

The Neoconservatives and the United States Foreign policy towards the European Union after 9/11: An Assessment of the Group's Impact on Foreign Policy Making through a Quantitative and qualitative Analysis

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Abstract:

This article investigates the influence of the neoconservatives on the United States foreign policy towards the European Union after the 9/11 terrorist attacks through a quantitative and qualitative analysis. This study demonstrates the use of a mixed –method approach via the combination of discourse analysis and corpus linguistics and is carried out through a computer-assisted textual analysis and comparison of official documents issued by the George W. Bush administration after 9/11 and a number of neoconservative publications that were produced before September 11. The main finding of this study is that the similarities that exist between the official publications of the American administration and the neoconservative ones are significant. In fact, an important number of topics, key words and collocations are commonly used by both sides. The study therefore concludes that the neoconservatives constitute a highly influential interest group that did contribute in the making of the United States foreign policy towards the European Union after 9/11 in order to serve their vested interests.

Keywords: Neoconservatism, interest groups, post-9/11 US foreign policy, the Quantitative Analysis, qualitative Analysis, computer-assisted textual analysis.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The United States and Europe share a long history of alliance and partnership that became stronger and more effective in the early 1950s with the creation of the European Union in 1953. The United States position towards this newly founded supranational organization, however, was sometimes marked by instability and skepticism. In fact, The US has always faced a dilemma as it has to balance its realist concerns about maintaining a balance of power between separate EU and US entities, and its support for a united and federal Europe from a liberal internationalist perspective (Serfaty 66). Among the realist groups that contributed to the rise of distrust towards an integrated and powerful Europe were the Neoconservatives.

Neoconservatism is a very old ideology based on the belief that the world needs a guided democracy and a strong United States role in international affairs. The neoconservatives² also have a general distrust of the effectiveness and efficiency of international institutions America is involved in or associated with. The origins of neoconservatism are often traced to the early 1970s in America, but it is during the 1980s, that they had become more politically influential and were embraced by the Reagan campaign, which brought them into power in various governmental institutions (Merry 5). After the end of the Cold War, the group disappeared from the political scene, but emerged again after the 9/11 attacks.

September 11, 2001 was a pivotal in the history of the United States and the world. The attacks immediately put the US back on a war footing and it forced it to re-evaluate its foreign policy vis-a-vis the world and what its national interests were. The Immediate official American reaction was summed up in the Bush Doctrine and outline in the 2002 National Security Strategy. But the striking fact was that the Bush Doctrine had much in common with principles of the neoconservatives who have always advocated preemptive warfare and the use of military force to promote democracy.

Historically, there has been a great deal of confusion in the literature regarding the influence of the neoconservatives on the US foreign policy in general, and on transatlantic relations, in particular. Some scholars deny the influence of this interest group and claim that there is an exaggeration in the importance granted to its activism. On the

other hand, research has provided evidence for the implication of the neocons, as they are also called, in the foreign policy making process. In his article titled "US Attitudes Towards Europe: A Shift of Paradigms?" (2003), Timo Behr Explores the American attitudes towards Europe and the foreign policy revolution of the George W. Bush administration and refers to the neoconservative impact through highlighting the contribution of the neoconservative leader Robert Kagan in shaping political opinions during that period. Also significant was Justin Vaisse's article "Les néoconservateurs américains et l'Europe : sous le signe de Munich" (2004) where Vaisse Examines the American neoconservatives' vision of Europe and its implications for transatlantic relations. Patrick Chamorel's "Anti-Europeanism and Euroskepticism in the United States," (2006) is also another important contribution to the literature about the topic for provides an analysis of the sources and manifestations of anti-Europeanism and Euro-skepticism in the United States and draws attention to the neoconservative responsibility in nurturing such sentiments among Americans. Along the same lines, Sarwar Kashmeri analyzes of the state of American relations with the European Union after 9/11, and discusses the future of the trans-Atlantic alliance with a particular reference to the role of the neocons in the deterioration of this US /EU relations in his book, *America and Europe After 9/11 and Iraq: The Great Divide* (2008).

The present paper then comes clearly to back previous research in this field by bringing further evidence for the role that the neoconservatives played in influencing the foreign –policy decision making process towards the EU under the Bush administration after the 9/11 attacks. In order to investigate profoundly this influence a combination of a quantitative and qualitative study has been conducted through discourse analysis and corpus linguistics.

To be more precise, this study aims at answering the main question of "To what extent were the presidential speeches and decisions related to transatlantic relations influenced by the neoconservative ideas and agenda?" In order to answer this question four minor questions have been elaborated:

1- Are there any common topics between the presidential publications and the neoconservative ones?

2- Are there any common key words between the presidential discourse and the neocons discourse?

3- Do common key words have the same level of frequency in both documents?

4- Do common key words occur in the same or in different contexts in each set of documents?

2. Methods

This study demonstrates a combination of qualitative discourse analysis and quantitative corpus-linguistic analysis. The use of this mixed-methods approach is an attempt to investigate the influence of the neoconservatives on the United States' foreign policy towards the European Union after the September 11th events through a computer-assisted text analysis and comparison of the results. This approach has witnessed major changes due to the great technological developments that took place in the world and that led to the spread of computational methods of text analysis. Those methods have in fact significantly improved and simplified the qualitative and quantitative approaches to researching textual corpora and have opened new possibilities for analyzing large amounts of textual data using statistical methods (Jentsch et al. 89).

In order to carry out our computer-assisted discourse analysis, we have opted for "Voyant tools." Voyant Tools is an open-source, web-based application for performing text analysis. It is designed to support scholarly reading and interpretation of texts or corpus, particularly by scholars in the digital humanities, but also by students and the general public.

With Voyant Tools, users can:

- Upload and process their own text data, or analyze pre-existing text collections such as classic literature, historical documents, or social media feeds.
- Analyze their text data using a variety of tools, including word frequency analysis, concordance analysis, and trend analysis.
- Visualize their text data using interactive charts, graphs, and word clouds.

- Explore their text data using a user-friendly interface that allows for easy navigation and filtering of results (voyant –tools.org).

All in all, Voyant Tools uses computational techniques and methods such as text mining in order to help users uncover hidden patterns and relationships within a text. Text mining is among the most useful and efficient techniques that researchers and academics use in order to discover patterns and trends in large documents

According to the Encyclopedia of Data Base Systems, text mining, also known as text data mining or text analytics, is the process of transforming unstructured text into structured data for easy analysis. It involves using natural language processing (NLP) to allow machines to understand human language and process it automatically. Text mining is used to derive high-quality information from text data collections, such as websites, books, emails, reviews, and articles. The goal of text mining is to discover knowledge or information from text data, which is unstructured or semi-structured (Cai et al.).

Text mining comprises many subfields, including lexicometry, document classification, sentiment analysis, topic modeling, information extraction, and summarization. Lexicometry involves the analysis of the frequency and distribution of words and phrases in a corpus, the identification of patterns and trends, and the extraction of meaningful information from unstructured text data. Document classification involves categorizing documents into predefined categories based on their content. Sentiment analysis involves identifying and extracting subjective information from text data, such as opinions, attitudes, and emotions. Topic modeling involves identifying the underlying topics in a collection of documents. Information extraction involves identifying and extracting structured information from unstructured text data. Summarization involves generating a summary of a document or a collection of documents (Cai et al.).

Among the subfields of text mining, lexicometry, and topic modeling were two analysis methods that proved useful for the conduct of this study.

The present study then uses lexicometry which is defined as a subfield of text mining that focuses specifically on the quantitative analysis of lexical features, such as words and word usage, in corpora.

Lexicometric techniques involve the statistical analysis of word frequencies, word co-occurrences, collocations, and other lexical patterns. Lexicometry can be used to study vocabulary size, lexical diversity, semantic associations, and lexical variation across different genres, registers, or historical periods. Lexicometry also provides graphical representations that enable the investigation of written texts (novels, essays, legal texts, transcribed interviews, political discourses, scientific writings...) in terms of semantic classifications, factor analyses, similarity analyses, word clouds, lexical density, intertextual measures (Sholz 124-6).

The choice of lexicometry as an approach to conduct our study is based on the assumption that the relationship between word frequency and the content of a political document can be informative, as the frequency of certain words and phrases can reveal the priorities, values, and ideology of the author or the political entity represented in the document. In a campaign, for example, a speech or a political advertisement, the frequency of certain words or phrases may be used to emphasize a particular message or address a specific group. Furthermore, the frequency of certain terms or concepts can also reveal the ideology or worldview of the author or party. So, the frequency of words in a political document can provide insights into the priorities, values, and ideology of the author or party, and can be used to analyze their rhetoric and messaging (Simon et al. 74).

Topic Modeling is another subfield of text mining that is used to identify latent topics within a corpus of documents, cluster word groups and similar expressions, and detect word and phrase patterns within them (Rahman et al. 488).

In addition to exploring and analyzing corpora, Voyant Tools also helps in comparing to the use of Natural language Processing (NLP) and machine learning algorithms. Voyant Tools also performs an automated process called named entity recognition, which is currently using the Stanford Natural Language Processing library (voyant-tools.org). In fact, Voyant Tools was very useful for uncovering the embedded similarities between the official speeches and decisions of American President George W. Bush after the 9/11 events, and the neoconservatives' Articles, reports, and letters.

The study consists in comparing between two corpora in which the documents were carefully selected.

Corpus 2 : contains a number the American administration's policies and decisions issued after 9/11 during the George W. Bush's first mandate. The documents to be analyzed are the following:

- 1-Statement by the President in Address to the Nation. September 11, 2001 (<https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001>)
- 2-Public Law 107-40 107th Congress Joint Resolution. September 18, 2001 (<https://www.congress.gov/107/plaws/publ40/PLAW-107publ40.pdf>)
- 3- US Withdrawal from the ABM Treaty : President Bush's Remarks and US Diplomatic Notes. December 13th , 2001. (<http://Armscontrol.org/>)
- 4-President George W. Bush first State of the Union Address. January 29, 2002. (<https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/>)
- 5-The 2002 National Security Strategy. September 2002. (<https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2002/>)
- 6-George W. Bush Second State of the Union Address. January 28, 2003. (<https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/stateoftheunion/2003/>)
- 7-George W. Bush Third State of the Union Address. January 20, 2004. <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/stateoftheunion/2004/>

Corpus 4: contains a number of documents published by neoconservative politicians and pundits through think tanks after the end of the Cold War. They are:

- 1-The Defense planning: Guidance. EX 1994-1992 (4/16/92) February 18, 1992 (<https://www.aei.org/articles/the-emerging-american-imperium/>)
- 2-PNAC. Statement of Principles June 3, 1997. (<https://web.archive.org/web/20130112203305/http://www.newamericancentury.org/>)
- 3-"The Emerging American Imperium" By Irving Kristol August 18, 1997 (<https://www.aei.org/articles/the-emerging-american-imperium/>)

4-REBUILDING AMERICA'S DEFENSES. Strategy, Forces and Resources For a New Century. A Report of *The Project for the New American Century*. September 2000

([http://www.newamericancentury.org/](http://www.newamericancentury.org/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf)

RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf)

5-Letter to President Bush On the War on Terrorism. September 20, 2001

(<http://www.newamericancentury.org/Bushletter.htm>)

6-Letter to President Bush on the Defense Budget, January 23, 2003. (<http://www.newamericancentury.org/defense-20030123.htm>)

7- Letter to Congress on Increasing U.S. Ground Forces. January 28, 2005 (<http://www.newamericancentury.org/defense-20050128.htm>)

When introducing the two corpora into Voyant Tools at the same time, the application proceeds by analyzing and comparing both corpora. This comparison aims at unveiling the similarities between the two corpora. A quantitative analysis is carried out through the comparison of key words and high frequency terms. At the qualitative level of analysis, a comparison is conducted between the use of particular words in context in each corpus through the concordance tool, and also the comparison of collocates that appear in both corpora. Collocates are words that co-occur in a context with a frequency greater than chance. ("collocate" *Oxford Languages*).

3. Results

- Comparison of topics in corpus 2 and corpus 4

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Fig. 1 Comparison of major topics in corpus 2 and corpus 4 (A)

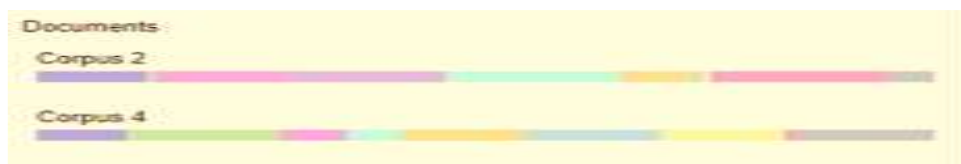


Fig. 2. Comparison of major topics in corpus 2 and 4 (B)

- Comparison of key and common words

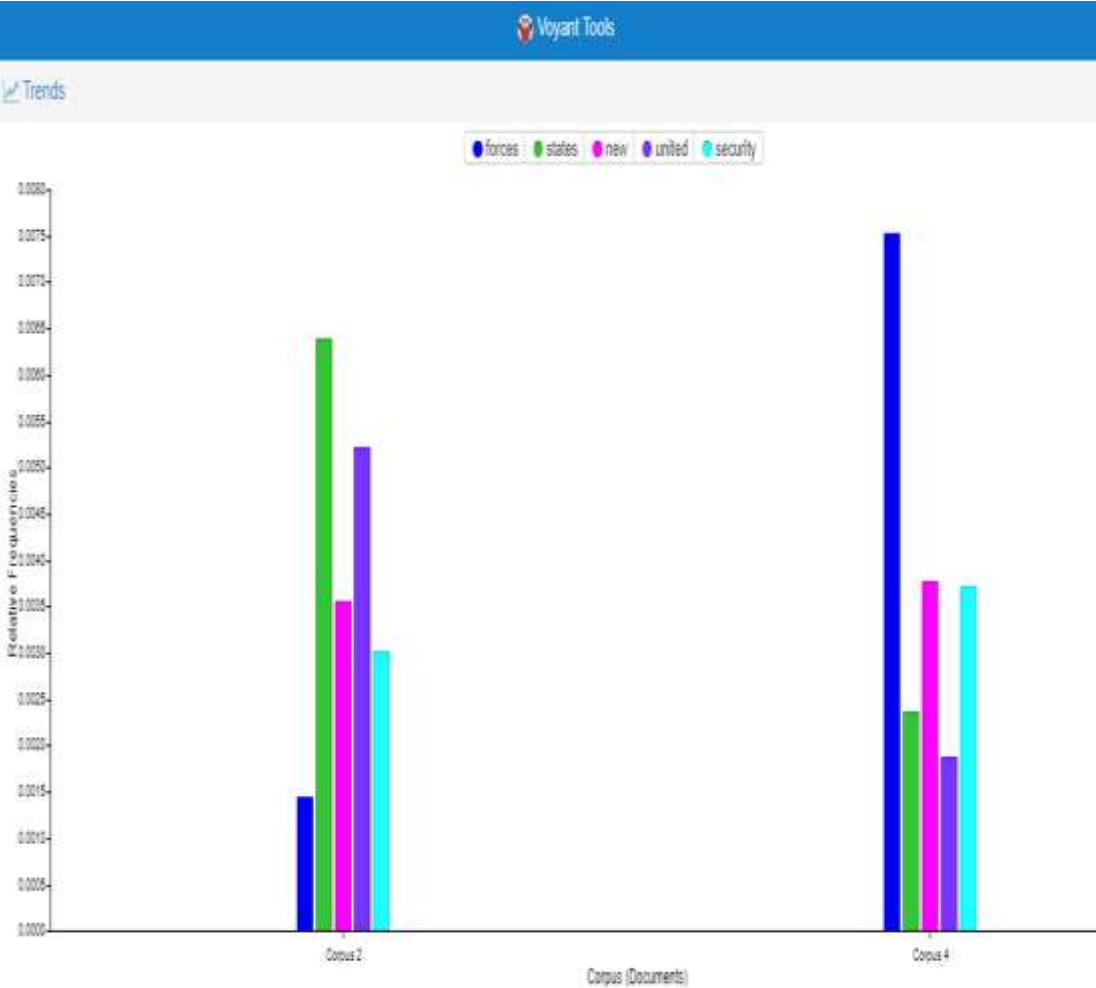


Fig. 3. Bar charts display a comparison between the frequency of the words “forces”, “states”, “new”, “united” and “security” in corpus 2 and corpus 4.

For a deeper and more accurate analysis, we have opted for carrying out our comparison from three different dimensions: political, economic, and military.

3.1.The Political Dimension

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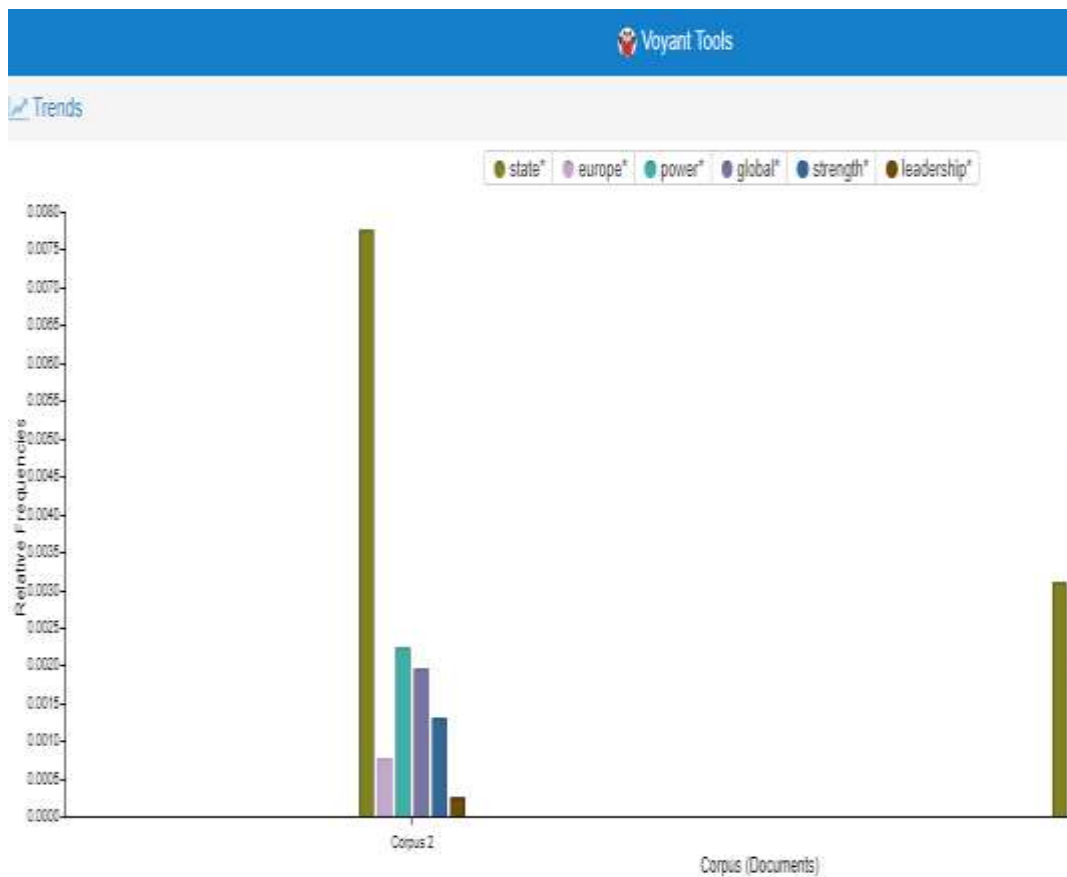


Fig. 4. The Bar charts show a comparison between the frequency of key political terms in corpus 2 and corpus 4.

The term “Global”

Corpus 2	our already extensive cooperation in	gl...	war on terrorism. We are
Corpus 2	States or main centers of	gl...	power, opened vast, new opportunities
Corpus 2	our efforts to meet our	gl...	security commitments protect Americans are
Corpus 2	give an order in this	gl...	war against a scattered network
Corpus 2	Soviet Union, and to strengthen	gl...	treaties banning the production and
Corpus 4	U.S./allied interests on a	gl...	scale. The overarching aims for
Corpus 4	focus from the former Soviet	gl...	war scenario to an array
Corpus 4	U.S./allied interests on a	gl...	scale. The overarching aims for
Corpus 4	and rally support for American	gl...	leadership. As the 20th century
Corpus 4	that accepts the United States'	gl...	responsibilities. Of course, the United

Fig. 5. Concordance tool for the use of the term “global” in corpus 2 and corpus 4

The term “power”

Corpus 2	to create a balance of	po...	that favors human freedom: conditions
Corpus 2	penetrate open societies to turn	po...	of modern technologies against us
Corpus 2	tool in our arsenal—military	po...	, better Homeland defenses, law enforcement
Corpus 2	In building a balance of	po...	that favors freedom, United States
Corpus 4	is to preclude any hostile	po...	from dominating a region critical
Corpus 4	the emergence of a hostile	po...	that could present a global
Corpus 4	be intimidated by Soviet military	po...	, we and our allies molded
Corpus 4	will use our significant military	po...	only as a force for

Fig. 6. Concordance tool for the use of the term “power” in corpus 2 and corpus 4

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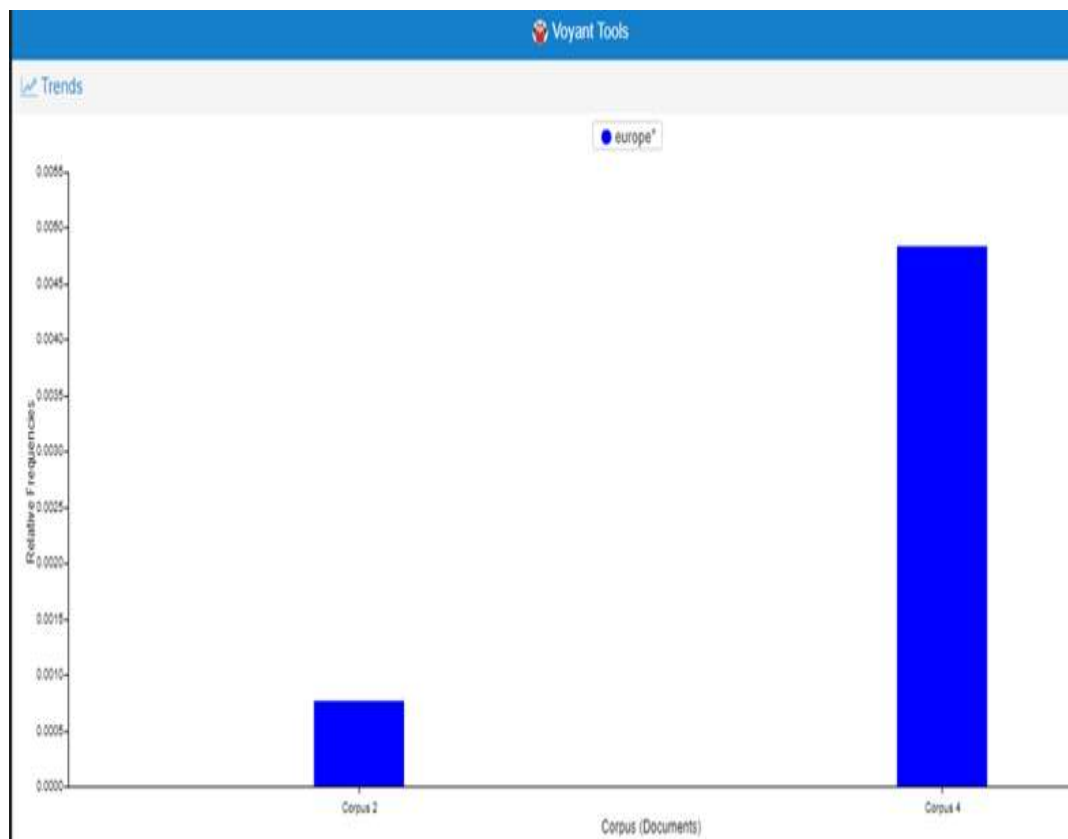


Fig. 7. The Bar charts show the comparison of the frequency of the word “Europe” in corpus 2 and corpus 4.

Corpus 2	free societies are proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies from eu...	to Asia, and Africa to Latin America, we will demonstrate that the force
Corpus 2	of liberty: when openings arrive, we can encourage change—as we did in central eastern eu...	between 1989 1991, or in Belgrade in 2010. When we see democrati
Corpus 2	terrorists. Thousands of trained terrorists remain at large with cells in North America, South America, eu...	, Africa, Middle East, across Asia. Our priority will be first to disrupt d
Corpus 2	trade revenue domestic capital is used more effectively.” A return to strong economic growth in eu...	Japan is vital to U.S. national security interests. We want our allies to

Corpus 4	reinforcement of Europe or the US ability to respond to regional crises using assets in	eu...	With regard to the residual Soviet/Russian presence and possible ambitions o
Corpus 4	preventing Russia, should it seek to do so, from reestablishing a hegemonic position in Eastern	eu...	Outside Europe, the former Soviet threac in Southwest and Southeast Asia ha
Corpus 4	should it seek to do so, from reestablishing a hegemonic position in Eastern Europe. Outside	eu...	the former Soviet threac in Southwest and Southeast Asia has been signif car
Corpus 4	for European integration should be conditioned on the premise that, as democratic consolidation c...	eu...	Western European institutions should be broadened to include all democratic

Fig. 8. The concordance tool reveals a similarity in the use of the word “Europe” in context in both corpus 2 and corpus 4.

Although the frequency of the use of the term “Europe” is different, the term is used in the same context which is the establishment of democracy through force and the necessity of implicating the European states in this mission.

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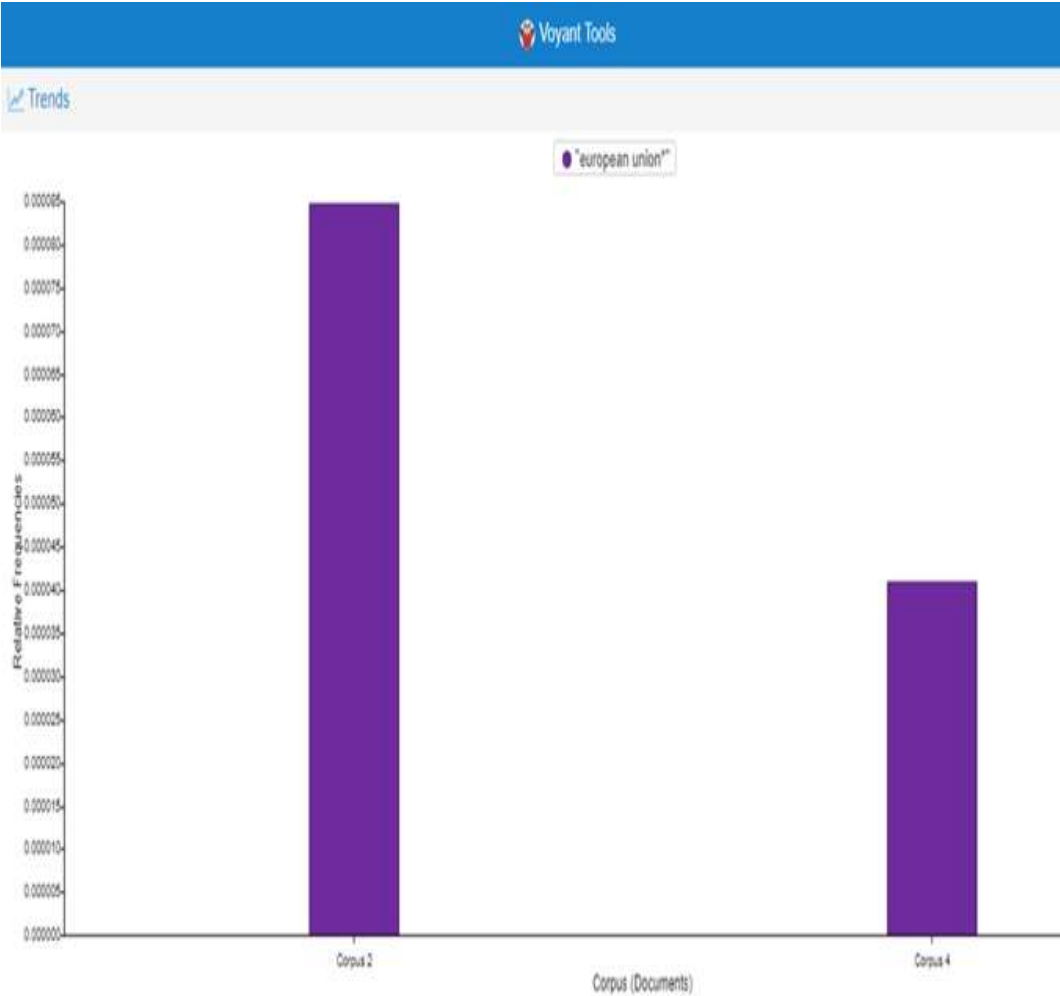


Fig. 9. Bar charts display the frequency of the word “Europe” in corpus 2 and corpus 4.

Corpus 2	agreements. Our top priorities are to resolve ongoing disputes with eu... , Canada, Mexico and to make a glo
Corpus 2	since its inception, been fulcrum of transatlantic inter-European security. eu... .EU... our partner in opening world t
Corpus 4	it is important that NATO not be replaced by the eu... , leaving the United States without a

Fig. 10. Concordance tool shows the use of the word “Europe” in context in both corpus 2 and 4.

3.2.The Economic Dimension

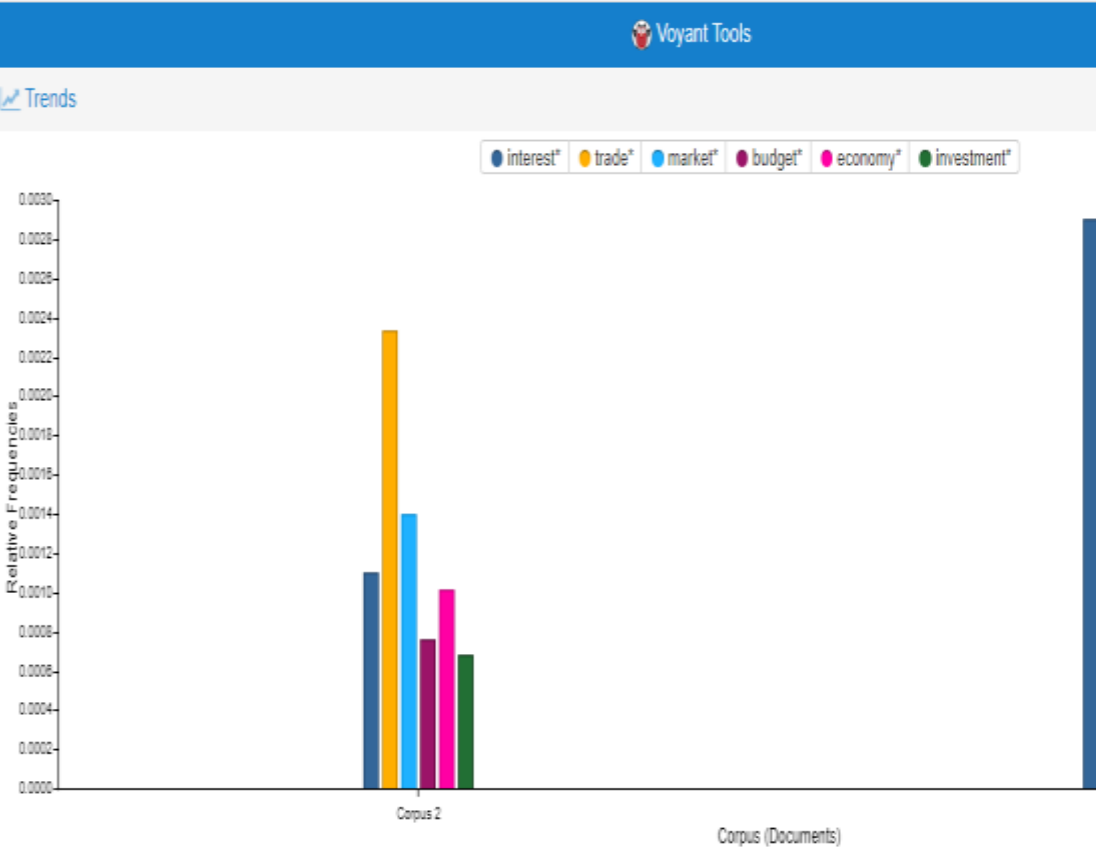


Fig. 11. The Bar charts display a general comparison of the key terms that are related to economy and that appear in both corpus 2 and 4.

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Corpus 2	armed forces to defend America's	int...	, it must rely on diplomacy
Corpus 2	we will respect values, judgment,	int...	of our friends partners. Still
Corpus 2	to act apart when our	int...	unique responsibilities require
Corpus 2	our friends, our shared fundamental	int...	values. Ultimately, foundation
Corpus 2	than our power and our	int...	, Our founders dedicated this c
Corpus 4	to protect c r critical	int...	even in cases where very
Corpus 4	retain ability to defend critical	int...	unilaterally and warns that si
Corpus 4	allows us to maintain global	int...	at acceptable cost. Main aim
Corpus 4	posture to secure their legitimate	int...	. Second, in non-defense are
Corpus 4	we must sufficiently respect the	int...	of the advanced industrial na

Fig. 12. Concordance tool for the term “interest”

*The term “budget”

Corpus 2	weapons, the best equipment, the best training – and they also deserve another pay raise. My bu...	includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades – because while
Corpus 2	Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay. The next priority of my bu...	is to do everything possible to protect our citizens and strengthen our nation again
Corpus 2	are protected from attack only by vigorous action abroad, and increased vigilance at home. My bu...	nearly doubles funding for a sustained strategy of homeland security, focused on f
Corpus 2	have funded our national security and our homeland security, the final great priority of my bu...	is economic security for the American people. To achieve these great national ob
Corpus 2	Last year, the NED budget totaled \$39.6 million. The President called for doubling the NED bu...	, allocating the additional \$40 million to programs in the Middle East. Helping Yo
Corpus 4	Authority moves against terror, the United States should provide it no further assistance. U.S. Def...	A serious and victorious war on terrorism will require a large increase in defense
Corpus 4	lead the nation to victory in this fight. Letter to President Bush on the Defense bu...	, January 23, 2003 We write to endorse the bold new course you have charted for
Corpus 4	for next year will still leave Pentagon spending at about 3.4 % of GDP, and Congressional bu...	Office projections are that the proportion will decline to approximately 3% by 2007
Corpus 4	maintain not more than the ACIRC force totals in the FY 93-97 President's bu...	(p.37) Reconst itution. Don Rice feels that, rather than keep older aircraft mothba
Corpus 4	military affairs.” To carry out these core missions, we need to provide sufficient force and bu...	allocations. In particular, the United States must: MAINTAIN NUCLEAR STRATEC

Fig. 13. Concordance tool for the use of the term “budget” in both corpora: 2 and 4

3.3.The Military Dimension

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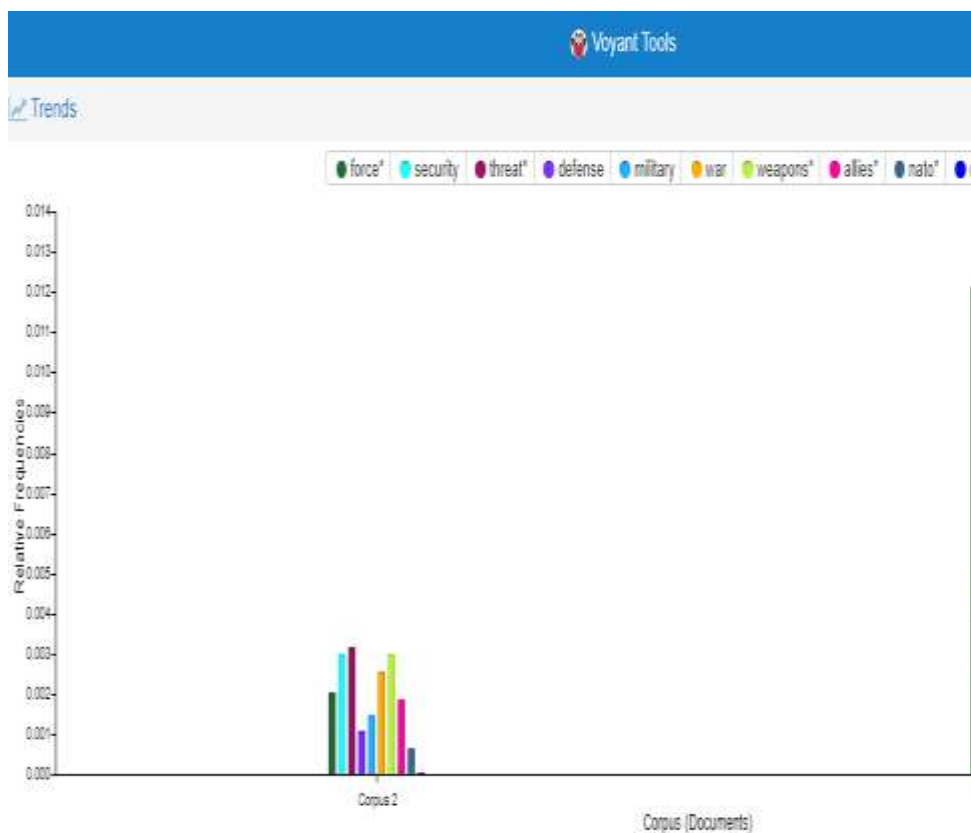


Fig. 14. The bar charts display the frequency of some common military terms used in both corpus 2 and corpus 4.

*Force

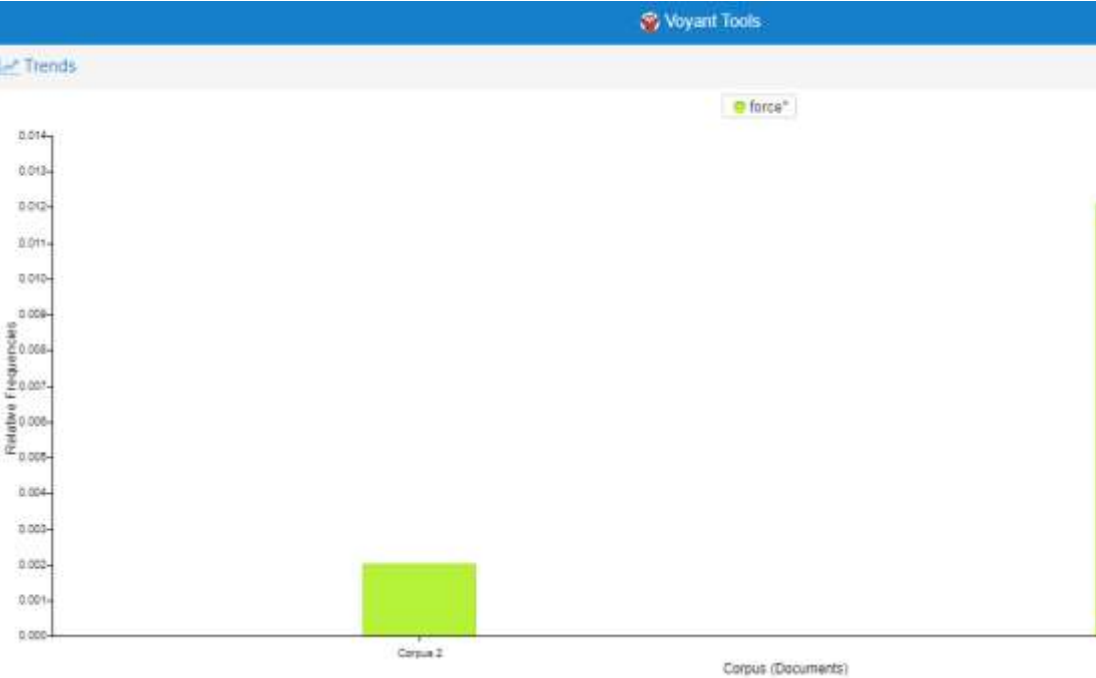


Fig. 15. The Bar charts show the frequency of the word “force” in corpus 2 and 4.

Corpus 2	innovation in use of military	for...	, modern technologies, including develo
Corpus 2	training, and equipping of our	for...	those of our allies to
Corpus 2	of WMD use against our	for...	abroad, to help friends allies
Corpus 2	action to defend themselves against	for...	that present an imminent danger
Corpus 4	defenses not only to protect ourselves and our forward deployed	for...	, but also to have the ability to extend protection to
Corpus 4	protection to others. Like "extended deterrence" provided by our nuclear	for...	, defenses can contribute to a regime of "extended prote
Corpus 4	decade ahead, we must adopt the right combination of deterrent	for...	, tactical and strategic, while creating the proper balance
Corpus 4	delivery, whatever the source. For now this requires retaining ready	for...	for a secure nuclear deterrent, including tactical forces. I

Fig. 16 Concordance tool for the use of the word “force” in context in both corpus 2and4.

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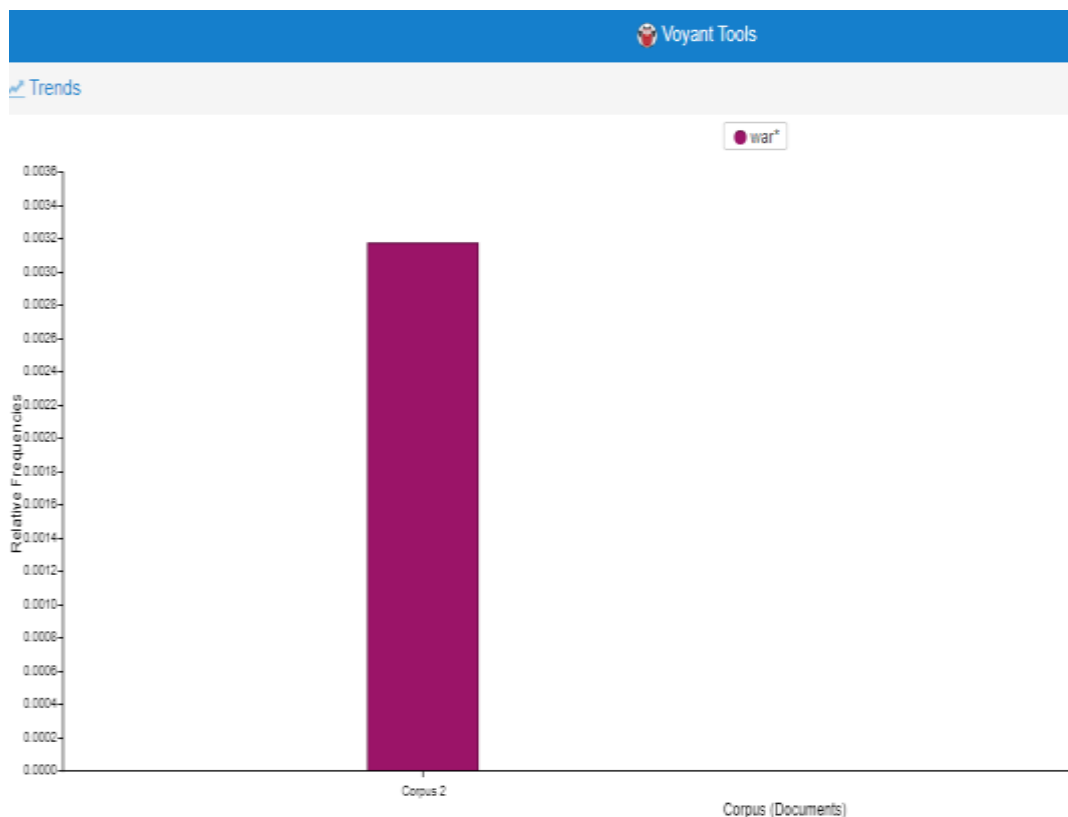


Fig. 17. Bar charts that show the frequency of the word “war” in both corpora: 2 and 4.

Corpus 2	we act to win the	war	, protect our people, and crea
Corpus 2	a lot to fight this	war	. We have spent more tha
Corpus 2	national objectives -- to win the	war	, protect the homeland, and
Corpus 2	overseas: We'll prevail in the	war	, and we will defeat this
Corpus 2	cooperation we've applied to our	war	against terrorism. During th
Corpus 4	Budget A serious and victorious	war	on terrorism will require a
Corpus 4	in defense spending. Fighting this	war	may well require the United
Corpus 4	allow us to win this	war	. There is, of course, much
Corpus 4	other nations' aid in this	war	on terrorism. Economic and
Corpus 4	the minimum necessary if this	war	is to be fought effectively

Fig. 18. Concordance tool that reveals the similarity in the use of the word “war” in both corpora: 2 and 4.

*The term NATO

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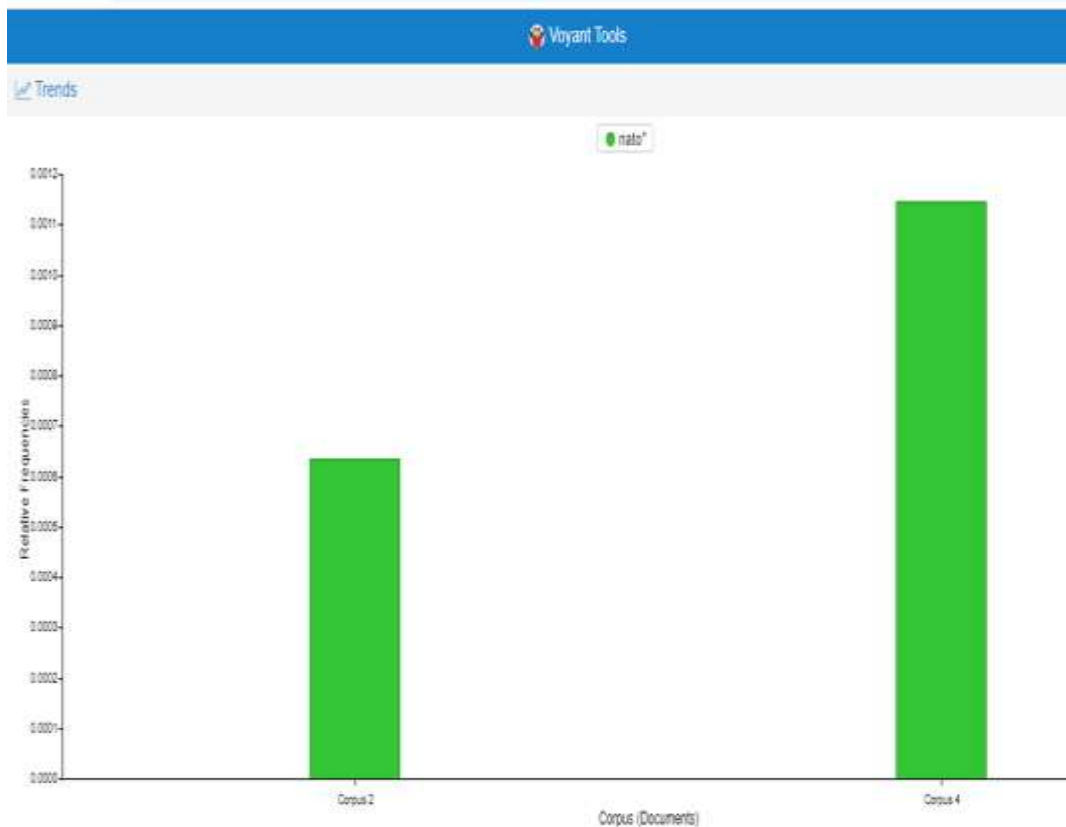


Fig. 19. Bar charts that show the frequency of the word “NATO” in corpus 2 and corpus 4.

Corpus 2	alliance of democracies—remains, but	nato	must develop new structures cap
Corpus 2	that mission under new circumstances.	nato	must build a capability to
Corpus 2	ensure that military forces of	nato	nations have appropriate combat
Corpus 2	our defense spending to transform	nato	military forces so that y
Corpus 4	establishing a permanent and modern	nato	and U.S. airfield in Hungary
Corpus 4	in the Black Sea. As	nato	expands and the pattern of
Corpus 4	bases in new and potential	nato	countries to allow for rapid
Corpus 4	European stability offered by further	nato	expansion will make demands first

Fig. 20. Concordance tool for the use of the word “NATO” in corpus 2 and corpus 4.

*The term Allies

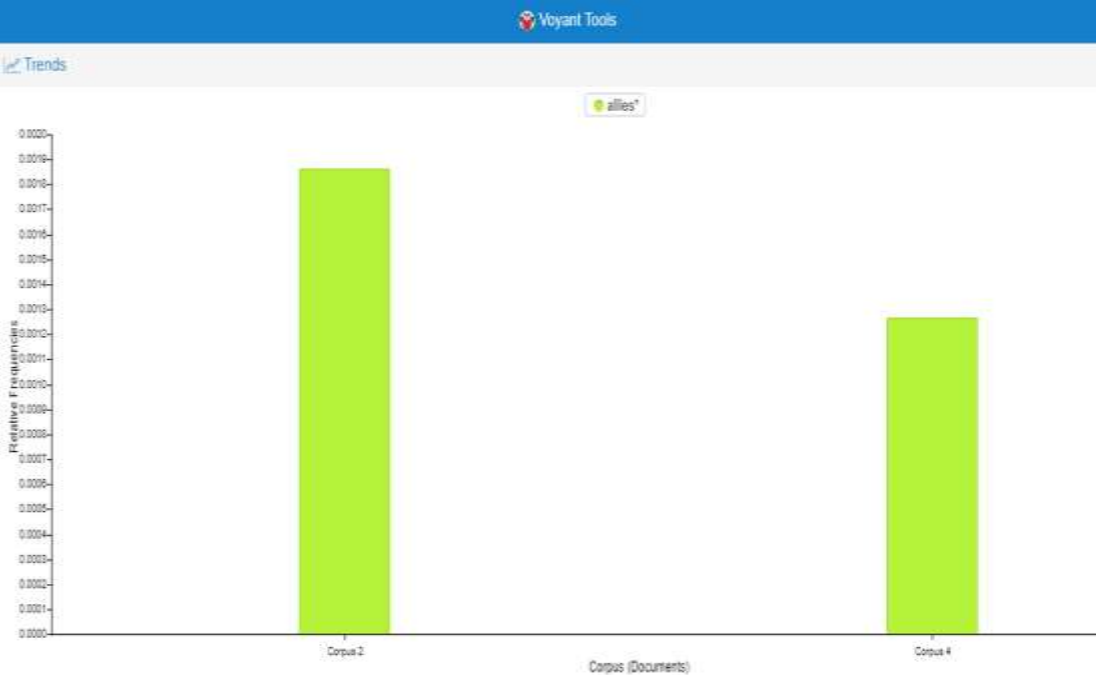


Fig. 21. The Bar charts expose the frequency of the “allies” in both corpora: 2 and 4.

Corpus 2	reflect our commitments to our	allies	, our requirements, our technolog
Corpus 2	cooperation among Russia, our European	allies	, ourselves. We will continue to
Corpus 2	opportunities. With our long-standing	allies	in Europe Asia, with leaders
Corpus 2	our military must assure our	allies	friends; dissuade future military o
Corpus 4	a substantial overseas presence. Our	allies	, for whom regional problems are
Corpus 4	United States and its major	allies	to a region of vital
Corpus 4	true American commitment to our	allies	and their security interests – but
Corpus 4	United States and its NATO	allies	. Today Germany is unified, Poland

Fig. 22. Concordance tool shows the use of the word “allies” in context in corpus 2 and corpus 4.

*The term threat

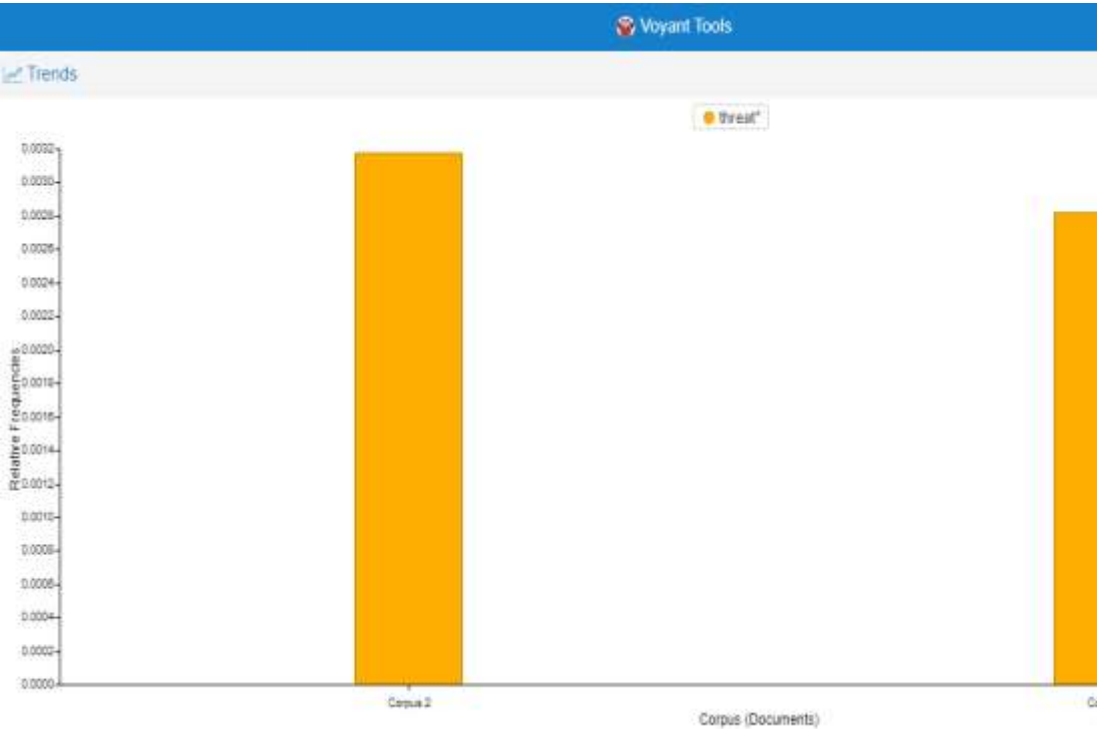


Fig. 23. The bar charts highlight the frequency of the word “threat” in both corpora.

Corpus 2	abroad; Whereas, in light of	thr...	to national security foreign p
Corpus 2	to pose an unusual extraordinary	thr...	to national security foreign p
Corpus 2	our nation against the ongoing	thr...	of another attack. Time and
Corpus 2	against us. To defeat this	thr...	we must make use of
Corpus 4	a' collective response to preclude	thr...	or, if necessary to deal
Corpus 4	challenge has passed but other	thr...	endure, and new ones w
Corpus 4	on the less demanding regional	thr...	and challenges we are n
Corpus 4	for tomorrow can influence whether	thr...	to our interests emerge

Fig. 24. The concordance tool displays instances of the use of the word “threat” in corpus 2 and corpus 4.

3.4.Common Collocates Related to US Foreign Policy towards Europe

As previously defined, Collocates are words that have a strong tendency to occur side by side. Our comparison and analysis of corpus 2 and corpus 4 revealed a number of high frequency collocates such as “forces NATO”, “forces allies”, “forces coalition”, and “Europe allies.” The line graphs below (figures 25, 26, 27, 28) show a comparison of the frequency of each collocation in the two corpora.

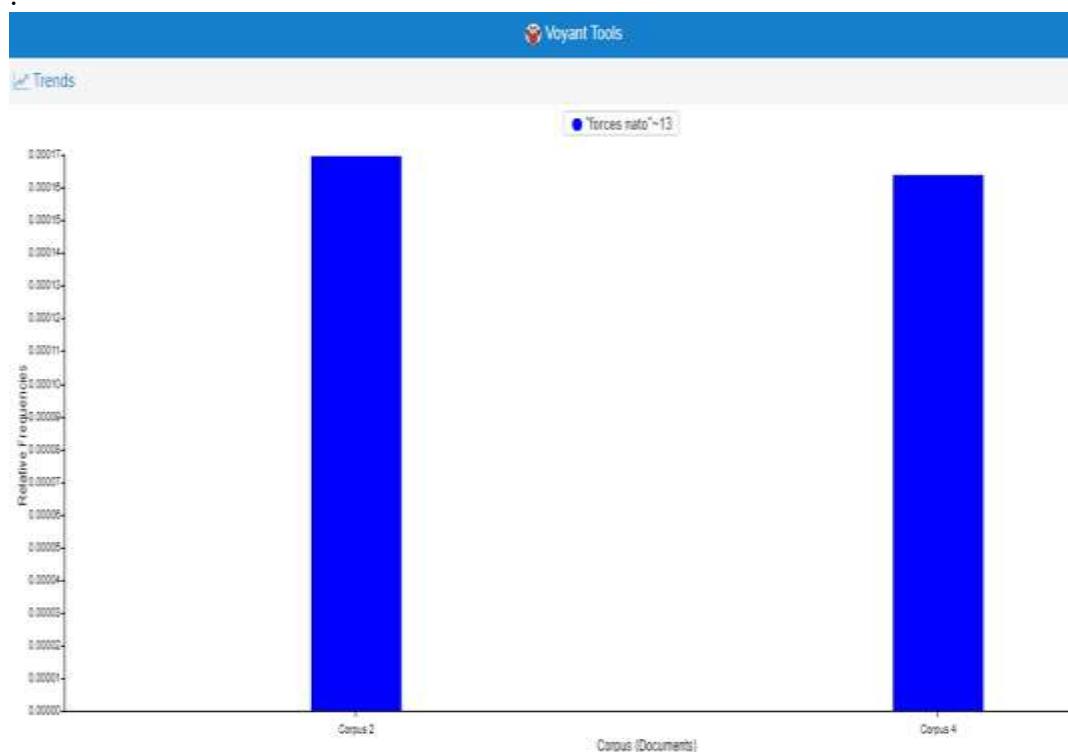


Fig. 25. The bar charts display the frequency of the collocation “forces-NATO” in corpus 2 and corpus 4.

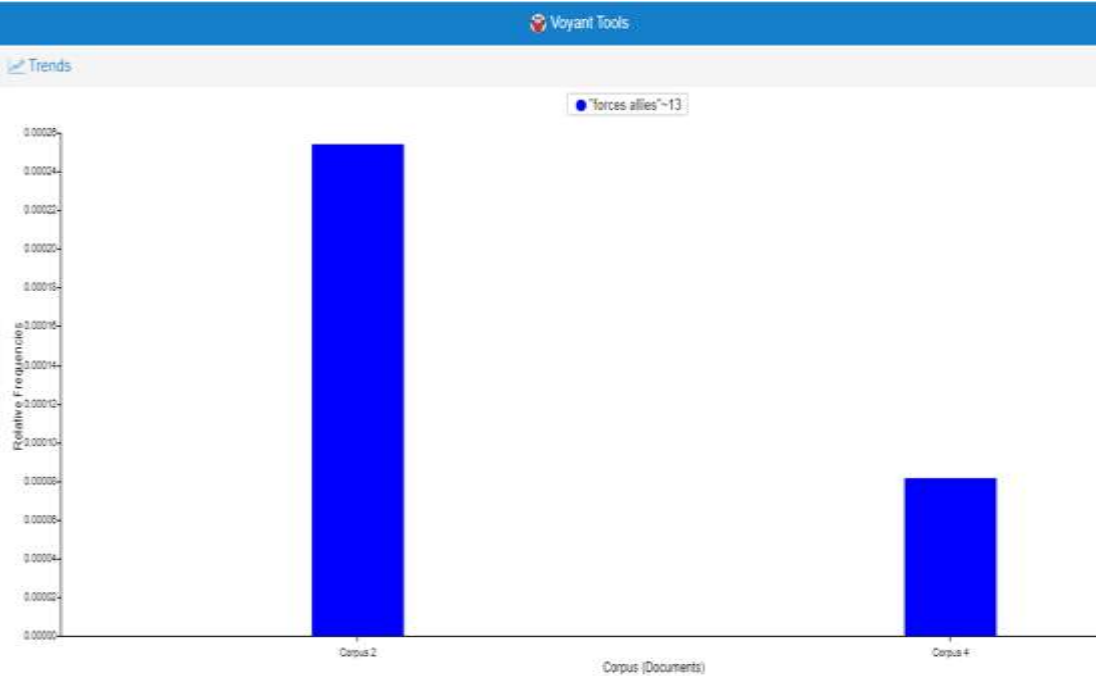


Fig. 26. The bar charts exhibit the frequency of the collocation “forces-allies” in corpus 2 and 4.

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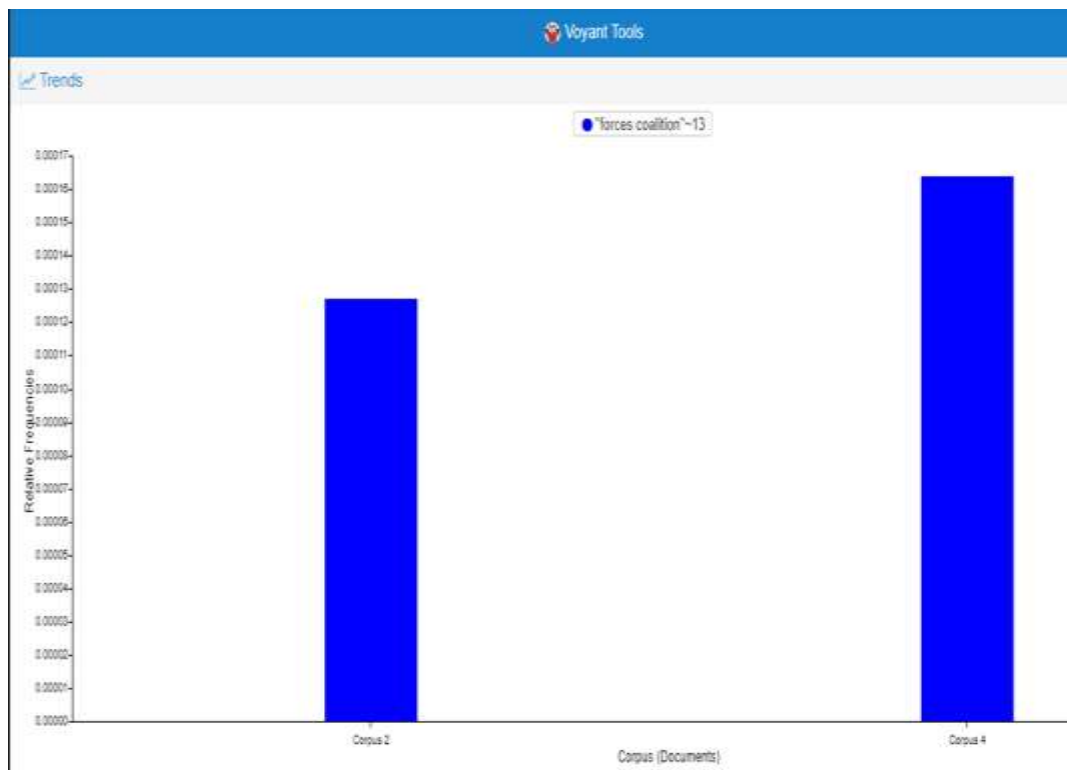


Fig. 27. The bar charts reveal the frequency of the collocation “forces-coalition” in corpus 2 and 4.

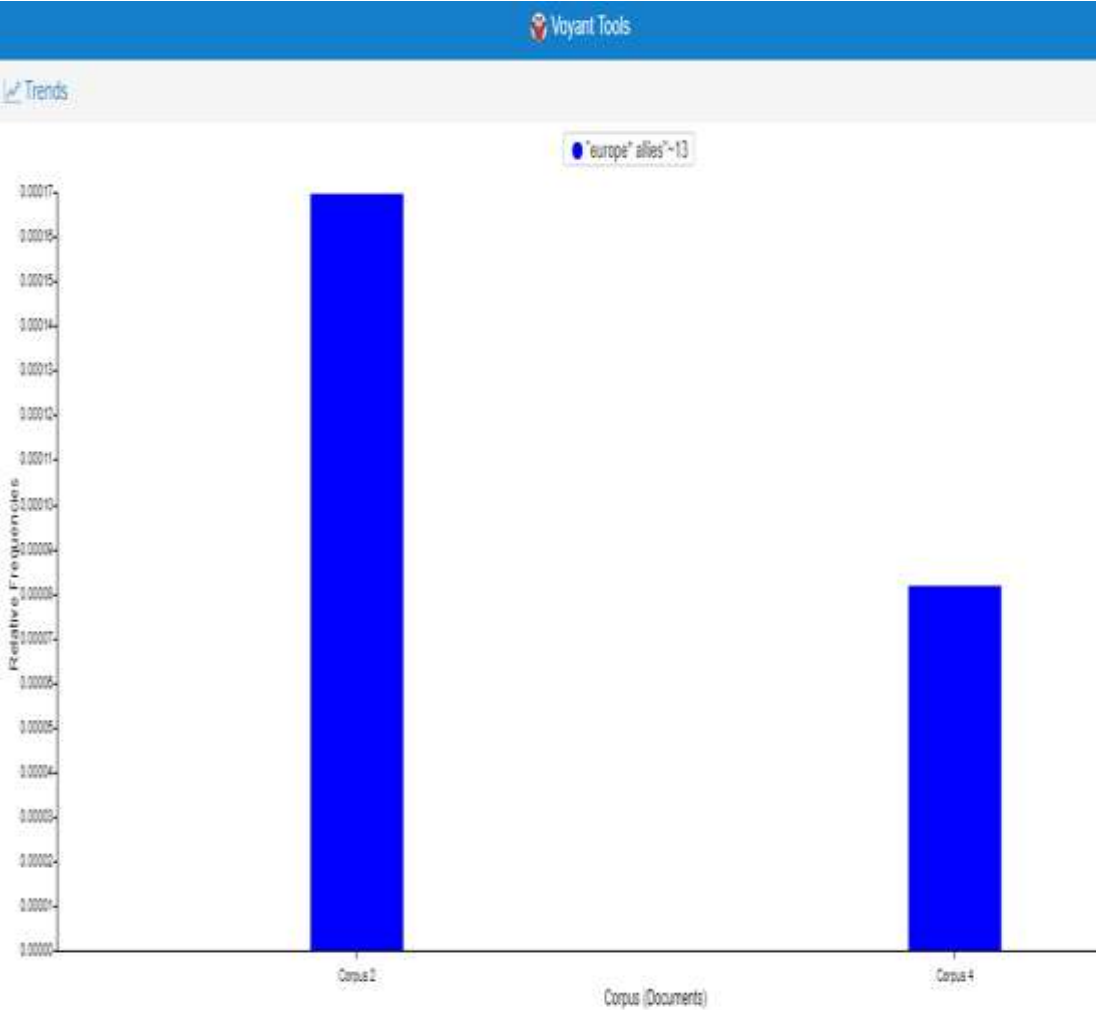


Fig. 28. The bar charts display the frequency of the collocation “Europe-allies” in corpus 2 and corpus 4.

4. Discussion

According to figure 1, the topics included in the whole corpus (corpus 2+corpus 4) are the following:

- 1-The use of force to secure peace.
- 2-Preserving US security and protecting its interests against any threat.

- 3-The United States leadership in the war against terror. 
- 4-The 9/11 terrorist attacks. 
- 5- The powers of the president . 
- 6- The importance of the use of force to protect US economy. 
- 7- The critical future of democracy without US leadership. 
- 8- The United States military capabilities. 
- 9- Authorization to attack against Afghanistan. 
- 10-The United States right to defend itself and its allies against any threat. 

In figure 2, topics are represented in different colors; same color means same topic.

Corpus 2 and corpus 4 contain almost the same topics in the same order, but not in the same degree of importance. But what can be clearly observed is that topic 1 (The Use of force), topic 6 (United states leadership, the protection of the United States economic interests) and topic 10 (the right of the United states to defend itself and its allies from any threat) are used significantly in both corpora as represented in the figure above(figure number). Topic 3(the United States leadership in the war against terror) and topic 5 (the powers of the president) are also highlighted in both corpora, but at a secondary level when compared to topic 1, 6 and 10.

In fact, the results of this analysis confirm the hypothesis that George W. Bush foreign policy witnessed a twist after 9/11 and shifted towards a hawkish foreign policy that corresponded to the neocons Cold War agenda since his advisors were nothing but his father's foreign policy and defense team.

As for figure 3, and at first glance, one can remark in the global Trends tool suggested by Voyant Tools that the five colours are found in the two corpora and this means that the same key words are used by the neocons and the bush administration. However, the degree of their frequency changes from one corpus to another especially for the term "force" whose use is clearly more significant in the neoconservative

discourse than the Bush administration discourse. The same remark can be made concerning the frequency of the terms “state” and “united”. But there are slight differences in the average words frequency of the terms “security” and “new” which are almost similar.

Figure 4 highlights the fact the American administration and the neocons seem to agree on the importance of the terms “global” and “power”. Also, the presidency focuses on the role of the state while the neocons insist on the term “Europe” because they consider that the United States must fill the vacuum left after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

As mentioned in the results section, the analysis was elaborated according to three main aspects : Political, an military and an economic dimension.

4.1.The Political Dimension

Figures 4, 5 ,6 ,7 ,8 ,9, and 10 provide insights into the political dimension and reveal that reference to Europe and European Union in both corpora is related to the anti-European attitude adopted by both the neoconservatives and the American administration. Indeed, The Neocons have expressed their skepticism about a strong European defense policy especially after the European Leaders’ decision to create their own security and defense policy independently from NATO. Likewise, the George W. Bush administration expressed its apprehension towards the European position mainly after the refusal of some European powers such as France and Germany to join the United States in their war against Iraq.

4.2. The Economic Dimension

As far as the economic dimension is concerned, figures 11 reveals that the term “interest” term is of high frequency in both corpora, but it is much more used among neoconservatives than within the American administration circles. The line graph representing corpus 2 indicates that the United States government builds its economic policy on trade and markets for the sake on national interest. The neocons, on the other hand, form an interest group, so it is logical to the word “interest” is a key word within their publications.

The concordance tool represented by figure 12, shows that the term interest is used approximately in the same context in both corpora. This

term is used in relation to the protection of the national and global interests of the United States by all necessary means and ways; “to act apart when our interests...require” says George W. Bush, and “defend critical interests unilaterally” warn the neocons.

Also important is the term “budget” whose use in context is analysed through the concordance tool in figure 13. It can be observed that in both corpora this term is highly associated with military and defense spending. In addition to that and in order to highlight the influence of the neocons influence on presidential decisions, it is worth mentioning that NED (the National Endowment for Democracy) mentioned in Corpus 2 and more exactly found in George W. Bush 2004 State of the Union Address, is a non-governmental organization that was founded by the neoconservatives in 1983. This private nonprofit foundation is dedicated to the promotion of democracy and the reinforcement of democratic institutions around the world. (ned.org/about) In his address the American president is clearly calling for increasing the budget allocated to this neoconservative non-governmental organization.

4.3. The Military Dimension

Figure 14 shows some common military and defense interests between the Bush junior administration and the neocons; such as the security of the country, the threat scenario, the necessity of waging wars and the role of allies. The use of force is highly stressed by the neocons and this is clearly indicated by the high frequency of the term “force”.

A closer analysis of the two corpora led us to select a number of terms and to scrutinize them individually by displaying their frequency level in each corpus on the line graph, then by searching the context they were used in.

Figures 15 and 14, for example show a significant leaning towards the use of force mainly among the neocons, but the concordance tool in figure 16 reveals the use of the term “force” in the same context both among the neocons and within the Bush administration.

In figure 16 it is clearly shown that the word “war” is key in both corpora with the same level of frequency. The concordance tool in figure 17 further confirms the similarity between the Bush administration and

the neocons regarding the necessity of using all means and ways, with a special emphasis on military spending in order to win and prevail.

Figures 19 and 20 reveal that the term “NATO” is also highly used in both corpora with a small difference. It is interesting to note here that in both corpora reference to NATO in context as, shown in figure 20, is related to the expansion ,modernization, and the development of the capabilities of this military organization.

Figures 21 and 22 indicate that the term “allies” is also of a high degree of importance for both the administration and the neocons because both of them needed “cooperation” not “competition” in order to establish global peace and security.

Figure 23 and 24 expose the frequency and the use in context of the term “threat”. A similarity is also noted in the frequency of the term “threat” in both corpora. In fact, both parties are offensive realists who believe that the international system is anarchic and insecure, so states are obliged to use force and act preemptively in order to survive.

As for the high frequency collocates related to the United States foreign policy towards Europe and that are found in both corpora, figures 25 , 26, 27, 28 revealed the following that “force NATO”, “forces allies”, “forces coalition” and “Europe allies” are frequently used in both corpora. Such results indicate that both the Bush administration and the neocons are highly interested in forging military alliances with European states. But for both parties those alliances need to be established under the auspices of either NATO or another form of American guidance or authority in order to fill the vacuum left after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and establish peace and democracy in mainly in central and eastern Europe.

5. CONCLUSION

The present discourse analysis of official documents issued by the American administration after 9/11 and post-Cold war neoconservative publications confirms the tight relationship that exists between the political discourse of the George W. Bush administration regarding its foreign policy in general and its transatlantic relations in particular, and the discourse adopted by the neoconservatives about the same issues. Such finding supports the argument that the neoconservatives had a

significant impact on the United States foreign policy towards the European Union after the September attacks. The study that was conducted through Voyant Tools allowed for an examination of our two corpora at two levels and from different angles.

Voyant Tools is an application that makes possible the identification of the key words , main topics, as well as the visualization of key word frequency and the relation of key words with other words in their contexts. The first level of our analysis was concerned with the quantitative aspect and revealed a considerable similarity of key words, high frequency terms and topics in both corpora. In other words, The comparison of topics revealed that the same ten topics were tackled in both corpora, with three of them being granted the same degree of importance.

The second level of the analysis was qualitative. In fact, through our comparison, it was observed through the line graphs that an important number collocations are frequently used in both corpora. This observation was reinforced by the concordance tool that unveiled the similitude that characterized the way key terms and collocates were used in context in both corpora.

The final and most interesting point to be investigated was the level of frequency of key words and collocates related to the United States relations with the European Union. In fact, terms such as “Europe”, “NATO”, “allies” , “alliance”, “coalition” as well as collocates, such as “forces NATO” , “forces allies” , “forces coalition” , and “Europe allies” were frequently used in both corpora. But it is worth-mentioning that the most common high frequency terms belong to the political and military fields. Even the key word budget which belongs to the field of economy and finance was used in a military context.

The results of the present paper suggest that the Bush administration was to a great extent influenced in its foreign policy towards the European Union by the neoconservative agenda after the September events. The results also indicate that the efforts of this hawkish interest group were concentrated in the political and military spheres because the neocons were offensive realists who have played the role of the saviors of the national interest and security of their country

since the Cold War years in order to protect it from the anarchic international system that predominates in the world. This study also confirms the findings of previous research regarding the involvement the neoconservatives with the Military Industrial Complex (MIC) and some other oil corporations that constitute the most active and influential lobbying groups in the United States.

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