

**Deanship of Graduate Studies
Al-Quds University**



US Foreign Policy towards Palestine After 9/11

Wi'am Adnan Mohammed Hammash

M.Sc. Thesis

Jerusalem – Palestine

1440/2018

US Foreign Policy towards Palestine After 9/11

Prepared By:

Wi'am Adnan Mohammed Hammash

B.Sc. Human Rights and International Law

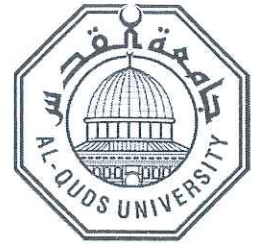
Al-Quds Bard College / Palestine

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Dan Kryder

A thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in American Studies at Al-Quds University.

1440/2018

Al-Quds University
Deanship of Graduate Studies
American Studies Program



Thesis Approval

US Foreign Policy towards Palestine After 9/11

Prepared By: Wi'am Adnan Mohammed Hammash

Registration No: 21612847

Master thesis submitted and accepted, Date: 19/12/2018

The names and signatures of the examining committee members are as follows:

1. Head of Committee: Dr. Dan Kryder.....

2. Internal Examiner: Dr. Mohammad Abu Koash.....

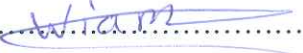
3. External Examiner: Dr. Sami Musallam.....

Jerusalem-Palestine

2018/1440

DECLARATION

I Certify that this thesis submitted for the degree of Master, is the result of my own research, except where otherwise acknowledged, and that this study (or any part of the same) has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Signed..... 

Wi'am Adnan Mohammed Hammash

Date: 2018/12/19

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved parents for their love, care, endless support, encouragement and sacrifices.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who helped me to make my thesis work a success. I express my sincere and whole hearted thanks, to my thesis supervisor **Dr. Dan Kryder** for his guidance, patience and motivation. His continuous support and insightful comments helped me to present this work in the right perspective. Without his guidance and persistent help, this accomplishment would not have been possible.

There are no words to express my profound gratitude to my parents for their love, care, endless support and encouragement through the process of writing this thesis. Their love has been the major spiritual support in my life. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them.

Finally, I would like to thank every individual who have been a source of encouragement and support and helped me to complete my thesis work successfully.

ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on US foreign policy towards Palestine after 9/11 during the presidency of President George W. Bush. This thesis employs the historical, descriptive and analytical approaches to understand deeply US foreign policy towards Palestine after 9/11. It shows the real impact of the 9/11 attacks on the foreign policy towards Palestine, and the US initiatives to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict through the Bush administration's decision to recognize the Palestinian state, for the first time in US history. It introduces the theoretical frameworks that reflect US foreign policy towards Palestine after 9/11, including realism, and neo-conservatism. It explores the usefulness of adopting a realist perspective to explain the Bush administration's decision. The thesis focuses on the American interference in Palestinian domestic political policy through pressuring the Palestinians to take certain reforms, remove President Yasser Arafat, and denounce terrorism, as both the US and Israel regard the resistance of the Israeli occupation as terrorism. These were pre-conditions if the Palestinians wanted to achieve their independent state. This thesis focuses on the main determinants both domestic and international that combine to shape US foreign policy towards Palestine after 9/11. It focuses on how foreign policy decisions are being made in the US, and by whom. The thesis ends with the result that the US was never serious about resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, but managing the conflict to safeguard American national interests in the Middle East, including the security of Israel. By doing so, the US succeeded in giving Israel enough time to impose the facts on the ground and thus maintaining the status-quo of no negotiations in the Occupied Territories. Thus, the US was never an honest and neutral broker between Palestinians and Israelis.

السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه فلسطين بعد أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر

إعداد:

ونام عدنان محمد هماش

إشراف:

د. دان كرايدر

ملخص:

ركزت هذه الرسالة على السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه فلسطين بعد أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر خلال الفترة الرئاسية للرئيس جورج بوش الابن. توظف هذه الرسالة الطرق التاريخية، والوصفية والتحليلية لفهم السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية بعمق تجاه فلسطين بعد أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر. تظهر التأثير الحقيقي لهجمات 11 سبتمبر على السياسة الخارجية تجاه فلسطين، والمبادرات الأمريكية لحل النزاع الفلسطيني الإسرائيلي من خلال قرار إدارة بوش الاعتراف بالدولة الفلسطينية، لأول مرة في تاريخ الولايات المتحدة. وهي تقدم الأطر النظرية التي تعكس السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة تجاه فلسطين بعد 11 سبتمبر، بما في ذلك الواقعية، والمحافظة الجديدة. إنها تستكشف فائدة تبني منظور واقعي لتفسير قرار إدارة بوش. تركز الرسالة على التدخل الأمريكي في السياسة السياسية الفلسطينية الداخلية من خلال الضغط على الفلسطينيين لإجراء إصلاحات معينة، وإزالة الرئيس ياسر عرفات، وإدانة الإرهاب، حيث تعتبر كل من الولايات المتحدة وإسرائيل مقاومة الاحتلال الإسرائيلي إرهاباً. كانت هذه شروط مسبقة إذا أراد الفلسطينيون تحقيق دولتهم المستقلة. تركز هذه الرسالة على المحددات الرئيسية المحلية والدولية التي تتصافر لتشكيل السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه فلسطين بعد 11 سبتمبر. وتركز على كيفية اتخاذ قرارات السياسة الخارجية في الولايات المتحدة، وعلى يد من. تنتهي الأطروحة بنتيجة أن الولايات المتحدة لم تكن جادة أبداً في حل النزاع الفلسطيني الإسرائيلي، ولكن إدارة الصراع لحماية المصالح الوطنية الأمريكية في الشرق الأوسط، بما في ذلك أمن إسرائيل. من خلال القيام بذلك، نجحت الولايات المتحدة في منح إسرائيل الوقت الكافي

لفرض الحقائق على الأرض ، وبالتالي الحفاظ على الوضع الراهن لعدم إجراء أي مفاوضات في الأراضي المحتلة. وهكذا ، لم تكن الولايات المتحدة أبدا وسيطا نزيها ومحايذا بين الفلسطينيين والإسرائيليين.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Significance of the Study	4
1.3. Definition of the Problem.....	5
1.4. Objectives of the Study	5
1.5. Research Questions	5
1.6. Methodology	6
1.7. Theoretical Background.....	6
1.8. Study Limitations	9
1.9. Thesis Outline	10
CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....	11
2.1. Theories of International Relations.....	11
2.2. Historical Roots of US Foreign Policy towards Palestine.....	16
2.3. Application of Theory on the Study.....	25
CHAPTER THREE: DETERMINANTS OF US FOREIGN POLICY BEFORE 9/11.....	27
3.1. International Determinants.....	27
3.1.1. The Structure of the International System.....	28
3.1.2. National Interests.....	29
3.1.2.1. Access to Oil.....	29
3.1.2.2. Security of Israel.....	31
3.1.2.3. The Containment of Communism	32
3.1.2.4. Resisting Islamic Fundamentalism.....	35
3.2. Domestic Determinants	37
3.2.1. Formal Domestic Determinants	37
3.2.1.1. The Executive Branch	37
3.2.1.2. The Legislative Branch.....	41
3.2.2. Informal Domestic Determinants	44
3.2.2.1. Public Opinion.....	44
3.2.2.2. The Media.....	47
3.2.2.3. Interest Group Lobbying	49

CHAPTER FOUR: DETERMINANTS OF US FOREIGN POLICY AFTER 9/11	52
4.1. International Determinants	52
4.1.1. The Structure of the International System.....	53
4.1.2. National Interests.....	53
4.1.2.1. Access to Oil.....	54
4.1.2.2. Security of Israel.....	56
4.1.2.3. Counter-Terrorism	57
4.1.2.4. Democratization.....	58
4.2. Domestic Determinants	60
4.2.1. Formal Domestic Determinants	61
4.2.1.1. The President	61
4.2.1.2. Congress	62
4.2.2. Informal Domestic Determinants	64
4.2.2.1. Public Opinion.....	64
4.2.2.2. The Media.....	66
4.2.2.3. Interest Group Lobbying	68
CHAPTER FIVE: US FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS PALESTINE AFTER 9/11	70
CONCLUSION.....	83
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	85

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

On the morning of September 11, 2001 four commercial jets, hijacked by members of Al Qaeda the terrorist group, crashed into the World Trade Center towers in New York, the Pentagon in Washington DC, and rural Pennsylvania (Grunwald, 2001). This attack was as surprise for the United States as was the Pearl Harbor attack (Powell, 2011). Both attacks were conducted by foreign actors and both were shockingly effective. Both attacks killed almost 3000 American people (Courtney, 2009). Each attack led to an American foreign policy decision to engage in a sustained and costly global war. It is reasonable therefore to ask about the effects of such traumatic attacks on policies involving the Middle East and more specifically Palestine, especially in the latter case given that the attackers were Arabic speakers.

US intervention in the Middle East was not limited to a post-9/11 expansion. After World War II, the US had multiple national interests in the region, including the security of Israel (Schmaglowski, 2007). American presidents and congresses have always been pro-Israel to varying degrees and they consider Israel's security when they make their foreign policy for the Middle East (Zanotti, 2016). Convictional wisdom argues that 9/11 changed everything, never to be the same (Litwak, 2002). However, in order to examine the validity of this perspective, we need first to understand the definition of American foreign policy, its features, and who determine it.

Foreign policy is the means by which any state safeguards its national interests within the international system. According to Hill (2003), foreign policy can be defined as purposive action conducted by a state to safeguard its national interests (Hill, 2003). The United States is as other states within an anarchic international system and uses its foreign policy to stabilize and safeguard its national interests given this unruly context. Over the course of the twentieth century, officials changed American foreign policy from isolationism to interventionism to safeguard such interests (BELLILI, 2015). Thus, US foreign policy pragmatically attempts to serve American national interests (Hastedt, 2014). Change in strategy is determined by different domestic actors. According to Radu (2010) and Trice (1978), US foreign policy is defined by the president, Congress, and the interest groups. This research will explore the usefulness of adopting a realist perspective to explain US foreign policy, with a focus on the post 9/11 period and the Bush administration's decision to recognize the Palestinian state.

After the end of World War II, the US and the Soviet Union emerged as hegemonic powers in the world. The Middle East became a strategic region for both powers (Honey & Barry, 2000). During the Cold War, Soviet expansion in the Middle East constituted a threat to American national interests in the region, including secure access to oil, the protection of pro-Western monarchies in the Persian Gulf, and the Security of Israel (ibid). Thus, the "policy of containment" was an American response to Soviet expansion (Hassassian, 1997). Post-Cold War, the U.S became the only hegemonic power in the Middle East, and worked to prevent the emergence of Iraq as a new regional power (Prifti, 2017). The US accused Iraq of having "weapons of mass destruction," and resorted to the UN Security Council to impose sanctions on Iraq on August 6, 1990 (Honey & Barry, 2000, 241). After 9/11, the US declared a "War on Terror" to maximize its presence in the Middle East as the only regional hegemon (Prifti, 2017).

As a tactic in this grand strategy, the US sought to promote democracy in the region, through using “preemptive actions,” “preventive war,” and “unilateralism.”

Since the end of World War II, the security of Israel has been a priority for the US at the expense of Palestinians. All US presidents, republican or democratic, take into consideration Israel’s security when they make their foreign policy in the Middle East (Zanotti, 2016). President Harry Truman accepted the UN Partition Plan of Palestine in 1947, and recognized Israel as a state in 1948 (Radosh, 2010). The recognition of Israeli statehood was a major action with longstanding effects. President John Kennedy did not recognize Palestinians as national populace with rights, and he had promoted relations with Israel (Ibid). President Lyndon Johnson required Israel to withdraw from the OPT only in return for peace with the Arabs (Tristam, 2017). President Richard Nixon recognized UN resolution 242, but he failed to force Israel to withdraw from the Occupied Palestinian Territories (Schmaglowski, 2007). President Jimmy Carter mediated the Camp David Accords in 1978 between Israel and Egypt, and he much later openly criticized Israel for imposing the apartheid system on Palestinians (Carter, 2006). President Ronald Reagan supported the expansion of illegal Israeli settlements in the OPT. (Tristam, 2017). President George H. W. Bush supported negotiations between the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel to solve the conflict, but he failed to conduct these negotiations. Bush threatened Israel with the stopping of loans until it agreed to participate in the Madrid conference in 1991 (Devine, 2008). President Bill Clinton sponsored the Oslo Accords in 1993, but he failed to promote peace between the two sides. President George W. Bush considered President Yasser Arafat as a terrorist, and he put fighting terrorism as a pre-condition to achieve an independent Palestinian statehood. (Halabi, 2016). President Barack Obama supported the two-state solution, and he promised to end the conflict. However, he failed to

fulfill his promises (Effarah, 2013). President Donald Trump officially recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in a historic revolution that ended the role of the US as a mediator in the peace process between Palestinians and Israelis. In November 2017, Trump refused to renew the license of the PLO office in Washington (Hamdi, 2018). Moreover, on September 10, 2018 Trump announced closure of PLO office.

1.2. Significance of the Study

Most research done to date has focused on US foreign policy towards the Middle East after 9/11, and it has shown that US foreign policy either changed or unchanged. However, this thesis will focus on Palestine, and will ask precisely how, if at all, US foreign policy towards Palestine after 9/11 changed. This study will cover the administration of President George W. Bush, and will shed light on pre-9/11 administrations to examine change and continuity towards Palestine after 9/11. This study hopes to provide Palestinian society and researchers who are interested in the US foreign policy with clear information and knowledge about the influence of the US as a mediator in the peace-process between Palestinians and Israelis. In addition, this study seeks to define the roles of the president, Congress, and the Israeli lobby in determining the US foreign policy towards Palestine after 9/11. Further, this thesis will be based on the theoretical framework of realism, as it competes with liberalism, and neo-conservatism to best explain US foreign policy towards Palestine after 9/11.