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BÁRBARA VASCONCELLOS DE CARVALHO MOTTA

War is peace: the US security discursive practices after the Cold War

São Paulo
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Tese apresentada ao Programa de Pós-graduação em Relações Internacionais San Tiago Dantas da Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio de Mesquita Filho" (Unesp), da Universidade Estadual de Campinas (Unicamp) e da Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC-SP), como exigência para obtenção do título de Doutor em Relações Internacionais, na área de concentração "Paz, Defesa e Segurança Internacional", na linha de pesquisa "Estratégia, Defesa e Política Externa".
Orientador: Prof. Dr. Samuel Alves Soares.

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São Paulo, 31 de agosto de 2018.

Aos meus pais, Ricardo e Rosana, que me viram mudar e ainda assim me reconheceram.

À minha avó (in memoriam), Maria, o começo de todas as coisas.

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Eis o meu pobre elefante
pronto para sair
à procura de amigos
num mundo enfastiado
que já não crê em bichos
e duvida das coisas.
Ei-lo, massa imponente
e frágil, que se abana
e move lentamente
a pele costurada
onde há flores de pano
e nuvens, alusões
a um mundo mais poético
onde o amor reagrupa
as formas naturais.

(Carlos Drummond de Andrade)

RESUMO

Como uma estrutura geral, o objetivo mais amplo desta tese é contribuir para o aprofundamento do debate em Relações Internacionais acerca da interconexão entre identidade e resultados políticos. Mais do que focar em como as articulações de uma identidade são realizadas por agentes específicos, esta tese está interessada em avançar o argumento de que a identidade "faz" alguma coisa e, portanto, tem através das práticas discursivas a capaacidade do que chamei de 'causalidade-na-constituição'. Dessa forma, proponho a elaboração de um modelo para avaliar como os dispositivos de uma identidades podem ser mobilizados em contextos políticos, mais especificamente nos processos de tomada de decisão de política externa dos EUA. Neste sentido, através da avaliação dos casos empíricos da contrução das narrativas nos EUA para (des)legitimar as intervenções no Kosovo (1998/1999), a Guerra do Golfo (1999/1991), Afeganistão (2001) e Iraque (2003), apesar da intenção geral de desenvolver uma visão mais ampla do debate sobre política externa dos EUA após a Guerra Fria, esta tese também visa avaliar a força representacional da identidade como fonte de ordem para o âmbito nacional e propor um gradiente, de momentos de menor a maior insegurança ontológica, através dos quais pode-se visualizar a capacidade dos pontos de ancoragem da identidade para 'reassentar' a identidade e colocá-la de volta no lugar.

Palavras-chave: Política externa norte-americana. Segurança Internacional. Sociologia Política Internacional. Identidade

ABSTRACT

As a general framework, the overall objective of this thesis is to further develop the interconnection between identity and political outcomes. More than focus on how articulations of identity are performed by specific agents, this thesis is interested in advance the argument that identity 'does' something and, therefore, has through discursive practices what I called a *causality-in-constitution* capacity. First, I propose a model to evaluate how identities' dispositions can be deployed in political contexts, more specifically in US foreign policy decision-making processes. In this sense, through the evaluation of the empirical cases of US narratives to legitimate the interventions in Kosovo (1998/1999), the Gulf War (1999/1991), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003), despite the general intention of this thesis to develop a bigger picture of the US foreign policy debate after the Cold War, it also aims at evaluating the representational force of identity as a source of national order and propose a gradient, from moments from less to more ontological insecurity, through which one can visualize identity's anchor points capacity to ground identity and put it back in place.

Keywords: United States Foreign Policy. International Security. International Political Sociology. Identity

RESUMEN

Como una estructura general, el objetivo más amplio de esta tesis es contribuir a la profundización del debate en Relaciones Internacionales acerca de la interconexión entre identidad y resultados políticos. Más que enfocar en cómo las articulaciones de una identidad son realizadas por agentes específicos, esta tesis está interesada en avanzar el argumento de que la identidad "hace" algo y, por lo tanto, tiene a través de las prácticas discursivas la capa de lo que llamé de ' causalidad la constitución'. De esta forma, propongo la elaboración de un modelo para evaluar cómo los dispositivos de una identidad pueden movilizarse en contextos políticos, más específicamente en los procesos de toma de decisiones de política exterior de los Estados Unidos. En este sentido, a través de la evaluación de los casos empíricos de la construcción de las narrativas en los Estados Unidos para (des) legitimar las intervenciones en Kosovo (1998/1999), la Guerra del Golfo (1999/1991), Afganistán (2001) e Irak (2003), a pesar de la intención general de desarrollar una visión más amplia del debate sobre política exterior de los EE.UU. después de la Guerra Fría, esta tesis también pretende evaluar la fuerza representacional de la identidad como fuente de orden para el ámbito nacional y proponer un gradiente, de momentos de menor a mayor inseguridad ontológica, a través de los cuales se puede visualizar la capacidad de los puntos de anclaje de la identidad para 'reasentar' la identidad y colocarla de vuelta en el lugar.

Palabras clave: Política exterior norteamericana. Seguridad Internacional. Sociología Política Internacional. Identidad

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1 INTRODUCTION

> E pluribus unum. Like a lot of 20th-century kids, I learned that phrase from "The Wizard of Oz." For most of their history, American movies have responded to crisis and conflict with visions of harmony. The consistent message from Hollywood — through the Great Depression and World War II, the civil rights movement and Vietnam, Roosevelt and Nixon and Reagan and Obama — has been that we are all in this together." (...) "Now, we seem to have become a nation of outsiders and the idea of E pluribus unum — "Out of many, one" — often feels strongest in, well, Marvel movies, which turn into war stories. War, of course, suggests one kind of universal value — we're all in this together against a shared enemy — that often seems otherwise missing in these Divided States of America. (DARGIS, Manohla; SCOTT, Anthony).

As I went through the American discourses in the United Nations Security Council to legitimate the US intervention in Iraq I often questioned myself what politicians meant when they used such words as 'democracy', 'freedom', 'justice', and etc, especially when they meant different things by them. More interesting to note was that, even when those words were used with different connotations, they had the capacity to move the debate, organize the contingent arguments in a comprehensible narrative and, especially, to rally some audiences behind it. Despite the range in meaning that those words might assume in a debate, they all produce a feeling of common origin and, hence, a sense of harmony. However, considering those words as mere dispositions that were forceful enough to establish an 'operational narrative' to legitimate one's actions was only half-way explanation as why they were (and still are) so important in US decision-making processes. Their intimate relationship with the American 'we-ness' was the crucial component that moved me to jump from the question 'how narratives shape and establish US decisions' to 'how identity, through its narratives, gets translated into specific political practices and US foreign policy decisions'. The necessity to bring identity to this account came with the perception that both language and the self (even if the self is a state) have an intrinsic relationship; a relationship that precludes one to fully exist without the other. Besides, when one assumes the non-epiphenomenal character of language, its relationship with identity is one of circularity: one produces and is at the same time produced by the other.

Here, the artificially produced gap between constitutive *versus* causal explanations in International Relations (IR) debate is questioned. If it was imperative to take a side, I could not have followed through with this thesis' debate in the way I propose it. In my perspective, the interconnection of identity and political practices is one of *causality-in-constitution*, that is, as political discourses heavily assented in an identity vocabulary constitutes identity by process of reification and transformation, they at the same time shape the debate in a way of producing the

necessary conditions, hence causal, for certain political practices and foreign policy actions to take place. Nevertheless, since the notion of causality used here is not one embedded in the positivist debate, specialists might locate this work in the constitutive side of explanations.

In general, if the knowledge that identities matter is reasonably consolidated in International Relations (IR) works (WENDT, 1999; BIALLY-MATTERN, 2005; MCSWEENEY, 1999, among others), the evaluation of how identities matter and in what way they work to set the boundaries of political actions is still a work-in-progress. In constructing national identities, this process of 'remembering-while-forgetting' is crucial for translating and resignifying meanings to a vocabulary that is intelligible to all citizens. In this exercise of abolition of the "clear chronological divisions", and of the establishment of "temporality regimes that throw the past and the foundational moments to the area of the myth" (SCHWARCZ, 2008, p.12), the naturalizing concatenation of the historical past of each subnational communities, groups, and classes is useful to create a certain sense of homogeneity; that is, to erect a common base on which feelings of belonging are based. Defying criteria of diachrony and synchrony in the historical course, identity is, in each generation, reworked in the submission of memory to narrative constructions (ANDERSON, 2008). If more than imagined, nations are invented, they also need to be felt so that an emotional legitimacy that goes beyond the political-territorial legitimacy is established. In these *quasi*-relations of kinship between the individual and the community, the ideational factors and the identity language that convey them are important precisely because of their nature of timeless transversality among past, present, and future.

According to Anderson (2008), for instance, the Declaration of Independence of the United States itself - a document narrated by the Americanist historiography as the synthesis of the American nationalism - does not give independence a justification that emphasizes the American people, or that brings any reference to the existence of an American nation[1]. Also, regarding another historical moment, there is, in the interpretation of the facts about the American history, an "enormous didactic industry [that] works incessantly to remember/forget the hostilities of 1861-65 as a great 'civil' war between 'siblings', instead of (as they had been for a short time) two sovereign

[1] The United States declaration of Independence only defines objectively the political-administrative separation of the colonial territory from its metropolis at that time and, therefore, according to Anderson (2008), it cannot be, a priori, seen as constructor of the idea of a nation. The sensation of national belonging throughout this process and later processes takes place through narratives that take them to the level of founding myths and create, in the individual consciences, subjective links of connection to a common historical past.

national states" (ANDERSON, 2008, p. 274), so that the element of rupture present in the American Civil War is not highlighted and, therefore, the idea of a national whole could be advanced. The examples of this kind of *guided anamnesis* for the elaboration of a national scene are diverse, not only in didactic texts but also in literature, for example. Besides the processes of forgetfulness, the national identities are also constructed by processes of memories and reaffirmation. From this warp of objective and subjective layers, any evaluation of US foreign policy that does not consider its identity as a constituent factor of the way the United States sees itself in the world and relates to it is made incomplete.

A brief overview of IR theoretical approaches reveals to us the presence of some axes of dichotomizations. The agent-structure is one that pervades the whole IR theoretical composition, and, because of its importance, theories' ontological claims will usually contribute to informing their epistemological assumptions. In the idealism-realist inception debate of IR, despite realism commitment to "structural rather than agentic theorizing, like all structural theories they (…) presuppose some theory of what is being structured, human or organizational agents, and of their relationship to social structures" (WENDT, 1987, p. 337), both theories essentialize human agents characteristics as they fix psychological assumptions of individuals: while idealists focused on the liberal nature of individuals, making the case that as humans could be improved and their goodness could be brought out, so the international relations could follow the same path, realists stressed the evil and selfish nature of individuals justifying their perspective of the also selfish behavior of international politics.

The neo-neo debate in IR then changed qualitatively the assumptions on the structure formation. Although still in an individualist register, the new debate moved from the determinism of a generalized human condition, and a subjective characteristic, to a determinism assented in a material, and objective, systemic structure. If realism and idealism were reducible to psychological fixed properties of individuals, treating the state as almost the embodiment of human characteristics, the neo-neo debate, especially the neorealist branch, put aside the 'humanization' of states and understood the international system as reducible to material properties of states in the distribution of capabilities[2]. Apart from the conceptualization of states interests, the neo-neo debate

[2] On the structural component of neorealism, see WALTZ, Kenneth (1979) in Theory of International Politics KEOHANE, Robert (1983) in Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond. On the critique of neorealism structuralism, see ASHLEY, Richard (1984) in The Poverty of Neorealism.

explored little the social structures within the state realm, mainly because they were not causally significant to explain the international system. And because of this characteristic, the neo-neo debate has little contribution to advance the theorization on identity. In the spectrum of more structure- than agent-oriented explanations of the social world, the works on ideology produce interest, although incomplete, insights to understand identity.

Despite its different intellectual foundations, the works on ideology and political actions reintroduced the ideational component to IR theorization without essentializing the individual's human characteristics[3]. The use of ideology was established and appropriated by some IR works (HUNT, 1987; ADLER, 1987; BALIBAR, 1990; HOWARD, 1989; CARLTON, 1990; MACLEAN, 1988; BANNING, 1986). In Adler's work, he justifies his use of ideology affirming that "ideas and ideology, which are specific types of ideas, do matter" as "they are real and causally relevant because they have real consequences" (1987, p.10). Evaluating Brazil and Argentina's path in overcoming technological dependency, he uses the concept of 'ideology' in its "weak meaning" (BOBBIO, 1998, p.595), that is, as a system of ideas and values that orients political action. Although ideology in this sense could be thought to work interchangeably with identity[4], by removing ideology from its structural component and focusing majorly on agents' ideologically cognitive formation (and adaptive and nonadaptive behavior), Adler does not account for unobservable effects of ideology and presupposes that agents are consciously driven by it in their actions. Even though the concept of ideology is usually appropriated by structuralist theories, Adler in this agent-structure debate tilts the scale to a more agent-oriented explanation. Ideology in this loose sense - or at least without the dense Marxist theoretical discussions that usually follows it - is also sometimes conflated with the notion of nationalism. Identity, ideology, and nationalism surely have points of intersection in their common usage to understand the relationship between ideas and political practices; nonetheless, they have nuances of their own. While nationalism can be interpreted as one form of ideological thinking and practice, and one possible way of expressing

[3] Or, at least, without essentializing individual's human characteristics in the same way as realism and idealism. Humans are not necessarily bad or good, but driven by the capitalism economic logic which compels them to exert one class domination over another. If through socialism a society can achieve communism and put to rest capitalism social hierarchy and the subjugation of the proletariat, then what drives domination is the economic structure and not necessarily individual's innate characteristics.

[4] See Hunt (1987) in Ideology and US Foreign Policy. He often even uses the word identity with similar meaning he conveys on ideology. Nonetheless, he interprets ideology as a set of ideas and values that inform foreign policy in a specific moment's history. Ideology, then, in Hunt, is not as encompassing as the sense of identity I want to explore in this thesis. His example on Kenan's and Williams' use of ideology is representative of this interpretation.

a country's identity, identity might encompass one or many political ideologies but is not substituted by them.

In this debate on ideology in a broad sense, the term 'ideology' sometimes carries with it a dogmatic and even prejudiced meaning, as something deleterious necessarily used by a ruling class to exert domination over the lower class. Plus, depending on how the concept of ideology is appropriated, it might lack the same relational nature as the one conferred to identity (for instance, ideology might not involve so much a meaning of differentiation between the 'self' and the 'other'). It thus renders fragmented the evaluation of the social fabric and tilts our analysis to perceive identity as formed in one segment of society (and then imposed over the other segments) rather than something that is in some extent socially shared by every member of a given society.

Also, the word 'ideology' is sometimes used to denote a skeptical evaluation of other's ideas and opinions, as a conscious disguise of one's intentions and calculated action to lure someone else into deception[5]. If translated to 'identity', this common-sense notion of ideology would bring some problems to an identity-driven analysis. Like ideology, identity would be regarded as a cloak of real intentions. So when presidents, congress representatives and politicians, in general, were to justify certain actions on identity grounds - or invoking identity's ideas - they might be perceived as using a rhetorical move to dupe his/her audience. This generates two major concerns: the dichotomization between language and practice and the quest for intentionality. Even if one actor does not mean what he says, regarding identity with this ideology connotation downsizes the importance of language because either language has no role to play in evaluating one's actions since what matters is the pre-linguistic subjective interests that are not verbally shared, or language has merely a subsidiary role, the role to conceive one's real motives. Still, even when refraining to separate language and practice, and acknowledging that regardless of intentions language has an active role to play, there is in this identity-ideology notion the underlying

[5] Kennan's use of ideology in his book American Diplomacy reflects, in some extent, the use of ideology as a deleterious trace in decision-making. By comparing US Foreign Policy and the "Sources of Soviet Conduct", he affirms the "soviet power as we know today is the product of ideology and circumstances" (1951, p. 76). The US Foreign Policy, however, might have been naïve, inconsistent, or mistaken but not ideological or, in other words, it did not suffer from the distorting effects of ideology in its decision-making process. In fact, Kennan was part of the Cold War Liberals which advanced the notion of an "end of ideology", a notion further explored in the 1979 Drittberner's book The end of Ideology and America Social Thought. This debate was popular in the US during the 1950s, gathering important social scientists, as the ones associated with the Congress for Cultural Freedom like Daniel Bell, Seymour Martin Lipset and Edward Shils. In general, they tried to popularize the idea that ideology was detrimental to modern societies.

assumption of purposeful action - as if one always consciously instrumentalize identity's ideas in order to achieve an outcome. The intentionality behind invoking identity's ideas is an open question, for one actor might use them consciously or unconsciously. However, most uses of ideology either places it as a conscious belief system used by a group to achieve an outcome or places it in the realm of an unconscious shared understanding that exerts some obscure force.

To use ideology in its "strong meaning" (BOBBIO, 1998, p. 595) with all its supportive (neo)Marxist theoretical body of knowledge is also not enough to understand identity within the analytical purposes of this thesis. Despite Marxism long-lasting contributions to the social sciences - mainly its holistic orientation in evaluating social phenomena and the dialectical proposition of the relationship between collective agents and their social world -, its emphasis on the primacy of the economic sphere and the later developments of this primacy led Marxism to some reductionisms that impaired its holistic proposition (MOUZELIS, 1980, p.173)

In Marxist thought, as in the German Ideology (1998), a country's identity can be understood to follow the ideological conformation of the ruling class, since it not only detains the material means of production but also controls the production and reproduction of ideas[6]. In this effort to express its own ideas and interest as the communal ideas and interest, the ruling class is the one with capacity to construct the sense of a national identity. However, the ruling class is not forever the same and as it changes, its ideas and interests might also change. In this sense, if identity and ideology are given the same status, we can only understand a country's identity within the grasps of a specific historical time and within the specific control of one ruling class. Identity then is only a snapshot of a country's whole existence. And even though the contingent aspect of identity is crucial not to fall into the trap of objectifying it as an immutable structure, the US identity - and even all identities - has a degree of stability and continuity even within moments of change. Maybe the effort to evaluate how in the passage of one ruling class to another a core of ideas is perpetuated

[6] Other Marxist works instead of reducing the reproduction of ideas in the practices of a dominant class, constant lobbying for its interests, place this same reproduction in the creation by this class of an institutional state framework which in itself, regardless of from what social strata its personnel might be, will promote policies that safeguard the bourgeoisie's interests. In this agent-structure relationship, rather than posing the agent as the one who feeds the process of reproducing and reaffirming one ideology, the analysis tilts the scale to a structural explanation, in which the causal effects of ideology is perceived through institutional conformations and not by agents' practices per se. In this set up, if we use ideology and identity interchangeably, identity's effects in foreign policy practices would be perceived as the feature of an institutional arrangement, like in the properties of a day-to-day management done by all powerful agencies as the Pentagon and the CIA or state's bureaucracies as the White House and Congress. And although institutions do have a role to play in reproducing a country's identity, the structure-driven institutional explanation is only half explanation, posing agents as mere puppets in this process.

might be one interesting analysis for someone that is interested in cutting through the layers of society, rather than regarding identity as an encompassing sense of belonging regardless of class divisions, but this is not the objective of this thesis. And by this I don't mean to dismiss the notion that identity might be understood as a form of control done by an elite or a ruling class[7] by means of symbolic and material power, nor to regard the state as a unitary entity with no divergencies whatsoever even in matters of what country's nationals understand by their identity; or putting it bluntly, of what Americans understand of American identity. Besides, Marxist approach suffered from appropriations that presented the social relations in two extremes: either an ultra-voluntarism that "sees social classes as omnipotent and omniscient anthropomorphic entities" or "by emphasizing systemic-structural constraints to the extent of portraying agents as mere puppets of economic, political, and ideological structures" (MOUZELIS, 1980, p.173).

Back to Marx, the disadvantage of using ideology is not only due to a temporal specificity of its meaning. The proposition that exists a "real" reality from and towards which ideology is constructed and the agent-structure balance on where to locate the analysis, depending on how one further develops the theory to his/her purposes, are also important issues. In Brief terms of Marxist theory, the superstructure, formed by issues related to morality, law, the political system and etc, is subordinated to a base composed of the material conditions that inform the modes of production. To describe the link between the base and the superstructure, Marx brings the concept of ideology as the notion that helps to explain the connections between intellectual understandings and behaves. In this theoretical setup, ideology works through the reproduction of a false consciousness; that is, in simple terms, the reproduction of an 'image' of the real world. What first counts to derive the explanation is the material reality and ideology, as with the metaphor of the camera obscura used by Marx, is only a distorted reflection of this reality in the minds of a group's individuals. In this sense, using the Marxist concept of ideology would bring to identity a component of confrontation between the mental extrapolations of the mind and the external reality (MARX, 1998; CASSELS, 1996). And for the purposes of this thesis, the question whether identity has a correlation with reality or is a mere distortion or simplification of it is not an interesting question. For instance, it

[7] Some researches (ZEHFUSS, 2001) have criticized Wendt's work on the grounds that the relationship he proposes among identities, interests and forms or anarchy is one that, in some ways, take states and their identities as given. In my effort to problematize the domestic realm, some might criticize that the option to not focus on classes or different internal groups might produce an analysis that homogenize the internal differences in interpretations over US identity. However, when one assumes the possibility of identifying a 'national' identity, this inevitably proposes a minimum common ground that harmonizes domestic divergences.

does not matter if the US identity as a democratic nation clashes with some events, e.g. the use of slave labor, in US history; what matters is how discursive practices built democracy as an important element of US identity.

In this debate over the material foundations of ideology, one possible critique to a work that derives identity from ideology is the role of history. As reality lies outside ideology, being it only an image of this same reality, so history also resides primarily in the material world and not in its ideological conformation. In other words, ideology is informed by history but has not a history of its own (ALTHUSSER, 2014). Even if identity is a distortion or a simplification of reality, when evaluated from the discursive practices that produced this same distortions and simplifications they become part of this supposed 'reality', thus negating the distinction between external and internal worlds. Plus, by following discursive practices and the use of, in this case, US identity's core ideas, from this moment forward called identity's anchor points, a nomenclature I shall explore further in the next chapter, history is brought back to the analysis as an important component. The genealogy of US identity's anchor points presented in this chapter is an attempt to take history seriously as it presents a brief historical overview of them. In the agent-structure debate in Marxism and Marxist-oriented theories, regardless of the relative importance on more agent- or structure-driven explanation and of the kinds of properties in agents or structures that are understood as causally relevant, the material component has an important role to play, especially in economicist approaches. Nonetheless, class practices are informed by other components than the material and economic ones.

For all the pros and cons of an ideology-identity approach, the option for the term identity without the ideology connotation is based on the understanding that it best accommodates our purposes of analysis, as identity, as previously mentioned, is necessarily relational and constitutive. Thus, identity confers a meaning of transversality throughout the entire social fabric, regardless of classes, as it defines a common base of identity traces existing in a community, even if the interpretations and uses of these identity traces vary. Besides, it is not only a matter of meaning but also a matter of theoretical adequation to this thesis purposes. The three main critiques to works on ideology and political practices - temporality, the importance of a material reality and the explanations that find either the agent or the structure the causal significant part for the analysis. As a last remark, I do not intend to underestimate the importance of ideology-driven explanations

and descriptions of social arrangements; however, in this analysis, it would conceal more than it would clarify on the ideational components of US identity.

The works on ideology have an intersection with belief systems approach since writers of the latter sometimes blur the lines and overlap belief systems with ideology. One of the first works to explore this debate was developed by Kenneth Boulding in 1956, who proposed the concept of 'the image'. The argument behind the concept of 'the image' is that individuals have an image of the world through which they read exterior information (or messages, in Boulding's words) and, therefore, "behavior depends on the image" (1956, p.6). This same image is determined "as a result of all past experience of the possessor of the image" (1956, p.6), so "part of the image is the history of the image itself" (1956, p.6), and according to how in the interactions between the individual and the world, these messages reach one's image. This approach presents two interesting contributions to its intersection with IR: its consideration of the material world and the relation between language and the image construction. While Boulding advances a perspective that privileges perception over materiality, affirming "that are no such things as 'facts' (…) there are only messages filtered through a changeable value system" (1956, p.14), he also places discourse as a way to make human image public and develop common images. So even in a still positivist[8] understanding of the connections between ideas, values, and practices, Boulding's work helped to bring emphasis to the perceptions of those individuals responsible for political decisions and to the social aspect of language in constructing and sharing those same perceptions. Boulding's theoretical apparatus was, therefore, largely used by researches with interest in the cases of international conflict (SMITH, 1988). The concept behind 'the image' was then used, for instance, to evaluate the US-Soviet Union relations, developing one argument that existed between them a powerful mirror image (BRONFENBRENNER, 1961) specially between Khrushchev and Kennedy, through which both leaders perceived each other in a similar fashion, thus explaining the endurance of the conflict.

[8] Although Boulding has a fairly non-positivistic (non-empiricist) evaluation of the interactions between messages and the image, not posing the existence of a real external world from which one's image might be accurate or not, he inserts himself in this debate as he tries to develop a "really adequate theory of behavior" (1956, p.18), thus privileging a general theory that could be applied to any case than one informed by the contingent aspects of the subject-object interaction. Still, other appropriations of this theory, as the works of Bronfenbrenner, enhanced the positivist aspect of the theory and its concept of the image, affirming that the US-USSR images of each other were based on a distortion of reality, thus presenting 'the image' as something that could be interpreted in confrontation with an external reality.

Another approach, the concept of belief systems, was later developed by Ole Holsti. This theoretic model accounted that "the relationship between 'belief system', perceptions, and decision-making is a vital one" because "a decision-maker acts upon his 'image' of the situation rather than upon 'objective' reality, and it has been demonstrated that the belief system - its structure as well as its content - plays an integral role in the cognitive process (HOLSTI, 1962, p.244). Following the works on 'the image' and on 'belief systems' a third approach combined these two theoretical insights into the concept of operational code. Briefly, it advocated that through evidence, the analyst could infer the beliefs of an individual or a group and then set up a picture of its perspective of the world. The work of Alexander George on operational codes and political leaders' decision-making divides the code into two elements: the instrumental beliefs and the philosophical beliefs. While the instrumental beliefs encompass those that allows an actor to achieve its goals, the philosophical ones are related to the general assumptions one makes of the world.

Besides the two main theories of the first IR theoretical debate which part from the assumption of a determined human nature, these approaches tried to operationalize the link between actions and beliefs. The already mentioned work done by Holsti (1962; 1967), and later by Holsti and Rosenau (1986), had the objective of empirically investigate the content of a leader's belief system and to show how it can affect this same leader's decisions. Using the case of the beliefs of US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Holsti went through all Dulles' available public statements, newspapers, memoirs written by people that worked with him and questionnaires sent to his closest associates to establish the connection between the Secretary's beliefs and US foreign policy towards the Soviet Union. In Holsti's model, the belief system "has a dual connection with decision-making. The direct relationship is found in that aspect of the belief system which tells us 'what ought to be', acting as a direct guide in the establishment of goals" and, in this sense, "the indirect link (…) arises from the tendency of the individual to assimilate new perceptions to familiar ones, and to distort what is seen in such a way as to minimize the clash with previous expectations" (HOLSTI, 1962, p.245). In schematic terms, Holsti model of belief systems is presented as the following:

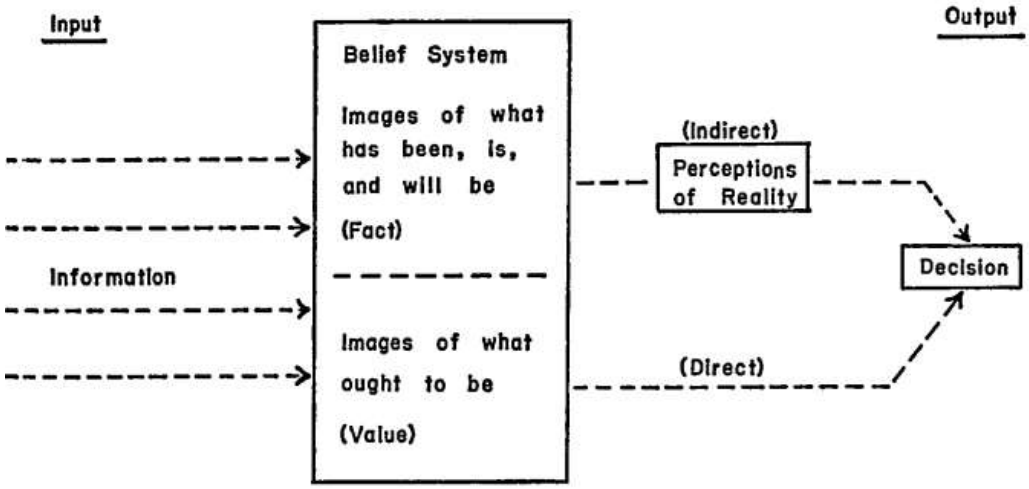

FIG. 1. The dual relationship between belief system and decision-making.

The adequacy problems of Holsti's approach to the evaluation of identity can be to some extent generalized to the whole evaluation of identity through the cognitive research-IR intersection. First, even though perceptions are taken into consideration, Holsti does not question how those 'images' and, therefore, the belief system, is constructed. Even if it is almost impossible to find the inception moment when one's belief system is created, the belief system and its images are presented as a pre-given stable feature, through which information is filtered, evaluated, and a decision is achieved. Besides the one-sided character of this interaction between the individual and the world, Holsti's belief system presupposes that all information will be translated in purposeful actions; even if information will be translated into behavior, this is no guarantee that all behavior will be the outcome of a rational decision. When it comes to using this model to evaluate international politics, the "relationship of national images to international conflict is clear: decision-makers act upon their definition of the situation and their images of the states - others as well as their own" and "these images are in turn dependent upon the decision maker's belief system, and these may or may not be accurate representations of 'reality'. Thus it has been suggested that international conflict frequently is not between states, but rather between distorted images of states" (WRIGHT, 1957, p. 266 apud HOLSTI, 1962, p. 244). Despite the consideration of perceptions to explain international conflict although and their importance so the approach can account for unobservables to IR analysis, those perceptions are usually presented in confrontation with the existence of a material reality.

In general, the presented IR approaches that bring insights from psychology end up leaving little room for agent's cognitive change. Works that try to infer some general law and ways of establishing predictability falls into the trap of presenting one's mental dispositions as a stable, sometimes fixed, characteristic of the self. With this understanding of beliefs, those models infer that "any actor with a similar preference structure placed in the same situation would inevitably have made the same choice" and although "individual agents might be preserved (…) agency is sacrificed" (JACKSON, 2006, p. 6). By doing this the social component in a belief systems formation and functioning is almost reduced to zero, and the individual detached from society as he/she basically reacts to it according to his/her cognitive setup, but is seldom affected by it. From the point of view of the agents under investigation, they are "less active producers of their situation than passive consumers of it", while from the perspective of the researcher, there is no room for a creative interpretation but merely an accurate reproduction of it (JACKSON, 2006, p. 6). To advocate for a kind of stability, however, is not necessarily the problem, as patterns of practices are usually identifiable in international politics. One overall critique to this approach is that it does not further develop the sources of this stability or either locate this same source of stability in the internal dispositions of an individual cognitive formation. In this division of one's personal world to the exterior world, the subjectivism-objectivism dichotomy remains.

> The starting point here is properly based upon a problem, located in the area generally of 'internal' mental states (beliefs, predispositions, intentions and so on), a notoriously difficult set to unpack, especially in respect to their causal relationship to behavior. This view, then, examines belief systems as a fundamental human, and logically necessary, precondition for behavior in general, including ideological behavior. The supposition was that belief systems could stand as an independent variable in relation to any given ideologically-based behavior dependent upon it, although the content of both would be specific, as held and practiced. (…) [In these approaches], mental states must be constructed as essentially internal to the individual, and therefore subjective, with behavior located essentially in the public domain, and therefore objective. The validation of this method, then, is necessarily a function of reality testing, that is, beliefs may be assigned true or false value (…) which is not itself dependent upon beliefs (MACLEAN, 1988, p. 71-72)

Comparing the possible ways to understand the relation between ideas and political practices, both approaches - the one on ideology and other on belief systems - falls into two axes of reductionisms. Their analysis places the causal explanations on either agent- or structure-primacy and emphasizes material versus ideational components. The attempt to overcome the objectivism versus subjectivism debate in de social sciences influenced later the post-positivist debate in IR. As Bourdieu affirmed in his book The Logic of Practice, "the very fact that this

division constantly reappears in virtually the same form would suffice to indicate that the modes of knowledge which it distinguishes are equally indispensable to a science of the social world that cannot be reduced either to a social phenomenology or to a social physics" (1992, p.26). While this dichotomy is deleterious to the whole IR debate, its reflections on the study of identity seem to be more pronounced. First, identity is something that resides in a relation - a relationship with a place, with past and present events, with others, etc. Even if we approach the identity from a psychological point of view, one's identity is not constructed merely based in her/his relations with her/himself, but also in her/his relations and perceptions with the 'external' environment and the influence this 'external' world exerts on oneself. Though the intersection between IR and psychology and the works on ideology produced some interesting insights, they are not enough for the purposes of this thesis.

If approaches that tilts the scale to either the agent or the structure are not sufficient to account for an interpretation on US identity and its foreign policy practices, this thesis will recur to Bourdieu's structuration theory conceptualizations of habitus, field, capital, and doxa. Chapter one will discuss the applicability of Bourdieu's concepts to develop an interpretation of identity's constitutive and causal effects on political practices and this theoretical appreciation will be followed by an attempt to establish an analytical typology that aims at producing a step by step tool to go from identity's general anchor points to their evaluation in empirical cases. Plus, in chapter one, I will be presented a brief genealogy of what I selected as the most important, at least the most important to the foreign policy field, US identity's anchor points.

The following chapters will focus on the empirical evaluation of how the mobilization of identity's anchor points shaped the foreign policy debate in a way that precluded certain options and paved the way for the US interventions abroad. The chapters organization will not follow a chronological order, though. Despite the general intention of this thesis to develop a bigger picture of the US foreign policy debate after the Cold War, another objective is to evaluate how identity's dispositions were able to ground or fix identity in moments which the US international status was questioned, hence transporting the US from ontological insecurity back to ontological security. Regardless of the foreign policy explanatory key to characterize US participation abroad - isolationism *versus* internationalism; unilateralism *versus* multilateralism; exemplarism *versus* vindicationalism - or how it is perceived by the American public - the leader; the hegemon; the (benevolent, indispensable, among others) superpower -, there is a minimum national consensus of

who the United States is. And in this national consensus, the US is always exceptional. No matter what connotations or in what set of combinations the anchor points are presented to justify action or inaction abroad, they always develop the notion of America as an exceptional nation.

The American exceptionalism is then important to understand the ossified truth in American identity of the US as 'the' most important actor in the international environment. And because of its importance, it is also perceived as the source and the guarantor of international order. So in moments of international disorder or at least in moments when other actors contest the present international order, the exceptionalist pillar of US identity navigate on shaky grounds thus running the risk of breaking down. In those moments the answer to the question "who is the United States" does not seem so obvious anymore. To maintain a favorable status quo, the US needs to teach others and re-learn itself of its relevance, and frame the international environment in these lines. The processes of teaching, learning, and framing are not a mere consequence of interests[9] but are first manifestations of the power politics of identity and they might be conducted through language or communicative power, and through physical violence. In the foreign policy field, especially due to its close relationship to both international and domestic environments, both forms identity's power politics are deployed. While language in the discursive practices that deploy identity's anchor points is a form of identity's power politics used in both national (debates in Congress, presidential speeches, etc) and international (diplomacy) environments, physical violence is used in the international one. Following this discussion, if identity constructs shared understandings, expectations, and behaviors, the ontological security - security as being and not merely security as survival (MCSWEENEY, 1999) - is the possibility of a stable relationship between one's identity and the external environment. Therefore, besides proposing one possible analytical model to evaluate an identity-in-play through discursive practices, this thesis has also the objective to evaluate the representational force of identity as a source of national order and propose a gradient, from moments from less to more ontological insecurity, through which one can visualize identity's anchor points capacity to ground identity and put it back in place. In this sense, the organization of the empirical chapter will not follow a chronological order, instead they will be presented in the following manner: Kosovo intervention of 1998/1999, The Gulf War of 1991, the intervention in

[9] For a thorough discussion over the difference between a source or order and a contributing factor for a given order, see Bially-Mattern (2005).

Iraq in 2003 and the intervention in Afghanistan in 2001. The chapter on Kosovo will focus on how the intervention was constructed nationally in a sense of US responsibility towards Europe in the post-Cold War conflict years and how this responsibility was intrinsic to US international role. The chapter on the Gulf War will focus on how the narrative towards the intervention has gained new contours to a more existential discourse. The chapters on Iraq and Afghanistan will show a 'line in the sand' between the narratives before and after 9/11. Although all narratives have an ontological security component, the narratives about the interventions in Iraq and in Afghanistan escalate this component to different and more extreme levels.

7 CONCLUSION

> I mean by plastic power the capacity to develop out of oneself in one's own way, to transform and incorporate into oneself what is past and foreign, to heal wounds, to replace what has been lost, to recreate broken moulds. There are people who possess so little of this power that they can perish from a single experience, from a single painful event, often and especially from a single subtle piece of injustice, like a man bleeding to death from a scratch (Nietzsche - Untimely Meditations)

> They pretended, perhaps they even believed, that they had seized power unwillingly and for a limited time, and that just around the corner there lay a paradise where human beings would be free and equal. (…) We know that no one ever seizes power with the intention of relinquishing it. Power is not a means; it is an end. One does not establish a dictatorship in order to safeguard a revolution; one makes the revolution in order to establish the dictatorship. The object of persecution is persecution. The object of torture is torture. The object of power is power. Now you begin to understand me (George Orwell - 1984)

As a general framework, the overall objective of this thesis is to propose a model to evaluate how identities' dispositions can be deployed in political contexts, here specifically in foreign policy decision making processes. Once the fundamental anchor points of any identity are identified, the researcher can proceed with their genealogical account; in other words, bringing Bourdieu's vocabulary, the researcher can present what is the latitude of these anchor points within the national field. In this sense, after exposing the doxic relations present in the national level of analysis, that is, the national common sense assented in the fundamental presuppositions that comes from the immediate adherence between habitus and the field to which it is attuned, one can locate what is the range in meaning of those anchor points. From this moment on, and throughout a specific decision making process, one can follow the selected anchor points in the discursive practices that bring them from these widest connotations to specific operationalized meanings. In this process of narrowing down the anchor point's understanding, one can picture how identity ideational components are deployed to legitimate one political option rather another. In the first chapter, the intention was to present the anchor points of "equality", "liberty/freedom", "individualism", and "democracy" in what lies in their margins of constructed shared understanding for the American perception of itself in the world. In the chapters dedicated to the empirical cases, the intention was to develop step two, the specification step, and step three, the operationalization step, of the identity-in-play model to evaluate how identity's anchor points were deployed within the foreign policy subfield.

Although this selection can be disputed, as to remove or include other possible anchor points, what is undisputed is their importance in the domestic discursive practices the constructs a sense of 'what is the United States', and that is exactly why they were denominated 'anchor points'. As exposed before, the objective was to locate the most central set of ideas that can bring narratives to a 'homological' (homogeneous, though diverse) ground and hook US identity back to a familiar place, thus discursively sustaining it, reinforcing, evolving, emerging or fixing it when it's breaking down. By recurring to Bourdieu's sociological contribution, and his notions of habitus, field, capital and doxa, this thesis tried to interpret how articulations of identity occur and, therefore, what identity does without falling into the trap of some works that try to understand the intersection of ideational components and political decisions either pending to structure-driven or agent-driven explanations. The expression '*causality-in-constitution'* is an attempt to, first, not split language as merely constitutive or causal, and second to propose that each articulation of US identity's anchor points (re)produce a contingent perception of reality and, hence, create the adequate conditions, or the sufficient claims, to bring about an outcome.

With this framework in mind, in each case study chapter I presented a historical account of each conflict, the US domestic narratives that were built around what was the best course of action to deal with the situation, and, more importantly, I tried to explore the anchor points' articulations that were established to legitimate a foreign policy decision. In all cases, the narratives permeated the dual key of against and pro-intervention constructions and in each the articulations of US anchor points have nuances of their own. In the Kosovo case, while the pro-intervention representatives presented the US as a European power and tried to legitimate the US engagement in Kosovo with the notion that, if the crisis was not addressed, the ultimate victim of Milosevic's actions would be the values of democracy and freedom/liberty, the same values the US stands for, the contra-intervention narrative placed the conflict as a civil war and, then, deployed the anchor points of democracy and freedom/liberty as the very values the US would be damaging if it arrogantly meddled in other country's internal affairs. Jumping back to the immediate years after the Cold War, the Gulf war conflict also brought up the question whether the US should militarily engage itself or not. The pro-narrative constructions specified the anchor points of liberty, democracy and justice as a feature of the civilizational conformation after the fall of communism, regardless if some countries were not yet democracies. In this sense, the US was responsible, if it wanted to keep this international environment and its hegemony in it, to build a new world order

based on these same values. The contra-narrative, on the other hand, did not pose the debate in civilizational terms. The US should engage itself in places that shared, or that could potentially share (like the former-USSR countries) the values of liberty/freedom, democracy and justice.

The two other cases have an interesting component. They both share the post-9/11 context. If before 9/11 the pro-intervention narratives were victorious in an environment of great dissent and discussion, the narratives on the Afghanistan and Iraq interventions had little room for opposition. To use the knowledge from a popular saying, 'if all you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail'. In the Afghan case, it is interesting to note that the spanning set of both narratives are almost the same, with the only difference that, by divergent interpretations on the anchor point of 'justice', they conclude different courses of action within similar ways of deploying the anchor points of democracy and liberty/freedom. To both narratives, the antidote against terrorism was the spread of Western liberal values and the construction of societies based on the notions of democracy, liberty/freedom and equality. On the one hand, the pro-intervention narrative shapes the anchor point of justice almost within a connotation of revenge or, at least, within a connotation of acting in the same manner as the terrorists did. Hence, if 9/11 was an act of war, the US should bring the war on terror to the terrorists and to the countries that harbor them. On the other hand, the contra-intervention narrative, even though concurred that the aggression on 9/11 might be understood within war frame of mind, waging war on Afghanistan might be of no use. Military force would be well engaged in specific strikes to apprehend the ones responsible for planning 9/11, so the US and the international community could be able to prosecute them. Understanding justice within a 'rule of law' meaning, follow the rule of law is what democracies do, as one Congress representative interestingly stated. To deal with terrorism in a broad sense and prevent further actions, other forms of US action, through the improvement of those countries development standards, were the best way to spread Western liberal values and address the terrorist threat.

The case study of Iraq is, perhaps, the most interesting as it aggravates the 9/11 narrative. The equinox narrative tries to set the debate without exacerbating the discursive constructions of the war on terror. It then presents the US as equally important as the other UN countries within the international system. The anchor point of justice, in this narrative with connotation of 'the rule of law' is what bonds the US to the international community and, by violating this value, the US would weaken the anchor points of democracy, freedom/liberty and equality (in the sense of one country equal among others). By putting at stake these values, the US would not only be a stranger

to itself, as its identity is grounded by these same anchor points, but it would also impair an international system based on Western liberal values that it helped constructing. The polestar narrative, in favor of the US intervention, exacerbates the exceptionalist trace of American identity and presents the US as completely detached from the international community, even though the representatives of this narrative does not perceive it that way. Despite presenting a concern with the international community, as this narrative deploys the anchor point of justice with a fairness and accuracy connotation and shapes the intervention as a course of action that could automatically create the right conditions for democracy, equality, and freedom/liberty, the central pillar of the polestar narrative is the deployment of 'freedom/liberty' in the sense of freedom from fear. As the US was in its right to act in order to create an environment that prevented it from fear, no country, and even the UN, had the authority to impede the US to intervene in Iraq. An international environment in which the US felt secure was, by extension, beneficial to everyone.

The cases were not presented in a chronological manner so a form of gradient could be better visualized. Besides the objective of evaluating identity's articulations and the outcomes it brought about, thus promoting a sense of 'the feel for the game' in US foreign policy decision-making process and an interpretation of the representational force of identity's vocabulary as a source of order to the US, this thesis had a second, underlying objective to evaluate the capacity of identity's anchor points as a means of going from moments of ontological insecurity back to ontological security. As one of US identity's feature is its preponderance and importance in the international system, the empirical chapters were organized from moments in which the US felt that its ontological security was less threatened to moments when American ontological security was felt so threatened to the point in which physical and ontological securities overlapped. The winning narratives were not only the ones which best 'talked identity' and could lock the meaning over a specific course of action, but also the ones that proposed recuperate a sense of security. The gradient would be the following:

In Kosovo, the US ontological insecurity was connected to the possibility of a disturbance in Europe's stability and, therefore, in the whole idea of a stable international order. In the Gulf war intervention, to the possibility of an instability in the international order, the US ontological insecurity also derivates from the fear of a potential defiant of US hegemony after the Cold War. In Afghanistan, plus the insecurity from a destabilization of the international order and from any agent that could question US hegemony, the 9/11 attacks generated in the US the fear of US/Western integrity. In Iraq, the most extreme case, there is a disjuncture from the winning narrative and US identity's anchor points as the US also feared losing its place as the stronghold of Western liberal values. Although it tries to recuperate a sense of security, the narrative construction that puts at stake the very foundational anchor points of US identity plus its outcomes, as the use of torture and all the legal justifications around it, that were only possible because of this produced a detachment between US actions and US identity and US identity and the international environment, thus perpetuating the sense of ontological insecurity.

The grand motto of this thesis, 'war is peace', in only true in some extent and in some cases. As the US built its identity around the notion of the most important nation and, therefore, exports its perception of ontological security to the maintenance of a specific international configuration, every situation that put US identity on shaky grounds and is narrated as potentially disturbing of US place in the world needs to be addressed, usually by means of military power. However, the use of violence only is not enough to recreate a feeling of security. When the narrative constructions break with the core foundations of the country and question the anchors in which its identity is assented, the ontological insecurity remains. From Afghanistan to Iraq, and in some extent

nowadays with the questionable actions of the Trump administration, the US incapacity to heal the wounds of 9/11 can make it perish, as the quote from Nietzsche affirms, “from a single experience, from a single painful event, often and especially from a single subtle piece of injustice, like a man bleeding to death from a scratch”.

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