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The Cold War and The War on Terror

Abstract
The purpose of my paper is to provide an explanation of the United States' Cold War mentality and its effects with the result being the adoption of the Manichean way or a bipolar world-view. In addition I intend to make a connection between the bipolar world of the Cold War and the current War on Terror. During the Cold War, U.S. policy-makers saw the world as a contest of "good" versus "evil", in other words democracy versus communist totalitarianism. Paradoxically, the definition of the conflict being one of "good" versus "evil" provided U.S. policy-makers with an excuse to use any means necessary to overthrow what they considered to be communist totalitarian regimes. This included a crackdown on dissent at home. In addition, the United States supported anti-democratic regimes abroad as long as they were anti-communist. It was in this way that policy-makers undermined the very principles on behalf of which they claimed to be fighting. As a result of these foreign policy decisions came a backlash against U.S. support for anti-democratic forces. This came in the form of the Iranian revolution of 1979, where the United States became the "Great Satan." In addition, a third force, political Islamist fundamentalism, was emerging in international affairs. Unfortunately United States policy makers, blinded by the Cold War mentality, were unable to read it. This new force of Islamist fundamentalism was inadvertently fueled by the United States. An example can be seen in the form of Ronald Reagan's support for what United States policy-makers called Afghan "freedom fighters" in the 1980's. United States' Cold War policy against communist takeover helped the Taliban to take power in Afghanistan. Therefore the connection that can be made that the Cold War mentality of the United States and the bipolar world-view had serious effects on the current stage of international affairs. Islamist political violence became and has remained, a serious threat to U.S. residents. United States policy-makers have again adopted, or perhaps never overcome the bipolar world-view. Islamic terrorism has replaced communism in the eyes of policy makers as the new incarnation of evil. In addition, there has been a similar crackdown on dissent at home and an overly simplistic approach to foreign policy.
St John Fisher College

The Cold War and The War on Terror

A Master’s Thesis submitted to

The Faculty of the Master of Science in International Studies Program

In Candidacy for the Degree of

Master of Science in International Studies

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May, 2003
Abstract

The purpose of my paper is to provide an explanation of the United States’ Cold War mentality and its effects with the result being the adoption of the Manichean way or a bipolar world-view. In addition I intend to make a connection between the bipolar world of the Cold War and the current War on Terror.

During the Cold War, U.S. policy-makers saw the world as a contest of “good” versus “evil,” in other words democracy versus communist totalitarianism. Paradoxically, the definition of the conflict being one of “good” versus “evil” provided U.S. policy-makers with an excuse to use any means necessary to overthrow what they considered to be communist totalitarian regimes. This included a crackdown on dissent at home. In addition, the United States supported anti-democratic regimes abroad as long as they were anti-communist. It was in this way that policy-makers undermined the very principles on behalf of which they claimed to be fighting.

As a result of these foreign policy decisions came a backlash against U.S. support for anti-democratic forces. This came in the form of the Iranian revolution of 1979, where the United States became the “Great Satan.” In addition, a third force, political Islamist fundamentalism, was emerging in international affairs. Unfortunately United States policy makers, blinded by the Cold War mentality, were unable to read it. This new force of Islamist fundamentalism was inadvertently fueled by the United States. An example can be seen in the form of Ronald Reagan’s support for what United States policy-makers called Afghan “freedom fighters” in the 1980’s. United States’ Cold War policy against communist takeover helped the Taliban to take power in Afghanistan.

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Introduction and Thesis

During the Cold War, Western capitalism confronted Soviet communism in a bipolar adversarial relationship. With the Cold War’s conclusion in 1989, the bipolar world of the Soviet Union versus the United States ended as well. It was then that the United States emerged as the world’s sole superpower.

The end of the Cold War produced a rigorous debate on the nature of US foreign policy and America’s role in the world. An array of scenarios were proposed to predict future events after the Cold War. These scenarios included retrenchment, a “peace dividend,” a new world order, problem depletion, and the possibility of anarchy.

During the 1990’s, the collapse of the Soviet Union caused many to believe that a period of retrenchment was upon us. The United States would have to undertake the task of eliminating former Cold War agencies and policies that had been so central to American foreign policy. Many political analysts believed that a golden age had arrived. With this new era would come a “peace dividend” and a decrease in the number and severity of foreign policy problems facing the United States. Many international relations theorists such as Jocelyn Coulon in her book entitled Soldiers of Diplomacy: The United
Nations, Peacekeeping And The New World Order

and John Hulsman in his book *A Paradigm For The New World Order* speak of a New World Order in which peace, prosperity, democracy, and open trade would prevail. Howard Wiarda in *U.S. Foreign Policy and Strategic Policy in the Post-Cold War Era* claims that when the threat of nuclear annihilation was over, no comparable danger would be seen in our lifetimes.

On the other hand, some analysts argue that the Cold War’s end would cause new threats to face to and to undermine the world order. This shift in global affairs would cause the United States to expand foreign policy agencies and take a more active role in global affairs. In *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, John Mearsheimer writes about an anarchic world in which no international authority reigns. He claims that nations still engage in a "relentless struggle for power if they hope to survive."

A third suggestion in *Organizational Decline and Cutback Management* by Charles Levine argues that after the Cold War there would be a problem depletion. The Soviet Union would no longer threaten the security of Western Europe, a greater number of democracies would arise throughout eastern Europe, and the bedrock
principles of containment that had guided U.S. foreign policy would no longer exist. He argues that the Defense Department would suffer the greatest impact. The central enemy which generated so much political support for massive defense spending, would no longer be a threat. As Levine suggests, the Cold War created a system of stability for the United States, a clear-cut bipolar world divided into the free world and the Communist block in which you either supported or opposed communism. Since this system was so clearly black and white it was easy for U.S. policy makers to define its allies and its enemies. Many of the writers that discussed the end of the Cold War, concentrated on predicting the future and neglected to focus on the effects of the Cold War. This system had a narrow focus on promoting democracy and crushing communism. For this reason this system neglected to take into account the effects that Cold War policies would have on other nations that became involved in this struggle. For example, it neglected to see the effects that Cold War policy was having on the Middle East and the continuing unrest that eventually would erupt into the subsequent phase in international relations; the Cold War would end and its legacy would be brought to center stage.

In the 1990's, terrorism began to reemerge as a
feature of the Cold War legacy. Subsequently, the attacks of September 11, 2001 crystallized terrorism as the supreme threat. This new enemy was a direct result of U.S. foreign policy decisions made during the Cold War. It is during this time that the United States was so focused on its domestic policies and its fight against the Soviet Union that its policy-makers ignored the other Nations, specifically in the Middle East that were drawn into the conflict. This prior involvement with nations in the Middle East is one of the effects of the current use of terrorism by Islamic fundamentalists. Therefore, the United States' current need to fight terrorist activity has come as one of the results of our unwillingness to be considerate of other nations concerns' during the Cold War. It is with continuing unwillingness of consideration of nations concerns that we the U.S. fights the War on Terror. Even though the enemy has changed since the Cold War and recent terrorist outbreaks are not represented by a particular nation, the current policy-makers have chosen to embrace the same bipolar world-view with respect to the War on Terror and the nations we consider a threat.

To support my thesis I will compare U.S. Cold War policies and practices with current policies and practices in what the Bush administration has labeled the
War on Terror. During the Cold War, U.S. policy makers saw the world in a bi-polar way, or as a contest between “good and evil.” The “good” represented democracy and the “evil” represented communism. Ironically, the definition of the conflict as one between “good” and “evil” provided U.S. policy makers with an excuse to use any means necessary to overthrow what they considered communist totalitarian regimes. This included crackdowns on dissent at home and the support of anti-democratic regimes abroad, as long as they were anti-communist. As a result, U.S. policy makers undermined the very principles on behalf of which they claimed to be fighting. In addition, a result of U.S. foreign policy was the backlash against U.S. support for anti-democratic forces. One example of this backlash came in the form of the Iranian Revolution of 1979. Ironically, the United States was seen the incarnation of evil or the “Great Satan.”

During the Cold War, a third force of Islamic fundamentalism was clearly emerging in international affairs. However, U.S. policy makers were blinded by their Cold War mentality and were unable to read Islamic fundamentalists as a new political force that might oppose the interests of the United States. This can be
seen in Ronald Reagan’s support for what U.S. policy makers
dubbed as Afghan “freedom fighters” in the 1980’s. This Cold War policy ultimately helped the Taliban to take power in Afghanistan.

Islamic political violence erupted into the attacks of September 11 and have continued to be the main feature of the United States’ current War on Terror. There is no doubt that Islamic political violence has remained a serious threat to the United States. Yet, how do U.S. policy-makers justify invading nations that may not have any relation to the outbreak of Islamic terrorism and justify it by saying that it is part of the United States War on Terror? U.S. policy-makers seem to again have adopted or possibly never overcome the bipolar view of our world. Islamic Terrorism, has replaced communism in the eyes of U.S. policy-makers as the new incarnation of evil. Along with this has come a crackdown of dissent at home and an overly simplistic approach to U.S. foreign policy.

**Historical Background of the Cold War Mentality**

The United States has always vowed to hold to the principles of democracy and has had the generally good intention of spreading democracy to other nations. Without a doubt, during the Cold War, Communism was perceived as a
tremendous threat to the American way of life. But to what lengths and at what cost did the United States government go to contain the “evil empire” of the Soviet Union? How far would the U.S. go to ensure democracy could continue to flourish? Or in other words to what lengths would the ideals of democracy suffer to avoid communist takeovers?

After World War II, a power struggle, which became known as the Cold War, developed between the United States and the Soviet Union. This term was used to describe the struggle between the United States and its allies, and the Soviet Union and its allies. International politics were shaped to a considerable extent by the intense rivalry between the two great blocs of power. International affairs were molded by an opposing political ideology of the United States and its allies, democratic capitalism, and that of the Soviet Union, socialist communism. The principal allies of the United States during the Cold War included Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, and Canada. On the Soviet side were the countries of Eastern Europe including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Romania and China. The term Cold War was coined by the United States to describe the stand off between the two sides.
During this Cold War period, relations between the two blocs had deteriorated to the point of war without the actual occurrence of warfare. The conflict dominated the foreign policy agendas of both sides and led to the formation of two vast military alliances, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, created by Western powers in 1949, and the Soviet dominated Warsaw Pact, established in 1955. Even though the conflict was originally centered in Europe, the Cold War enmity eventually drew the United States and the USSR into local conflicts around the globe.

The Cold War was an arms race that brought a permanent threat of nuclear overkill by one of the two superpowers.\(^1\) With the Cold War mentality came several domestic and foreign policy decisions.

**Domestic Policies and the Loss of Civil Liberties**

An important effect of the Cold War’s bipolar worldview was the emergence of anti-communist paranoia in the United States. This paranoia was most clearly exemplified in activities of Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin.

McCarthyism is the term that describes the accusations and investigations carried out against people who were suspected of Communist activities during the 1950's by Senator McCarthy. In the late 1940's a number of Communist

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\(^1\) Combs, Cindy and Slann, Martin *Encyclopedia of Terrorism.* (New York : Library of Congress, 2002).
takeovers in such eastern-European countries as Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland and later in Albania and Yugoslavia, alarmed many Americans. As a result, charges that Americans had served as Soviet spies received wide attention. Alger Hiss of the State Department was accused of giving away government secrets to a Soviet spy. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were convicted of passing military secrets to Soviet agents. As time passed and Communism appeared more and more threatening, the US government began to suspect government employees of being secret Communists. Harry Truman formed loyalty boards to investigate federal workers. Truman ordered the dismissal of any employees that appeared questionable. In addition, in 1947 the US attorney general established a list of organizations that the Department of Justice considered disloyal.

Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin gained national attention in 1950 when he charged that Communists dominated the state department. Although the Senate Foreign Relations committee found no Communists or sympathizers, McCarthy continued to make accusations and gain followers. He and other conservatives blamed the nation’s problems on the presence of Communists within the US government. Thousands of people were affected, including college professors, entertainers and journalists. Some firms and
organizations blacklisted individuals or refused to hire them based on accusations that they were Communist. Although McCarthyism declined after the end of the Korean War in 1954, the term has come to refer to reckless public accusations of disloyalty to the United States.  

Another effect of the Cold War mentality was a more general fear of Communism known as the Red Scare. The Red Scare created a paranoid mentality that deprived communists of their First Amendment rights. It frightened liberals into silence and allowed conservatives to dismantle many radical political organizations.  

In 1954, during the Red Scare, the film *Duck and Cover: with Bert the Turtle* was released. This movie was a cartoon made as a Civil Defense measure to instruct viewers on what to do in the case of a nuclear attack. 

**Foreign Policy - The Enemy of my Enemy is my Friend**

During the Cold War the need to contain communism led to U.S. involvement in the internal affairs of several nations, including Iran, and Afghanistan. The United States became involved in the affairs of these nations in order to contain communism. The United States was willing to go to great lengths in order to support anticommunist regimes,

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even if they were not democratic. Our support of Saddam Hussein during the Iran-Iraq war shows the United States willingness to support governments when it is expedient to do so.

The United States has been deeply involved in Iranian affairs since the early 1940s. United States involvement began immediately after Mohammed Reza Shah assumed the throne in 1941. Seeking to counter Russian and British influence in Iran during World War II, Washington sent a small military mission to Iran in 1943.

After the War, the United States aided the Shah in his efforts to build a substantial base of support in the armed forces by providing arms, equipment and training to the Iranian Army. In addition, the U.S. also helped establish the Imperial Iranian Gendarmerie, a special internal security force under direct palace command, which played a decisive role in the Shah’s efforts to consolidate his control over the entire country. As a result of Cold War policies the United States continued to support the Shah. Premier Mohammed Mossadegh, who was democratically elected, had come to power in 1951 as leader of the National Front, and was appointed by the Shah under heavy pressure from the Iranian parliament (the Majils). Mossadegh’s nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was a
troubling sign to the British, and then the United States, culminating in the new Eisenhower Administration’s decision to “undertake covert action in support of a military coup.” America’s 1953 intervention in Iran to depose Premier Mohammed Mossadegh was one of the first successful attempts by the United States to “subvert a radical nationalist government.”\(^4\) CIA Chief Allen Dulles and top Middle East operative Kermit Roosevelt engineered the fall of Mossadegh’s government in August 1953.

After the coup, the United States helped the Shah consolidate his power, and the CIA and Defense Department were deeply involved in Iranian political affairs.\(^5\) Military assistance, police aid and training, arms sales and military support would continue throughout the Cold War period. The result was that the United States was viewed by both the Shah and the growing opposition forces as being directly involved in Iranian military operations— with all the political consequences that such a role entailed. The United States’ help of imposing the Shah on the country which had democratically elected Mohammed Mossadegh increased resentment of many Iranians, including devout Shia Muslims. The modernization brought to this nation

\(^4\) www.irv1.net/USMI.html (Institute for policy studies. Washington, 1979.)

\(^5\) Ibid
caused resentment by many Islamists toward the Shah and the United States who backed him. In the words of a 1976 Senate study, "Anti-Americanism could become a serious problem .... if there were to be a change in government in Iran."\(^6\)

In 1979, that change in government did occur. The Islamic Revolution of 1979 replaced the monarchy with a republican form of government guided by the principles of Shia Islam. Shia clergy, who played a key role in mobilizing opposition to the Shah obtained important positions in the post-revolutionary government. The new government was suspicious of central authority and created a new system of separate branches of government: executive, judicial and legislative, which could check one another's exercise of power. This takeover by a revolutionary government led to the deterioration of Iran-U.S. relations. In September of 1979 the U.S. embassy in Iran was seized and 52 American hostages were held because of medical treatment that was given to the exiled Shah.

The Iranians who seized power were responding to what they perceived as a long history of humiliation that the United States had inflicted upon Iran. Many Muslims felt

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\(^6\) Institute for policy studies. www.irvl.net/USMI.html
they had been held as prisoners in their own country and American intervention in their lives could no longer be tolerated. 7 It wasn’t until the invasion by Iraq in September of 1980 that Iran became more receptive in resolving the hostage crisis. 8 Even so the tensions between the US and Iran have continued up to the present day.

When the Iran-Iraq war first broke out in September of 1980, the Soviet Union, which had been supplying weapons to Iraq turned its back on the nation.

In 1981 the communist party had been repressed by dictator Saddam Hussein and the United States jumped at the opportunity to improve ties with Iraq. Iraq claimed that it was about Soviet imperialism in the Middle East. The US was aware of the tactics used by Saddam Hussein, including chemical weapons against Iran and dissidents within his own country, but agreed to aid the anti-communist regime. The U.S. began by selling five Boeing jetliners to Iraq and removing Iraq from the list of nations that support international terrorism. In addition, a 400 million dollar credit guarantee was sent to Iraq for US exports and in 1984, diplomatic relations would be restored between the

7 Said, Edward Covering Islam: How the Media and Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World, p.xvi.

8 “Iran Hostage Crisis” http://aolsvc.aol.infoplease.com/ce6/history/A0825448.html
two nations. It is here that we see another example of how the Cold War mentality of U.S. policy makers led to U.S. support for an anti-democratic regime. During the Cold War period, the U.S. supported the Hussein led B’aath Party, which started out socialist. When Saddam Hussein became the enemy of Iran the U.S. sided Iraq because it was expedient to U.S. interests. Later Saddam Hussein’s regime was demonized because it was again expedient to the United State’s interests.

U.S. policy toward Afghanistan in the 1980’s provides another example of how the Cold War mentality led U.S. policy makers astray. In the 1970’s, Afghanistan was ruled by a conservative monarchy. The communist People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan, founded in 1965, carried out a coup in 1978 and set about to transform Afghan society, in the process alienating many groups including the middle class and Muslim clerics. In addition, the party was bitterly divided between a radical Khalq wing and the more restrained pro-Soviet Parcham faction. The 1978 government, chaired by Noor Muhammad Taraki, was under Khalq control. In late 1979 Hafizullah Amin, an extremist member of Khalq, deposed and killed Taraki in a palace coup. Fearing further tumult, in December 1979 the Soviet

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Union landed paratroops in Kābul, killing Amin and installing a member of the Parcham faction, Babrak Karmal, as president. The Soviets then sent in an occupation force of more than 100,000 troops, who incurred massive resistance and were unable to resolve the situation.

As a result of the continuing mayhem, the anticommunist Islamist guerilla fighters were aided by the United States, China, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Iran. Weapons and anti-aircraft missiles were channeled through Iran and Pakistan. These nations provided a place for refuge, military training and other support. It was then that the Taliban movement emerged out of the uncertainty and chaos. Thousands of volunteers from around the Middle East came to Afghanistan as Mujahideen, warriors fighting to defend fellow Muslims. By the mid 1980’s Osama bin Laden became the chief financier of the organization, and recruited many more Muslims from throughout the world. The Mujahideen were crucial in defeating the Soviet forces. It wouldn’t be until much later that the Taliban would completely rule Afghanistan.¹⁰

¹⁰ Hayes, Laura “Al-Qaida Osma bin Laden’s Network of Terror” See http://aol.infoplease.com/spot/tenor-qaeda 2003
Subsequently, overwhelmed by thousands of Mujahideen, Mohammed Najibullah replaced Karmal, when Soviets began to withdraw in 1988. The Soviet Union completely withdrew in 1989 and Civil War broke out between the Mujahideen factions and the central government. The Taliban emerged as a faction of Mujahideen soldiers who identified themselves as religious students. The U.S. Cold war mentality led to U.S. support of Islamist guerilla fighters and this in turn helped the Taliban to gain power.

Eventually, after years of conflict, the Cold War came to an end. Soviet leader Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan held a series of summit talks, beginning in 1985, and then in 1987 the two leaders agreed to eliminate a large class of their countries' nuclear missiles. The Soviet Union reduced its forces in Eastern Europe and in 1989, pulled out of Afghanistan. That year communist regimes began to crumble in Eastern Europe. The wall that had divided East and West Germany since 1961 was torn down. In 1991 the USSR dissolved and Russia and other Soviet republics emerged as independent nation-states.

The collapse of Soviet power in Eastern Europe, and then the USSR itself, lent a sense of finality to the Cold War period. Even so, the U.S. Cold War policies had contributed to the establishment of militant anti-western
regimes in Iran and Afghanistan and helped Saddam Hussein to strengthen his power in Iraq. These U.S. cold-war policies would come back to trouble U.S. policy makers in years to come.

**Islam, Terrorism and the War on Terror**

During the Cold War there was little understanding of the Islamic World. To most people in the West “Islam” signified opposition to Communism. As explained earlier many of the decisions made while the United States was fighting communist governments negatively impacted many Islamic regimes and their people. Of course not all of the Islamic world’s problems can be blamed on U.S. Cold War decisions. Yet much of the animosity felt toward the West today was rooted during the Cold War. This section makes several connections between the West’s influence on Islam and what results have taken place.¹¹

Islam represents a special case that has evolved from religion into a socio-political system. In no way can one claim that U.S. foreign policy directly caused the recent course of Islam. Rather I am commenting on the revitalized use of Islamic terrorism against the West and its correlation to events during the Cold War. There are

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several examples of reviver movements. Like any religion, Islam has seen periodic revivals. Since Islam is a special case it has come to mean more than religion. As stated earlier, Islam is a socio-political system containing cultural, ethical and political aspects. "Islamist" applies to political Islam. Therefore, "Islamic terrorism" means terrorism that is perpetrated by Muslims who stress Islam as a political ideology.  

Islam is a comprehensive system that sets standards and norms for its followers in every aspect of life. Fundamentalism is the term used to describe the effort to define the fundamentals of a religious system and adhere to them. One of Islam’s basic beliefs is to protect the purity of Islamic principles from the defilement of speculative exercises. In medieval times the fundamentalist response was purely centered internally in a region. Today, the fundamentalist response is both internal and external to political states. What this means is that Islamic Fundamentalism stretches beyond the geographic boundaries of its influence. Today Islamic Fundamentalism wishes to encompass a much larger scope. Islam is attempting to rid itself of ideas from the West.  

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13 Ibid, 31
Since Islam was widely adopted by people who had had their own long-established traditions and religions, Islam adapted itself to many differing cultures. Throughout the years and as a result of this process, Islam became diluted. This in turn led to the emergence of revivalist movements.

For many years now the Muslim world has found itself on the defensive when it came into contact with Christian powers, either in the political or the commercial realm. This has been true for many years. For example, when the Muslim world came into contact with European powers in the Ottoman Turkish Empire in Istanbul the Muslim world found itself on the defensive. Another example is when the Mogul empire in Delhi also came into contact with Christian power when it dealt with the British East India Company. A strong response to the rising dominance of Western powers in the Islamic world was expressed by the pan-Islamist Jamaluddin Afghani in the mid 1800’s. His response was to implement a defense force, to learn the secrets of Western strength, and adopt western modes of thought within Islam.  

Perhaps just the opposite is true of many in the Islamic world today. Many extremists who wish to act out against the West, in particular the United States, use

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14 Ibid, 32
terrorism, under the guise of religious fervor and use it as a political strategy. Terrorism is not a new phenomenon. Terrorism was first used to describe a new system of government during the French Revolution (1789-1799). The Reign of Terror was intended to promote democracy and popular rule by violently ridding the Revolution of its enemies. The oppression and violent excess of the terroristes was transformed into a feared instrument of the state. From that point on terrorism had a negative connotation. In a generalized sense, terrorism today can be described as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non combatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience."\textsuperscript{15} With the Cold War’s end, international conflict is no longer specific nations fighting for world domination. Instead, small groups of individuals are asserting their political, cultural and religious views through violent means. These acts are being committed against civilian populations that these groups view as the enemy.

Several terror attacks have occurred around the globe in the last few years, including the bombing of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and the USS Cole in

\textsuperscript{15} Combs, Cindy and Slann, Martin *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*
2000. Perhaps the most spectacular example of this new age of terrorism is the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon: suffered the most devastating terrorist attacks in U.S. history.\textsuperscript{16}

Suspicion centered on Osama bin Laden as the person responsible for the attacks. The United States later confirmed him as the perpetrator. He is the leader of the terrorist organization known as Al-Qaeda. Bin Laden has long advocated violence against the United States. Bin Laden stated in 1998, "to kill Americans and their allies--civilians and military--is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it." \textsuperscript{17}

The origin of the Al-Qaeda organization dates back to the 1980’s. Osama bin Laden, like many Muslims, was eager to support the Afghan forces that resisted the occupation of the Soviet Union, which had invaded the nation in 1979. Having acquired family money from construction projects for the Saudi Royal family, bin Laden was in a good position to finance Mujahadeen resistance in Afghanistan.

After the Soviets left in the late 1980’s he turned his attention to places where Muslims were being corrupted.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid
by foreign influences. He was particularly outraged with Western influence, since his strict belief in Islam left little room for compromise. Many of Osama bin Laden’s views have become popular in the Islamic world, especially among young men who feel alienated from their government and resentful of power and prosperity associated with the West. Bin Laden has become a hero to some Muslims for standing up to the West. He has formed Al-Qaeda into a dangerous terror network.

Osama bin Laden is not the only terrorist organization that feels hatred toward the West. In addition to Al-Qaeda there are several other terrorist groups including Hezbollah, which is a Lebanese group of Shiite militants that have evolved into a major force in Lebanon’s society and politics. They too oppose the West and seek to create a Muslim Fundamentalist state modeled on Iran. They are a bitter foe of Israel.

Islamic Jihad is a different terrorist organization whose name means party of God. This Palestinian terrorist group in particular, seems to tie in with the overlying trend of United States Cold War involvement in the Middle East. At the beginning of the Cold War period the newly formed United Nation, backed heavily by the United States, voted to partition Palestine in 1948 and create the state
of Israel. Palestine was a place in which Arabs had lived for two thousand years. After a short Arab-Israeli war in 1949 the state of Israel was established. This interference, like many others during the Cold War period, had an enormous impact on the future stability of that region.

The Islamic Jihad organization would rise from the unrest and western influence dating back to the Cold War. Their attacks have included a series of kidnappings of Westerners, including several Americans, in the 1980s; the suicide truck bombings that killed more than 200 U.S. Marines at their barracks in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1983; the 1985 hijacking of TWA flight 847, which featured the famous footage of the plane's pilot leaning out of the cockpit with a gun to his head; and two major 1990s attacks on Jewish targets in Argentina—the 1992 bombing of the Israeli embassy (killing 29) and the 1994 bombing of a Jewish community center (killing 95). Islamic Jihad is hostile toward moderate Arab governments that it believes have been tainted by Western secularism. Islamic Jihad has conducted at least three attacks against Israeli interests in late 2000, including one to commemorate the anniversary of former PIJ leader Fathi Shqaqi's murder in Malta on October 26, 1995. It also conducted suicide bombings
against Israeli targets in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Israel.\textsuperscript{18}

**U.S. Domestic Policy and the Loss of Civil Liberties**

Like the Cold War, the War on Terror has caused the United States to compromise freedoms guaranteed by our constitution, resulting in a threat to the basic principles of American government. After the September 11 attacks, FBI agents scanned Internet websites that contained what the State may have considered seditious or unpatriotic content, possibly to suppress freedom of speech and assembly. Racial profiling has occurred in our nation's airports under the guise of security.

The USA Patriot Act and the establishment of the US military tribunals were enacted with very little consideration of the impact of these measures. "Homeland security" is the reprise of "National Security" which was defined by anti-Communist paranoia abroad and now terrorist paranoia at home.

A terror alert system has been instituted to warn of the danger of a terror attack. U.S. policy-makers have used the fear of a possible terror attack to incite unnecessary paranoia among U.S. citizens. These alerts serve no purpose to the average citizen. This system does not

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid
explain what precautions American citizens should take when 
the severity level on the terror alert system increases.

**US Foreign Policy and the Current Role of the United 
States in International Affairs.**

Terrorism has impacted the world order. Even though 
the nature of the enemy has changed the U.S. outlook has 
not. Today international relations are greatly impacted by 
the United State involvement in combating terrorism. Even 
though the bipolar world of the Cold War and the contest 
between "good" and "evil" ended in 1989, a new contest 
between "good" and "evil" has been resurrected in the War 
on Terror.

During the Cold War the academic and political 
activist Naom Chomsky commented on the bipolar world 
structure and how Cold War policy can only be implemented 
if the "general population is properly frightened by 
monsters against whom we must defend ourselves." 19 The same 
is true in our current administration. President George 
Bush commented on September 12th 2001 to General Mahmoud 
Ahmad, the head of Pakistani intelligence, that the US was 
not clear on what it would ask of Pakistan, but that they

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19 Chomsky, Noam _Pirates & Emperors International Terrorism in the Real World_ Amana Books USA 
1990, pp.7.
face a "stark choice." "Either it is with us or it is not. This is a black and white choice with no gray."  

After September 11 President George W. Bush has pursued many major foreign policy decisions. He attempted to rid the world of terrorism by singling out nations who have made efforts to obtain nuclear weapons. Bush has invaded the nations of Afghanistan and Iraq and has promised to help these nations to rebuild and establish new governments. What have been the results of these decisions?

The bipolar world-view has not vanished. In President Bush’s State of the Union address in January of 2002, he singles out Iran, Iraq and North Korea as an “axis of evil.” Has perhaps terrorism has become a replacement to bi-polar anticommmunist foreign policy. Bush denounced these nation’s efforts to acquire and export weapons of mass destruction. He emphasized the severity that this threat posed and how the United States must do something sooner rather than later.  

In the immediate aftermath of 9/11 President George W. Bush has pledged that he would not make the same mistakes in Afghanistan that we did in 1989. The United States abandoned Afghanistan after the Soviets defeat in 1989.

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This was followed by the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan and the displacement of the Taliban from power. President George W. Bush commented, "The really telling American failure in Afghanistan was not an excess of zeal but a lack of engagement and follow through." ²²

The United States cannot make the same mistake this time in Afghanistan. The United States needs to support a long-term goal for peace and prosperity in Afghanistan with material help. The United States cannot afford to ignore the new government in Kabul. It has strategic and political importance. The U.S. needs to show the world that it can rebuild a stable Islamic nation that can participate in the World Community.

The Bush administration has fought a successful military campaign in Afghanistan, yet it is not following through with rebuilding the country. In reality the U.S. needs to rebuild and stabilize Afghanistan to help stop the spread of terror and help stabilize the region. The United States has already shown the international community that it breaks treaties. For example, the United States' treatment of POWs being held in Cuba is unacceptable.

according to the Geneva Convention and the standards of human rights.

The War on Terror has caused the United States to engage in unilateral military action against Iraq. The U.S. may eventually see how this act could cause a breakdown of the international system. The rash military campaign against Iraq has "threatened to fracture the coalition that has been built against terrorism." \(^{23}\) This unilateral attack may have disrupted the multilateral system of international relations.

Perhaps the U.S. is too focused on Iraq to follow through with our commitments in Afghanistan. There needs to be success in Afghanistan. Many of the decisions that the United States is making right now are going to affect the future of foreign policy and the willingness of other nations to support the U.S. Many other nations have pointed out that the Bush Administration is more focused on military operations in Iraq than helping to rebuild Afghanistan. Another example, is in Iraq where a regime we once supported because it was anticommunist is now being fought with the suspicion that it supports terrorism. It is also apparent that President Bush is attempting to resurrect the Cold-war view of the world.

\(^{23}\) Sanders, Bernie "Unilateral Action Could Have High Cost" Rutland Herald (September 2002).
Conclusion

Military force has replaced democratic idealism as the main source of American influence. The U.S. needs to convince the world community that it is not merely a military superpower but a supporter of peace. The U.S. needs to support the United Nations to continue efforts to stabilize the Middle East. Unfortunately, however, the U.S. has continued to base our decisions on worst-case thinking. During the Cold War period we made assessments based on fear of Soviet intention and capabilities that turned out to be false. It was those assessments that shaped policy. It was perhaps Washington’s fantasy that drove the arms race, the effects of which still threaten the world.  

Again the U.S. has plunged into the same Cold War mistakes in regard to Iraq. Once again the citizens of the United States have been denied their civil liberties, the administration has over-simplistically approached foreign policy decisions, and has not taken into consideration the consequences of preemptively fighting the war with Iraq. Perhaps it is the belief in the terrorist threat that points the U.S. toward the next phase of international

relations in which the U.S. will be dedicated at any cost
to fight an enemy it created.
Chronology

1945: A-Bomb dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki: US ahead in arms race
1945: World War II ends
1947: Pakistan gains independence
1947: Marshall Plan sends aid to the West of Europe
1947: The US attorney general establish a list of organizations that the Department of Justice consider disloyal.
1948: State of Israel is proclaimed
1949: NATO established. USSR explodes first A-bomb
1950: United States Senator Joseph McCarthy charges that the U.S. Department of State has been infiltrated by Communists.
1953: U.S. supports military coup that overthrows Iran’s Premier Mohammed Mossadegh
1954: During the Red Scare “Duck and Cover”: with Bert the Turtle” was released.
1961: The Berlin Wall is constructed to stop the flight of people from Communist East Germany to the West.
1962: Nuclear war between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) is narrowly avoided in the Cuban missile crisis.
1963: A nuclear test-ban treaty is signed by the United States, the USSR, and Great Britain.

1967: The Six-Day War is fought between Israel and the Arab nations of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, resulting in Israeli control of all Jordanian territory west of the Jordan River, the Golan Heights of Syria, and the Sinai Peninsula.

1968: Warsaw Pact troops invade Czechoslovakia


1973: The Arab oil embargo causes an energy crisis in the industrialized world.

1979: The Shah of Iran is ousted by a revolution led by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

1979: The USSR invades Afghanistan

1980: Iraq invades Iran beginning eight years of war

1981: U.S. sends military aid package to Pakistan worth $3.2 billion dollars

1983: President Reagan dubs the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) the "Evil Empire" and proposes the Strategic Defense Initiative, also known as "Star Wars."

1985: Reagan and Gorbachev begin summit talks

1989: Soviet troops pull out of Afghanistan

1989: The Berlin Wall, a barrier between East and West Berlin, is demolished.
1991: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) breaks into independent states, marking the end of the Cold War.

1993: World Trade center Bombing

1996: The Taliban gain complete control of Afghanistan

1996: U.S. embassy in Kenya and Tanzania bombed

2000: Bombing of the USS Cole

2001: 9/11 The World Trade Centers, the Pentagon and a field in Southeast Pittsburgh are hit by a terrorist attack

2002: President George W. Bush singles out Iran, Iraq and North Korea as "Axis of Evil."

2003: U.S. invades Iraq
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