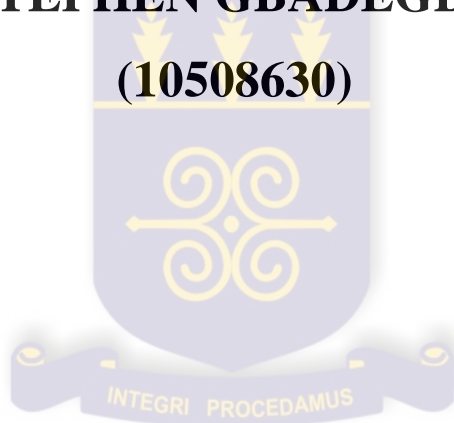# SOFT POWER AND HARD POWER: AN ASSESSMENT OF OBAMA'S WAR ON TERRORISM

BY

STEPHEN GBADEGBE

(10508630)

THIS DISERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEGON   **JULY 2015**

DECLARATION

I, Stephen Gbadegbe, do hereby declare that this work is entirely my personal efforts except references to other works in support of this dissertation under the supervision of Dr. Amanda Coffie. It is a record of my own research work and has not been previously presented in any form whatsoever in application for a degree elsewhere. All sources of information collected and materials used have been duly acknowledged by reference and bibliography.

……………………………   …………………………
STEPHEN GBADEGBE   **DR. AMANDA COFFIE**
   (STUDENT)   **(SUPERVISOR)**

DATE ………..................   **DATE …………………….**

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Rev and Mrs Ekow Ankumah for their immense support throughout this programme, to my father Mr. Thomas Gbadegbe and my mother Mrs. Elizabeth Afese

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AMISOM	-	African Union Mission in Somalia
AQAP	-	Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
AQIM	-	Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
AU	-	African Union
AUMF	-	Authority for the Use of Military Force
CIA	-	Central Intelligence Agency
DHS	-	Department of Homeland Security
DOD	-	Department of Defence
FAST	-	Foreign-deployment Advisory Support Teams
FATA	-	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FBI	-	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GCTF	-	Global Counterterrorism Forum
GWOT	-	Global War on Terrorism
JSOC	-	Joint Special Operations Command
NTAS	-	National Terrorism and Advisory System
OLC	-	Office of Local Counsel
STEP	-	Smart Traveller Enrolment Program
TSCTP	-	Trans Sahara Counterterrorism Partnerships
UAVs	-	Unmanned Aerial Vehicles
USAID	-	United States Agency for International Development
USNAI	-	United States Naval Institute
WMD	-	Weapons of Mass Destruction

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ABSTRACT

The attacks of September 11 2001 on the United States triggered that country's enormous efforts to counterterrorism in order to prevent the re-occurrence of that event on the soil of the United States. President George Bush Jr. responded to the attacks by excessive application of hard power with the objective of bringing the perpetrators to justice. President Obama coming into office in 2009 promised a departure from the United States excessive reliance on hard power application in dealing with perceived enemies. The study proves that, President Obama has adopted the combination of soft power and hard power when it comes to the fight against terrorism even though he appeared pro soft power prior to coming into office. Findings from this study shows that, the application of both hard power and soft power by the Obama Administration has been relatively successful resulting in the killing of Osama Bin Laden but at the same time terrorist groups have emerged in various parts of the world bringing to question the success of the combination approach proposed by Nye as it failed to provide a framework of how much hard power and soft power should be applied in a given situation. Recommendations include an all-round national strategy and global involvement of other partners that suggests significant roles of diplomacy and development alongside military defence and application of hard power.
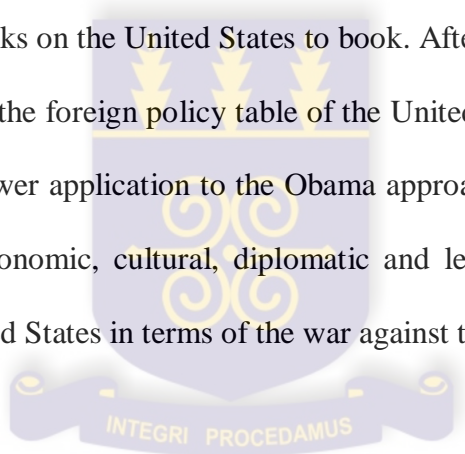
CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1   Background to the Research Problem

On September 11 2001, the United States of America and the world experienced a shocking event when the U.S was attacked by members of the militant group called Al Qaeda through a series of airline hijacks. The attacks, which occurred in the cities of New York and Washington D.C, resulted in loss of lives and destruction to properties triggered an enormous U.S effort to combat terrorism. In order to achieve this, the then president George Bush Jr. relied massively on the application of hard power more than soft power to bring the perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks on the United States to book. After that event, a wide range of options has been brought to the foreign policy table of the United States from the George W. Bush Jr doctrine of hard power application to the Obama approach which is depicted by the combination of military, economic, cultural, diplomatic and legal means among others to further the goals of the United States in terms of the war against terrorism.

The September 11 2001 attacks prompted the United States under the leadership of President George Bush Jr. to declare a Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) with certain objectives and measures put in place. Two different administrations have been involved in the war against terrorism after the attacks, President George Bush Jr was widely seen to be prone to the use of hard power and this stance necessitated certain actions taken by his administration. Mention can be made of the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 leading to the overthrow of the Taliban regime which was seen to be providing shield and safe haven for Al Qaeda group and, the invasion and subsequent overthrow of Saddam Hussein in Iraq also seen as harboring weapons of mass destruction and a breeding ground for terrorist activities are all actions that provides evidence that president George W. Bush Jr was more geared towards the use of hard power.

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The protracted and bloody wars in Iraq and Afghanistan resulted in criticisms at home and abroad and also a study decline of American popularity and sympathy, which also exposed the limits of American supremacy. One of the arguments made by the critics of the Bush Administration was that, the president failed to appreciate how globalization has re-created world politics. The administration disseminated power around the globe and created new challenges, of which terrorism was just one.

In an interview granted to Spiegal Online International, Harvard Professor Joseph Nye speaking on the use of hard power and soft power in foreign policy, noted that " Every American president has three options, He can use force in other words hard power-to assert his interests, he can invest money or lead by attraction. The latter I call soft power, the appeal of American cultural values. I have never argued that the so-called hard power instruments of superpower-the military, the intelligence services or economic sanctions can be replaced. It is all the right mix of hard and soft power."[1]

From the statement of Joseph Nye, he suggests that, it will be difficult for any American president to rely solely on soft power or hard power alone in the war on terror but a combination of both will be appropriate because the application of hard power or soft power alone cannot win the war on terror. Accordingly, Nye explains these two types of power as follows; "Hard power is the ability to get others to act in ways that are contrary to their preferences and strategies."[2] This is the ability to force others through threats and inducements ('carrots and sticks'). On the other hand, he describes "soft power as the ability to get others to want outcomes that you want,"[3] and more especially the ability to achieve goals through attraction rather than coercion."[4] In a campaign message at Obama Town Hall Event in Lancaster PA, Obama criticised the Bush administration for bringing more power to

the Executive branch and ignoring Congress through unilateral interventions. He stated "I thought constitutional law for ten years; I take the constitution very seriously. The biggest problems that were facing right now have to do with George Bush trying to bring more and more power to the executive branch and not go through Congress at all and that is what I intend to reverse when am president of the United States."[5]

President Obama's criticism of the Bush administration's excessive application of hard power begun to change after coming into office when he stated in a graduation speech delivered at the Defence University that:

> I believe, however that the use of force must be seen as part of our larger discussion, we need to have a comprehensive counterterrorism strategy—because for all the focus is on the use of force, force cannot make us safe, we cannot use force everywhere that a radical ideology take roots in the absence of a strategy that reduces the wellspring of extremism, a perpetual war—through drones or special forces or troops deployment will prove self-defeating and alter our country in troubling ways.[6]

In this speech, Obama shares the views of Nye and makes the point that, the use of hard power alone will not make America and its people safe from the attacks of terrorist and the use of both powers will be most effective. Thus President Obama advocated the closure of the Guantanamo Bay detention camp saying that 'it is critical for us to understand that Guantanamo is not necessary to keep America safe, it is expensive, it is ineffective. Contrary to this stand, Guantanamo Bay could not be closed down, Obama applied hard power when he sanctioned the capture and killing of Osama Bin Laden in 2013, expanded the scope and increased the use of drones. Currently, Obama is using drone strikes to kill Al Qaeda leaders in Yemen. Obama pledged to abide by international and institutional norms, especially those related to diplomacy and cohesive interrogation, to tackle issues related to climate change and the Israeli –Palestinian peace process and to even extend a hand of friendship with countries like Iran, North Korea, Venezuela and Cuba. Despite his move towards friendship with these nations he also emphasized that, military action will be taken where it is sensible to do so.

Events of the real world coupled with the responsibility of keeping the American people safe from terrorist influenced the Obama administration adoption of Nye's proposal of the mixture of both powers in his counterterrorism efforts.

1.2   Statement of the Research Problem

It is a traditional practice in statecraft that major powers in the international system employ the use of hard power and soft power in the realm of international diplomacy. The United States have on many occasions in its quest to protect its citizens from terrorists attacks such as the events of September 11 2001 and the desire to maintain its leadership in military terms have applied the use of hard power and soft power to compel or influence other actors in the international system to go in the direction they want. The excessive application of hard power by the George Bush Jr. Administration after the 2001 terrorist attacks have created more enemies for the U.S which is evident in the springing up of various terrorist groups in parts of the world, hence the proposal by Joseph Nye for the combination approach to be adopted by the U.S.

There have been a lot of discussions on the subject matter of hard power and soft power including the proposal of the combination approach by Nye. However, Joseph Nye failed to provide a framework as to how much hard power and soft power should be applied in a specific situation. President Obama, then presidential candidate, criticised the Bush Administration for employing excessive use of hard power and presented himself as a more pro-soft power against terrorism, unlike his predecessor. However, careful look at the Obama administration however reveals the administration's application of both soft and hard power in carrying out its policy against terrorism contrary to his criticisms of the Bush administration.

It is in this vein that, the research seeks to assess Obama's practice of Nye's proposition that a combination of soft power and hard power is the better approach for a successful foreign policy which does not give a framework as to how much hard power and soft power should be applied in a specific situation. Specifically, the study discusses Obama's approach to the war on terrorism during his tenure of office as the president of the United States from the period of 2009 to 2016.

1.3 Research Questions

- What is the strategy adopted by America in the war against terrorism post 9/11 attack?
- What is Obama's approach to the war on terrorism?
- How successful or otherwise is this approach?

1.4   Research Objectives

- Present an overview of United States war on terrorism after 9/11 attacks.
- Assess President Obama's application of hard power and soft power in the war against terrorism during the period under review.
- Determine whether the combination approach by the Obama administration has been successful.

1.5   Scope of the Research

The scope of the research is to assess the United States foreign policy towards the fight against terrorism after the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks on the .U.S. The research specifically focuses on President Obama's application of soft power and hard power in his term of office, thus the period from 2009 to 2016. It is important to note that the current study is not an assessment of the general US foreign policy but specifically focused on a

component of it, that is the US War on Terrorism as described by both scholars and policy makers.

1.6   Rationale of the Study

The rationale for the study is to conduct an examination of the combination approach adopted by the Obama administration to determine the success or otherwise of the approach proposed by Joseph Nye and suggest whether this approach should be adopted by future United States governments in their quest to combat terrorism.

1.7   Hypothesis

The hypothesis for this study is as follows: The Obama administration has employed the application of soft power and hard power in the war against terrorism and the combination approach has been successful.

1.8   Conceptual Framework

 This research work is based on the concepts of soft and hard power as propounded by Joseph Nye. The concept of soft power was coined by Joseph Nye in his book *Soft Power*: *"The Means to Success in World Politics".* According to Joseph Nye Jnr, the concept of soft power means "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than through coercion or payments".[7] It simply means a country's ability to use diplomatic means like persuasions and attraction rather than through military force or financial coercion to change preferences of other states and institutions. Soft power is also manifested by the country's ability to get cooperation from other countries and institutions without threatening them. He believes that a country could influence other countries and institutions to cooperate with it in its foreign policy objectives and the war against terrorism.

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This would be possible if that country lives up to its own values such that these values become admirable to other countries. As a result of such admiration those countries may become attracted to it and seek cooperation with it. For instance say country 'A' becomes a leader and draws others to its side so they do what it wishes not necessary using force, threats, inducement, payments and coercion. Nye compares soft power to attraction and seduction in several relationships. For example, in the corporate world efficient leaders do not give orders for activities to be carried out, they lead by example in partaking in the activity and subordinates follow. Soft power is an attraction which leads to acquiescence and also makes others change their policies and preferences and accept the others value.

The term hard power describes a nation's ability to use economic incentives and or military strength to influence others behaviour. Hard power relies on a measure of power propounded by the realist school in international relations. Hard power has a long historical background, it is measured in terms of military capability as defined by Machiavelli in the Prince; "I judge the princes self-sufficient who either through, abundance of troops or money are able to gather a suitable army and fight a good battle against whoever should attack them and I consider those who always need protection of others to be those who cannot meet the enemy in the field."[8] In contemporary times, the term hard power is defined by modern scholars such as Joseph Nye, Kurt Campbell and Michael Hanlon. According to Joseph Nye; it is the "ability to use the 'carrots and sticks' of economic and military might to make others follow your will."[9] Kurt Campbell and Michael Hanlon also define hard power as "the application of military to meet national ends-that is the deployment of ground troops, naval assets, and precision munitions to secure a vital national objective."[10] Thus, the threat of military and economic power whether explicitly stated or implied serves to compel a behaviour change.

One limitation of hard power application has to do with the wielder's legitimacy and credibility. This is because hard power application does not take into account that a country's international image may have serious consequences. In deterioration of a country's credibility, attitudes of mistrust tend to grow while level of international cooperation is also affected.

Some neorealist and other rationalist and neorationalist assert that actors in international relations respond to only two incentives; thus economic incentives and force. As a concept it is difficult to distinguish between soft power from hard power, for instance Janice Bially Mattern argues that George W. Bush use of the phrase "you are either with us or with the terrorist was in fact an exercise of hard power, though military and economic force was not used to pressure other states to join their coalition, a kind of force-representation force was used."[11] In response to the above criticism, there is a vast difference between soft and hard power. Soft power is based on attraction and emulation and comes through resources such as culture, ideology and institutions, which are intangible and takes long periods to achieve results while hard power is applied through military interventions, economic sanctions and coercive diplomacy which is applied to achieve immediate results. President Bush use of the phrase 'you are either with us or with the terrorist' was an application of one of the elements of hard power called coercive diplomacy.

The concept of soft and hard power is relevant to the study because soft power helps in winning hearts and achieves long term results and hard power is applied to achieve short term results when a danger is posed to a state and this is been applied by the Obama administration. It also helps to determine in which instance, and the appropriate use of power available to nations in dealing with each other in the international system.

1.9 Literature Review

The concept of soft power was coined by Joseph Nye in his book entitled <u>Soft Power: "*The Means to Success in World Politics*</u>". The concept of soft power is the ability of a country to persuade others to do what it wants without force or coercion.[12] Joseph Nye argues that successful states needs both hard and soft power, the ability to coerce others and the ability to influence their attitudes and long term preferences. Nye starts the book by revisiting the concept of soft power. He clearly makes distinction between U.S sources of soft power which includes the U.S culture, ideals, and values which have been extraordinarily important in helping attract partners and support of other countries. Nye criticize the Bush Administration for destroying the image of the United States abroad with the use of hard power, which may yield immediate results but bring along greater challenges. He noted that the piling up of soft power is costly, difficult and time consuming because reputations are made over a long time, He also acknowledged one limitation of soft power is that it tends to have diffuse effect on the outside world and it is not easily wielded to achieve specific outcomes.

Nevertheless he expresses his confidence in soft power as a powerful tool simply because soft power cost little or nothing at all and as such a country does not need to make no concessions. Joseph Nye argues that, a nation has many images to use as sources of soft power but only a few are under direct governmental control and can be amended to ensure a foreign policy outcome but whether a state should improve these images by spending more resources is an issue that does not have a clear outcome in his book. In concluding, Joseph Nye's argument is that the U.S security depends as much on winning hearts and minds as it does on winning wars and this research seeks to explore the combination of both soft and hard power in the war against terrorism.

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Brooks and Wohlforth in the article entitled "American Primacy in Perspectives", contend that the United States is dominant in international relations. They argue that in military strength, the United States is unrivalled. As a result, the U.S is a unipolar actor in the international system. In terms of military, the U.S has greater nuclear superiority; "it is the world most dominant air force, the only truly blue-water navy and a unique capability to project power around the world. In addition, the U.S. economy is one of the biggest if not biggest in the world. California's economy has risen to become the fifth largest in the world using market exchange rates, technologically; the U.S is the world most powerful technological powerhouse."[13]

Figures from the late 1990s shows that the U.S expenditure on Research and Development (R&D) merely equalled those of the next richest countries combined. Against this backdrop, the writers believe that American policy on terrorism operates in the realm of choice not necessity. They caution that just because the United States is powerful enough to act heedlessly does not mean it should do so. In their view there are problems like the environment, disease, migration and the stability of the global economy inter alia which the U.S cannot solve through the use of economic and military might thus hard power alone.

The writers however did not discuss how America should use soft power to get collaboration from other actors in the international system. This research seeks to analyse the use of hard power and soft power in America's war on terrorism under the Obama administration.

George Soros criticised the neoconservative ideology and the George Bush Administration. In his book entitled The Bubble of American Supremacy: "*Correcting the Misuse of American Power*". George Soros warns that American endeavour to be the lone superpower of the world will not be futile but will defiantly make the world more unstable than it is. He criticize the

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action taken by the Bush Administration after the 9/11 as one taken for personal gains and misleading to the world. In the book Soros present interesting arguments even though they are not exclusive to his book but what sets the book apart are his personal experiences and the events he writes about.

George Soros book has the intent of preserving core American values by defending it from the careless use of power. Drawing from his rich experience of financial markets, Soros argues against the Bush doctrine alongside the economic position of the United States; he condemns pre-emptive military action, a policy formed on disregard for international law for the sake of hegemony which is based on military supremacy as the true driving force in international relations.[14] In the second part of his book Soros present an alternative doctrine of preventive action, multilateral which has an affirmative and constructive effect. This policy proposes increased foreign aid, better international trading laws and the idea that the military option should be the last resort. Soros suggests the use of both hard and soft power but hard power should be applied when soft power application does not deliver the needed result which is bases of this research.

In out of the Cold: "*New Thinking for American Foreign and Defence Policy in the 21st Century.*" Robert McNamara argues that the United States tangible capabilities have established it as the most powerful nation in the multipolar world of the 21st century. In his view, the United States should change the international system from a position of strength through international institutions and relations among nations to create a peaceful world for the people of the world.[15]

He emphasized that the United States should do this through the building up of military nuclear strategy which ensures mutual security with other states of the world as well as building nuclear forces and weapons which will be used as defensive weapons. His concern was how the United States should increase its military strength. His work however failed to address how the United States can employ also the use soft power in its war on terrorism.

In Refocusing the Ethical Agenda; "*Political Settlement as an Alternative to the Use of Force*", John Langan and Harold Saunders postulates that there is the need for a historical rethinking of familiar concepts to explain how nations relate so that new attention will be given to the processes of conflict resolution. Langan and Saunders contend that ethical reflection about international relations had two approaches namely realism and idealism. Realism states that institutions provided security by translating economic resources through military technology into the ability to have one's way by force if it became necessary.[16]

Idealism as an approach on the other hand assumes that action of a nation should be governed by international accepted principles which were to be enforced. For Langan and Saunders, changes in today's world limit the application of the above approaches in the international system. Cross boarder problems such as terrorism and proliferation of nuclear weapons are problems that no one state can easily handle all alone. They need a rethinking of relationships among nations.

Likewise there are different centres of influence like civil society groups that are very important in the international system today. As a result, the nature of state power and the ability to exercise such powers are becoming limited. In their opinion, world leaders are realizing that solution to governance issues do not come from the use of raw power of states,

they further think that a great power will decline not because it has become military and economically weak but also it does not recognise that the nature of power and influence are gradually changing. The writers failed to discuss most of the critical areas where power have changed hands that states in the international system to pay attention to and not rely on just military might in addressing issues including the war on terrorism, this research will attempt to address the important role state institutions and non-governmental agencies play in projecting the soft power of a state thereby reducing the over reliance on hard power alone.

 In an article by the American Friends Service Committee entitled "Shared Security (Reimaging U.S Foreign Policy)". This is a working paper of American Friends Committee and Friends Committee on National Legislation. The article presents policy options for adoption by the U.S. It proposes a total departure from the hard power application of military aggression and economic sanctions which especially characterized the Bush administration. It suggests that the U.S should achieve peace through peaceful means of global cooperation and the promotion of rule of law. It made recommendations for the U. S foreign policy to create mechanisms for shared security. This article focuses on soft power application advocating a departure from the Bush administration excessive use of hard power.[17]

In his article entitled "Hard power, Soft power, Smart power" by Ernest J. Wilson, He argues further beyond hard power and soft power to insist on smart power. He defined smart power as the capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the actors purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently. Wilson argues that advancing smart power has become a national security imperative driven by long term structural changes in international conditions and by short term failures of the Bush administration. He emphasized that there is much sentiments in the United States and

abroad that the current design and conduct of American foreign policy is flawed and needs to be repaired.

Wilson further notes that neither the advocates of soft power nor the proponents of hard power have adequately integrated their position into a single framework to advance the national interest. Advocates of soft power and public diplomacy tend to frame their arguments poorly; their positions are often politically naïve and institutionally weak. Meanwhile hard power proponents who are politically and institutionally powerful frequently frame their arguments inadequately because they seems they can safely ignore or simply subsume elements of national power that lie outside their traditional purview.[18]

Wilson asserts that, the United States should be paying attention to smart power now because the growing interest in smart power reflects two contemporary trends, one structural and long term, the other short term and conjectural driven by mainly the policies of the Bush administration. One of reasons put forward by Wilson in favour of smart power is because of the widely perceived short comings of the policies of the U.S administration in the Bush era. There is wide spread belief in America and around the world that the Bush Jr administration national security and foreign policy have not been smart.

Wilson argues that leaders in other countries have been more sophisticated in their use of instruments of power, though not without significant flaws. For instance the leadership of China have deployed resources strategically, the individual policy choices made by president Hu Jiantao and his advisors have reflected a sophisticated analysis of the world as it is today and they have deployed a balanced integrated array of instruments to achieve political goals as well as to advance their national interests. Wilson argues China has developed and

consistently pursues a doctrine of "China's Peaceful Rise" as a clear counterpoint to President George Bush approach which focused largely on the need to maintain military superiority. He mentioned that today the target populations have themselves become smarter. With the steady spread of secondary and higher education and availability of more media outlets, population in Asia, Africa and Latin America have grown much more sophisticated and knowledgeable about their own societies and others as well hence the need to hunt for smart power. Ernest J. Wilson criticised the use of hard power and soft power and advocated the shift from the use of the two and focus on the use of smart power. Wilson's definition of smart power as the ability of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that actors purpose is advanced effectively and efficiently fell short of giving detail of how much of hard power and how much of soft power elements and how effectively they should be combined in percentage wise. Nye's proposal is based on the assertion that the use of one option alone may not be effective but the use of the two dependent on the particular situation at hand and so therefore if the situation warrant soft power it should be applied and if it warrant hard power it should applied which is the foundation of this work.

1.11   Sources of Data

This study relies mainly on secondary data which were sourced from published materials such as books and journal articles. Data were collected from existing documentation from official internet sources of the various agencies and departments of the United States government, which are engaged in foreign policy and the war on terrorism. Additional data was collected from other reputed internet source that focuses on U.S foreign policy.

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1.12   Research Methodology

Qualitative method of data analysis was adopted for the conduct of this study, "which is primarily an exploratory research used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions and motivations that help to develop ideas or hypothesis for potential quantitative research"[19]. The study analysed a broad selection of dominant views by academics, policymakers and the media, data gathered from existing literature on the subject matter was subjected to content analysis to enable findings and recommendations to be made.

1.13 Arrangement of Chapters

The research is divided into four chapters.

Chapter one constitute the research design, it comprises of the background to the problem statement, statement of the research problem, research questions, research objectives, scope of the research, rational of the study, hypothesis, conceptual framework, literature review. It also includes sources of data, research methodology and arrangement of chapters. The objective of this chapter is to provide a guideline towards the overall achievement of the research objective.

Chapter two provides an overview of America's war on terrorism after the 9/11 attacks. It includes measures put in place by the Bush administration, the declaration of the Global War on Terrorism, Bush Doctrine, the war in Iraq and Afghanistan, soft power application by the U.S. This chapter provides a broad knowledge of United States efforts to combat terrorism.

Chapter three provides an assessment of the Obama administration's application of soft power and hard power in his counterterrorism efforts; it presents specific instances of Obama's application of soft and hard power and the challenges. This chapter provides evidence of Obama's application of both soft and hard power.

Chapter four provides summary of findings, recommendations and conclusion that were deduced from the study.

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CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF AMERICA'S WAR ON TERRORISM

2.0   Introduction

This chapter seeks to explore America's war on terrorism after the 9/11 attacks. Terrorism is by no means a current phenomenon, although attention to the phenomenon has increased in recent years. While the objectives and modus operandi have changed, there is little evidence that terrorism will completely cease to exist in the near future.

Terrorism as a phenomenon is defined differently by many scholars and institutions. According to the U.S. Department of State, terrorism is "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine state agents."[1] The Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism, also defines terrorism as "any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purpose, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installations or property or to occupying or seizing them, or seeking to jeopardize national resources."[2]

The U.S. Department of Defence defines terrorism as "the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological."[3] After the 9/11 attacks, President Bush invaded Afghanistan, destroyed the base of Al Qaeda and overthrew the Taliban regime for providing safe haven for the group.

Today, the Obama administration is dealing with an Al Qaeda that has gone through a lot of transformation and significant of this is the number of affiliated or associated groups that are

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referred to as Al Qaeda 'clones or franchise' that have sprung up to prosecute the jihadist struggle, the U.S is fighting an enemy that is able to adapt and change its way of operation. The chapter begins with a brief review of U.S foreign after the Cold War. This overview enables the research to support the claim that president Bush Jr. employed more of hard power than soft power and gave a broad view of how the U.S reacted to 9/11 attacks in its quest to prevent a reoccurrence on U.S soil.

2.1   Brief Review of United States Foreign Policy Post-Cold War

Events in the world after the Cold War presented the United States as the sole leader of world affairs capable of projecting its military strength as the most powerful in the world. "Since the end of the Cold War, one of the main objectives of American foreign policy has been the containment of rogue or outlaw states."[4] Countries such as North Korea, Iran, and Libya are put in the category of rogue states by the U.S senior policy makers. The U.S foreign policy during the period of the Cold War was to also contain the spread of Soviet power and communism. The United States implemented the containment policy through providing support for friendly governments with aid, arms, troops, and deterring nuclear attacks on the United States and its allies. The United States also provided support for institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund through the strengthening of these institutions to provide economic support for developed and developing countries. The United States adopted some strategies among others to prosecute their foreign policy during the cold war era. These strategies included; maintaining American hegemony, promotion and development of liberal and economic institutions, use of military power to solve humanitarian crises and concerns over United States vulnerability to attacks from rogue states and transnational terrorist groups.

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With the breakdown of the Soviet Union into various states and the rise of Russia, alliances that are pro-U.S and those pro-Soviet broke down giving way to new challenges such as climate change and the threat of terrorism. Saddam Hussein invasion of Kuwait enabled the United States to form coalition force to push back the invading forces and this was christened the Gulf War. After the Gulf War, the United States scaled back its foreign policy budget and the cold war budget in the 1990s. President Bill Clinton had his policy of enlargement in foreign policy, democracy and free markets. Post-cold war presents the United States as the sole superpower in the world. President George Bush prior to coming into office was to focus on U.S economic prosperity, but the event of September 11, 2001 afforded the excessive application of hard power to bring the perpetrators to book in his quest to keep the American people safe from further attacks from terrorists. It granted the United States under the Bush Jr. administration the use of military to deal rogue states and those providing safe haven for these terrorist groups.

Today, the current administration under the leadership of President Obama has to deal with a terrorist group that has gone through a lot of transformation. These groups are now decentralised and found in many other places which are affiliated to Al Qaeda. Hence the administration adoption of the application of hard power and soft power in his counterterrorism efforts.

2.2   What is America's Global War on Terrorism?

September 11, 2001 will forever remain a 'dark day' in the history of the United States. The event of September 11, 2001 opened two chapters in the history of terrorism- first, the destructiveness of terrorist activities and secondly, the global war against terrorism. It was the first multiple hijacking in the United States. "On that day nineteen terrorists boarded four

commercial jetliners, all transcontinental flights carrying a maximum load of 11,400 gallons of jet fuel. Their objective was to take control of the planes once they were air borne and turn them into flying weapons of destruction."[5] Four targets were chosen which includes; the World Trade Centre in New York City, the Pentagon in Arlington, a field in Shanks Ville. All four planes crashed, killing on board all the nineteen terrorists, crew members, and passengers along with hundreds who were killed inside and outside the structures of the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington D.C. Inside the World Trade Centre, 2,606 lost their lives along with 371 passengers and crew aboard American airline flight 11 and United Airline 175. One hundred and twenty-five people lost their lives at the Pentagon when American airliner 77 crushed into the building killing the 95 victims on board. Forty people were killed as they turn on their attackers and prevented United 93 from reaching its target."[6]

In the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks by Al-Qaeda terrorist group on the United States, the U.S government headed by the then president George W. Bush Jr. declared a Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). "The Global War on Terrorism is the term used to describe the military, political, diplomatic, and economic measures employed by the United States and other allied governments against organizations, countries, or individuals that are committing terrorists acts or that might be inclined to engage in terrorist activities or that support those who do commit such acts."[7]

2.3   Objectives of the Declaration of the Global War on Terrorism

For the Global War on Terrorism declared by the United States to succeed, the following objectives were put forward by the United States, these include:

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a. Destroy the perpetrators of the September 11 attacks.

This is aimed at destroying or defeating Al- Qaeda and other terrorist organizations of global reach. "The United States and its partners will defeat terrorist organizations of global reach by attacking their sanctuaries, leadership, command, and control for finances"[8]. This approach will have a cascading effect across the larger terrorist landscape, disrupting the terrorist ability to plan and carry out their activities.

b. Deny Sponsorship

"The goal of this objective is to choke off the lifeblood of terrorist groups- their access to funds, equipment, training, technology and unimpeded transit"[9]. This approach will therefore weaken terrorist organizations and their ability to conduct their operations, to this effect the United States has classified certain countries as axis of evil because they provide safe haven for terrorist groups and their activities.

c. Eliminate support of sanctuary to terrorist groups.

The United States will work in collaboration with all our international and regional partners to ensure effective governance over ungoverned territory, which could provide sanctuary to terrorist. Where there is clear indication of terrorist activity in these areas, the United States in conjunction with our friends and allies will work to eliminate these terrorist sanctuaries and prelude any future access to these areas by the terrorist groups or organizations.

d. Diminish the underlying conditions that terrorist seeks to exploit

This strategy is made up of the collective efforts to diminish conditions that terrorists can exploit. While we recognize that there are many countries and people living in poverty, deprivation, social disenfranchisement, and unresolved political and regional disputes, those

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conditions do not justify the use of terror. However many terrorist organizations that have little in common with the poor and destitute masses exploit these conditions to their advantage.

e. Defend United States citizen's interests both at home and abroad

The final objective is the collective efforts to defend the United States sovereignty, territory and its national interests at home and abroad. This tenet includes the physical and cyber protection of the United States, its populace, property and interests as well protection of its democratic principles. These objectives were developed by the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism under the CIA.

2.4   Other Measures Adopted by the United States

The Global War on Terrorism initiated by former President Bush Jr. become the longest period of continuous war in the history of the United States and this enabled the U.S to enact a series of laws and executive orders that have affected the lives of people all over the word. According to the U.S government, these steps were taken to prevent another attack on the U.S soil and restore a feeling of safety to a nation shattered by the tragedy. These laws and executive order include the following:

a. USA Patriot Act and Domestic Spying

In October 2001, Congress with just one vote short of unanimous bipartisan support passed the USA Patriot Act. The measure gave law enforcement officials sweeping new powers to conduct searches without warrants, monitor financial transactions and eavesdrop, detain and deport   individuals suspected of committing terrorist acts.

b. Department of Homeland Security

By far the most far-reaching and significant measure enacted after 9/ 11 was the Department of Homeland Security Act of 2002, which established the Cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and created the position of Secretary of Homeland Security. "The DHS united 22 agencies and 170,000 workers in the biggest government reorganization in more than 50 years. The alert system--frequently mocked as being unwieldy, confusing, and vague--was replaced in April 2011 with the National Terrorism Advisory System (NTAS), which has two levels, 'elevated' and "imminent." The NTAS provides detailed information about terrorist threats and recommends security measures to the public, government agencies, airports etc."[10]

c. Smart Traveller Enrolment Program

As protective measures were created to benefit facilities privately owned by U.S. interests as well as embassies and military installations abroad, similarly, U.S. travellers and citizens living abroad were provided meaningful, up-to-date, and coordinated threat information. "The Department of State works to enhance existing programs such as the Smart Traveller Enrolment Program (STEP) and the Worldwide Caution page at the U.S Passport and International Travel website to inform U.S. citizens traveling or living abroad about the potential terrorist threats."[11]

President Bush launched the first offensive in the war against terrorism on September 23rd, 2001 by signing an Executive Order freezing the U.S based assets of those individuals and organizations involved with terrorism, the U.S government also created three new organizations, the Foreign Terrorist Tracking Centre, Operations Green Quest and the Terrorist Financing Task Force. These new organizations will help facilitate information

sharing between the intelligence and the law enforcement agencies and encourage other nations to disrupt and defeat terrorist financing networks.

2.5   President George Bush's War on Terrorism

On September 14, 2001, the United State Congress passed "The Authority for the Use of Military Force"[12] (AUMF). This was a joint resolution authorizing the United States application of military force against those responsible for the attacks of September 11, 2001.It permitted the president the power and authority to use all necessary and appropriate force against those who had planned, authorized, committed, or aided the attacks of September 11, 2001 on the United States or harboured those groups or persons. The passage of the AUMF by Congress actually marked the beginning of President George Bush Jr. declaration of the Global War on Terrorism and its application. "It was a time of national crises, and a deeply worried and rattled Bush administration found itself facing two sharply conflicting imperatives in the 9/11 attacks"[13]. According to Jack Goldsmith, former legal adviser in the department of Defence and latter head of the influential Office of Legal Counsel (O LC) of the Department of Justice, the first of those two fears was the fear of another attack and the fear of American people not forgiving them on a second occurrence. This fears "permeated the administration" and led to the controversial doctrine of prevention (termed' preemption' by the Bush administration)".[14] According to Goldsmith: "They were really scared…and they had this extraordinary sense of responsibility- that they will be responsible for the next attack. They really thought of it as having blood on their hands and they will be forgiven once but not twice."[15] This fear of been held responsible for the next attack and the extraordinary sense of responsibility culminated into coming out with the working policy to protect the United States and its interest both at home and elsewhere.

2.6   The Bush Doctrine

"The Bush administration issued its first National Security Strategy in September 2002, a year after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States by Al Qaeda. The document's chapter five summarizes the administration's approach to using force, known as the Bush Doctrine."[16] It essentially reiterates presidential speeches made over the months following 9/11, including the President speeches before a Joint Session of Congress on 20th September 2001, before the Warsaw Conference on Combating Terrorism on November 6th, his state of the Union Address on the 29th January 2002, his remarks before the student body of the Virginia Military Institute on 17th April, and his address to the graduating class at the United States Military Academy at West Point on June 1.The Bush administration now has a clear, mandate of the use- of-force policy whose objective is stated in chapter 'V' with the title ' Prevent Our Enemies from threatening Us, Our Allies, and Our Friend with Weapons of Mass Destruction'(WMD).

The Bush Doctrine begins by embracing the notion that the United States is now the sole super power in the world and seeks to preserve its hegemonic position for indefinite future. For example, in the president graduation speech at West Point in 2002, he stated that "America has, and intends to keep its military strength beyond challenge- thereby making the destabilizing arms races of other eras pointless, and limiting rivalries to trade and other pursuits of peace."[17]

In his 17 September 2002 speech on the National Security Strategy of the United States of America, President Bush declared that "we (the United States) must build and maintain our defences beyond challenge". He continued "our forces will be strong to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military build-up in hopes of surpassing or equalling the power

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of the United States"[18].The United States sees itself as super power in the international system and as seen, this view is supplemented by a specific vision of the natural American power as representing a force of democratization that all people desire and will support if only they get the opportunity to do for instance by the removal of oppressive political regimes.

Schmidt and Williams identified a second element of the Bush Doctrine which is the commitment to the application of pre-emptive use of military force when circumstances warrant its use. "It seems the element of pre-emption is perhaps the most controversial element of the Bush Doctrine, because of its profound implications of the policy it has received the greatest share of attention above the other elements"[19]. The September 11 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon depicted a threat radically different from the threat which existed during the time of the Cold War. The threat considered most worrisome is the classification of rogue states and terrorists armed with Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD).The event of September 11,2001 attacks on the United States has significantly drawn the attention of the world to the fact that terrorists are willing to inflict large scale destruction to life on American soil. In the light of this event, President Bush and his administration deemed it important and a responsibility as the leader of the American people to eliminate and prevent such threats against the United States. The 2002 National Security Strategy declares "We must deter and we must be prepared to stop rogue states and their terrorist clients before they are able to threaten or use weapons of defend against the threat before it is unleashed."[20] One other reason for the justification of pre-emption is the argument that traditional methods of deterrence and containment were no longer useful when it comes to rogue states and terrorist.

John Ikenberry argues that, the terrorists and regimes that support them "cannot be deterred because they are either willing to die for their cause or able to escape retaliation."[21] According to the 2002 National Security Strategy "traditional concepts of deterrence will not work against a terrorist enemy whose avowed tactics are wanton destruction and the targeting of innocents; whose so-called soldiers seeking martyrdom in death and whose potent protection is statelessness."[22] The policy of pre-emption and its application has significant implications for prevailing rules and norms relative to the use of force especially those that are enshrined in the United Nations Charter, but there is the argument that every country has the right to protect their interest and its people.

The third element of the Bush Doctrine is the element of unilateralism that follows from the two previous elements. It is a commitment to the United States unipolar position as the most powerful state in terms of military strength. This is evident in the United States failure to obtain a Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq in 2003. The manifestation of the application of this element is the Bush Jr. administration's willingness to proceed unilaterally in defiance to the acceptance of the international community and the United Nations Security Council when they were invading Iraq in 2003.

The final element of the Bush Doctrine is one that is at the core of the American foreign policy, this is the promotion of democracy. With the fall of communism after the end of the Cold War, the United States found it necessary and a responsibility to promote and spread democracy to especially failed states so they do not become safe haven or sanctuary for terrorist and their groups. It was important for the United States to promote the spread of democracy in these countries so they do not become launch pads for these groups to carry out terrorist attacks on the United States.

2.7   The Use of Hard Power by the Bush Jr. Administration

The United States found itself in a dilemma after the 9/11 attacks to radically react in a way to prevent the reoccurrence. This led the United States adoption of a radical foreign policy agenda following the attacks on that faithful day. The central principle of this policy is one that can be classified by the use of military and economic might. That is to say that the idea behind the foreign policy agenda of the United states was based on America as a dominant power imposing its views, interests and values on the rest of the world practically by using cohesive mechanisms.

Former President Bush before his election presented a message of vigorous nation building without much international interventions, these settled well with many Americans and probably led to his election. Many   hold the perception that the attacks on September 11 presented an amazing opportunity to organize public and world support for the new world order policy of the United States but the supporters of the "New American Century" perceived such occurrences like the attacks on 9/11 as a struggle for survival and envisaged that having proved itself a superpower had both the right and duty to intensify its values and objectives in the world. A critical observation of the policy of the "New American Century", one can possibly say that the Bush Administration long before election had plans of United States military dominance and other forms of hard power tools and that the attacks of 9/11 just afforded the United States to put them into practice. The application of hard power by the Bush Administration enabled a rapid and significant reformation of internal security policies like the signing of the Patriot Act preceded above gives large extent of powers to the executive branch of the U.S government. As explained by Nancy Change that a last minute exercise of force, the Republican House leadership discarded an anti-terrorism bill that raised

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far fewer civil liberties concerns that had been totally permitted by the house judiciary committee and swapped it with the 342-page USA PATRIOT Act.

In a 'Statement of Principles' of the 1997 mission statement of the project for the New American Century, some influential members of the Bush Administration such as Elliot Abrams (Senior Director for Near East and North African Affairs, NSC) and Peter Rodman (Assistant secretary of defence for International Affairs), makes such profound statement and expression of ideas of hard power practice by the United States. It stated four basic principles by which the United States should execute a hard power foreign policy in the face of emerging threats. As quoted by the 1997 "Statement of Principles"

a) We need to increase defence spending significantly if we are to carry out our global responsibility today and modernize our armed forces for the future.

b) We need to strengthen our ties to democratic allies and to challenge regimes hostile to our interests

c) We need to promote the cause of political and economic freedom abroad.

d) We need to accept responsibility for America's unique role in preserving and extending an international order friendly to our security, our prosperity and our principles.

The bush doctrine which was discussed in detail above created such a favourable atmosphere for the American foreign policy to easily execute its national interest via the hard power policy. The Bush government came into office with the lack of some basic things, a clear cut mandate (elected by a single at the Supreme Court) and secondly the lack of a clearly defined enemy to justify an increase in military spending. Prior to the incidents of 9/11 the Bush Administration laid emphasis on a missile defence system rather than a war on terror but both

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policies share an underpinning spirit and idea of hard power usage and American unilateral dominance.

The events of September 11, 2001 removed the two basic obstacles hindering the Bush Administration, thus via 9/11 a clearly defined enemy was created and United States as a nation completely threw itself behind its president as he declared war on terror thereby giving him a high mandate. The Bush Doctrine depicts certain ideas which are worth noting to fully grasp the concept of hard power application that the U.S foreign policy portrayed after the events of September 11, 2001 attacks. Specific application of hard power relative to the fight against terrorism is discussed subsequently.

2.8   Afghanistan

The Bush Jr. application of hard power to the threats of terrorism begun on October 7, 2001.It was started initially by the Central Intelligence Agency Special Activities Division (CIA-SAD) operatives who were the first to start combat operations, they were later joined by U.S Special Forces. Airstrikes supported their ground advancement targeting essential Taliban government infrastructure and key figures. By November of the same year, the United States and its counter-parts have liberated specific towns and cities held by the Taliban. Within weeks of heavy bombardments, the Taliban government was toppled and many of the Al-Qaeda and Taliban   operatives were trapped on the mountains of Tora Bora, and subsequently found a place of haven in nearby Pakistan.

Some of the battles and engagements that followed were the battles of Mazar-i Sharif, the battle for Kabul, the battle of Kunduz, the battle of Qala – i Jangi, battle for Kandahar and Tora Bora among others. With cutting edge munition and overwhelming use of force, victory

was swift in coming, the Taliban government was toppled and that Afghanistan was no longer a safe haven for Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. As a possible long term role of the United States became evident so did public opinion and sympathy begin to dwindle. For example as of January 2009, hundreds of millions of dollars were being spent on permanent groundwork for foreign military bases in Afghanistan, including a budget of $1.6 billion for military fittings at the Kandahar Air Field base, housing some 13,000 soldiers originating from 17 different countries. This and many more incidents of American and foreign entrenchment on Afghan soil resulted in an uproar and demonstrations among Afghans and the expression of international displeasure elsewhere. Many who perceived the Americans and the international coalition had a change of perception. Within Afghanistan, tensions rose due to the continuous occupation by the United States which brought along a high number of civilian casualties.

It was clear that after many years of occupation, the American objectives for the invasion was lagging behind at the expense of American and Afghan lives, the Taliban had regrouped and has made significant strides at regaining lost terrorist, the opium trade and it networks were still in place among many other challenges which has shown little or no evidence of being solved. For instance, Human right watch stated that there has been many accounts of civilian deaths, human rights abuses, and an increase in drug trafficking and the rearming of native war loads basically the Taliban and Al-Qaeda.

2.9   Iraq

At his West Point Address to the graduating class of the U.S Military on 1 June 2002, President Bush Jr shared his opinion in relation to the 2002 National Strategy that, the foreign policy of the United States in relation to the war on terrorism must do all in its power to ensure its enemies from threatening it and its allies with weapons of mass destruction. If that

be one of the central concepts of the Bush Doctrine, then Iraq becomes a vital target for the American military machine and as such the application of hard power. In the perception of Bush and his Administration Iraq under the rule of Saddam Hussein is a typical example of "radicalism and technology", the fact that the administration of Saddam Hussein is a typical example of radicalism coupled with their possession of weapons of mass destruction.

The Bush Administration made it completely clear that for the war on terror to be taken seriously Iraq must be attacked at some point. Raymond Huinnebusch in his article The American Invasion of Iraq: Causes and Consequences; states that:

> ...in response to the 9/11 attacks, make explicit the coercive turn: the call for "full spectrum dominance;" the strategy of dealing with resistance to the US not simply through traditional containment, but via "preventive wars;" the resort to unilateralism, with ad-hoc "coalitions of the willing; in relation to the changes that Bush doctrine brought to the Middle East states …by contrast, the architects of the Bush administration strategy had long advocated a strategy of hegemony based on the use of American's exceptional military capabilities.[23]

The Invasion commenced on the 19th of March 2003 with a guided air-strike on the presidential palace where Saddam was believed to be holding a meeting with top Iraqi officials. By the 14th of April 2003, all major cities in Iraq came under U.S military control. The real reason for the invasion is still a mystery but has been attributed to pure hegemonic aspiration of the Bush Administration and the fight against terrorism. The invasion was indeed meant to assert dominance militarily in the Middle East. Taking down Saddam who had countlessly defied the United States will be an appropriate thing to do to send a warning to the enemies of the United States. The news and images of the toppling of Saddam and the welcoming of U.S troops by the civilian population will certainly justify the morality of the United States in the eyes of the world. Other people attributed the invasion to the fact that it was simply easy and doable.

The invasion has developed over time into some of the gravest security and societal problems in international politics even though the military campaign itself was a resounding success. Raymond Huinnebusch explains that the invasion was one designed to change the ruling government of Iraq and to ensure stability and democracy but the outcome has been the opposite. The United States went into Iraq with little or no idea of filling the power vacuum after Saddam has achieved some sought of stability through his brutality and oppression. This underlines the unilateral nature of the invasion, one devoid of consultation and if even any was sought the ones taken were those that were in agreement with the invasion. According to Anthony Cordesman, the United States made "strategic mistakes". "In the context that it only planned to wage a war against the Iraqi army and the government of Saddam Hussein without considering the possibility of terrorism and insurgency created by the power vacuum and the prolonged occupation in Iraq."[24] The occupation created strong grievances especially against the U.S and the U.K, probably from the past experiences of the Iraqi people in relation to colonialism. Due to the war, followed by the occupation of the U.S there was a severe breakdown of public health, infrastructure, security and public order and the deaths of over a 100,000 Iraqi's mostly civilians after just a year of occupation.

The United States had in mind a quick military operation and victory in Iraq, to them victory will decisively remake the power structures of the Middle East, empowering U.S influence, reducing radicalism and reinforcing Israeli interest. The former President of Egypt Hosni Mubarak and Bashar al-Assad of Syria warned that the U.S would not be able to control Iraq and after just a year their warning came true. Research has shown that the most potent generator of terrorism is foreign occupation, according to former US anti-terrorism chief, Richard Clarke; the invasion of Iraq presented a great opportunity for terrorism in Iraq. First of all Iraq became a breeding and nurturing ground for terrorism giving rise to fresh fighters

just like the Afghan conflict. Secondly it created a rift between some of the most trusted allies of the United States like Turkey, Jordan and Egypt.

For the United States to be able to maintain its global leadership it must be able to justify its utility of "preventive wars" and "pre-emptive strikes" doctrines to the rest of the world and such was the case of the invasion of Iraq. It was to prove the legitimacy and worth of these two doctrines by the neo-conservatives who were convinced that outright military superiority can result into unchallenged hegemony especially in the Middle East. Terrorist groups are sub-state actors even if there are been sponsored by a state. By creating the hunt for terrorist into a conventional war one stands the risk of putting civilian lives in danger and a resultant collateral damage to non-combatants, this results in the tendency of creating uproar, resentment and the loss of sympathy. There has been many questions asked on other methods that the United States could have possibly used in dealing with these challenges and threats internationally.

George Soros argues that...

> The responds to the 9/11 attacks on the United States should have been treated differently by the United States; he believes that war is a "misleading metaphor" in dealing with terrorism. The fact that the attacks on 9/11 should have been treated as crimes against humanity because crimes demands police work not that of the military. Accordingly, the United States would have pursued Bin Laden in Afghanistan, but we not have invaded Iraq. Nor would we have our military struggling to perform police work in full combat gear and getting killed in the process.[25]

The Bush administration's excessive application of hard power after the 9/11 attacks was due to the fact that, the administration felt the American people will not forgive them if there was a reoccurrence of the attacks and they have a responsibility to protect the American people. However, president Bush did not totally relied on hard power alone in his fight against terrorism. He appointed Karen Hughes as under Secretary of state for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. She was to execute the use of soft power in the war against terror. Saudi

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Arabia and Pakistan were the most countries targeted by President Bush in his soft power

diplomacy.

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CHAPTER THREE

OBAMA'S APPLICATION OF HARD POWER AND SOFT IN THE WAR AGAINST TERRORISM

3.0   Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to examine the instances of President Obama's application of soft power and hard power as they were applied in the war against terrorism. Obama was elected on the promise of making a change to former President Bush's excessive application of hard power, "change we can believe in, He promised among other things, to move America beyond the politics of fear."[1] When president Obama, then candidate Obama was campaigning, "he campaigned as anti- George W. Bush: he would close the Guantanamo Bay detention facility, end preventive detention and bring terrorist to justice in civilian courts among other sweeping changes"[2]. He further stated, the United States will show to the world that America is a nation of laws, not unchecked powers. Yet upon assuming office, President Obama was faced with a myriad of challenges notable among them are pressure from U.S House of Congress and the 2008 financial downturn. This chapter will is an assessment of Obama's application of hard power and soft power in his quest to fight terrorism.

3.1   Obama's Use of Hard Power

The Global War on Terrorism declared by President George Bush Jr. which is a global campaign christened "Kill or Capture" after the 9/11 attacks heavily involves the usage of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs). "Under the Obama administration, the drone campaign has increased in terms of raw numbers and geographical reach"[3].The Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) has become a major battle ground for the United States drone warfare. "The deaths of Osama bin Ladin and Yahya-al- Libi and the nearly decade-wing drone campaign in FATA have led the Obama administration to conclude that the

original Al –Qaeda cadre is no longer capable of facilitating, coordinating and conducting strikes on the United States."[4] The instances of Obama's the application of hard power are discussed subsequently.

3.1.1 The Capture and Killing of Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad

The United States operation "kill or capture" Osama Bin Laden has been in planning for months but the operation itself took few minutes to be carried out. Osama Bin Laden leader of the lsIamist militant group Al Qaeda was killed on May 2, 2011 in Abbottabad, Pakistan. This special operation was carried out by the United States Navy SEAL of the United States Naval Special Warfare Development Group. The operation christened "Operation Neptune Spear was carried out by Central Intelligence Agency led operation. In addition to the U.S Special Warfare Development Group, other units that participated included United States Special Operations Commands 160th, Special Operations Aviation Regiment (airborne) and the Central Intelligence Agency operatives."[5]

"In the space of forty minutes on Sunday night, two Navy SEAL teams descended on a compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan and killed the fugitive leader of Al Qaeda. They brought to a rough measure of justice to the man responsible for the killing of 3,000 Americans on September 11, 2001 and thousands of others in countries from Spain to Iraq. Credit goes to the armed forces, which executed the operation; the intelligence agencies, which found the target and the Obama administration which approved it."[6]

The capture and killing of the fugitive leader of the Al Qaeda would not have been a success if the promises made by the current president then campaigning for the presidency in 2008 had been put in place, the killing of Osama Bin Laden a man considered to be the biggest

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enemy of the United States would not have materialized. As a presidential candidate in 2008, Senator Obama held Mr. Bush and Mr. McCain responsible for the most disastrous foreign policy in recent history of the United States, "These decisions he said allowed Bin Laden and circle to establish safe haven in Northwest Pakistan where they operate with such freedom of action that they can still put out hate-filled audio tapes to the outside world."[7] Osama Bin Laden was believed to be the brain behind the 9/11 attacks, a man considered as the biggest enemy of the United States until his demise. It was therefore a responsibility on the Obama administration to protect the U.S from the reoccurrence of this attack on its soil hence the application of hard power in this instance by capturing and killing of Osama Bin Laden. This is a major success of the administration considering the fact that Bin Laden was the brain behind the attacks and that the Bush administration hunted for Bin Laden and have not been successful.

3.1.2 Use of Drones

The Obama administration has demonstrated the application of hard power in the war against terrorism through massive use of drones. Yemen is one of the places of the use of drones. The use of drones in Yemen is as result of the fact that most Al Qaeda members have relocated from the Federally Administered Tribal Arears (FATA) to Yemen and this campaign was started in 2010.The concentration of drones use in the FATA area has caused many Al Qaeda leaders to flee from that region, others too have been killed. As a result of these factors mentioned above, the focus for the Obama administration in relation to the use of drones has shifted from the FATA region to Yemen. "The high level of commitment of the Obama administration through massive investments in hardware, training, and the strategy, attention has now been shifted to Yemen"[8]. Ostensibly, this new territory affords the United States the opportunity to target the base where most of these people have refuge.

"After the attacks of 9/11, partnership quickly intensified between the United States and the Yemeni government-largely Saleh's extended family, which controls the military and security complex-aimed at providing aid and conducting counterterrorism operations"[9]. There exists a special agreement and relationship between the United States government and Yemen. "Since 2007, 326 million dollars in security assistance has been given to the Yemen government"[10]. This cooperation provides benefits to both countries. The efforts of the United States are directed towards strengthening and improving the counterterrorism abilities and capabilities of Special Forces including the counterterrorism units. Included in this special cooperation between the United States and Yemen are packages such as advanced tactical training, weapons and surveillance equipment such as armoured vehicles, airplanes, helicopters and sea vessels. The main idea behind this special collaboration is to provide the Yemen government with the capacity to check and deal with terrorism within the state of Yemen; this will enable the United States to devote attention and energy needed to focus on the drone program.

In 2000, the Yemeni branch of Al Qaeda attacked the USS Cole, in retaliation, the CIA launched a Hellfire missile from a predator drone in November 2002, and this strike killed Abu Ali al-Harithi one of the masterminds of the Cole attacks. "Yemen served as a hub for mujuhideen travelling to Afghanistan and it was the site of major coordination efforts for the bombing of the U.S embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. This continued with the Cole attacks, extending through 9/11 and beyond"[11].This is part of the reason the United States found it necessary to use drones strikes in Yemen. Predominantly Yemen has witnessed and continues to witness massive growth in terrorism over the several years orchestrated by the Yemen branch of Al Qaeda. In 2009 under the leadership of Nasiral-Wahurishi with the help

of Awlaki, the Yemeni branched officially morphed into Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) by joining with Saudi Arabian branch.

Under the Obama administration Awalaki and AQAP became more prominent and this prompted the United States to take active role in counterterrorism and have expanded their drones program to include targeted killings via missiles fired from the Navy's Fleet. In May 2010 "A misguided strike killed a Yemeni official and tribal negotiator who has seeking to negotiate for Al Qaeda elements in the area to surrender."[12] After the successful raid on Abbottabad which occurred in May 2011 that led to the death of Osama Bin Laden, the United State authorities believed in the notion that Al Qaeda has become strategically impotent and that, the once centralized Al Qaeda group could not continue to plan and carry out their attacks on the U.S as they used to do through highly formalized process they had used, but rather the new threat would come from the Al Qaeda branch which is decentralized and largely operating from Yemen. This has necessitated the shift of focus from Afghanistan to Yemen's Al Qaeda and this has automatically shifted the geography of drone's strikes. "The changes in local conditions and threat and the response of the United States ushered in the evolution of the Obama administration strategy"[13].When we refer to Obama's military strategy, we mean a concerted program largely based on counterterrorism. According to Obama, "the United States is at war with a specific organization: Al Qaeda. A counterterrorism policy signals that the strategy is aimed at protecting the Homeland from this one enemy, not at creating more stable areas through counterinsurgency or intervening through broader conventional military engagements."[14]

The Obama counterterrorism strategy is an approach that relies less on general military and extensively relying on the Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) and the Central

Intelligence Agency (CIA). There is a vast difference between the Bush administration and the current administration, whiles the Bush administration relied on operating an expensive counterinsurgency campaign involving the entire military with little support from drones strikes, the Obama administration's counterterrorism strategy focuses on specific enemy and does not include large scale, and long term counterinsurgency that depicts a sharp departure from that of the Bush administration and the principal manifestation of Obama administration strategy is drone based targeted killings which is comparatively cheaper, and the use of drones shifting to JSOC and the CIA. Use of drones is cheaper than the traditional piloted aircraft or invasion by an entire military. As a result of this strategy been used by the administration, there has been tremendous increase in the construction of drones related infrastructure projects across the region which also stretches all the way to the Horn of Africa. Yemen and Somalia play greater role in the current and future U.S national security concerns.

"Not only is the number of strikes in Yemen increasing, the scope of territory in which the United States can conduct strikes is expanding as well. While this may be in response to the refocus from Al Qaeda central in Afghanistan-Pakistan to AQAP in Yemen, this repositioning may also help the United States stay on top of evolving threats in the Horn, such as piracy and the potential for Al Shabbaab in Somalia to morph into Al Qaeda."[15]

Under the Obama administration in 2012, the White House authorized the use of "signature strikes" in Yemen. This type enables for wider parameters, quicker response and then authorization at a lower command level. This is based on categories of possible target groups and patterns of movement rather than on identified individuals. President Obama has not only continued the drone program, "he has stretched it further, there were three drones strikes in

Pakistan; in 2008, there were thirty-four; and in the first months of 2009, the Obama administration has already authorized 16 and in 2010 alone, the Obama administration has authorized over one hundred drone strikes worldwide."[16] The majority of these strikes were deployed within the region of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

In the latest drone strike by the United States in Yemen, it was reported that on the 16 of June 2015 that, the Yemen Al Qaeda chief al-Wuhayshi was killed in U.S drone strike. "Al Qaeda has confirmed that Nasser al-Wuhayshi, the leader of its offshoot in the Arabian Peninsula has been killed in a U.S drone strike in Yemen"[17]. The death of the Al Qaeda leader was announced by the AQAP group in an online video, the military chief Qasim al-Raymi was named as his successor. Wuhayshi was a close associate of Osama Bin Laden as he was seen as Al Qaeda's second in command and former private secretary to Osama Bin Laden and known as his "secret keeper", his death occurred alongside two other fighters.

United States officials say he was responsible for the building the most active Al Qaeda branches. "We in Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula mourn to our Muslims nation…that Abu Baseer Nasser bin Abdul Karim al-Wahuyshi, may God have mercy on his soul, passed away in an American strike which targeted him along with two of his mujuhideen brothers"[18], Khalid Batarfi, a senior member of the group said in the video.

The Pentagon has previously said it would not comment on the killing which Site Intelligence group has said would constitute the biggest strike on an Al Qaeda since the death of Osama Bin Laden in Pakistan in 2011. Yemen officials confirmed the death of Wuhayshi by saying that they believe he was killed in the raid in Al Qaeda held Mukalla, in south-eastern Yemen's Hardramawt province. Wuhayshi was such a key figure identified by the United

States as being as important in their quest to counter terrorism that the USS Department had offered a ten million dollar reward for anybody who could help in his arrest.

It was said that he was the one "responsible for approving targets, recruiting new members, allocating resources to training, attack planning and asking others to carry out attacks".[19] Wahuyshi was a Yemen himself, travelled to Afghanistan in the late 1990s where he was trained and then went to fight in the battle of Tora Bora in the late 2001 before escaping to Iran. Since late January 2015,AQAP has lost a number of high profile figures in the United drones strikes, these figures includes religious official Harithi al-Harithi, ideological and spokesperson al Rubaishi and religious and military official Naseer al-Ansi along with lower ranking figures. Sheikh Harith al-Nadhari was among four people killed on the 31st of January strike in Shabwa province, Al- Nadhari recently appeared in an Al Qaeda video praising January's attack on the French Magazine Charlie Hebdo, he has been among the groups few public faces that had threatened more attacks. Al-Nadhari was quoted as saying "It is better for you to stop your aggression against the Muslims, so perhaps you will live safely, if you refuse but wage war, then wait for glad tiding,"[20] he said this in a video released on the 9th of January after the France attacks.

Ibrahim al-Rubaish, a top cleric of Al Qaeda branch in Yemen was killed in a United States drone strikes. Ibrahim al-Rubaish had five million dollar bounty on his head. He was released from Guantanamo Bay in 2006 after which he joined Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).In April of 2015, a United States air strike in Yemen has killed Nasser al-Ansi in the Arab Peninsula, Site Intelligence, a U.S militant monitoring group sites AQAP statement was quoted as saying Ansi was killed in the port city of Mukalla. Ansi has appeared in a number of AQAP videos "In one, he claimed the group was behind the attacks on the Paris offices of

French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in January, in which 12 people died."[21] The Obama administration's use of drones to counterterrorism was applied on the continent of Africa as well.

The recent crises in Algeria and Mali presented instances of the Obama administration's application of hard power in fighting terrorism in Africa. These two instances involve the use of drones against terrorist and their groups that are affiliated to Al Qaeda terrorist group. In the specific case of Algeria, "The United States conducted unmanned drone surveillance of the Algerian Amenas gas plant where Algerian forces led an operation to free Europeans and American hostages and to hunt for Mokhtar Belmokhtar, Algeria's link to Al Qaeda who has claimed responsibility for the crisis."[22] Both Algeria and Mali are beset by Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) terrorist threats.

"Algeria is the birthplace of AQIM which is Al Qaeda's affiliate in North Africa, It has produced most AQIM leadership and allies and is the nucleus from which terrorism has orbitered beyond Algeria to Mali, Mauritania, and Niger, African officials have estimated that AQIM consists of 2,500 to 3000 Islamist fighters coming from Africa, Europe and Asia, while U.S officials estimates there are between 800 to 1200 Islamist fighters."[23]

In the specific case of Mali, the operation which involves the use drones by the United States commenced at the invitation of the host nation. This drone campaign is based on agreement between the two governments and has the objective of restoring the sovereignty of Mali on its territory and by further prevents the Northern part of that country from becoming a terrorist sanctuary in the heart of Africa. The Malian crisis was such a devastating one to the citizens of that country. "The conflict has forced 400,000 Malians to flee their home and wrought

terror in North Africa's Sahara and Sahel, with the potential to expand those regions as a global threat."[24]

"Currently the U.S has about 7000 aerial drones of various nomenclature and capability compared with fewer than 50 a decade ago, this is set to expand further under the Obama administration's 2012 budget request of 4.8 billion dollar for drones. Drones are legal according to the Obama administration lawyers under the 2001 Authorization for the use of military, which gives the president authority to capture or kill anyone suspected of having planned, executed or assisted in the attacks of September 11, 2001.Since 2008 alone, more than 300 drones strikes deliberately killed 2500 or more people in Yemen, Pakistan, Somalia and elsewhere around the globe as part of CIA and military targeted killing operations."[25]

In Africa, a camp referred to as "Camp Lemenonnnier located in Djibouti is reportedly to be the centre of constellation of hush- hush U.S drone, *commodo* or *intelligina* facilities in East Africa including Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and the island of Seychelles"[26]. One centre of drones use by the United States that has not been made secret in Africa is the admission made by the ambassador of Niger to the United States; the ambassador said to CNN that the Niger government has an agreement to allow the U.S to operate its drone program from its territory. Obama's drones use these countries helped in restoring hope to those countries and their respective sub- regions and prevented the spread of their activities.

3.1.3   Guantanamo Bay Detention Facility

The Guantanamo Bay Detention Facility is located in Cuba which the United States acquired from Cuba in the year 1898 where they established a Naval Base, this land site is on lease and the U.S pays every year for this land. The detention facility was opened in 2002 with the idea

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of keeping as detainees people who were captured from President George Bush Jr. declaration of Global War on Terrorism after the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States. The Justice Department of the Bush administration is to take away rights of those been held at the detention facility with the assertion that the U.S Federal Courts have no jurisdiction over foreigners captured outside the United States and being held in Cuba. These detainees are christened as unlawful combatants instead of being called prisoners of war, The United State Justice Department even seeks to deny them the fundamental rights which is provided by the Geneva Conventions accorded Prisoners of War.

"In all, the detention centre at Guantanamo has housed a total 779 detainees-approximately 550 of which have already been released or transferred into the custody of other governments. Only 3 detainees have ever been charged and convicted of a crime"[27]. These people are kept there and interrogated with the purpose of retrieving vital information from them even if their fundamental human rights are violated.

> Three times since the opening of camp Delta-In 2004, 2006 and 2008-the supreme court has found that key process of the Bush administration detention policy were in violation of the U.S Constitution-In Rasul v. Bush, the court threw away the president claim that detainees held in Guantanamo were outside the Jurisdiction of Federal Courts, allowing them to challenge their captivity. Two years later, in Hamdan v. Rumsfeld, the court found that the procedures instituted by the Bush administration to review the status of detainees at Guantanamo violated military and the Geneva Conventions. In the court ruling in Boumediene v. Bush, the Supreme Court once granted detainees the writ of habeas corpus and guaranteed that, the Federal courts would be able to provide a crucial check against the government indefinite detention of detainees at Guantanamo Bay.[28]

With this background of how detainees are interrogated and how it is in sharp contrast to the constitution of the United States, President Obama then presidential candidate during the campaigns for the 2008 elections promised the closure of Guantanamo Bay detention facility, advocated that, detainees being held there will be tried or prosecuted in U.S civil courts and also stop the form of interrogation being meted out to detainees there. "Upon taking office, Mr. Obama tried to fulfil the dreams of anti-war left, In January 2009; he signed executive

orders to close the prison at Guantanamo Bay and limit the CIA to U.S interrogation methods. He made it clear that all Al Qaeda leaders will be tried in U.S civilian courts"[29]. In spite of all these actions taken by the Obama administration, Guantanamo Bay Detention Facility remains open and terrorist detainees cannot be brought to the U.S for prosecution in civil courts. The inability of the Obama administration to close down the camp, the non-trial of detainees in the U.S demonstrates Obama's application of hard power.

Over the last few years pressure from Congress coupled with the real world demands forced the Obama administration to give up his law enforcement approach to fighting terrorism, Guantanamo remains open till date, detainees cannot also be sent to the U.S for prosecution in Manhattan and the military commissions devised by the Bush administration have been restarted, all pointing to Obama's application of hard power in his counterterrorism approach to fighting terrorism. The detention facility served as source of gathering of information which led to the capturing of Bin Laden. This is also part of the difficulties of the administration's inability to close down the Guantanamo Bay.

3.1.4 Increased numbers of U.S troops in Iraq

A recent display of hard power application by the Obama administration is the approval of modest increased in the numbers of United States troops in Iraq based on the request made by the Iraqi government on June 10, 2015, "The White House says U.S president Barack Obama has approved the deployment of up to 450 additional military personnel to a base in Iraq's Anbar Province to train and advice Iraqi forces fighting Islamic State (IS) militant"[30].This action is one of the recent approach of hard power application by the Obama administration. In that same statement, the White House said the president also "expedited delivery of

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essential equipment and material to the Iraqi forces including Kurdish Peshmerga, and the tribal fighters operating under Iraqi command."[31]

This action by the Obama administration has come about as a result of the fact that, the Iraqi military has suffered some setbacks at the hands of the IS group, and the decision by President Obama to send these 450 troops Iraq was at the request of the Prime Minister of Iraq and secondly based on the advice of the officials of Pentagon. The purpose for sending these 450 troops is for training the Iraqi forces and their training sites in order to enlarge the number of Iraqis fighting against the IS militant. Even though under this arrangement the United States troops will not directly be involved in fighting the IS militant group, I consider it as an application of hard power by the Obama administration in the fight against terrorism because of the involvement of the military.

The sending of the 450 troops this year came on the heels of a past authorization of the doubling of U.S troops levels in Iraq for the war against Islamic State (ISIS) militants. It was reported that "Obama ordered an additional 1500 troops to Iraq on Friday to bolster the performance of Iraqi and Kurdish forces fighting ISIS in ground combat"[32]. Again the 1500 will not be directly be involved in ground combat against militant group ISIS, but they will be performing advisory and training roles. This authorization by the Obama administration was done in November 2014.

3.2 Application of Soft Power by the Obama Administration in the War against Terrorism

The term soft power was coined by Joseph S. Nye Jr and has been used in understanding methods by which nations- states can use the power available to them, Soft power includes a nation's culture, values and policies to influence another country or states stance on a

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particular issue. In President Obama's counterterrorism efforts, there have been instances where the application of soft power can be proven to be applied.

3.2.1   Obama's Address to the Muslim World in Cairo, 2009

A major application of soft power by the Obama administration is the announcement by the president that he will make a major foreign policy statement in an Islamic state in the first hundred days after taking office. President Obama fulfilled this promise by the speech delivered in the Egyptian capital of Cairo in 2009. The Cairo speech was primarily addressed to the Muslim world; one objective of this speech is that the President made it a goal to erase the bad notion that the United States is anti- Islam. The speech is a superb example of the display of soft power using the soft power elements of public diplomacy and the projection of American values to the Muslim world. In that speech President Obama used persuasive instrument where he acknowledged and praised the previous achievements and contributions of the Muslim community and reminded them of the shortcomings of some minority in the Muslim world. To this effect, the president paid tribute to two institutions, "two remarkable institutions namely the Al-Azhar with history of over a thousand years….. As a beacon of Islamic learning based in Cairo University which has been a source of Egypt's advancement"[33]

"U.S president Barack Obama's Cairo speech in June was delivered at a time when there was no love lost between the United States and most Muslims around the world, following the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan and the war on terror."[34] One remarkable thing about the Cairo speech was the manner in which President Obama started his speech, it was all embracing, he started on a note that made his audience feel that he is one of them, realizing his audience were predominantly Muslims he started with the common Islamic greeting:

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Assalaamu alaykum, which is translated as follows, "may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon you," and this is seen or considered as a good way of someone who is not a Muslim to effectively capture the attention of his audience by making them follow him through the delivery of the speech.

The Cairo speech provided the president the platform to acknowledge the strain relationship and tensions that existed between Muslim communities and the West especially the United States. The president in that same speech noted that, the problem is only a small group of Muslims who are in the minority that are engaged in perpetuating violent extremist activities against the United States. This aspect of his speech goes to emphasize the point made by the president earlier when he declared that United States is not at war with Islam as a religion but the United States is at war with the Al Qaeda terrorist group which was behind the September 11, 2001 attacks on the U.S The point must also be made that president Obama was careful in the choice of words that were used in describing this group of Muslims that are in the minority, he described them as "violent extremist" and not Islamist militants or Islamist radicals or even Islamists.

Obama proved a point by assuring the Muslim community that "America and Islam not exclusive, the two are not incompatible since they share valuable common principles of justice and progress, tolerance and the dignity of all human beings."[35] In this same speech Obama was looking to have a beginning of a new relationship between the United States and that of the Muslim world, a relationship that will be built on respect for one another, based on mutual interest. Obama proved his affiliation with the Islamic religion as his father was a Muslim, he quoted from the Quran to prove this by saying that, "Be conscious of God and speak always the truth", one can make the deduction from this quote the United States wants

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a truthful and sincere relations with the Islamic world, Obama spoke to the issues of bad stereotyping of Islam pointing that "statistics of the large Muslim presence in his country, there are nearly 7000 Muslims and 1200 mosques, Muslims there are enjoying incomes and educational levels that are higher American average."[36] Obama added that, "the U.S government defends a Muslim female right to wear the hijab (headscarf) and punish those who would deny."[37]

On the issue of violent extremism, "He appeals for partnership as both U.S and Muslim countries are interdependent. They should come together to confront violent extremism, which he identifies as the first major source of tension between the two, He avoided using Islamophobic terms to refer to Muslims who commit acts of terror as their actions are not sanctioned by Islam."[38] The president spoke about the fact that the United States in its history has never been at war with Islam but will relentless fight against violent extremism that are a grave threat to the United States, at this point he mentions the Taliban and Al Qaeda of their actions in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Obama accepted the shortcomings of invading Iraq and made a promise of withdrawing American in Iraq.

Part of president Obama's speech also addressed the issue of democracy; Obama made the point that no system of governance can or should be imposed on a nation by another and this will be welcome news to those regimes that do not practice multiparty democracy. On the issue of the economy and development, Obama made the point that, development and tradition are not contradictory. He was full of praise for Muslim communities that are at the forefront of innovation and education; the President spoke about expanding educational and internship opportunities for overseas Muslim students in the United States and also promised to encourage American students to study in Muslim communities. The president went ahead

to express his desire to promote businesses between the United States and the Muslim community. President Obama ended it with Assalaamu alakum which is translated as peace is upon you; the Cairo speech is a major event that point to the fact of president Obama's application of soft power in his counterterrorism efforts. This speech improved the cooperation between the U.S and some of the Muslim states for instance states such as Turkey, Indonesia, and Pakistan among others. The speech also assured the Muslim world that the U.S is not against Islam as a religion and the U.S would not impose their form of democracy on any country through forceful means.

3.2.2   Negotiations with the Taliban in Afghanistan

There has been some high level of improvement in Afghanistan relative to the military situation since 2009 when president Obama increased the number of U.S troops in Afghanistan. Even Afghanistan has seen comprehensive application of hard power by the Bush administration which led to the overthrow of the Taliban regime, president Obama also continued with the application of hard power and this was manifested in the increased of U.S troops by the Obama administration, after a while president Obama found it prudent to apply soft power through negotiating with the Taliban and this was necessitated by the realization that, continued keeping of American troops and their allies comes at a cost to the United States. "I know that reconciling with and adversary that can brutal as the Taliban sound distasteful, even unimaginable. And diplomacy would be easy if we only had to talk to our friends. But that is not how one makes peace, President Reagan understood that when he sat down with the Soviet. And Richard Holbrooke made this his life. He negotiated face-to-face with Milosevic and ended a war."[39]

President Obama promised a 'new thinking about' the situation in Pakistan and Afghanistan, however this new thinking did not bring any fundamental change in the strategy. "Even within the White House itself, there has been a lot of debate on going about the situation, the Vice president Joe Biden is one of the big guns in the White House who thought that the continues presence of the United States and its allies is big issue and counterproductive"[40]. This gives the background to the talks that Obama administration began to hold with the Taliban leadership, the Kabul government and this vividly ushered in the application of soft power by the by the Obama administration in Afghanistan. With the idea that, the presence of Western military would help stabilize the security situation in Afghanistan and the eventual handing over of state apparatus to the indigenous people of Afghanistan whiles the other side involves the application of soft power through talks or negotiation with the Taliban and the Kabul government was also initiated by the Obama administration through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on the quite. "Alongside the military surge, the Obama administration has fairly and quietly adopted with its NATO counterparts, a strategy of beginning to talk with desperate elements of the insurgent groups within Afghanistan and the Pakistan border region."[41]

Those who were tasked to carry out the objective went through a great deal of talking to elements of those desperate groups to bring the leaders of the Taliban and the Kabul government to strike a deal of peace with the leaders of those insurgents groups that were invited to the negotiation table. Some of the groups that were invited included the Quetta shura, this group is responsible for the control of activities of the Taliban within the state of Afghanistan, also included in this negotiation is the hard-liner guerrilla group called Haqqani network, and the third group is the Peshawar shura group which originated from the eastern part of Afghanistan.

After the death of Osama Bin Laden, the Obama administration has been very hopeful that they can make a significant progress by bringing the factions of the Taliban leadership and the Kabul government and the leaders of those insurgent groups through negotiation, again the officials of the State Department of the U.S believes that the death of Osama Bin Laden will help push the talks for negotiation into fruitful and desired results, this is due to the kind of closeness that existed between Osama Bin Laden and the overall leader of the Taliban Muhammed Mullah Omar and with this tie broken down, it gave a lot of hope to the United States officials which even made the Secretary of State to publicly declare that, "It opens up possibility for dealing with the Taliban which did not exist before."[42] Some political opponents of the Obama administration do not believe in the overtures sent out to those seen as responsible for carrying out the attacks of September 11, 2001, in their opinion it is highly dubious. The display of soft power application is the desire to open dialogue with the Taliban and others is display of soft power.

3.2.3   Obama's visit to Istanbul and Bagdad

Another significant display of soft power application by the Obama led administration with the intention of forging closer ties and collaboration of the United States with the Muslim community is the visit of president Obama to Turkey and Iraq. In the Cairo address, the president declared that "Americans are not your enemy", this in my opinion is a major positive efforts towards improving the United States relations with the Muslim world, this visit was with the objective of improving friendship. These two visits were seen as very big efforts in the Muslim world, whiles in these countries, President Obama's speeches which he delivered was telecast live on the biggest Arabic language satellite channels which included Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya.

President Obama arrived in Istanbul on 6th of April and later that evening attended a traditional Turkish musical performance which was attended by the Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan, the Turkish president Gul and the Spanish Prime Minister Zapataro, On the following day president Obama walked the talk he delivered in Cairo by demonstrating his commitment when he met with the chief Rabbi of Instanbul Isak Halevain and other religious leaders in Instanbul. On that same day, president Obama and the Turkish PM Erdogan toured the Ottoman Sultanahmet Mosque known as the Blue Mosque in Istanbul where he was joined by the Turkish chief of Staff Rahm Emanuel for the tour of the popular Mosque. For instance in Istanbul, president Obama made an admission by saying that "I know there have been difficulties these few years, so let me say this as clearly as I can, the United States is not and never be at war with Islam.[43]" This statement was also very prominent in the Cairo address to the Muslim world; it tells us the significance of the statement that President Obama has to repeat this same statement in his Istanbul address.

It was important for president Obama to re- emphasized this portion of his speech that was delivered in Cairo and Istanbul as well because since the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, the then President George Bush and his administration portrayed the United States as been against the Islamic religion. This was manifested in the way President George Bush and his administration took a unilateral decision to invade Iraq and overthrew the Saddam Hussein on the basis that he was in possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and also providing safe haven for terrorist and their groups to plan their activities against the United States. This unilateral decision taken by the Bush administration did not go down well with most Muslim states in the world.

Against this backdrop, the Obama administration has the responsibility of correcting the wrong impression created by the Bush administration and that is exactly what President Obama sought to do in the famous foreign policy statement made in his Cairo speech in 2009 in his first hundred days and this same message was echoed in Istanbul as well. President Obama sought to correct and clear the wrong impression that the United States was against Islamic religion but rather the United States is against the terrorist extremist group called Al Qaeda. This statements comes a good news to both the United States and the Muslim world because it will be of benefit to both sides as it seeks to extend the olive branch to the Muslim community, the statement and the subsequent visits by President Obama are seen as fresh efforts to start a new friendship and this depicts soft power application towards the Muslim world. It is observed that, the visit of President Obama and the speech delivered on the 7th of April 2009 is one that will hugely project the image of the United States creating a new relationship with the Muslim world and by extension promote the Homeland security of the United States.

President Obama's visit to Bagdad was a surprise four hour trip where he addressed the United States troops after which he met the Iraqi president Jalal Talabam and the Prime Minister Niri al-Maliki in Bagdad. After their meeting, both President Obama and the Iraqi Prime Minister held a joint news conference after concluding their meeting and this was also carried live on Iraqi national television. The visit by Obama to Iraq was very important to the administration as the administration planned to gradually withdraw American troops from Iraq and this Obama administration achieved eventually.

3.2.4   Reforms in Homeland Security

The United States did not wholly applied or continues the application of hard power in their efforts to fight against terrorism after the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks. One very typical area where the United States applied soft power and is continuing the application of soft power is in the area of Homeland Security. The Office of International Operations for the Federal Bureau of Investigation has stroked very valuable relationships with other countries on some fronts in their quest to combat terrorism. This form of relationship was created through the training of thousands of foreign law enforcement officers. The Department of Homeland Security was part of measures put in place by the United States government immediately after the September 11 2001 attacks. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) also has a department that is responsible for effective combat of terrorism and other criminal activities. The United States believes that having collaboration between law enforcement is enhanced through the international training offered by the FBI in both basic and advance investigative techniques. Soft power application by the Obama administration is also seen in the Department of Justice, The Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) is a United States federal law enforcement agency under the Department of Justice which is tasked with the responsibility of combating drugs smuggling and use within the United States. The DEA to this effect has formed what is called Foreign-deployed Advisory Support Teams (FAST).These units are specially trained to set up schools to offer training programs for local police officers on countering drug and terrorism.

In the era where it is possible for terrorism to be planned and carried out from anywhere and the ability of terrorist and their groups to execute their objectives over many planning points and under the circumstances where terrorism knows no boundary, the international training initiatives are most important to the FBI efforts to give protection to the people of America.

These initiatives comes in the areas of legal and police systems, this will certainly result in less attacks been carried out on the United States and also the sharing of information that are instrumental and vital in aiding the FBI in tracking down fugitives. The International Operations Bureau of the FBI has organized training programs in the following areas which is depicts the application of soft power.

a) Bilateral Training Program: Directly supports Attache officers request for training of foreign law enforcement in their areas of responsibilities at overseas venues and U.S venues

b) International Law Enforcement Academies: They teach cutting edge leadership and investigative techniques to international police managers through an intensive program similar to the FBI National Academy and also provide specialized classes on corruption to cybercrime. The FBI heads facilities in Budapest, Hungary and supplies instructors to the academies in Bangkok, Gaborone, and San Salvador.

c) Middle East Law Enforcement Training Center: This provides training to Dubai police and other officers in the region through partnership between the government of Dubai and the FBI.

d) Plan Columbia/Anti-Kidnaping Initiative: This provides training assistance to Columbian Law enforcement in their battle against illegal drug production and organized criminal groups and terrorism.

e) Pacific Training Initiatives: This focuses on transnational crimes like terrorism and corruption for senior level personnel from various agencies in the Pacific Rim and Asia.

f) International Counter- Proliferation Program: It offers counter proliferation training to global partners in concert with the United States Department of Defence.

g) International Law Enforcement Executive Development Seminar (International LEEDS): It includes courses established for the FBI's foreign law enforcement partners with limited English fluency to develop or enhance their leadership, administrative and investigative management skills. The courses thought at the FBI Academy, are held in language of the attending law enforcement agency(s), included among those sessions held at the Academy are Latin American LEEDS, Arabian language LEEDS, Mexico LEEDS and the Brazil LEEDS.

Another effort that seeks to promote soft power application in the Homeland security area is the action by the U.S Custom and Border Protection has officers and operatives working with a host of countries overseas in securing the global supply chain. This collaboration provides mutual benefits to both the U.S and the supply chain system.

One area of soft power application in the Homeland Security system is the Customs Trade Partnership Against Terrorism (TPAoT).This gives a lot of support to the private sector to increase the security of the supply chain.

3.2.5 Partnership between the U.S and Africa on Counter Terrorism

It is no secret that United States experienced its share of terrorist attacks on the continent of Africa in the past. The United States Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were attacked which resulted in casualties that threatened the interest of the United States. The government of both former President George Bush and the current President Obama pledged that they have no higher priority than to protect U.S citizens from terrorists and their groups and violent extremists. United States efforts at partnering African countries in their counterterrorism efforts is not only based on protecting their citizens and American interest alone but Africa as

well, "But our efforts at counterterrorism in Africa are motivated as well as by recognition that extremist groups are tearing apart communities in many parts of the continent, robbing young people of their futures, constraining economic growth and denying their full potential."[44]

The United States identified terrorist groups such as al-shabbaab, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Boko Haram and Bayt Al Maqdis, as those that pose threats to the United States interest on the continent of Africa and to Africans themselves hence the United States efforts in creating partnerships with African States in the areas of economic, military, diplomacy, financial action, intelligence, law enforcement etc. It is in this vein that President Obama recently requested Congress to create new 5 billion dollars Counterterrorism Partnership Fund that will help the build the capacity of African partners to respond effectively to the terrorist threat. The United States has developed an effective, holistic partnership with the African continent in the following areas to counter terrorism which depicts soft power application by the Obama administration.

a) Enhancing Military Capacity: In this area, U.S military personnel work hand-in-hand with African counterparts to increase military capacity in countries threatened by terrorism. "The Department of Defence (DOD) provides much needed equipment to empower African partner's ability to halt terrorism."[45] U.S military personnel provides specialized training that includes instruction on planning, battlefield tactics, civil relations, best practices in counter insurgency and respect for the rule of law. Also the United States sponsors multinational exercises to increase collaboration and strengthen bonds among African states. Typical instance is the 2014 Flintlock Exercise, hosted by Niger, brought together more than 1000 troops from 18 countries including eight African states.

b) Enhancing Law enforcement capacity: Strengthening the African partner's civilian security and Law enforcement capacity is another key priority of the U.S counterterrorism strategy in Africa. In FY 2013, "We trained 2584 participants in 19 African countries on how to prevent, detect, and investigate terrorism threats; secure their borders; bolster legal frameworks to effectively prosecute terrorist within the rule of law."[46] As part of the United States Department of States Antiterrorism Assistance (ATA) program, The ATA program provides training on wide range of disciplines, from bomb detection to crime scene investigation. The ATA has long standing partnership with Tanzania for instance which has helped institutionalized its counterterrorism training and build special marine police unit.

c) Restricting Travel and Stemming access to Resources: With the partnership that exist between the United States and African partners in this area, they work to restrict terrorist and their groups travels, and their ability to raise, move and save money. "The terrorist Interdiction Program/Personal Identification Secure Comparison and Evaluation System provide partner countries in Africa border security assistance to identify, destruct, and deter terrorist travel."[47] The Department of State has a program called The Counterterrorism Finance (CFT) program which provides training programs to partner countries that will enable them to better restrict terrorist and their group's ability to raise, move and save money. "We have CTF-funded Resident Legal Advisors (RLA) and two Department of Homeland Security advisors in Africa who provide mentoring and training to judges and prosecutors so they are better able to adjudicate and prosecute those cases."[48]

d) Drying up Potential Sources of Recruits: The United States also aims to nip terrorism in the bud before it even begins. This they do this by strengthening community resilience and creating environments that are not accommodative to terrorist to do

recruitment. For instance, in Chad, Niger and Burkina Faso, USAID is leading efforts to provide supports for youth empowerment in the areas of education, skills training, strengthening local governance, improving access to information via community radio which is aimed targeting groups that are vulnerable to extremist ideologies.

e) Building Global Partnerships: The United States has been engaged in a lot multilateral cooperation with the single objective of putting in place an international architecture to combat terrorism. For instance in 2011, the United States jointly founded the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF), which involved the participation of African countries. The objective of this platform is to identify critical civilian counterterrorism needs, gathering the expertise and the resources to meet those needs thereby promoting international cooperation.

f) Confronting Boko Haram: The United States is deeply concerned about the activities of Boko Haram against the people of Nigeria and the destruction been caused to the Nigerian infrastructure and the recent abduction of over hundred school girls in the northern part of that country and this gives a lot of concern to the U.S to partner with Nigeria in their efforts to fight Boko Haram. "To support the Nigerian led efforts to combat Boko Haram, we are providing an array of military, law enforcement, and intelligence support such as Counter-Improvised Explosives Device training and forensics training. We are also supporting the efforts of Nigeria and its neighbours to increase regional cooperation to combat Boko Haram."[49] In this regard, the U.S is also working with the Nigerian government to promote development in the northern part of that country in areas such as health, education and social development.

g) Working to Degrade Al-Shabaab: Being fully aware of the threats posed by Al-Shabaab and their activities, the United States has supported and continues to support the Somali National Army and the African Union (AU) Missions in Somalia

(AMISOM) to render Al-Shabaab ineffective. "The Department of State invested more than 170 million dollars to recruit and train forces to help Somalia's institutions and citizens."[50] Moreover, the United has invested more than half a billion dollars in training, equipment and logistical support to AMISOM. As a result of these efforts, Al-Shabaab has been weakened and the U.S believes that a stable Somalia and the Horn of Africa are long-term deterrence to the flourishing of the activities of Al-Shabaab.

h) Enabling Partners to combat Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM): In 2013, the Obama administration provided support to its French and regional partners to stop the spread of AQIM in the northern part of Mali thereby resulting in Mali reclaiming its future. "The U.S has provided airlift and refuelling support, and training and supplies to more than 6000 thousand soldiers and police who have been deployed to support the international response."[51] Owing to the international cooperation, the people of Mali held free and fair elections thereby improving the stability of the state. "Our Trans –Sahara Counterterrorism Partnerships (TSCTP) has supported these efforts and other partner country efforts in the Sahel and the Maghreb to constrict and ultimately eliminate the ability of terrorist organizations to exploit the region by increasing security sector capacity, addressing the underlying causes of radicalization and amplifying local voices that speak against violence."[52]

i) Confronting Terrorism in North Africa: The United States under the Obama administration continues to provide counterterrorism assistance and advice to its partners in North Africa in order to combat the efforts of extremist groups such as Ansar al-Sharia located in Tunisia, Benghazi and Darnah. The United States provides capacity to the Tunisian government through TSCTP to combat the threat of terrorism. The U.S also provides vehicles to support internal and border security in

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Tunisia. In Libya, the U.S is working in collaboration with the international community to train Libyan General Force, build Libyan institutional capacity to counter terrorism.

The above instances discussed gave credence to the fact that; President Obama actually employed and continues to employ the application of both hard power and soft power in the administration's counter terrorism efforts. The combination approach adopted by the Obama administration can be described as relatively successful in these two instances. President Obama's speech delivered in Turkey during his visit was historic where is reached out to the Muslim world in an attempt to redress the damage done to the relations of the U.S and the Muslim world. It was also for the purpose of breaking new grounds with the Muslim world and this overtures extended by President Obama restored relations between Turkey and the U.S when their relations broke down due to Turkey's refusal to back the U.S invasion of Iraq in 2003 and also refused U.S forces operating from Turkey's territory. After this speech Turkey became a strategic partner of the U.S and the U.S even backing Turkey's desire for an E.U membership. Obama chose Turkey because it plays crucial roles in resolving regional tensions. Turkey also plays the role of mediating security talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan and the only Muslim state that has good relations with Israel. Turkey is a strategic partner with the U.S and cooperates with the U.S on issues pertaining to terrorism.

President Obama's application of hard power recorded the biggest success in the fight against terrorism when he sanctioned the capture and killing of Osama Bin Laden by U.S Special Forces in Abbottabad. This operation did not use the full military force compared to former President George Bush but Obama achieved the biggest target of the U.S since the

declaration of the Global War on Terrorism. Obama has also been successful in the use of drones resulting in the killing of top officials of Al Qaeda in Yemen.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0   Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of findings from the study, conclusion and recommendations.

4.1   Summary of Findings

The event of September 11 2001 resulted in loss of lives and destruction to property when the U.S came under attack from the extremist group called Al-Qaeda headed by Osama Bin Laden, a man until his demise was considered to be the "Number One" enemy of the United States and the administration at that time adopted the excessive application of hard power due to the realities at that time. The application of hard power by the Bush administration was based on the Bush Doctrine. The Bush Doctrine was a working policy document which gave direction to how the United States as a country will conduct its affairs in world politics especially when it comes to issues related to protecting its interests and providing security to its citizens.

President Obama during the campaign for the 2008 elections promised to shift the focus from excessive application of hard power by the Bush administration. From the study, it is revealed that president Obama has applied and continues the application of hard power and soft power in his counterterrorism efforts. Some of the findings which supports this statement are; President Obama in 2009 signed an executive instrument ordering the closure of Guantanamo Bay Detention facility in Cuba, this decision was informed by the promise he made during the campaigning period for the elections in 2008 but after this instrument was signed,

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Guantanamo Bay remains open due to pressure from the United States House of Congress. The study also revealed that, the Obama administration actually expanded the scope and geography of drone strikes beyond Pakistan and Afghanistan. The administration is currently conducting drone strikes against Al Qaeda militants in Yemen. Comparison between the Bush administration and the current Obama administration reveals that the Obama administration ordered more drone strikes than the Bush administration.

The Obama administration has been relatively successful in its drone program especially in Yemen owing to the number of high profile Al-Qaeda leaders that have been killed in these drone strikes. The Obama administration also exhibited the application of hard power when the United States recorded its biggest success in the war against terrorism in 2013 in Abbottabad, Pakistan. Osama Bin Laden, a man considered to be the "Number One" enemy of the United States after September 11 attacks was killed in an operation by U.S Special Forces and this operation was sanctioned by President Obama. The Obama administration also applied hard power on the continent of Africa as well; places such as Algeria, Mali, Tunisia are identified as potential breeding grounds for terrorist activities. In Algeria, the Obama administration used unmanned drone surveillance to aid Algerian led operation to free Europeans and American hostages and also hunt for Mokhtar Belmkhtar.

Based on the hypothesis of this research, the study also identified instances of soft power application by the Obama administration, one major instance of soft power application is the famous Cairo address delivered in 2009, the primary objective of this address was to correct the wrong notion that the United States was against Islamic religion. The Obama administration is also exhibiting the application of soft power by the various partnership programs with countries in Africa. For instance, USAID is involved in partnership with other

state agencies in fighting poverty in places like Mali, Niger, Nigeria and others countries to reduce poverty. When poverty is reduced, people are empowered thereby reducing the rate at which they can be recruited into joining terrorist groups.

4.2   Conclusion

The event of September 11, 2001 was one particular event that exposed the United States vulnerability to terrorists and their activities. It came as surprise to the United States and its leaders, the leaders entertained the fear that if no drastic measure is taken further attacks may be carried out against the U.S, it presented the U.S as to which option among soft power and hard power may be best applicable. In relation to the findings of the study, it became apparent that the Obama administration did not solely rely on just one of the options between soft power and hard power. The application of both options was important for winning the war against terrorism. Judging from the outcome of the study conducted, the hypothesis of the study is fully supported that the Obama administration relied and still continues to rely on the application of soft power and hard power in his counterterrorism efforts.

In relation to the third question of this research, it possible to conclude that Obama's application of soft and hard power has been relatively successful because the administration chocked one of the biggest successes in the objective of the United States declaration of the global war on terror after the September 11 attacks, which is the killing of Osama Bin Laden who was considered to be the biggest enemy of the U.S after the attacks. Despite the fairly successful application of hard power and soft power in the fight against terrorism, countless number of terrorist groups and violent extremist have emerged which brings to question how much of hard power and soft power should be administered in a given situation.

4.3   Recommendations

As a result of this study which relied on secondary data, some recommendations have been made. These include the following:

Firstly, the threat to the United States when it comes to terrorism will always be present. This may vary and come in different forms. To a given state like the U.S they can be military and unconventional, therefore it is to the advantage of the United States to carefully consider all this present threats and device methods and strategies which will be able to combat this unconventional threats by primarily winning the hearts and minds of potential persons, organizations or even country that may pose a threat in the form of terrorism, some may demand non-military initiatives like international development and diplomacy to achieve this foreign policy objective since just military option will enhance fear, suspicion and hatred for the United States.

Secondly, the Obama administration should channel more resources into empowering failed states as these failed states are taken advantage of by these terrorist and their groups and they exploit their weakness and eventually use these states as breeding grounds and safe havens for planning their activities, they also use these failed states as their launch pad against the United States. The United States should do this through promotion of democracy but not forcing or imposing the form of democracy practiced by the United States on these states.

Thirdly, the United States should adopt and develop further its policy of light foot print and leading from behind. A means, by which the United States when feasible will develop incentive and low-cost, approaches to achieve national objectives. This is when the U.S provides direction from behind through training programs and logistics that would build the

capacity of states not to provide conditions that would favour breeding grounds for terrorist and their activities, By adopting this strategy, the U.S provides the opportunity of creating fewer enemies for its self since they are not in the fore front themselves.

Fourthly, the United States should expand its partnership building program with countries that more prone to the activities of terrorist activities so these activities can be identified quickly and nipped in the bud so that the threat of terrorist to the U.S can be reduced. In relation to this, the United States should create friendship with the Arab media for instance media houses such as Al-Jazeera and Al- Arabiyah by having an arrangement with these networks to have programs on air that will project American values and culture to people who may have bad notions about the United States this will go a long way of making American values and culture attractive to others.

Fifthly, it is impossible for the Obama administration to completely ignore the application of hard power in counterterrorism if a particular situation calls for the application hard power, then the use of drones may be appropriate. As the study revealed, the administration has been relatively successful in its drone program, so the use of drones should be encouraged but the U.S should exercise precaution to limit the civilian casualties associated with such strikes.

Last but not least of these recommendations, the definition of hard power by Joseph Nye which is the foundation of this study, Nye's use of the word military might to change others preference is problematic, Nye did not clarify the involvement of the military, for instance if the military is used in rescue operations and not directly involved in military combat or the military is involved in training of other state's military can these type of operation be

classified as hard power application? My study however did not cover this area and leaves room for other researchers to exploit.

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