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**THE BELLIGERENCE OF THE U.S. FOREIGN
POLICY TOWARDS THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE
WAKE OF 9/11:
OPPORTUNISTIC EXPANSIONISM AND/OR
NATIONAL SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the substance of this dissertation is entirely the result of my investigation and that due reference or acknowledgement is made, whenever necessary, to the work of other researchers.

DEDICATION

To my son Akram who gives me a great impulse to keep going on in this life.

To my parents; thanks to their dedication and sacrifices I reached where I am.

To my family; a precious cuddling of warmth and support.

To my friends and colleagues in Biskra University and especially to those in Lyceé Mohammed Essedik Ben yahya /Batna; their love, support and caring gave me strength feeling that whatever happens they'll never let my hand go.

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ABSTRACT

United States' belligerence towards the Middle East and the war on terrorism launched by the Administration of George Bush after the attacks of September 11, 2001 were, and continue to be, subjects to much controversy with regard to the real causes behind them. This study will attempt to uncover the real motives that made the United States drive fervently for war.

For years after the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, it has become clear that the U.S. Administration's claims about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction were not founded on strong evidence. The allegations were rather skeptical and deceptive, and Saddam Hussein was not involved with either Al Qaeda or 9/11. Many consider the war a mistake and question why Iraq was invaded. In addition, a growing number of doubts emerged over the 9/11 event. A majority of Americans now believe that they were intentionally misled by their government so as to push them to war. Public doubt has been strengthened by numerous scholarly censorious works about the U.S. invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, showing that Washington was not truthful about its reasons behind the wars.

This paper examines United States policy towards the Middle East in the wake of the attacks of September 11, 2001 from many angles: America's increasing dependence on the region petroleum, the rise of Arab nationalism and the constant racial stereotypes that call for American intervention and domination of the Middle East. It also focuses the spotlight on the motivation and actions of a small but powerful group of U.S. leaders. This work shows how somewhat fearful American public was duped by powerful influences that successfully manipulated, and then shifted American policies for gain and profit. The study is carried out through an accurate description of events, analysis of facts and provision of well argumentated evidence to objectively uncover the real motives behind the recent American wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

RESUME

La belligérance des Etats Unis vis à vis du Moyen Orient, et la guerre contre le terrorisme déclenchée par l'administration de George Bush après les attaques du 11 Septembre 2001 était et est toujours le sujet de nombreuses controverses, au regard des véritables causes qui restent à révéler. Cette étude essaie de se pencher sur les vrais motifs qui ont poussé les Etats Unis à déclencher la guerre.

Pour de nombreuses années, après l'invasion de l'Afghanistan et de l'Irak, il est devenu clair que les prétentions de l'administration Américaine concernant les capacités nucléaires de l'Irak étaient basées sur des suspicions douteuses induisant en erreur la communauté internationale. Le peuple Américain a été délibérément trompé par l'administration Bush; qui cherchait le soutien de l'opinion publique Américaine pour déclencher l'offensive.

Les doutes du public Américain se sont intensifiés grâce au nombre croissant des critiques à l'encontre de la campagne hystérique du "va t-en guerre" du gouvernement Américain et les "fausses" preuves pour l'invasion de l'Irak et l'Afghanistan. C'est ce que cherche à mettre en exergue notre modeste recherche, éclairer un peu le lecteur sur les véritables intentions de l'administration Bush pour asseoir sa suprématie sur les pays du Moyen Orient afin de mieux spolier l'énorme potentiel pétrolier et gazier de la région.

Cette étude examine la politique des Etat unis vis-à- vis le Moyen Orient après les attaques du 11 Septembre à partir de plusieurs points: la dépendance croissante des Etats-Unis au pétrole de la région, l'émergence du nationalisme arabe et la persistance des clichés raciaux et culturels qui fournissent au Etats-Unis l'autorité morale pour contrôler le Moyen Orient.

Ce travail de recherche montre comment l'administration Américaine a manipulé, un peuple craintif, en agitant le spectre du terrorisme pour disposer du "quitus" validant la guerre, afin de réaliser des gains et des profits.

الملخص

إن عدوانية الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية هاجم من قبل إدارة بوش بعد هجمات كانت و لازالت محل كثير من الجدل بالنظر إلى الأسباب الحقيقية الكامنة وراءها. هذه الدراسة الكشف عن الأسباب الحقيقية التي جعلت الولايات المتحدة تتدفع على نحو متحمس نحو الحرب. ج أن ادعاءات الإدارة الأمريكية حول القوة النووية للعراق كانت تركز على دلائل مشكوك فيها، والسين لم يكن لكثير أن الحرب كانت . يبدو أن الكثير من الأشخاص المنتمين إلى حقول مختلفة من الحياة يرتابون من 'الرواية الرسمية' . غلبة الساحقة من الأمريكان، تظليله على نحو متعمد من قبل اد قوية، على اثر تحليلات نقاد مثقفين حول هذه الغزوات الأسباب الكامنة وراء غزوها لأفغانستان والعراق . تبحث هذه الدراسة في سياسة الولايات الشرق الأوسط على اثر هجمات الحادي عشر قام من عدة زوايا: التبعية الأمريكية المتزايدة للبترول المنطقة، بزوغ الوطنية العربية، واستمرار الأكلشيهات العرقية والثقافية والتي زودت أمريكا بالسلطة المعنوية الضرورية للسيطرة على الشرق الأوسط ، كما أن هذه الدراسة تسلط تأثير مجموعة صغيرة لكن جد قوية عماء الأمريكان، يظهر هذا الب كيف أن الجمهور الأمريكي المتخوف تم تظليله من طر وصف دقيق للأحداث وتحليل للوقائع وتزويد الحقيقية الكامنة وراء الحروب الأمريكية الحديثة العهد في العراق وأفغانستان.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|--|
| AEI | American Enterprise Institute |
| ADC | Anti Discrimination Committee |
| BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| CBS | Columbia Broadcasting System |
| CEO | Chief Executive Officer |
| CIA | Central Intelligence Agency |
| CNN | Cable News Network |
| DHs | Department of Homeland Security |
| FAA | Federal Aviation Administration |
| FBI | Federal Bureau of Investigation |
| IAO | Information Awareness Office |
| NORAD | North American Aerospace Defence Command |
| NSC | National Security Council |
| NUMEC | Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation |
| OAPEC | Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries |
| OPEC | Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries |
| PBS | Public Broadcasting Service |
| PLO | Palestine Liberation Organization |
| PNAC | Project for the New American Century |
| RAND | Research and Development Corporation |
| SUVS | Sport Utility Vehicles |
| TVP | Polish Television |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNSC | United Nations Security Council |

| | |
|-------|------------------------------------|
| U.S. | United States |
| U.S.A | The United States of America |
| USS | United States Navy Ships |
| USSR | Union of Soviet Socialist Republic |
| WHO | World Health Organization |
| WMD | Weapons of Mass Destruction |
| WTC | World Trade Center |
| WW | World War Two |

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INTRODUCTION

On September 11, 2001 horrific terrorist attacks struck the United States. Different planes targeted the World Trade Centre, the Pentagon and Pennsylvania. The number of deaths outstepped 3000, and the psychological effect was so much farther. This was quite enough to belay the U.S. on a new course of foreign policy towards the Middle East. After this dreadful onslaught, America attacked Afghanistan and routed the Taliban. Then, in 2003 it invaded Iraq. Washington stressed that not only Saddam Hussein was making weapons of mass destructions that could blow the world up, but he was connected with Al Qaeda and supported the hijackers behind the 9/11 attacks. After the invasion, no weapons of mass destruction were found in Iraq, nor was there any proven link between Saddam and Al Qaeda.

These revelations made it clear that the American people had been misled before the war. The search for Saddam's baneful weapons of mass destruction was followed by American citizens as well as people all over the world. Unfortunately, the end result of months of search was disappointing and dissatisfying, and perplexity and confusion rapidly grew up to undermine the previously announced objectives that drove America to war. For years after the invasion, A lot of studies were developed, and many researches were pursued, trying to provide convincing causal relationships between different events in order to spell this important phase of American history. However, none seems thorough and inclusive enough to bring the controversy to an end.

The main research question is whether the belligerence of the U.S. Foreign Policy towards the Middle East in the wake of 9/11 is caused by U.S. expansionist ambitions or by its need to assure national security or by both. If it is caused by expansionist ambitions, the U.S recent wars in the Middle East (Afghanistan and Iraq) are no more than a choice the U.S. has seemingly made for the sake of maximizing strategic gains in the oil-rich areas of the Middle East. If this belligerence is caused by U.S. need to assure national security, the recent U.S.

wars in the Middle East (Afghanistan and Iraq), then, are wars of obligation waged by Washington in order to react to states and groups which threatened its own security. And if this belligerence is caused by both U.S. expansionist ambitions and national security considerations, the previously mentioned U.S. wars in Afghanistan and Iraq are, then, wars of choice and necessity in order to attain strategic goals in the region, achieve hegemony, topple old rivals and prevent the emergence of new ones that could have an impact on the stability of the world, thus on U.S. own interests and security in future.

To answer this question, a number of sub-questions need to be answered first: are there any preconceptions in the American mind about the Middle East that would have generated this belligerence towards the region? Has the U.S. already showed belligerence towards the region throughout its history ? If yes, what was it for ? Does the United States have interests in the Middle East ? Do U.S. officials under the Administration of George W. Bush have any vested interests? Was the U.S. war on Iraq and Afghanistan inevitable ? Could it have been fabricated by U.S. officials ?

To provide effective answers to these queries, an attempt has been made to rely on an eclectic descriptive, argumentative and analytical approach. As such, description will help to provide an accurate rendering of what actually happened; argumentation will put an iridescent spot-light on both the motives and goals behind the latest American wars in the Middle East; ultimately, analysis of the described aspects, of the events and of the official declarations will elucidate the nature of belligerence that characterized U.S. foreign policy in the wake of the 9/11 attacks.

The aim of this study is to dissect the American successive invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq by expounding very powerful and confuting arguments. An effort has been made to examine the entraining events that took place throughout the years preceding the wars. The study explains how the pace towards the wars developed culturally, economically and

politically. It focuses on unfolding and scrutinizing incidents regarding Intelligence, Administration appointments and decisions, international dealings and media manipulation, then bringing them into a junction to clarify why the U.S. went into war against Afghanistan and Iraq. The study goes through the chain-of-events very factually and objectively.

The study relies mainly on primary sources for information which include first-person accounts: letters comprising those by Presidents like Ronald Reagan, and those by Al Qaeda leaders like Ayman Al Zawahiri; interviews, press conferences and speeches made by U.S. Presidents, especially President George W. Bush, Iraqi former President Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda former leader Bin Laden; announcements made by U.S. officials as former Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld; United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions, namely resolution 1368, 1377, 1378, 1386 and 1441; Neoconservative documents as the ones published by Project for The New American Century (PNAC); memos and autobiographies written by President George W. Bush and U.S. officials in his Administration like Dick Cheney, Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice.

The Primary sources include, also, maps showing the U.S. oil pipelines projects in the Middle East; official documents providing the main guidelines of U.S. diplomacy, national security strategies and military doctrines as those published by the Defence Department and Military Services, notably, the National Security Council (NSC); Government publications and census data as those published by United States Department of Homeland Security; films dealing with the 9/11 attacks and the U.S. war on Afghanistan and Iraq and television programs about terrorism as on CBS and PBS TV channels.

Secondary sources include mostly scholarly books; reviews; reference books; dissertations; magazine and journal articles; census reports; annual reports; financial statements of companies from the Center for Public Integrity; reports of the Department of Home Land Security; reports from Architects and Engineers for 9/11 Truth and We ARE

Change Atlanta organizations and opinion polls which document attitudes and thought before and after the American invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq.

Some books have been especially useful in the conduct of this research as they relate to the topic being studied. These include *Decision points* (2010) by President George W. Bush. The President asserts the danger of Islamic terrorists for peace and world stability. He continues to speak about the danger of Saddam's WMDs, even that none was found. It presents a flow of personal opinions and ideas that are not based on facts but his own convictions. The book remains helpless as for explaining many of his Administration's decisions. In *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945*, Douglas Little demonstrates the reasons that pushed U.S. to intervene in the Middle East throughout the past years up till 1993. He deals with the role of oil, Orientalism and the significance of having an ally like Israel in the region. The book helps the reader understand many aspects of the latest American wars against Afghanistan and Iraq.

Another book which benefited this work is *Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East* (2009) by Rashid Khalidi. In this book, Khalidi shows that American foreign policy towards the Middle East does not veer from the scope of the international conflict that existed during the cold war. A conflict that was driven by fear of others, and nurtured by a desire to achieve supreme power and domination. And in *The Bubble of American Supremacy: Correcting the Misuse of American Power* (2004), George Soros bluntly criticizes the Neoconservatives leading the George W. Bush Administration. He claims that American officials archly deluded the American public, and deceived the world by exploiting the September 11th attacks and exaggerating threats so as to pass their own agenda and achieve their own objectives. However, the book relies heavily on Soros own opinions and does not present convincing arguments.

This work is divided into three chapters. The central idea of chapter one is that if one wishes to understand the American belligerence towards the Middle East one must appreciate the preconceptions and the racial inclinations most Americans have been holding for a long time. Popular culture shows that Muslims and Arabs were Orientalized and portrayed not only as backward, immoral and deceitful, but were also described as wicked and menacing individuals who despise the West and threaten its security.

Politics did not escape the influence of Orientalism. The latter, not only transfused Hollywood movies, TV series, and different writings, but also permeated American foreign policy. After the terrorist attacks of 9/11, American officials, and different media referred incessantly to Al Qaeda members, and the hijackers as Muslim terrorists, savage barbarians and dangerous slovens who constituted a perilous threat to the world. Thus, the righteous, kindly West had to help itself and the entire world get rid of those evil and horror exporters

Chapter two serves to show the strategic importance of the Middle East and its vital natural wealth that makes it a cornerstone in American geopolitics. For many years, America had successfully managed to keep its access to the Persian Gulf oil persistent and safe. Its oil corporations prosperously took control of the international oil market until the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was founded in 1970's ; control of oil switched to the oil-producing countries. In addition, the growing nationalism in the Middle East and the rising global demand for oil, while available reserves were gradually decreasing, made the United States feel its vulnerability. America sensed the weightiness of having control over oil resources and the blockade of rivals, the value of which was proved during World War II. The U.S., then, became convinced that it had to secure its access to Middle Eastern natural resources even by force, especially that this region contains most of the world's energy resources.

The chapter, also, sheds light, through figures and facts, on the real profiteers of the war represented by the ruling coalition brought to power by George W. Bush and the companies associated with them, namely the "oil-arms-construction complex". The chapter gives conclusive evidence about their effective role in driving the United States to wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. This has, undoubtedly, to do with their desire to drive up oil prices, arms spending and relative corporate profits, and benefit from reconstructing the country they would destruct while liberating.

Chapter three starts with a display of the rise and growth of the Muslim extremists who were said to be behind the attacks of the 9/11. The chapter deals also with the response of the American Administration under the leadership of President George W. Bush to the attacks. The examiner needs to measure the threat and the response, and see whether they can be brought in parallel, and whether the threat could not be contained using other more peaceful means rather than waging wars.

Furthermore, the chapter deals with the allegations well orchestrated by American Neoconservatives about Iraq and its leaders as well as the discrepancies between the official account of the 9/11 attacks and the scientific evidence provided by professionals with different kinds of expertise, and the testimony of many witnesses that point to an inside complicity.

Bringing the three chapters together would help to offer answers to the questions raised in the research and justification for the approach used by the study, and reach a final judgment based on reasoning and on the evidence accumulated by the research, and it may also provide direction and areas for future research.

CHAPTER ONE: AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY

INTRODUCTION In the American thought, backwardness and poverty of the Arab/Muslim mind and terrorism are deeply connected. Americans are convinced that violence emerges from backward cultures. They believe in their exceptionalism and cultural superiority, and they think they are endowed with a divine mission to civilize people and remake the world in their image. Thus, many leaders and political officials found in those stereotypes, and most of the time distorted images, good means to legitimise colonialism. Americans argue that negotiations, compromise and diplomacy are useless. According to them, only military force would be able to challenge such a big threat to the world and, particularly, to the United States. Principles like freedom and religious toleration are uniquely Western beliefs which need to be spread to other parts of the world.

1.1. THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE AMERICAN MIND The view of Arabs and Muslims as backward, decadent and corrupt is age old and the way the West dealt with the Middle East has always been influenced by inherited images and stereotypes. American collective imagination was shaped by representations of the Middle East and its peoples brought about through European literary works, accounts of American merchants, missionaries and archeologists. Despite the positive stand of some founders towards Islam, it was regarded by most as a threat since its appearance, and all those who espoused it were just enemies (Hourani 225).

Many Westerners grew up on Christian principles and biblical accounts depicting Muslims as astray, godless individuals, and a lot of stories depicting the Muslim world as deluged by the mundane power of "Sultans" and "Sheikhs". Numerous narrations about the Islamic

Prophet Mohammed portrayed him as a wicked, merciless, brutal barbar who spread Islam by invading other nations and offering people to choose between conversion, propulsion of ransoms or death. This portrayal was in every way the reverse of that of the clement Jesus who spread his religion peacefully, and acted with love and tolerance (Little 9,12).

Islam was never based on dialogue and discussion, nor was it constructed upon debate, argument and conviction. Many Westerners declared that Islam was spread by force and terror. After centuries, according to them, Islam has not changed. It still manifests through violence, and engenders only fear and panic (Birchwood 36). Further, in the Westerner mind, Islam offers a completely different picture from any a modern world would come up with. All aspects of a Muslim life are wholly tied with non-debatable and changeless rules. The Muslim world was regarded overwhelmed by tyranny, economic difficulty and intellectual degradation.

During the Barbary Coast War or the Tripolitan War (1801-1805) between the United States and the pirate ships from the North African Muslim states of Algiers, Morocco and Tripoli, pirates regularly attacked and seized foreigners' ships including American ones. The pirates offered the crews to choose between paying ransoms or slavery. These acts strengthened the image of Middle Easterners as barbarians in the public mind through narratives such as Caleb Bingham's *Slaves in Barbary* (1797), Susanna Rowson's play *Slaves in Algiers* (1794) and James Ellison's *The American captive* (1812). Backward Middle East is similarly projected through showing biblical ruins and bedouins on the works of landscape artists such as Minor Kellogg and Edward Troye (Little 13).

In his *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), Mark Twain depicted Arabs as "backward", "decadent" and "untrustworthy". He described Muslims as "filthy", "brutist", "ignorant", "unprogressive" and "superstitious" (126). Muslims, according to him, were nasty pagan

infidels and uncivilized barbarians (475, 563, 486). They were ruled by tyranny and propelled by greed and violence (126). Occidental descriptions sprang very often from a racist prejudiced mind. Knighthood, magnanimity and generosity of Arabs didn't have place in the Western Orientalist depictions. They even mocked Islamic values and sacristis. Twain did not mind call his Arabian horse "Mohammed" and described the Muslim women as "Mummies" (477, 433).

Prevailing Western attitudes regarded Arabs and Muslims as bigoted, aggressive and narrow-minded individuals. They blamed Islam for every negative aspect they attributed to the Arab and Islamic world. Those attitudes came from common people as well as Presidents who showed the same kind of humiliation to Arabs and Muslims. For them, it was impossible to expect any decency, ideological or economic progress where Islam reigned (Little 26).

Nine days after the 9/11 attacks, President George W. Bush stated, in his address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American people, that the terrorists who attacked America were the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century, and who followed in the path of fascists, Nazis, and totalitarians. As the hijackers were Muslims, Bush's words conveyed the idea that fascism, Nazism, and totalitarianism and Islam were all confined in one scope Which emitted the same kind of ignorance, evil, hostility and hatred (*White House archives.gov*).

Repeated suicide attacks and bombings of public places, and frequent beheadings and execution of individuals by some Muslim fundamentalists entrenched in the Westerner mind the idea that Arabs and Muslims do not treasure human life as they do. Arabs are, also, deceptive and cannot be relied on. They are, not only, thoughtless and inactive, but also unexpected to generate any genius or creativity. Westerners believe that Arabs are hot-tempered and prejudiced. All they excel at is deceit, betrayal and backstabbing. Muslims are

viewed as feeling hatred and scorn towards strangers who have different beliefs (C. Bin Ladin 3).

Many Americans think that Arabs and Muslims have long lived under the rule of dictatorship, and have constantly been controlled with an iron fist. This kind of rule has been going on, even in countries that seem to be popularly and democratically administered. Consequently, these people became unable to achieve any true democracy. This explains the persistent chaos and struggle in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya even after the fall of dictators: Mubarak, Ben Ali and Gaddafi.

The belief in the inferiority of Arabs and the preeminence of Americans was deeply rooted in the American mind, and occupied a place in the most best-selling books and magazines and became the subject of the most influential movies. Despite the positive portrayal of Arabs and Muslims in *The 13th warrior* (1999), *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves* (1991) and *Three Kings* (1999), Hollywood blockbusters such as *The Sheik* (1921), *The Thief of Baghdad* (1924), *Beau Geste* (1926), *Song of Love* (1923) and *A Café in Cairo* (1924) reinforced stereotypes of Arabs as backward, nescient and violent people (Shaheen "Reel Bad Arabs : How Hollywood Vilifies a People" (176).

In addition to these same recurring stereotypes, recent Hollywood works connected Arabs and Muslims mainly with terrorism (179). *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981) is a movie about an Arab who bands together with the Nazis. In *Black Sunday* (1977) Arabs are depicted as homicidal zealots who plan to bomb a stadium during the super bowl and kill all its occupants including the U.S. President. In *True Lies* (1994) Salim AbdulAziz is a violent commander of an Arab terrorist group believed to have smuggled four Soviet nuclear warheads out of the Republic of Kazakhstan. And in *G.I Jane* (1997) Demi Moore moves to Libya, kills Arabs and retrieves a U.S nuclear-powered satellite containing weapons-grade plutonium off the

Libyan coast. These are very few examples among hundreds of films carrying similar prejudice against Arabs and Muslims.

Movies and Cartoons designed for children made no exception. With the low image and negative stereotype of Arabs and Muslims, they constituted children's first encounter with backward and evil Middle Easterners. "Aladdin", a story of Medieval Arabian Origin in the book of *One Thousand and One Nights*, became an animated film by Disney in 1992. The first song, "Arabian Nights", consists of an opening lyrics in which Arabs are described as barbaric persons who would cut one's ear off if they did not like one (Shaheen "Hollywood's Muslim Arabs" 29).

Moreover, the three main characters in the film: Aladdin, princess Jasmine and the Sultan have more of a Western appearance, and even their statements and actions are far from being violent or brutal. In the contrary, the other characters such as evil Jaafar, cruel palace guards and greedy merchants have stereotypical Middle Eastern features and are portrayed as very violent and barbaric. Such portrayal extends erroneous images and gives millions of American children, who are still in the process of developing their perceptions of the world, bad impression about Arabs and Muslims (El-Farra "Arabs and the Media" *calstatela.edu*).

"Alladin" is by no means the only offender. At one time or another, many other television cartoon shows cause children to adopt misconceptions about Arabs and Muslims. In 1989, Spencer Gift stores sold two Arab Halloween masks, named "Sheik" and "Arafat", with grotesque physical features along with scary figures as the "Witch" and the "Werewolf". The sale of such masks brought about strong opposition and demonstrations led by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee ADC ("Arab-American Group to Protest Offensive Masks" *Los Angeles Times latimes.com*).

Stereotypes had their place in music, too. Cure, an English rock band, sang "killing an Arab" which first appeared on December 1978, then was included in their album *Boys don't cry* in February 1980(*Christgau "Creative Censorship" robertchristgau.com*). "A-hab The A-rab" is another song recorded by Ray Stevens in 1962. The video shows Fateema, the Sultan's best dancer, putting a bone on her nose, " eating on a raisin, grape, apricot, pomegranate, bowel of chittlins, two bananas, three candy bars, sipping on an ice cold Coca-Cola, listening to her transistor and singing ' Does your chewing gum lose its flavor' (Stevens *Youtube Youtube.com*). The video recalls the idea tha the Orient is made up of rotten leaders reigning over ridiculous petty idiots unworthy of any respect or consideration. "Walk Like an Egyptian" by the girls' band, The Bangles, a pop hit in 1986, is another song whose words are full of stereotypes (Franken 14).

Stereotypes persist everywhere. Many TV series depict Arabs and Muslims as terrorists smuggling nuclear weapons, blowing up public places and airplanes, and killing ruthlessly thousands of innocent civilians. Journalist Steven Emerson on CBS-TV's "eye on America 1994" assails Muslims, and asserts that America's Arabs and Muslims were raising money for a holy war in America and in the Middle East. In addition, there are many other documentaries showing Muslims as a threat to America like "The Islamic Bomb" and "The Sword of Islam" presented on PBS and "Terrorist on Trial" on CBS-TV(Shaheen Arab And Muslim Stereotyping in American Popular Culture 17).

One can see that Arabs are seen through Media's distorted images which make them look different and threatening (Shaheen *Reel Bad Arabs* 8). They believe in a different intolerant God. They are far from peaceful, and are bent on destroying the west in every possible way. Arab women are submissive, looking like "black crows", portrayed as "mute", and "bizarre harem maidens" (Jack Shaheen *Counter Culture countercultureuk.com*). An Arab in the American popular imagination is robed and turbaned Vicious and perilous, engaged mainly in

seizing planes and bursting public buildings (Shaheen "Hollywood's Muslim Arabs" 25). Thus, any movie or script that portrays evil characters as dark-skinned, bearded and arising from countries like Iraq, Iran and Egypt finds smooth acceptance in the Western conscience.

Edward Said makes this idea of distorting images clear by comparing Orientalism to a lens that disfigures the way we see people. He explains that it is a frame that Westerners use to understand the unfamiliar to make the people of the Middle East appear strange and threatening (*Youtube youtube.com*). Importantly, the negative view of Muslims and Arabs has frequently and abundantly recurred, and became deeply and strongly ingrained in Westerners minds that anything they see, like the 9/11 attacks, strengthens the vision they have. So, the actions of a handful of individuals made it adequate, to view all Arabs and Muslims as terrorists.

The news in United States, too, have shown the traditional bias that has stood the test of time wherever they had to display reports about Arabs and Muslims. Depicting people constantly as the evil foe, who is working on tearing the world down, will naturally lead to the creation of a kind of contempt and prejudice against others. On April 19, 1995, when the Alfred p. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma city was bombed, Middle Easterners were quickly identified as suspects. Many news organizations reported that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was looking for two men with dark hair and beards. Arabs and Muslims suffered from physical and verbal assaults before it was discovered that two non-Muslim Americans with European origins, Timothy J Mc veigh and Terry L. Nichols committed the act, driven by political beliefs (Shaheen Arab And Muslim Stereotyping in American Popular Culture 18).

Western Media usually report criminal acts by Westerners as individual actions and do not accredit them to the whole society. A terrorist is often identified and condemned as a terrorist and is not identified with his / her religious affiliation. Actions of members of the Ku Klux Klan do not echo actions of all Occidentals or Christians. But, When a Muslim

individual is involved in any terrorist event, the media is very quick in using the word "Muslim Terrorist", and an aggressive conduct of an individual or a small group of Arabs or Muslims is taken as that of the majority in the popular imagination (Soharwardy *Islamic Supreme Council of Canada islamicsupremecouncil.com*).

Early in the war in Bosnia, news showed much bias (Shaheen Arab And Muslim Stereotyping in American Popular Culture 29). When referring to Muslims, the American media referred to Bosnian Government as a "Muslim-led Government" and used the terms: "terrorists", "Muslim fighters", and "Muslim extremists" to refer to Bosnia's fighters, but they did not use "Catholics" for Croatians or "Orthodox Christians" for Serbians (Roane *New York Times nytimes.com*). News about Muslims and Arabs do not stray, in any way, from negative descriptions of Orientals that build up the Muslim/Arab cliché.

The idea of putting people into groups and categories because of their intense difference culturally, politically, economically, and linguistically, has been going on since the time there has been contact between these opposed peoples. But, Orientalism makes this process more empowered presenting itself as "objective knowledge". However, this knowledge is neither "innocent" nor "objective", but rather it is a result of a "process" that exhibits "interests" (Said Interview "On Orientalism"). It is an ongoing compilation of negative images, adding, each time, a new concept and putting out a more complete picture needed to describe the other.

Intrinsically, the 'Orient' is what stands through the eyes of certain Westerners. It is established as an 'other' as opposed to the 'Occident. The West is reasonable, "moderate" and "democratic". The Orient is aggressive, perplexing and lives under "oppression" and "tyranny". This Western depiction is totally "self-serving", and vital to the United States (Orientalism Kritik *National Debate Coaches Association debatecoaches.org*). To approve its

existence as a civilized nation, America tends to negate all those who differ from it and portray them as either primitives who need reform, or evil that must be fought against.

The West views itself as worldly-wise and sophisticated mainly after the outstanding development it reached in all domains of life. According to Americans, one of their duties on earth is to offer help to those who need it. The Orient which is outdated and cut off all the progress the Occident reached is the most that needs Western assistance. In fact, this discourse is no more than a reflection of definite objectives concealing behind arranged and ornate reasoning. Arabs and Muslims, which have made a lot of achievements and developed a lot of sciences at some time in history, are flopping today in social, political economic, intellectual and ideological troubles. A matter of fact that gives a boost to Westerners perception of the Orient, and supports Westerners claim that this is a region that really needs to be dealt with.

American media cover the Middle East through Western eyes. Writers, journalists and historians all approach U.S. foreign policy towards the Middle East from a rational disposition favouring American interests in the region. In this case, culture takes the assistant position. Misrepresentations come to be a powerful device for promoting political scheme, and an effective means to achieve the imperial protocol. These misrepresentations, not only, sustain the American mind and keep it hawk-eyed, but comforts the imperialist spirit and powers it to move forward, as well.

1.2. THE IMPACT OF ORIENTALISM ON FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS Cultures often shape the way we think and the way we see the rest of the world. They afford us customs, beliefs, values and principles. We live in a cultural fabric which influences, the way we look, our habits and the way we deal with each other. But as cultures attach us together,

they also blind and cast us apart. Foreign policy is not an exception; it is shaped in part by preconceptions and deep-rooted inclinations.

Americans had always had a Western focus. This Western centric world view leads them to believe that they possess an advanced culture, and view others as primitive. So, Orientalism is the idea that the "East" is inferior to the "West" and, therefore, deserves to be dominated. Orientalism leads to American imperialism in the Middle East. It incites Americans to look down on the region's inhabitants, and feel in some way, that they need to be reformed. Americans believe that U.S. imperialism is the greatest force for good in the world, and feel that imperializing the East is justified or even a positive good (Höglund *Game Studies* gamestudies.org).

Westerners are persuaded that Middle Easterners need the West, and often await the coming of the West to save them and free them from the situation that has long shackled them (Al-Mwajeh 88). Americans are convinced that they are the ones who could change the world. They believe that they are different and special because God created them as such and predetermined great things to happen through them (Young 131). Thus, America's godly project was to redeem man and embed highly moral decency on Earth (O'Sullivan *The Making of America* cornell.edu). This explains American Presidents' frequent recal to "Manifest Destiny" in their speeches, either explicitly or implicitly.

Woodrow Wilson, for example, emphasizing that the United States had a mission to be a world leader for the cause of democracy, stated that it was the predestination of the United States to emerge leading the world to a better existence. It would move with divine grace to end the world's misery and help democracy to reign because it is fair, pure and powerful (*American Presidency Project* presidency.ucsb.edu). In 1912, Theodore Roosevelt expressed

the idea that they were a nation guided by God, and battled for him (*Almanac of Theodore Roosevelt theodore-roosevelt.com*).

Similarly, Abraham Lincoln, in the Gettysburg Address on November 19, 1863, referred to Americans as the "nation under God" (*OurDocuments.gov ourdocuments.gov*). It is not surprising, then, that George W. Bush invoked America's divine destiny in his State of the Union Address after the 9/11 attacks in 2002, when he declared that " Americans [would] lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right, true and unchanging for all people everywhere" (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*). In his January 2005 Inaugural Address, President Bush spoke again on this issue:

From the day of our founding, we have proclaimed that every man and woman on this Earth has rights, and dignity and matchless value ... Across the generations we have proclaimed the imperative of self-government, because no one is fit to be a master, and no one deserves to be a slave. Advancing these ideals is the mission that created our nation. (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*).

The relationship between the Orient and the West is not one between "equals". Rather, every characteristic of the West has its corresponding negative for the Orient. Among these opposite duals is that the West is in control, the Orient is the controlled. America attained a high level of knowledge in politics, science, economics and a valuable experience that enables it to make the right decisions. This grants it a position of an instructor whose duty is to teach and guide the Middle East which lacks knowledge and experience. In turn, the Middle East has to fulfill the expectations of its instructor (America) otherwise it will become a turbulent learner endorsing in obstinate behavior and agitating the rest of the class (*Sandikcioglu Orientalism: The ideology behind the metaphorical Gulf War tulane.edu*).

America, holding a position of the instructor, decides everything for the class: the teaching methods, the evaluation, it controls the process of learning and opts for praise and blame and even severe punishment when needed (Sandikcioglu *Orientalism: The ideology behind the metaphorical Gulf War tulane.edu*). This can be clearly understood from the words of President Bush in his Address to a Joint Session of Congress in September 2001, " Tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban ... These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act and act immediately ... or they will share in their fate." (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*). The Middle East is put in a class it does not like, and has to acquire a way of life it does not want, but as the 'New World Order' recommends, those nations under control have no right to share in the design nor question it. All they have to do is to take the positions chosen for them, submit to the carrot-and-stick policy, and do their best to fill the bill (Sandikcioglu *Orientalism: The ideology behind the metaphorical Gulf War tulane.edu*).

U.S. efforts under the George Bush Administration rose in order to back up new rulers and governments in reaction to the rise of Taliban insurgency and Saddam's ambitions to leadership in the Muslim Arab world. The U.S. and Saddam sought to achieve economic prosperity and self independence. However, as regional dominance by one excludes that of the other, their objectives collided, and when they did, U.S. interests had to prevail (Hazbun Middle East Research and Information Project *merip.org*).

U.S. relation to the backward, savage Middle East takes the form of benevolent supremacy¹ in which the U.S. encloses the Middle Eastern nations, by limiting their role within a US-dominated order. Americans have always viewed themselves as good-natured people working to spread peace and ensure the welfare of all people around the globe. Thus, America has to crush any threat, not only for the sake of the U.S., but for the stability of the whole world. Objecting American actions in the Middle East would only mean depriving its

peoples of all the good the U.S. would bring them (Hazbun Middle East *Research and Information Project merip.org*). President George W. Bush announced that America fights, not only for its nation's defense, but for a larger cause:

We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace—a peace that favors human liberty. We will defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent. Building this just peace is America's opportunity, and America's duty. ("Graduation Speech at West Point 1 June. 2002" *White House whitehouse.archives.gov*).

Support for the push towards war was raised as a salvation for all to the point that the "Bush Doctrine" echoed among Americans, and was supported by a super abundance of media imagery continually depicting the United States as a haven of liberty in a sea of peril (Hazbun Middle East *Research and Information Project merip.org*) .

Besides, the American war on Iraq has imparted that aggression against American interests in any place of the world should be regarded just as we regard aggression against America on its own land. In this concept, the American homeland is the whole globe, and Americans in Iraq doubtlessly are not regarded as foreigners because they are universal soldiers battling for an absolute Good (Hazbun Middle East *Research and Information Project merip.org*). The barbaric peculiarity of the 9/11 attacks has authorized American leaders to project their fight as one for civilization itself. Americans defend morals and values, they fight to spread freedom and establish democracy around the world, whereas Orientals are their opposite in every respect, so there could be no compact or sympathy between them.

Orientalism appeals for the sophistication of backward Orientals according to Western virtues and precepts, bringing them into a world of grace and integrity ending aggression and hostility that would grow worse to undermine civilization and human refinement. So, "Do we want to live in a world where aggression is made less likely because it is met with a powerful response from the international community, a world where civilized rules of conduct apply? Or are we willing to live in a world where aggression can go unchecked, where aggression succeeds because we cannot muster the collective will to challenge it?" (Baker *US Department of state state.gov*).

In the prompt aftermath of the September 11 attacks, the U.S. folded the terrorist network of Al Qaeda into the restricted space of Afghanistan to create a military target. Because of Al Qaeda responsibility for the attacks, the Afghanistan's zone could be regarded as a sphere outside of civilization. Consequently, the inhabitants of this area were minimized to targets on a map (Hazbun Middle East *Research and Information Project merip.org*). In his book entitled *We Will Prevail*, Bush presents a clear choice for the other nations to "stand with the civilized world or stand with the terrorists" (31-32). Further, he warns those nations which stand with the terrorists that there will be a heavy price.

It has always been a priority for the United States to assure its economic expansion and enhance its political influence and cultural domination. Along the way to achieve that, U.S. has always considered those willing to hamper its progress towards its goals not only as enemies, but also classified them as backward, barbaric, dangerous and destructive. America views itself as the ideal model nation and the Middle East's rescuer, protector and assistant to bring about liberal democracy. It therefore demands, as the real safeguard of the world, that its national interest becomes the supreme order. It is totally insensible to the legitimate demands of the Middle East even based on international law, and does not hesitate to use violence in order to save its goals (Orientalism Kritik *debatecoaches.org*).

Additionally, America believes that States that are ruled democratically help and support each other, cooperate to fight same menaces, assist the economic well being of their people, foster free markets, and back up the rule of law to protect their citizens' rights. That being so, spreading democracy and free trade throughout the globe would promote and protect American interests (*A National Security Strategy For a New Century* 4). President Bush said in the State of the Union in 2002:

America is working ... to achieve peace and prosperity. In every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies from Europe to Asia, and Africa to Latin America, we will demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom. (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*).

After September 11th, the American Administration described the conflict as a battle between good and evil, progress and backwardness, freedom and hate, and one that could only be won through military intervention. Tolerating oppression, overlooking faults of local rulers and bargaining did not bring stability to the region nor did it make the West safe. It only gave time to troubles to aggravate, and ideologies of violence to take hold (Bush "Discusses Iraq Policy" *White House whitehouse.archives.gov*). America decided to leave behind the elastic policy it pursued for years in dealing with the Middle East, and follow a more rigid policy to face new challengers whose conduct relies solely on violence and terrorism.

According to the American Administration terrorism arises, not only, due to the absence of democratic institutions and the lack of free trade, but it also emerges and thrives in poor circles. Poverty is one of the most important factors that terrorist organizations might exploit and turn to their advantage. This is why America believes that the fight against terrorism

should start with the eradication of poverty besides the promotion of democracy and the removal of barriers between rich and poor countries (Bush *International Conference on Financing United Nations un.org*). It argues that only by promoting liberal American models in “The Greater Middle East”, and building a Middle East that grows in hope, instead of resentment, can terrorism be defeated and national security assured (White House. Strategic Studies Institute 1-2).

America draws on democracy to fight terrorism and spread liberty; a democracy which brings off more than an honestly elected government; a democracy that is linked in essence to a safe and healthy environment that would benefit human development and support political and economic advancement. The war on terror would free the Middle East and make it a more democratic place. It would at the same time make the United States safer, for the only way to protect its way of life at home was to spread that way of life abroad. Since it was America which presented the arguments, there was no reason for more debate and analysis.

Based on the belief in its superiority, the West sees itself as balanced, reliable and controlled. In contrast, the Orient is perceived as a shaky, unbalanced, and uncontrollable region. Despite its wealth and natural forces, the Orient is seen as unsteady and compelled to dissolve due to internal conflicts or to be wrecked by some external interference. Orientals are ruled by emotion while Occidentals are guided by rationality. And since emotion must be controlled by reason and not the contrary, the Occident has the right to hold the position of leadership, and maintain a balance of power in the region (Sandikcioglu *Orientalism: The ideology behind the metaphorical Gulf War tulane.edu*). This is clearly expressed by President Bush in his 2001 Inaugural Address:

The enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake: America remains engaged in the world by history and by choice, shaping a balance of

power that favors freedom. We will defend our allies and our interests. We will show purpose without arrogance. We will meet aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength. And to all nations, we will speak for the values that gave our nation birth. (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*).

This can be achieved by preventing irrational leaders as Saddam Hussein from changing the balanced state of the world, and destroying it. Arabs and Muslims are conceived as unsuitable for world leadership, because they lack the kind of wisdom and harmony, which could enable them to act as a powerful unity.

Middle Easterners are perceived by Americans as irrational ruled by emotion not reason and leaning to redundancy and belligerent disputes rather than Western way of compromise, concurrence and balanced intellectual dialogue. The Oriental way of thinking is perceived as circular, then idiotic and not based on sound reason. That is why it is confusing and not understandable for a Western mind. In the light of this, negotiation with Orientals would be useless and would lead nowhere, but to the initial point (Sandikcioglu *Orientalism: The ideology behind the metaphorical Gulf War tulane.edu*).

For America, Saddam Hussein's thinking and conduct was evasive, and moved in circles, and the UN negotiations with him and sanctions looked like engaging in a hide-and-seek game, helping only to augment his antagonism. Americans are convinced that while Saddam was showing good intentions and willingness to cooperate, he and his team were deluding the world and doing whatever they could so as the inspectors find nothing (Powell 612). This conviction was approved by United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441 through which the UN recognized the threat Iraq's non-compliance with Council resolutions and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction poses to international peace and security (*United Nations un.org*). In his Address to the United Nations in 2002, President Bush stated that:

In time, Iraq was allowed to use oil revenues to buy food. Saddam Hussein has subverted this program, working around the sanctions to buy missile technology and military materials. He blames the suffering of Iraq's people on the United Nations, even as he uses his oil wealth to build lavish palaces for himself and to buy arms for his country. (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*).

For Westerners the only thing people in the Middle East understand is force; which in a way could explain U.S. Intelligence Agency efforts to break Arab and Muslim detainees by abusive practices to create fear and humiliation. The U.S. believes that Arabs are stubborn and unable to contribute and respond to any positive or fruitful dialogue that is why it reckons on its power to control them.

Westerners overlook Arabs and Muslims' alliances which are based on blood ties and religion, and believe that one of the major things that make Orientals' unions fragile and breakable is the way they choose their allies. By contrast, Westerners' alliances are based on reason, and membership is based on ideals rather than on paternal and religious ties (Sandikcioglu *Orientalism: The ideology behind the metaphorical Gulf War tulane.edu*). This idea is well expressed by President Bush in his Inaugural Address in 2001:

America has never been united by blood or birth or soil. We are bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests and teach us what it means to be citizens. Every child must be taught these principles. Every citizen must uphold them. And every immigrant, by embracing these ideals, makes our country more, not less, American. (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*).

Occidental alliances, then, are carefully constructed due to economic and political realities and members are included and excluded on the base of the good or the harm they can bring to the union. This is what builds the strength of a Western alliance. However, the Arab and Muslim world is viewed by the West as a large family whose members are to keep together for religious and blood relationship, even if they feel and act as adversaries. A family as such is an exhausted and feeble construct unable to be in control of itself or others outside it (Sandikcioglu *Orientalism: The ideology behind the metaphorical Gulf War* tulane.edu).

What should be done with Arabs and Muslims came through the words the most disturbing of all, of Bernard Lewis, Veteran Orientalist, as he counseled the Vice President and Secretary of Defence on the coming war in Iraq. He said that Arabs should be hit between the eyes with a big stick because they respect power (Kbiri 23-24). Similar hostility towards Arabs and Muslims was expressed by Televangelist Benny and Rightist Syndicated Columnist Ann Coulter who made it clear that for her not all Muslims may be terrorists, but all terrorists are Muslims. So, Americans should invade their countries, kill their leaders and convert them to Christianity (Ghazali 20-21).

The occupation of Iraq by the United States was justified by the pretension of 'War Against Terror'. George W. Bush stated in his 2003 State of the Union Address:

Today, the gravest danger in the war on terror, the gravest danger facing America and the world, is outlaw regimes that seek and possess nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. These regimes could use such weapons for blackmail, terror and mass murder. They could also give or sell those weapons to terrorist allies, who would use them without the least hesitation. (*White House* whitehouse.archives.gov).

Saddam, the criminal, had to be prevented from developing nuclear technology. The West strongly opposes Orientals' ownership of nuclear weapons, relying on the Orientalist depictions which present them as reckless and irresponsible, led by emotions rather than reason. So, the West decides that only Western states would have the right to possess nuclear weapons and technology, because they are responsible and rational, and need such weapons to restore and preserve international peace and security. The new strategy, then, seeks the elimination of regimes rather than weapons. America believes that its moral and intellectual superiority, its insight and military primacy make it eligible to discern and decide which states could acquire nuclear weapons and which could not (Cirincione *Arms Control Association armscontrol.org*).

Under Western scope, the Middle East appears like an off track straw buffeted by waves of political unrest, wars, ethnic, ideological and religious conflicts. Packing the snaps, shot daily out of the region, offers the world a dark, gloomy, unfavourable picture that does not reflect the minimum standards of civilization and humanity. Curbing individuals freedoms, persecuting women and depriving peoples of their basic human rights gives America green light to defeat the abusers and stand by the oppressed.

Fear is inherent in the American culture. The emergence of this ostentatious nation, so proud of its unique lifestyle, has always been accompanied by fear of its destruction by some different "others". This fear became a syndrome that accompanied it in all the historical events it took part in. The more different the "other" was, the more danger Americans felt for their own way of life. Thence, whatever negative depictions of the "other" were overrated, they easily found their way to the American consent. As Said stresses, "No longer does an Orientalist try first to master the esoteric languages of the Orient, he begins instead as a trained social scientist, and 'applies' his science to the Orient" (290).

This rhetoric of fear has met prolific ground in the American society. The inheritance of Orientalist ideas has been always there waiting to be activated. American belligerence towards the Middle East after the 9/11 attacks is probably not the result of a temporary anger, but an activation of long held beliefs. After the fall of communism, a new enemy was seen in Islam, and fear of Islam burst with the attacks of September 11. These attacks gave a new impulse to the Orientalist spirit to place the blame on Islam for the failure of Middle Eastern countries to develop like the West, and even blame Islam for the spread of terrorism (Orientalism Kritik *National Debate Coaches Association debatecoaches.org*).

The ardent acquiescence of democratic control in the West is matched by hatred and anger towards Muslims, who are not Western, and therefore not civilized. Arabs and Muslims are detested because they are in every respect the opposite of what they would be if the West could have made them in its own image. The new concept reflects a dislike of the other not because of his behavior or actions, but mainly because of his belonging and beliefs. The difference is not a simple one that underlies just race, but rather it is a serious one that involves culture and ideology. Hatred is directed to people, solely, because they are perceived as sharing the tenets and beliefs of a world accustomed as barbaric and dangerous (Orientalism Kritik *National Debate Coaches Association debatecoaches.org*).

Since the horror of 9/11 the West became convinced that Muslim fanatics are gaining more and more power with the goal of building a radical Islamic empire where terrorists will have a safe haven to plan, train and launch attacks on America and other civilized nations (Bush The White House archives.gov). In his 2004 Statement to accompany testimony before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich said:

Since we now live in an age of mass destruction, mass murder, and mass disruption we have to design defense and homeland security systems that are so robust and so in depth that after the surprise we are still a safe, prosperous, free society. The long war between good and evil, between freedom and tyranny, between civilization and barbarism will not end no matter how good our intelligence. Therefore we will have to be robustly prepared both at home and abroad. (*Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence house.gov*).

The war against this enemy is more than a military conflict. It is a struggle for civilization (Kumar *International Socialist Review isreview.org*). The West has to fight in order to maintain the way of life enjoyed by free nations. Thus, Westerners identify the enemy as the “other”, the “different” the “weird”, depict its danger through abundant negative portrayals, then impose the logic of self defense against savagery.

Following World War II, several national liberation struggles swept the Middle East. And many Arab and Muslim countries succeeded in gaining various degrees of self determination from the French and the British colonizers. Soon after, there was a strong inclination for reconstitution and transformation in the region. New political and social forces emerged, and Arab nationalism gained a solid bastion. The latter was perceived as a threat (Miller 142). Thus, U.S. policy in the region was projected to eliminate all challenges to U.S. domination (*Orientalism Kritik National Debate Coaches Association debatecoaches.org*).

The West has endorsed a misreading of the situation that represents all violence by Muslims as criminal. Using the word "terrorist", the West closes off all kinds of critical thought. The notion means that most of Muslims and Arabs are terrorists, and terrorists are like cancer, you should not spend a long time analyzing, you have just to kill them. Those terrorists hate Western values and threaten their way of life. If Westerners do not destroy the

terrorists, they will soon destroy them. As such is the conceptualization of Saddam Hussein as the rebirth of Hitler, whose atrocity and corruption was also seen as a disease that had been let to breed and spread because it had not been destroyed in time (Crooke *theguardian.com*).

Iraq had already been awfully orientalized during the First Gulf War. George H.W Bush stated that America was:

Dealing with Hitler revisited, a totalitarianism, and a brutality that is naked and unprecedented in modern times. And that must not stand. We cannot talk about compromise when you have that kind of behaviour going on this very minute. Embassies being starved, people being shot, women being raped—It is brutal. And I will continue to remind the rest of the world that this must not stand. (*National Archives archives.gov*).

Saddam was then perceived as the most dangerous Arab leader of his time. He was viewed as a bold, fearless leader who had the valor to challenge the world and defy the United States. The image of Saddam Hussein as an evil, dangerous and an ambitious oppressor has always found a space in news, films, documentaries, books, daily conversations and frequently reoccurred in American officials' lexicon since the end of the Gulf War. The war against Saddam, was then portrayed as a fight against evil to free the Iraqi people and keep the world safe.

Further, America had to keep its military supremacy beyond contest. So, defeating Saddam Hussein can be understood as an attempt to enhance U.S. prominent power beyond challenge—especially after the attacks of September, 2001 that might have made the U.S. look "vulnerable" and defenseless. Besides, once the American Administration publicly announced regime change in Iraq was a U.S. priority, America would have seemed under thumb had it accepted any "compromise" that would have left Saddam's Government in

power (Lieberfeld 3). Similarly U.S. shift to unilateralism also reflects America's tendency to maintain its military and political domination against any challenge, just as the 9/11 attacks.

The attacks of 11 September, 2001 were immediately conceived by all Americans as a means of destruction of the United States by an imperceptible and deceptive enemy sweeping both inward and outward. As the press and media firmed up the character of the "Enemy", the nation conspired in an immense patriotism. Americans became convinced that the interests of the homeland coincided with the "Good", including that of all the peoples of the world, which sooner or later would draw benefits and salvation (Assayag *SciELO mctes.pt*).

Incapable to rule themselves rightly, Middle Easterner countries need a colonial direction in order to integrate the dominated in a world embracing the American way of life. This imposed management and protection are all justified because the Americans govern the occupied alone by the integrity of their race and according to their perfect liberal democracy. In this sense, American forced interventions aim at toppling the rogue states with a view to reconstruct them in the image of America: free peaceful democratic states whose nations enjoy economic prosperity and intellectual maturity. This has always been the core of the American manifest destiny throughout history (Assayag *SciELO mctes.pt*).

The new Orientalism allows the employment of aggression as a new political too. When dealing with a stubborn violent antagonistic barbarian, only a tough rigid onslaught would be able to bring the strife to an end. Even when those brutal office holders and barbarian leaders are popularly elected, "they" can still not be part of "us". They can be overthrown, arrested, imprisoned and tortured, or assassinated as recommended by Western leaders. The murder of the ex-Lybian President Maamar El Gueddafi and the way Saddam Hussein was executed are outstanding examples. Terrorists, who use violence, face a heavier prescript. Not only are they outside of the scope of civilization and undeserve civilized standards to be applied to

them, such as respect towards elected representatives, but they are also excluded from international sympathy and protection. The ruler who divest himself of all human qualities and does not hesitate to repress his people and kill thousands of innocents without fair trials does not deserve to be treated with compassion, because he stepped on all international laws and humanitarian norms which could have defended him (Crooke *bitterLemons-international.org* *bitterlemons-international.org*) .

The international community strongly backs human rights protection and world peace. America defined Iraq under Saddam as an intolerant supporter of international terrorism and the pursuit of WMD, justifying military intervention. Although using force against others in this sturdy way looks brutal and unnatural, it is the only means capable of confronting inhumanity and unlimited brutality. There can be no world peace with tyrants, so as we amputate a limb which is no longer vibrant because it destroys the rest of the body, so evil barbarians, who under human appearance accumulate the atrocity and brutality of a bloodthirsty monster, should be immediately expelled from international society.

Westerners discard Orientals, not simply because they differ on all levels, but also because they feel that their rise would mean their own downfall. This fear of unbalancing world power in favor of a religion, a culture and an ideology that strongly differs from theirs, makes it permissible to exterminate the other upon the logic of "my" or "your" existence. The United States appealed to isolate these perilous deviants, and underlined the obligation of States to deny financial and all other forms of support and safe haven to them (*United Nations Resolution 1377 un.org*). Once these "Others", find themselves excluded not only from civilization, but from international support and protection as well, they may respond positively by adopting the positions Westerners attribute to them (Crooke *bitterLemons-international.org* *bitterlemons-international.org*).

This new Orientalism becomes "self-fulfilling". Arabs and Muslims are perceived as violent blokes engaging in a very aggressive disposal. Per contra, Americans are defending themselves against aggression directed towards them. Thence, Americans are afforded the right to use any means they see suitable to keep those barbarians down. Orientalism becomes an essential base for war, offering America a reasonable warrant to wage wars against its enemies in order to protect itself. The pre-emptive war, launched by the Bush Administration is a new form of Orientalism. The words of Bush, Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz talking of the need to attack terrorists in their homelands, before they strike against the U.S. are an illustration of "Orientalism in action" (Crooke *bitterLemons-international.org bitterlemons-international.org*).

America waged an outrageous war against Afghanistan and Iraq on the contention that they were accountable for the 9/11 attacks. There was much talk from officials as from common people about this terror that emerged from darkness and came forth to bring about destruction into a godly peaceful world, and leave behind scare and sorrow. So, there was need to carry on more than a vengeful war. That spot of the world was growing in gloom and ignorance, and will breed nothing but heartless evil aggressors unless Americans bring upon themselves the burden of taking illumination to that space, and lead its peoples in a new path of coexistence, tolerance and understanding. The condemnation of the culture and religion of the 'other' as a source of all evil while appraising oneself as the salvor is an articulation of Orientalism. Using extravagant force to refine others makes orientalism more vivid and more active (Nassar *Al Ahram ahram.org.eg*).

Afghanistan and Iraq, two different countries with different politics, geographies, economies, languages, education, cultures and customs were fused together into one bulk, and then presented as one and as the root of all corruption, a harmful monster with wicked

intentions and evil deeds, projecting its grudge to reach far beyond its frontier. The different American media communicated the same news and the same reports about terrorists engaging in homicidal acts against innocent civilians, and benevolent soldiers sacrificing their lives for the good of America and mankind. The accounts and pictures diffused about the war budgets, the battles, the victims and the prison abuses were so identical that they make it difficult to know whether they are talking about Afghanistan or Iraq (Nassar *Al Ahram ahram.org.eg*).

Orientalist messages, in general, are forged and conferred intentionally to meet the requirements of the imperialistic outline. Positive traits in the Oriental world are very often disregarded and dropped out of the profile which is professionally designed to assist in presenting the other as compelled to Western intervention:

So far as the United States seems to be concerned, it is only a slight overstatement to say that Moslems and Arabs are essentially seen as either oil suppliers or potential terrorists. Very little of the detail, the human density, the passion of Arab-Moslem life has entered the awareness of even those people whose profession it is to report the Arab world. What we have instead is a series of crude, essentialized caricatures of the Islamic world presented in such a way as to make that world vulnerable to military aggression. (Said *Nation*: 488-92).

Thus, according to Orientalists, Iraq was not colonized; it was liberated. The occupation of Iraq was perceived as a step towards civilization, and an invitation to progress and prosperity (Bremer 397-398).

Contemporary Neo-Orientalist attitudes have arisen in the field of policy making as a result of popular pressure on leaders and governments, mainly after the increase of global terrorism and political turmoil in the Middle East. Seizing the opportunity, politicians have

used increasing feelings of public fear in order to advance their political objectives. The interventionist policy of the U.S. has acquired a moral dogma in the rhetoric of its backers separating allied and enemy states in terms of good and evil. Consequently, Orientalist attitudes have become apparent in the language spoken by world leaders in reference to these targets of a "militarised foreign policy" (Orientalism Kritik *National Debate Coaches Association debatecoaches.org*).

The Middle East has been an important part of this far-flung world which America ardently longed to develop and modernize. However, all its efforts were in vain. Modernization of the region was hampered for years by hardline ideas, fanatical leaders and bigoted fogeys. So, Westernization of the region was very slow motion. American attempts roved along with antithetical feelings of frustration. They were uncritically fond of the affluence of this region, meanwhile they felt distress over the thought and behaviour of its people. President Bush described Afghanistan's people in his Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American people on September 20, 2001:

In Afghanistan, we see Al Qaida's vision for the world. Afghanistan's people have been brutalized. Many are starving, and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough. (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*).

Hence, a "discourse of detachment, separation, and disassociation of the natives from their lands" was introduced and developed. The Orientalist discourse detaches and cuts Orientals off their land. In the Westerner mind, those Muslims inhabiting Afghanistan as well as other Muslims and Arabs in other spots of the Gulf region and elsewhere are mentally defective,

intellectually inchoate, and with no ambition or pretension to improve and move forward. Those ruthless and disordered people seem helpless and unable to explore their land and turn its resources to good use even for themselves (Naim *KabulPress.org org kabulpress.org*).

The point is that Americans Stretch eyes along this vast and rich land, contemplate its grace, and think of all the good that could spring and stream out of it. Concurrently, nothing could be found except obscurity, idiocy, wickedness and immorality. Americans feel deep melancholy and exasperation that such blessed land might be dawdled by such disabled and vicious people. Hence, Americans' traditional manifest destiny floats again on the surface and grants them the right to handle the land and govern its people (Naim *KabulPress.org org kabulpress.org*).

The 9/11 attacks conducted by terrorists emerging from that Middle Eastern realm confirmed the orientalist notion about backward and uncivilized societies that can breed only dangerous fanatics, who will deliberately and increasingly descend into the utmost darkness and barbarity. Thereafter, the imperialist soul came forth to call for revenge, and set beyond doubt how necessary it is to control and govern those parlous anarchists. Control that was possible only through military intervention (Naim *KabulPress.org org kabulpress.org*).

Similarly, The Iraq invasion derived in part from a nationalist desire for vengeance after the 9/11 attacks, and a strong psychological need to carry on punishment unsatisfied by the occupation of Afghanistan and with Bin Ladin still alive and free at that time. The Orientalist beliefs and attitudes held by U.S. policymakers would have made it difficult to differentiate between Afghanistan and Iraq, Bin Ladin and Saddam, Taliban and the Baathist regime. Consequently, Iraq which had no proven connection to the attacks of 9/11, could easily become the target of post-9/11 vengeful feelings, and Saddam Hussein, could easily fulfill the

role of evil doer. The war was claimed to be necessary, and the constructed fear was extended for further influence (Lieberfeld 14).

The attacks of September, 2001 provided the basis for the emergence of a form of Islamophobia that helped the U.S. war in the oriental land. Dark skinned men with beards and women with head scarves became different and unnatural. People from different countries and with different cultures were encircled in one faction and bound to one label of “Islam”. This new “Green Scare” (Islam) promoted fear and suspicion even of friends and neighbours. Obama himself led the charge in December 2009, in a speech at West Point. Obama’s speech plays on the fear of 9/11 and the threat of terror “coming home”. The threat of the “Green Scare” that served to win public support for wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and potentially Iran and beyond (Kumar *Common Dreams commondreams.org*):

I am convinced that our security is at stake in Afghanistan and Pakistan. This is the epicenter of violent extremism practiced by Al Qaeda. It is from here that we were attacked on 9/11, and it is from here that new attacks are being plotted as I speak. This is no idle danger; no hypothetical threat. In the last few months alone, we have apprehended extremists within our borders who were sent here from the border region of Afghanistan and Pakistan to commit new acts of terror. (*White House whitehouse.gov*).

Moreover, ideological considerations may operate as justifications for policy options that arise basically from elites’ desire for power and wealth. Negative stereotypes may have facilitated policies that were essentially based on rational calculations of national security interests, and the advance of the political goals of some individuals as Golan and Yoram Globus. Two pro-Zionism producers and owners of the American Compagny “Cannon” who intentionally produced movies demonizing Arabs and Muslims²

Accordingly, Orientalist presentations are seen by most people as natural, and working for their own good, but in reality they were constructed and addressed by very powerful elites' interests. An important characteristic of Western struggle over terrorism during last decades has been the development of a bulk of institutes, think tanks and associated experts whose mission has been to get desired messages. Although many of the anti-Islam scholars and Neoconservative experts play on the fear of the general public by published writings for the general public, other works have been done for policymakers under the cover of respected institutions and think tanks, such as the American Enterprise Institute, the Heritage Foundation, and the RAND Corporation (Safi *IslamiCity islamicity.com*).

The West distances itself from the Orient by establishing a power hierarchy. The West is civilized, strong, rational and moral whereas the Orient is barbarian, weak, irrational and immoral. The Orient exists on Western terms and is defined from a Western perspective. However, it should be stated that this state is not bound to remain permanent, and can be reversed whenever needed upon the West's decision. orientalism is, then, a "circular" relationship that links the "dominant" with the "dominated". In this relationship, the governor structures many pictures and attributes many features to those he controls, and then breaks those pictures down, then reconstructs them again and so forth (Naim KabulPress.org).

Orientalism is, then, inconstant and reversible, and politically effective because of its ability to mutate and adapt through the Western quest of governing 'the Orient'. Without this circular relationship the Orientalist discourse is quite wasteful and ineffective. The U.S. helped in creating Al Qaeda, and in empowering the Taliban in Afghanistan, and granted them huge support during their fight against soviet colonialism in 1979. An alliance of the CIA, drug dealers, warlords, and religious fanatics was formed to cooperate in order to assist the good warriors of Afghanistan to free their land (Naim KabulPress.org).

Later, the same groups became the ultimate bad Muslims over night. As long as they were serving United States interests they were good Muslims, but when they became an obstacle to U.S. interests, they turned into an evil monster. So, Afghanistan is rich, resourceful, and promising. It can be modern, free, and democratic as long as America controls it. On the other hand, Afghanistan is the province of barbarism, backwardness and fanaticism when it gets out of control (Naim KabulPress.org). The same circular relationship links Orientalism with policies. Policies reinforce deceptive images that are implanted in the American imagination, and produce policy-relevant knowledge. In a vicious circle, presumptions about Arabs and Muslims help proceed policies.

Examining American foreign policy since its very first foundation illuminates much of its conduct in contemporary times. America had first to annihilate the 'savage' native inhabitants who resisted assimilation, and fought against the newcomers who expropriated them of their land forcefully, and ravished their resources for their own benefit. America had also to exterminate black people on their land or turn them into slavery, polish off the uncivil indigenous of Latin America, and blot out cruel barbarians in the Middle East and elsewhere. American foreign policy has always been driven by an imperialistic reasoning assisted by an Orientalist spirit acting as required by interest.

CONCLUSION American hostility and belligerence towards the Middle East emerges, in part, from Americans sense of superiority, exceptionalism and divine mission to free, civilize and lead the "other"; a sense that is combined with their belief that the Orient is backward, passive, unfaithful and evil. As such, to fight with, to conquer and assist is a predestined mission for the civilized, productive, trustful and good West. Invading others, occupying their lands and forcing them to subdue is justified, not only, on the ground of protecting the West's own interests, but for bringing "good" to those inferior people of the region and to the whole world as well.

ENDNOTES

¹ Benevolent supremacy is the ideology that calls for American international power, policy, and diplomacy to be used to enhance democracy and freedom of all nations. In the aftermath of the cold war, the United States sprang up as the world's leading power in the international system. This supremacy is assisted by the international acknowledgement of United States' status as the most powerful nation in the world. America claims that as the sole post-cold war super power, it has considerable leverage on global political and the changing relations that outline the ideologically shaky and chaotic international system, where the U.S. pursues common good employing its military power in the endeavor to restore sanity in the international system. Such ideology intensified enormously during the George Bush era with increased use of force for the enhancement of America's image as a super benevolent power (*'Evil' Arabs in American Popular Film: Orientalist Fear Muslim Thunder scribd.com & Ituma Peace&Conflict Monitor upeace.org*).

² Menahem Golan, Born Melahem Globus, was born in Tiberias, Palestine, on May 31, 1929. He served as pilot in the Israeli Air Force during the war of independence in 1948-1949. With his cousin Yoram Globus, he led the Israeli film industry in the 1970s. <<http://www.filmreference.com/Writers-and-Production-Artists-Gi-Ha/Golan-Menahem-and-Yoram-Globus.html>>

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CHAPTER TWO: THE AMERICAN STAKE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

INTRODUCTION It is very hard to believe that ideologies of racial hierarchy alone can drive people to war. Nor can the feeling of cultural superiority and responsibility, solely, push a nation to devote its entire military and take risks to invade and occupy other nations. Historically, national interests in strategic locations, raw materials and markets, important trade routes, and competition with other colonial powers proved to be basic motives. The Middle East offers all those motives abundantly. American leaders denied having been driven to war in the Middle East by any of those materialistic factors. However, the United States has an increasing need of oil, and is aware of the importance of having control over the resources. In addition, there are strong connections between the leaders behind the waging of wars and the big U.S. corporations. Search for Markets, spheres of influence and sources of raw materials are vital to the U.S industries. One would, therefore, wonder whether these factors have not been at the root of American belligerence towards the Middle East in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, especially, under the spirit of competition and interest inflicted by capitalism.

2.1. EVOLUTION OF THE U.S. FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE MIDDLE EAST Before the Second World War, the U.S. presence in the Middle East was mainly of cultural and religious nature. In the 19th century American missionaries made efforts to spread Christianity in the Middle East, and also focused on creating educational institutions, primarily in Lebanon, Syria and Palestine. One of the most important of these was the Syrian Protestant College built in 1866, and which became known later as the American University of Beirut. Similarly, Robert College was founded in Turkey in 1863(El Mansour *TeachMideast teachmideast.org*).

The post-World War phase brought about many changes and developments. This new reality propelled America into more and more involvement in the Middle Eastern region. The importance of the Middle East has dramatically increased after the discovery of oil resources in the Persian Gulf and the recognition of the vital role of petroleum in modern warfare and economic life. America's conscience of its inability to self-sufficiently provide oil for itself pushed American policy makers to expand interests in the Middle East (Richman 2). Thus, huge efforts were made to contain the Soviet Union, combat economic nationalism and advance and safeguard American interests in world oil reserves ("Oil Corporations and Public Policy" *thebhc.org*).

During Harry S. Truman Administration (1945-1953), American duality in the Middle East emerged. Soviet troops had been stationed in Iran on 25 August 1941, and for many years afterward, Iran was a vital link in the Allied supply line for lend-lease supplies to the Soviet Union during the WW . While Truman opposed Soviet influence in Iran, and obliged the Premier of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin (1878-1953) to withdraw his troops through the United Nations in 1946, he strengthened America's relationship with the Iranian ruler Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi, and encouraged him to forcibly knock down the separatist regimes the Soviets had left behind. "The Middle East was", clearly, "a cold war hot zone" (Tristram *Middle East Issues middleeast.about.com*).

American- Israeli relations have always been of a crucial importance for the United States. America upheld the creation of Israel; a state that is heavily dependent on the U.S. militarily and economically. Israel became a significant U.S. strategic ally that is beneficial for challenging regional powers and curbing them from taking hold of the region. That being so, the Jewish state reinforces the American subsistence in the Middle East (Powers 33).

In 1947 Truman agreed on the United Nation Partition Plan which granted 57 percent of the land to Israel and 43 percent to Palestine (Senker 24). Further, he recognized the State of

Israel 11 minutes after its creation, on May 14, 1948. Many Arab nations became hostile towards the U.S. which sided with the Jews against the Arabs and advocated a solution in Palestine which went in favor of the Jews with regard to self-determination though the Arab population was far larger (Wilson 288).

During Dwight Eisenhower Administration (1953-1961), major events took place. In 1953, the United States helped overthrow Mohammed Mossadeq (1882-1967), the popular elected leader of the Iranian parliament, an ardent nationalist who nationalized the oil industry, and opposed all British and American influence in Iran. Back to power, Shah Mohammad Pahlavi helped a compact with an international conglomerate, much of which was controlled by American oil companies, aimed at purchasing Iranian oil (Afkhani 269). Subsequently, America granted the Shah considerable support and assisted him with money and arms though his government was corrupt and pitilessly oppressed his people (Nathan 32).

After that coup, Iranians became hostile towards America, and lost trust in its claims of advancing and promoting democracy. That hostility led to the 1978-1979 revolution, which was inspired by the Islamic fundamentalist Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902-89). Iranians won the fight, and held Americans hostage for over a year at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. Now, Iran would no longer play the role of U.S. security agent in the region, the burden had to be carried only by Israel, and American support for the Israeli was more than necessary (Richman 5).

For this reason, the Suez Crisis in 1956 was an important station for the U.S. intervention in the Middle East. Americans did not trust the leader of Arab nationalism Djamal Abdel Nasser because of his recognition of communist China. When he began to receive Soviet Bloc arms in 1955, they became convinced that he was on the Soviet side, and thus an enemy of the United States (Richman 9). In mid-1956, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal Company, which had been controlled by the French and the British since 1869. Therefore,

British and French politicians joined forces with Israel to defend their vested interests in the Suez Canal (Duiker& Spielvogel 833).

On October 29, 1956, the Israeli army invaded Egypt's Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip. When the Soviet Union threatened armed attack to stop it, the United States warned it not to get involved, and compelled Israel to agree to a cease-fire. President Eisenhower opposition to the conduct of Israel, and making Great Britain and France bow to the United Nations and withdraw, was an attempt to win the friendship of the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia and to keep them away of Soviet influence (Richman 10).

After two years, rebellions rose to overthrow the Lebanese Christian-led regime. Conscious of the importance of safeguarding its allies in the region, America sent its troops to secure the ruling government (Tristram *Middle East Issues middleeast.about.com*). Eisenhower announced in a message to Congress in 1957 that the United States would support any nation in the Middle East and grant it economic and military assistance requested, including American armed forces in order to fight" against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism." (*National Archives archives.gov*).

The Six Day War of 1967 between Israel on one hand and Egypt, Jordan and Syria on the other one, brought the Middle East back under the American spotlight during Lyndon Johnson's Administration (1963-1969). In six days during June 1967, Israel occupied the Sinai, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The war confirmed the idea of Israel as a U.S. strategic avail in the region. While the United States announced an embargo on arms to the Middle East, it secretly supplied Israel with "important spare parts, ammunition, bomb fuses, and armored personnel carriers" (Richman 13), and provided them, also, with helpful tactical air support (Musella 7-8).

Moreover, Israel received considerable help from the American firm NUMEC the French, and the U.S. Government, including the CIA, for its nuclear capability ("Lest we Forget" 2-

3). United states supported Israel by vetoing several critical resolutions in favor of Israel so as to boost Israel's occupation of its neighboring areas ("U.S. Vetoes of Resolutions Critical to Israel" *Jewish Virtual Library* jewishvirtuallibrary.org). After the Suez Crisis, such assistance to Israel continued in order to maintain Israel's superiority above others, which would inhibit Nasser's impact, and curb Soviet leverage on the region.

American aid to Israel increased in 1973 after the break of the Yom Kippur War, which Egypt and Syria launched with the intention of regaining the territories lost in 1967. Henry Alfred Kissinger, Secretary of State, provided military aid and maximized diplomatic influence in favor of Israel. At the same time Americans opposed Soviet's intervention in Egypt. Al-Sadat sought help from the Security Council, and solicited the U.S and the Soviet Union to intervene. Soviets showed willingness to respond, but the United States objected and placed its military, including the nuclear services, on extensive alert (Richman 17, 18).

Washington aimed at displacing the growing Soviet influence in the Middle East, making the United States central to the achievement of peace between the Arabs and Israel. Americans thought that the longer the Middle Eastern crisis lasted, the more disappointed the Arab States siding with the Soviet Union would become. America expected that such deficiency would moulder the Russian's leverage in the region. That worked to a certain extent. It was not until October 20 that the U.S. called for a cease-fire. By that time, the evolution of the war was turning in the favour of Israel (Boukhars *Ciao* ciaonet.org).

In the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War, Anwar Al-Sadat, who succeeded Nasser as a president after the latter had died in 1970, was beaten by the Soviets' inability to guarantee the cease-fires. He became aware that Soviets political, economic and even military was no longer reliable enough to bring back Egyptian districts taken over by Israel since 1967. He realized that the U.S. was central for any solution in the Middle East. No success could be achieved without its cooperation. The Egyptian's melancholy with the soviets attained the top

in July 1972 when Al-Sadat expelled Soviet military advisors and technicians from Egypt. After that, efforts were made by Israel, Egypt, and the United States to settle the dispute between Israel and Egypt at the expense of the Palestinians (Boukhars *Ciao ciao net.org*).

In 1978, President of the United States Jimmy Carter managed the negotiations between Begin and Al-Sadat in the presidential retreat at Camp David. Two main agreements came out of the meeting. A "Framework for Peace in the Middle East" stated that Negotiations would be held among Jordan, Egypt and Israel to grant the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip self governing authority, and treat the final status of these territories throughout a transitional period of five years. The United States would be invited to participate in the implementation of the agreements (Embassy of Israel *The Camp David Accords* 3,4,5)

The other agreement was "Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel". It invited Israel and Egypt to negotiate and sign a peace treaty through in three months, and fully implement it between two or three years. The treaty provided for Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai, restoration of Egyptian sovereignty, freedom for Israeli vessels to pass through the Suez Canal, the Gulf of Suez, the Strait of Tiran, and the Gulf of Aqaba, and UN forces would be stationed in the Sinai and in border areas (Embassy of Israel *The Camp David Accords* 5).

After Al-Sadat's compromises, Egypt became the recipient of the second largest amount of U.S. foreign aid, receiving about \$2 billion in economic and military aid, \$200 million in economic grants, and \$100 million in economic loans. Israel got \$3 billion to build new air fields to replace the ones in the Sinai (Sharp 4). The U.S. had manipulated the war to gain more and more domination. By the time of the cease-fire, Americans had achieved their basic objectives: they had created the conditions for a diplomatic progress, had promoted the security of their friends, had defeated Soviet arms, and had maintained a relationship with

key Arab states and paved the way for a dominant role in postwar diplomacy (Boukhars *Ciaonet.org*).

After an attack against Israel's Ambassador to London, Shlomo Argov in June 1982, Israel launched Operation Peace for Galilee--a massive invasion of Lebanon to destruct the PLO, and to set a friendly regimen who would approve Israel's hold of Lebanese zone stretching from the Northern Israeli border to the Litani River (Richman 20). The Ronald Reagan Administration gave military aid to Israel, and offered it comfort by vetoing a UN Security Council resolution condemning the invasion (Tanca 178). President Reagan made it clear that it was vital for his country to keep Lebanon out of the influence of any outside forces ("Middle East: Reagan letter to Thatcher" *Margaret Thatcher Foundation margarethatcher.org*).

Following the outbreak of the intifada in 1987, the faint discussions between the United States and the PLO showed that US stand with regard to the Palestinian- Israeli conflict did not change. In 1989, Secretary of State James A. Baker III made it clear that Bush Administration's goal was to assist in the implementation of the Shamir plan of May 1989 which opposed any Palestinian state, or negotiations with the PLO, or any change in the status of Judea, Samaria and Gaza territories except with the Israeli Government's guidelines (Chomsky *zcommunications zcommunications.org*).

The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 was regarded by the United States as an assault on its vital interests which called for an immediate intervention. In his January 1980 State of the Union Message, President Carter said that his country was committed to the containment of the Soviet aggressions. It, therefore, had imposed tough economic penalties on the Soviet Union, cut its access to high- technology outfit and agricultural products, restrained its trade and urged its withdrawal from the 1980 Olympic Games held in Moscow. The President asserted that The Persian Gulf region was so critical

for the United States, and any external venture to take hold of it would be regarded as an aggression against America's crucial interests which Americans would not hesitate to defend, using whatever means required, including military response (*Jimmy Carter Library and Museum jimmycarterlibrary.gov*).

Conflict between Iraq and Iran persisted for centuries. Their recent dispute took up when the Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini boosted Iraq's Shiites to turn against Muslim Sunnis and rise up to throw the Baathist regime presided by Saddam Hussein. In response, Saddam wanted to regain control of the half of Shatt al-Arab waterway which he conceded to Iran in the 1975 signed treaty (Hiro 2, 3). When war broke out in 1980, the United States, still hurt by the humiliation of the hostage crisis, aided Iraq despite of its declaration of neutrality (71).

Among many other things, the Reagan Administration took Iraq off a list of nations declared to be supporters of terrorism, and supplied the Iraqis with intelligence on Iranian troop concentrations. It also provided \$500 million in Export-Import Bank guarantees for an oil pipeline, and urged the Export-Import Bank to finance U.S. exports to Iraq (Allan & Zelizer 149). Furthermore, the U.S. encouraged its allies to arm Iraq with Super Etendard fighters equipped with Exocet missiles (Brzoska⁴³ : 42-43).

American decision to deploy its armed forces in the Persian Gulf came to protect the flow of oil from the region. Many of Kuwait's oil tanks were attacked during the war between Iraq and Iran. America intervened to ensure their security (Richman 27). Saddam was allowed to use chemical weapons in order to prevent barbarism, emanating from Iran, from taking hold of the region (King *Iran Chamber Society iranchamber.com*). Obviously, United States sided with Iraq because an Iranian victory would mean difficulty to access to Persian Gulf oil, loss of U.S. influence in the region which would endanger its existence and that of its allies there (Richman 27)

Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990 led to military deployment by the U.S. in order to stop an intended raid on Saudi Arabia, and pull Iraq out of Kuwait. It also urged for an economic blockade through the United Nations (Richman 28). President George H.W. Bush argued in his State of the Union Address of Jan 1991 that the intervention was necessary to make sure that control of the world's oil resources would not fall into Saddam's hands only to finance further aggression (*C-SPAN VIDEO LIBRARY c-spanvideo.org*).

Once again, the American president confirmed that the Middle East stands crucial on the U.S. list of priorities. The Persian Gulf was an arena already under American control. America makes it certain that its worst rival, the Soviet Union, declined but still no other competitive opponent will be allowed to go uncontrolled. After the Cold War had ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States worked to hold the power at political, economic and social levels. Establishing democracy and liberal economy were the emblems spoken high by Washington while enhancing its leadership and dominion in the Middle East.

Conscious of its importance and the danger of its fragility, the United States placed the Middle East under its eyeshot. America incessantly intervened in the region to grant aids, settle political disputes and stop wars that could go unending. It ardently worked to topple down aggressive opponents and control arm race. It also went in for building strong relationships with moderate leaders, and support economical development to prevent fanatical ideas from having ascendancy over the minds in the region. In every era of time, and with almost every country in the Middle East, U.S. policy repeated itself again and again. U.S. has always acted as required by its needs and interests, and its actions have always aimed at maintaining good relations with leaders and regimes that served the economic and political interests of the United States instead of truly advocating real democracy and welfare for the people.

2.2. HOW FUEL FUELS THE CONFLICT American concern for oil has been present since the 19th century. The link between the energy needs of the United States and politics in the Middle East began when Americans became aware that oil was beneficial for lubrication and lightning. Subsequently, they dug oil wells in Pennsylvania and Ohio. In the 1870's the Standard Oil Company under John D. Rockefeller controlled oil business in the United States. It was identical with the "exploration, drilling, refinement, transportation, as well as, oil "sale" to the American public, while Royal Dutch Petroleum Company and the Shell Transport and Trading Company dominated the oil business in Europe (Chilcote 7).

Throughout the twentieth century The Sisters (a merge of The British Anglo-Persian Oil Company and Royal Dutch Shell) acted as the intermediate between the producing countries and the consuming ones, and became some of the wealthiest companies in the world. The United States was paying considerable attention to Middle Eastern oil as it was a major producer of oil. It had considerable reserves, and had traditionally enjoyed self sufficiency in oil production. In 1941 the United States was the world's largest oil producer with 63 percent of world production, with the USSR second, with 10,7 (Khalidi 44).

In his address of March 12, 1947 to a joint session of Congress, President Harry Truman told Congress that if the United States did not extend military and financial aid to Greece and Turkey in confronting domestic communist forces, confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire region of the Middle East (*National Archives archives.gov*). This address, delivered about two years after the end of world war , showed clearly that an entire forthright encounter between East and West was nearby in the Middle East. Second, this address was the first time an American President had pointed to the Middle East as a region so vital to the national security interests of the United States (Khalidi 41).

The focus by the United States on the Persian Gulf oil was a new element that marked the dawn of an incoming stage. The American foreign policy had not been so closely linked to

attempts to get unshared control over such resources outside America (though the U.S. had long dominated the oil production of the Western Hemisphere and got opportunities elsewhere including its covenant with Saudi Arabia in 1933). The United States' moves regarding Middle Eastern oil plainly set the emergence of a new era characterized by a rigid strife for global domination. Great fear was engendered during World War II over the threat that could an oil supply expiration bring about. A matter of fact that led America, as well as other world powers to rethink their energy independence (Khalidi 56).

The importance of oil proven during World War II, stirred American officials' worry about their own supply which they thought was running out. Thereupon, it was necessary for the United States to assure access to oil reserves beyond its borders. The Middle East, with its huge reserves became a major concern for American officials and oil industry rulers (Singh *UpsscPortal upscportal.com*). As early as the 1930s, the United States discovered oil reserves in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Throughout the succeeding years, the increase of oil production in Middle Eastern Countries went in Parallel with the growing American dependency on Middle Eastern oil (Reece 20).

Persian Gulf petroleum was important. It would help the Marshall Plan aimed at supporting Western Europe revive its economy, and meet the huge amount of gasoline required by the increasing number of automobiles, and which America cannot afford with its supply alone (Little 44). In addition, WWII had distinctly demonstrated the value of oil during war time. Now, not only fleets of ships used in previous conflicts, but also growing fleets of trucks, tanks, and planes depended totally on oil for their power (Khalidi 45).

The increasingly mechanized forces of armies of all the powers were totally dependent on oil. This vital link was apparent in particular to American military strategists. In 1944 they directed the U.S. Army Air Force's strategic bombings against oil production, storage and transport means in Germany, Japan and the countries they controlled. In June 1944 Gen. Carl

Spaatz who was in charge of the European portion of that bombing said that the primary strategic goal of the U.S. Strategic Air Forces was at that time "to deny oil to enemy air forces" (Khalidi 45).

By the end of the war, American bombing of German oil facilities made German panzers unable to move, and planes unable to fly for lack of fuel (Parramore 79-80). By this point, a valuable lesson about the strategic importance of oil in war time was well grasped by the top levels of the American Military Command. It became clear to them that to defeat enemies they have to think seriously about their own oil supplies in the future. Towards the end of WW , the U.S. petroleum reserves were quickly being depleted. Demand for refined petroleum products was already beginning to exceed supply (in case we do not consider production in Mexico, Venezuela and the Caribbean). If the rate of production continued at its current pace, the American nation would be out of petroleum within decades (Khalidi 46, 47). President Franklin D. Roosevelt was anxious for the United States to have an enduring and dependable source of oil (Dauncey 38).

When The Sisters moved into the Middle East they disregarded the people and the sovereign leaders of the region. The ruling governments in the Middle East were generally weak, untidy and lost in turmoil. Foreign companies used the conditions to promote their own benefits. The governments who did not cooperate with the oil companies were undermined and replaced. Such was the case of Iran in 1951 when the Americans and British supported a coup to overthrow Iranian Premier Mohammad Mossadeq, after he inhibited the access of the oil companies to petroleum, and replaced him by the Western friendly Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (Chilcote 13).

The oil companies were still able to deal with any difficulties until the 1973 Oil Embargo proved that their power ebbed and authority waned (15). That day, the members of the OAPEC (consisting of the Arab members of OPEC, plus Egypt, Syria and Tunisia)

announced an oil embargo due to an American resolution to supply Israel, which was engaged in a war against Syria and Egypt. The Oil Embargo went on till 1974. The OAPEC members stipulated serious efforts to end the conflict in the Middle East on the part of America in order to end the embargo ("The Energy Crisis" BOUNDLESS boundless.com).

The embargo had a devastating effect on national economies. In the United States, inflation climbed to more than 10 % a year, an enormous trade deficit developed, and interest rates climbed to the high teens. When the embargo ended on March 1974, oil prices had jumped to nearly \$12 a barrel, an increase of 330 percent ("Oil Embargo" *BookRags* bookrags.com). Gasoline prices had also started to go up, reaching 57 ¢ a gallon by 1975, 86 ¢ a gallon by 1979, and \$1.19 a gallon by 1980 ("Oil Embargo"). The embargo urged developed nations to rethink their dependence on foreign fossil fuels, and new importance was given to research on alternative energy sources such as wind, tides, geothermal and solar energy.

During the 1973 Arab oil embargo, President Richard Nixon launched Project Independence. He declared that at the end of that decade, in the year 1980, the U.S. would not be dependent on any other country for the energy. Americans needed to provide their jobs, to heat their homes, and to keep their transportation moving (*The American Presidency Project* presidency.ucsb.edu). President Gerald Ford (1913-2006) moved the date for achieving American energy independence back to 1985. A massive program had to be initiated to increase energy supply, to cut demand, and provide new standby emergency programs to achieve the independence Americans wanted by 1985 (*State of the Union Address Library* stateoftheunionaddress.org). He pushed new fuel efficiency standards for automobiles with the goal of achieving an average of 27.5 miles per gallon, and created the Strategic Petroleum Reserve to keep oil plentiful and prices stable (Vadurro 34).

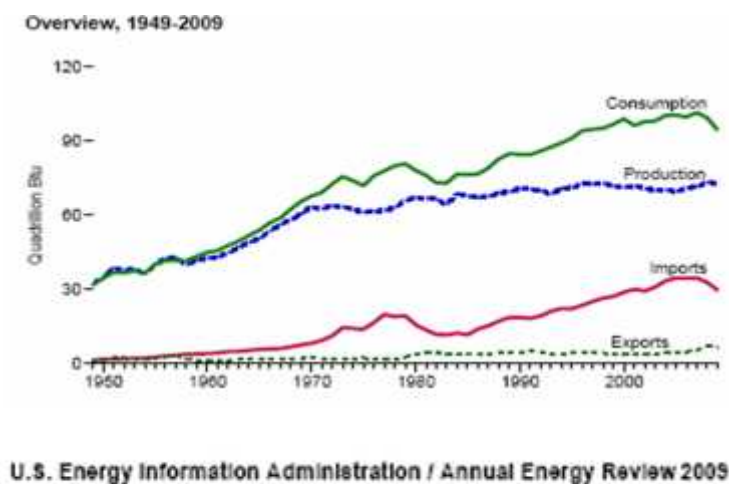
The beginning of the Iranian Revolution in the late 1978 caused a shortfall in oil exports

and a double in its prices over the next couple of years. Jimmy Carter (1924-) announced in 1979 that Beginning that moment, the American nation would never use more foreign oil than it had done in 1977—never (*PBS pbs.org*).

Carter encouraged utility companies to cut their use of oil by switching to electricity and increasing use of natural gas and coal. The result was that at the time oil usage declined from 20 percent to only 3 percent of electricity generation (Andrews & Pirog summary page). In addition, Carter offered tax deductions for solar water heaters, and created the U.S. Department of Energy to manage America's energy resources and prepare for the future (Vadurro 34).

In 1991, President George H.W. Bush announced his National Energy Strategy. One of his principals was to reduce dependence on foreign oil (United States Congressional Record 155: 18543). In his 2006 State of the Union address, George W. Bush made it clear that other new technologies should replace more than 75 of American oil imports from the Middle East by 2025 (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*). Despite the elected politicians' promises to achieve energy independence, the U.S. continued increasing foreign oil dependence. Oil production has been unable to keep up with increased demand, and the gap between exports and imports has been widening more and more since 1950 as shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1. Primary Energy overview



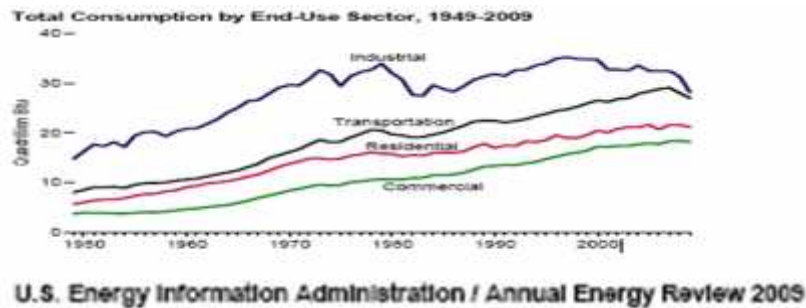
Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, 27 Sept, 2012. Web. 13 Oct, 2012.

Note: The United States was self-sufficient in energy until the late 1950s when energy consumption began to outpace domestic production. At that point, the Nation began to import more energy to meet its needs. By 1970's, the consumption of energy in the United States outstripped domestic production capabilities, and since then U.S.A. imported more energy than it exported (*U.S. Energy Information Administration eia.gov*) .

In the last two decades America has substantially increased consumption jumping from 8.8 million barrels per day in 1977 (Grayson 227) to more than 21 million in 2006 (Stokes & Raphael 38), and production went the opposite direction. Reports show that U.S. petroleum production reached in the 1970's 9.64 million barrels (Kozmetsky & Yue 123) whereas in 2004 it could attain only 5.43 million barrels of oil (Weintraub 42). According to petroleum statistical reviews of world energy, the U.S. possessed 2.7 % of the world's proved reserves of crude oil (Inbar 64), and that represented a miniscule fraction of the world oil supply.

If America relied only on domestic reserves, at the current rate of consumption, it would have enough oil to last few years, assuming no more is found. This total includes sectors of the Gulf of Mexico and the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge that are currently off-limit for drilling (Admin *PBS NEWSHOUR pbs.org*). This is clearly a huge problem for the U.S whose economy depends heavily on cheap foreign oil. Oil production in the United States continues to decline, and America's energy challenge begins with its expanding economy, growing population and rising standard of living. Its people's prosperity and way of life were sustained by energy use. American automobile alone use more than half of the oil upon which the nation is dependent:

Figure 2. Energy Consumption by Sector Overview



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, 27 Sept, 2012. Web. 13 Oct, 2012.

Note: All four major economic sectors of the economy recorded tremendous growth in their use of energy. The Industrial Sector used the biggest share of total energy and showed the greatest volatility; in particular, steep drops occurred in the sector in 1975, 1980-1982, 2001. Drops are also noticed in the Transportation Sector particularly in the early 1980s (*U.S. Energy Information Administration eia.gov*).

After Ronald Wilson Reagan (1911-2004) arrived in the White House in 1980, the solar research program was crashed. Reagan, together with Congress and American auto industry, stopped pushing new auto-efficiency standards, and managed to keep the standards at the Carter-era levels. According to Noah Kaye, a spokesman for the Solar Energy Industries Association, the Solar Water-Heating Industry that was a massive billion-dollar industry, installed only about 6,000 solar hot water-heaters in the US in 2006. The solar tax benefit expired and all the oil price controls were removed. Consequently, there was a surplus of petroleum on the market and gas prices went lower. Reagan removed price controls to induce the oil and gas industries to augment production (*Koff Energy bulletin energybulletin.net*).

In 1993, Bill Clinton tried to pass an energy bill through Congress. His bill aimed at a tax increase at the gas pump costing a typical family about \$120 more each year and another \$200 in indirect costs, having a total of \$320 a year, according to the Department of Energy

(Hershey *New York Times nytimes.com*). The purpose behind the bill was to reduce America's big dependence on oil by reducing gasoline consumption. However Congress rejected President Clinton's Energy. Any attempt to release the country from oil dependence has been hampered by Congress, which was extremely influenced and lobbied by the auto and oil industries.

In 1997, a provision in the United States tax code granted a tax write-off of up to \$ 25,000 for vehicles weighing more than 6,000 pounds. This was meant for thirty-eight different passenger SUVs including Hummer H2 (estimated 11 m-pg). The last fuel-efficient vehicles, therefore, were allowed by this loophole to qualify for a considerable tax break ("Tax Incentives" *Self Employed Web selfemployedweb.com*). When the Bush Administration requested an increase of the SUV tax deduction to \$75,000 for Business owners in 2003, the law makers expanded the deduction to reach \$100,000. Meanwhile, Congress remained very tight with tax credits on fuel-efficient vehicles for Americans. The protestations of 2004 led to a concession among the Hand Senate that brought the deduction back to its original amount of \$25,000 plus a 30 percent bonus write-off ("Hybrid Watchdog" *Hybridcenter.org hybridcenter.org*).

In 2006, George W. Bush had many oil experts working with him in appointed positions. In his February 2006 State of the Union address, Bush talked about America's addiction to oil, "Keeping America competitive requires affordable energy. Here [Americans] have a serious problem: America is addicted to oil, which is often imported from unstable parts of the world." (*CNN.com cnn.com*). Further, in his speech he added that other new technologies would help Americans replace more than 75 percent of their oil imports from the Middle East by 2025.

It is ironic that George Bush speaks about the need to diversify away from oil in his Renewable Energy Conference of October 12, 2006, but still many of his friends, family and

associates including Dick Cheney were all former executives and board members of oil and auto companies. Many Lobbyists gave up their integrity for benefit. The flow of money going in their pockets from supporting oil and auto industries fends them from upholding an honest stand over the development of more efficient technology. In the contrary, every initiative towards that end was settled in the cradle (Mayer *PBS pbs.org*).

Looking at the invasion of Afghanistan, one can notice that while the Taliban dwelled in the highlands, U.S. troops were not sent, on slogans of fighting aggression and spreading democracy, to fight them. Instead, they were safeguarding the pipeline routes, thence, setting a reason for the war ("Real Reason for War in Afghanistan" *abovetopsecret.com abovetopsecret.com*). The Department of Energy reported in Sep 2001:

Afghanistan's significance from an energy standpoint stems from its geographical position as a potential transit route for oil and natural gas exports from Central Asia to the Arabian Sea. This potential includes the possible construction of oil and natural gas export pipelines through Afghanistan which was under serious consideration in the mid-1990's. The idea has since been undermined by Afghanistan's instability. Since 1996, most of Afghanistan has been controlled by the Taliban movement, which the United States does not recognize as the Government of Afghanistan. (*U.S. Energy Information Administration eia.gov*).

The invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 has been presented to the world as a reaction to the 9/11 attacks, directed against Al Qaeda. The economic aspects of the war were well overshadowed and hidden behind the notorious war on terrorism. Afghanistan is not only a strategic seat in Central Asia, laying at the frontiers of former Soviet Union, China and Iran, at the juncture of pipeline routes and big oil and gas reserves, but it also possesses huge mineral and unused natural gas wealth (Chossudovsky *Global Research globalresearch.ca*).

According to a Pentagon report, Afghanistan has mineral reserves, estimated to be of the order of one trillion dollars (Risen *New York Times nytimes.com*).

American officials believe that in addition to the drug industry, Afghanistan's large deposits of huge veins of iron, copper, cobalt, gold and critical industrial metals like lithium could in due course turn into the biggest mining station on the globe attracting massive investments (Chossudovsky *Global Research globalresearch.ca*). The New York Times reported that the Pentagon has been conducting ground surveys in Western Afghanistan. They said that their initial analysis of only one spot in Ghazni province showed the potential for Lithium deposits as large as those of Bolivia (Risen).

In 2002 a Kremlin report asserted an entity of prosperous reserves in Afghanistan, mainly, those of copper at the Aynak deposit, iron ore in Khojagrk, uranium, poly metallic ore, oil and gas (Chossudovsky. *GlobalResearch globalresearch.ca*). Hajigak's ore is said to be of an extraordinarily high quality. Its reserves are estimated to be 500 m tonnes. In the 1960's, the detection of large stocks of gas by Soviet experts led to the construction of the first gas pipeline in Afghanistan, and helped supply gas to Uzbekistan. They also found large deposits of gold, fluorite, barytes and exceptional marble onyxes. Furthermore, the pegmatite fields, stretching for hundreds of Kilometers, discovered to the East of Kabul are also of great importance. Rubies, beryllium, emeralds and kunzites and hiddenites are widely unusual. In addition, the rocks containing the rare metals beryllium, thorium, lithium and tantalum are of strategic importance as they are used in air and spacecraft construction (Chossudovsky).

In fact, the invasion of Afghanistan had been planned long before September 2001. Since at least 1998, U.S. desired a close regime in Afghanistan ("Coincidence or Corruption" *The Debate thedebate.org*). A regime that would assist America and enhance its power over the region, by shattering Russian and Iranian endeavours to control the area's oil, secure energy supplies to the West and help the construction of East-West pipelines that would not cross the

Iranian land (Miller *Webdiary webdiary.com.au*). The only other possible route, for the desired oil pipeline, was across Afghanistan as demonstrated by the following map:

Figure 3. Caspian Oil Pipeline



Source: Foster, John. "A Pipeline Through a Troubled Land: Afghanistan, Canada, and the New Great Energy Game". Vol 3, No. 1 *Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives*, June 19, 2008. Web. 8 Apr, 2010.

Note: The Central Asia Gas Pipeline, Ltd. (CentGas) consortium, which was held responsible for the construction of a pipeline that would transfer gas from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan to Pakistan and India in the beginning of 1990's, was led by the American company Unocal. The project was curbed by Afghanistan's political instability.

The onset of the construction remained unattainable for lack of concert with the Afghanistan rulers (Tanin *BBC News bbc.co.uk*). On the third of November 1998 BBC

reported that the American Oil company Unocal which was supposed to fund training project in Afghanistan subsided following American attacks on suspected terrorist camps in Afghan highlands (Reeve *BBC News bbc.co.uk*). And on the 2nd of January 1999, it reported that the U.S launched an attack on camps in Afghanistan (Tanin). The camps were managed by Ossama Bin Ladin who was responsible for the attacks on the U.S Embassies in East Africa, too. In May 2002, the project began, but only after America had invaded Afghanistan.

Even for Iraq, the decision of the invasion was taken in April 2001 when President Bush's Cabinet agreed that Iraq represented a threat for a constant and steady flow of oil from Persian Gulf region into international markets. And because that was risky to the U.S., military intervention was necessary (Brightman 190). It was not an accident that those revelations by Dick Cheney and George Bush had been made. A review by the U.S. Department of Energy reported in 2002 that:

Iraq contains 112 billion barrels of proven oil reserves, the second largest in the world [behind Saudi Arabia] along with roughly 220 billion barrels of probable and possible resources. Iraq's true rescue potential may be far greater than this. However, as the country is relatively unexplored due to years of war and sanctions. Deep oil-bearing formations located mainly in the vast Western Desert region, for instance, could yield large additional oil resources, but have not been explored. (*U.S. Energy Information Administration eia.gov*).

After the war, Americans reported that Iraq could turn into the biggest sole oil supplier in the world, and compete with Saudi Arabia, the current pionner of oil. Iraq's discovered fields were estimated to produce up to eight million barrels a day within a few years after their development (The Research Unit for Political Economy 49).

What seems clear is that the Middle East has an extremely important strategic position and abundant natural wealth necessary to build a strong economy. However, the fragility and

disorganization of the region turns the grace into indignation making of the region the focus of the ambitious and greedy superpowers. The United States has its own economic and political interests to look after. Unfortunately, its interests do not coincide, and in some cases directly clash with regional powers and external rivals. The United States, therefore, seeks to discourage any country from gaining control over the region (United States House of Reps *U.S House of Representatives Committee Hearings commdocs.house.gov*).

Afghanistan and Iraq must be seen in their geopolitical setting and in terms of the rivalry for the energy of Central Asia. Whereas Afghanistan was viewed as a transit land ensuring the flow of oil, and Iraq had the second largest oil reserves in the Middle East, the USA relied on oil to supply much of its energy requirements. However, most of this oil was imported from the Gulf region. This dependency was a weakness for America unless Persian Gulf oil could be kept under American control. Obviously, it becomes evident that oil is synonymous with wealth and power. Hence, despite the fact that Americans gave many reasons for their last invasions in Afghanistan and Iraq, control of large oil fields, and protection of their economy against competitive rivals seem one of the most persuasive.

2.3. THE WAR PROFITEERS Under Ronald Reagan's Presidency (1981-1989), many of the Neoconservatives were convicted for having been involved in the Iran–Contra Scandal. Several CIA agents and Government officials violated multiple laws. They helped to overthrow democratically elected Government of Nicaragua in Central America by selling arms illegally to Iran. They, after that, granted the money raised to violent militias (Congress *The Iran-Contra Affair* 3-6). Elliott Abrams and John Poindexter were convicted for lying to Congress and destroying evidence in the Iran-Contra Scandal. Later, both were not only forgiven by George H.W. Bush, but became members in the George W. Bush Administration as well (19,20).

Elliot Abrams was appointed as special Assistant to George W. Bush and as a Senior Director on the National Security Council in 2002 ("Elliot Abrams" *powerbase powerbase.info*), and John Poindexter was appointed to head the Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency's IAO in 2002 (Sutherland *theguardian theguardian.com*). Similarly, many other Neocons who were involved in the Iran–Contra Scandal have been appointed to high positions within the George W. Bush Administration (The Top 43 Appointees *THINKPROGRESS thinkprogress.org*). John Bolton was appointed to the office of the Under Secretary and International Security from 2001 through 2005 and US Ambassador to the UN in 2005 ("John Bolton" *infoplease infoplease.com*). Because of several controversies concerning John Bolton's role in the Iran-Contra Scandal, Senator George Voinovich led a long obstruction in the Senate against his nomination (Reynolds *Los Angeles Times latimes.com*).

When he could not obtain Bolton's confirmation by the Senate, Bush simply bypassed Congress and made a recess appointment of Bolton, making him the temporary U.S. Ambassador until 2007 (Douglass & Kuhenhenn *DEMOCRATIC UNDERGROUND.COM democratic underground.com*). In his turn, John Negroponte was appointed as the U.S. Ambassador to the UN in 2001. Though there was some opposition among Senate Democrats, his nomination was ratified by the Senate on September 15, 2001. In 2004 Negroponte was appointed as the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, in 2005 as National Intelligence Director, and in 2007 he became Top Deputy to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice ("John Negroponte" *World Wizzy, worldwizzy.com*).

During the recent decades, Neoconservatives became very wealthy, powerful and so influential on the course of events. They were known for advocating the elimination of anything they believed would hinder their business interests even if this had to do with Government rules and regulations. Under the Reagan Administration, Neocons backed the

deregulation of savings and loan industry which led to its collapse, costing taxpayers huge sums of money ("The S & L Crisis" *FDIC fdic.gov*).

Another case demonstrating how Neocons serve their interests upon the nation is that of Enron. Wendy Gramm, the wife of Senator Phil Gramm and the former Chair woman of The Commodity Futures Trading Commission approved elimination of Governmental oversight of energy contracts under which Enron and other companies were traded in the early 1990s (Manor *Chicago Tribune chicagotribune.com*). Later on, Senator Gramm backed up legislation entitled The Commodity Futures Modernization Act which authorized Enron to hide its illicit deals from the scrutiny of any regulating agency (Manor *Chicago Tribune chicagotribune.com*).

Consequently, Enron became Senator Gramm's biggest political contributor, and Mrs. Gramm was appointed to Enron's Board of Directors, receiving three million dollars over an eight-year period to provide oversight as an Enron Board member ("Blind Faith" *Public Citizen citizen.org*). When the Enron Company collapsed, the Board of Directors was not held liable. The Gramms were big supporters of Bush, and Enron had generously financed George W. Bush's Presidential campaign ("Blind Faith").

Along with the heavy funding they get from corporate sponsors such as Enron and Exxon/Mobil, the Neocons have extremely important support of the many non-profit Neocon foundations created in the last forty years and which get direct, tax-free money from the corporations. In return, the Neoconservative think tanks and centers lobby in favor of the corporations' interests. For instance, the Neoconservative foundation "Sarah Scaife" gets money from corporations such as Alcoa, chevron, the Union Trust Company, the Pittsburgh Coal Company and Mellon Banks (Vadurro 78). It is important to note that all of the Sponsoring corporations mentioned so far have gained huge benefit during war. Alcoa for

example announced its highest quarterly income and revenue in the company's history on July 7, 2005 ("Alcoa Announces Highest Quarterly Income" *Business Wire businesswire.com*).

The American Enterprise Institute (AEI), a large Neoconservative think tank, serves to help placing Neocons into high Governmental positions, enabling them to make recommended changes in laws and regulations which would benefit certain corporations. Many Neocons were offered work in the corporations which could have benefited from the changes they helped while they were serving as Government officials (Verloy and Politi *Centre for Public Integrity publicintegrity.org*).

Dick Cheney, for example, made a lot of changes to privatize much of the U.S. Military while he was the Secretary of Defence, directing contracts to the private sector in an unprecedented manner. Halliburton benefited from many lucrative contracts during Cheney's term, and after the latter had lost his job in the Reagan Administration, his position as Halliburton's new CEO was secured. His salary went over \$2 million annually (Vadurro 84).

From 1995 to 2000, Cheney was paid over \$10 million and owned an additional \$40 million in Halliburton stock (Bryce *Mother Jones motherjones.com*). It is also reported that Cheney is the largest stockholder at Halliburton which is the parent company of Kellogg, Brown and Root, a company that has received billions of dollars in non-competitive contracts for reconstruction in Iraq. Reports say that the Vice President continues to receive as much as \$1 million annually in "deferred compensation" from Halliburton where he worked as CEO for five years (Drutman and Cray *Common Dreams commondreams.org*). In 2005 Cheney was said to have millions of dollars in Halliburton stock investment through Vanguard (Murray *Washington Post washingtonpost.com*).

Clearly, if you were to benefit personally, in a way or another, that would certainly impede your ability to provide an unbiased recommendation while serving as a Government official. This disturbing quality applies to George W. Bush, and many of his appointees. Most

of them have been rewarded financially for decisions they have made while in public service. Paul Wolfowitz, former Deputy Secretary was a consultant for the Northrop Grumman Corporation which produces defence electronics, information technology aircraft, shipbuilding, and space technology. The Defence Department, under Wolfowitz, steered that company \$ 48.074.442 worth of contracts for the Iraq war that Wolfowitz had planned since 1992 (Vadurro 96).

Another official who seems to take profit from serving in the U.S. Government is Richard Perle. He served as the Chairman of the Department of Defence Planning Board. Perle, with many organizational affiliations, was representing companies that had business pending before the Department of Defence ("Richard N. Perle" *SOURCEWATCH sourcewatch.org*). He was forced to drop out in March of 2003 for having unethically taken huge profit from the American war in Iraq (Hubbard-Brown 88).

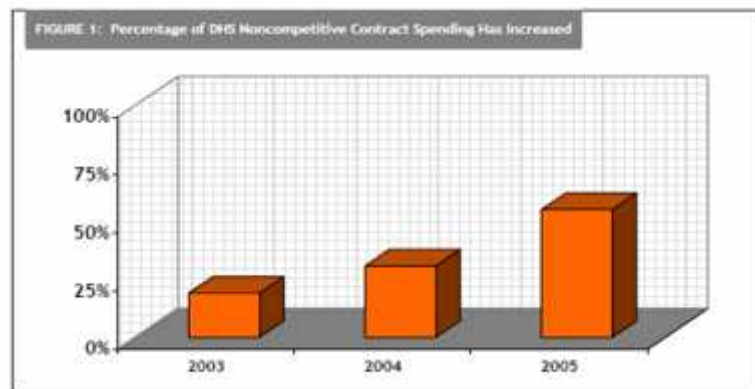
In November, 2005, an \$8 billion emergency funding bill was passed by the Senate in order to deal with the Avian flu (H5N1) pandemic as recommended by Bush Administration. Bush declared at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland that the avian flu pandemic would kill from 200.000 to 2 million persons in the U.S alone. By this declaration, Bush justified the purchase of millions of doses of Tamiflu (Mercola *Take Control of Your Health mercola.com*).

The Pentagon ordered \$58 million worth of the drug in 2004 for U.S. Troops around the world. The drug is manufactured and Marketed by Swiss pharmaceutical Giant Roche, who holds the patent on behalf of Gilead Sciences. In 2005 they were given \$2 billion by the Bush Administration for the purchase of Tamiflu (Norrell *TRIPOD tripod.com*). Two things are very important to note. First, former Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld is the former CEO of Gilead Sciences Inc, and one of the largest stock holder. Second, only 332 people have died worldwide, due to Avian flu in the world (Schwartz *CNNMoney cnn.com*).

Rumsfeld has, also, benefited financially from his stock ownership in other companies receiving no-bid Government contracts, like Bechtel, \$11.7 billion, and Gulfstream Aerospace General Dynamics \$ 30 billion ("*Bechtel Group Center For Public Integrity publicintegrity.org*"). Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle and Dick Cheney were all members of the Neoconservative think tank, Project for a New American Century (PNAC), (Girdne 92).

The Department of Defence has granted many contracts in secrecy without a bidding process. These are known as non-competitive bids ("*Windsfalls of War iWatchNews iwatchnews.org*"). Both the number and the monetary value of sole-source contracts awarded by the DHs increased from 2003 to 2005. In 2003, DHs awarded \$655 million in contracts without open competition. By 2005 the amount jumped to \$5.5 billion (Davis and Waxman I)! This is well shown in figure 4.

Figure 4. Increase in No-Bid Contracts, 2003 to 2005



Source: Department of Homeland Security, 2006. Web. 9 Nov. 2008.

Note: No-bid” Contracts and Grants have been on the rise between 2003 and 2005. Several of the contracts were given to politically connected firms.

The Defence Policy Board members do not provide the Pentagon with independent, reliable references as it normally should be. Instead, the members who were appointed by

Donald Rumsfeld turned the board into an advantageous means that serves their personal interests and those of their sponsoring corporations. In December 2001 the U.S. Congress debated a military budget of \$343.2 billion with an increase of \$ 32.6 over the year before. The 9/11 attacks generated ultimate fear from potential threats, via this threat military spending has not only skyrocketed, but it is, also, expected to go unrestricted for years to come (Malonzo 24).

United States developed a formidable military-industrial complex. It is well known that every industry needs relative sales, profits and reproduction in order to flourish. Unfortunately, only wars and conflict times bring the military industry up to its flourishing. The 9/11 attacks boosted the industry to the largest possible degree. The hawks who control the White House and back the martial output pushed their country with determination towards war because they knew quite well that the war would mean the attainment of their interests (Zadeh *SOLIDARITY solidarity-us.org*).

Thirty-two major Bush appointees are former executives, consultants, or major shareholders of top weapons contractors. Seventeen Administration appointees had ties to major military contractors Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman or Raytheon, prior to joining the Bush team. Among many others is former Lockheed Chief Operating Officer, Peter B. Teets. He became Under Secretary of the Air Force and Director of the National Reconnaissance Office. Secretary of the Air Force James Roche was a former Northrop Grumman Vice President, and Secretary of the Navy Gordon England was a former General Dynamics Vice President (Malonzo 27-28).

At least, one-third of the thirty Defence Policy Board members appointed by the Bush Administration had bonds to companies that won over \$76 billion in defence contracts in 2001 and 2002 (Drutman and Cray *Common Dreams commondreams.org*). Defence Policy Board member David Jeremiah is a Director or Advisor to at least five corporations that

received more than \$10 billion in Pentagon contracts in 2002. Jack Sheehan, another Defence Policy Board member, has been with Bechtel since 1998. The company had defence contracts worth close to \$650 million in 2001 and more than \$1 billion in 2002 (Verloy & Politi *Center for Public Integrity publicintegrity.org*).

The connections between Defence Policy Board members and private sector corporations expand to many big names such as Boeing, TRW, Northrop Grumman, Lockheed Martin, Booz Allen Hamilton, Rolls-Royce North America, North American Air-lines and others. These corporations have recently gained tremendous contracts (McIntyre, *CNN cnn.com*).

With such corporate influence, it is hard to believe the Defence Policy Board is providing the Pentagon with impartial and unbiased decisions. Below are very few examples of the profiteers of war:

Table 1. Post-War Contractors Ranked by Total Contract Value in Iraq and Afghanistan From 2002 through July 1, 2004.

| Contractor | ContractTotal |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| Kellogg, Brown & Root (Halliburton) | \$11,431,000,000 |
| Parsons Corp | \$5,286,136,252 |
| Fluor Corp | \$3,754,964,295 |
| Washington Group International | \$3,133,078,193 |
| Shaw Group/Shaw E & I | \$3,050,749,910 |
| Bechtel Group Inc | \$2,829,833,859 |

Source: The Center For Public Integrity, 2004. Web. 6 Jan. 2009.

Note: A study carried on by the Center for Public Integrity, a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization, shows that the same companies that funded President Bush's election campaigns benefited from the biggest deals in the reconstruction of Iraq.

Among the \$ 20.9 billion Spent by the American people to rebuild Iraq, Halliburton received a sole- source contract worth \$ 7 billion for the restoration of Iraq's oil infrastructure (Vadurro 101). Unfortunately oil production in Iraq deteriorated significantly after the U.S. invasion. Even when it suffered from sanctions, its oil production was much better than after huge sums of money were spent to reconstruct it and develop its production (United Nations Development Programme 48). Reports say that these corporations did not provide the necessary living conditions even for American soldiers (B. Carter DVD *Brave New Films*).

Paul O'Neill, former U.S. Treasury Secretary, claimed that within eight days of his taking Office in January 2001, George W. Bush discussed targeting Iraqi former President Saddam Hussein and regime change in Iraq. But Vice President Cheney's talk was, according to O'Neill, more concerned with Iraqi oil and who would get contracts. At the first National Security Meeting, the invasion of Iraq was at the core of the debate, and after just a couple of days, the discussions turned around the post-invasion period focusing on where to find oil and who wanted contracts (Suskind 75-96). It is important to note that in 1999, Dick Cheney stated that by 2010 Americans would need on the order of an additional fifty million barrels a day. So, where the oil was going to come from. While many regions of the world offer great oil opportunities, he said, the Middle East with two thirds of the world's oil and the lowest cost, was still where the prize ultimately lied (*Energy Bulletin energybulletin.net*).

Cheney's words, clearly, reflect the reality of America with oil and U.S. commitment to ensure access to it. They also show the big value oil accords to the Middle East and how it places it at the center of America's deep concerns. In 2003, a consortium of ten companies felt that it was adventurous to fund the construction of of a \$ 3.5 billion petroleum pipeline project in the volatile and unsafe Middle East. Sharing the same fears, the commercial banks declined the loan for the thousand plus mile pipeline that would run from the Caspian Sea

through Georgia and on to the Mediterranean Coast of Turkey (Eviatar *Mother Jones* *motherjones.com*).

But, the Bush Administration backed the project as it agreed to subsidize the Exxon Mobil-BP pipeline deal with American tax payer dollars. It not only decided to pay for the engineering studies in Azerbaijan, but also awarded \$500 million to help finance the project in that oil-rich region. Moreover, with the World bank under the command of Neoconservative and Iraqi war architect Paul Wolfowitz, the Bush Administration was able to get on any amounts necessary to concretize its projects (Bello et al 89-90).

The Center for Responsive Politics provides information about elections top contributors and recipients, showing the real winners of war. Individuals and political action committees affiliated with the gas and oil, energy /natural resources, defence and construction industries have donated millions to candidates and parties much of which has gone to Republicans ("Elections Top Contributors and Recipients". *Center for Responsive Politics* *opensecrets.org*).

CONCLUSION The economic and strategic interests that underlie the war against Afghanistan and Iraq were covered up. American officials tried to pass their war as a reaction to the 9/11 attacks. However, a thorough examination of the events and speeches that preceded or accompanied the war says otherwise. The least that could be realized is that the war was not the product of an abrupt anger, and the yearning to control the region was not the upshot of a flash moment. It seems clear that the war had begun in the minds of U.S. commanders years before. The 9/11 event was not more than a bridge that shortened the way to real world ground.

Americans were conscious of the increasing depletion of their oil resources. They were aware and so frightened by the idea that in the near future, the Middle East would be handling most of the world's energy resources. U.S. attempts to gain regional friendly allies especially

in Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan failed. The United States, therefore, made the decision to act in order to secure control of the oil fields and refineries in Iraq. It wanted to return Iraqi oil fully to market to reduce the ability of other countries in the region to set oil prices, and challenge U.S. power in the region.

The war was in a big part a product of Neoconservative leaders who were persuaded that only American economic superiority, and political dominion over the world would secure an organized, harmonious, and peaceful world wherein American interests would progress peacefully and confidently. All the facts and figures excerpted so far leave no doubt that the recent American war in the Middle East was mostly a "think tank war". It was thought, decided, planned and waged by Neoconservatives who only counted the considerable wealth and extensive power standing by in the horizon.

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CHAPTER THREE: THREAT AND RESPONSE

INTRODUCTION The impact of the 9/11 attacks on the American community was dramatic. Citizens from all districts and social ranks, governmental and public, converged in one burst of emotions, and banded together to head for one common enemy. The military toed the line, thundered appalling battle-cries, and set out in a firm war against terrorism. The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the nature of this new threat, the methods terrorists employ, their motives and who their victims are. On the other hand, the chapter offers an assessment of the new American preemptive war, and an examination of the current American National Strategy for combating terrorism: its ends, ways and means. An evaluation of all these details will considerably help to uncover the real motives behind the U.S belligerence towards the Middle East in the wake of the 9/11 attacks.

3.1.THE SEEDS OF “EVIL” The memory of the two planes that had flown into the World Trade Center, the third into the Pentagon , and the fourth that had crashed in Pennsylvania on Tuesday, September 11, 2001 is forever locked in the depths of Americans’ minds. America pulled together while the international community stood unified behind it, determined to assist it in finding who was behind those heinous crimes. Likewise, The United Nations condemned those acts, and supported international efforts to root out terrorism (*Resolution 1368, Resolution 1386 United Nations un.org*).

The actors of the 9/11 attacks were said to be radical Islamists who had risen some years earlier as the biggest danger threatening American interests. They were stimulated by many reasons, most prominent of which was the religious impulse. America had already given chase in the 1990s to Bin Ladin, the leader of Al Qaida, which was declared responsible for the attacks of September (Pillar viii).

An analysis of the attacks of September is very important for they hold many implications. First, they demonstrate that terrorism became more group-based, though some think that the acts were so sophisticated that they reflected some underground support from terrorist states. Second, terrorism is becoming more and more international. The 9/11 attacks were decided, designed, funded and instructed from different continents. Third, the deadliness in terrorist operations was so clearly demonstrated by the 9/11 attacks' huge number of victims, which was about 3.000 people (Pillar ix).

Furthermore, the 9/11 shows that United States, which Bin Ladin called “The Far Enemy”, became the major target for terrorists’ operations. Bin Ladin said, justifying the “Jihad” against the United States for its foreign policies that have alienated many Muslims:

America heads the list of aggression against Muslims. The recurrence of aggression against Muslims everywhere is proof enough. For over half a century, Muslims in Palestine have been slaughtered, assaulted, and robbed of their honor and of their property. Their houses have been blasted, their crops destroyed. And the strange thing is that any act on their part to avenge themselves or to lift the injustice befalling them causes great agitation in the United Nations, which hastens to call for an emergency meeting only to convict the victim and to censure the wronged and the tyrannized whose children have been killed and whose crops have been destroyed and whose farms have been pulverized. (Bin Ladin *FRONTLINE pbs.org*).

Within two days of the 9/11 attacks, the name of Osama Bin Ladin was being heard everywhere, and details of previous plots by him were highlighted in news coverage in the following days. The FBI had listed Bin Ladin as one of the world’s most wanted terrorists for the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, which caused the killing of six people and the injuring of more than 1.000 persons, the 1996 killing of nineteen U.S. soldiers in Saudi

Arabia, the 1998 bombings of two U.S. Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania leaving twelve Americans and more than two hundred African bystanders dead, the October 2000 attack on the U.S Cole in the Yemeni Port of Aden killing seventeen sailors, and finally the September 11, 2001 attacks (Little 311) .

Osama Bin Ladin studied management and economics, but showed interest in the study of the Islamic religion. He aligned himself with the jihadists and founded an organization called “Maktab al Khidmat”. That is Bureau of Services, through which he, as a wealthy man, funnelled money, arms and even Muslim fighters from the Middle East into Afghanistan (Schneller 71). Abdullah Azzam, a Palestinian scholar who advocated the use of every means to defeat the enemy, including violence and killings, inspired him. Jihad became his priority for his conviction that it is the only way to victory (Emerson 127).

The United States, which wanted to stop communist Russia, provided arms, training and huge sums of money to support the jihadists in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union. After the defeat of the Soviets in 1989, the jihadists turned the fight against one another because of disagreement over rule. The Taliban won and set very strict Islamic rules. Those who suffered the most were women. Girls were forbidden from going to school or work, and were harshly treated by husbands.

Under the Taliban, Afghanistan became the training ground for Muslim militants of all nations. After the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, Bin Ladin returned to Saudi Arabia, and created an international terrorist group made up of many well-trained jihadists from Afghanistan. When Bin Ladin settled in Afghanistan, he was favorably received and granted the protection he needed.

Bin Ladin, then, founded Al Qaeda, “the base”, whose mission was to Fight Western and pro western countries that oppress Muslims, using violence and bloodshed. The UN condemned the Taliban for allowing Afghanistan to be used as a base for the export of

terrorism by the Al Qaeda network and supported the efforts of the Afghan people to replace the Taliban regime (*Resolution 1378 United Nations un.org*).

In 1991, Bin Ladin was expelled from Saudi Arabia. He moved to Sudan, where he started working with an exiled group of radical Egyptians. Many Sudanese were being murdered by radical Muslims. In April 2005, it was estimated that 380.000 people had died ("Crisis in Sudan and Chad" *Care care.ca*). A year later, Bin Ladin made a broadcast calling for Al Qaeda fighters to go to Darfur to prepare for a long-term war against the crusaders (*ALJAZEERA.NET aljazeera.net*).

Most important was an order of "fatwa" Bin Ladin had already issued for Muslims, in August 1996, to force American soldiers out of Saudi Arabia (*PBS NEWSHOURS pbs.org*). He, not only, accused Arab leaders of lacking accountability, but denounced the Saudi Royal Family for corruption in all spheres of life, and for allowing American soldiers in the birthplace of Islam, as well (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks 48 53). Bin Ladin, launched publicly his condemnation. In televised interviews in 1998, Bin Ladin warned that if injustice continued, it would inevitably move the battle to American soil (*PBS FRONTLINE pbs.org*).

Propaganda is often managed to create and define an enemy (Chossudovsky" Fabricating an enemy". *GlobalResearch globalresearch.ca*). Americans' perception that Al Qaeda was becoming stronger and probably would be responsible for future terrorist attacks was likely to increase fear. That uncontrolled fear, released to the utmost , could shatter people, and drive America into too many battles abroad. The United States, in the war on terrorism, portrayed Al Qaeda as a highly orderly matrix (McCloud&Dolnik The *CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR csmonitor.com*). President Bush stated in his Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People on September 20, 2001:

There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction ... Our war on terror begins with Al Qaida, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated. (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*).

The campaign fulfilled the image of a ferocious unmerciful antagonist, an organized world with a structure and a leader, but invisible and that made the enemy even more frightening (McCloud&Dolnik).

That proved effective in fending the picture of American leaders as men of benevolent bent, working to resist evil, fight terrorism, preserve peace, enhance the rule of democracy, and bring down the voices that were rising against the war (Chossudovsky *GlobalResearch globalresearch.ca*). In his Speech on World Press Freedom Day, Tony Jenkins (CEO) wondered :

Why do Americans not see on their screens the same bloody images as Europeans and Arabs? Why are so few in the American media explaining that this policy of unilaterally annexing parts of the occupied territories won't work? That we don't live by 19th century rules anymore. That you can't go marching into someone else's land, wipe out all the indians, build a wall around it and say 'this is mine,' with impunity. That, it was precisely to stop such actions that the United Nations was founded. (*United Nations un.org*).

The corporate media prepared people psychologically. Thousands of news, reports, warnings of potential terrorist attacks and possible nuclear deployment were repeated day after day so as to concretize the unseen enemy. Security men alertness and frequent arbitrary arrests made the American people feel that the enemy is standing on the threshold and the war outbreak would be anytime. To spread panic around successfully, the media depended, not only, on conceptive warnings of future attacks, but also on real terrorist events. The atmosphere of loss and fear was so strong that all political and military decisions seemed justifiable (Chossudovsky).

After both Pearl Harbor and the Kennedy assassination, investigations started within weeks whereas the formation of the 9/11 commission was strongly opposed, and even blocked for over a year by the Bush Administration (Martino *CE collective-evolution.com*). President Bush asked the House and Senate Intelligence Committees to look only into "the potential breakdowns among federal agencies that could have allowed the terrorist attacks to occur, "rather than conduct an accurate investigation" (United States Congress Senate *Congressional Record* 148: 16310).

In December 2002, the 9/11 commission was finally established after months of vigorous fight led, particularly, by the relatives of the victims of the 9/11 attacks. The resulting report found the attacks were carried out by members of Al Qaeda, and revealed that Security and Intelligence Agencies were inadequately coordinated to prevent the attacks (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks 149, 321).

However, critics hold numerous charges against the Bush Administration: failure to immediately launch the investigations on the 9/11 attacks, failure to provide easy access to records, and the false accounts and deception put forth by the FAA and NORAD that led to the commission's failure by the FAA and NORAD that led to the commission's failure

(Griffin *9/11 Truth.org 911truth.org*). The commission was controlled by the Government. It included politicians who did not care so much about evidence. The Government was, clearly, decisive about hiding the truth (Kean and Hamilton 14).

An independent truth seeking force, then, made it its duty to uncover what really happened. Many organizations, led by well-respected professionals, assert that the explanation of the 9/11 events given by the U.S. Government contain significant inconsistencies which suggest either a cover up or complicity by insiders (Matthews *TopTenz.net toptenz.net*). These claims are supported by employees in the WTC ("World Trade Center Employee Discusses pre 9/11 Power Downs" *911Blogger.com 911blogger.com*) and Secretary of Transportation testimony (Mineta *C-SPAN c-spanvideo.org*).

Among these organizations is the Architects and Engineers for 9/11 Truth, founded by Sir Richard Gage, a based architect, in 2006. It is an American non profit organization of architects, engineers and demolition experts who support the controlled demolition hypothesis for the collapse of the WTC Buildings (*9/11: Explosive Evidence AE911Truth DVD*). They present, also, scientific evidence to back their claims (Watson and Jones *PRISON PLANET prisonplanet.com*). They are collecting signatures for a petition to the United States Congress demanding a new truly independent investigation that should take into consideration the possible use of explosives in the destruction of the WTC Buildings ("Video Shows Building 7" *WTC7.net wtc7.net*).

By May 2013, the organization included 1,928 architectural and engineering professionals and a total of 17, 200 other supporters who had signed the Petition (Architects and Engineers "Sign the Petition". *Architects & Engineers for 9/11 Truth ae911truth.org*). Many conferences have been held since the attacks, and several books and uncountable video

documentaries have been published about the inadequacies of the 9/11 Commission, and asking tough questions that still remain unanswered ¹.

After the 9/11 attacks, there has been much talk about Al Qaeda organization. The latter's strength and influence in the Middle East has been exaggerated by radical policy makers in Washington. When compared to politically established Muslim organizations such as Hamas or Hizbullah which have deep historical roots in Muslim societies, Al Qaeda is not more than an ideological stray within the military Islamist clan, a tentative enterprise founded and led by a humble band.

Americans refer to the 9/11 terrorist attacks as a war, and depict their fight against Al Qaeda as an existential problem (Cheney 9). Thinking about it rationally, one may notice that Al Qaeda might only have hundreds or thousands followers. The US possesses a military of more than 2.3 million people. (United States Department of Labor *Bureau of Labor Statistics bls.gov*). Al Qaeda is trying to get WMD; America has thousands. They hide in caves; America encompasses a continent. Al Qaeda suffers from very hard living conditions in a place that looks like emerging from the stone ages; the US enjoys the world's largest economy. So, how such an unstable organization could threaten the existence of such a gigantic power. Moreover, if the 'alleged enemy', Bin Laden, was holed up in Russia, France or Germany the United States would have made a difference between targeting a handful of alleged hijackers and non-affiliated nations (Woollam *Short Inspiring Stories blissful-wisdom.com*).

Connections between Al Qaeda Central and local associates are fragile. Abu Musab Zarqawi, the Emir of Al Qaeda in Iraq, proved to be Al Qaeda Central's worst disobedient. He rejected orders from Bin Laden and Al-Zawahiri (Egyptian Jihadist leader), and acted according to his own will and inclination (Hunt *Washington Institute for Near East Policy*

washingtoninstitute.org). Similarly, local groups such as Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula and Al Qaeda of the Islamic Maghreb, which the American recital often portrays as being strongly affiliated and directed by Al Qaeda Central, have showed frequently that they operate by their own local agendas, not those determined by Al Qaeda Central.

Furthermore, Al Qaeda is unable to handle the immensely complex reality of the Muslim world, especially the Middle East which is characterized by a striking sectarian, ethnic and religious variety. Guided by extreme annihilation, Al Qaeda is unfit to deal with this diversity. Rather, it views this multiplicity as a deviation that has to be corrected through harsh conduct. Predominating in bloody shows and atrocity, Al Qaeda has earned more contempt than sympathy among Muslims themselves.

Al-Zawahiri had warned Zarqawi in a letter about his brutal tactics, including the beheadings of hostages for "Among the things which the feelings of the Muslim populace who love and support [him] will never find palatable ... are the scenes of slaughtering the hostages. [He] shouldn't be deceived by the praise of some of the zealous young men and their description of [him] as the shaykh of the slaughters." (*Office of the Director of National Intelligence fas.org*).

Many Muslims started to disconnect away from Abu Musab Zarqawi's group because of his merciless devices with fellow Muslims. In the wake of the 2005 Amman hotel bombings, many Jordanians took the streets and denounced terrorism and fellow-Jordanian Zarqawi (Abdul-Ahad *Guardian guardian.co.uk*). The attack was condemned within Al Qaeda range as well. In April 2006, Huthayfah Azzam, son of Abdullah Azzam, the mentor of both Osama bin Ladin and Mr. Zarqawi said that the latter had been denuded of his political duties in response to his actions that were hurting the Iraqi revolt's support in the Arab Muslim World (Bright *Christian Science Monitor csmonitor.com*).

A 2007 survey by the Pew Global Opinion Trends found that support for suicide bombings against civilians declined extremely across the Muslim world between 2002 and 2007. It fell by half or more in Lebanon, Bangladesh, Pakistan Jordan and Indonesia. In addition, the study showed lowering Muslim confidence in Osama Bin Ladin, reinforcing the argument that an extensive rejection of extremist behaviour among the Muslim world is underway. In Jordan, persons expressing " a lot/some confidence " in Bin Ladin slipped from 56 percent in 2003 to 20 percent in 2007, whereas in Lebanon the numbers fell from 20 to just 1 percent ("Global Opinion Trends Survey" 57). Another Pew Study showed that Bin Ladin was trusted by the majority in only two countries- Nigeria and Palestine ("Global Unease With World Powers" 68).

Beside this flak from the Muslim world, Al Qaeda has been severely criticised from within the group by formerly strong supporters of Jihad. Among these are Sheikh Abu Muhammed Al Maqdisi, an impressive jihadist theorist, and Sayid Imam Al Sharif, also known as Dr Fadl and viewed as the godfather of Al Qaeda. In 2007, Fadl argued, in an article entitled "Rationalization of Jihad", that Al Qaeda's bombings and the killing of civilians are illegitimate and defective. "What good is it," he wrote " if you destroy one of your enemy's buildings, and he destroys one of your countries ? What good is it if you kill one of his people, and he kills a thousand of yours ? ... That, in short is my evaluation of 9/11."(Wright *New Yorker newyorker.com*).

If Al Qaeda looks like it has claws all over the world, it is because emerging groups, often with different agendas, use similar methods and means. Besides, authoritarian regimes everywhere take benefit in claiming that their adversaries are strongly aligned with Al Qaeda. Ex- President Maammar Gaddafi pretended that, simply because the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group was directed by ancient fighters in the Afghan War, such as Abdel Hakim Belhaj. In

addition, Bin Ladin may have died a long time ago. Yet, the American Administration has managed to keep him alive for their covert intent to keep the war machine on, and keep the flow of money ever going to the corporations and the groups that manufacture and take benefit from waging wars.

Identified as a member of the “Axis of Evil” by President George W. Bush, Saddam Hussein was another evil monster to eliminate. However, Saddam Hussein had not always been an enemy of the United States. The latter actively supported the 1963 coup aimed at assassinating the Iraqi Prime Minister Abdul-Karim Qassem, who legalized the Iraqi communist party, and placing Saddam’s Baath party into power (Napolitano197). This action helped stop the communist influence in Iraq, gave the United States more friendly countries in the Middle East and better control over Iraq.

For almost a decade, the U.S. supported Saddam’s efforts against Iran in a war that killed one million Iranians and Iraqis. During the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980’s, the Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush Administrations provided Saddam with intelligence information, economic assistance, military arms and biological weapons (United States Congress Senate *Congressional Record* 149: 2193). The U.S. Government sold Iraq poisonous chemicals and deadly biological viruses like anthrax and bubonic plague (Fayazmanesh 37). Later, Saddam Hussein used those chemical weapons on the Kurds in Northern Iraq when they revolted against the Government. Complaints sprang from many international human rights' groups who pledged the United States to intervene against Saddam Hussein and his Government. But, the Reagan and Bush Administrations ignored the complaints (Glantz *MONITOR monitor.net*).

Additionally, when Senator Claiborne Pell introduced The Prevention of Genocide Act of 1988, a bill that called for imposing harsh sanctions against Iraq, freezing all exports to it and

stopping any imported goods, President Reagan opposed it strongly and said that he would veto it if necessary. Eventually, the bill was defeated in the House of Representatives (Gareau 178). In fact, by protecting Saddam Hussein, the U.S. Government was protecting its economic interests. The U.S. farmers were providing substantial agricultural products to Iraq, at the same time, the U.S. relied on Iraqi oil imports (O'Sullivan 370). Obviously, sanctions against Iraq would negatively affect the U.S. economy as well. After Saddam gassed the Kurds, the United States increased support and help for Iraq (Melnyk 69).

Iraq is a confusion of several religious and ethnic groups including Sunnis, Shiites, Turks and Kurds. These groups differ in their religious beliefs, cultures and practices. Both Sunnis and Shiites are Muslims, but have a long history of feuding, and the Kurds have long wished to become separate from Iraq. While Sunni Saddam Hussein was well known for his human offenses against the Kurds and Shiites, his Government invested abundantly in programs that benefited the Iraqi public (Gordon *Harper's Magazine* www.scn.org).

Iraq had a robust economy, adequate electricity, modernized agriculture and a rapidly growing middle class (Gordon *Harper's Magazine* www.scn.org). According to the World Health Organization (WHO), 93 percent of the population had access to free health care and other social programs for over twenty years (World Health Organization 2). While many Iraqis were afraid of Saddam Hussein, they were very proud to have one of the best education systems in the Middle East. Before the First Gulf War, Iraqi people enjoyed free public school education for both males and females (Hassan *GlobalResearch* globalresearch.ca). Despite the UN sanctions imposed since 1991, Iraqis had one of the highest numbers of women holding PhDs of all the Arab Nations. Many of the Middle Eastern nations held policies against women (Kuwaiti women were granted the right to vote only in 2000), but Iraq's policies were of equal treatment regardless of gender (Pina 2).

On June 1, 1972 Saddam initiated a process of expropriating Western oil companies, breaking foreign monopoly on the country's oil and skyrocketing oil revenues. Further, Saddam mechanized agriculture, distributed land to peasant farmers and established farm cooperatives. In those cooperatives, profits were distributed according to the labors of the individual, and the unskilled were trained ("Saddam Hussein" *Dittatori e regimi* www.dittatori.it). Agrarian reform during Saddam's rule improved the living standard of the peasantry and increased production (*Iraq President Saddam Hussein Handbook* 9). In 2003, it was reported that everyone met in Baghdad talked the Saddam line and did not trust the American Government (Kohn *CBSNEWS* cbsnews.com).

Iraq borders several nations including Kuwait to its southwest. In 1930, Kuwait discovered it was floating on oil after the British and the Americans drilled wells. In 1961, Kuwait declared itself to be an independent state, and since then Saddam Hussein has complained for years that Kuwait was originally a part of Iraq (Peretz *Scholastic* scholastic.com). In the late 1980's, Saddam accused the Kuwaitis of stealing Iraqi oil through "Slant Drilling" technique. Moreover, Saddam accused the Kuwaitis of driving down the price per barrel of oil, and he even threatened to take back Kuwait (Wilson 94). In 1990, President George H.W. Bush stated that Iraq was already a rich and powerful country that had the world's second largest reserves of oil and the fourth largest military in the world. On the other hand, America imported nearly half the oil it consumed. So if Saddam, the president said, were able to take over Kuwait, the U.S. could face a major threat to its economic independence (*Council on Foreign Relations* cfr.org).

On July 25, 1990 Saddam Hussein met with United States Ambassador April Glaspie to determine how the United States would react if Iraq annexed Kuwait. Mrs Glaspie assured Saddam that President George H.W. Bush Wanted better and deeper relations between the

U.S. and Iraq and that the U.S. had no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflict like his border disagreement with Kuwait (Glaspie and Saddam *Global Research globalresearch.ca*). Feeling confident and safe of any reaction from the U.S., Saddam Hussein marched 100.000 Iraqi-troops and 700 tanks to the South of Iraq. On August 2, 1990, his troops crossed the Iraq-Kuwait border ("1990: Iraq Invades Kuwait" *BBC bbc.co.uk*).

During the First Gulf War a huge media campaign was launched to generate hostility against a demonic Saddam ². He was mainly condemned for the mass graves where half a million of his citizens lied, the dried up marshes, Halabja where chemicals were dropped on civilians, and the lists of the disappeared whose right to live was taken away from them by Saddam Hussein (Chalabi *United Nations un.org*). Most notably was that story about premature babies in Kuwait, tossed out of the incubators and left to die (Stich 213) ³. Some stories were simply fabricated, and used to heighten fear and hatred against Saddam Hussein to increase public support for the upcoming Gulf war ⁴.

Paul Wolfowitz, Deputy Secretary of Defence and a principal assistant of Bush, was the draftsman of Operation Iraqi Freedom. As an Under Secretary of Defence for Policy, he was responsible for reshaping military strategy and policy after the cold war (Dungan 2). Together with the help of Lewis Libby, he wrote the *1992 Draft Defense Planning Guidance* that displayed American interest in dominating Eurasia and sustaining stability in Europe. Even though the threat posed by the Soviet Union decreased, U.S. asserts that some other threats may have become greater, and America will in no way stick around indifferent (U.S. Department of Defense *Defense Planning Guidance 1992 Initial draft National Archives archives.gov*).

According to the draft document, the top objective of the United States should be the conservation of U.S. military power to be able to protect American national interests, further

its ideals and counter the emergence of global competitors. It also mentioned cooperation with friendly regional states to ensure security and stability in the region, and safeguard U.S. and Western access to Persian Gulf oil. America stressed that it would intervene in any regional or local conflict via humanitarian aids or use of force.

The document stated, also, that America was ready, if necessary, to act unilaterally. Because of negative public reaction to the document, the White House ordered Dick Cheney who was Defence Secretary to rewrite it (Dungan 2). He eliminated any mention of pre-emption or unilateral action that was rejected in a post-cold war era that emphasized multi-lateralism and containment (U.S. Department of Defense *Defense Planning Guidance 1992* Latest draft *National Archives archives.gov*).

In 1998, a group of experts wrote to President Bill Clinton, urging him to take necessary measures to remove Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein from power. They argued that the threat of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons could only be overcome through military action. The authors of this letter included Paul Wolfowitz, Donald Rumsfeld, John Bolton, Richard Perle, Elliott Abrams and William Kristol. They described the failure of traditional "containment":

The policy of containment of Saddam Hussein has been steadily eroding over the past several months ... The lengthy period during which the inspectors will have been unable to enter many Iraqi facilities has made it even less likely that they will be able to uncover all of Saddam's secrets. As a result, in the not-too-distant future we will be unable to determine with any reasonable level of confidence whether Iraq does or does not possess such weapons. (PNAC "Letter to President Bill Clinton". *PNAC newamericancentury.org*)

Despite the fact that many of these thinkers held high-level Government positions after the elections of 2000, it was not until the 9/11 attacks that they were able to change the course of American anti-proliferation policy (Duffield&Dombrowski 43, 44).

Those thinkers rallied support for American global leadership (PNAC "Statement of Principles" *PNAC newamericancentury.org*). They, repeatedly, stressed the fact that Saddam's threat was becoming more difficult to handle. On the contrary, intelligence assessment made before the Bush Presidency showed that Saddam was getting weaker, not stronger. In April 1999, the Intelligence Community concluded :

Iraq's military capabilities have deteriorated significantly as a result of UN sanctions and damage inflicted by coalition and US military operations. Its military forces are even less well prepared for major combat operations than we judged in the National Intelligence Estimate ... of July 1994 ... Iraq's military capabilities will continue a slow and steady decline as long as both economic sanctions and the arms embargo are maintained. Smuggling and other efforts to circumvent the embargo will be inadequate to halt the trend. (United States Senate *Report on the U.S. Intelligence* 388).

Clearly, Saddam Hussein did not possess weapons of mass destruction before the American invasion in 2003. He did not represent any imminent threat to the United States or to the world. A pursuit of the UN inspections would have proved no weapons of mass destruction because there was none.

The "Downing Street Memo" detailed the record of the meeting of the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair and his top Cabinet members, which took place on July 23, 2002. It highlighted the false allegations deployed by the U.S. and Great Britain to lead a military invasion into Iraq. Most important of the facts it contained was that "Military action was seen as inevitable. Bush wanted to remove Saddam through military action, justified by the

conjunction of terrorism and WMD. But, the intelligence and facts were being fixed around the policy" (Manning *Sunday Times timesonline.co.uk*).

The leaked document provided evidence that Bush had already made up his mind to take America to war and that he would use allegations of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction whether or not they were true. Thus, statements like the one George W. Bush made on March 8, 2003 in a radio address were nothing more than bluff, when he affirmed that Washington was doing everything it could to avoid war in Iraq, but if Saddam Hussein did not disarm peacefully, he would be disarmed by force (*GPO gpo.gov*).

It is elusory that many Americans still believe Iraq had weapons of mass destruction though no real weapons have been found other than few old tubes of degraded chemicals and pesticides (Stauber *PR Watch prwatch.org*). After a long investigation, the Iraq Survey Group, involving American weapons hunters, announced in 2004 that Iraq had dismantled its chemicals, biological and nuclear arms programs in 1991 under UN oversight. (United Nations Security Council *Nineteenth Quarterly Report United Nations un.org*).

The Bush Administration insisted that the agricultural pesticides found in Iraq constituted a find of chemical biological weapons because they could be converted into those products (Borger *The Guardian theguardian.com*)! In fact, the only weapons of mass destruction found in Iraq were "500 filled and unfilled degraded chemical munitions" which were "pre-1991" (United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence *Report on Postwar Findings about Iraq's WMD* 57).

One of the most disturbing traits associated with the Bush Administration was its manipulative use of language. It successfully disguised its objectives by using words that had almost the opposite meaning from what they represented, and this had proven highly effective. Speaking to Hud Employees on National Homeownership Month in June 2002, George Bush said, that when they talked about war, they were really talking about peace

(*U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development archives.hud.gov*). In 1948, George Orwell wrote in his book *Nineteen Eighty Four* (1984) about "big brother" government that spies on its people while telling them that "war is peace", "ignorance is strength" and "freedom is slavery" (Vadurro 218).

The justifications for the war in Iraq has been changing through time. A big number of Americans believed that their country went to war in Iraq to defend itself from Saddam Hussein, Iraq's former dictator and his weapons of mass destruction. The Bush Administration called for a regime change in Iraq. After the capture of Saddam, and the discovery that there were no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, the U.S. was to provide freedom and democracy to the Iraqi people. After several elections and different new Iraqi Governments, neither freedom nor democracy was provided. When American citizens wondered why they were still at war in Iraq, the Bush Administration claimed that they were fighting a global war on terror (Largio 1 2).

The fuss on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction was huge. On March 17, 2002, Vice President Dick Cheney said in a press conference that they knew Iraq had "biological and chemical weapons" (*White House archives.gov*). In contrast, the Defence Intelligence Agency reported that they were not sure if Iraq was making and storing chemical weapons, or even if it had or would built producing facilities (*Defense Intelligence Agency fas.org*).

On November 14, 2002, the Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld stated that within a very short time Saddam Hussein could hand weapons of mass destruction to Al Qaeda which would not hesitate to use them against the United States leaving behind a total of up to 30.000 or 100.000 victims (United States House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform iii). But according to the National Intelligence Estimate Report, there was no certainty about Saddam's ownership of weapons of mass destruction or intention to give

them to Al Qaeda in case he had them (National Intelligence Council *National Intelligence Estimate fas.org*).

Still, Condoleezza Rice, the National Security Advisor, stated for CNN that Saddam might develop his weapons of mass destruction more quickly than any one could expect, thus it was wise to act and not let the "smoking gun" become a "mushroom cloud" (Rice *CNN.com cnn.com*). Cleverly, Rice alleged that Saddam would soon acquire nuclear weapons and then blow up America, especially, when we consider her statement that "at the end of the Gulf War in 1991, the International Community had learned that Saddam's WMD capabilities were far more advanced than expected" (30).

In his turn, Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld said, on January 29, 2003, that Iraqis already got a nuclear weapon design, and they were trying many ways to enrich uranium. He added that Iraq was looking for huge amounts of uranium from Africa (*U.S. Department of Defense defense.gov*). However, Intelligence officials and the CIA had concluded this claim to be "highly dubious" (Tenet *Central Intelligence Agency cia.gov*). Rumsfeld declared again, on March 30, 2003 that they knew Iraq's WMDs were "in the area around Tikrit and Baghdad and East, West, South and North" (United States Congress Senate 150: 20698).

Similarly, General Collin Powell, the Secretary of State attempted to convince the United Nations and the rest of the world that after ten years of intense sanctions, Saddam had developed weapons of mass destruction. On February 5, 2003, he announced before the UN Security Council that America had "first hand descriptions of biological weapons factories on wheels and on rails" (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*). Later, no weapons of mass destruction have ever been found in Iraq.

On May 29, 2003, President Bush announced in an Interview by TVP that they found the weapons of mass destruction and the biological laboratories, and those who doubted the finding of the weapons, were mistaken (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*). However,

the Defence Intelligence Agency had inspected the trailers and said they were probably used "to produce hydrogen for artillery weather balloons" (United States. Congress. House 4: 445). Although Congressional approval for the invasion of Iraq would not be given until October 12, 2002, the United States had already started deploying troops to the Persian Gulf in August, 2002. On the other hand, by September of 2002, Halliburton subsidiaries had already begun building bases for the invasion in the region (Chatterjee 79).

On May 1, 2003 President George W. Bush said in his speech aboard the USS Abraham Lincoln that the liberation of Iraq was an important step in the war on terrorism. He asserted that Saddam was linked to Al Qaeda and supported terror. By breaking down Saddam's regime, they would ruin terrorists network for they would prevent them from acquiring weapons of mass destruction (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*).

The 9/11 Commission recorded that there were no links between Saddam and Al Qaeda, bringing down one of the main pretexts Washington alleged to wage war on Iraq (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks 66). In September 2003, President Bush himself admitted that they had no proof about Saddam's connection with Al Qaeda (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*).

Recently a big number of former Central Intelligence agents have started writing books, producing video programs and making public forums after they leave the agency to inform the public of the truth (*Uncovered: The War on Iraq DVD*). They ascertain that no such weapons would be found because they never existed, and that it was pure manipulation by American officials to implement what is known as the Project for a New American Century.

In his February 2003 Speech, discussing the future of Iraq, President Bush said that American invasion of Iraq was to lead to a free and peaceful Iraq "The first to benefit from a free Iraq would be the Iraqi people, themselves. Today they live in scarcity and fear, under a dictator who has brought them nothing but war, and misery, and torture. Their lives and their

freedom matter little to Saddam Hussein -- but Iraqi lives and freedom matter greatly to [Americans]" (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*). But, this is not what Iraq's reality reflects today. Iraq is a more dangerous place now. Saddam was able to maintain the country under control. Today people cannot join schools or work without fear as violence in Iraq appears daily. The living standard is worse, and some people do not even have access to clean drinking water and electricity. At present, all one can see in Iraq is brutality and destruction. Ethnic and religious intolerance is growing stronger and political conflict expands every day more (*Vaha HubPages hubpages.com*).

America encouraged and supported Saddam to invade Iran in 1980, in a war that caused the death of a million and a half people. It also provided him chemical weapons with which he burnt the Iranians and Kurds. Following the 2001 war, individuals were arrested, tortured and murdered even on suspicion and not on evidence of guilt. Many innocents were bombed with American depleted uranium shells and phosphorous. Moreover, the U.S. acts at Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib prisons were the leading edge of scandal and shame which the entire world has to forget while applauding the overthrow of an "evil monster " which America has created.

3.2.THE PREEMPTIVE WAR AND THE NEW GLOBAL STRATEGY The terrorist attacks of september 2001 shook America's throne and hurt its pride in depth. The U.S. announced that it would henceforth change its foreign policy, and rushed towards the encounter of an enemy of a new kind. An enemy that does not end to an individual or a group or a state or a continent, but extends over the whole globe. The enemy is "terrorism premeditated, politically motivated and violence perpetrated against innocents" (*White House The National Security Strategy* 5).

The Bush authority to conduct the war on terror came from two sources. One was Article II of the Constitution, which entrusts the president with wartime powers as commander in chief. The second was a Congressional war resolution passed three days after the 9/11 attacks, by a vote of 98 to 00 in the Senate and 420 to 01 in the House (Feste 141). Congress declared:

The president is authorized to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harboured such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons. (United States. Congress. Senate. *Congressional Record* 147: 18138).

The war on terrorism was described by George Bush as a struggle between good and evil. Terrorism targets peaceful nations, murders innocent civilians and mistreats women. Therefore, there could be no neutrality between lawfulness and brutality, the innocent and the criminal, the good and the evil, but confrontation (Bush "President Bush Delivers Graduation Speech" *whitehouse.archives.gov*). Terrorists had to be prevented from acquiring devastating weapons, and threatening the United States and the world. Iraq, Iran and North Korea were perceived as an axis of evil, arming to shake the peace of the world. America, then, had to act and not wait for dangers to gather and get closer (Bush "State of the Union Address 29 Jan" *White House archives.gov*). This idea is well explained by Deputy Secretary of the Defence Paul Wolfowitz in his International Institute for Strategic Studies Speech on December 2, 2002:

The notion that we can wait to prepare assumes that we know when the threat is imminent ... when were the attacks of September 11 imminent ? Certainly,

they were imminent on September 10, although we did not know it ... Anyone who believes that we can wait until we have certain knowledge that attacks are imminent has failed to connect the dots that led to September 11. (*U.S. Department of Defense defense.gov*).

President Bush stated that the world was facing a new enemy who had new thinking and used new methods. Thus, deterrence was no longer an option. Only pre-emption would be able to overturn such an enemy. He stressed the necessity of tearing the dangers down where they emerge from and not wait till they grow and become indestructible (Bush "President Bush Delivers Graduation Speech" *whitehouse.archives.gov*).

Bush defined a new strategy to carry out the war on terrorism. He called it pre-emptive action. That is to eliminate the danger at its root, and not wait until the enemy attacks first to defend one's self. Whenever a danger is felt underway or imminent, one should take the attacker not the defender position (Gray *Strategic Studies Institute army.mil*). America believes that it would be a huge irresponsibility to grant the enemy time to grow and attack first (White House *The National Security Strategy* 15).

When the FBI Director Bob Mueller and attorney General John Ashcroft updated the President on the progress of the FBI's investigation of the hijackers, and told him that they had identified most of the terrorists, and determined when they had entered the country, where they had stayed, and how they had executed the plot, the President asked him What he was doing to stop the next attack. The President said that Americans needed to disrupt attacks before they happened, not just investigate them after they took place. At the end of the meeting, Bob affirmed that he got his new mission, that was preventing attacks (Bush 145).

President Bush said that prosecution was not reasonable in dealing with unconventional terrorists who are ready to fly planes into buildings (154). To protect the country, Americans had to wage war against those terrorists, disclose their plots, trail their movements, hamper

their actions by blocking their funds, and depriving them of any safe hideout, where they could meet, think and plan future attacks (White House *The National Security Strategy* 5-6). Washington decided to destroy anyone who would be involved in terrorist projects. It would make no distinction between the terrorist who commit the acts and those who support them in any way whatsoever (G.W. Bush "Statement by the President in His Address to the Nation 11 Sept. 2001 " *White House whitehouse.archives.gov*).

Furthermore, the United States would welcome the help of other nations, but it would not waver to act all alone if requisite (White House *The National Security Strategy* 6). Washington made it clear that it was time for action. If all nations were willing to combat terrorism, they had to act then, because throughout time, they would be held responsible for passiveness and negativity. They had to choose to be with the United States or against it in its war on terror (G. W. Bush "President Welcomes President Chirac to White House" *White House whitehouse.archives.gov*).

Universally, terrorism can be defined differently. However, people would agree that it is a willful use of violence directed towards innocents so as to breed fear and bring about chaos and instability to attain one's objectives. As it is both "illegal and immoral", it becomes "justifiable" to use violence in "self-defence" The U.S. National Security Strategy stresses this notion (Snauwaert *Academia.edu academia.edu*):

For centuries, international law recognized that nations need not suffer an attack before they can lawfully take action to defend themselves against forces that present an imminent danger of attack. Legal scholars and international jurists often conditioned the legitimacy of pre-emption on the existence of an imminent threat most often a visible mobilization of armies, navies, and air forces preparing to attack. (White House *The National Security Strategy* 15).

The U.S. Administration argued that the terrorist threat became unseen and indefinite. Thus, the National Security Strategy needed to modify and adapt to be able to deal with that new nature of the terrorist threat. As such, Bush pre-emptive war against states that shelter, sponsor and train terrorists can be highly "justifiable" (Snauwaert *Academia.edu academia.edu*).

This justification can similarly apply against leaders and governments who violate internationally agreed on human rights, and commit genocide against their people(Snauwaert *Academia.edu academia.edu*). The Bush Doctrine called for the growth of democratic movements in every nation in order to end tyranny on Earth. In his Second Inaugural Address George W. Bush declared that it was the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in the world (*White House whitehouse.archives.gov*)

According to the Bush Doctrine, the 9/11 attacks on the United States reflected the culture of tyranny in the Middle East, which would breed fanatical, aggressive and religious despotism, the remedy of which was, therefore, democratic regime change⁵(Bush "Second Inaugural Address " *White House archives.gov*). Senators John McCain and Joe Lieberman introduced a legislation known as the Advance Democracy Act. It was passed by Congress in 2005. The legislation stated that democratic countries are more likely to act peacefully either among themselves or when dealing with other democracies. In contrast, non-democratic countries are more inclined towards conflict and aggression. About 170.000.000, then, people died because of harsh policies of autocratic rulers (United States. Congress. *Advance Democracy Act of 2005 Library of Congress Thomas thomas.loc.gov*).

Furthermore, in deciding to act unilaterally, ignoring international institutions and subduing all nations including friends, the United States asserted its benevolent primacy. The Bush Doctrine was based on the assumption that the world was very dangerous wherein a just

peace can be maintained only by the powerful. The United States would act as a supreme power, endowed with volition and ability to promote economic stability and ensure global security (Owens *ERIC VOEGELIN INSTITUTE lsu.edu*). This idea is more clearly highlighted in the words of Samuel Huntington:

The maintenance of U.S. primacy matters for the world as well as for the United States. A world without U.S. primacy will be a world with more violence and disorder and less democracy and economic growth than a world where the United States continues to have more influence than any other country in shaping global affairs. The sustained international primacy of the United States is central to the welfare and security of Americans and to the future of freedom, democracy, open economies, and international order in the world. (82-83.)

George W. Bush said, as the final weapons inspections report by Charles Duelfer concluded that "Saddam wanted to re-create Iraq's WMD capability after sanctions were removed and Iraq's economy stabilized". Had Saddam followed through on that intention, according to George Bush, the world would likely have testified a nuclear arms race between Iraq and Iran. He could have turned to terrorist groups like Al Qaeda. The possibility of providing terrorists with biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons would have increased. The pressure on the friends of the United States in the region especially Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates would have been brisk, and surely Americans would be much less secure, Bush argued (270) .

Instead, according to George W. Bush, and as a result of his Administration's actions in Iraq, one of American's most dangerous enemies and the biggest provider of violence and chaos in the region disappeared forever. Iraq is enjoying a new transitive phase of liberation from oppression and dictatorship to achieve peace, and establish democracy. This dream has

not been attained yet. But, today's Iraq has a chance that Iraqi people could have never dreamed of if Saddam Hussein had remained in power (270).

The defenders of the Bush Doctrine argue that Bush's policy may seem have veered to the political heritage which was followed by his predecessors, but this is not true. Despite the changes inflicted by the Neoconservative vision, Bush policy does not diverge from the traditional path that has always driven America on a mission that was intended to preserve U.S. security, provide peace and freedom for all (Owens *ERIC VOEGELIN INSTITUTE lsu.edu*), and not let opponents win a good decision (Powell 12) (Powell 12).

When one examines the American policy and National Security Strategy which relies on preemption, to eliminate dangers and preserve supremacy position, one needs to consider what links this doctrine to the American tradition. American perception of itself as a free, democratic, ideal nation with a benevolent power to keep global peace and order, and the split of the globe into two worlds each siding with either the good or the evil are all sprays from the old American mentality (Danner Interview *FRONTLINE pbs.org*).

The idea of the necessity to prepare for perpetual threats and use force to eliminate them before they can strike Americans is not new (Danner Interview *FRONTLINE pbs.org*). Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of Defence under Republican President Ronald Reagan, made it clear, "We have demonstrated in the past that, when our vital interests or those of our allies are threatened, we are ready to use force, and use it decisively, to protect those interests. Let no one entertain any illusions ... if our vital interests are involved, we are prepared to fight. And we are resolved that if we must fight, we must win" (United States Congress House *Congressional Record* 145: 7780).

More importantly, Americans had already called for adopting new policies that would be more effective to topple enemies and preserve U.S. and allies interests in the Middle East, even before the 9/11 attacks took place (PNAC "1998 Letter to Gingrich" *PNAC*

newamericancentury.org). However, the idea did not materialize till after the attacks of September, 2001. The attacks were very strong, the damage was huge and the psychological effect was tough enough to bring both the political and popular lines into a Conviction on the need to consolidate efforts and employ all available possibilities and force in order to defeat enemies and eliminate threats to their interests and position, just as they did in the past against the Communist tide.

Bush speaks of the integrity of democracy and free enterprise but does not mention the rule of law. He conveys the idea of "shaping, rather than reacting to the rest of the world" (Lemann *New Yorker newyorker.com*). And in pointing to America's triumphalism, he shows an absolute pessimism about the rest of the world. China, which is rising economically, and Russia, with thousands of nuclear weapons, might come together and turn to imperialism. When a nation decides to act alone without reliance on the rule of law nor assistance from allies, it is obvious to see only threat abroad (FitzGerald *The Guardian theguardian.com*).

Implicit in the new American foreign policy is the assumption that the world is a place where interests of different nations never coincide and where the security of the United States can be assured only by supremacy and capacity to "deploy superior military force" (FitzGerald *The Guardian theguardian.com*). It suggests the idea that the other great powers are now in accord with the U.S. after the terrorist attacks, and can be influenced to keep on so. Thoughtfully, when a great power prevails over the world it would not be long before other great powers rise to "challenge" it or at least try to "balance against it" (Lemann *New Yorker newyorker.com*).

Washington claims that in past the world was able to deter "identifiable regimes led by identifiable leaders operating by identifiable means from identifiable territories". Today's enemy is like a shadow which stands beyond containment. Terrorism is not new. There have always been criminals operating without sponsors and risking their lives to attain their goals.

However, their actions have almost never threatened the stability of states or societies because the number of victims and the amount of material damage they have caused has been relatively small (Gaddis FP *foreignpolicy.com*).

Americans claim that the U.S. today faces a different world. It sees "more paths to power opening up as nations gain influence through the strength of their economies rather than their militaries. Political and technological changes are empowering even non-state actors, like" terrorist networks (Clinton *U.S Department of State state.gov*). The 9/11 attacks demonstrated that terrorists today can engender huge devastation that only a bellicose state with powerful military means could achieve. Americans argue that today, the enemy is someone who is ready to commit suicide. As such, Weapons of mass destruction will not be his "last resort" but ones of "choice". That is why preemption must be supplemented (Gaddis FP *foreignpolicy.com*).

However, one would argue that it has been a long time since weapons of mass destruction were invented. In numerous cases, the world proved its ability on how to prevent a belligerent nuclear superpower, as the Soviet Union, from using them. That was achieved through deterrence. The Soviet Union knew it was not the only one to have nukes; it understood that if it used its first, it would be annihilated. Iraq was far weaker than the Soviet Union. It would have certainly been easily deterred. Though Saddam was seen as a barbaric mad autocrat, he was a power-hungry leader. He would not have exposed himself to a disastrous response by the U.S. that would have, easily, erased him in a blink of eye (Krauthammer *Weekly Standard iskran.ru*).

America believes that it must maintain its nuclear arsenal strong enough to deter the development of nuclear programs by other nations. It is persuaded that it has the right to act unilaterally in preemptive actions, using military force against anything it feels a threat. However, this is far from American exceptionalism that portrays the United States as a model

which should be emulated by the rest of the world. The U.S. declaration that America was, and would remain, and act as the only superpower in the world, is a doctrine with several ambiguous blanks (Hoffmann *The American Prospect prospect.org*).

The Bush Doctrine supports the pursue of forceful interventions to impede dangerous challengers. But, it does not explain where the dangerous challenges and the requisite interventions might take place. Donald Rumsfeld stated that the American war "is not a war against an individual, a group, a religion or a country. Rather, [America's] opponent is a global network of terrorist organizations and their state sponsors" (*U.S. Department of Defense defense.gov*). When the enemy is vague and indefinite, there will be constant expansion of the war. Since September 11, the Bush Administration has extended the war against transnational terrorists to the states that give them shelter to countries developing nuclear programs (Hoffmann *The American Prospect prospect.org*).

Consequently, Bush doctrine will induce more chaos, and the war on terrorism will be a pretence to run to set objectives. To fight "terrorism", Israel caused the death of thousands of Palestinians in the last 50-day conflict (8 July- 26 August 2014), most of whom were innocent children and women. On 14 August 2013 the Egyptian President Al Sisi, Minister of Defence then, ordered the massacre of thousands of civilian Egyptians who supported ousted President Mohammed Morsi. Thousands of international "jihadists" were secretly supported and spurred towards the conflict in Syria. All was done in the name of fighting "terrorism".

Furthermore, the idea that the U.S should proceed a regime change scheme to replace the totalitarian regimes of the world with democracies is rather dubious because it means that the United States should overthrow friendly autocrats on whom America enormously relies. On the other hand, regime change often generates violence because it unavoidably supports some individuals or groups at the expense of others. Intervening forces often aim at placing and

authorizing their favourite leaders. They usually ignore the politics of the target country, and belittle the intensity of resentment their preference is likely to produce (Downes *Boston Review bostonreview.net*).

Besides, the situation deteriorates when interveners, exhausted by a long resistance, decide to pull back, leaving behind agitated adversaries caught in a continual deadly battle. Regime change is in no way the short way towards democracy because being ruled by tyrants for a long time makes target peoples unripe for such a change (Downes *Boston Review bostonreview.net*). The bloody aftermath of regime change in Afghanistan and Iraq, beset by ethnic and religious divisions and aspirations for revenge is an outstanding example.

Changing regimes and overthrowing evil bloodthirsty leaders means defeating their armies. Such frequent military actions abroad will drive Americans in different directions at once. This will be costly and can result in prolonged occupations and revolt. Sooner, Americans would suffer from battle exhaustion, and will not be able to realize that unilaterally. They will certainly need contributions in "cash and kind from allies". What is even worse is that America uses the resources of the countries it occupies, thus demonstrating to the whole world that it does not differ from any previous colonial power, and that its wars are waged only for gain and profit (Quiggin *Australian Financial Review uq.edu.au*).

The main rationalization made by Washington for war with Iraq was the huge danger posited by Saddam's weapons in case he uses them or gives them to Al Qaeda. The U.S. wanted, not only to eliminate a disturbing turbulent, but also to expose the availability of a new strategy—the Bush Doctrine. Iraq was only one element of an "axis of evil". Regimes that could not be converted would be erased, with the idea that other obstinate states would take notice and fall in line with U.S. demands. However, the strategy flamed up: proliferation problem grew worse after the war. Both Iran and North Korea accelerated their nuclear programmes (Duffield, Dombrowski 39).

One can argue, also, that The United States itself is engaging in terrorism when we consider the huge numbers of innocent civilians killed during American wars on different spots of the globe. The U.S. sanctions against many uncompromising governments, including the obstruction of food and medicines, and lack of empathy even toward kids who lose their lives daily for their lack of the most basic necessities of life seem to be the utmost inhumane policy to reach one's political goals (Hammadi *United Nations un.org*).

Normally, "Disarmament and non-proliferation are best pursued through a cooperative rule-based international order, applied and enforced through effective multilateral institutions, with the UN Security Council as the ultimate global authority" (Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission 7). Guilt should be established by compiling evidence that is evaluated by the United Nations in conformity with international law. Similarly, the type of Penalization, the time and the means of its application should be set by the UN as well. Engaging in retaliation without even proving guilt, not only assumed offenders, but whole populations to terror and death ("The War In Afghanistan: 47 Questions and Answers " *Global Issues globalissues.org*). This means nothing but disrespecting world institutions, violating international law, and overstepping the limits only to advance one's own political ends (Sabri *United Nations un.org*).

When attacked, any country has the right to defend itself in situations that are devastating, and bearing no delay. United States has the prerogative to defend itself against an aggressive raid, but not to wage a war after a terrorist attack("The Caroline Case" *Yale Law School yale.edu*"). Otherwise, Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians, Colombians, Guatemalans, Serbs and now Iraqis and Afghans have all the right to attack the U.S. in response to its attacks on their innocent defenseless peoples ("The War In Afghanistan: 47 Questions and Answers " *Global Issues globalissues.org*).

Considering the full assent of the U.S Congress— with the exception of one vote — to go to war, and the empowerment of the U.S President to employ whatever force and means he decides to be requisite to defeat all the states, organizations, groups or individuals who were behind the 9/11 attacks, including those who harbored, trained and armed those terrorists, one can see how the congress is conclusive about going to war even in the absence of any evidence. This means one thing: America has already made up her mind to go to war, even before the 9/11 attacks, and all it needed was a compelling pretext ("The War In Afghanistan: 47 Questions and Answers " *Global Issues globalissues.org*) !

CONCLUSION In the wake of 9/11, America asserted that the emersion of new subversive threats account for the new excessive use of military force on the part of the US. Clearly, the Bush Administration wiped off the line differentiating legitimate defensive war from unlawful offence. The "war on terrorism" was intended to impel fear in the American population by creating evil monsters and exaggerating threats beyond the American borders. That fear would validate any decision foreign policy designers would take even when they are only meant to nurture their hunger for profit and power. Through its new global strategy, America announces its new status of absolute hegemony, and sets its incoming rules to deal with international matters. America made it clear that it would, henceforth, act unilaterally and lead the world alone, neglecting all internationally agreed on principles. America, simply, employed the 9/11 attacks to create evil monsters and intensify the danger of threats to advocate a global strategy aimed at enhancing its supremacy in the New World Order.

ENDNOTES

¹ Hundreds of reliable films and writings on the 9/11 can be checked using the following link: AE 911 Truth Online Store <<https://www.ae911truth.net/store/>>.

² Writers such as Charles Krauthammer and Morton B. Zuckerman compared Saddam with Adolf Hitler. They successfully instilled substantial anxiety into the American public speaking about Saddam's ability to obtain nuclear weapons within four years, and use them against the United States and Israel, bringing to the fore the way Saddam had gassed over 5.000 Iraqi Kurds, his own people !

³ The tale of the Kuwaiti babies murder was all pure propaganda created by The Citizens For a Free Kuwait, an organization which had close ties to the Bush White House that was seeking U.S. Military intervention against Saddam Hussein. The organization hired the American Public Relations Firm of Hill and Knowlton, which coached Nayirah, Dr. Issah Ibrahim and others for testimonies to make the story credible. Later on, it was discovered that Nayirah was the daughter of Kuwait's Ambassador to America, Saud Nasir al-Sabah. Dr. Issah Ibrahim was an alias for a dentist named Dr. Issah Behbehani. Neither Nayirah nor Dr. Behbehani had, at that time, been to Kuwait ("Hill and Knowlton" *History Commons* historycommons.org).

⁴ To launch the war against Iraq George H. W. Bush stated that he had satellite photos of Saddam's troops on the Kuwaiti border preparing to invade Saudi Arabia. Jean Heller, Five-time Pulitzer Prize nominee, was able to obtain the same satellite photos and found no evidence to support these accusations. The photos were classified and have never been available for public scrutiny (Peterson *Christian Science Monitor* csmonitor.com).

⁵ In his 1994 State of the Union Address, President Bill Clinton, also, declared that the best strategy to ensure America's security, and build a durable peace was to support the advance of democracy elsewhere because democracies do not attack each other.

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CONCLUSION

American belligerence towards the Middle East in the wake of the 9/11 attacks is based upon at least three important factors: American imperialism, through which U.S. seeks to attain political, economic and military interests in the region, Western perceptions of the Orient and Islam as backward, barbarian and dangerous and the Neoconservative leading elites backing huge oil corporations and big military industries.

After World War II, the U.S. sought to gain and maintain a superpower position. It succeeded in containing other big powers by holding sway over the most important world energy resources, and prevented the rise of other influences that could hinder its global projects, and negatively affect its interests. What the Bush Administration declared, in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, was an officially more radical policy that depended on an overstated use of force with the goal of preserving global hegemony.

The American invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq can be correctly understood as an act to set up a new rule for commanding the world. The message is made clear to all people around the world, that whenever there is an ultimatum, even supposed out of the way, the U.S. will use its military force to the extreme to annihilate it before it grows and becomes an unstoppable threat. In fact, this is mere aggression, placing everyone on a potential targets list.

Despite the loud voices against Saddam's oppression of his opponents, and his crimes against defenceless innocents, he was fully supported and protected from any trial. He was convicted as a criminal and a murderer of his own people only when he seemed to get out of U.S. control and threaten American interests. So, American democracy means that one can freshen up and kill one's people and stifle all opposition as long as one follows the instructions minutely. America is conscious of its need to control the Middle East, as it is the viable solution to its future probable predicaments. However, this remains impossible with

the existence of presidents like Saddam and extremist groups like Taliban in the region. So, smashing Taliban and Saddam Hussein was inevitable. The message is clear, other presidents like Saddam Hussein and groups like Al Qaeda throughout the globe should think several times before challenging America.

The Middle East meant two completely contradictory things to the Bush Administration. The region was seen as its source of future security for all the wealth it offers. This same region, with its delicate location, ambitious leaders, and hostile groups ardently resenting U.S. policies became a big threat to American security and stability. Only severe military use, Americans believed, would address the threats, and bring U.S. interests up beyond challenges.

The call for war was assisted by media propaganda which instilled the Neoconservative mentality advocating the use of force to fulfil American hegemony. This found receptivity because of pre-conceived ideas of the Orient as primitive, backward, aggressive and dangerous to the world, and a pre-existing culture of American exceptionalism that places America in the highest moral superiority position with the right to export its ideals to others whenever needed, and by force if necessary.

In spite of the claims of American political actors that the war in the Middle East was not about oil, oil is undoubtedly the driving force behind the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan. The region offers great opportunities as a virgin, wealthy, and pipelines trans-land. If the United States controls the region, then, it will be able to secure the flow of cheap oil to its people, decide the amounts of production, fix the prices and weaken the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), all of which will enhance American domination over the world.

By taking over important world spots as Iraq and Afghanistan, and establishing military bases which U.S. has always been on the lookout for wherever its interests lied, Washington becomes in a good position to ensure the control of the whole region, especially stiff-necked

countries such as Syria and Iran. From this position the octopus could , with time, elongate its arms to enclose and stifle all kinds of resistance to its policy, not only in the region, but elsewhere on the globe as well, henceforth building up a truly global hegemonic order.

The war on Iraq was apparently uneasy and costly, and the threats the United States was afraid of were not so imminent, and did not require an immediate military intervention. Hence, the war on terrorism cannot alone explain American belligerence towards the Middle East. In fact, the war was clearly the project of a small band and had to be strongly propagated with ‘weapons of mass deception’, and by wisely exploiting the politics of fear after 9/11. The American foreign policy-making under George W. Bush was dominated by a coalition of the arms/oil/construction lobbies who strongly backed the Project for the New American Century that advocated an extreme use of military force to ensure U.S. global hegemony.

Neoconservative officials linked U.S. global dominance with the hold of the Middle East and the control of its energy resources. The war would serve the arms, oil and construction lobbies through the lifting of arms manufacture, oil production, and constructions contracts. It is also a favourable opportunity to subjugate the OPEC, by privatizing Iraqi oil. In fact the same individuals and corporations are responsible for both the destruction and construction of the countries invaded, diverting American people’s taxes for their own benefits. The war is, also, the most appropriate way to impose on Iraq economic compacts that would make it vulnerable to foreign seizure and exploitation for several years to come.

Thinking of experts and professionals arguing that the 9/11 demolitions were planned, and giving evidence that there was an internal conspiracy. Thinking, especially, of the continuous battle they are leading through conferences, peaceful demonstrations, publications, and the gathering of signatures to force the American Government have the 9/11 investigations re-done by an independent commission of experts, one would wonder what bothers American

officials to refuse re-investigations! Undoubtedly, 9/11 attacks constituted a huge opportunity for political officials who had long advocated a war on Iraq to gain support for a war that represented the primary key to open all doors leading towards the achievement of their interests.

In fact, the Bush Administration's war on terror to assure national security is no more than an illusion. Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and Saddam's link to Al Qaeda were proved hollow. Al Qaeda, the only international terrorist organization that particularly targets the United States could be fought against in other ways without waging wars. American devotion to fight states breeding and sustaining terrorism, even in the absence of evidence, helped justify the invasion of Iraq, as it might be used as a justification for future wars with other countries in the region or elsewhere.

The American war in the Middle East is clearly an offensive, opportunistic and expansionist one to mould the international system according to America's interests. The U.S. foreign policy has always been based on economic gains, and always favoured its self interests. George W. Bush's reaction to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 came to add to the traditional U.S. foreign policy claws and teeth. America under Bush Administration showed its full readiness to act alone if necessary deploying all its power to crush all kinds of challengers that might threaten its position or hinder the attainment of its objectives.

The Bush Administration believes that the only way to protect U.S. interests is exhibiting its power and preventing its rivals from gaining any. In this way, America will be able to track its interests and achieve its goals everywhere on the globe and no other state will be powerful enough to compete with or resist its advancement. This new departing is not only a quest for an opportunistic expansionism to build an empire, but the U.S. wants to preserve

national security, too, by expanding its boundaries and forcing to submission all those it failed to conciliate diplomatically.

America is acting like an oppressor, upon the law of the jungle, where the voice of power reigns ignoring all bodies or laws regulating the relations between nations. In addition, the attitude of the United States represents a threat to world peace. Americans are showing to other countries that if they feel they have enough power to defend their interests, they do not need the approval of any international organization or universal laws to act; it is the strongest who sets laws. Further, American occupation of other peoples' countries stimulates feelings of humiliation and anger which might push many to join terrorist groups. Bush preemptive war and the new American National Security Strategy spur other nations, also, to arm in order to protect themselves from any possible U.S. offence.

Many issues on the impact of the American wars in Afghanistan and Iraq on the U.S, the Middle East and the world need to be investigated: the implementation of the U.S. "civilizing mission" in the Middle East; the establishment of democracy in Afghanistan and Iraq; the after-effects of the wars on the economy of the countries involved in them; the effectiveness of the wars on combatting global terrorism; the rise of new challenges to American influence in the Middle East and the impact of the wars on the Willingness to use military force to advance U.S. foreign policy objectives. All these questions might be thoroughly approached in a forthcoming study.

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