on Terror**

In the second chapter we have outlined the role of International Organizations in accelerating the success of the Marshall Plan, this time it is the war on terror that impacted the work of Non-governmental organizations. The security measures taken during countering terrorism affected negatively the work of different organizations.

Although NGOs play a significant role in enhancing country's soft power, in the war on terror NGOs are in contradiction with states. They have little function in the struggle against terrorists. Non-governmental organizations put more attention to human rights issues than to help the United States and its allies to improve their image in the eyes of the world. They gave a considerable awareness in reducing the humiliation caused under the quiz of the war on terror (Mendelsohn 105). This contradiction puts

NGOs in a direct opposition to the United States' foreign policy and consequently undermining its attractiveness and appeal.

### **3.5.3. Public Diplomacy in the Middle-East**

The American administration was conscious about that public diplomacy is a valid instrument to reach the target audiences of the Middle East. In 2007 Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice emphasized the important role of public diplomacy. She said that public diplomacy is a key element for the national security. She expressed the American desire to communicate with the people of the world and made them understand America's policies and the power of its ideals. Then, she announced that public diplomacy became the task of private sector as well as for American people (Nelson and Izadi 304).

The United States has made efforts to improve its image abroad. The problem with those efforts was that they were about sending messages more than about doing actions. By way of illustration, the United States National Strategy for Combating Terrorism had declared in 2003 that it will win the war of ideas against the terrorists, but according to Dr Adam D.M. Sevendson -the University of Warwick- until 2009 that goal was not realized because soft power was insufficiently projected (92)

American policymakers sought to appoint key individuals who are famous to be messengers of the U.S. in the Middle East. The rap artist Toni Blackman was chosen as the official "Hip Hop" ambassador by the U.S. Department of State, and former Olympic skater Michelle Kwan holds the official title of "American Public Diplomacy Envoy." Moreover, Charlotte Beers was hired to "rebrand American foreign policy" in the Middle East. She resigned after seventeen months because she had a little experience and the task was very difficult. Furthermore, the U.S. made efforts to enhance its reputation abroad. Bush appointed Karen Hughes, former White House

Communications director, as Under Secretary for public diplomacy in 2005. She was widely criticized, however, for lacking knowledge of, and experience in, the Middle East. Her lack of experience damaged the United States' credibility (Grass and Seiter 154-155)

United States officials also sought to supply American foreign policy makers with some level of accountability. One example of that is when Al Hurra-American Middle Eastern channel- broadcasted the Senate Armed Services Committee questioning Donald Rumsfeld over the scandal at Abu Gharib. Viewers witnessed a level of accountability –explaining policies to audiences- which were unusual in their region (Schneider 162).

#### **3.5.4. Al Hurra Television**

The United States has managed itself to establish some information campaigns through media to win the Arabic support for its own interests. On February 2004 the United States opened a TV channel called Al Hurra “the Free One” in English. Its mission is to present American policies in the Middle East in order to combat anti-Americanism. Al Hurra TV with its radio represents American commitment to public diplomacy. In addition, Al Hurra was founded as a substitute to Arab media. The latter were characterized by its control of the flow of information -when they record only what fit their situation- and the provocation for violence (Powers and El Gody 49-51) .

One of the resources that can improve United States' soft power abilities is the development of its technology. But American technology was not able to attract people in the Middle East. Arab media experts witnessed that Al Hurra's technological operations were simple and less sophisticated when balanced with the Arab broadcasters. Moreover, graphics were described as simple and having no superior qualities in contrast with Arabic channels (Powers and El Gody54). Beside the lower

quality of Al Hurra's programs, people in the Middle East showed a little concern in watching its series.

### **3.5.5. Radio of Sawa**

Sawa or "together" in English is an American Arab speaking radio that was established in the Middle East. Its assignment was to attract Arabs aged under the thirteen which they constitute around 60%. Radio Sawa tried to make the American popular culture, which is a soft power resource, attractive to this group of population. It broadcasts American music alternated by contemporary Arab music (Schneider 162). Sawa represented American commitment to Psychological Operation (PSYOPS) which was directed to audiences to influence their attitudes and behavior. When Sawa balanced between American and Middle Eastern music, it shows respect and reverence to local culture (Schneider 162; Snow 55).

Sawa's success was costly for the Voice of America (VOA). This latter was targeted to different audiences, thinkers, and the intelligentsia. This time the objection came from workers of VOA who said that SAWA harmed the quality of programs.

Despite all these American efforts, the United States was to be able to seduce the target audiences of the Middle East.

### **3.6. The Causes of the Failure**

Even though the United States made perceptible efforts to project soft power campaigns in areas such as the Middle East, it failed to reduce terrorists' affection on people of the Middle East for various reasons. The most important cause was that the Bush administration's foreign policy marginalized multilateral action. United States' policies after the terrorists' attacks disregarded the interests and opinions of other states. This was clear by the American illegal invasion (many thought) of Afghanistan and Iraq. A reporter in New York Times, named David E. Sanger said that President Bush

knew much about hard power (military and economic power), but he gave little attention to the virtues of soft power (Layn 51). There are other different causes that lead America's soft power campaign to fail. The most important reasons were the scandals and the loss of credibility.

### **3.6.1. The Scandals of Abu Gharib and Guantanamo Bay**

We have mentioned previously that if the United States desires to be perceived as credible, it has to prove goodwill toward the wellbeing of its target audiences. In the war on terror, America has demonstrated completely a different face. The scandals of Abu Gharib and Guantanamo Bay were examples that bear out the lack of goodwill during the Bush administration. The photographs which documented the abused prisoners in Abu Gharib harmed significantly United States' goodwill. The American prison in Cuba "Guantanamo Bay" stood as an example of the American brutality against human rights. Many crimes of killing, torture, and rap were discovered as tools used by officials of the prison to get the information from prisoners. Such acts that humiliated prisoners were received by Muslims as an offence to their culture and religion. Consequently, instead of establishing goodwill, the United States did not do more than presenting ill-will directed at the expense of Iraqi's interests and safety (Gass and Seiter 159). In short, the scandals of Abu Gharib and Guantanamo Bay undermined the role of soft power when it harmed the attractiveness of the American political values, especially that of judicial system.

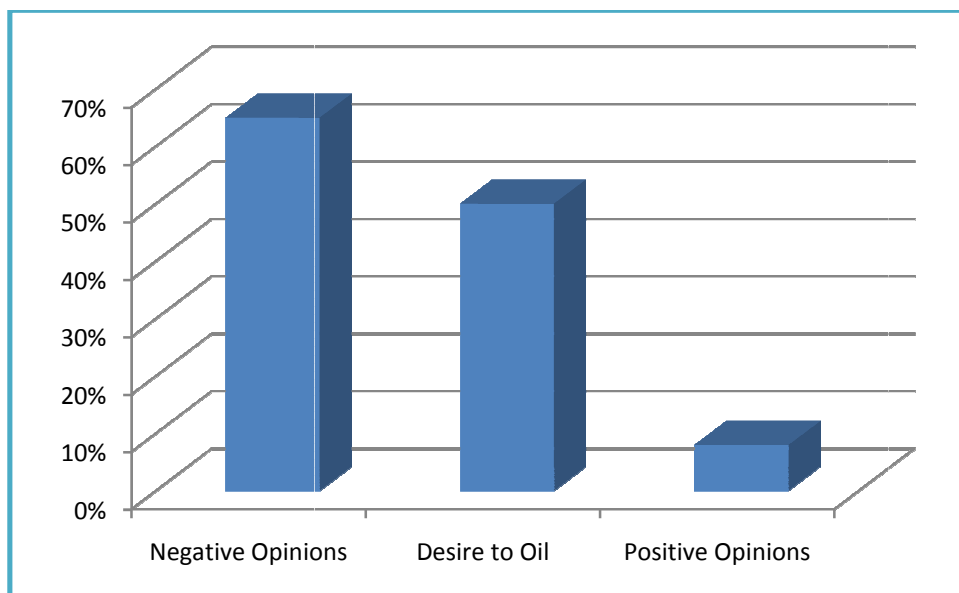
### **3.6.2. The U.S.: A Militarized Country**

In order to have an effective soft power, the United States has to marginalize or at least to limit the use of its hard power. The United States neglected this fact on its war on terror. It has continued its investments in terms of its hard power. The American budget for the Department of State in 2008 was 35 billion\$, versus total U.S. military

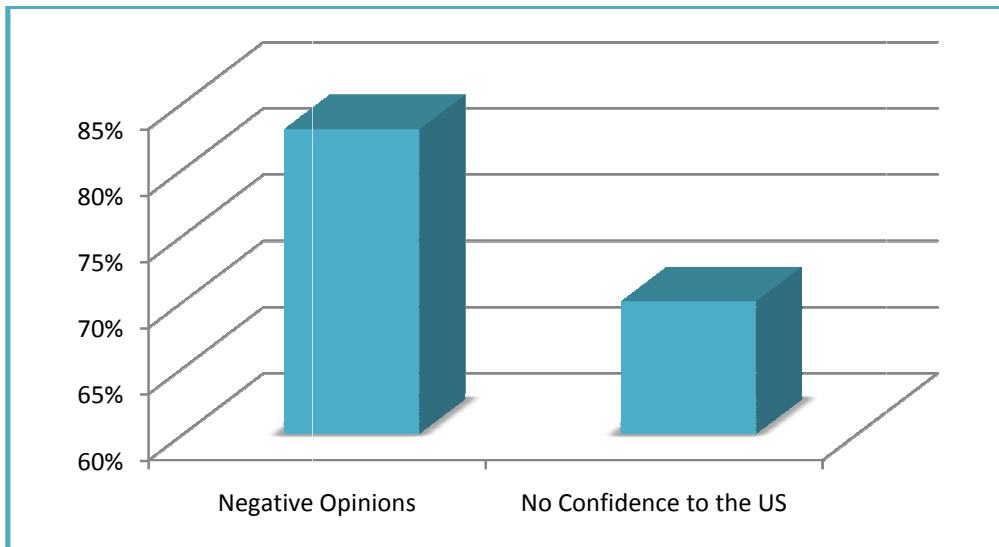
spending that same year of about than \$700 billion, some twenty times more than that for state. In 2008, the requested budget for all public diplomacy and it related activities was approximately \$1.5 billion (Rosendore 178). This numbers indicated that America was militarized country and soft power was not taken seriously by the U.S administration.

Since the attacks of 9/11 the United States has been exporting anger and fear rather than hope and optimism. In 2007 a Pew Global Attitudes survey founded that a large majority of Muslims in different Muslim countries feared the United States' hard power. That people said that they are frightened that American military power will hurt their country's sovereignty (Amin 112).

Joseph Nye noted in his book *Soft Power* that soft power results can be measured by asking people through polls (6). The two diagrams below present polls taken by Zogby International in 2006 and in 2008 in a number of Muslim countries.



**Figure 3.2.** A poll taken by Zogby International in 2006.



**Figure 3.3.** A poll taken by Zogby International in 2008.

Beside that annual opinion poll, Zogby International conducted another poll in 2008 surveying more than 4,000 people in Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. The results of the survey show that 83 % of the Arab public has unfavorable views of the United States and 70 % express no confidence in the United States. Both numbers represent increases over a previous survey undertaken in 2006. 65 % of respondents do not believe that democracy is America's real objective in the Middle East, and only 8 %t believe that the American efforts to spread democracy in the Middle East is an important objective that will make a difference in the region. A 50 % of respondents replied that the most important factor driving American policy in the Middle East was to controlling oil (Amin 111)

If we compared the ways of how the United States and Al Qaida were defeating their attitudes and values we find the following data. According to Philip M. Taylor, Professor at the University of Leeds, terrorist' activity is 10% violence and 90% publicity whereas the American response in Iraq and Afghanistan is 90% violence and 10% communication (14).

### **3.6.3. The Failure of the Marketplace Place of Ideas**



One of the major reasons that led the United States to fail on its soft power campaign during the war on terror is that it was not able to compete in a functioning marketplace of ideas. Terrorists have more access to people. Al Qaeda is famous for its ability to manipulate the information environment. Many political commentators believe that terrorists are winning the information war around the world. They have the ability to attract sympathizers through their understanding of different cultures (Rhoads 169). Al Qaeda has been portrayed by Philip M. Taylor, University of Leeds, as “opportunistic”. Terrorists are skilful in forming propaganda; they used the scandals of Abu Gharib and Guantanamo Bay to direct their propaganda to the target people in the Middle East (54). Terrorists’ ability to attract people was grounded from the political environment of the Middle East.

Terrorist functioned more effectively in areas when the population is surrounded by false ideas concerning world events. For instance, The National Strategy for Combating Terrorism admitted that the political environment of the Middle East is a model of that. They added that the Muslim World lacked a functioning marketplace of ideas. Governments often take measures, generally for the purposes of domestic stability, to prevent meaningful competition in their domestic marketplaces of ideas. As a result of that, terrorists find a good ground to flourish where they are in touch with common people.

Similarly Joseph Ney notices in his Article “the Future of Soft Power in U.S Foreign Policy” that Al-Qaeda focuses on a large portion section of its campaign on communication. He goes to say that they have learned to use modern media and the internet efficiently. Terrorists made efforts to prove for Muslims that Islam has always been under the attack of the west. They have also said that it is the duty of every Muslim to defend the Muslim community. Terrorists used videos and internet websites

which record Muslims being killed in Chechnya, Iraq, Kashmir, and Lebanon to strength their status and to give more credibility to their vision of Jihad (5). The war on Iraq and the bad treatment in Guantanamo Bay and Abu Gharib had proved that the United States is not the champion for democracy and human rights.

Even through media, the United States was not able to compete or at least achieve some credibility. According to a research made by the University of Maryland from 2003 till 2008 concerning the competitive power of Al Hurra in the Middle East. In 2008 researchers of Maryland founded the following figures. Among 4,046 participants from Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia (KSA), and the UAE, 2 % of participants responded that Al Hurra was the network they watch most often, compared to 53 % of participants who mentioned Al Jazeera as the news channel they watch most often. Moreover, only 9 % of respondents said they watch Al Hurra 5 or 6 times a week, compared to 60 % of participants who responded that they tuned into Al Jazeera as often (Powers and El Gody<sup>56</sup>).

### **3.7. Conclusion**

In post 9/11 era, the United States' policy makers started to discuss the utility of military intervention to secure western interest. Consequently, the United States made efforts to employ soft power tools-as a strategy for the twenty first century- to reduce the danger of terrorism. The American attempt to project soft power campaign in the war on terror was absolutely unsuccessful one. The main reason of that was the absence of credibility. The United States was acting arrogantly. The Bush Administration did not pay attention to understand the concerns of people in Middle Eastern countries. The main objective of the United States was national security. In short we can say that United States efforts to communicate the values of freedom and democracy were

useless. Accordingly, the United States contributed through its action in the raise of negative opinions towards it foreign policies.

## Conclusion

*“To seduce the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill.”(Sun Tzu)*

Soft power is a new term for an old practice. Although the notion of soft power was advanced only in 1990 by Harvard’s professor Joseph Nye, this strategy was used from old times by other nations and institution like the British empire and the catholic church. In the modern political environment, power resources have changed from old power resources. Although, countries like the United States are still using their hard power resources, they became more aware of the benefits of the liberal view on foreign policy that admitted for the inevitability of peace among different nations instead of conflict and wars.

Soft power is a strategy that can guide the United States to establish what Peter Van Ham called “*hegemonia*” i.e. legitimate authority (26). The latter is more preferable than the control imposed by hard power. This is due to the fact that people prefer legitimacy over coercion. The hegemony that is given to the United States as a result of exercising soft power is based on cooperation and mutual understanding of the American values and those of its target audiences.

Soft power campaigns are more likely to succeed when countries share the same cultural background. In the 1950s, a linguist named Benjamin Whorf said that a unique culture with a unique language resulted in unique way of thought (Rhoads167). We can say that the United States confirmed this theory when it managed cooperation first, during the Marshall Plan, with Great Britain then with the rest of Western European countries. Thus, Great Britain was the link between the United States and the devastated countries of Europe. Britain and America share the same cultural backgrounds (Anglo Saxon).

In the war on terror the case was the opposite. Despite the fact that the American culture of capitalism and liberal democracy are supported by Muslims, United States' soft power campaign failed ( Van Ham 122). That was not caused by the differences of culture, but because of the clash of interests. American illegitimate policies of the War on Iraq and other unattractive policies in the region clashed with the interests of citizens of the Middle East who desired freedom, democracy, and safety.

In both cases that we have studied in the present research, we have found that the United States used its soft power to combat Anti-Americanism. The aim of the Marshall Plan was to combat the suspected threat of Communism. After the Second World War, communist's propaganda was directed to convince Europeans that the United States appeared as a liberator but with hidden imperial intentions. As a result of that, the main aim of America behind the European Recovery Program was to diminish the raise of Anti-Americanism amongst Western Europeans by making them appreciate and embrace American culture and American political values.

Nowadays, the threat of terrorism has placed the danger of Communism. The attacks of 9/11 illustrated the unpleasant feelings towards the United States. America has realized that enmity, and tried to reduce it by a number of actions. The claims of the United States were not manifested on its deeds. Instead of sharing the same interest, the United States put more consideration to its national interests and security than the concerns of the people in the Middle East.

Soft power is one way of Americanizing the target audiences. In order to achieve its desired objectives, the United States had to make the people of Western Europe and the Middle East appreciate its values and ideals. During the Marshall Plan, America's soft power campaign succeeded because the plan accelerated the adoption of the

American way of life. That success was originated to the concrete efforts of the Truman administration. By contrast, the soft power campaign projected to combat terrorism failed because American policy makers did not take to their consideration the importance of making the target audiences desire the American way of dealing with issues. Instead of doing that, the United States enforced people of the Middle East to fear America since its unilateral decision in a number of foreign policy actions. That failure was caused by Bush's administration inability to identify the interests of people in the Middle East.

Hard times make for soft principles (Qtd. In Gray 1). Post World War II and the twenty first century are the hard times while the attractiveness of the American culture, political values, and the legitimacy of foreign policy are the soft principles that the United States have to use.

To conclude, we can claim that weather the United States used its power of attraction or its power of command; it has always sought to employ its hegemony for one main objective which is the survival of its ideology for the sake of global leadership.

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