

الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية  
DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA  
وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي  
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH  
جامعة عباس لغرور-خنشلة  
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## American Public opinion and the making of U.S Foreign Policy Vis-à-vis War on Terror

*Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of Master in Language and Culture*

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**May, 2018**

### **-Acknowledgements-**

We gratefully thank God for giving us the power and the will to finish this project

We thank our families who have been there for us all this time long

We offer our deep gratitude to our supervisor Mr.kefali for his devotion to wok

We thank our friends for their support and encouragements.

**Abstract:**

This research aims to examine an arrange of theories regarding U.S Public Opinion and how it effect the American Foreign Policy making ,as well as other actors involved in this process ,and lookup for the manipulative tools taken by decision makers to gain support especially during War times.

The first chapter focuses on the formation of U.S foreign policy and the domestic impact with the involvement of other government units concerning the foreign decision-making process. The second chapter studies the history of public opinion and the American political culture and conducts the functions of media in the managing and transmission of the electoral process, also explores how the Public Opinion can be measured. finally, The last chapter examines the construction of Public Opinion concept and how in turn can it effect the making of U.S Foreign Policy in times of wars and change some of the leaders-decisions ,not forgetting to spot the lights of how can government mislead the public to serve their own agenda.

**Key terms:** Foreign Policy, Public Opinion, Media, War on Terror.

### ملخص:

يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة ترتيبية للنظريات المتعلقة بالرأي العام الأمريكي وكيفية تأثيره على صنع السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية، بالإضافة إلى الجهات الأخرى المشاركة فيها، دون أن ننسى التطلع إلى بعض الاستراتيجيات الحكومية التي اتخذها القادة للحصول على الدعم خاصة خلال أوقات الحرب. يركز الفصل الأول على كيفية تشكيل السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، وعملية صنع القرار والأثر المحلي عليها بمشاركة الوحدات الحكومية الأخرى. يدرس الفصل الثاني تاريخ الرأي العام وعلاقته مع السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية ودور العامة في إدارة العملية الانتخابية ونقلها، كما يتطرق إلى مراحل قياس الرأي العام. وأخيراً، يدرس الفصل الأخير نظريات بناء الرأي العام وكيف يمكن أن يؤثر بدوره على صنع السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية في أوقات الحروب، ويغير بعض قرارات الزعماء، كما نسلط الضوء على أساليب الحكومة المستخدمة لتضليل الجماهير لخدمة مصالحهم الخاصة.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** السياسة الخارجية، الرأي العام، الحرب على الإرهاب.

**List of Abbreviations:**

ABC: American Broadcasting Company.

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation.

CBS: Columbia Broadcasting System (US radio and TV network)

CIA: The Central Intelligence Agency.

CNN: Cable News Network.

D/CIA: The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

DCI: The Director of Central Intelligence.

DDCI: The Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence.

DNI: The Director of National Intelligence

FBI: The Federal Bureau of Investigation.

GFK: Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung.

JCS: The Joint Chiefs Staff.

LBC: Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation International.

NAFTA: North American Free Trade Agreement.

NSC: The National Security Council.

NSS: National Security Strategy of the United States.

UN: The United Nations.

UNSC: The United Nations Security Council.

USA: The United States of America.

USSR: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

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### **General introduction:**

Throughout history ,and before the World War one , public opinion had little impact on the making of both domestic or foreign policy of any country, however, the growth and development of the cultural and political awareness of people, made a huge effect on leaders 'decisions especially when it comes to the making of foreign policy. It became an irreplaceable keystone of any society ,as James Novel, the owner of the American newspaper "Atlanticmansly" in the 18th century said: "public opinion is like an air pressure it cannot be seen but it pushes and presses like sixteen pounds for square inch amount". In the modern world the public sees and follows every single step and event, thanks to the tremendous progress of media and social media who made it so evolved in the process and turned it into a hot spot for researchers, government leaders, and economic institutions.

Democratic countries such as America, considers the public opinion, its mood and polls as a vital point to government when making foreign affairs and solving issues, yet we can say that less than quarter of the American population (the discerned) are really into political matters, and by consequence made it vulnerable to manipulation by the media, political parties, private and business corporations in order to protect their own agendas.

So in this case we try to know and examine the truth by answering the following questions:

- To what extent can public opinion effect and influence the making of U.S foreign policy?
- who is involved in the making of U.S foreign policy and its decisions-making process? -
- what is public opinion, its history and how it can be measured?
- What is the relationship between U.S public opinion and U.S foreign policy?

The aim of this study is to examine and conduct the influence and the impact of public opinion on the making of U.S foreign policy, therefore the objectives are:

- to know more about the U.S foreign policy and its decision making process.
- to examine the history of public opinion and how it can be measured.

-to investigate and know how can the public opinion affect U.S foreign policy making and how politicians manipulate the public through media .

the method used in this study is the historical method ,which is based on describing the past, including investigations like recording, analysis and interpretations of events in the past with the purpose of discovering generalizations, and deductions that can be useful in understanding the past, the present and to a limited extent, can anticipate the future.

This method is used to pursue the steps that match this case study. In addition, the chronological order of the events is the pillar of the historical research, thus it is used to take an overview about the U.S foreign policy making process, the history of public opinion and its measurement and the relationship between the both and how can they influence and affect each other .

The importance of this research is based on determining the essence of the relationship between the public opinion in the United States and the foreign policy decisions and the domestic factors that influence what states do internationally. With importance of the domestic realm in explaining international behavior (such as Congress, Supreme Court, the interest groups, and the media,). Thus, this study is about, how public opinion affects foreign policymaking contributes to the burgeoning research on how domestic factors affect international behavior.

Public opinion is collective views of people in a society; it is a complicated concept that takes into account the opinion of individual citizens, groups and elites. Pundits who promulgate elite views publicize it through media, often. When leaders make decision, they believe that the opinion of majority should be weighed more heavily than the ones of minority ,and of those whose in position of power or have access to those in power carry the most weight like ;the media, elites, government ,and leaders . Moreover , scholars and writers had included this term in their studies and ,books .professors of political sciences

Robert .Erikson<sup>1</sup> and kent L Tedin<sup>2</sup> had come with a book called “American public opinion” in which they pointed an in-depth analysis of public opinion, its beginnings and origins in political socialization ,the impact of media ,the extent and the breadth of democratic values, and the role of public in the electoral process saying that ”American public opinion goes beyond a simple presentation of data” (Tedin). In addition walter Lipmann, the American writer, reporter and political commentator in his book “public opinion” said:

The analysis of public opinion must begin then, by recognizing the triangular relationship between the scene of action, the human picture of that scene, and the human response to what picture working it self out upon the scene of action. (Lippmann)

Another journalists, jenifer Bachnir and kathlywagner in ”PSJ” 2014 in an article called ”advances in public opinion and policy attitude” said that there has been much advancement in the field of public opinion research in the past few years ,particularly with respect to the formation of policy attitude in response for elite rhetoric, the translation of policy information into attitude ,and the biological foundations of policy attitude . (kathlywagner). Toma<sup>3</sup> & Gorman indicate that the foreign policy is “a set of authoritative decisions taken in the name of the state that are intended to achieve certain goals in the international arena” It is also a policy pursued by a nation in its dealings with other nations, designed to achieve national objectives .in addition , Christopher Hill<sup>4</sup> said that , foreign policy is “the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a state) in international relations”. And, as Joshua Goldstein professor emeritus of International Relations at

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<sup>1</sup> Norwegian politician for the Progress Party. He served as Minister of Labour and Social Inclusion in Solberg's Cabinet from October 2013 to December 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Professor of Political Science. He was chairman of the political science department from 1986 to 2002

<sup>3</sup> Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Arizona.

<sup>4</sup> CHRISTOPHER HILL is Sir Patrick Sheehy Professor of International Relations and Director, Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge, UK

American University said that, foreign policies are “the strategies used by government to guide their actions in the international arena”

Foreign policy is how one country interact with another country’s group of people ,it is considered to be important in trading and increasing the lever of economy ,it contributes in security, military issues , natural disasters and crimes .concerning U.S , it aims to create more secure democratic and prosperous world for the benefit and the safe guard of American citizens and business.

However, 09/11 event was an overall change in the making of U.S foreign policy and the precedential policies, creating a huge step towards war or terror

There are ideological debates between Idealists / Liberals/ Democrats on the one hand, and Realists/ Conservatives/ Republicans on the other concerning the role that public opinion ought to have in the foreign policy decision-making process. The realist say that public opinion should contribute very little to the effective conduct of foreign affairs” Conversely, the liberal tradition “places public opinion at the centre of legitimate and effective public policy” (Ole Holsti)

A third opinion is that foreign policy decision making is a “two-level game that state decision makers must play: a game of simultaneous play” between domestic politics and international politics (Hill). Valerie M.Hudson , the American professor of political science at The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University stated that “decision makers are viewed as operating in a dual–aspect setting, resulting in apparently unrelated internal and external factors influencing the actions of decision makers.” In addition Robert Putnam<sup>5</sup> coined the term “Nested Game” or “two level” game to illustrate how the national leaders behave in the international arena .Another point by Laura Neack<sup>6</sup> in which she points

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<sup>5</sup> American political scientist. He is the Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of Public Policy at the Harvard University John F. Kennedy School of Government

<sup>6</sup> Professor of political science at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

out that the line between domestic politics and international politics is blurry. “Some researchers have called this blurring of distinction between international and domestic politics “Intermistic” to articulate the combining of issues and interests” (Neak). Public opinion is considered, alongside with numerous domestic factors.

Finally, this research attempts to find answers to questions built on investigations and examinations of primary sources, using legal documents, diaries, journals and supportive ideas of secondary sources.

## **Chapter One: U.S Public policy making**

### **Introduction:**

In the United States of America, President, the Congress, the Cabinet, advisers, agency bureaucrats, political parties, federal and state courts, interest groups, the media...All of these groups interact to make political decisions through a goal-oriented course of action called public policy that the government follows to deal with problems or issues in the country based on law, legislated to regulate industry and business inside-out, aid state and city governments and people such as the humanitarian needs in Somalia through funding programs, protect citizens at home and abroad, this process goes through several stages from inception to conclusion; like agenda building, formulation, adoption, implementation, evaluation, and termination.

The domestic and foreign policy are two types known as whole by public policy, and this chapter will mainly focus and examine the formation of U.S foreign policy and the domestic impact with the involvement of other government units in the foreign decision-making process.

### **1.1. U.S foreign policy and its decisions-making process:**

Domestic policy is a type of public in which the law is designed to deal with, or address issues within a particular country, When dealing with these issues, comes the job of the Congress to pass the law while the President enforces and influences it, then the courts or the judicial branch who will determine whether the law is fair and how it would be treated, not to mention the states of government who can also make, enforce and judge their own laws in a system called federalism. Hence for, it must be enforced and passed to help solve problems by putting forth plans, or even programs to make improvements within society. It is broad and can cover various issues that are important to society; for example: abortion, domestic violence, homelessness, illegal drugs, and human trafficking.

A good example of a domestic policy that was recently passed in California is the decriminalization of childhood prostitution in Jan. of 2017,

Gov. Brown<sup>7</sup> signed Bill 1322 which prohibits law enforcement from making arrests of anyone soliciting under the age of 18. No, prostitution is not legal in the State of CA. This law was passed for the purpose of helping minors get the supportive services they need, which shouldn't be jail time and a juvenile record. (Miller)

This is an example of a domestic policy passed at the state level, and does not pertain to minors in any other state because it was passed only in CA, thus, Domestic policies can be passed and implemented on a local, state or federal level. Besides the governments decisions, dealings and issues inside, there are a lot to be taken outside the country either and by which we name foreign policy.

Foreign policy in general refers to those decisions made within a country that are effected by and that in turn affect entities outside the country. In the United States of America, the constitution laid out a framework for making foreign Policy to ensure that there would be a system of checks and balances, and gave the authorities and powers to each so they could check-up on the other one, the executive branch headed by the President, the legislative branch by the congress and the judicial led by the Supreme Court are parts of Government that have been given the most responsibility for conducting foreign policy

What the Constitution does is to confer on the President certain powers capable of affecting our foreign relations, and certain other powers of the same general kind on the Senate, and still other such powers on Congress; but which

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<sup>7</sup>Edmund Gerald "Jerry" Brown Jr. (born April 7, 1938) is an American politician, author and lawyer serving as the 39th and current Governor of California since 2011, previously holding the position from 1975 to 1983, making him the state's longest-serving Governor. As a consequence of the 28-year gap between his second and third terms, Brown is both the oldest and sixth -youngest California governor.

of these organs shall have the decisive and final voice in determining the Course of the American nation is left for events to resolve. (Edward.S)

**The president:**

The United States's constitution gave the executive authority to the president by Article II to carry out the duties of the office .In this article section 1 the constitution says that: “executive power shall be vested in a president of united states” which makes him the spoke man and the head of the executive branch of the federal Government. the section 2 and 3 set specific powers and authorities granted to him including the authority to appoint the judges ,ambassador , and other high Ranking government officials .

When dealing with foreign affairs the president and his designated representatives like the secretary of State have the ultimate power to interact with other nations by recognizing foreign governments, receiving ambassadors and make exclusive agreements, in addition, the President is also empowered to make treaties <sup>8</sup> with the consent of senates with other nations.

The president usually response to international events that are happening in the world and the crises, of other countries that seem to be challenging the American governors interests , It means that since he is, the commander in chief of the armed forces, this power gives him a great deal on implementing foreign policy. Thus, he can send the armed forces abroad to protect the national interest and to project power to send a message, while he doesn't have the power to declare war, and here the congress ordinarily supports him but on occasions it seeks a change in policy.

Back in the times, this action was justified in many situations. For instance; President Bush responded to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, August 2, 1990, by immediately applying full

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<sup>8</sup>It means the engagement between two or more nations containing promise to behave in specific ways.



Economic sanctions against Iraq, then arranging U.S Armed Forces to help defend Saudi Arabia against possible attack within a week later; Therefore, in October the Congress supported continued action through the United Nations, and passed the economic sanctions into law and Authorized the use of the U.S. Armed Forces to implement U.N. Security Council in January 1991.

Relating to legislation, the president can recommend and propose legislations or bills that affect and influence foreign policy or veto legislations that he feels may threaten the country's international interests, and it is enforced by the constitution article II, section 3 pointing that the President shall from time to time give the congress information and recommend to their consideration to such measures; this action usually goes through the State of Union Address where head of the state can persuade and propose legislations that he would be wish to be passed and be broadcasted across America ,consequently he is not only influencing congress directly but indirectly the people, yet the congressional approval is essential because of active role it plays in the development of the legislation, modifying the administration bill or developing completely new legislation of its own ; one of the examples of presidential address asking for congressional endorsement is that of Donald Trump's speech on Tuesday, January 30,2018 at 9 p.m in the chamber of the United States House of Representatives, and one of the points he mentioned concerning foreign policy relations were about North Korea and the nuclear missiles and a proposal for legislation that would provide for what he said "a path to citizenship for young undocumented immigrants" as he called them "Dreamers" in exchange for an end to decades of family-based migration policies and asking the congress for border security wall with the cost of "twenty five billion dollars "and a vast crackdown on the other immigrants living in the country illegally.

In addition, the constitution flows another power to the president to make International agreements or as known as “executive agreements” between the united states and foreign governments ,these agreements are less formal than treaties and are not subject to a constitutional requirement for ratification by two-thirds of the U.S senates, and have increased after 1939 prior to 1940 ,where presidents made 1,200 executive agreements ,and during the World War II and the Cold War from 1940 to 1989 presidents negotiated more than 13,000 executive agreements. For example; after the outbreak of the World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt negotiated an executive agreement in which he gave the United Kingdom 50 overage destroyers in exchange for 99-year leases on certain British naval bases in The Atlantic.

However , since the congress controls the purse means that some executive agreements still need congressional Approval through a joint resolution before it can be enforced thus any budgetary outlays would also need the approval of legislators and this agreements called legislative-executive agreements,. Aside from reaching executive agreements with other countries, he can also acts independently through executive orders, which are policy directives issued by the president to executive agencies, telling them how to implement a law or policy of the Government. The president may sometimes engage military actions without express Congressional authorization, such as the operation to capture Osama Bin Laden or Engaging in Airstrikes in Lybia.

### **Vice-president:**

The vice president is a constitutional officer in the legislative branch of the Federal government of United States and the president of the senate under Article one, section three , he is also an integral part of the President’s administration who presides over the senate only on ceremonial Occasions or a tie-breaking vote that may be needed, all due to the assignments of executive duties by either the president or the congress. Over the time and

through precedents set by earlier vice presidents, some customary roles had emerged ;where he could serve as a surrogate while the president travels abroad, receiving foreign dignitaries ,hosting state dinners; and traveling in the president's stead, to meet with foreign counterparts or attend state funerals furthermore, he became traditionally an officer where the split over of unwanted or extra presidential responsibilities lands. Concerning foreign policy we can say that some vice president took a more active role than others for instance; under president Dwight Eisenhower ,vice president Richard Nixon took a strong stand ,in one famous visit to the USSR in 1959, VP Nixon toured an international exposition In Moscow with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. He debated the merits of Capitalism over democracy with Khrushchev, much of discussion being caught on television and launching Nixon and the office of the vice president into new levels of prestige in the public opinion.

Moreover, there are many several executive departments and agencies that play a significant role in assisting the president, and actively involved in shaping and implementing foreign policy, these include:

#### **The Department of State:**

The department of state (DOS),is a federal executive department that is most directly responsible for conducting foreign policy in U.S with the Engagement of diplomacy with other nations , it was created in 1787 led by the secretary of state who was nominated by the president, confirmed by the senate and was a member of the cabinet, a part of his job is to advise the president on issues relating to U.S foreign policy including participation in high level negotiation with other countries, either bilaterally or as part of an international conference or organization, and the appointment of diplomatic representatives to other nations. The day-to-day diplomacy of the United States is carried out by the Foreign Service, which staffs American embassies and consulates around the world.

Although many ambassadors are appointed for their political contributions rather than their knowledge of foreign affairs, the career Foreign Service officers are an invaluable source of information for policymakers. The propose of this department is to protect and assist U.S citizens living or traveling abroad besides to U.S business in the international marketplace and another key point is keeping the public informed about U.S foreign policy and relations with other countries providing a feedback from the public to administration officials

### **The Department of Defense:**

The department of defense is an executive department of U.S government that was created in 1949 charged with the coordination and supervision of all agencies and functions of the government concerned directly with national security and the U.S armed forces, headed by the secretary of defense ,appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the senate, he is by law a member of the national security council ,and by custom a member of the cabinet ,thus we can say that over all department of defense forces (army ,navy ,air force ,and marine corps)for both administrative and operational purpose ;only he or the president who can authorize the transfer of operational control of forces between the three military departments and between the combatant commands ,in other words some secretaries of defense have tremendous influence on foreign policy, as did Robert McNamara, who served in the post under President John Kennedy and President Lyndon Johnson during the Vietnam War.

Although the Constitution gave the president the power of the commander in chief of the armed forces, yet each branch of the military forces also has its own head, known as the chief of staff. Together, these chiefs form the Joint of Staff<sup>9</sup> (JCS).

### **Department of Home Land Security:**

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<sup>9</sup>a group that helps the president to make strategic decisions and to evaluate the needs and capabilities of the military forces .

It is the newest cabinet department, approved by Congress in November 2002. Was designed to consolidate and strengthen U.S defenses against terrorist attack .It is the first new government department since the Veterans Affairs Department in 1989, and designed to absorb several federal agencies dealing with domestic defense, including the Border Patrol, the Customs Service, the Secret Service, Coast Guard, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and Transportation Security Administration that was created after 09/11 to oversee airline security. Its responsibilities include exploring and figuring ways to respond to terror attacks and working to better coordinate with intelligences about terrorist threats. It was also designed to implement much of the National Strategy for Homeland Security, and the domestic security plan unveiled by President Bush in July 2002.

#### **The National Security Council:**

The National Security Council (NSC) is a collection of security policy experts who are part of the White House Staff. The NSC, led by the national security adviser, advises the president on security issues. Some of the nation's most powerful foreign policy experts were once national security advisers. President Richard Nixon appointed Henry Kissinger to the post, for example, and Kissinger helped formulate Nixon's foreign policy. President George H. W. Bush appointed Colin Powell to be his national security adviser, whereas President George W. Bush appointed Condoleezza Rice, one of his most trusted advisers, to the job. When she became secretary of state in 2005, Bush appointed Stephen Hadley to replace her.

#### **Intelligence Agencies:**

The intelligence agencies work is providing the president with accurate, up-to-date data about the rest of the world. The chief of intelligence services is the director of national intelligence, his job is to match the information gathered by various intelligence agencies, and these agencies include:

- Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA)

- Army, Navy, and Air Force intelligence.
- National Security Agency (NSA)
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

In order to conduct good foreign policy, officials must have reliable and accurate information. When they fail to get quality information, policy often fails as well. In 1960, for example, the CIA dramatically underestimated popular support for Fidel Castro's<sup>10</sup> regime in Cuba. Castro's military forces easily crushed the Bay of Pigs Invasion<sup>11</sup>, embarrassing the United States's new president John F. Kennedy and led to foreign policy disaster.

However, the discerned work of the intelligence in 1962 provided Kennedy with the information he needed during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Recently in 2003 much of information has been provided to President George W. Bush and his advisers before deciding to invade Iraq in 2003.

### **The Domestic influence on the making of U.S Foreign Policy:**

Though the executive branch plays the primary role in implementing and formulating foreign policy, yet the legislative and judicial branches play roles as well.

### **The Congress:**

As the United States grew as a nation, so did U.S. relations with other different Parts of the world. With more international involvements came lot of questions about the wisdom and credibility of the decisions that were made by the president,. As a result of these

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<sup>10</sup> a Cuban communist revolutionary and politician who governed the Republic of Cuba as Prime Minister from 1959 to 1976 and then as President from 1976 to 2008. Politically a Marxist–Leninist and Cuban nationalist.

<sup>11</sup> Abortive invasion of Cuba April (17, 1961), at the Bahía de Cochinos, to Cubans, on the southwestern coast by some 1,500 Cuban exiles opposed to Fidel Castro. The invasion was financed and directed by the U.S government.

questions and the political pressure that came with them, Congress became more assertive at accepting the role it was given to by the Constitution to balance the power of the president, the congressional first prerogative came after World War I, when the Republican majority in the Senate opposed the creation of the League of Nations advocated by President Wilson. Wilson saw this organization as one way to avoid war in the future, the Senate feared the opposite that being a member of the League would guarantee U.S. involvement in future wars outside the country. The congress has been granted and enumerated extensive powers to shape foreign policy by the Constitution, article 1 including those with "regulate commerce with foreign nation", "raise and support armies" ,"provide and maintain a navy" and "make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces" . It has the ability to enact legislation, and perhaps most importantly, the ability to fund or deny funding to government activities. for instance: when president Barak Obama issued an executive order to close the prison at Guantanamo Bay in March of 2011, the Lawmakers banned the use of federal dollars for the transfer by attaching language to a spending bill that was too critical for Obama to veto, and in January 2013, the defense authorization bill "WashPsot" was passed and congress strengthened limits of transferring detainees from Guantanamo Bay and other U.S facilities to the United States or a third world.

In other words, Congress will determine the level of spending for defense, intelligence, and funding the Department of State's diplomatic activities and embassies. Likewise, Congress determines which countries get financial aid and how much they get. Not to mention his oversight over executive agencies, including the NSA, the CIA, the Department of State, and the Department of Defense. This authority allows it to monitor executive implementation of law and investigate executive activities.

Since the early 1970s, Congress has used oversight mechanisms to Advance human rights as an important factor in U.S. foreign policy In 1975, Congress

established machinery in the State Department to carry out the human rights policy and required annual reports from the Department on Human Rights observance by each recipient of U.S. foreign aid... (Grimmet)

Moreover, it has the right to investigate a breach in security, the Pentagon's development of a weapons system, or the conduct of the executive's intelligence-gathering agencies pursuant to its oversight authority like what happened in World War II , where congress passed the National Security Act of 1947, which established the CIA and National Security Council, and following the 9/11, congress created the Department of Homeland Security .In addition to what have been said the it also has a significant power over treaties. While the president is in charge of negotiating treaties with other foreign governments, the Constitution requires that the president seek the advice and consent of the Senate., the Senate has the right to either refuse to ratify a proposed treaty ,as in 1919 and 1920, the senates had refused to approve the treaty of Versailles as negotiated by the president Woodrow Wilson ,due to the concerns that it would bind the United States to decisions made by the league of nations and could supersede congress 's power to declare war ,or to endorse it like what happened in Bush's administration, where ninety treaties were approved .

The Senate has a similar right of advice and consent regarding the appointment of ambassadors. However, traditionally, the Senate has been very deferential to the president's choice of the people he appoints. While the president has the ability to exercise military force, only Congress has the constitutional authority to declare war, it also attempted to curtail the president's unilateral commencement of military engagements through the War Powers Resolution, which was enacted in 1973. This law requires the president to consult with Congress before sending troops into harm's way, report to Congress on the commitment of troops within 24 hours of engagement, and end military action within 60 days, if Congress fails to declare war or authorize the use of force. Presidents assert the law is unconstitutional



and have often utilized ambiguities in the law when they needed to pursue their military objectives. This action was done for four times the most recent being in World War II; in a number of cases such as Vietnam, the 1991 Gulf war and the 2003 invasion of Iraq When the congress authorized the fighting.

### **The Supreme Court:**

The Supreme Court does not often gets involved in foreign policy politics. As

Although the judicial branch (the courts) is usually not considered part of the foreign policy process, it does get involved when a particular law is in dispute, and it has been used to interpret the Constitution in order to clarify the relationship between the other two branches on a range of issues.

However, that does not happen very often.

(P.Kaufman, A Concise History of U.S Foreign Policy)

As a matter of fact there were three areas in which the Supreme Court has come into contact with foreign policy – Judicial Supremacy and the Treaty power, the so-called Political Question Doctrine<sup>12</sup>, and the recent judicial intervention in the War on Terror. A crucial early case in which the Supreme Court was drawn into a foreign policy dispute concerned the results of the 1819 treaty between Spain and the United States.

The 1829 case of *Foster v. Neilson* saw contested land claims emerging from the rotation of sovereign authorities in West Florida during the early C19th. The Court was called on to adjudicate between these competing claims. The problems posed for the Court were noted by John Marshall<sup>13</sup>:

A question like this respecting the boundaries of nations is, as has been truly

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<sup>12</sup>This doctrine refers to the idea that an issue is so politically charged that federal courts, which are typically viewed as the apolitical branch of government, should not hear the issue. The doctrine is also referred to as the justiciability doctrine or the non justiciability doctrine.

<sup>13</sup>4th chief Justice of the United States .His court opinions helped lay the basis for United States constitutional law and many[who?] say he made the Supreme Court of the United States a coequal branch of government along with the legislative and executive branches

said, more a political than a legal question, and, in its discussion, the courts of every country must respect the pronounced will of the Legislature.

**State and Local Government:**

State and local governments sometimes negotiate business deals with foreign governments and corporations, even hosting foreign dignitaries to promote trade deals. Not only this but in some cases, local and state leaders work together with their foreign counterparts to reach informal policy agreements, for example; the American city of El Paso, Texas, is directly across the Rio Grande from the Mexican city of Juarez. The mayors of the two cities frequently reach informal agreements on matters that affect them both, such as pollution control and border crossings.

**Interest groups:**

Interest groups are domestic advocacy organizations seek to form the government and are considered to be the key player in the U.S Foreign policy, according to U.S scholar John Dietrich, these groups have mobilized to represent a diverse array of business, labor, ethnic, human rights, environmental, and other organizations. Foreign policy interest groups often overlap with as known as “ethnic” interest group, as they try to influence the foreign policy, to a lesser extent the domestic policy of the United States for the benefit of ethnic foreign kin<sup>14</sup> or homeland with whom respective ethnic groups identify. Though ethnic interest groups have existed for many decades, they have become a particularly influential phenomenon since the end of the Cold War, and one of the Prominent examples of these organizations include the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the Cuban American

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<sup>14</sup> Is an advocacy group (often a foreign policy interest group) established along cultural, ethnic, religious or racial lines by an ethnic group for the purposes of directly or indirectly influencing the foreign policy of their resident country in support of the homeland and/or ethnic kin abroad with which they identify.

National Foundation, the Armenian Assembly of America, the U.S.-India Political Action Committee, and the National Iranian American Council.

## **1.2. U.S Foreign Policy tools and Concerns:**

Unlike domestic policy, foreign policymaking usually involves fewer people and less publicity. In the United States, the president serves as the chief diplomat and is charged with running American foreign policy. As well as in charge of using tools to conduct foreign policy:

### **Diplomacy:**

Diplomacy is the act of dealing and negotiating with other nations, it involves meetings between political leaders, sending diplomatic messages, and making public statements about the relationship between countries. The American president, for example, often hosts leaders and chief diplomats of other nations at the White House in order to discuss a variety of issues. Most diplomacy occurs behind the scenes as officials hold secret negotiations or meet privately to discuss key issues.

### **Sanctions:**

Sanctions are official orders to stop all commercial activities and trade with other country in an effort to force them to make political changes, one of the famous examples is the U.S.A refusal to trade with Cuba.

### **Containment:**

Containment was adopted in 1947 by the president Truman, asserting that a nation and its ideology will fall apart if they are prevented from spreading their influence, it had its inception in America's dealing with communism during the cold war.

### **Collective security:**

Collective security Are countries making alliance with each other to strengthen the security of each member nation, we can see this in the relationship between the U.S.A and Great Britain

**Deterrence:**

Deterrence denotes the building up of military force as a threat to warn other state against taking action, one of the most knowing examples is that of the American buildup of nuclear power to deter the Soviet Union from picking a fight.

**Military force:**

Military force is the authorized use of lethal force and weapons to support or protect the interest of a State, it is considered as the last result in foreign policy, an example of both collective security and military force is the military alliance of many countries to stop the advancing forces of Germany during World War I and World War II.

**Its concerns:**

Like any other government policy, the foreign policy is about providing security, but the United States foreign policy seeks to create prosperity and works towards a somewhat idealistic goal of making America a better place, that's why it banded up its concerns on fighting terrorism, and that was after coordinated attacks on September 11, 2001, which made the central focus of Washington's officials is to combat terrorism, following the attack, President George W. Bush rallied the nation to fight back against the terrorists responsible, and said in a somber, televised address from the White House Treaty Room "On my order, U.S. forces have begun strikes on terrorist camps of Al Qaeda and the military installations of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan".

The United States successfully led the incorporation force in an invasion of Afghanistan, where the governing Taliban regime aided and sheltered the core leadership of al Qaeda,

including Saudi exile Osama bin Laden. President Bush also created the Department of Homeland Security to coordinate efforts at home to prevent future terrorist attacks.

Another thing is that The United States has worked hard to prevent other countries from acquiring and developing nuclear weapons. The worries that rogue states might use nuclear technology irresponsibly to attack their enemies without thinking of the global repercussions. In 1968, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty tried to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. The same is for the environmental issues; they have taken center stage in foreign policy as well. Many people around the world have realized that some these issues require transnational solutions, so they urge their political leaders to reach agreements over a variety of environmental matters, such as the Kyoto Protocol<sup>15</sup>.

### **1.3. Media and the U.S foreign policy:**

Media's is related to the average of political awareness at the level of the public opinion. In the same time, it plays a great role at informing people about the political updates In order to illustrate how the media can set the agenda is if it is in an area in which very few Americans have direct knowledge of the issues and this can be applied to foreign policy.

When American military personnel are involved, the media needs to report because the personnel are related to the American public. Media also likely have an interest in reporting issues that have substantial effects on American workers, such as major trade agreements with Mexico during the NAFTA<sup>16</sup> negotiations in the 1990's. David McKay<sup>17</sup> lists as one of the three main distortions of information by the media "Placing high priority on American

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<sup>15</sup>The Kyoto Protocol is an international treaty which extends the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change(UNFCCC) that commits state parties to reduce gas emissions, based on the scientific consensus that (part one) global warming is occurring and (part two) it is extremely likely that human-made CO2 emissions have predominantly caused it.

<sup>16</sup>The North American Free Trade Agreement is an agreement signed by Canada, Mexico, and the United States, creating a trilateral trade bloc in North America. The agreement came into force on January 1, 1994.[4] It superseded the Canada–United States Free Trade Agreement between the U.S. and Canada

<sup>17</sup>Professor of Government at the University of Essex. He is the author of numerous books and articles on American and comparative politics, including *Designing Europe: Comparative Lessons from the Federal Experience* (2001, winner of the Political Studies Association WJM MacKenzie prize for the best book published in 2001). He is the co-author of *The New British Politics* (2007).

news to the detriment of foreign news, and when the U.S. is engaged in military action abroad, this foreign news crowds out other foreign news.” (McKay).

In media’s most famous case, involvement on foreign affairs was in the Vietnam War. From 40 press corpsmen in 1964, the number in South Vietnam had grown to 282 by January 1966. By August, that number had jumped to 419. Of the 282 at the beginning of the year, only 110 were Americans, 7 German, 26 Japanese, 24 British, 11 French, 13 Korean, and 67 were South Vietnamese. Media caught many combat events, mostly were on livetelevision, and consequently prompted many American citizens to be more concerned about foreign policy.

**Conclusion:**

In conclusion, Foreign policy is the government's strategic plan and course of action in dealings with other countries and international actors. Many different actors participate in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy and the notion of “Checks and Balances”, the collective work between the three branches really has its constitutional function inside the American political system, and more particularly in a successful manage of implementing U.S foreign policy and rising the level of interest. .

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## **Chapter Two: U.S Public opinion**

### **Introduction:**

Public opinion is collective views of people in a society that takes into account the opinion of individual citizens, groups, or elite. That is potentially important guide to the formation, administration, management and evaluation of government policy. When coming to the making of political decisions, leaders take the opinions of the public into account, and considered it as an essential part in the U.S government, due to the development of cultural and political awareness of the people; they started working for the benefit and activation of their interests, which is publicized by media. This entry opens up to examine the history of public opinion and the American political culture. In addition, knowing the functions of media in the managing and transmission of the electoral process. Also, explore how the opinion can be measured.

### **2.1. The history of public opinion in governance:**

During the nineteenth and the twentieth century, many scholars and writers debated over the notion of public opinion. The concept in this period appeared with a modern definition, scholars were concerned with the development of this concept and showed its relationship with the procedures of government activities and the rise of power in both political and economic sides .Scholars in this period, explained that this term had no explicit single formulation at the eighteenth century and no systematic treatment of it, until the nineteenth century.

The history of public opinion is related to the wider history of political power in ancient Greece , political power was not a part upon public opinion in the way we now understand it. However, at that time both of “publics” and the idea of “opinion” were not only relevant conceptual categories, but there were many other concepts related to the political and philosophical subjects. The Greek philosophers explained and described the

idea of public opinion as groups of citizens who would assemble, debate issues, and be addressed by performers and politicians; which means that it might be said to inform the idea of citizen's participation; people come together to debate and discuss issues of the day; such as: Aristotle<sup>18</sup> who come up with that notion in his book and who consider that "joint pronouncement of the public as a greater source of wisdom than the views of discrete individuals." (Aristotel)

Contrary to the Romans, who used other words that have similar meanings to the term of public opinion, Separate aspects of public opinion appear in classical terms: fama, public reputatio, rumor, vox populi, they did not work with it but knew about it; they use it as self-evident. The case in Europe was different because ,they used the notion of citizenship, like a great many other notions, that seemed to disappear in the dark ages between the Classical Period and the Renaissance because of the dominant forms of political power that made them irrelevant, and the emerging class of merchants and traders, with the invention of the printing press in the sixteenth century created new possibilities for the construction of publics and the dissemination of opinion as described and explained by Eisenstein <sup>19</sup> and Jurgen <sup>20</sup>.

During the eighteenth century, the public was not a concept of universal citizenship, it was just as constructed part as a platform for the rising of middle classes to challenge the legitimacy, and the emerging of the bourgeoisie seeking to a more rational form of politics. Following John Locke<sup>21</sup>, David Hume<sup>22</sup> who argued that of governance based on the idea

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<sup>18</sup> Aristotle: an ancient Greek philosopher and scientist who are still considered one of the greatest thinkers in politics, psychology and ethics.

<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth Lewishon Eisenstein: she is an American historian of the French revolution, she is well known for her work of the history of early printing press.

<sup>20</sup> Jurgen Habermas: The most important German philosopher of the second half of the 20<sup>TH</sup> century, and a highly influential social and political thinker.

<sup>21</sup> John Lock: English philosopher and physician regarded as one of the most influential Enlightenment thinkers and also considered as the father of classical liberalism.

<sup>22</sup> David Hume: a Scottish philosopher, historian, economist and essayist, who is best known today for his highly influential system of philosophical empiricism, skepticism and naturalism.

that “The governors have nothing to support them but only opinion that government is founded”.

In America and before the World War I, the concept of public opinion had a little impact on the making of policy, yet that didn't last long; due to the rise of cultural and political involvements and awareness of people and the emerge of democracy which was, at best, a circumspect, tentative step toward an embrace of more inclusive notions of public opinion

All in all, the appearance and the development of public opinion at the end of eighteenth century, was based on the efforts of philosophers and political theorists.

### **The American public opinion:**

In a republican democratic country like the United States, and due to the development and the changes that emerged on the political and cultural awareness of the people, their opinions has had a big impact on changing some of the leaders decisions and become a central, important unit in government activities, and different issues especially on politics. Political culture is one of the most shared factors in US where political traditions, beliefs, values and norms are made to set the opinion of the public into account, to peruse their dream: “This is the land of free and the home of the brave”<sup>23</sup>. We move to the elements of political culture; Liberty which identify the idea of being free and gives the right to all people as long as another's right isn't harmed; its somehow close to freedom such as: limited government; the power of US government limited by the constitution. Second, Equality, where people have the same or similar opportunities to compete and achieve important in laws. Third, Democracy that is to say that people freely elect representatives to govern them, the citizens of the US elect the government officials, so then they can exercise their governmental duties.

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<sup>23</sup> The famous author, lawyer and public servant Francis Scott Key wrote it in 1814 and, ever since 1931, they have been sung as the national anthem of the United States.

Another important point would be the Individualism, meaning the individual has valued rights above those of the government, for example: the US citizen was protected by Bill of Rights. Then, Nationalism: patriotism or identifying with one's nation, as the aids of Gorge Bush in the events of 9/11. Finally, diversity, which explains the citizen representation of many different cultures, races and ethnicities, religious and other traits, such: immigrant.

## **2.2. Definition of public opinion:**

Scholars, analysts and writers did not agree on a single definition of the public opinion, therefore they highlighted this term in order to understand its roots and beginnings in political socialization, this concept included different meanings depending on how the ones define "public opinion " and whose opinion should be counted the most ; individuals, groups or elites , most simply, it can be considered as who share something in common, for example: the connection and the link to the state and a society that is confronted by particular issues which shape the principals of public policies. In general, this term was defined as the sum of many individual opinions; more specific notions of many individual, majorities and group or elite opinion when referring to policy decisions.

All these elements paved the way to us to know the concept is meaning in different interpretations. First, can be viewed, as the collections of individual opinions deserve equal treatment regardless of whether the individuals expressing them on an issue or not. Second, the opinion of the majority is other perspective show that the most of people held their opinions on an issue, in democracy; the majority's opinion guides the government leader's decision-making. Third, some scholars argue that the term of public opinion emerges from public debate among groups rather than from individual opinions; as political parties, interest groups, trade association, nonprofit organizations, and trade union, they find themselves in a position to defined a social problem by giving opposing viewpoints while it is difficult for individuals to make their views known. Next, elite opinion are those who shape create and

interpret public opinion on the position of opinion leaders which are increasingly articulated by pundits or self-professed experts in a particular field, especially those who are providing comments or opinions on political issues through media such as : politicians. All these components let us understand the various meanings of the public opinion in many ways.

Furthermore, the concept was explained by many scholars such as: Walter Lippmann the American writer, reporter and political commentator in his book saying: “The analysis of public opinion must begin then, by recognizing the triangular relationship between the scene of action, the human picture of that scene and the human response to what picture working itself out upon the scene of action”. (Lippman)

Besides that , he describe that the term of public opinion is closely linked to the concept of public sphere and has evolved through the social, economic, and political processes that appears during the eighteenth century as a result to the emerge of the public.

Also, the public can be explained as a part of human community which was described by Jurgen Habermas in his book that general public opinion is a result of democratization in modern history saying: “The idea of public is a principal of democracy, all people have equal opportunity according to his inclinations, wishes, and convictions – opinions; that these personal opinions are measured and develop through the rational-critical debate of a public into public opinion.” (Habermas)

The term of public opinion in US is considered to be one of the most valued and evoked terms in politics.

### **Characteristics of public opinion:**

Public opinion is the collection of values and attitudes that people have about specific events, issues and personalities, which contains several types in order to understand and learn about the concept in a given issue especially in politics. Public opinion has its own direction meaning that ;whatever the responses and the reactions of the people are in the

election polls, whether it was yes or no, people still have the right to choose and preferred their own opinions about their proper and directions; which is used to measure what people think, for instance, Liberals are said to be on the “left,” and Conservatives are said to be on the “right”. Later, intensity opinion refers to how deeply individuals hold a given opinion and how likely they are to act on it, measures how strongly and intensely people feel about an issue or a politician, such issues polarize and divide the public; means that not all opinions are equally felt by citizens, both Direction and Intensity opinions characterize individual opinions.

Besides, Saliency opinion is that which enjoys widespread public attention and is a high priority, measures the extent to which issues are important and relevant to people’s values and lives; the political environment and economic conditions will often dictate what issues are important to people. Further, saliency will often a misperception as to which number of people takes which side of an issue. In this case, if only the minority of people hold one view on an issues, simply; that minority of people will feel very strongly and very intense about that issue, that become less important to the majority than to the minority, thus; this make the perception that there are more people on the side of minority of an issue; For example: Abortion.

Next, Latent or fluidity opinion, may be widespread but generally remains in the background unmolded, immobilized, measures the extent to which opinion over the time; again political and economic events and conditions (external events) will dictate whether or not, there is a change of opinion towards a given issues or policy; for example, Vietnam and Iraq war. The two, Saliency and latency opinions are characteristics of overall opinion.

**The causes and predictors of public opinion:**

Public opinion is not only shaped by particular events and conditions, it is also formed by what is known as a Political Ethos and Political Socialization. Political Ethos is a set of shared values and general ideas held by a broad consensus of the population (political creed). Also, is what helps build and provide unity within the nation and the national (political culture), for instance, the American political ethos: the Constitution, democracy, capitalism and free enterprise. Political socialization is the process by which citizens develop and form political attitudes, beliefs and values. In addition, socialization lays the foundation and public opinion helps determine things, which people are, needed to share in a democracy, such as: political party affiliation, ideological beliefs and voting behavior. Feelings about the economy, government, and the military form the basis of our socialization.

**Agents of political socialization:**

Social institutions: that helps individuals to shape their basics of political values and beliefs by which people are politically socialized or raised. These agents are Families, Social groups, Education and Prevailing political conditions

Family is the initial orientation to politics comes from the family; party preferences, not always and the case in adulthood. Social groups: membership in certain social groups shapes our political orientation. Includes: Involuntary: Gender and Racial groups. Voluntary: Religions, education and occupational group, the changes that occur in social class can change social groups. Education: schooling the most important factor that plays a role in our early political socialization (American values: learn about cultural goals of equality, freedom and liberty). Prevailing political conditions: the changing of circumstances in society that shapes political affiliation. Any group from society, political outlooks shaped by conditions at that time (attitudes and behavior).

**Shaping Public Opinion:**

**Shaping Opinion:**



Public opinions can also be shaped in the “Marketplace of Ideas”<sup>24</sup> by: political leaders, media and private groups. Before, knowing how public opinion is shaped in the Marketplace of ideas; one must understand the meaning of the term. In democratic acceptance and legitimacy, different ideas and opinions compete in a Marketplace of Ideas. Also; most popular issues will increase to the top, on the idea market the competition having survived. The Idea Market in the U.S has produced to discuss the core of issues, some of them are actively debated and that can be a result of “latent” opinion. There is substantial consensus on broad concepts like democracy, liberty, and equality of opportunity. But, the marketplace of ideas contain a negative side, negative consequence; is that unpopular ideas might not be given a luck to compete, regardless of their potential merit, those ideas seem at first glance to be unpopular. Despite, that good ideas are unexpressed, because those Ideas do not receive the consideration that might make them seem more appealing. In addition, differences in public opinion can be very valuable. After, we interpret the meaning of this concept, now we try to answer the question.

First, Political leaders: Governments and politicians try to keep and shape public opinion to form public support for governmental policies and actions. In recent years, politicians have increasingly used modern devices and technologies such as public opinion polls and media appeals, to construct public opinion. For example, Educational Policies when the Bush administration paid a conservative for Armstrong Williams, the African American radio pundit to comment favorably on its educational policies. Second, private groups: seek to form public opinion on specific issues: Pro-Life, Gun Advocates, Labor Unions, etc. For instance, political and economic groups, including Conservative Groups: U.S Chamber of Commerce, and American Enterprise Institute. Liberal Groups: Brookings Institution. Third,

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<sup>24</sup> It is metaphor for freedom of expression and theory suggests that freedom of expression in the market will eventually lead to the discovery of the truth by society. Thus in this context, it is stated that every person entitled to critically evaluate and pass his own judgment

media: communication media it is a Powerful force operating in “marketplace of ideas” which contain enormous effect on popular attitudes and opinion that frames specific events. Such as, Media and broadcasters were supportive of security policies following anthrax letter attacks that targeted members of the media.

### **The factors that affect public opinion:**

Different factors, that effect on public opinion on various ways, from here we have to seek this factors. First, Politicians they effect on public opinion by actively campaigning for public support on a particular political issues and events. Second, News Media effect on public opinion by the coverage of political events, when political events receive extensive news that coverage people and aware and can perceive the events as something more significance in public opinion places more important on that issues as Health care benefits. Third, Socioeconomic Status affects public opinion because the person’s status shapes how perceive political matters. Next, Major World Events was economic down term affect public opinion on the variety of matter such support of the president. Finally, opinion leaders are often common news Tyler, colonists who openly and publicly expressed their political opinion they effect on public opinion by influencing other to view thinks, the way they do. Public opinion change as these factors change.

### **The role of media in shaping public opinion**

Media is the most powerful tool for the formation of Public opinion in contemporary times. It is the Television, the press, the radio and the Internet. (Films, magazines, posters, studies, reports, theater, art, dance, public speeches, hearings) Talking about the media is like talking about a mission. A source of information and education that will shape the daily choices in people’s life. By which it shapes the thinking, and the perception of things.

Moreover, Media is a political power and tool, controlled in a way by the big powers, International Corporation and big agencies using them for their political and economic

objectives that control and can pay. Among the most powerful news agencies in the West are the **BBC, CNN, Euro-news, Monte Carlo**, while, **Al Jazira, Al Aarabia, LBC, Al Shark El Awsat** are the news agencies in the Middle East. The religious and political leaders of these agencies are always around to talk, freely to pass news, stands, and positions to their communities, to the public using them to serve their political and economic ends.

Media plays a crucial role in educating and shaping people's political attitudes, for example ; the Television brings candidates and issues closer to the voters, and the voters begins to place a higher value on the personality and character of candidates and officials. Media can service presidential campaigns, elections and other government activities so well, as well as it can shape how people interpret and observe political information, in other words, citizens always get their news and information from media, such as election coverage and other political events.

When dealing with elections, Media's devices and agencies must remain neutral and objective in order to properly educate the public, it should be unbiased rather than favoring any one candidate or point of view .Political journalists can be especially helpful in this role by using social media outlets to send personal, up-to-the-second campaign updates. For example, journalists' reflections on twitter, from President Obama's various campaign stops during his 2012 reelection bid. Much of the information contained 'behind-the-scenes' quips that did not necessarily make a sound bite on the evening news or a quote in a newspaper article.

They also facilitate the media's watchdog<sup>25</sup> function. In this role, the media functions to protect the public from incompetent or corrupt political officials by exposing illegal or unethical practices to the public, taking example of what happened in September of 2012,

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<sup>25</sup> This term refer to a person or organization who is responsible to be sure, that companies obey particular standers and do not act illegal.

where U.S diplomatic offices were attacked, leaving four Americans dead. The coverage regarding what Secretary of State Hillary Clinton knew and when she knew it continually overshadowed her possible presidential candidacy.

Media also provide a platform for the public to convey their political thoughts and feelings mostly with social media. In this way, the media serve as a public voice, meaning the media provide an open forum for public debate and discussion. The public can communicate opinions and concerns with one another and even with the candidates and the government. In this way, the media provide an interactive experience for the voters. The audience can be participants rather than simply viewers, for instance; during the 2011 presidential debates, **CBS** viewers were encouraged to submit questions and topics for the candidates to address. Questions could be submitted using Face book, Twitter or email.

### **2.3. The measurement of public opinion:**

Public opinion was measured in different ways in order to know about the view of the population on particular issues or about politician; it was originated from the past, used by specialists and analysts. Before examining the methods of measuring public opinion, one should know about the polls, which represent a common or popular opinion on particular issues as health or economy. They generally, start when someone wants a political question to be answered.

#### **The definition of public opinion poll:**

Public opinion poll is a type of survey or inquiry designed to measure the public's views regarding a particular topic or series of topics, that is commissioned by various groups in order to determine people's thoughts on particular matters. That trained interviewers usually ask questions of people chosen randomly from the population being measured and when responses are given, the interpretations are made based on the results. It is important in a

random sample that everyone in the population being studied has an equal chance of participating.

In addition, is conducted by what we call Polling Organization; businesses that measure public opinion through strategic methods, known by Gallup organization which is an American company that publishes timely public opinion research on a multitude of topics through the use of the use of Gallup Poll, it routinely measures public opinion and attitudes on various political, social and economic issues. George Gallup<sup>26</sup> is considered being the father of American polling in 1935; he founded the American Institute for public opinion, it all started in 1932 when his mother-in-law ran for public office in Iowa. His Gallup Organization continues, to track America's opinions today and playing a vital role in American politics.

Polling works in Gallup polls and other polls is like an accurate statistics. First, pollsters must design their questions and follow several important steps in gathering statistics; in order to produce accurate results. Questions must be carefully and objectively worded, neutral and impartial; the questions should not revolve around a politician or pollsters, after designing objective questions, the polling organization must select a polling sample, which is a section of people designed accurately to reflect the overall population.

A pollster does not need to poll every person's opinion in each case, because the sample will do so. However, putting together, a proper sample is a difficult process and polling organizations sometimes encounter sampling errors, which is not a representative sample of the overall population.

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<sup>26</sup> George Horace Gallup: was an American pioneer of survey sampling techniques and inventor of the Gallup poll, he is known for his successful statistical method of survey sampling for measuring public opinion.

On the other hand, these Polling Organizations does not grantee a completely accurate sample; they allow us sly chance of accuracy by margin of errors and also a statistical measurement of how accurately the results of the poll reflect the real views of the population; a good example can be taken on what happened during the presidential elections 1948 when polling organization predicted Tomas Dewey defeat Harry Truman, and newspaper prepare their head line, instead, Harry Truman win the elections by 2 million popular votes and by 140 electoral votes.

### **Public Opinion Polls:**

There are many public opinion data archives that researchers depend on to obtain or download data about American public opinion polls. The biggest and most famous are:

- The Roper Public Opinion Research Center<sup>27</sup> at the University of Connecticut.
- The Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), located in the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.
- The Howard W. Odum Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Gallup Brain, at the Gallup International Organization.
- The website of the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press.
- The website of the University of California, San Diego.

A good example has been found by searching for Iraq in the Roper Center database, 14777 questions covering the period from January 1935 until December 2011. As shown in figures 1 and 2, 77.5% of the questions have been asked during George W. Bush's era (2001-2008) (11458 questions), 13. 9% have been asked during George Bush's era (1990-1992) (2048 questions), 4.5% have been asked during Barack Obama's three years in Office

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<sup>27</sup>One of the world's leading archives of social science data, specializing in data from surveys of public opinion.

(2009-2011) (663 questions), and 3.5% were asked during Clinton’s era (1993-2000) ( 526 questions).

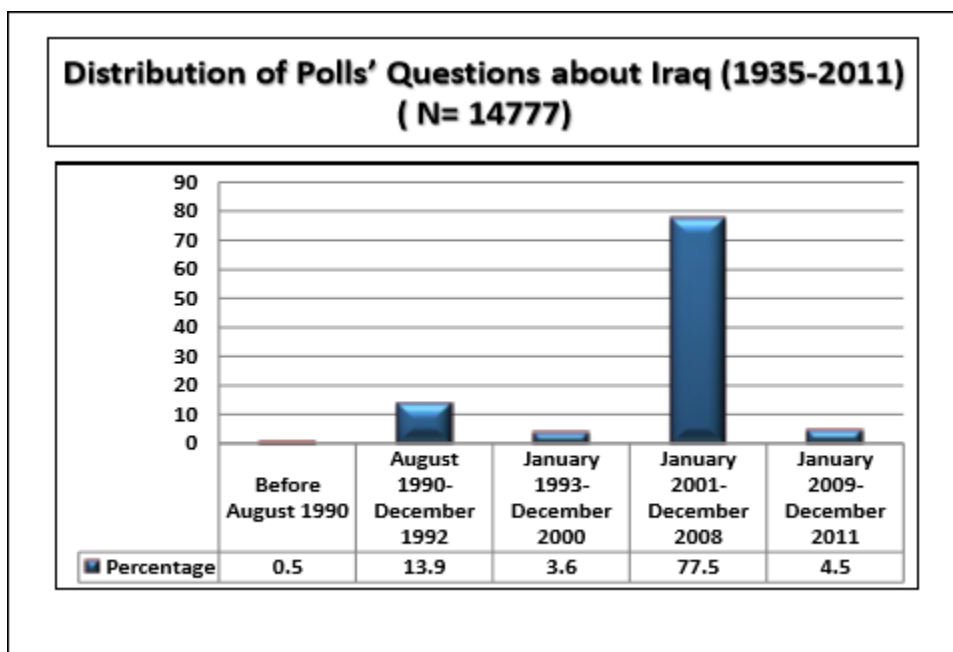


Figure 1-1: Distribution of Polls’ Questions about Iraq 1935-2011

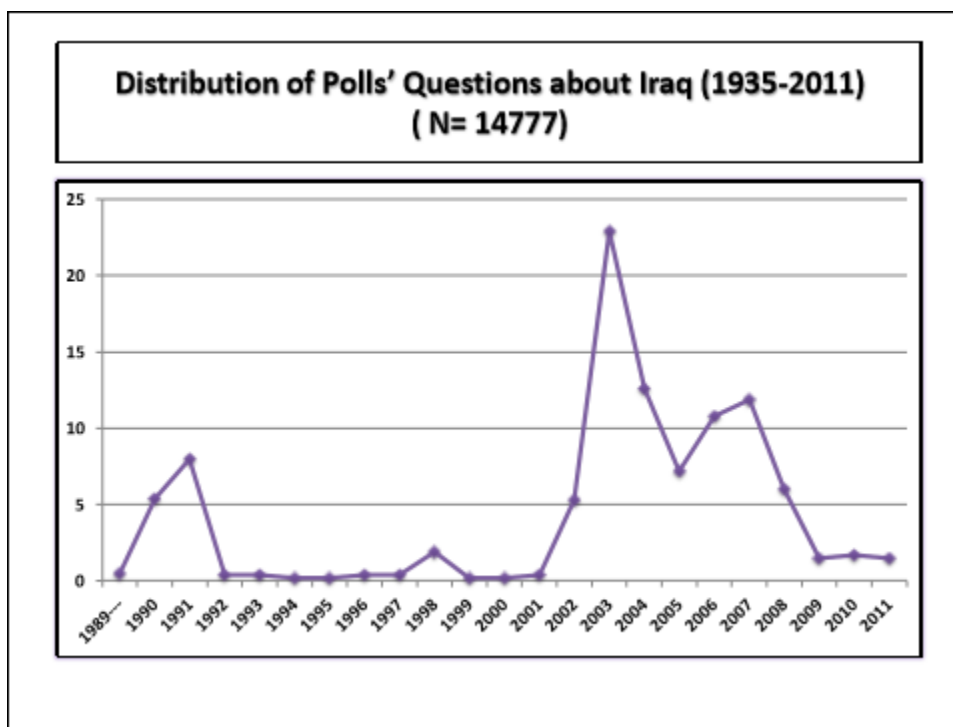


Figure 1-2: Distribution of Polls’ Questions about Iraq 1935-2011

**Bias polls:**

The results of public opinion could be biased and, therefore, does not represent the whole population. The bias has the effect of creating a data set that is markedly different from what reality actually is, also, it can be used by pollsters to further their own means used in order to make the other side look bad, or to make one's own side look great. In addition, it is anything that results in a data set that is actually different from the truth. There are many possible sources of bias, the kind of bias did you suspect from above or the person who did not like mirror paid for poll. We call this, funding bias; are results when a company does the study or individual that has an interest in the outcome.

This happens when questions of objectivity, can be asked by the funders of a study (Newton). The type of biases that involves the choices of answers is called reporting bias; are answers of certain variety are likely to be reported, occurs when not every opinion can be properly recorded. Then, selection bias; people who are likely to feel a certain way are chosen to participate in larger numbers, occurs when only people who are likely to feel a certain way are chosen to participate. Next, observer bias; made you want to make the pollsters happy occurs when the pollster makes us alter our behavior. The role of bias in polls and surveys, in order to see people side.

**The importance of opinion poll:**

Polls tell us what proportion of a population has a specific viewpoint. They do not explain why respondents believe as they do or how to change their minds. This is the work of social scientists and scholars. In addition, opinion polls one of the most important methods that allowed us to measure public opinion, and helping regular people be heard. In addition, polls are simply a measurement tool that tells us how a population thinks and feels about any given topic. This can be useful in helping different cultures understand one another because it gives the people a chance to speak for themselves instead of letting only vocal media stars



speak on behalf of all. Opinion polling gives people who do not usually have access to the media an opportunity to be heard.

### **Political participation and voting:**

People have the right to be in political participation, by protests, rebellions and strikes about politics. Political participation includes any activity that shapes affects or involves the political field. Which, include voting, attending a rally, sign a petition and sending a later to a representative. Most of U.S citizens have some level of political participation. Some of them, with high involvement and others with lower involvement.

Generally there are three different types of political participation, starting with; conventional participation which includes traditional or expected political participation, such as voting, donating to a campaign, a volunteer to a campaign and serving in public office. The second type is unconventional participation which is considered as plan B includes activities that are sometimes considered to be inappropriate but are not illegal; for instance, Boycott, demonstrations and protests occupied in Wall .for this reason unconventional participation takes a smaller rule in American political involvement, because many people never actually participate in unconventional political activity

Illegal participation is the last type that plays a very small role in American political involvement, includes activities that are specifically prohibited by law. If conventional participation is the plan A, unconventional participation is plan B, and then illegal participation should be plan C, like act of terrorism.

### **Conclusion:**

To sum up, Public opinion refers to the collective evaluations expressed by people on political issues as a political participant, which is considered to be essential part of American politics; due to the important role it plays and the place it took in the decisions made by leaders as a result of the changes occurred on political and social values. The public opinions

are valued and measured in various methods by polls to know the view of the population.

All This is covered by the media and the variety roles that it conquers, during elections, And other Governmental important decisions inside and out the country.

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## **Chapter Three: Public Opinion and U.S Foreign Policy:**

### **Introduction:**

Throughout the 20th century, American foreign policy has been dedicated to the proposition that people should be allowed to form their own governments and be free of pressures from aggressive imperial powers. President Wilson's call in 1917 for national self-determination<sup>28</sup> rests heavily on the American conscience nearly one hundred years later. To that end, the aggressive designs of a variety of nations like Germany, Japan, Italy, the Soviet Union, Iraq were opposed by American military might, with thousands dying to defend the right of countries to create their own government, and since the booming of public opinion studies after World War II, this notion continued to develop in recent years particularly after the war on Iraq in 2003. This chapter will examine the construction of Public Opinion concept and how in turn can it effect the making of U.S Foreign Policy in times of wars and change some of the leaders-decisions ,not forgetting to spot the lights of how can government mislead the public to serve their own agenda .

### **3.1. The role of Public Opinion in shaping U.S Foreign policy:**

Public opinion plays an active role in shaping American foreign policy, it can enforce certain kinds of actions on the party of policy makers and can at least, enforce limitations on the decisions policy makers can take. Douglas Foyle<sup>29</sup> in his study about American presidents and public opinion pointed out that American presidents are not the same in their responses to public opinion on foreign policy issues. Some presidents are more responsive

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<sup>28</sup> A cardinal principle in modern international law (commonly regarded as a *jus cogens* rule), binding, as such, on the United Nations as authoritative interpretation of the Charter's norms

<sup>29</sup> Douglas C. Foyle is an Associate Professor of Government and a recipient of Wesleyan's Binswanger Prize for Excellence in Teaching (2009). He held the Douglas J. and Midge Bowen Bennet Associate Professor of Government chair from January 1, 2008 to June 30, 2013. His teaching and research specializations include U.S. Foreign Policy, international security, and the influence of public opinion and elections on foreign policy

than others. For instance, Bill Clinton was more receptive in the case of Somalia while George Bush preferred to lead rather than to follow the public opinion in the case of Iraq.

On the other hand, Roland Hinckley examined the relationship between polls and policymakers, concerning national security issues, during the Reagan – Bush years, and argued that there was a positive relationship between the public’s attitudes on these issues and the actual policies, this role can be played by making political leaders be afraid of being punished for foreign policy failures at the next election... So when making foreign policy decisions, policymakers may contemplate the effect of their actions on future elections.

(Rivilin)

### **3.2. Public Opinion effects on U.S Foreign Policy Decisions-making:**

The relationship is not a unidirectional. It is a reciprocal relationship, as each side effects the other and plays the two roles simultaneously. In other words, each side has a powerful influence over certain issues or stages and has a negligible influence on others. Thus, this relationship seems to be more dynamic rather than static, it is “a detailed look at the opinion-policy nexus reveals a far more complex relationship (...) and is very much context dependent” (Balme)

Shapiro and Jacobs<sup>30</sup> mentioned some cases where presidents lead and direct the public opinion and some cases where presidents follow public opinion. For example, after 1965, Lyndon Johnson<sup>31</sup> preferred to follow public opinion regarding the Vietnam War. On the contrary Bill Clinton chose to lead and direct public opinion to accept his administration health care reforms and related policy efforts from 1993 to 1994. The administration became responsive only in the lead up period to the 1996 presidential election.

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<sup>30</sup> is professor of political science at Columbia University

<sup>31</sup> an American politician who served as the 36th President of the United States from 1963 to 1969, assuming the office after having served as the 37th Vice President of the United States from 1961 to 1963. A Democrat from Texas, he also served as a United States Representative and as the Majority Leader in the United States Senate

Also, policymakers try to gauge public reactions. Thus, they can either abstain from or engage in actions depending on their anticipation of adverse public reaction, and act as a catalyst in a decision-making process. In the cases of Somalia and Rwanda, public opinion acted as a catalyst but it did not have the power alone to force governments into launching interventionist military operations. Moreover, Policymakers use public pressure as a political tool to convince their own administration or international partners. (Balme)

Some of the most important factors that mediate this relationship; are the structure of the parliamentary system, the view of selected officials, presidential leadership, the effectiveness of elite communication, and the elite perception of public opinion (Page), there are some other factors Such as: the nature of the international problem under consideration, the nature of the proposed policy, the effectiveness of the communication between elite groups, the elite's awareness of public opinion, the perceived level of public support for the policy, and the structure and timing of decision making (Shirayev)

there are many other several factors that can effect when and how public opinion influences the policy process, these include; the level of the public support, the stage of the policy process, the context in which the decision is made, the effectiveness of elite leadership efforts, the type of issue under consideration, and the individual sensitivity of the policymakers (Balme)

We can say that the influence of the public opinion varies according to the type of issue. Some issues are assumed to have a greater influence; like problems that intersect directly with domestic concerns but have significant foreign policy implications, for instance the consistency between public opinion and policy decisions declined from 1980 to 1998 and this was One of the largest drops occurs in foreign policy issues. However, defense policy did not exhibit this trend; rather the trend was reversed in this instance (Monore 6-28)

Holsti<sup>32</sup> added another influence bases, which are the levels or stages of the issue and examined how presidents perceive public opinion and how this perception affects their responses. Although no president or elected representative can completely ignore public opinion, their reactions differ. For example, Reagan led public opinion and had a positive view of it and President Bush Senior, on the contrary, feared public opinion.

However, foreign policy makers tend to take their foreign policy decisions with little consideration for public opinion. Public opinion is best described as “a source of emotional and shortsighted thinking that can only impede the effective pursuit and defense of vital national interests” (Ole Holsti 2). This reflects the typical Republican understanding of state interest, and foreign policy making; the White House, in general, recognizes the political significance of public support but does not accept public opinion as a given factor. Rather, it attempts to shape public opinion in a manner that supports the positions the administration’s favored position

There are many ways that American presidents manipulate public opinion, Another method is to control all the sources of information about the issue, for example during the Gulf War (1991), the Secretary of defense controlled all information about the military operation in the Gulf (H. M. al). Another method occurs when the president already supports the public’s position and the presidential campaign seeks to increase both the media and public support for his policy (Divine)<sup>33</sup>

## **Theories of Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy:**

### **1-Sobel’s Constraint Theory:**

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<sup>32</sup> Ole Rudolf Holsti (born August 7, 1933) is an American political scientist and academic. He currently holds the position of George V. Allen Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Duke University. He is noted for his writings on international affairs, American foreign policy, content analysis, decision-making in politics and diplomacy, and crises.

<sup>33</sup> Donald J. Devine (born 1937) is an American political scientist, author, former government official and politician who has studied, written and promoted the philosophy of conservative fusionism as taught to him by the U.S. philosopher Frank Meyer.



in his seminal book “the Impact of Public Opinion on U.S. Foreign Policy Since Vietnam”, he examined how officials in the White House over five administrations from the Vietnam war to the Bosnian war reacted to the public opinion, he introduced his Constraint theory of the relationship between Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy and The general argument of this theory is that:

Public opinion constrains, but does not set, American foreign intervention theory. In other words, the public’s attitudes set the limits within which policy makers may operate. Within those parameters of permissive consensus, decision makers may operate with less or more Political costs and relative discretion about which policies to choose that discretion is is wider when conflicts are less salient and support is higher .

According to this theory, there are two main goals that public officials pursue regarding public opinion; the first is getting sufficient public support for their policies and the second ensuring re-election in subsequent elections. Sobel explains the different motives that drive public officials to take public opinion into account in the decision making process:

Presidents care about their popularity because it affects their ability to work their will with others involved in the policy process. National policy makers have to think of their standing with the public outside of Washington. Because policymakers think about it, public standing is a source of influence for them. In short, the more popular a president is, the more likely he is to accomplish his political agenda.

Therefore indirect means of constraint such as public opinion affect on presidential approval rate is the most important means of constraint that public opinion can impose on policy makers. To avoid negative impact on their policies or their careers due to public disapproval, public officials try to educate, lead, and even manipulate

public opinion Obviously, their reactions depend on “their view of the proper relationship between attitudes and policy decisions” and on their perceptions of the three different types of opinion environments, which are: climate of opinion, presidential popularity or approval, and the specific attitudes toward government policy options.

Sobel concludes that the opinion – policy nexus is not unidirectional, from opinion to policy or vice versa. But rather it is reciprocal “Public opinion places limits on what policymakers can do, but leadership matters, too. Largely relying on the media, policymakers influence public opinion through education, leadership and manipulation” (Sobel)

## **2- The Cascading Activation Model:**

This model is used to explain how the White House controls the feelings and thoughts of people through the frames which spread about the foreign policy issues in all mass media. The term “cascade” is fitting as it emphasizes the top – down nature of the spreading of these frames as some actors are more able than others to push ideas and thoughts firstly in the media, in the minds of journalists, and then to the public (Entman), consequently, this model as a way of manipulation by controlling the ideas about the issue. Robert Entman<sup>34</sup> assumed that the Cascading model is a concept of spreading network activation applies at each level of the system. The activation of thoughts or nodes on a knowledge network within an individual’s mind; whether a Congress member, a reporter, or citizen, has parallels in the way ideas travel along interpersonal networks and in the spread of framing words and images across the different media” There are five sub- Hypotheses or claims deriving from this model :

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<sup>34</sup> Robert Mathew Entman is the J.B. and M.C. Shapiro Professor of Media and Public Affairs and Professor of International Affairs at George Washington University.

- 1- The President will be most able to control the framing of foreign affairs when he is “dealing with the culturally congruent or incongruent”
- 2- Journalists have a motivation to include opposition viewpoints of foreign policy in their stories. This is an opportunity most available to them when the event or issue is ambiguous.
- 3- The political elite value their political survival; therefore they listen to public opinion. “When a large majority appears positively inclined toward the president, other leaders tend to fall silent and coverage of opposing views is unlikely to generate a coherent counter frame” (Entman).
- 4- “In the post – Cold War period, if the White House mismanages its relationships with other elites and journalists, especially if it cannot find compelling schemas that support its line, a president may lose control of the frame”. (Entman)
- 5- The end of the Cold War paradigm “has made the public’s responses to foreign affairs less predictable” (Entman) and this has increased the media’s influence.

### **3-CNN Effect Theory:**

The CNN effect is a theory in political science and media studies that says that the establishment of the popular 24-hour international television news channel, CNN, had a major influence on states' foreign policy in the late Cold War period. And that CNN and other cable news organization have had a similar impact in the post-Cold War era Gilboa<sup>35</sup> stated that Global television networks such as CNN and BBC have become a decisive factor in the formation of foreign policy. How these satellite channels represent the issues have an impact on decision making and how policy makers respond to issues. Sometimes they force policy makers and government to take action and this accelerates the decision making process. Now more than ever, the pressure of rolling news and the desire to

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<sup>35</sup>Eytan Gilboa is Professor and Director of the Center for International Communication at Bar-Ilan University. He is also a senior research associate at the BESA Center for Strategic Studies and Chair of The Israel Communication Association He has published several books and numerous articles on public diplomacy, international communication and US policy in the Middle East

fill airtime on 24 hour news channels means that the networks demand speedy decision making. (Eytan)

In addition, Livingstone<sup>36</sup> points to three functions of the media that fall under the wider term of the CNN affect, the first function of the media is their affect on the setting of the policy agenda and the second is that the media can be an obstacle to achieving policy aims, while the third is that the media puts pressure on administrations to speed up the decision making process. (Livingston) ,not to mention that It has been argued by politicians, officials, journalists and scholars that the CNN effect caused interventions in Northern Iraq, Somalia, Bosnia, and Kosovo. (L. B. al)

Neak says that the media forces some issues into the open, issues that policy makers would rather be kept quiet. This means that time to deliberate is lessened and there is pressure to quickly find the most reasonable policy response, and that media broadcasts images of famine, ethnic conflict, or mass suffering, and this arouses strong emotions in the public. Then the public demand some a moral response from their elected leaders; they demand that officials “do something”. In turn elected officials, acting out of the motivations of political survival respond with some sort of intervention, military or humanitarian. (Neak 115-119)

### **3.3. American Foreign Policy towards Iraq (1990-2011) and the War on Terror:**

When the Iraq- Iran war began in September 1980, American and Iraq had no diplomatic relations, however, in the summer of 1982 mutual relations improved when the United States dropped Iraq from its list of states that supported terrorism and started providing it with intelligence information and armaments for Iraq’s war against Iran. Complete normalization of relations was realized two years later as a step in Reagan’s Doctrine (Logan),it stated that

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<sup>36</sup> Professor of Media and Public Affairs and International Affairs with appointments in the School of Media and Public Affairs (SMPA) and the Elliott School of International Affairs (ESIA) at the George Washington University.

instead of containing Communism and preventing its spread, the U.S should to eliminate it by providing support to guerrilla organizations and resistance governments (Scott 193-254). It was applied regarding Iran; instead of containing Iran and preventing its influence from spreading in the Gulf, the United States had supported Iraq to eliminate the threat completely, and supplied Iraq with materials used to create weapons of mass destruction.

However, the United States Foreign Policy with Iraq had changed shortly after Iraq invaded Kuwait ,and that's when Bush declared his new doctrine which he called the New World Order, "where the rule of law<sup>37</sup>... governs the conduct of nations," and "in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the UN's founders" (Bush) Based on this doctrine the US, leading a coalition under the supervision of the UN, waged war against Iraq in order to ensure an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. The war formally ended on April 6th 1991 when Iraqi troops left Kuwait and Iraq accepted a UN resolution that demanded that it destroy its weapons of mass destruction (Heimback)

In Clinton's era the key in his doctrine was Democratic Enlargement of which humanitarian intervention was a part, though not the primary part of US foreign policy, According to this doctrine, the U.S has the right to intervene in any part of the world to stop violations of human rights or to protect American interests, it was used to justify the American involvement in various countries including Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Somalia It was on the basis of this doctrine that the United States, in cooperation with Britain, launched air strikes on Iraq (1993-1997-1998) to protect Kurds and Shia Muslims. During 1999 there were more than 100 air strikes against Iraqi targets. Followed with an economic and trade

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<sup>37</sup> It is the Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations which states that one of the purposes of the United Nations is to "bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace Of the Charter.

sanctions. However, Saddam Hussein remained securely in power and there was no actual policy to remove him or change the Iraqi regime (Steven)

Preemptive war was a central element of the Bush Doctrine<sup>38</sup> (Steven). This was a doctrine shaped by the War on Terror which is a term that was commonly applied to an international military campaign begun by the United States and the United Kingdom with support from other countries after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks; George W. Bush, who came into office with the weakest of popular mandates, is required to mobilize the people and the government and to achieve victory in the war on terror (J. McKeever, Politics USA).

In his State of the Union speech in January 2002, Bush identified Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as an “axis of evil,” and he stated that “some governments will be timid in the face of terror. If they do not act, America will”. The Bush Doctrine, as it became known, became the basis for the decision to go to war against Iraq in March 2003 and to do so without the formal backing of the international community. Formally titled the National Security Strategy of the United States<sup>39</sup>(NSS), this document, which was issued in September 2002 and then summarized by the president in October, puts forward a new direction for American foreign policy, adding: “While the United States will constantly strive to enlist the support of the international community, we will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defense by acting pre-emptively”. (P.Kaufman, A Concise History of U.S Foreign Policy)

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<sup>38</sup> the belief that the United States has the right to protect itself from terrorist acts by engaging in pre-emptive wars or ousting hostile governments in favor of friendly, preferably democratic, regimes

<sup>39</sup> The National Security Strategy (NSS) is a document prepared periodically by the executive branch of the government of the United States for Congress which outlines the major national security concerns of the United States and how the administration plans to deal with them. The legal foundation for the document is spelled out in the Goldwater-Nichols Act. The document is purposely general in content (contrast with the National Military Strategy, NMS) and its implementation relies on elaborating guidance provided in supporting documents (including the NMS).

By May the 1st, 2003 Baghdad fell to the U.S and President Bush announced the end of the war. However, the U.S. did not capture Saddam until December 14th 2003 and this latter was tried and executed in December 2006

The final doctrine which has been applied to the Iraqi situation was Obama's Doctrine. It emphasized negotiation and collaboration rather than confrontation and unilateralism in international affairs (Renshon). Based on this doctrine, Obama promised to end the "war in Iraq responsibly" and declared on December 15th 2011 the official end to war in Iraq with troop withdrawal, leaving only two U.S. bases and about 4000 troops remain in Iraq.

### **U.S Public Opinion Attitude towards War on Iraq 2003:**

During George W. Bush's Presidency and In a poll conducted before Bush declared war, by Pew Research Center for the People and the Press on October 2nd 2002, the approval rate was 56 %. In another poll conducted by Los Angeles Times during the implementation of military action against Iraq, on 2nd and 3rd April 2003, the approval rate was 74%. In a poll conducted after the initial policy implementation, by Washington Post from 7th – 11th August 2003, the approval rate was 56%.

The same thing happened regarding the American withdrawal from Iraq In 2011, during Obama's era. In a poll conducted by ABC News / New York Times, on 25th – 26th August 2010 (before withdrawal of troops), the approval rate was 51%, and in a poll conducted by CBS News / New York Times, from 19th – 24th of October 2011, (during withdrawal of troops), the approval rate was 60 % (351). Another poll was conducted by Associated Press / GFK, from 8th – 12th December 2011 (after the withdrawal of troops), the approval rate was 55%

Results show that public opinion supported Bush's policies in Iraq. And even when public opinion was against keeping the American troops in Iraq after the war it did not affect Bush's presidential approval and he won his second term in presidency (2005-2008). Finally,

when Barak Obama (2009-2011) decided to withdraw most American troops from Iraq in December 2011 there was a high level of approval of this decision among Americans. Furthermore, Public opinion supported all American policies in Iraq regardless of the political party of the president.

**Conclusion:**

Finally, relationship between public opinion and foreign policy makers had occurred after decades of mass development of people's mind, dedicated to the proposition of the idea that people should be allowed to form their own governments and be free of pressures from aggressive imperial powers, and that the relationship is dynamic. Thus, each side has a powerful influence over certain issues or stages and has a negligible influence on the others one.



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### **General Conclusion:**

This research was examined with plenty of evidence and concluded that, when it comes to the making of U.S foreign policy process ,the government follows such rules in order to determine and make decisions about issues that are beneficial and important for citizens, with the involvement of domestic policy who in turn makes sure that the problems of people inside society are solved by regulate laws. The President and the Secretary of State, the National Security Advisor of the President, the Secretary of Defense, and, of course, the Director of Central Intelligence, who provides the other key members of the foreign policy team with the latest information on world events; are the most influential players in the development of U.S. foreign policy. These officials constitute the core of the National Security Council, which is the nation’s highest-level of foreign policy-making. In addition, the Secretary of State takes very seriously her primary role of being the principal advisor to the President on foreign policy issues.

In the United States of America, the constitution divides the foreign policy powers structure between the president and congress; the two branches and other different actors who also participate in the formation of U.S foreign policy .these actors play an important role to ensure that there would be a system of checks and balances.

When policymakers take decisions, the public opinion is usually involved ;and the voices of individuals, elites or groups are taken into account, due to rise and the development of cultural and political awareness, and the emerge of democracy which became the tentative step toward an embrace of more inclusive notions of public opinion. The concept of public opinion has origins from the ancient times which is debated and interpreted by many scholars and analysts alike, and was shaped and affected by conditions and events. In addition, the views of the population measured in order to answer a political question by polls to know the population, yet these polls do not sometimes represent the population because it is biased.

To activate the public, foreign policy issues must receive major media coverage in terms that are compatible with public frames of reference. Such media coverage usually generated by elite debate. Typically, the media present positions articulated by government officials; however, when high-credibility expert commentators dissent from the government position, policymakers seek to enlist public support.

Citizens' opinions play a vital role in shaping U.S foreign policy and their relationships has made a great progress in recent decades especially during Iraq war ,which shows that the effects of public on the leader's minds and decisions making policy is quite clear and that people should be allowed to form their own governments and be free of pressures from aggressive imperial power , by enforce certain kinds of actions on policy makers however this relationship goes up and down and it is more dynamic rather than static; thus each side has a powerful influence over certain issues or stages and has a negligible influence on the others one.

The U.S foreign policy achieves goals within its international milieu, and creates diplomacy with other nations. War on Terror is the most strategic and insidious way they use as a right to intervene in any part of the world in order to stop violations of human rights or to protect American interests.

Finally, public opinion is latent on foreign policy issues with decision makers only who are in a way concerned about the potential activation of people interests, but in another way serving their own agenda.

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