American Foreign Policy & The Muslim World

Edited by

Dr. Ishtiaq Hossain

Dr. Mohsen Moh'd Saleh



Table of Contents

Preface	
Contributors	13
Introduction	19
Part One: American Foreign Policy: The Domestic Sourc	es:
Chapter One: American Foreign Policy: Dynamics of Domestic Sources	
Ishtiaq Hossain	
Introduction	31
Sources of American Foreign Policy: "The Funnel of Causality"	31
External Environment	32
Domestic Sources	33
Societal Sources	33
Public Opinion	35
Interest Groups	39
Governmental Sources	43
American Foreign Policy and Constitutional Provisions	43
The Role of the President	45
The Role of Congress	49
The National Security Council (NSC)	52
The State Department	
Vice-President and Secretary of Defence	62
Conclusion.	65
Chapter Two: The Rise of Christian Evangelicalism in Americ	can
Politics: Its Genesis and Process	
Muhammad Arif Zakaullah	
Introduction	73
Religious Strife	73
Some Major Religious Characteristics of Early American Society	
Progress, Prosperity and Problems	
Reason versus Tradition	
A Split in American Protestantism: The Birth of Contemporary	
Christian Fundamentalism	75

The Post-Second World War Rise of Christian Fundamentalism	76
Supreme Court Decisions Awaken the Sleeping Giant	77
The Power Base of Christian Fundamentalism	78
The 1976 Presidential Election: The Evangelical Voters and a	
"Born again" Candidate	79
The Moral Majority (MM) in a Liberal Democracy: God's Army to	
Subjugate Caesar	80
The Path to Christian Terrorism: From Expectations and Hope to	
Hopelessness	83
Hopelessness and the Rise of Christian Terrorism in Support of	
Biblical Agenda	84
The G. W. Bush Presidency: A New Millennium, a New Politics	85
Conclusion	87
Chapter Three: The Neo-Conservatives and American Foreign Po	licy
Ishtiaq Hossain	
Introduction	93
Views of Academics on the Role of Neo-Conservatives	95
Principles of Neo-Conservatism	
The Neo-Conservatives' Views on American Foreign Policy	
Conclusion	
Chapter Four: Public Opinion and the Media	
Alison Weir	
Introduction	115
Statistical Studies	
Broadcast Media	
Regional and Local Newspapers.	
Associated Press (AP)	
A Systemic Problem.	
The Alternative and Progressive Media	
Professional Journals	
False Neutrality from Talk Radio to Scholarly/Literary Authors	
Causation	
Hollywood	
Conclusion	



Chapter Five: The Role of the Israel Lobby	
Ataullah Bogdan Kopanski & Mohsen Saleh	
Introduction14	13
Defining the Israel Lobby14	14
The Jews in the US and the Development of the Israel Lobby14	45
The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)14	19
The Israel Lobby's Sources of Influence	52
The Influence of the Israel Lobby15	54
The Impact of the Israel Lobby on the US Foreign Policy16	51
Conclusion	54
Chapter Six: Muslim Groups and American Foreign Policy	
Ahrar Ahmad	
Introduction17	13
Demographic Context	15
Muslim/Arab Organisations and Interests	8
Specific Impact on US Policies	32
Some Comparisons with Israeli/Jewish Groups18	34
Conclusion	39
Part Two: American Foreign Policy: Characteristics	
Chapter Seven: Major Issues in American Foreign Policy: A Historiographical Analysis	
Elfatih A. Abdel Salam	
Introduction19	97
Historical Record of American Foreign Policy	8
The Transformation of the United States: From a Regional to	
a Global Power20)2
US Diplomacy and the First World War: Idealism vs. Realism20)4
American Foreign Policy in the Post-War Era:	
The Cold War Years)7
US Foreign Policy in Transition from the Cold War to	
Post-Cold War Era21	0

Conclusion......212

Chapter Eight: The New-Old Empire: The Political Economy of US Foreign Policy Habibul Haque Khondker History of US Imperialism......231 Post-World War II US Imperialism.....234 Conclusion......239 Chapter Nine: America's Foreign Policy: The Need for a Paradigm Shift Shahid M. Shahidullah American Foreign Policy: The Cold War Paradigm......248 America's Foreign Policy251 The Post-Cold War Foreign Policy Challenges: From the Cold War US Foreign Policy and War on Terror: Clinton v. Bush Doctrines.......258 Part Three: American Foreign Policy: The Five Legacies Chapter Ten: America's Palestinian Policy: An Outsider's Perspective Daud A. Abdullah The Evangelicals and Israel......271 The US Financial Aid to Israel......275 The Early Lobbyists......276 Major Developments of the US Policy after 1967......282 The Lobby and Hamas......285 Chapter Eleven: The Invasion and Occupation of Iraq: The US **Hegemonic World Order** Abdul Rashid Moten Making and Re-Making of the New World Order......295



Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait and the First Gulf War	301
Iraq After the Gulf War	304
American Policy in the Post-First Gulf War Period: From Rogue	
State to Regime Change	307
American Justifications for the Invasion of Iraq	
Human Rights	312
The Invasion and Occupation of Iraq	
Resistance to Occupation	
Conclusion	
Chapter Twelve: The Iranian Nuclear Issue	
Choudhury M. Shamim	
Introduction	325
Peaceful Nuclear Energy or Nuclear Bomb?	
The Debate over the Spread of Nuclear Weapons	
Why Do Some States Seek to Acquire Nuclear Weapons?	
Iran's Nuclear Capacity	
The Role of USA, Europe and Israel	
The Role of Russia, China, Pakistan, and India	
The United Nations and Iran	
A Pre-Emptive Strike: The Military Option	343
Chapter Thirteen: America's Afghanistan Policy, 1980-2007	
Wahabuddin Ra'ees	
Introduction	353
Afghanistan	
The American Interests	
Washington's Afghanistan Policy: The Pre-Communist/Soviet Invasion	
Phase: The US Policy of Indifference	
The Communist/Soviet Invasion Phase: The US Policy of Active	
Engagement, 1978-1989	357
The Resistance Alliance	
The Geneva Accords	361
The Afghanistan Interim Government (AIG)	363
The Civil War and the Taliban: The US Policy of Strategic	
Withdrawal or Disinterested Engagement; 1992-2001	364
The Post-Taliban Period: The US Military Intervention;	
2001-Present.	370
Conclusion	374

Chapter Fourteen: Foreign Policy of Barack H. Obama: A New Direction for America?

Ishtiaq Hossain

Introduction	381
The Obama National Security and Foreign Policy Team	383
A Basketful of Advice for President-Elect Obama	386
The Main Features of Obama's Foreign Policy	387
Iraq	390
Iran	391
Palestinian-Israeli Dispute	393
"War on Terror," Afghanistan and Pakistan	395
Conclusion	396
Index	401
About the Editors	42.1

List of Abbreviations

ABA American Business Aristocracy
ACLU American Civil Liberties Union

ADL Anti-Defamation League

AEOI Atomic Energy Organisation of Iran

AIM American Islamic Mission

AIPAC American Israel Public Affairs Committee

AJC American Jewish Committee
AMA American Muslim Alliance
AMC American Muslim Council

AMILA American Muslims Intent on Learning and Activism

AMPCC American Muslim Political Coordination Council

AZC American Zionist Council

CAIR Council on American-Islamic Relations

CIA Central Intelligence Agency

CPMAJO Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

CRS Congressional Research Services

EU European Union

FARA Foreign Agency Registration Act
FBI Federal Bureau of Investigation

FIA Federation of Islamic Associations in the US and Canada

FSO Foreign Service Officer
HEU Highly Enriched Uranium

IAEA International Atomic Energy Agency

IASPS Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies

ICNA Islamic Circle of North America
IMF International Monetary Fund

INC Iraqi National Congress

IRFA International Religious Freedom Act
ISNA Islamic Society of North America

LEU Low Enriched Uranium

MAS Muslim American Society

MAYA Muslim Arab Youth Association

MFN Most Favoured Nation

MM Moral Majority

MPAC Muslim Public Affairs Council
MSA Muslim Students Associations
MYNA Muslim Youth of North America

NAAA
 National Association of Arab Americans
 NAFTA
 North American Free Trade Agreement
 NATO
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 NCIA
 National Council of Islamic Affairs

NOI Nation of Islam

NPT Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty

NSA National Security Agency, National Security Adviser

NSC National Security Council
NSS National Security Strategy
NWS Nuclear Weapons States
PA Palestinian Authority

PAC Political Action Committee
PFEP Pilot Fuel Enrichment Plant

PNAC Project for a New American Century
QCA Qualitative Comparative Analysis
SALT Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SDI Strategic Defence Initiative

SFRC Senate Foreign Relations Committee

UEP Uranium Enrichment Plant

UK United Kingdom
UN United Nations

UNMOVIC United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission

UNSCOM United Nations Special Commission

US, USA United States of America

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
WMD Weapons of Mass Destruction
ZOA Zionist Organization of America

Preface

The idea of compiling a book on American foreign policy and the Muslim world came to the editors in 2002 when one of them started teaching an undergraduate course on US foreign policy in the Department of Political Science at the International Islamic University Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur. He was struck, by the unfamiliarity of students with American domestic politics and the foreign policy-making system in the United States, which are both very important for understanding American policies toward various countries of the world. The idea of compiling an edited volume on American foreign policy with a special focus on the Muslim world was, however, finalised in 2006 in Kuala Lumpur during a discussion between the editors. They shared a strong feeling that there was a need, to come up with such a volume for the benefit of students studying American foreign policy, in various countries in the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia. With this purpose in mind, al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations in Beirut kindly agreed to support such a project. The purpose of this volume is to dispel naive ideas, and misconceptions shared by students about US foreign policy. The contributors to this volume explain the pattern and process of American foreign policy.

Part I of this book provides an analysis of the domestic sources of American foreign policy (Chapter 1) using the funnel of causality model. Also, it discusses the rise of Christian evangelicalism (Chapter 2), the roles of neo-conservatism (Chapter 3) and the media in shaping American public opinion (Chapter 4), the role of the Israel lobby (Chapter 5), and the Muslim groups in the US in influencing American foreign policy (Chapter 6).

Part II analyses the characteristics of foreign policy of the United States. In doing so, the major issues of American foreign policy are discussed from a historical point of view (Chapter 7). In addition, the political economy of Washington's policy is spelled out (Chapter 8), and the need for a paradigm shift in American foreign policy is emphasised (Chapter 9).

Part III of this volume examines five key legacies of American foreign policy, which are of special interest not only to Muslims all over the world, but to other world-wide peace-loving people as well. Chapter 10 provides an outsider's perspective on the impact of ideological and elite interests on America's Palestinian policy. The 2003 invasion and occupation of Iraq are explained in Chapter 11 as an example of America's desire to build a hegemonic world order. America's policy towards Iran's nuclear programme is dealt with in Chapter 12. In Chapter 13, America's Afghanistan policy is analysed. Finally, Chapter 14 discusses the foreign policy of Barack H. Obama and analyses whether he would provide a new direction to America's foreign policy toward the Muslim world.

