

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA  
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH  
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDHIAF - MSILA



FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

N°:.....

**DOMAIN:** FOREIGN LANGUAGES

**STREAM:** ENGLISH LANGUAGE

**OPTION:** LITERATURE AND CIVILIZATION

**DUALITY OF US FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE  
MIDDLE EAST AFTER THE REPERCUSSIONS OF 9/11**

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS AND ENGLISH  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MASTER'S DEGREE

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**Declaration**

We, Fares BOUGHERARA and Abd El Wahab ZAITER, declare that this dissertation is our own work. It is based on research that we carried out ourselves, and is written in our own words. With the exception of acknowledged quotations, no part of the text of the dissertation has been copied from any other source, or written by any other person.

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**DEDICATION**

*FARES BOUGHERARA*

*“To my wife Saeeda and my daughter Noorseen without whom  
this work would have been completed two years earlier.”*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We would first like to thank our thesis supervisor *Mr. YUCEF BENNAË*; he was always open whenever we had a question about the research or methodology . He consistently steered us in the right direction whenever he thought we needed it.

We would also like to thank the men and women teachers in the department of English, who are excellently performing their duties in extreme circumstances, this faculty would not have been thrived without them. Thank you.

### **Abstract**

The foreign policy of the United States is the policy by which the United States deals with foreign countries. The U.S. is still highly influential in the world as the only superpower. The main goal of the foreign policy of the United States is to create a secure and democratic world for the American people and international community. This study undertakes to examine the character of duality in U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East after the events of September 11, 2001. Scholars argue that there is a clear discrepancy between professed U.S. values and its actions; that justice, self-determination and human rights are victims of national interests; that “might makes right” is what matters in U.S. foreign policy. This work seeks to investigate whether U.S. foreign policy towards the Middle East after 9/11 was a double standard. The thesis is based on two assumptions; the U.S. preaches high standards and acts in double standards and the U.S. pretends to export its ideals but basically seeks to rule in supreme so as to preserve the privileges gained after the collapse of the USSR. In an attempt to uncover the reasons behind the duplicitous nature of U.S. foreign policy, we took Iraq and Afghanistan as case studies. The work uses these two case studies to contrast the U.S. democracy agenda with its real interests. Further, this work utilizes the historical research approach so as to provide a thorough as well as insightful analysis to our claim. One of the main findings of this research is that, the claims presented by the Bush Administration to launch wars on Afghanistan and Iraq proved to be illusory. The military and foreign policies of the United States have indeed bred hatred. The only way for America to get back the positive image or at least to reduce the negative one and get the rest of the world to respect its foreign policy would be to do away with its duality, its self-serving attitude, engage and encourage more dialogues, stand on the same distance of all parties -Muslims and Jews- curb the use of force and believe in a world to be shared with others not to be dominated.

**Key words:** duality, U.S. Middle Eastern foreign policy, 9/11.

**List of Abbreviations**

<b>ABC</b>	American Broadcasting Company
<b>AIPAC</b>	American Israel Public Affair
<b>CEO</b>	Chief Executive Officer
<b>CIA</b>	Central Intelligence Agency
<b>CNN</b>	Cable News Network
<b>DHs</b>	Department of Homeland Security
<b>FBI</b>	Federal Bureau of Investigation
<b>IAEA</b>	International Atomic Energy Authority
<b>MENA</b>	Middle East and North Africa
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NPT</b>	Non- Proliferation Treaty
<b>NSC</b>	National Security Council
<b>OPEC</b>	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
<b>PLO</b>	Palestine Liberation Organization
<b>PNAC</b>	Project for the New American Century
<b>POW</b>	Prisoner of War
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council
<b>US</b>	United States
<b>USSR</b>	Union Soviet Socialist Republic
<b>WMD</b>	Weapons of Mass Destruction
<b>WTC</b>	World Trade Centre
<b>WWII</b>	World War Two

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## **Introduction**

### **Overview**

The conduct of U.S. foreign policy has always been the interest of many scholars and researchers, particularly in the domains of history and international politics. Many critics argue that understanding the United States foreign policy is a hard task. The U.S. is a large complex country that has been one of the world's most powerful for many decades. It dealt with various issues that involved millions of people. Offering a simple account may help to reduce the complexity and crystallize the overall dynamics of the field.

The United States has emerged as a sole superpower with hegemonic spheres after the collapse of the USSR. It has played a major role in shaping the Middle East policies. The Middle East's strategic location, its abundance of natural resources, the creation of the state of Israel and the recurrent crisis were the main reasons of U.S. interference in the region. The U.S. used its might to try to save its national interests that in many respects seem controversial. On one hand, the U.S. protects the security of Israel and, on the other hand, it needs oil from Arab states. This contradiction resulted in the creation of friends and foes; it is also believed to be the seed of terrorism in the region.

### **Purpose of the Study**

This research is undertaken to investigate the character of duality in U.S. foreign affairs. The political ideas of the United States' foreign policy were the melting pot of many ancient European theories, from Machiavelli to Kirkpatrick. The problem of the relationship between moral principles and political necessity, of the purposes of power and the justice of means, has always been a central theme in U.S. history. Foreign policy scholars argued that after the Second World War, the conduct of U.S. foreign policy was marked by duality that may be understood to what is generally termed hypocrisy. It is also a set of principles permitting freedom or opportunity to one group than to another. This schizophrenic nature of

U.S. foreign policy has torn the nation apart and begun to tarnish the United States' image abroad. Much has been written about the credibility of Bush's doctrine issued after the incidents of 9/11. It had raised many questions about U.S. attitudes on world stage and whether the military interventions in the Middle East region are based on solid arguments; that these wars on Iraq and Afghanistan were necessary to make the world safer for democracy. Bush's quest for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and accusation of Saddam's ties to al Qaeda were vanished after a few months of the invasions. This paradox between U.S. claims and actual practices made scholars unconvinced and regarded with suspicion the rationale behind these military interventions.

### **Main Questions**

The research on U.S duality targets to investigate the schizophrenic conflict in the American political scheme vis-à-vis international crises particularly in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) in the aftermath of 9/11. Although American foreign policy makers usually claim (at least in public through mainstream media) fairness and impartiality in foreign matters, the truth seems to be quite different (at least from the perspective of citizens of the MENA region). Therefore, the question that needs to be addressed is: Can we put claim that U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East after 9/11 is a textbook case of a double standard handling?

To answer this question, other sub questions need to be answered. Why does the U.S. seek to export its ideals? What are the underlying tenets of the American foreign policy? Why does the U.S. seek to export its ideals? Is it true that American foreign policy is characterized by malpractices: duality, double standards, and hypocrisy? How can this character of duality preserve the U.S. leadership? In what way can the U.S. win the hearts and minds of the people of the MENA region all the more adapting duality?

A critical review of America's expansionism in the world proves to shift from a bold barefaced military intervention such as in Cuba 1898 and the Philippines for economic gains, to newspeak soft-seemingly idealistic interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. American direct bold military interventions are generally disapproved (like Vietnam) and therefore an idealistic campaign seems to favor public opinion to tolerate an otherwise gain driven and profit motivated interventions.

### **Methodological Concerns**

One of the approaches to study U.S. foreign policy is the historical approach. This research uses this approach as its method. It does not arrange facts chronologically rather it tries to evaluate and synthesize past events objectively. This method will help achieve an accurate account of U.S. foreign policy in the past so as to gain a clearer perspective of the present. This knowledge will help to predict and control future developments and/or changes in U.S. foreign policy.

The methodological tools used in this study are the historical reconstruction and narrative analysis of events which are very important to explore the U.S foreign policy issues and assess the role George W. Bush played in his conduct of a complex foreign policy agenda. The aim of historical reconstruction is to uncover and explain the issues that Bush has faced and affected his decision making. The narrative analysis is for critically assessing Bush's policy and its outcomes. Within this methodological framework, the use of the case study approach is essential because it is an appropriate method to better comprehend the intricate factors that influence the events being described. Iraq and Afghanistan case studies are used by U.S. policy to achieve its regional goals.

### **Literature Review**

The sources used in this dissertation were of different types. The first type is the one provided the historical information to put the dissertation in its context. The primary sources

are sources that cover the history of the period under study and include first person account as: speeches made by Presidents George W. Bush, Iraqi former President Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda former leader Osama bin Laden. Announcement made by U.S. officials as Donald Rumsfeld, Condoleezza Rice and Collin Powell. Neoconservatives' documents as the ones published by Project for the New American Century (PNAC) and those authored by famous Neoconservative figures mainly Paula Dobriansky, Richard Perle and Paul Wolfowitz. Governmental publications like the National Security Strategy (NSS), and the United Nation Security Resolutions 1368, 1377, 1378 and 1511. Documentaries dealing with 9/11 attacks and the U.S. wars on Afghanistan and Iraq and television programs about terrorism as on PBS TV channel.

The research also uses secondary sources mainly scholarly books, reviews, reference books, dissertations, magazines and journal articles, reports from Architect and Engineers for 9/11 Truth and opinion polls. Some books have been helpful for the elaboration of this work including, *American Foreign Policy and Political Ambition* (2008) by James Lee Ray which provided a thorough survey of major decisions and events in which theory intertwined with historical narrative. While this book covered fundamentals (the historical background, theoretical approaches, economics, decision-making processes, and U.S. policies towards the various regions) it has also brought a distinctive perspective to the study of U.S. foreign policy. This book also focused on the relationship of democracy to conflict, however, it failed to explicitly cover the character of duality in U.S. foreign policy.

*Taking Sides: Clashing Views in American Foreign Policy, Fifth Edition* (2010) edited by Andrew Bennett and George Shambaugh is a debatable-style reader designed to introduce students to controversies in American foreign policy. The editors have provided readings which represent the arguments of world leaders, leading political scientists, and political commentators, reflected opposing positions and have been selected for their

liveliness and substance and because of their value in a debate framework. Actually this book benefited this research in assessing objectively U.S. foreign policy duality on human rights, democracy and nuclear issues but it was limited in analyzing the reasons behind U.S. foreign policy duality.

The book entitled *The Politics of the United States Foreign Policy* (2011) by Jerel A. Rosati and James M. Scott, provided the most comprehensive overview of the history, substance and process of U.S. foreign policy. This book is for academic, observers and students; it masterfully used historical examples to explain conceptual and analytical approaches to U.S. foreign policymaking process. It helped this research by offering a background of U.S. military intervention since its inception. However, this book did not cover thoroughly the topic under study.

Other books which have benefited this work are: *Iraqi Predicament: People in the Quagmire of Power Politics* (2004) by Tareq Y. Ismael and Jacqueline S. Ismael, which provided a history of Iraq, an assessment of its position in the broader political landscape, and a moving account of the day-to-day reality experienced by the Iraqi people. The authors looked at Iraq's – and Saddam Hussein's – relations and influence in the region of the greater Middle East. They examined the role of the UN, sanctions and warfare, explaining the impact this has had on Iraq's population and related humanitarian questions. Further, they assessed American policy towards Iraq and how this had changed since 11 September 2001, setting it within the broader context of America's involvement in the Middle East. Although, the authors looked at social policy within Iraq, explained how the internal welfare system had collapsed since the Gulf War, and examined the continuing effects of depleted uranium but they did not relate the devastating effects of U.S. invasion to Iraq to those in Afghanistan and Palestine.

Also, *American Foreign policy: the Dynamics of Choice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (2010) by Bruce W. Jentlson thoroughly reflected recent developments – providing focused coverage on the Middle East, the global financial crisis and environmental issues as well as highlighting the points of change and continuity in U.S. policy under the Obama Administration. It also addressed the most pressing foreign policy issues of U.S. global era: How should the United States wield its power, pursue peace, promote prosperity, be true to its principles, and work with the international community? This book benefited this study by being a source of credible facts based on authentic sources. However, it did not offer a critique to U.S. mischief and aggression abroad.

*American Foreign Policy Since World War II* (2010) by Steven W. Hook and John Spanier who offered a timely overview of post-1945 U.S. foreign policy that illuminated the continuing influence of alternative versions of Cold War containment thinking rooted, somewhat uncomfortably, in realism and the challenges posed by the gap between principles and practices. They probed the dilemmas that rose as U.S. traditions and values complicated the global leadership role of the United States and provided the basis for comparing similarities and differences in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. For teachers, this book is the ideal text for courses on American foreign policy. As for students, this book helped to have no trouble in making connections between the earlier periods and the issues facing the United States and the world today but it did not provide valuable insights into the work on the character of duality in U.S. foreign policy.

The article "Double Standard in Recent American Foreign Policy" by Turkkaya Ataov published in the *Turkish Year Book of International Relations 1960-2000* analyzed carefully the character of duality from World War II until the first Iraqi war. But it did not provide this dissertation with details about the reasons behind U.S. double standards.

Adding to the above mentioned books, the internet resources were of magnificent help, without access to it the research would not have been fulfilled.

### **Structure of the Study**

This dissertation is divided into three chapters; the first chapter focuses on the meaning of duality in politics and the theory that supported it and helped for its emergence. It also examines the character of duality throughout the history of the United States. The second chapter examines carefully the motives of duality in U.S. foreign policy, mainly oil and the security of Israel. The final chapter deals with U.S foreign policy duality in the Middle East after 9/11. It analyzes U.S. duality on democracy, human rights, UN resolutions and the nuclear issue.

## **Chapter One: Duality in Politics**

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"I spend some of my time brooding about people who seem addicted to double standards - those who take an allegedly principled stand on a Monday, then switch firmly to the opposite principle on Tuesday if it is to their advantage."

John Leo

## **Introduction**

Duality had characterized politics since medieval ages. It served as a means to justify rulers' quest for power and hegemony. Being duplicitous or having double standards in politics is a legal tactic as long as it serves the rulers' profits and gains. In this chapter, the meaning of the concept of duality will be defined; it is essential, here, to explain that some scholars use different terms for the same concept such as double minded, double standards, and hypocrisy. So, throughout this study the term duality means double standards. The theories that helped for the emergence of the term duality will also be analyzed mainly Machiavellianism, Raison d'état and Realpolitik. Lastly, a review of duality in recent American foreign policy will be held.

### **1.1. Definition of the Term Duality**

According to dictionary.com duality means the following:

1. "Deceitfulness in speech or conduct, as by speaking or acting in two different ways to different people concerning the same matter; double dealing."
2. "An act or instance of such deceitfulness".
3. In law, duality refers to "the act or fact of including two or more offences in one count, charge, as part of an indictment, thus violating the requirement that each count contains only a single offense."
4. It also means "the state or quality of having two elements or parts; being twofold or double".

Webster's dictionary explains the meaning of duality as "a contradictory doubleness of thought, speech or action; especially the belaying of one's true intentions by deceptive words or action."

Deceit, deception, dissimulation, fraud, guile, hypocrisy and trickery are all synonyms to the term duality. Candidness, directness, honesty and straightforwardness are the antonyms. The term duality originates from Late Latin word *duplicitās* which means "a being double" and its first usage dates back to the 15th century from Old French *duplicite*. In Medieval Latin duality is "ambiguity". And the Greek word *diploos* refers to "treacherous, double-minded" ("duality" *dictionary.com*).

## **1.2. Origins of the Term**

The duplicitousness of human beings' nature is explicit in the usage of other terms with similar roots that can be found in the initial "dup", from the Latin *duplex* meaning twofold, or double. The way of deceiving or lying can be easily seen if a person is acting in double or in two ways at different times. This term duality has been fostered by many figures in their politics, mainly Kautilya, Machiavelli, Richelieu, Bismarck and Kirkpatrick.

### **1.2.1. Machiavelli's "Machiavellianism"**

Nichollo Machiavelli is considered the European forefather politician to employ the word duality in states craft. He was a political philosopher and diplomat during the Renaissance. Italy had witnessed a series of political conflicts involving the dominant city-states of Florence, Milan, Venice and Naples; also, the Papacy, France, Spain and the Roman Catholic Empire. Each of these cities wanted to protect their security playing the powers off against each other that lead to massive violence (Wheeler *web.cn.edu.com*). Medieval dream for universality – world order that represented a mixture of the traditions of the Roman Empire and the Catholic Church – had led to such violence.

In 1513, Machiavelli wrote *The Prince* which is a political treatise and later became the cornerstone of modern political philosophy. *The Prince* is a piece of an advice to the ruler

detailing how to keep power. As a result of this work, Machiavelli has become an enduring symbol of the world of Realpolitik – governmental policy based on retaining power rather than pursuing ideals (Thomas 93). Indeed *The Prince* served as the bible of Realpolitik.

Machiavelli was the first politician who highlighted and explored the darker side of leadership, the notion of expediency and ruthless power (Thomas 94). In *The Prince* cunning, duality and deceit are legal ways to keep power. Machiavelli recommended: "a prudent ruler cannot, and must not, honor his word when it places him at a disadvantage ... Because men are wretched creatures who would not keep their word to you, you need not keep your word to them. One must know how to color one's actions and be a great liar and deceiver" (74). Machiavelli asserted that, in politics the last thing a leader care about is keeping his word.

Further, Machiavelli considered the successful ruler was the one who learnt how to act as both a man and a beast. This was very familiar with princes of antiquity, such as Achilles, to learn how to deal with both natures. He described two different beasts, the lion and the fox to explain when to use cunning as a fox and when to use violence as a lion (Lahtinen 187). Machiavelli stated: "a prince being thus obliged to well know how to act as a beast must imitate the fox and the lion, for the lion cannot protect himself from traps and the fox cannot defend himself from the wolves. One must, therefore be a fox to recognize traps and a lion to protect himself from the wolves" (75). Because, here, Machiavelli wanted from the ruler to be careful, strong, knows how to defend and attack at the same time.

*The Prince* immediately raised disagreement and was soon condemned by PopeClement VIII. Its main theme is that princes should tighten their control of their territories, and they should use any means to accomplish this end, including deceit. Scholars argue over interpreting Machiavelli's exact point. In several sections Machiavelli praises Caesar Borgia, a Spanish aristocrat who became a notorious and a much hated tyrant of the

Romagna region of northern Italy. During Machiavelli's early years as a diplomat, he was in contact with Borgia and witnessed Borgia's rule first hand (Thomas 94). Machiavelli was condemned because he was misunderstood; he had an insightful knowledge of the dark side of politics.

Some readers initially saw *The Prince* as a satire on totalitarian rulers such as Borgia, which showed the strong disgust of arbitrary power (thereby implying the importance of liberty). However, this theory faded away, in 1810, a letter by Machiavelli was discovered in which he revealed that he wrote *The Prince* to praise himself and regain the Medici's trust. Machiavelli explained that powerful indigenous governments are important, even if they are absolutist ("Niccolo Machiavelli The Prince"[age-of-the-sage.org](http://age-of-the-sage.org)). Thus Machiavelli introduced a new strategy of holding power, unlike those who were against totalitarianism.

Machiavelli asserted that politics cannot go with morality and that the monarch should be excused when using duplicitous acts. When the prince needs to be deceitful, he must not appear that way. Indeed, he must always exhibit virtues. Thus, double faced and double dealing became synonymous to Machiavellianism (Thomas 96). Machiavellianism was the showcase for double standard.

Machiavelli is the source of the phrase "the ends justify the means" which asserts the use of deceitful tricks to manipulate others and reach the targeted goals at all costs. With this notion, Machiavelli posits that interstate relations are based on might rather than right. In his view, policymaking must be devoid of ideals and morality. Machiavelli contended:

It must be understood that a prince ... cannot observe all of those virtues for which men are reputed good, because it is often necessary to act against mercy, against faith, against humanity, against frankness, against religion, in order to preserve the state. Thus, he must be disposed to change according as the winds

of fortune and the alternation of circumstance dictate... he must stick to the good so long as he can, but being compelled by necessity, he must be ready to take the way of evil. (93)

To a leader, the way he follows is not important to achieve his goals whatever the means are. The war against Caterina Sforza led by Cesare Borgia - where Machiavelli was asked for advice – certifies the implementation of duality. Machiavelli stated:

...Therefore my advice is this. Treat with Caterina Sforza under a white flag and under the pretense of peace. Then seize her and take her captive. Once she is captive, strip her of her fine garments and place in her in an iron cage to parade her in front of the rebel troops, and kill her. The enemy forces will know their leader is captured and humiliated and the magnitude of this deed will so horrify them that in they will flee from battle and fear and never raise arms against your might again. (218)

Society could be controlled by means of penalties, so citizens became more obedient to their rulers. In this regard Machiavelli states, "And here comes in the question whether it is better to be loved rather than feared, or feared rather than loved. It might perhaps be answered that we should wish to be both; but since love and fear can hardly exist together, if we must choose between them, it is far safer to be feared than loved" (119-120). Machiavelli had eliminated emotions from the conduct of policymaking because, to him, it is the sole way to enhance power.

### **1.2.2. Bismarck's "Realpolitik"**

Realpolitik is a strong-minded political philosophy employed by many political thinkers from the Renaissance up until the 20th century (Kissinger 103). The word is quite literal, Realpolitik just means Real Politics in English, as in practical or actual political

practice. The idea seems to be coined by Niccolo Machiavelli, though Realpolitik is the German word that originates from 19th century German writer and politician Ludwig von Rochau (Bew 6).

Various definitions are given to this term depending on the context in which it is used. For example, on one hand, the oxford advanced dictionary defines it as: "a system of politics or principles based on practical rather than moral or ideological consideration. On the other hand the free dictionary defines it as: "a usually expansionist national policy having as its sole principle advancement of the national interest.

The meaning of Realpolitik also depends on who uses it. If it is associated with Germans it will mean a ruthlessly realistic and opportunist approach to statesmanship especially as exemplified by Bismarck. Whereas in the United States Realpolitik is associated to Kissinger and is defined as a brilliant strategy that enhances U.S. position in the world (Realpolitik *The Free Dictionary thefreedictionary.com*).

Bismarck was a staunch notable German advocating Realpolitik. He employed Realpolitik to advance Prussia's status or achieve greater dominance within Europe. The tactics he used may seem barbaric but were under Realpolitik, and to Bismarck would be considered the practical way of getting things done. For example Prussia's lack of demand for territory from a defeated Austria would later play a part in the Unification of the German Empire (Madigan and Voss *Weebly weebly.com*). Bismarck stated:

Prussia's honor does not consist in our playing all over Germany the Don Quixote for vexed parliamentary celebrities, who consider their local constitution threatened. I seek Prussia's honor in keeping Prussia apart from many disgraceful connection with democracy and never admitting that anything occur in Germany without Prussia's permission...(Kissinger 118).

Bismarck was a real advocator of Realpolitik and the prominent user of it. He viewed Prussia as a unitary actor whose interests can be identified with the use of coercive and noncoercive power.

In 1864, Bismarck made an alliance with Austria to fight Denmark. This latter, controlled two provinces Schleswig and Holstein inhabited by Germans. Austria received Holstein and Prussia controlled Schleswig. Later, Bismarck provoked a malaise in Holstein to add it into Prussian lands, after seven weeks; Austria was defeated (German Unification 1850-1871 *Spark Notes sparknotes.com*). Indeed Bismarck used Realpolitik to manipulate political issues to antagonize other countries and cause wars if necessary to attain his goals demonstrating a pragmatic view of the real political world.

Bismarck's next obstacle was France. In 1870, he forged a note from the French Ambassador, implying that the Ambassador had insulted the King of Prussia. Bismarck then published the letter in a newspaper rising nationalistic sentiment from both population that ended in war. Within few weeks, France was defeated and lost the Alsace and Lorraine provinces to Prussia. The German Empire was at least in 1871 (*Bloyhistoryhome.co.uk*). Bismarck followed Machiavellian policies which helped him to achieve Prussian dominance in Germany.

Under Bismarck's Realpolitik, foreign policy became a contest of strength. No statesman could unite Germany as did Bismarck. Kissinger contended:

Bismarck's solution had never been advocated by any significant constituency. Too democratic for conservatives, too authoritarian for liberals, too power oriented for legitimists, the new Germany was tailored to a genius who proposed to direct the forces he had unleashed, both foreign and domestic, by

manipulating their antagonisms – a task he mastered but which proved beyond the capacity of his successors." (105)

Bismarck was ruse in a sense that he indirectly used other states as pawns and pretended to support liberal reforms in order to achieve German unification without a revelation to his plans. In this case, national interests were prioritized above all as what is demanded by Realpolitik.

### **1.2.3. Kirkpatrick's "Double Standards"**

In modern times, duality in politics was first utilized in 1979 by Jean Kirkpatrick<sup>1</sup> in her essay entitled *Dictatorship and Double Standards* where she criticized President Carter's Administration for being too contradictory (Wurman 8). Kirkpatrick was the first politician to coin the term double standards and related it to U.S. foreign policy and since then the term has been used and the issue has been discussed in international relations. She stated "The United States should end this double standard by becoming more tolerant of the status quo in dictatorships that support American policy". Here, Kirkpatrick asserted the growing clamor for American status as agents of imperialism, racism, reactions which are inconsistent with their support for human rights, democracy and freedom.

After the tragedy of Vietnam, a group of traditional liberal internationalists emerged and become known as "neoconservatives" in which Kirkpatrick was a notable member (Lind the Globalist *theglobalist.com*). She accused President Carter for harming American interests abroad by his philosophy of history that "all change would be progressive" and that change no government can control it. Kirkpatrick noticed a contradiction in President Carter's belief that government cannot exert influence over inevitable change and his administration did influence the outcome. She wrote:

How does an administration that desires to let people work out their own destinies get involved in determined efforts at reform in South Africa, Zaire,

Nicaragua, El Salvador, and elsewhere? How can an administration committed to nonintervention in Cambodia and Vietnam announce that it "will not be deterred" from righting wrongs in South Africa?...The contrast is as striking as that between the administration's frenzied speed in recognizing the new dictatorship in Nicaragua and its continuing refusal to recognize the elected government of Zimbabwe Rhodesia, or its refusal to maintain any presence in Zimbabwe Rhodesia while staffing a U.S. Information Office in Cuba. Not only are there ideology and a **double standard** at work here, the ideology neither fits nor explains reality, and the double standard involves the administration in the wholesale contradiction of its own principles. (34-45)

Kirkpatrick did criticize President Carter's foreign policy but she did ignore all the other previous administrations' foreign policies that were characterized by double standards. President Carter was known to follow an idealistic foreign policy approach based on preventive diplomacy, universal standards of morality, human rights and peaceful cooperation not wasteful confrontation. Thus, Jean Kirkpatrick associated double standards to Carter's doctrine in order to compel him to reinstate containment based on Realpolitik. The biographer Peter Bourne states "Carter was guided by a consistent set of values and beliefs that remained with him for his entire life, including while he was a president" (508). Carter's idealism was just a cover up of the real interests of U.S. foreign policy abroad.

### **1.3. Duality and the Realism Theory**

Realism is a theoretical approach to the study and practice of international relations. It opposes idealism in the pursuit of national objectives. Realists tend to accept conditions as they are and not as they ought to be. Realism places emphasis on states as the primary actor in world politics and the acquisition of power in an anarchical<sup>2</sup> world is a rational goal of foreign policy (Moseley *IEP iep.utm.edu*).

For realists, international laws and organizations are used and abused by mighty states to further their interests and secure their allies. Hence realists amass resources to maximize their power (Jentleson 11). Also, realists claim that in a dangerous world, states must protect their security and not trust any conventions between states. In this regard John Mearsheimer in *The False Promise of International Institutions* stated that, "international relations is not a constant state of war, but it is a state of relentless security competition, with the possibility of war always in the background...cooperation among states has its limits...genuine peace is not likely" (9). However, peace can enable states to follow their national interests and at the same time live in harmony.

Thus, we can claim that any state's interests in any part of the world are the reasons behind its duality strategy. Consequently, we can assert that duality is the best example to support the Realism Theory in international relations. Everything happens because of the real benefits of the states.

#### **1.4. History of U.S. Foreign Policy Duality**

The roots of duality go back to the first days of U.S inception. The United States' intervention in the world was either to gain territorial or economic gains and never to spread democracy or give people the rights to enjoy the benefits of ideals.

##### **1.4.1. From 1945 to 9/11**

After World War II, the United States continued to fight another cold war in the quest for domination against opposing regimes which threatened its own interests mainly in the Middle East. In this era, the character of duality in U.S. foreign policy was more visible towards Bosnia and Somalia and intense vis à vis, Vietnam, Iraq, Libya, and Palestine.

In Vietnam, the tragedy started in the 60's when America involved heavily in its affairs to save it from communism. The U.S. accused Vietnam for attacking two American ships, the Turner Joy and the Maddox, in the waters off Vietnam coastline (Ray 178). Consequently, the U.S. launched its Operation Rolling Thunder that, according to Stoessinger, "did not produce the desired effect, Ho Chi Minh ... matched the American air escalation with his own escalation through infiltration on the ground" (97). The same U.S. goal is always repeated, sowing the seeds of violence and turn the nations into basket cases.

America quadrupled its bombing campaign that it exceeded what Britain suffered during World War II (Stoessinger 106). According to Stephen Ambrose and Douglas Brinkley<sup>3</sup>, who asserted that, "more bombs had been dropped on Vietnam than on all targets in human history" (204). Imperialist nations cannot fulfill their objectives only by being belligerent.

U.S. duality in this war laid, first, on the objective of launching it. The war in Vietnam was fought by Johnson to hold power rather than driving out a communist threat, in fact, he withdrew from elections in 1968 due to his unpopular policies in Vietnam (Ray 180). Secondly, when Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger announced that "peace is at hand" he actually mined Vietnamese harbors and intensified air strikes (1087). In fact, Vietnam marked a stark contradiction in U.S. claims vis-à-vis its practices.

Vietnam had neither presented a threat to U.S. national interests nor did it endanger its security apart from being fallen under Communist effect. John Kerry, who was among the Vietnam War veterans stated to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

" [T]here is nothing in South Vietnam which could happen that realistically threatens the United States of America. And to attempt to justify the loss of one American life in Vietnam, Cambodia or Laos by linking such loss to the

preservation of freedom is to us the height of criminal hypocrisy, and it is that kind of hypocrisy which we feel has torn this country apart." (Jensen *CounterPunch counterpunch.org*).

Even Kerry was duplicitous in his view, while he served in the Navy in Vietnam and crimes were committed under his command but, in 1971, he stated clearly that the war had nothing to do with defending the United States. In Vietnam, the U.S. was not just accused of duality but also of war crimes. As the world sole superpower that upholds the values of human equality and rights, it did not live out its responsibilities. Instead, it abused human rights in the name of justice, equality and democracy. U.S. politicians claimed the protection of Vietnamese against terror by spraying mass toxics into the jungles, rivers to destroy the natural resources and civilians will continue to suffer the toxics' devastating effects in decades to come ("Vietnam War shows the hypocrisy of man in fullness"*beyondsundays.wordpress.com*). The U.S. has preached the protection of the civilians in Vietnam, yet it poisoned them in a terrible manner.

In Iraq, exactly in 1930, American and British oil companies discovered wells in abundance in Kuwait, it was floating on oil. In 1961, Kuwait gained full independence from Britain and since then Saddam Hussein claimed that Kuwait was part of the Iraqi territory under previous Turkish Rule (Peretz *scholastic scholastic.com*). In 1980, disputes over oil quantities were quarreled between the two nations Kuwait and Iraq. This latter, claimed that Kuwait was stealing Iraqi oil through the technique of 'Slant Drilling' that lead to oil over production resulting in the downing of Iraqi oil price, Saddam then threatened to annex Kuwait (Wilson 94). The Arab- Arab conflict gave the U.S. an opportunity to intervene in the Middle East.

The annexation of Kuwait by Iraq which had the world's second reserves of oil and the world's fourth largest military meant one thing to the United States; threat to its vital interests. In 1990, the U.S. was sending mixed messages to Iraq via the American Ambassador April Glaspie, giving Saddam the impression that military action against Kuwait would not provoke

American retaliation. Glaspie asserted that the U.S. had no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflict ("Gulf War Documents" Global Research globalresearch.ca). Falling in the trap dug by the U.S. Saddam invaded Kuwait in August, 1990.

The Gulf crisis, the countdown, the battle and its aftermath are full of misinformation, misconceptions and omissions yet reveal duality (Ataov 137). The decision to go to war was for the Americans to show off their might as an unrivalled power in the Middle East and to overcome the Vietnam syndrome; the congress approved the war 250 to 183 in the House and 52 to 47 in the senate (Ataov 138). The U.S. reason to invade Iraq is outlawed under the international law.

A huge propaganda campaign via mass media<sup>4</sup> was launched against Saddam who had been featured as a devil. He was charged of mass murder, the dried up of marshes, chemical weapons dropped on civilians and the lists of disappeared whose right to live was taken away from them (Chalabi *the United Nations un.org*). The most notable story was about premature babies in Kuwait<sup>5</sup>, tossed out of the incubators and left to die (Sitch 213). Most stories were faked to gain public support and make the upcoming Gulf War legitimate.<sup>6</sup>

It is true that Iraq invaded Kuwait but Israel also attacked Lebanon in 1982 ("The Question of Palestine and the United Nations" 7-10). While Iraq invaded Kuwait after the failure to reach to a negotiated settlement, Israel attacked Lebanon to reject a compromise. U.S. reaction to Israel's attack on a sovereign state did not stimulate the same reaction to Iraq.

The invasion by the Iraqi government was outlawed and was described as barbaric and monstrous, yet Israel was never condemned instead it was always justified. The borders were in dispute under the rule of Abdel Kareem Qassem, the former Iraqi president (not Saddam), due to the Ottoman Empire's division that set Kuwait (Basra) as part of Iraq and this problem of borders can occur between any bordering countries but in the case of Israel, its action was a

clear expansion originated supposedly in the Bible and therefore considered legal (Aatov 138). Here, U.S. preference of one state over another is crystal clear.

Furthermore, Iraq was condemned of ill treatment of Kuwaiti citizens and of destroying some of their properties but Israel took 1200 Lebanese hostages and wiped off the map many of their villages. Also, the chemical weapons that the U.S. is castigating Iraq for using them against civilians were U.S. weapons supplied to Iraq during its war with Iran (Aatov 139). President Bush Sr was proud that the United Nations finally united against fighting the aggressor- Iraq but the reality is the contrary. Article 51 of the UN charter permits resort to force only in self defense with some limitations. This self defense involves hostilities in a form of an "armed attack" but Iraq did not attack the United States. Even if the U.S. came to rescue Kuwait, it should have been consulted the UN; article 33 asserts that a U.N. member cannot do what it wants, and then go to the Security Council, and use its veto privilege to stop a resolution condemning its action.

The Nations were united to stop Saddam from annexing Kuwait but they never united to condemn Israeli aggression in Palestine, Lebanon and Syria. The Gulf war stood in contrast to the American invasions of Grenada (1983) and Panama (1989) that were carried in limited armed operations and imposed on both capitals servile administrations with record time (Aatov 140). Because Grenada and Panama are not rich in oil compared to Iraq and do not cause a threat to Israel.

Violation of human rights during the Gulf War was immense; the attacking forces conducted a militarized slaughter of simply defenseless Iraqis in uniform surrendered and were fleeing Kuwait to return back home, other civilians in the borders between Kuwait and Iraq were sealed off. Moreover, the embargo on Iraq penalized the people because it prevented them from access to vital necessities as food, water and medicine (Boyle *CounterPunch counterpunch.org*). These are the characteristics of any imperial nation.

Furthermore, the Gulf War revealed the Baghdad regime's secret drive to become a nuclear power in the Middle East. It was because of Israel's nuclear arsenal. All of the American administrations of the post-Eisenhower era except Kennedy's were aware of the developments in Israel's nuclear capability. These administrations kept Israel's nuclear capability secret on public knowledge. It was reported that a total of 572 pounds of highly enriched uranium had vanished from the stocks of Nuclear Equipment Corporation of Apollo (Pennsylvania) which was visited by Israeli technical staff, embassy officials and spies (Cockburn 71-79). This is Israel's main objective, develop, expand and also balkanize its Arab surrounding neighbors.

The world came to know about the Israel's secret of nuclear capability in 1986 when the Jewish nuclear engineer – born in Morocco - Mordechai Vanunu had given details to the Sunday Times about an Israeli hidden factory in the Negev desert named Dimona. This latter was producing atomic warheads since twenty years ago. Vanunu asserted that Israel "does not just have the atom bomb but it has become a nuclear power" ("The Secrets of Israel's Nuclear Arsenal Revealed" *Sunday Times* [sundaytimes.ca.uk](http://sundaytimes.ca.uk)). U.S. full knowledge and even collusion for Israel's nuclear power compared to its sensitivity towards other states' acquisition of such weapons represents a paramount duality.

Apart from Iraq, U.S. government's actions towards Bosnia, Somalia and Palestine/Israel were also selective and different. The Ottoman Empire's presence in Balkans for about five centuries produced the Moslems of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They were classified as "Moslems" in former Yugoslavia, as one of the "peoples", along with the Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Macedonians and Slovenes. "Nationalities" (meaning minorities) and "ethnic groups" constituted other categories. The Turks, Albanians, and other Moslems fall into different groups (Ataov 144). U.S. division of people into different religious affiliation reflects its racism and dictatorship.

The Bosnian Moslems suffered the fate of bitter discrimination, mass murder, assassination, starvation and rape; in fact they played the role of "Europe's Palestinians".

Halberstam (197) commented that, "slowly downing on western consciences was that the Serbs in Bosnia were committing the worst crimes in Europe since the era of the Nazis." Here the United States backed their enemies the Serbs instead of protecting the human rights that it always brandishes. The tremendous aid given to Israel did not find a way to Bosnia because its interests apparently were limited (Hook and Spanier 250). Clearly, a war with Islam is rooted in pernicious religious discrimination and a calculated Zionist Plan.

In this crisis, the nations did not unite and rush to defend Bosnia as it happened with Kuwait; instead they seemed disabled without U.S. intervention. The United Nations body served only as a puppet in U.S. hands, at the same time, European Union which imposed an arms embargo that denied arms to Muslims in Bosnia and did provided them to Serbs, proved impotent because it felt it was not threatened by the events in Bosnia (Hook and Spanier 248). U.S. friends and allies' behavior, mainly the European nations, is a replica of white men's actions against different races.

In Somalia, U.S. intervention was, for the first time, for humanitarian reasons rather than securing strategic, political or economic interests (Lefebvre 44). The U.S. military intervention in the Horn of Africa meant one thing, to give a demonstration of "American Leadership" and legitimize western implications (Ataov 146). Further, the Bush Jr's administration had provoked criticism from Islamic states which considered the war in Iraq as "all about oil"? Also, Bush's opponents blamed him for inaction in Bosnia (Ray 274). In this regard David Halberstam observed, "the Bush administration had taken a pounding' from the democrats, particularly candidate Clinton, about places like Bosnia...as well as Somalia. [There was a lot of] pressure to do something somewhere and – compared to Bosnia – Somalia was a better choice" (250-251). In fact, U.S. actions in Somalia were anything but humanitarian; they were another form of duality.

Other reasons for U.S. presence in Somalia are: to create a precedent for selective future interventions, to gain a foothold near the strategic Bab el-Mandeb, to be present in the Horn of Africa where Sudan pursued an Islamist policy towards its southern citizens as well;

to bolster the Pentagon budget, and to back up the U.S. Continental Oil Company interested in oil in the northeastern part of the country (Ataov 146). However, U.S. intervention in Somalia was soon interpreted that it surpassed humanitarian aid. Clarke and Herbst explained:

The United States... sought to stay neutral ... instead of remaining neutral, however, the United States...ended up enhancing the roles and status of the warlords. U.S. rules of engagement in Somalia forbade any interference in Somali-on-Somali violence. Most important, the failure to disarm the major combatants meant that the United States... in effect sided with those who had the most weapons. (79)

The U.S. proved invulnerable to double standards, it is the only nation in the world that claims one thing and does the other thing.

Another case of U.S duality manifests itself in Libya. The dispute began when the U.S. imposed sanctions on Libya on the allegation that its government involved in terrorist acts such as the bombings in Rome, Vienna and Berlin. Also, the U.S. used the dispute over the Gulf of Sidra to topple Muammar al Gaddafi or assassinate him. Both acts on behalf of the U.S. government are against the international law. In addition to that, the U.S. accused two Libyan nationals in participating in the crashing of the Pan-American aircraft in Lockerbie (Scotland) that remained unproven and unconvincing (Ataov 147- 148). Like Iraq, Libya experienced American duality.

President Regan had provoked a military conflict on Libyan oil installations and penetrated the Gulf of Sidra expecting a reaction of a coup against the government in Tripoli. But Gaddafi remained in power and the U.S. maneuvers failed. The American attacks violated the articles 2/3 and 2/4 of the UN charter and Article 33 expects the exhaustion of all peaceful means (Chapter I: Purposes and Principles *United Nations un.org*). There is also the doctrine of "historic waters" which entitles a state to draw a closing line even if it exceeds otherwise internationally recognized criteria. The U.S. also made use of the same doctrine (Ataov 147).

Provoking conflicts and deposing presidents from their current positions are not acts of civilized nations.

The Italian and Austrian interior ministers had stated that Gaddafi was not responsible for the bombings in Rome and Vienna. Adding to that, the West Germany police rejected a link between Libya and the discotheque bombings. Iran had used a Syrian terrorist named Jibril -who is a member of Abu Nidal terrorist network- to revenge for a shooting of an Iranian civil airliner over the Persian Gulf by the U.S. Navy (Stich Linked in *Linkedin.com*). So the United States used the unproven accuses as a pretext to cover up for Syria because it was needed in the coalition against Iraq. The U.S. acted in a rigid manner towards Libya neglecting UN charters and the Security Council Resolutions. A new world order that is supposed to respect the rules of law, however, it was furnished by Americans to serve their interests and coerce their leadership.

In Palestine, the character of duality in U.S. foreign policy was more barefaced. The conflict between Israel and Palestine had different names depending on who looks at it (Modigs 24). The United States used Israel as a player in her strategy inherited from the British, Divide etempera (divide it in order to rule). Israel served as a counterweight to the Arab nations and a projection of U.S. military and economic interests (Rossi 300). Also, Israel has served as a U.S. client which allowed for the American presence in the region for a long time. Israel has been a testing ground for American arms and has been a conduit for U.S. arms and advisors to regimes and movements too unpopular for the U.S. to support openly, such as the Iran-Contras example ("The Iran Contra"9/11 *Encyclopedia 911review.org*). Israel has collaborated with the CIA and other American agencies to enhance U.S. interests (Modigs 25). By obeying U.S. rules in the Middle East, Israel is achieving its own objectives.

In 1988, the United States, without Israeli reciprocation, demanded from the PLO to accept three conditions necessary for the advancement of the peace process which are: Israel's right to exist, UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 and the formal renunciation of

terrorism (Zunes 112). The U.S. did not insist on the demand that PLO be directly represented by Arafat in the peace process and did not insist on Israel to reciprocate (Modigs 26). Later, in 1991 and during the Madrid Conference, the U.S. did the opposite. PLO was represented by a Jordanian delegation and no achievement in the peace process had been realized. In 1997, a majority of UN SC voted three times demanded Israel to stop building apartments in East Jerusalem which the U.S. vetoed despite Bill Clinton's criticism of the settlement (Neff *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs wrmea.org*). Criticism from the U.S. part is only a play performed in front of the global community to convince them of its role as a peace broker.

U.S. role in the peace process between the two belligerents Israel and Palestine, was and still is biased in favor of Israel. The U.S. did not play the role of a disinterested mediator in the peace process instead it was the official lawyer on behalf of Israel (Zunes 111). Normally, the peace process should be based on the application of UNSC resolutions 242/338 but the U.S. seemed to change its mind each time.

President George H. Bush was quoted to state that, "My position is that the foreign policy of the United States says we do not believe there should be new settlements in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem" (The President's Remarks in Palm Spring *New York Timesnytimes.com*). Bush later approved Israel's request for a loan of 10 billion dollar to build settlements in Arab East Jerusalem (Rossi 188). This fact is textbook case of the U.S. double dealing.

Between 1972 to 2000, the United States had used its veto in the Security Council thirty- nine times to block resolutions critical to Israel's policies giving the rationale that the UN resolutions superseded the Oslo Accords (Zunes 116). In this regard Madeleine Albright contended that, "Resolution language referring to "final status" issues should be dropped, since these issues are now under negotiations by the parties themselves. These include refugees, settlements, territorial sovereignty and the status of Israel (Bennis *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs wrmea.org*). Many politicians and foreign policy experts

think that the peace process should be the UN mission to resolve the conflict and decide the territorial boundaries between Israel and a Palestine state, however, the U.S. and Israel explicitly stated that the UN would not have a meaningful role" (Zunes 117). U.S. mask of the honest broker in the peace process between Israel and Palestine had fallen down especially by obstructing the attempt of other states and organizations to become involved. The paradox in the function of the U.S. as the peace negotiator and defender of one of the belligerents is a clear duality.

#### **1.4.2. The Events of 9/11**

On September 11, 2001 four American airliners were hijacked by a terrorist group, two planes were flown into the World Trade Centre towers in New York City, the third into the pentagon and the last crashed in Pennsylvania. This tragic incident resulted in the death of nearly 3000 people besides the psychological effects which was more profound (Ray 339). But the PNAC has laid out very clearly that the co- Pearl Harbor will be necessary to achieve U.S goal of full spectrum dominance.

Instantaneously, the events were televised nationwide and the U.S. received global support. The French Newspaper *Le Monde* featured a banner headline stating *'We're All Americans'*. Likewise the United Nations condemned the attacks and called for swift and concreted retaliation to uproot terrorism (Resolution 1368, Resolution 1686 United Nations un.org). For the first time in its history, the North Atlantic Council, the executive body of NATO, invoked Article 5 of its charter that declared an attack on any NATO member to be an attack on the entire alliance (*Invocation of Article 5 Confirmed NATO Updates nato.int*). Meanwhile, Congress responded quickly, passing a joint resolution that authorized President Bush to use "all necessary and appropriate force" against the terrorists (Sidlow et al 285). The measures that were taken to retaliate for the assaults created a doubt among political analysts especially after blocking the investigation on the 9/11 incident.

The terrorist group which was responsible for the assaults was said to be a radical Islamist driven by religious impulses. Before 9/11 the name of Osama bin Laden has no significance, later and after the attacks, his name was being heard everywhere and his previous plots began to be revealed to public. According to Bruce W. Jentleson:

"Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda terrorists network emerged during the 1990's. They were responsible for a number of terrorist attacks on the U.S. presence abroad, including the August 1998 bombings of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and the October 2000 bombing of the naval warship USS Cole in a harbor in Yemen." (410)

American officials were aware of the threat presented by terrorists before the incidents of 9/11<sup>7</sup> but they either did not take the necessary measures to halt their occurrence or were aware of them and were ordered not to intervene.

The National Commission on Terrorism had released a report before the attacks asserting on giving higher priority to countering terrorism. It had issued in 2000 that: "Terrorists attack American targets more often than those of any other country. Terrorists' attacks are becoming more lethal, most terrorists organizations active in 1970s and 1980s had clear political objectives. Now, a growing percentage of terrorist attacks are designed to kill as many people as possible" (NCT 2000). So, why did not the U.S. top officials take the NC report into consideration?

Further, news revealed that bin Laden was among the Mujahedeen in Afghanistan in the 1980's which were armed, funded by the U.S. to defeat communist Soviets (Burke *TheGuardian theguardian.com*). Later, facts turned against bin Laden—ex friend of CIA—who becomes the world's most wanted terrorists. The UN accused the Taliban for allowing Afghanistan to be used as a base for the export of terrorism by the al Qaeda network (*Resolution 1378 United Nations un.org*). Bin Laden was not arrested or even accused of mass murder when he was invested by the U.S. to counter the Soviets in Afghanistan.

Moreover, bin Laden was recorded to issue a "fatwa" [religious injunction] expressing his anti Americanism as follows:

In compliance with God's order, we issue the following fatwa to all Muslims: the ruling to kill the Americans and their allies – civilians and military – is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa mosque and the holy mosque [in Mecca] from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslims. (149)

Also, bin Laden was reported to call the United States "The Far Enemy" and to state:

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 Laden *FRONTLINE pbs.org*). But even if the UN is not fair, this cannot be a justification for terrorism. Neither Islamic teaching nor international law permits for the commitment of any crime under any pretext.

According to Professor Michael Chossudovsky, the U.S. fabricated this enemy and amplified the al Qaeda threat to justify its war on both countries Afghanistan and Iraq. He also asserted that the Bush administration, rather than Baghdad, is supporting al Qaeda

(Chossudovsky *Global Research globalresearch.ca*). It is unquestionable that the U.S. is always in need of a boogeyman like to justify its wars.

President Bush led a campaign to fulfill the image of a fanatic unmerciful enemy with organized militia but invisible to frighten Americans and their allies. On the other hand, the president has proved the effectiveness of American leaders working to defeat evil and bring peace to the entire world (Chossudovsky). Bush stated:

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*).

Many people criticized the credibility of 9/11 and provided many evidences to support their claims. Stan Goff, a retired U.S. Army veteran who taught military science and doctrine at West Point asserted:

I have no idea why people aren't asking some very specific questions about the actions of Bush and company on the day of the attacks. Four planes get hijacked and deviate from their flight plan, all the while on FAA radar. I cannot fathom why the government's automatic standards order of procedure in the events of a hijacking was not followed. Once a plane has deviated from its flight-plan, fighter planes are sent up to find out why. That is law, and does not require presidential approval, which only needs to be given if there is a decision to shoot down a plane. (Ismael 5-6)

Critics argue that the 9/11 attacks were an inside job of Bush and his cabinet who limited the investigations and even block them for over a year (Martino *CE collective-evolution.com*). On 29 January 2002, CNN reported that:

Bush personally asked senate majority leader Tom Daschle to limit the congressional investigation into the events of 11 September ... The request was made at a private meeting with congressional leaders... Sources said Bush initiated the conversation ... He asked that only the House and the senate intelligence committees look into the potential breakdowns among federal agencies that could have allowed the terrorist attacks to occur, rather than a broader inquiry... Tuesday's discussion followed a rare call from vice president Dick Cheney last Friday to make the same request. (Ismael 6)

Condoleezza Rice tried hardly to hide Bush's meeting when she was interviewed by Ed Bradley in "60 minutes" CBS News. She stated: "I have never seen the president say anything to any people in an intimidating way, to try to get a particular answer out of them. I know this president very well. And the president doesn't talk to his staff in an intimidating way to ask them to produce information - that is false" (60 Minutes *CBS cbs.com*). On September 11, George Tenet (former director of the CIA) met Richard Perle (the neoconservative godfather) exiting the White House building as himself was about to enter. Perle turned to Tenet and said "Iraq has to pay a price for what happened. They bear responsibility." (Tenet and Harlow, xx) Tenet was stunned because he had scanned passenger manifests from the four hijacked airplanes that showed beyond a doubt that al Qaeda was behind the attacks. Tenet wondered whether Perle was meeting the president that day early in the morning.

Many organizations, particularly the Architects and Engineers for 9/11 Truth asserted that 9/11 was not investigated properly and the government hid the truth and cover it up. They also claim that the twin towers collapsed due to explosives, a controlled demolition, and not because of the planes collision (9/11: Explosive Evidence *AE911Truth.org*). Even Major

General Albert Stubblebine has confirmed that official story of 9/11 is not consistent with what happened. He also did give proofs that 9/11 was only a fake.<sup>8</sup>

So why did the U.S. top officials endanger the lives of many of its own citizens, waste billions of dollars and lost thousands of troops? Was it just to safeguard its national interests or to preserve its leadership or to quench the thirst of its arrogance? All these suggestions might be true, yet they provide an understanding of the character of duality in the United States foreign policy.

### **Conclusion**

The term duality evolved through time, it took different shapes but kept the same meaning which centered on hypocrisy and double standards. The new U.S. doctrine falls in line with the renewed assertion of duality. The latter demands the use of force to protect U.S. interests wherever threatened. In fact, there is no end to possible threats to U.S. interests and 9/11 provided an excellent excuse. There will always be some sort of disorder in the Third World, which, in the opinion of official American circles, will "threaten to jeopardize the interests of that country."

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Jeane Jordan Kirkpatrick (November 19, 1926-December 7, 2006) was an American ambassador and an ardent anticommunist. After serving as Ronald Reagan's foreign policy adviser in his 1980 campaign and later in his Cabinet, the longtime Democrat turned-Republican was nominated as the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and became the first woman to hold this position (New World Encyclopedia *newworldencyclopedia.org*).

<sup>2</sup>American theorists of successive generations who consider anarchy as being especially relevant to international politics are too many to be referred to in this chapter. This reference summarizes and criticizes these views: Helen Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique," *Review of International Studies*, London, 17 (1991), pp. 67- 85.

<sup>3</sup>Actually, what Ambrose and Brinkley may be reporting is not their best estimate, or the most authoritative estimate they could find, but what "the headlines proclaimed" about the magnitude of the bombing campaign in Vietnam as it unfolded (Ray 179).

<sup>4</sup>Writers such as Charles Krauthammer and Morton B. Zuckerman have equated Saddam with Adolf Hitler. They perfectly ingrained disquiet into the American public featuring Saddam as a dangerous dictator seeking to obtain nuclear weapons and use them against the United States and its ally Israel. They showed them how Saddam had gassed over 5,000 Iraqi Kurds, his own citizens.

<sup>5</sup>Nine days after Iraq invades Kuwait, the public relations firm Hill & Knowlton creates a front organization, "Citizens for a Free Kuwait," almost entirely funded by Kuwaiti money. Hill & Knowlton's point man with the Kuwaitis is Craig Fuller, a close friend and political adviser to President Bush. Citizens for a Free Kuwait spread a false story of Kuwaiti babies being killed in their incubators by Iraqi troops, a story that will help inflame US public

opinion and win the Bush administration the authority to launch an assault against Iraq ("Hill and Knowlton" *History Commons historycommons.org*).

<sup>6</sup> In order to invade Iraq, President George H. W. Bush ascertained that he possessed evidence, satellite photos, of Saddam's troops on the Kuwaiti border preparing to invade

Saudi Arabia. The same satellite photos were obtained by Jean Heller who confirmed that she did not find evidence to support these accusations. Later, the photos were classified and have never been available for public scrutiny (Peterson *Christian Science Monitor csmonitor.com*).

<sup>7</sup> A bundle of reliable films and writings on the 9/11 can be found using the following link: AE 911 Truth Online Store <<http://www.ae911truth.net/store/>>

<sup>8</sup> The proofs presented by the Third U.S. Army retired Albert Stubblebine that 9/11 is an inside job can be checked in a YouTube video using this link: Major General Albert

Stubblebine's views on 9/11 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nid2BtwWlhI>>

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## **Chapter Two: The Motives of U.S. Foreign Policy Duality**

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"The East is a Career"

-Benjamin Disraeli

## **Introduction**

After the end of the cold war that brought with it the collapse of the USSR, the U.S. emerged as an unrivaled superpower in the world often careless and arrogant. It is very typical for such great powers to act in a selfish way. Bush with his neoconservative advisers rejected boastfully treaties, international laws and international public opinion that were against the invasion of Iraq in 2003. U.S. interests in the Middle East are simply the main motives<sup>1</sup> of its character of duality. The interests that were cited in Bush's speech in 2007 are twofold, firstly, the oil supplies will be available and not interrupted and secondly autocratic states will not become powerful to the extent that they pose a threat to the U.S. position and its allies' security. These motives are: Oil, arms sales and war profits and the security of Israel.

### **2.1. The Oil Factor**

The U.S. currently produces about 40% of the oil that it consumes; its imports have exceeded domestic production since the early 1990s. Since the U.S.'s oil consumption continues to rise, and its oil production continues to fall, this ratio may continue to decline. President George W. Bush has identified dependence on imported oil as an urgent "national security concern".

#### **2.1.1. U.S. Dependence on Middle East Oil**

Walter Millis in *The Inner History of the Cold War* wrote: "Europe in the next ten years may shift from coal to an oil economy and therefore whoever sits on the valve of Middle East oil may control the destiny of Europe (266).

Before World War II the U.S. has little enchantment in Middle East oil. In fact, America was the world largest oil producer and exporter with 63 percent of world production, the USSR second with 10, 7 %. Consequently, the U.S. petroleum companies showed little commercial concerns in the Middle East region (Rossi 27).

The United States fell under the oil magic spell in 1930 when geologists working for Standard Oil of California discovered abundance of oil wells in Saudi Arabia. This latter longed for U.S. protection offering oil with low prices to global market (Yergin 385; Gardner19).

The Middle East oil is desirable for many reasons. Firstly, the cost of the oil production is cheaper than the oil extracted from Alaska. Secondly, the abundance of the oil; it is still not discovered fully, developmental drilling continue to find new reserves. Thirdly, Middle East oil is powerful in the market due to its higher reserves that exceed its production rate (Modigs 37).

Getting oil at reasonable prices is among the most important and continuing U.S. national interests in the Middle East. A number of strategies arose in order to secure those national interests. The region witnessed the first clash of western civilization with the Arabs and Muslims and was divided following ex empires' model. In other words, the U.S. emerged as a World new power. It entered the scene inheriting the colonial situation produced by British imperialism. The U.S. continued to balance power in the region by actions typical to British divide et impera favoring regimes that best serve its interests (Rossi 138). George Kennan contended:

Our safety depends on our ability to establish a balance among the hostile or undependable forces of the world: To put them where necessary one against the other; to see that they spend in conflict with each other, if they must spend it at

all, the intolerance and violence and fanaticism which might otherwise be directed against U.S., that they are compelled to cancel each other out and exhaust themselves in internecine conflict in order that the constructive forces, working for world stability, may continue to have the possibility of life. (Gaddis and Lovett 28)

This strategy was best exemplified in U.S. foreign policy by its support to the Shah of Iran, its over support to Saddam against Iran, the covert support to Iran in the same war and the use of Israel as a dividing force in the region.

In the late 1940, U.S. share in world oil dropped from seventy percent to fifty-one, while the Middle East oil share rose from seven to sixteen percent. The U.S. could not sustain its drowning position, so it needed the Middle East oil to cover its industrial and military needs (Rossi 32).

### **2.1.2. Oil and the Dollar Hegemony**

Since 1973, the oil sales have been priced in dollar which helped for the prosperity of American economy and attributed to its hegemony. Such policy made the U.S. more involved in Middle East politics (Ismael 53). Basing trade and finance on the American dollar was issued by Britton Woods Conference. The dollar assumes two roles, a fiat currency called petro dollar and a reserve currency. The U.S. prints hundreds of billions of these fiat petrodollars, which are used by nations to purchase oil/energy from oil-producing countries and then recycled from oil producers back into the U.S. via treasury bills or other dollar-denominated assets such as real estate, US stocks, etc (Ismael 53). According to Henry C.K. Liu :

By definition, dollar reserves must be invested in US assets, thereby, creating a capital- accounts surplus for the US economy. The US capital- account surplus

in turn finances the US trade deficit. Moreover, any asset, regardless of location, that is denominated in dollars is a US asset in essence. When oil is denominated in dollars through US state action, and the dollar is a fiat currency, the US essentially owns the world's oil for free because all countries must buy the dollar to purchase oil. And the more the US prints greenbacks, the higher the price of US assets will rise. Thus a strong- dollar policy gives the US a double win. (Global Economy *Asia Times atimes.com*)

This is known as the dollar hegemony, everyone accepts dollars because dollars buy oil.

In 1973 a geo- political agreement with Saudi Arabia advanced the American Advantage for the past 30 years. This agreement has eliminated American currency risk for oil, raised the entire asset value of all dollar- denomination assets/properties and allowed the Federal Reserve to create a truly massive debt and credit expansion. William Clark argues:

First, nations continue to demand and purchase oil for their energy/survival needs. Second, the fiat reserve currency for global oil transactions remains only the US dollar. These underlying factors, along with the ‘safe harbor’ reserve currency status have propelled the US to its economic and military hegemony in the post- World War II period. However, the introduction of the euro currency in January 1999 has constituted a significant new factor that appears to be the primary threat to US economic hegemony. (Clark Global Research *globalresearch.ca* )

Thus, the global dollar reserves are higher than America's share in global trade. According to Michael Hodges the phenomenon of the oil pegged- dollar, and the dollar as the only international reserve currency has allowed the US to expand its credit system and incur a huge cumulated national debt (two-thirds of GDP in 2002) without a corresponding expansion

in domestic economic capacity. By the end of the fiscal year 2002 foreign interests controlled 14.8 per cent (\$1 trillion) of the total debt of \$6.745 trillion. In addition, they owned 43 percent of all Federal Government treasury bonds, all denominated in the US dollar (Hodges Grand Father Economic Report *grandfather-economic-report.com*).

The United Nations reported how the US administration manages the huge debt. It is by printing more dollars (monetary expansion) not as a function of its GDP, but in proportion to the expected increase in international trade and the demand for oil and reserve currency that are dollar- denominated. Global acceptance of this phenomenon is based on the perception of 'America as a safe haven' and on a face- value trust in the strength of the dollar (Hodges).

### **2.1.3. U.S. Wars for Oil**

Oil and war have become increasingly interconnected in the Middle East. Indeed, that relationship has become a seemingly permanent one. This outcome was not inevitable; the United States has not only been mired in the middle, but its approach to oil has also abetted the outcome (Jones 209).

In 1944, the U.S. attacked oil production, storage and transport means in Germany and Japan in order to paralyze their counterattacks. Carl Spaatz who led the bombing of the European portion explained the U.S. objective behind the raid as to deny oil to enemy air forces (Khalidi 45). Consequently, oil's valuable importance in war times as well as in peace times made U.S. officials think seriously about how to tighten their control over petroleum products.

After WWII, the Soviet communism spread in Europe to reach the Middle East region. The U.S. rushed to secure its vital interests by initiating the strategy of containment. At this stage, the Persian Gulf helped revive the Western Europe devastated economy as well as

providing gasoline to many automobiles which America cannot afford with its reserves alone (Little 44). In this regard, President Truman stated:

Thus the world oil center of gravity is shifting to the Middle East where American enterprise has been entrusted with the exploitation of one of the greatest oil fields. It is in our national interest to see that this vital resource remains in American hands, where it is most likely to be developed on a scale, which will cause a considerable lessening of the drain upon Western Hemisphere reserves. (Rossi 27)

American oil companies played a major role in carrying out United States' foreign policy with Arab states.

In April 1951, the Majlis (the Iranian parliament) elected Mohammed Mossadegh<sup>2</sup> who nationalized the British oil holdings in the country. In Dulles' view " if Iran succumb to the communists, there was little doubt that in short order the other areas of the Middle East, with some 60% of the world's oil reserves would fall into communist control" (Yergin 486).

The U.S. deployed CIA agents, in corporation with agents of the British M16 secret service, to intervene in Iranian politics. As a result of the activities of these foreign agents, the shah Reza Pahlavi was encouraged to dismiss Mossadegh (Ray 335).

U.S. Persian Gulf policy and America's relationship with the region's oil producers were often at odds with the alliance between the United States and Israel. The tensions created by American policies in the Gulf have undermined U.S. claims about pursuing regional security more generally. This contradiction played out most spectacularly during the 1973 oil crisis (Jones 209).

On October 19, 1973, President Nixon proposed a 2.2 billion dollar military aid package for Israel. In relation, Saudi Arabia and other oil-exporting Arab States cut off

shipments of oil to the United States. In addition, the Arab oil-exporting states began to roll back production of oil on a monthly basis, usually by about 5 percent (Ray 330). Yergin comments:

The embargo and its consequences sent shock radiation through the social fabric of the industrial nations...in the United States, the shortfall struck at fundamental beliefs in the endless abundance of resources... American motorists saw retail gasoline prices climb by 40 percent – and for reasons that they did not understand. (615-616)

The Arabs used oil as a political weapon against the United States' support for Israel. At this time the U.S. realized that its foreign policy in the Middle East had to become more balanced.

In the final cold war phase, president Regan policy included economic warfare. Schweizer commented, "Perhaps the most stunning economic weapon Regan sought to wield against Moscow came not from Washington but from Saudi Arabia" (238). Regan was aware of the fact that reduction in oil price would be good for the U.S. economy and bad for the Soviets. Thus Schweizer commented, "in August 1985, a stake was driven silently through the heart of the soviet economy... the Saudis opened the spigot and flooded the world market with oil" (242).

The Gulf war in 1990-1991 was also triggered by Kuwait oil over production which drove down its price costing Iraq billions of dollars that it would be gained from its exports. Saddam Hussein accused Kuwait of plotting with the U.S. to undermine his regime (Ray 338).

In fact, "Saddam had seen how Saudi Arabia cooperated with the Regan administration by pumping oil into the world market in such a way as to rapidly depress its

price, thus depriving the Soviet Union of billions of dollars that it might have been earned from its exports" (Schweizer 238-239).

U.S. and NATO forces invaded Afghanistan in October 2001 in retaliation for 9/11 to get the terrorist who attacked the United States. This was the reason given to Americans and do understand it. In reality, this was the reason for going to Afghanistan but not to stay there.

The U.S. has discovered \$1 trillion untapped mineral deposits in Afghanistan. New York Times reported:

The previously unknown deposits- including huge veins of iron, copper, cobalt, gold and critical industrial metals like lithium- are so big and include so many minerals that are essential to modern industry that Afghanistan could eventually be transformed into one of the most important mining centers in the world. Afghanistan could become the "Saudi Arabia of lithium," a key raw material in the manufacture of batteries for laptops and BlackBerrys. (Risen *New York Times ny.times.com*)

Looking at the invasion of Afghanistan, it is noticed that while the Taliban dwelled in the highlands, U.S. troops were not sent to fight them. Instead, they were safeguarding the pipeline routes.

It is necessary here to mention that the invasion of Afghanistan was planned before the incidents of 9/11 as early as 1998. Michael Moore in his documentary Fahrenheit 9/11 demonstrated how U.S. officials hosted the top Taliban leaders to negotiate a pipe line project in Afghanistan which the Taliban had refused to accord. Despite lack of evidence of al Qaeda interference in the 9/11 attacks, this was enough for American officials to declare the war.

In addition to its vast minerals and gas revenues, Afghanistan produces more than 90 percent of the world's supply of opium which is used to produce grade 4heroin" (Chossudovsky*globalresearch.ca*). Professor Chossudovsky asserted that the war of counter terrorism launched by Bush administration was a resource war.

U.S officials and business men were aware of Afghanistan mineral riches and gas abundance prior to the Soviet-Afghan war in 1979- 1988. The soviet geologists conducted surveys at that time and confirmed the existence of vast reserves of cooper- which is the largest in Eurasia- iron, high grade chrome ore, uranium, beryl, barite, lead, zinc, fluorspar, bauxite, lithium, tantalum, emeralds, gold and silver. Moreover, Afghanistan was projected to people as just a transit country; however, few are those who know that Soviets built a gas pipeline in 1960 which produced 2.5 bn cubic meters annually (Chossudovsky).

U.S. officials expressed their country's fears of China cooper investments in Afghanistan. Americans wanted the riches to go into their possession and kept accusing the Chinese of having no mining culture that would enable them to exploit the minerals in a responsible way. American officials accused Afghanistan's minister of mine of accepting a \$30 million bribe to grant China the rights to develop its copper mine. The minister has since been replaced (Risen *New York Times nytimes.com*).

Obama's policy in Afghanistan made no distinction of that of his predecessor Bush, it centered on interests. Despite Obama's claims to withdraw American troops from Afghanistan but nothing was really realized on the ground giving the argument that the struggle against violent extremism needs more time. He contended:

Now, let me be clear: None of this will be easy. The struggle against violent extremism will not be finished quickly, and it extends well beyond Afghanistan and Pakistan. It will be an enduring test of our free society, and our leadership

in the world. And unlike the great power conflicts and clear lines of division that defined the 20th century, our effort will involve disorderly regions, failed states, diffuse enemies. (Address to the Nation on the Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan White House *whitehouse.gov*)

U.S. economic and strategic interests were the main reasons for its wars. 9/11 was only a bridge that paved the way to Americans to ensure their hegemony in the world.

In 2003, Iraq as well was invaded because of oil. John Chapman described Iraq as the country swimming in oil. It produces the quarter of world oil and has 60 percent of world known reserves. About 90 percent of Iraq is still not fully explored. By invading Iraq, the U.S took control of oil fields and rapidly depressed the OPEC prices (Chapman *The Guardiantheguardian.com*).

The decision to invade Iraq and control its oil dated back to 1976 when Wolfowitz, working as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Regional Programs in the Carter administration, wrote the *Limited Contingency Study*, which reflects the extensive examination of the need for the U.S. to defend the Persian Gulf. The document began: "We and our major industrialized allies have a vital and growing stake in the Persian Gulf region because of our need for Persian Gulf oil and because events in the Persian Gulf affect the Arab-Israeli conflict... The importance of Persian Gulf Oil cannot be easily exaggerated. If the Soviet Union were to control Persian Gulf oil, NATO and the U.S.-Japanese alliance would probably be destroyed without recourse to war by the Soviets" (Perezalonso 9).

The threat represented by Iraq to Western interests was also analyzed in the study. Wolfowitz advised that, "we must not only be able to defend the interests of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and ourselves against an Iraqi invasion or show of force, we should also make manifest our capabilities and commitments to balance Iraq's power – and this may require an increased visibility for US power" (Mann 79-83). In the same vein, Neil Mackay noted:

The United States had for decades sought to play a more permanent role in Gulf regional security. While the unresolved conflict with Iraq provides the immediate justification, the need for a substantial American force presence in the Gulf transcends the issue of the regime of Saddam Hussein. (*Research Unit for Political Economy monthlyreview.org*)

For U.S. politicians, what matters most is a permanent presence of the United States in the Middle East rather than the regime of Saddam Hussein.

After the assaults of 9/11, the U.S. Secretary of State Donald Rumsfeld ordered the military to begin looking for evidences that relate Iraq to the events as fast as possible. Rumsfeld said, "Best info fast. Judge whether good enough to hit S.H. [which refers to Saddam Hussein] at the same time. Not only UBL [meaning Usama bin Laden]... Go massive. Sweep it all up. Things related and not" (*Research Unit for Political Economy monthlyreview.org*).

In addition, the personal business of President Bush and some of his neocons advisers justifies the great exaggeration and fraud that lead to the invasion. For example, the former Secretary of Commerce Don Evans was the chairman of Tom Brown, an independent oil and gas company that exploits natural gas in the Rocky Mountains. Cheney was chief executive of Halliburton, the world's largest oil field service company. He said that "Energy is truly fundamental to the world's economy. The Gulf War was a reflection of that reality.

The degree of government involvement also makes oil a unique commodity. This is true in both the overwhelming control of oil resources by national oil companies and governments" (*Resilience resilience.org*). Bush himself owned a small oil company, Arbusto. In this regard, President Bush stated: "I lived the energy industry. I understand its ups and downs. I also know its strategic importance to the United States of America. Access to energy is a mainstay of our national security" (Perezalonso 10).

The oil claim on which Iraq was invaded was reinforced by a report entitled *CrudeDesigns: The rip-off of Iraq's oil wealth* authored by Greg Muttitt from the London-based charity PLATFORM. The report does not reveal explicitly that the oil was the reason behind invading Iraq but it makes the reader reach to that conclusion.

PLATFORM's report explained how the west was in great grievance of the Arab states which nationalized their oil. Cheney as the chief executive of Halliburton was quoted to lament the U.S. government for not getting great access to the Middle East region: "Middle East oil producers will remain central to world oil security and the Gulf will be a primary focus of U.S. international energy policy" (Perezalonso 10)

Nevertheless, explaining the invasion of Iraq only for the oil reason increases the risk of inaccuracy. Amy Myers Jaffe, from the James A Baker III Institute for Public Policy in Houston, asserted that the war in Iraq was not all about oil noting that, "if all President Bush was concerned about was American access to oil, he could wave his hand and lift U.S. sanctions [from Libya], and you would get another million barrels of Libyan oil a day" (Rennie *The Telegraph telegraph.co.uk*).

## **2.2. The Arms Sales and War Profits**

American arms trade, the politics that drive it, the companies that profit from it, and its devastating global impacts are much less analyzed in any depth and rarely discussed. According to the latest figures available from the Congressional Research Service, the United States was credited with more than half the value of all global arms transfer agreements in 2014, the most recent year for which full statistics are available (Hartung, *The Nation thenation.com*). Vice Admiral Joe Rixey, who heads the Pentagon's arms sales agency, known as the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, estimates that arms deals facilitated by the Pentagon topped \$46 billion in 2015, and are on track to hit \$40 billion in 2016.

### **2.2.1. The Importance of Commerce with the Middle East**

The U.S. and its Western allies have for many decades sold weapons to the Middle East, just as Soviet Union did before its decline. Arms sales have always been a profitable industry with a much higher increase in consumer price index than for normal goods. In the 80s, U.S. companies, and other western countries, supported Saddam Hussein with raw material for his chemical and biological programs as well as for development of missiles and nuclear weapons worth \$1 billion. They had also supported the Shah of Iran (the Iran-Contra scandal) with weapons deliveries (Modgis 39).

In the Middle East, the U.S. and its allies found an opportunity for the arms industry to compensate for the diminishing demands for their products in the Western world. In the mid-1990s U.S. arms exports to the Middle East countries was 77 percent of total U.S. Arms export to developing countries (U.S. Global Arms Transfer, 1998 *CSIS csis.org*).

During the 1980s and 1990s more than 70 percent of annual U.S. foreign aid (\$3.8 billion on average) to the Middle East was military, opposed to only 28 percent for economic aid. At the same time, arms purchases totaled \$6.1 billion per year, more than half of the world's total. The U.S. is the biggest arms exporter to the Middle East, with exports totaling more than \$90 billion since the Gulf War. Arms sale have become number one U.S. source of export to the region, constituting almost one third of all U.S. exports to the Middle East. As a result, arms sales to the Middle East are a major interest for private individuals as well as companies and U.S. politicians, as one director of a Middle East center observed:

If the billions have not been useful to the Saudis, they were a gold mine for Congresspersons compelled to cast pro-Saudi votes, along with cabinet officials and party leaders worried about the economy of key states and electoral districts. To the extent that the regime faces politically destabilizing

cutbacks in social spending, a proximate cause is the strong bipartisan push for arms exports to the Gulf as a means to bolster the sagging fortunes for key constituents and regions--the "gun belt"--that represents the domestic face of internationalism. (Zunes 42)

It is undoubtful that the U.S. government and its domestic arms industry have a great interest in arms sales to the Middle East because defense sales constituted billions of dollars in income and also were the source of primary, high paying jobs for tens of thousands of Americans.

The arms sales importance is also apparent by how much money different lobbies used in the latest U.S. elections (1999-2000 election cycle). Organizations affiliated with the arms industry spent close to \$5 million. In comparison, another group with vested interests in the region, pro-Israeli organizations, spent \$2 million. This shows that U.S. domestic actors, public and private, have vested interests in the Middle East region not only because of oil, but also because of other interests that makes this region important to the U.S. (Duke 419).

After the events of 9/11, the Bush administration made a deal of sales worth of twenty billion dollar to Saudi Arabia and other oil rich Persian Gulf states (Rashidian Iranian.com).

Moreover, the U.S. arm sales to oil producing countries are intended particularly to curb Iran's proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, in case of an Iranian attack and enhancing U.S. permanent presence in the Middle East (Shanker and Sanger nytimes.com).

Some experts argue that selling arms to Middle Eastern states breads terrorism rather than fighting it. The Center for Defense Information which is an independent non-profit research group, released a report, entitled "US Arms Exports to Countries Where Terror Thrives," found the following:

"There are 28 terrorist groups currently operating in 18 countries, according to the State Department's bi-annual list of active foreign terrorist organizations....In the period of 1990-1999, the United States supplied 16 of the 18 countries on the State Department list with arms.....In addition, the U.S.military (and CIA) has trained the forces of many of these 18 countries in U.S. war fighting tactics, in some cases including individuals now involved in terrorism." (Awehali globalissue.org)

So the United States' arm business was the direct reason for the emergence of terrorism.Furthermore, a congressional report on arms sales to developing countries contends that:

"The Persian Gulf War....played a major role in further stimulating already high levels of arms transfer agreements with nations in the Near East region. The war created new demands by key purchasers such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) for a variety of advanced weapons systems. The Gulf states' arms purchase demands were not only a response to Iraq's aggression against Kuwait, but a reflection of concerns regarding perceived threats from a potentially hostile Iran." (Awehali)

These states instead of spending huge sums of money on social programs, they enhanced their military defense sensing a whistleblower danger threatening their security.

### **2.2.2. The Dilemma of War Profiteers**

"War is a racket" said Major General Smedley Butler, it is "something [not known] to the majority of the people. Only a small inside groups know what it is about. It is conducted for the benefit of the very few, at the expense of the very many. Out of war a few people make huge fortunes" (2).

War profiteering is "the exploitation of governments contracts during wartime, usually by private sector companies that win deals to perform services during or after the conflict. Most of the time, contractors who had ties to the government are presented with lucrative contracts to simplify the selection process" (Areen, Gilmer, Shwartz 3).

President Franklin D. Roosevelt was one of the American leaders to oppose war profiteers. During World War II, he condemned people who exploit war hectic time to become millionaires out of defense industry. He said, "I don't want to see a single war millionaire created in the United States as a result of this world disaster" (*thenation.com*).

However, his successors did not apply Roosevelt's advice and were themselves involved in arms sales and war profiteering. According to the Honorary Professor at the Department of Politics George Monbiot, "the U.S. possesses vast military industrial complex, which is in constant need of conflict, in order to justify its staggeringly expensive existence" (Malonzo 24).

Starting with Former Presidents Bush Sr., who was working for the Carlyle firm that raised capital on a deal-by-deal basis to pursue leveraged buyout investments including a failed takeover battle for Chi-Chi's in late 1980. Carlyle initially developed a reputation for acquiring businesses related to the defense industry. The firm raised its first dedicated buyout fund with \$100 million of investor commitments in 1990. In its early years, Carlyle also advised in transactions including a \$500 million investment by Prince Al-Waleed bin Talal, a member of the Saudi royal family in Citigroup in 1991 (Gilpin *The New York Times* *nytimes.com*).

Carlyle's 2001 investor conference took place on September 11, 2001. In the weeks following the meeting, it was reported that Shafiq bin Laden, a member of the bin Laden wealthy family, had been the 'guest of honor' and that they were investors in Carlyle managed funds. Later reports confirmed that the Bin Laden family had invested \$2 million

into Carlyle's \$1.3 billion Carlyle Partners II Fund in 1995, making the family relatively small investors with the firm (Carlyle Group *911myths.com*).

However, their overall investment might have been considerably larger, with the \$2 million committed in 1995 only being an initial contribution that grew over time. These connections would later be profiled in Micheal Moor's *Fahrenheit 9/11*. The Bin Laden family liquidated its holdings in Carlyle's funds in October 2001, just after the September 11th attacks, when the connection of their family name to the Carlyle Group's name became impolitic (Eichenwald *The New York Times nytimes.com*).

George W. Bush had already planned to boost the position of the U.S. military-industrial complex long before the so-called anti-terrorism efforts. On September 23, 1999, Bush set three ambitious goals in his comprehensive military policy:

- (1) To "renew the bond of trust between the American President and the American military";
- (2) to "defend the American people against missiles and terror" and (3) to "begin creating the military of the next century" (Malonzo 24).

Moreover, after Bush Jr.'s inauguration to power, he appointed many neoconservatives into high government posts, who mainly served their interests upon the nation. To begin with, Paul Wolfowitz, a staunch neoconservative and the engineer of "pre-emptive war" had planned to steer contracts worth of 48.074.442 for the Iraq war before its invasion (Vadurro 96). After 9/11, Wolfowitz affirmed that military action in Iraq is "necessary to assure access to vital raw material, primarily Persian Gulf Oil" (Weiner *TheCrisis Paper crisispaper.org*)

On the other hand, Richard Perle, served as the Chairman of the Department of Defense Planning Board and was dropped out in March 2003, after discovering that he unethically gained profits from the American war in Iraq (Hubbard-Brown 88).

Many American people were not surprised when President George W. Bush announced the award of a contract to Dick Cheney's Kellogg Brown and Root (KBR), a subsidiary of Halliburton, in order to rebuild a war-torn Iraq. After all, the president is a Texan and his family has tight ties to the company (*Carter marketplace.publicradio.org*). The US hired more private companies in Iraq than in any previous war, and at times there were more contractors than military personnel on the ground (*Fifield ft.com*).

Cheney's Halliburton made 39.5 billion dollar out of the Iraq war (*Young readersupportednews.org*). On July 13, 2002, the *New York Times* also reported that Vice President Dick Cheney's former employer, the Halliburton Company, is "benefiting very directly from the United States' effort to combat terrorism; from building cells for detainees at Guantanamo Bay (\$300 million) to feeding American troops in Uzbekistan" (*Awehali Global Issues globalissues.org*).

The Pentagon is increasingly relying on a unit of Halliburton called KBR, sometimes referred to as Kellogg Brown & Root." KBR is the "exclusive logistics supplier for both the Navy and the Army, providing services like cooking, construction, power generation and fuel transportation" (*Awehali*).

The Kentucky Senator Rand Paul accused Dick Cheney for using 9/11 to push for the Iraq War so his company Halliburton would profit. He stated:

There's a great YouTube of Dick Cheney in 1995 defending [President] Bush No. 1 [and the decision not to invade Baghdad in the first Gulf War], and he goes on for about five minutes. He's being interviewed, I think, by the American Enterprise Institute, and he says it would be a disaster, it would be vastly expensive, it'd be civil war, we would have no exit strategy. He goes on and on for five minutes. Dick Cheney saying it would be a bad idea. And that's

why the first Bush didn't go into Baghdad. Dick Cheney then goes to work for Halliburton. Makes hundreds of millions of dollars, their CEO. Next thing you know, he's back in government and it's a good idea to go into Iraq. (Corn motherjones.com)

There is some truth in Rand Paul's statements because during the invasion of Iraq in 2003, Halliburton was the sole company that was responsible for the American Army's food and other necessities. According to Vadurro, Halliburton received a sole source contract worth 7 billion dollar among the 20.9 billion dollar spent by the American people to rebuild Iraq (101). Later, Halliburton was accused of corruption as high as 60 billion dollar not providing the necessary living conditions for American soldiers (Young ibitimes.com).

Other Defense Policy members that have contracts with the Pentagon are David Jeremiah who is the director of at least five companies that receive 10 billion dollar and the board member of Bechtel Company George Shultz with retired General Jack Sheehan vice president at Bechtel received 1 billion in 2002 (Politi&VerloyCenter for Public Integritypublicintegrity.org).



**Figure 2:** Histogram showing the Post-War Contractors that profited from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan by ICIJ.org based on Pentagon resources.

The bond between corporate contracts and U.S. Defense policy members in the Bush administration created a dilemma of war profiteers. Adding to that, the biased decisions and impartiality provided to the Pentagon. In 1925, President Calvin Coolidge uttered the famous line, "The business of America is business." However, the truth is that the business of America is the business of war.

### **2.3. THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL**

Since the creation of the Jewish state in Palestine in 1948, Israel had, in many occasions, violated the international law, defied UN resolutions, and denied human rights by recurrent attacks on Palestinian civilians. Israel's aggressive actions in the Palestinian occupied territories are seen by the world community as illegal and oppressive (Weber ihr.com).

#### **2.3.1. Meaning of the Zionist Lobby**

In 2002, the United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan contended, "the whole world is demanding that Israel withdraw [from occupied territories]." The whole world cannot be wrong (Brinkley *The New York Times nytimes.com*).

Unlike the world nations, the United States, stands in behalf of Israel economically, militarily and politically. This special relationship raised many questions as why is the U.S. acting as Israel's lawyer? Why is the U.S a staunch bastion of support for the Jewish state?

The answer to the above questions was given by a Noble Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu from South Africa. He criticized the Zionist lobby in an address in Boston as: "But you know as well as I do that, somehow, the Israeli government is placed on a pedestal[in the US], and to criticize it is to be immediately dubbed anti-Semitic ... People are scared in this country, to say wrong is wrong because the Israel lobby is powerful -- very powerful" (Tutu *The Guardian theguardian.com*).

The lobby<sup>3</sup> from the Jewish community was also described in the work of two university professors, John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt who released a detailed analytical critique on the close ties between the U.S. and Israel. The authors, in their book entitled the Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy, raised an important question of "Why has the United States been willing to set aside its own security and that of many of its allies in order to advance the interests of another state? They offered an answer referring to the huge lobby practiced by some interest groups to divert U.S. foreign policy in favor of Israelis.

The lobby means persuading and influencing politicians/ governments to support or oppose a change on a particular issue (*oxforddictionaries.com*). "The Lobby" refers to "the coalition of individuals and organization who actively work to shape U.S. foreign policy in a pro- Israel direction. [Its] core is comprised of American Jews who make a significant effort in their daily lives to bend U.S. foreign policy so that it advances Israel's interests" (Mearsheimer &Walt 13). Benjamin Ginsberg a Jewish professor in political science stated:

Since the 1960s, Jews have come to wield considerable influence in American economic, cultural, intellectual and political life. Jews played a central role in American finance during the 1980s, and they were among the chief beneficiaries of that decade's corporate mergers and reorganizations. Today, though barely two percent of the nation's population is Jewish, close to half its billionaires are Jews. The chief executive officers of the three major television networks and the four largest film studios are Jews, as are the owners of the nation's largest newspaper chain and the most influential single newspaper, the *New York Times* ... The role and influence of Jews in American politics is equally marked...(103)

Since the 60's the Jews built a wealthy cable to support their cause. Jews were aware that the western world was based on materialism and only might makes right. Similarly, the Jewish authors Seymour Lipset and Earl Raab asserted:

During the last three decades Jews [in the United States] have made up 50 percent of the top two hundred intellectuals... 20 percent of professors at the leading universities ... 40 percent of partners in the leading law firms in New York and Washington ... 59 percent of the directors, writers, and producers of the 50 top-grossing motion pictures from 1965 to 1982, and 58 percent of directors, writers, and producers in two or more primetime television series.  
(26-27)

The Jews also devoted their wealth to think tanks in support to their cause because ideas are a powerful tool of domination.

It is worth mentioning that there is a difference between the Jewish lobby and the Israel lobby (Zionist lobby) because not all Jews are lobbyists, but all the lobbyists are Jews. They can be divided into hardliners who strongly support Likud party in Israel and are against the Oslo Peace Process, moderate who favors concessions to Palestinians, and the Jewish Voice for Peace who are few and strongly advocate peace and had no affiliation towards Israel. Other lobbyists are Christian evangelicals who believe that Israel's rebirth is part of biblical prophecy (Mearsheimer and Walt 13).

The most powerful lobbying organization is the American Israel Public Affair Committee often abbreviated AIPAC. This latter is run by wealthy hardliners who either bring American presidential candidates to power or defeat them depending on candidates' sensitivity and devotion to Israel issues. Senator Chuck Percy confessed that he was

defeated in 1984 by AIPAC- led campaign against him because he showed hostility and insensitivity to Israeli concerns (Cornwell *Independent independent.co.uk*).

AIPAC's activities include voting for pro Israeli candidates, letter writing, financial contributions and creating more pro Israeli organizations. The members of AIPAC usually seize the opportunity to silence any criticism against Israel's policy in the Middle East. For example when candidate Howard Dean called for the United States to take a more even handed role in the Arab- Israeli conflict, he was accused of being anti Semite (Mearsheimer and Walt 23).

Also the Project for the New American Century is a neoconservative lobbying think tank. It was established in 1997 by many members, the most prominent are: Abrams Elliot, Armitage Richard, Bolton John, Cheney Dick, Dobriansky Paula, Feith Douglas, Khalilzad Zalmay, Kirkpatrick Jeane, Libby Lewis, Rumsfeld Donald, Wolfowitz Paul and Woolsey James. Most of these members and others had signed a letter to President Clinton on February 18, 1998 to topple Saddam in order to preserve the U.S. and its allies' interests (Open Letter to the President Iraq Watch [iraqwatch.org](http://iraqwatch.org)). However, the neoconservative ideas did not materialize until the attacks of 9/11 that served as a pivotal event and helped to turn those ideas into a conviction.

Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle and Dick Cheney who were PNAC members became later key advisers in Bush's administration; he did consult them in all matters of his foreign policy (PNAC).

### **2.3.2. Reasons of U.S. Support to Israel**

Assuming U.S. bond to Israel to be based on common interests and compelling moral imperatives, however, misses the point and sounds unconvincing due to the uniqueness of U.S. support to Israel.

Since 1973 and during the October war, the U.S. had supplied Israel with incomparable level of military assistance and financial support that exceeds any other country in the world (ipac.org). In 2003, total aid to Israel reached 140 billion dollar, which means one fifth of U.S. foreign aid that made Israel equal to South Korea or Spain (World Bank Atlas 64-65).

Israel also is provided by approximately 3 billion dollar for sophisticated weapons and also is given access to intelligence and nuclear weapons. Furthermore, Israel is flooded by extraordinary diplomatic support in front of international institutions as the UN and the IAEA (Guttman Forward *forward.com*).

Moreover, the pampered Israel is being defended whenever negotiations with Palestinians took place. The Palestinian negotiators asserted the fact that, there were two identical teams negotiating with us displaying different flags, one American and the other for Israel (Mearsheimer and Walt 3).

Many pro Israeli organizations and American politicians rationalize the U.S. infinite aid giving the logic of Israel's strategic liability and a compelling moral case. According to AIPAC website, "the United States and Israel have formed a unique partnership to meet the growing strategic threats in the Middle East ... this cooperative effort provides significant benefits for both the United States and Israel" (*aipac.org*). It is not a new argument; indeed it is the slogan of pro Israel Americans and Israel politicians. This claim was applicable only during the cold war. Israel served as America's proxy inflicting defeats to Soviet clients. However, this servitude was not cheap; it did complicate U.S. relations with the Arab World and endangered its interests (Dayan 255-276).

Furthermore, Bernard Lewis asserted that Israel did not represent a strategic asset in the Gulf war (1990-1991) instead it did represent a strategic burden. The U.S. could not

use Israel bases and it kept Tel Aviv away from doing anything that will break the alliance against Saddam (110-111).

Another rationale provided by the lobbyists is that Israel and the U.S. have the same enemies, that they are threatened by Islamic fascists. But this claim is at best illusive. The terrorists that Israel is fighting are Palestinians who are defending their homeland and are not threatening U.S. security at all. Moreover, terrorism and anti Americanism from rogue states were triggered by U.S. support to Israel. According to the U.S. 9/11 commission, bin Laden explicitly attacked the U.S. as a punishment of its policies in the Middle East which the support of Israel is above all (Jehil and Johnston *New York Times nytimes.com*).

Rogue states do not present a direct threat to U.S. interests in the region. Despite the fact that these states may acquire nuclear weapons but they still cannot sweep the U.S. revenge. In fact, U.S. relation to Israel made it harder to deal with such states. In brief, Israel is making U.S. policies in the Middle East more perplexing (Mearsheimer and Walt 6).

In April 2004, 52 former British diplomats sent a letter to their Prime Minister Tony Blair arguing that, "the Israel-Palestinian conflict had poisoned relations between the West and the Arab and Islamic worlds; the policies of Bush and Prime Minister Ariel Sharon were one-sided and illegal" (Open Letter to Prime Minister Tony Blair *JSTOR jstor.org*).

The last reason questioning U.S. special relation to Israel is that it does not act as a loyal ally. Firstly, Israeli officials often ignore U.S. commands and behave according to its own strategies, for example, neglecting the halt of building more settlement<sup>4</sup> in the West Bank and assassinating top Palestinian leaders (Sindel Mosaic *Mosaic mosaicmagazine.com*).

Secondly, Israel is the only U.S. ally who spies on the United States and does transfer military to its rivals. The case of Jonathan Pollard was one example, in 1980; he transferred

large quantities of classified documents to Israel which in turn transferred them to the Soviets in an exit of more visas to Soviet Jews (Buncombe *Independent independent.co.uk*).

Other claims offered by the lobbyists to justify Israel's need to U.S. unlimited support are: because 1) it is weak and surrounded by enemies, 2) it is a democracy, 3) the Jewish people suffered from old crimes, 4) Israel's conduct has been morally superior to its adversaries' behavior ( Mearsheimer and Walt 7).

Israel is always portrayed as a Jewish David surrounded by a hostile Arab Goliath. An underdog state that is helpless and U.S. support deemed essential to its survival. But the reality reveals the contrary. Israel is the only nation in the Middle East with an arsenal of nuclear weapons threatening the security of its Arab neighbors. Israel is far more helpless since its inception (Bar-Joseph 137-156).

U.S. pro Zionist politicians claim that Israel is a fellow democracy besieged by hostile dictator Arab regimes. This rational is not convincing giving the proof that Israel's democratic status echoes autocratic features. Israel does not allow Palestinians who marry Israeli citizens to become citizens themselves, and does not give those spouses the right to live in Israel (Mearsheimer and Walt 8). According to B'tselem, the Israeli human rights organization, called this restriction as "a racist law that determines who can live here according to racist criteria" (ADL *adl.com*). In addition, Arabs are being treated by Israelis as second-class citizens and are not supposed to receive good and undiscriminatory treatment (Pax Christi International *The Electronic Intifada electronicintifada.net*).

The third moral justification to sympathize Israel is its tragic past of oppression by Germans in the Holocaust as a result the Jewish homeland should receive special treatment. But the United States is not obliged to over support a nation that suffered from old extermination (Mearsheimer and Walt 10).

The last moral claim offered by the lobbyists is that Israel is behaving in good manners and high virtues with its wicked Arab neighbors despite their provocations. But history explicitly recorded Zionists acts of ethnic cleansing, executions, massacres, and rapes (Rogan and Shlaim 49).

Between 1949 and 1956, the Israeli security forces killed between 2,700 and 5,000 Arab infiltrators, all unarmed (Morris 432). The Sabra and Shatila refugee camp was savagely exterminated; the toll death reached 700 innocent Palestinians whom Sharon was personally responsible for such atrocities ("Swedish Save the Children" *Journal of Palestine studies* 136-146).

In addition, Israel is often describes Palestinians in particular and Muslims in general as terrorists, in fact, Zionists used terrorism to pressure on Britain to obtain the Jewish state. In 1947, British soldiers were bombed by Zionists organizations and took the lives of many innocent lives (Factsheet: Jewish Terrorism under the British Mandate *cjpmo.org*). Yitzhak Shamir openly argued that, "neither Jewish ethics nor Jewish tradition can disqualify terrorism as a means of combat, [rather, terrorism had] a great part to play...in our war against the occupier [Britain]" (Chomsky 485-486). Moreover, Morris noted that, "Arabs may well have learned the value of terrorists' bombings from the Jews" (147-201).

## **Conclusion**

U.S. interests in the Middle East were the motives of its character of duality. The most controversial interest is Israel. Neither strategic nor moralistic claims used by the lobbyists to justify U.S. immense support to Israel sound convincing. I think one can explain it only by describing both countries America and Israel as two sides of the same coin. Russel Kirk charged the lobbyists with mistaking "Tel Aviv" for the capital of the United States. Also, Patrick Buchanan considered the lobbyists as a mistake brought in from the street and were given a place by the fire.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Other factors motivating U.S. duality is foreign assistance. It is a core component of the State Department's international affairs budget and is considered an essential instrument of U.S. foreign policy. There are four major categories of non-military foreign assistance: bilateral development aid, economic assistance supporting U.S. political and security goals, humanitarian aid, and multilateral economic contributions (e.g. contributions to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund).

<sup>2</sup>Except for Ayatollah Khomeini, father of its revolution, no leader has left a deeper mark on Iran's 20<sup>th</sup> century history than Mohammed Mossadegh. And no 20<sup>th</sup> century event has fueled Iran's suspicion of the United States as his overthrow has (Sociolino, Elaine. "Eccentric Nationalist Begets Strange History." *New York Times nytimes.com*).

<sup>3</sup>Indeed, the mere existence of the Lobby suggests that unconditional support for Israel is not in the American national interest. If it was, one would not need an organized special interest group to bring it about. But because Israel is a strategic and moral liability, it takes relentless political pressure to keep the U.S. support intact (AIPAC *aipac.org*).

<sup>4</sup>It is worth noting that the American people were generally supportive of Bush's efforts to put pressure on Israel in the spring of 2002. A Time/CNN poll taken on April 10-11 found that 60 percent of Americans felt that U.S. aid to Israel should be cut off or reduced if Sharon refused to withdraw from the Palestinian areas he had recently occupied (*ReutersNews Release reuters.com*).

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## **Chapter Three**

### **U.S. Foreign Policy Duality in the Middle East after 9/11**

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I deal with cultural issues whether they be in the Middle East, Far East, the Orient or the West. You broach questions in the context of their culture and then present Christian answers.

Ravi Zacharias

## **Introduction**

In the aftermath of the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, the foreign policy of the United States changed dramatically towards the Middle East and was characterized by a clear duality. The wars in Afghanistan (2001), in Iraq (2003) and the treatment of the prisoners of war - "enemy combatants" - in Abu Ghraib prison and Guantanamo bay, the failure of finding weapons of mass destruction and the failure to democratize the Arabs and Muslims in the Middle East have clearly damaged the image of the United States and increased dramatically the need of change in the U.S. foreign policy. In this chapter, the character of duality in U.S. foreign policy on democracy, human rights, the nuclear issues and the application of UN Security Council Resolutions will be examined.

### **3.1. U.S. Duality on Democracy**

Before analyzing the U.S. foreign policy duality on democracy in the Middle East, explaining the strategy of activist democratization in the Bush doctrine is needed. Democracy promotion was the core of Bush's foreign policy towards the Middle East. This strategy was issued and waged by top advisers named neoconservatives. They originated the strategy of regime change in Iraq offering it as a model for bringing about the democratic transformation and pacification of the entire Arab world. In this regard Bush contended that, "We did not charge hundreds of miles into the heart of Iraq and pay a bitter cost of casualties, and liberate 25 million people, only to retreat before a band of thugs and assassins. We will help the Iraqi people establish a peaceful and democratic country in the heart of the Middle East" (White House *whitehouse.archives.org*).

The Bush administration's Middle East democratization policies were centered around six propositions that served as logic arguments for spreading democracy through armed intervention. They were:

- Freedom is the universal right of all people.
- Free people will always choose to live in a liberal political and economic order.
- Authoritarianism fosters terrorism, while democracy will undermine terrorism.
- Democracy in Iraq will engender a democratic domino effect in the Middle East.
- A democratic Middle East will be peaceful.
- Middle East democratization will enhance American security and national interests

(Remarks by President George W. Bush *NED ned.org*).

### **3.1.1. The Clean Break**

President Bush was greatly influenced by the ideas of the so-called neoconservatives; he embraced their sophisticated set of prescriptions for interventionist democratization of the Middle East. They asserted that the enhancement of American interests in the Middle East can be attained only through regime change in Iraq and rollback of hostile political forces in Syria and Lebanon. The neocons backed their claims by releasing the "Clean Break Report" that aimed at rolling back authoritarian Arab states by military intervention in order to ensure democracy in the Middle East (Perle et al 1)

The report asserted that Israel and the U.S. should engage in the rollback of Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq. Like President Regan's doctrine that experienced the overthrow of hostile governments engaging proxy forces, yet in relation to Iraq, a direct intervention was premised to ascertain favorable outcomes (Perle et al 1).

The Clean Break report contended that a new pro-American and pro-Israeli regime in Baghdad would, among other things, allow the liberated Shia of Iraq to pressure their co-religionists in Lebanon away from Hezbollah and Syria (Perle et al 2-3).

The clean break report is twofold; firstly the democratic pro American regime in Iraq will reject terrorism and would no longer destabilize the Middle East. Secondly, Israel would be relieved of the threat of Hezbollah to overcome the constraints of the Oslo peace process and to impose a solution to the Palestinians (Perle et al 2-3). The rationales of the Clean

Break report served as an important intellectual basis of the Bush Doctrine's assumptions about promoting democracy through intervention in the Arab world.

### **3.1.2. The Universality of Freedom**

Besides the clean break, the universality of freedom served as an integral strategy to rollback and deemed essential in Bush's foreign policy. In the introduction to the National Security Strategy in 2002, President Bush asserted that "freedom is the non-negotiable demand of human dignity; the birthright of every person – in every civilization" (White House *National Security Strategy* 3). He stated:

Liberty and justice... are right and true for all people everywhere. No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. Fathers and mothers in all societies want their children to be educated and to live free of poverty and violence. No people on earth yearn to be oppressed, aspire to servitude, or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police. (White House *The National Security Strategy* 3)

Truly freedom and peace are necessary for humanity but this had to be understood by the U.S., the most belligerent country of the 21<sup>th</sup> century. Bush believed that any human being on earth has a dream to be free and it is the responsibility of the U.S. to realize that dream using many tools of its national power even military might. Furthermore, Bush claimed that Arabs in the Middle East deserve a life based on democracy and freedom. He asserted:

It is presumptuous and insulting to suggest that a whole region of the world – or the one-fifth of humanity that is Muslim – is somehow untouched by the most basic aspirations of life. Human cultures can be vastly different. Yet the human heart desires the same good things, everywhere on Earth. In our desire to be safe from brutal and bullying oppression, human beings are the same. In our desire to care for our children and give them a better life, we are the same. (G. W. Bush "President Discusses the Future of Iraq" Feb 2003 *White Housewhitehouse.archives.gov*)

From the above, Bush wanted to confirm to the Arabs and Muslims in the Middle East to not be skeptical about the U.S. intentions of spreading democracy, this policy as it had transformed the Axis Powers and the USSR would help Arabs to realize their long held aspirations for freedom long curtailed by authoritarian rules.

President Bush made many speeches about democratization of the Middle East in the United States and abroad to confirm to the world American idealism and their highly level understanding of freedom. In 2003, at the University of South Carolina, he pressed on peace in the Middle East. He asserted: We're determined to help build a Middle East that grows in hope, instead of resentment. Because of the ideals and resolve of this nation, you and I will not live in an age of terror. We will live in an age of liberty (US Department of State *state.gov*).

Expanding on the strategy of universal freedom, the National Security 2006 outlined the essential elements of liberal democracy. Universal freedom has as a goal the effective promotion of democracy abroad. According to the strategy document, effective democracies:

- Honor and uphold basic human rights, including freedom of religion, consciousness, speech, assembly, association and press.
- Are responsive to their citizens, submitting to the will of the people, especially when people vote to change their government.
- Exercise effective sovereignty and maintain order within their borders, protect independent and impartial systems of justice, punish crime, embrace the rule of law and resist corruption and;
- Limit the reach of government; protect the institutions of civil society, including the family, religious communities, voluntary associations, private property, independent business and a market economy (White House *The National Security Strategy* 4-5).

Key figures in the Bush Administration such as Paul Wolfowitz and Condoleezza Rice argued that establishing democracy in Iraq would help have a large beneficial demonstration

effect on the region as it would pressure on other Arab authoritarian regimes to dismantle and pave the way to democracy to flourish. Rice contended that:

The success of freedom in... Iraq will give strength and hope to reformers throughout the region, and accelerate the pace of reforms already underway. From Morocco to Jordan to Bahrain, we are seeing elections and new protections for women and minorities, and the beginnings of political pluralism. Political, civil, and business leaders have issued stirring calls for political, economic and social change. Increasingly, the people are speaking, and their message is clear: future of the region is to live in liberty. (*U.S.Department of State state.gov*)

President Bush claimed democracy to the whole Middle East region as a remedy that would heal all the authoritarian regimes. Similar to the domino theory, Bush initiated the democratic domino in the Middle East that will bring about a final solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict and will diminish terrorism. In this vein Bush argued:

Success in Iraq could also begin a new stage for Middle Eastern peace, and set in motion progress towards a truly democratic Palestinian state. The passing of Saddam Hussein's regime will deprive terrorist networks of a wealthy patron that pays for terrorist training, and offers rewards to families of suicide bombers. And other regimes will be given a clear warning that support for terror will not be tolerated. (G. W. Bush "President Discusses the Future of Iraq" Feb 2003 *White House whitehouse.archives.gov*)

President Bush, here, asserted the continuous American support to Israel and the protection of its security by toppling regimes that threaten it. Furthermore, the bandwagon of liberated Arab countries by the U.S. had as its fruits "democratic peace" because democracies rarely fight against each other and do not breed ideologies of violence (*Owen Foreign Affairs foreignaffairs.com*). In this regard, President Bush stated:

Governments that honor their citizens' dignity and desire for freedom tend to uphold responsible conduct towards other nations, while governments that

brutalize their people also threaten the security and peace of other nations. Because democracies are the most responsible members of the international system, promoting democracy is the most effective long-term measure for strengthening international stability; reducing regional conflicts; countering terrorism and terror supporting extremism; and extending peace and prosperity. (White House *The National Security Strategy* 3)

Crime and violence are also among the social ills of democratic nations though these governments do not brutalize their people. Condoleezza Rice also contended that only 'practical idealism' which means a fusion of values with interests could serve as an effective basis for U.S. foreign policy (The Promise of Democratic Peace *The Washington Post washingtonpost.com*). Rice was firm in considering the promotion of liberal democracy in the Middle East as the most effective way to advance American interests, security and power (2-26)

Same arguments were given by intellectuals such as Paula Dobriansky who supported the Bush doctrine and believed as well in the theory of democratic peace in the Middle East. In a senate committee testimony 2005, she argued that "we know now more than ever that the way a government treats its own people bears directly on how it acts in the international arena. We know that the best defense of our own borders comes from the growth of freedom abroad" (U.S. Department of State *state.gov*).

President Bush was very enthusiastic about freedom in Iraq and Afghanistan that he thought it was fully spread and the Middle East region had finally transformed into a steadfast of democracies. He asserted that:

Iraqis are taking big steps on a long journey of freedom. A free society requires more than free elections; it also requires free institutions, a vibrant civil society, rule of law, anti-corruption, and the habits of liberty built over generations. By claiming their own freedom, the Iraqis are transforming the

region, and they're doing it by example and inspiration, rather than by conquest and domination. (U.S. Department of State *state.gov*)

However, professor of political science Paul T. McCartney of the University of Richmond, offered a critical analysis of the Bush doctrine in 2004, he claimed that "any abstract term such as freedom can only have a substantive meaning that is determined by its cultural context" (422). He also noticed that "in the United States, the meaning of the term freedom has evolved as American notions of justice have changed over time" (422).

Consequently, McCartney asserted, the idea of freedom expressed by President Bush and others did not have a fixed or immutable state, since freedom as understood within the United States is itself shaped by the political and social contexts in which it emerged (422). Thus freedom and political systems that are formulated to protect and advance it emerged from conventional collective conception of the values ascribed to this term in a given social and cultural context, not from a universally-shared idea or personal understanding (Harland 101).

Critics of the Bush Doctrine often argue that the strategy, in which the United States forcibly overthrows another sovereign government, occupies the state and attempts to construct a democratic regime from the top down, represents a policy of "imperial democratization" (Harland 101).

Also, Edward Rhodes who is the director of the Centre for Global Security and Democracy at Rutgers University made a strong argument against Bush's claim of "having gained freedom, all people would inherently choose political liberalism and its values system." Rhodes asserted that individuals who are free to choose may not choose what we believe is best for them (144- 145). In Rhodes view, "people of the world are free to choose, but only to choose liberalism, this is no choice whatsoever". Further, Rhodes asserted that "crusading liberals blind themselves to the possibility that a menu that offers global dinners a single choice is a dictation, not a liberation" (141).

Charles Kesler, a senior fellow at the Claremont Institute shared Rhodes view and argued that it does not follow that people who choose to be 'free' will necessarily see it as being in their interests to embrace liberal norms (228).

Another scholar, professor of politics Omar G. Encarnacion, criticized Bush's armed democracy and explained such strategy "entails creating democracy through undemocratic means" (49). He also contended that imposing democracy requires one country to intrude itself in the political affairs of another country, thereby robbing democracy of its indigenous legitimacy" (49).

Glenn Perry is of the view of Encarnacion; he argued that "what almost everyone overlooks but which points to the most remarkable inconsistency of those who make "democracy" a universal demand on others, is the blatantly authoritarian nature of such calls" (Harland 112). According to Perry, Bush's strategy of establishing democracy through arms and toppling regimes "violates the whole spirit of democracy" (Harland 112).

In a similar regard, Edward Rhodes believed that "proclaiming the importance of liberal ideas of popular rule, self-determination and freedom from compulsion by violence, while simultaneously determining the nature and structure of democracy through foreign military occupation, is in most cases harmful to the values of liberal democracy itself" (Harland 112).

Francis Fukuyama considered the military democracy strategy as a form of a social engineering. He wrote:

Even if one accepted the view that the Middle East needed to be "fixed," it was hard to understand what made us think that we were capable of fixing it. So much of what neoconservatives have written over the past decades has concerned the unanticipated consequences of overly ambitious social engineering, and how the effort to get at root causes of social problems is a feckless task. If this has been true of efforts to combat crime or poverty in U.S. cities, why should anyone have believed we could get at the root causes of alienation and terrorism in a part of the world that we didn't understand particularly well, and where our policy instruments were very limited? (27)

Even Fukuyama doubted U.S. ability in spreading democracy in the Middle East due to its inability to fight crime and poverty in U.S. cities.

After two years of Bush's inauguration, the United States launched a war on Iraq without a credible reason. The U.S. and the U.K claimed that Saddam Hussein is a dictator, he oppressed his own people and he has ties to al Qaeda terrorist network. Both claims were proved to be untrue.

The paradox here is that Saudi Arabia is known to be a non democratic country and with connection to al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, a country curtailing liberties of its citizens, no freedom of speech is allowed particularly from the opposition sides yet no regime change was imposed on it. Meanwhile, when Hamas – a militant Islamic movement depicted by the U.S. as a terrorist group - won the local and parliamentary elections fairly, Rice decried it and asserted that "the democratic system cannot function if certain groups have one foot in the realm of politics and one foot in the camp of terror (Rice *CNN.com cnn.com*).

Israel as well is not a fellow democracy as the United States claims. Israel democratic government is at odds with American core values. The U.S. is a liberal democracy where people of any race, religion, or ethnicity are supposed to enjoy equal rights. By contrast, Israel was explicitly founded as a Jewish state and citizenship is based on the principle of blood kinship. Israel did not grant a viable state to the Palestinians and it colonized lands long dwelt by them. These racist Israeli actions are not consistent with America's image of democracy (Mearsheimer and Walt 8).

The U.S. hypocrisy on democracy and freedom was crystal clear towards Palestinian and Lebanese new elected governments that made Hamas and Hezbollah and even common people believe that the Bush administration is seeking to restore pro American regimes rather than democratic systems in the Middle East (Graner 3-10).

### 3.1.3. The Greater Middle East Project

The Bush administration officials prepared a "Greater Middle East Initiative" that was presented in a G-8 summit meeting at Sea Island in Georgia in June, 2004 (Ottaway and Carothers 1-7). The officials proclaimed that this project is aimed to bring the United States, Europe and the Greater Middle East (including the Arab world and also Afghanistan, Israel, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey) sides to cooperate and agree on a set of proposals to transform the region politically, economically and socially.

The "New Middle East" or "The Great Middle East project" is part of the Bush principle of "war on terror" and also designed to promote women's rights, legal aid, anticorruption, civil society, literacy, education reform, trade, and finance sector reform. But the United States refused to include the Arab-Israeli conflict in this democratic project.

The draft proposal<sup>1</sup> contained four essential components (Wittes Brookings *brookings.edu*):

- A "Greater Middle East Forum for the Future" would provide a regular venue for discussion of reform goals and programs, and to promote cooperation between states on behalf of reform. The forum would also include business and civil society leaders to facilitate coalition-formation between these groups on behalf of reform efforts.
- A "Greater Middle East Democracy Assistance Group" would coordinate the efforts of the various American, European, and other foundations that sponsor non-governmental programs to build democracy. The National Endowment for Democracy and the German party-affiliated Siftings, for example, would participate in a concerted effort to maximize the effectiveness of their joint and independent programs in the region.
- A "Greater Middle East Foundation for Democracy" would go one step further, establishing a multilateral foundation modeled on the National Endowment for Democracy and focused on the Middle East.
- A "Greater Middle East Literacy Corps" would address one of the least controversial

and most fundamental barriers to citizen participation in governance.

Arab officials refused this so called proposal of democracy and considered it as an attempt to impose western values and views on the region without bilateral discussion. In other words, Arab governors argued that without a solution to the Arab-Israeli issue democracy initiative will miss the point. Hesham Youssef, Director of the Secretary's Office of the Arab League stated: "It is unacceptable to speak of any initiative or vision which ignores or relegates the Palestinian cause...and to discuss security questions without speaking of Israeli weapons of mass destruction" (Ottaway and Carothers 1-7).

Condoleezza Rice assurances that the Bush administration is not intending to impose democracy on Middle Eastern states were mixed with tough-minded rhetoric. She asserted: "the United States has no cause for false pride and we have every reason for humility" (Rice *CNN.com cnn.com*), because of its history of slavery and racism.

The U.S. conservatives attacked the Bush administration hypocritical policy objectives in the Middle East claiming that the U.S. interests were endangered under illusory democracy and that this region became an anti American base. The wars launched by the U.S. and its partner Israel against Iraq, Afghanistan, Gaza and Lebanon made the strategy of democracy a failure because the U.S. fights the anti-democratic governments and support undemocratic pro American states (Graner 3-10).

Critics also argued that Iraq did not transform into a democracy but became a hot zone for sectarian conflicts. Bush had tried to answer the question of division in Iraq by accusing Saddam for the creation of such instability before the American war of liberation. He asserted that, "Today, some Americans ask whether removing Saddam caused the divisions and instability we're now seeing. In fact, much of the animosity and violence we now see is the legacy of Saddam Hussein. He is a tyrant who exacerbated sectarian divisions to keep himself in power (Democracy in Iraq with Freedom House White House *whitehouse.archives.gov*).

One can explain Bush's foreign policy duality on democracy in the Middle East referring to three factors. Firstly, President Bush was surrounded by neo-conservatives

advisers who seized the opportunity of U.S. unipolar position after the collapse of the USSR and pushed forward the American interests in the world as much as possible. Secondly, the attacks of 9/11 gave the U.S. a powerful reason to follow an aggressive foreign policy.

Thirdly, the policy of preemption published by President Bush in 2002, distort the line between real and imaginary threat against the United States. As a result, it justifies all American actions under the pretext of preemption. Thus this formula: Unipolarity + 9/11 attacks + Afghanistan = Unilateralism + Iraq; explains the Bush foreign policy (Zakaria 223). On the other hand, the Obama policy was not void of duality. It was a dreamlike policy that advocated another illusory democracy. He, in many occasions, asked the Palestinians to follow the model of black Americans who when suffered from white men's segregation agitated peacefully (Remarks by the President at Cairo University White House *whitehouse.com*).

Many visits to Palestine were held by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to encourage the peace talks between the Israelis and the Palestinians but without any progress. Mrs. Clinton did say that the building of new settlements was "unhelpful", but the destruction of many Palestinian apartment blocks in Jerusalem was unhelpful as well (Kessler The Washington Post *washingtonpost.com*).

President Obama is now on record as supporting multibillion dollar arms gift to Israel to defend itself, while Gaza when it is supplied by arms – that do not match fighter jets, modern tanks, pilotless drones, cluster bombs, phosphorous shells and bombs – so that people defend themselves is highly blamed by American politicians and journalists. In 2009, Israel inflicted on the civilians of Gaza the new DIME weapon that burns anything it touches; this was highly justified by the claim of Israel's right of self defense (El Najjar Al- Jazeera *aljazeera.info*).

President Obama's winning of the Noble Peace Prize, the respect to the Muslim and Arab worlds and his visits to Cairo and Turkey did not bring peace and democracy to the Middle East despite the long months of his presidency. His claims to push forward the peace talks between Israelis and Palestinians had changed nothing on the ground.

U.S. strategy of spreading democracy in the Middle East proved to be only a fake and a cover up to advance its interests and tighten its dominance in the region, adding to that protecting the security of Israel. It seems that the United States chooses the time, the place the governments and people that fit the standards of its narcissistic democracy. It also looks like that the U.S. is attempting to specify one kind of democracy process in the Middle East that is not efficient.

### **3.2. U.S. Duality on Human Rights**

In the aftermath of the events of 9/11, the U.S. intervened in two countries in the Middle East to fight terrorists and bring liberty and peace to oppressed people there. U.S. officials always defend human rights and deny violations of international conventions. Bush had addressed the United Nations General Assembly stating that:

Iraq continues to commit extremely grave violations of human rights and that the regime's repression is all-pervasive. Tens of thousands of political opponents and ordinary citizens have been subjected to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, summary execution, and torture by beating and burning, electric shock, starvation, mutilation, and rape. Wives are tortured in front of their husbands, children in the presence of their parents, and all of these horrors concealed from the world by the apparatus of a totalitarian state. (White House [whitehouse.archives.org](http://whitehouse.archives.org))

However, the graphic pictures of torture and abuse at Abu Ghraib and denials of fundamental due process rights at Guantanamo bay proved the emptiness of U.S. claims about human rights. The U.S. used to criticize severely violators of human rights in front of the United Nations each year, now it is rarely decried by civilized nations for its transgression of civil liberties.

#### **3.2.1. Enhanced Techniques of Coercion**

On September 17<sup>th</sup> 2001, President Bush signed a still – classified directive giving the CIA the power secretly to imprison and interrogates detainees (Rothkopf 313). The US began

to establish secret "black site" prisons overseas, beyond the constraints of US law (Moore Washington Post on Middle East Affairs *wrmea.org*). As early as November 2001 before any significant prisoners had been captured, the CIA general counsel wrote that "the Israeli example" could serve as "a possible basis for arguing . . . torture was necessary to prevent imminent, significant, physical harm to persons; where there is no other available means to prevent the harm (Keating *Slate slate.com*)

In 2004, abusive acts were committed by personnel of the 372nd Military Police Company of the United States Army together with additional US governmental agencies.

There are accounts of physical, psychological, and sexual abuse, including torture, rape, sodomy, and homicide. The abuse included sleep deprivation, forced stress positions, forced nudity, forced sex, using dogs to scare and bite prisoners, forced sex with dogs, prisoners forced to have sex with one another and death threats of prisoners held in the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq (also known as Baghdad Correctional Facility) came to public attention ("CIA Use of Torture" *China Daily chinadaily.com*).

Harsh interrogation techniques used by the CIA and the U.S. military were directly adapted from the training techniques used to prepare special forces personnel to resist interrogation by enemies who torture and abuse prisoners. The techniques included forced nudity, painful stress positions, sleep deprivation, and until 2003, water boarding, a form of simulated drowning. According to ABC News, Former CIA officials have come forward to reveal details of interrogation techniques authorized in the CIA (Ross and Esposito *ABCNEWS abcnews.go.org*). These include:

- 1. Attention Grab:** The interrogator forcefully grabs the shirt front of the prisoner and shakes them
- 2. Attention Slap:** An open-handed slap to the face aimed at causing pain and triggering fear

**3. Belly Slap:** A hard open-handed slap to the abdomen. The aim is to cause pain, but not internal injury. Doctors consulted advised against using a punch, which could cause lasting internal damage.

**4. Long Time Standing:** This technique is described as among the most effective. Prisoners are forced to stand, handcuffed and with their feet shackled to an eye bolt in the floor, for more than 40 hours

**5. Cold Cell:** The prisoner is left to stand naked in a cell kept near 50 degrees Fahrenheit (10 degrees Celsius), while being regularly doused with cold water.

**6. Water boarding:** The prisoner is bound to an inclined board, feet raised and head slightly below the feet. Material is wrapped over the prisoners' face and water is poured over them. Unavoidably, the gag reflex kicks in and a terrifying fear of drowning leads to almost instant pleas to bring the treatment to a halt.

These interrogation techniques were used by U.S. military to retrieve information from the detainees:

1. Yelling
2. Loud music, and light control
3. Environmental manipulation
4. Sleep deprivation/adjustment
5. Stress positions
6. 20-hour interrogations
7. Controlled fear (muzzled dogs)

In January 2002, U.S. Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld publicly declared that hundreds of people detained by U.S. at Guantanamo Bay "do not have any rights" under the Geneva Conventions. And in November 2006, the former U.S. army Brigadier General Janis Karpinski, in charge of Abu Ghraib prison until early 2004, told Spain's *El Pais* newspaper she had seen a letter signed by United States Secretary of Defense Donald

Rumsfeld that allowed civilian contractors to use techniques such as sleep deprivation during interrogation (Goodman *DEMOCRACY NOW! Democracynow.org*).

Karpinski was ordered by General Geoffrey Miller- who was sent to Abu Ghraib to replicate Guantanamo's techniques- to treat all detainees "like dogs". Also, Captain Ian Fishback, a West Point graduate and member of the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne, had witnessed routine beatings and abuse of detainees at detention facilities in Iraq and Afghanistan, often for sport, he tried to stop it. It took him a year and a half to get any response from the military command, and he had gone to Senator MacCain to reveal the facts (Bennett and Shambaugh 321).

Karpinski stated that the techniques which consisted of making prisoners stand for long periods, sleep deprivation ... playing music at full volume, having to sit in uncomfortably were against the Geneva Convention and she quoted from the same: "prisoners of war who refuse to answer may not be threatened, insulted or exposed to any unpleasant or disadvantageous treatment of any kind" (Goodman).

All those arrested in the war zone were entitled under the Conventions to a formal hearing to determine whether they were prisoners of war or unlawful enemy combatants. The term unlawful enemy combatant was purposely developed to create an artificial difference between "real POWs" and the "terrorists" who did not deserve the same treatment. No such hearings were held, but then Rumsfeld made clear that U.S. observance of the Conventions was now optional. Prisoners, he said, would be treated "for the most part" in "a manner that is reasonably consistent" with the Conventions.

Even this statement by Rumsfeld is in itself a breach of article 4 of the Geneva Convention (III) relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (Convention III *ICRCicrc.org*), under which people detained as suspected members of a militia or a volunteer corps must be regarded as prisoners of war. Even if there is a doubt about how such people should be classified, article 5 insists they "shall enjoy the protection of the present convention until such time as their status has been determined by a competent tribunal". But the U.S. court of

appeal took the law into its hands by stating that since Guantanamo bay is not a U.S. sovereign territory so the detainees had no right of a court hearing.

In January 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2009 President Obama Issued an Executive Order to cancel such techniques and interrogations. He mentioned in this order; Section 1. Revocation. Executive Order 13440 of July 20, 2007, is revoked. All executive directives, orders, and regulations inconsistent with this order, including but not limited to those issued to or by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) from September 11, 2001, to January 20, 2009, concerning detention or the interrogation of detained individuals, are revoked to the extent of their inconsistency with this order. Heads of departments and agencies shall take all necessary steps to ensure that all directives, orders, and regulations of their respective departments or agencies are consistent with this order. Upon request, the Attorney General shall provide guidance about which directives, orders, and regulations are inconsistent with this order (Barak Obama "Executive Order 13491 –Ensuring Lawful Interrogations" White House *whitehouse.gov*).

But the Obama Administration did not halt the implementation of the High-Value Interrogation Group in January 2010 to interrogate high-value terrorist suspects.

Another feature of U.S. duality on human rights is displayed in the Bush administration facility or direct participation in the transfer of an unknown number of persons without extradition proceedings, a practice known as "irregular rendition," to countries in the Middle East known to practice torture routinely (Mayer *the New Yorker newyorker.com*).

The Washington Post in December 2002 depicted the rendition of captured al-Qaeda suspects from U.S. detention camps to other countries, such as Syria, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Morocco, where they were tortured or otherwise mistreated (Mayer).

In the words of former CIA agent Robert Baer: "If you want a serious interrogation, you send a prisoner to Jordan. If you want them to be tortured, you send them to Syria. If you want someone to disappear -- never to see them again -- you send them to Egypt" ("Fact Sheet: Extraordinary Rendition *ACLU aclu.org*).

Here are cases of detainees being tortured in U.S. jails. Firstly, Tarek Dergoul, a British released from Guantanamo in March 2004, said that during interrogation there he was threatened with being sent to Morocco or Egypt, "where I would be tortured" ("Tarak Dergoul" *History Commons historycommons.org*).

Secondly, Maher Arar a Syrian-born Canadian, in a transit from a family vacation through John F. Kennedy airport in New York; he was detained by U.S. authorities. After holding him for nearly two weeks, U.S. authorities flew him to Jordan, where he was driven across the border and handed over to Syrian authorities, despite his repeated statements to U.S. officials that he would be tortured in Syria and his repeated requests to be sent home to Canada. Mr. Arar, whom the United States asserts has links to al-Qaeda, was released without charge from Syrian custody nearly a year later and has described his cell as a three-foot by six-foot "grave" with no light and plenty of rats; he was tortured repeatedly, often beaten with shredded cables and exposed to electrical shocks, during his confinement in a Syrian prison ("Maher Arar" *CBC NEWS cbc.ca*)

In December 2001, Swedish police detained Ahmed Agiza and Muhammad al-Zery, two Egyptians who had been seeking asylum in Sweden. The police took them to Bromma airport in Stockholm, and then stood aside as masked alleged CIA operatives cut their clothes from their bodies, dressed them in diapers and overalls, handcuffed and chained them and put them on an executive jet with American registration N379P. They were flown to Egypt; where they were imprisoned, beaten, and tortured according to extensive investigation reports by Swedish programme "Kallafakta" ("The Broken Promise" *hrw.org*).

In another case, U.S. operatives with the assistance of Moroccan police arrested Mohammed Haydar Zammar, a top al-Qaeda suspect. Although Zammar was a German citizen and under investigation by Germany, German intelligence only learned about the arrest from the newspapers in June 2002. Instead of being deported to the U.S. or Germany, Zammar was secretly sent to Syria for indefinite detention in the notorious Far'Falastin detention center in Damascus. Time Magazine reported: "U.S. officials in Damascus submit written questions to

the Syrians, who relay Zammar's answers back. . . State Department officials like the arrangement because it insulates the U.S. government from any torture the Syrians may be applying to Zammar" (Davidsson 33)

The US rhetoric of considering the captured fighters in Afghanistan as being not subject to the Geneva Conventions- because they are not "prisoners of war" but "unlawful combatants"- is a catch22 because the same claim could be made by the Iraqis holding US soldiers who illegally invaded their country. We only heard the U.S. asking for the application of the Geneva Conventions when five US prisoners captured by Iraqis were mistreated.

The U.S. and its allies were blamed by UN experts for their extraordinary renditions and subsequent alleged torture of terrorism suspects in the Bush administration's war on terror as a breach of international law. They also claimed that the U.S. is launching a probe into the detention of suspects (Sell *MacClatchy Newspapers macclatchydc.com*).

Martin Scheinin, a U.N. special reporter and expert on international law, issued his annual report to the U.N. Human Rights Council on Tuesday. While it identifies a U.S. role in masterminding a "comprehensive system" of rendition and detention of suspects as well as creating "an international web" of intelligence sharing, his report notes that it was possible only through collaboration with many other countries (Sell).

Scheinin cites "consistent, credible reports" that countries involved in facilitating extraordinary renditions in various ways included Bosnia and Herzegovina, Britain, Canada, Croatia, Georgia, Indonesia, Kenya, Macedonia and Pakistan. Suspects then were transferred to "mostly unacknowledged" detention sites in Afghanistan, Egypt, Ethiopia, Jordan, Pakistan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Syria, Thailand, Uzbekistan "or to one of the CIA covert detention centers, often referred to as 'black sites,' " according to the human rights report (Sell).

In a 222-page study which will be presented to the UN Human Rights Council in March, the experts conclude that "secret detention is irreconcilably in violation of international human rights law including during states of emergency and armed conflict.

Likewise, it is in violation of international humanitarian law during any form of armed conflict. "If resorted to in a widespread or systematic manner, secret detention might reach the threshold of a crime against humanity," add the authors – the UN experts on counter-terrorism and torture, and the two UN expert bodies on arbitrary detention and enforced or involuntary disappearances ("UN Experts" *UN News Centre un.org*).

### **3.2.2. Torture between Truth and Abolition**

Charles Krauthammer, the famous neoconservative columnist, is with the secret detention and the torturing of high level terrorist as Khalid Sheikh Mohammed who is, according to CIA, the planner of the 9/11 bombings. Krauthammer argued that the lives saved by information provided by those with information about terrorist incidents justify the use of torture to obtain that information (Shambaugh and Bennett 306). He added that, this kind of criminals deserve more than "coercive interrogations" because they murdered many innocent civilians and they know plans, identities contacts, materials, cell locations, safe houses, cased targets, etc. ( Bennett and Shambaugh 310-311).

Furthermore, Krauthammer questioned the case of a terrorist who may plant a nuclear bomb in New York City and would make it go off in one hour, a million people would die, then the terrorist was kept and he knew where the bomb is and he is not talking. What would be done? (Krauthammer 19)

The problem with the use of torture, Krauthammer asserts, lies not in its permissibility rather in its accessibility, i.e. when and under which circumstance it is legitimate to use it. He did propose tow cases when to use coercion which he names: (1) the ticking time bomb and (2) the slower fuse high level terrorist. Krauthammer explained the exceptions as using "inhumane treatment necessary relative to the magnitude and imminence of the evil being prevented and the importance of the knowledge being obtained" (Krauthammer 23).

Krauthammer opposed McCain's amendment that banned torture because the world is no longer safe full of astonishingly murderous enemies that one must be prepared to torture in

two very circumscribed circumstances. That people had to collaborate to codify rules of interrogation for the two unpleasant but very real cases (Bennett and Shambaugh 315).

Andrew Sullivan in contrast to Charles Krauthammer's argument considered "torture in any form and under any circumstances is both antithetical to the most basic principles for which the united states stands and a profound impediment to winning a wider war that we cannot afford to lose" (Bennett and Shambaugh 316).

Sullivan defines torture as "the polar opposite of freedom". He asserts that:

Human beings all inhabit bodies to resist or flinch from pain, to protect the psyche from disintegration, and to maintain a sense of self-hood that is the basis for the concept of personal liberty. What torture does is use these involuntary, self protective, self defining sources of human beings against the integrity of the human being himself. (Sullivan 21)

Torture is the act of inflicting pain on a suspect's body as a means of getting a confession or information. However, many tortured suspects either give wrong information or keep silent which makes torture futile.

In addition, Sullivan commented on the CIA technique of "waterboarding" – reported by the ABC News- that the CIA officers themselves could not sustain it and even Khalid Sheikh Mohammed fell down begging to confess. Sullivan confirmed that, despite the fact that, the terrorists' acts are barbaric and monstrous but they remain humans. Furthermore, "to reduce terrorists' to subhuman level", Sullivan contended, is to "exonerate them of their acts of terrorism and mass murder – just as animals are not deemed morally responsible for killing. Insisting on the humanity of terrorists is, in fact, critical to maintaining their profound responsibility for the evil they commit" (Sullivan 25).

Sullivan believed that torture breeds only violence. He referred to detainees of Guantanamo who were deprived from practicing their religion freely and this is, as he stated, in fact an abuse. One of the Muslim detainees was forced to eat pork and drink liquor in order

to disorient him; consequently the other detainees started a hunger strike. The coercive technique failed to achieve the desired result (Bennett and Shambaugh 323).

Sullivan concludes his opposition of torture by referring to FDR's actions during WWII where American soldiers were tortured by the Japanese, but he refused to reciprocate because he knew the goal of the war was not Japan's defeat but Japan's transformation into a democracy. Likewise to Iraqis and Afghans, the goal is demonstrating to them that America is the beacon of democracy and not of totalitarianism. Torture is sullyng the U.S. reputation in the Middle East and had to be replaced by other creative techniques based on intelligence (Bennett and Shambaugh 323-324).

To sum up, the issue of treatment of terrorists who do not wear uniform, owe no allegiance to any country, are not a party of any treatise and most importantly do not fight according to the laws of war is still at stake. The Geneva Convention paid little attention to terrorists and had to be updated to account for the role of terrorists and other non-state actors play in matters of international security.

### **2.2.3. Human Rights' Tragedy in Iraq under U.S. Invasion**

While the U.S. officials were calling for a military intervention in Iraq to save Iraqis from Saddam Hussein's oppression, Under- Secretary- General for humanitarian affairs, Kenzo Oshima, outlined the potential for a humanitarian catastrophe in the events of the war due to the fragile condition of Iraq's vulnerable population. He stated that:

Generally well known – showed that 1 million children under five were chronically malnourished; and 5 million Iraqis lacked access to safe water and sanitation. The population was dependent on the Government for basic needs, and services provided by the Government. (Press Briefing on Humanitarian Preparations for Iraq United Nations *un.org*)

Iraq suffered from severe sanctions for nearly 10 years which devastated the society and made it fragile in front of any future invasion. Also, 50 per cent of pregnant women in Iraq were anemic because of protein and iron deficiency and 30 per cent of infants were underweight (UN News Service *un.org*).

On March 2003, the United States opened the war on Iraq and international humanitarian agencies highlighted the humanitarian catastrophe. The UNICEF spokesperson Geoffrey Keele expressed deep concern:

Disease spreads rapidly during war, when safe water supplies are disrupted, people are displaced from their homes, and sources of food and medicine are comprised. When you factor in the loss of education and the psychological trauma, there is no question that war takes its greatest toll on children. And we should all remember that children make up half of Iraq's population. (UN News Service)

But no nation in the world could blame the United States, instead most nations supported its actions and others kept being silent. The U.S. –British liberators attacked Iraqi infrastructure which disabled the electrical power and water pumps in big towns mainly Baghdad and Basra. Protocol II of the Geneva Convention explicitly states:

It is prohibited to attack, destroy, remove or render useless objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population, such as foodstuffs, agricultural areas for the production of foodstuffs, crops, livestock, drinking water installations and supplies.

The invasion asserted to the world that the objective of the U.S. is neither to protect the Iraqis from Saddam's oppression nor to liberate them.

Moreover, ambulances and medical infrastructure were targeted by the U.S. – British belligerence that are normally under protection of war laws laid down in the Geneva Convention. Article 12 of Protocol II states: "Medical units shall be respected and protected at all times and shall not be the object of attack." Article 15 adds that "Civilian medical personnel shall be respected and protected." also, Article 21 extends the protection to "medical vehicles, including ambulances."

Furthermore, under U.S. occupation Iraqi hospitals were in a real plight. Most hospitals were either destroyed by U.S. air raids or looted. According to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) reported that waves of looters had descended on Al-Rashad psychiatric burning everything that was not stolen. The hospital director reported that some patients had even been raped and the 1050 patients fled the hospital (Dire Situations in Hospitals ICRC *icrc.org*).

Also, it was reported that the American forces prevented the health personnel from moving freely and patients from seeking treatment. On 11 April 2003, Dr Geert Van Moorter contended:

Medical personnel do not even dare to ask permission from American checkpoints to bring the wounded to the hospital, as any Iraqi who approaches U.S. soldiers risks to be shot. They would rather ask us, the foreigners, to negotiate with the U.S. troops for patients to be allowed to pass. (Ismael 160)

In their country Iraq, the Iraqis are not allowed to move freely and had to ask foreigners to mediate between them and their American occupiers to allow them to pass. Article 15 of Protocol II of the Geneva Convention states that, "the occupying power shall afford civilian medical personnel in occupied territories every assistance to enable them to perform, to the best of their ability, their humanitarian functions."

The U.S. – British forces proclaimed victory in Iraq, but the reality is tragic. Iraq sunk in violence and disorder, it became a quagmire. This is the cost of freedom, human rights and democracy brought to Iraq by the Anglo- American liberators.

### **3.3. U.S. Duality on UN Resolutions**

George Bush told the world body that a failure to act on UN resolutions brings the UN into disrepute, and yet the US does not do anything while Israel flouts resolution after

resolution. No wonder there are accusations of duality that was most apparent, however, in President Bush's stress on the importance of enforcing UN resolutions.

### **3.3.1. The United Nations Credibility**

On Thursday morning 2002, President Bush spoke to the United Nation about urging Iraq to comply with the Security Council directives on weapons of mass destruction, or the U.S. will act militarily against Iraq without the United Nation because president Saddam did not "honor the commitments to disarm and allow inspectors inside his nation" (President Bush's Address to the United Nations Sep 12, 2002 *CNN.com cnn.com*).

President Bush questioned the efficiency of the United Nations and the applicability of Security Council resolutions. He stated: "Are Security Council resolutions to be honoured? And enforced, or cast aside without consequence? Will the United Nations serve the purpose of its founding, or will it be irrelevant? ...We want the resolutions of the world's most important multilateral body to be enforced" (President Bush's Address to the United Nations Sep 12, 2002 *CNN.com cnn.com*).

Perhaps the most ever controversial fact in the history of U.S. foreign policy and the proof of its duality on UN Resolutions is its coercion of UNSC Resolution 1511 that made Iraq a U.S. mandate (a territory to be administered by another nation under the old League of Nations). In this regard, the British MP, Michael Meacher observed that "the global war on terrorism has a hallmark of a political myth propagated to pave the way for a wholly different agenda – the U.S. goal of world hegemony, built around securing by force command over the oil supplies" (Meacher *The Guardian guardian.com*).

UN Secretary General Kofi Annan said recently that the world body has long been "dogged" by charges it has two yardsticks to measure violations of Security Council resolutions. Asked about the alleged "double standard" in punishing Iraq for violating resolutions while ignoring Israel's violations, Mr. Annan told reporters: "I don't think I have given a single press conference in the Middle East or an interview with a Middle East journalist where the question of double standards has not come up." This is a "tough issue,"

which the United Nations and the Security Council has to deal with, he added ("Annan: Perceived double standard at UN is a problem"*The Final Call finalcall.com*).

The list of UN Security Council resolutions violated by Iraq cannot be equivalent to that flouted by Israel or the U.S. and its allies combined. Not only this, the U.S. also blocked sanctions or other means of enforcing them and even provides the military and economic aid that helps make these ongoing violations possible (Zunes *The Nation thenation.com*).

Bush's arguments presented to the UN to justify his country's invasion of Iraq proved moot. UK Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, in the secret minutes of a July 2002 meeting, observed that the case for war was "thin" but Bush had made up his mind. Intelligence chief Richard Dearlove, fresh from high-level Washington talks, also told the 10 Downing St. session that war had become inevitable, and U.S. intelligence was being "fixed" around this policy (Hanley *USA Today usatoday.com*).

Former U.S. Secretary of State Collin Powell on his behalf has delivered an 80-minute indictment of Iraq, complete with aluminum tubes, up to "500 tons of chemical weapons agent," and artist's conceptions of Curveball's questionable "mobile labs." Powell's sources went unidentified, tapes of intercepted conversation were cryptic, and claims made about satellite photos were uncorroborated (Hanley).

Unlike Powell's imaginary proves, US ambassador Adlai Stevenson, in October 1962, presented in front of the United Nation dramatic photos clearly showing the construction of nuclear missiles on Cuban soil that threatens the security of the United States. At that time, the U.S. imposed a military blockade and a brinkmanship that were universally unsupported but at least did not spoil the U.S. image in the world as it is nowadays.

Many other countries throughout the world violated the UN Security Council resolutions but did not face the fate of Iraq. For example, in 1975 Morocco's invasion of Western Sahara and Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, the Security Council passed a series of resolutions demanding immediate withdrawal (Zunes *The Nation thenation.com*).

However, then-US ambassador to the UN Daniel Patrick Moynihan bragged that "the Department of State desired that the United Nations prove utterly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook. The task was given to me, and I carried it forward with no inconsiderable success." East Timor finally won its freedom in 1999. Moroccan forces still occupy Western Sahara. Meanwhile, Turkey remains in violation of Security Council Resolution 353 and more than a score of resolutions calling for its withdrawal from northern Cyprus, which Turkey, a NATO ally, invaded in 1974 (Zunes).

If the United States can unilaterally claim the right to invade Iraq because of that country's violations of Security Council resolutions, other council members could logically claim the right to invade states that are also in violation; for example, Russia could claim the right to invade Israel, France could claim the right to invade Turkey and Britain could claim the right to invade Morocco. The US insistence on the right to attack unilaterally could seriously undermine the principle of collective security and the authority of the UN and in so doing would open the door to international anarchy (Zunes).

According to Articles 41 and 42 of the UN Charter, no member state has the right to enforce any resolution militarily unless the Security Council determines that there has been a material breach of the resolution, decides that all nonmilitary means of enforcement have been exhausted and specifically authorizes the use of military force. This is what the council did in November 1990 with Resolution 678 in response to Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, which violated a series of resolutions passed that August demanding Iraq's withdrawal. When Iraq finally complied by withdrawing from Kuwait in March 1991, this resolution became moot (Zunes).

### **3.3.2. Israel's Violation of International Law**

Nowadays, Israel, the largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid is the greatest violator of UN resolutions. Israel has not only refused to implement Security Council resolutions calling for the return of land captured in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, but also violated resolutions

"reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, and the right of the Palestinians to their homes and property" (Danaher and Mark *The Progressive progressive.org*). The Security Council Resolutions 446, 452 and 465 require that Israel evacuate all its illegal settlements on occupied Arab lands. The United States, however, now insists that the fate of the settlements is a matter for Israeli-Palestinian negotiations<sup>2</sup>. The US decision to help fund Israel's construction of Jewish-only "bypass roads" in the occupied West Bank to connect the illegal settlements with Israel puts the United States in violation of Article 7 of Resolution 465, which prohibits member states from facilitating Israel's colonization drive (Zunes *The Nation thenation.com*).

Since the founding of the United Nations 57 years ago, the United States has used its veto on 75 occasions, virtually all of them on Middle East resolutions or to "protect" Israel. The vetoes include those cast against a resolution "deploring" Israel's altering of the status of Jerusalem; calling for self-determination for the Palestinian peoples; demanding Israel's withdrawal from the Golan Heights; condemning air strikes on southern Lebanon; and deploring Israel's actions in the repression of the Palestinian uprising. "In real fact," one Arab diplomat said sarcastically, "Israel has traditionally been the sixth veto-wielding member of the Security Council" ("Annan: Perceived 'double standard' at UN is a problem" *The FinalCall finalcall.com*).

### **3.4. U.S. Duality on Nuclear Issues**

After the events of 9/11, President Bush warned worldwide community from the threat of weapons of mass destruction coming from Iraq, Iran and North Korea and he asserted the benefits of non proliferation. In his 2002 State of the Union address Bush stated:

We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons. (Bennett and Shambaugh 95)

But the U.S. possesses the greatest arsenal of nuclear weapons in the world including chemical and biological ones, so U.S. opposition of other states' acquisition of weapons of mass destruction is weaved with duality and rife with hypocrisy (Khan *the Globalisttheglobalist.com*).

In fact the U.S. is number one nation that sells arms in the Middle East where peace is being preached by U.S. presidents. It also exports advanced weapons such as strategic fighters (F16) and missiles to both conflicting sides Arabs and Israelis. In FY 2001, the United States sold nearly \$13.9 billion worth of weapons, to foreign governments — and licensed nearly \$30 billion in commercial arms sales; experts assert that if ever any war broke in the world it would have only the United States to thank it for sophisticated and dangerous weapons. The U.S. symbolizes the merchant of death (Khan).

Not just the U.S. is number one in possessing or selling advanced weapons, it also is the only nation that had used, more than once, these nuclear weapons against even civilians as in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 (Khan).

Analysts also question the fact that many nations as Israel, India and Pakistan did not sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty and possesses nuclear arsenals yet had close ties to the U.S.; while other countries as Iraq and Iran had just nuclear ambitions and not yet weapons and they are being punished or invaded (Khan).

### **3.4.1. The Illusion of Iraq's WMD**

The main reason for attacking Iraq was its attempts to develop a nuclear program. In fact, UN inspectors' information<sup>3</sup>, weeks before the invasion, was rejected by President Bush who confirmed the founding of weapons stating that, "we found weapons of mass destruction. We found biological laboratories" (Interview of the President by TVP, Poland The White House *whitehouse.archives.gov*).

Iraq under Saddam's regime was accused of trying to buy uranium yellowcake and high-strengthened aluminum tubes from Niger, but this allegation was discredited in March

2002 by diplomat Joseph C. Wilson; then the following month the International Atomic Energy Agency judged that aluminum tubes were for conventional artillery rockets, the Niger story was a fraud, and Iraq's attempt to buy magnets was for telephones and short-range missiles (Perezalonso 5).

The presentation of the then Secretary of State Colin Powell to the UN Security Council in 2003, that the above mentioned magnets were for nuclear weapons and that "classified documents" found at the home of a Baghdad nuclear scientist were old and worthless. Moreover, Powell's satellite photos of industrial buildings, bunkers and trucks that he described as chemical and biological weapons facilities had recently been inspected by the UN inspection team more than 400 times, finding no sign of wrongdoing. In addition, the claim that a facility in Fallujah was a chemical weapons factory turned out to be an inoperative chlorine plant. Also, the four tons of the nerve agent VX that Powell claimed Iraq produced had already been destroyed under UN supervision in the 1990's (Perezalonso 5-6).

Powell charged that Iraq had mobile biological weapons factories. After the invasion, the CIA found two trucks that it claimed were part of the biological weapons program, but the report was rushed and politicized, and no trace of biological agents was found. The Defense Intelligence Agency, the Institute for Science and International Security, and the intelligence bureau of the State Department judged that the trailers were used to inflate weather balloons for Iraqi artillery (Perezalonso 6).

As for the chemical warheads found by the UN inspection team, they were empty. Powell alleged that Iraq field commanders had been recently authorized to use chemical weapons, but seven months later the CIA's Iraq Survey Group acknowledged that there was no evidence to support this accusation (Dorrien *Los Angeles Times latimes.com*).

Powell asserted that the 2001 anthrax attacks in Washington and New York were connected to Saddam (Fisk *Democratic Under Ground.Com democraticunderground.com*).

In fact, Powell was trying to reinforce Bush's claim of October 2002 that "intelligence" from Iraqi defector General Hussein Kamel proved that Iraq had "produced more than thirty

thousand liters of anthrax and other deadly biological agents... [and] a massive stockpile of weapons that have never been accounted for and is capable of killing millions", but Bush's declarations were wrong, because the interviews of August 1995 by UN official, Kamel said something totally the opposite: that Iraq had destroyed all of its weapons of mass destruction in the early 1990s under pressure from UN inspections. (George 193-194).

Condoleezza Rice like Collin Powell confirmed that Saddam possesses weapons of mass destruction and that he refused to admit to UN inspectors. She stated:

This is a regime that has lied and cheated. It is a regime that refused to admit anything to weapons inspectors until defectors came out and pinpointed where certain programs were taking place. I don't think anybody can take the word of Saddam Hussein and his regime, and certainly an American president and allies who are obligated to worry about the safety and security of our countries, cannot take the word of this dictator, who lies, pathologically lies. (Interview with Condoleezza Rice *CNN.com cnn.com*)

However, the U.S. inspections proved that Iraq does not possess weapons of mass destruction, so their inspection was also a lie!

In 2002, the Al-Thawra official newspaper, mouthpiece of President Saddam Hussein's ruling Baath Party, said it was unfair that Washington was preparing to go to war with Iraq which was cooperating with U.N. arms inspectors, but seeking a peaceful solution in North Korea, which had just expelled them ("Iraq Accuses US of Double Standards with North Korea" *GPF globalpolicy.org*).

The paper said Baghdad was cooperating fully with the U.N. arms experts, who had found no evidence of banned weapons. "So why do America and Britain continue to threaten it? Is it because Iraq is an Arab country? Or because Iraq is an oil country? Or because the Zionist lobby inside the U.S. administration wants to settle old scores?" the paper wrote ("Iraq Accuses US of Double Standards with North Korea" *GPF globalpolicy.org*).

Scientific adviser Amir al-Saadi said that inspectors have begun interviewing some scientists but one of Saddam's top advisers said that Washington was trying to lure some of them out of the country to give false information in return for financial gain. "This has happened to a number of those who have left to get financial gains and residency permits; they said things America wanted to hear" ("Iraq Accuses US of Double Standards with North Korea"*GPF globalpolicy.org*).

President Bush always asserted to the American public and the entire world that Iraq will use WMD against the U.S. and its allies but analysts confirmed that no state in the world will take the risk of attacking the U.S. and sign its own warrant of death. After all, Iraq relies on a centralized government with all major functions concentrated in a few in a few key urban areas that makes Saddam extremely vulnerable to nuclear weapons (Khan *the Globalisttheglobalist.com*).

Even after the invasion of Iraq and the confirmation of not finding any weapons in Iraq, Bush continued to warn Americans of the danger of terrorists' acquisition of nuclear weapons that threaten U.S. security and its allies. He stated:

We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors the materials, technology, and expertise to make and deliver weapons of mass destruction. We will develop and deploy effective missile defenses to protect America and our allies from sudden attack. And all nations should know: America will do what is necessary to ensure our nation's security. (White House *whitehouse.archives.gov*)

Weapons of mass destruction were never a threat to the U.S. security but they are indeed a danger for the security of Israel.

### **3.4.2. Iran's Nuclear Issue**

Iran also accused the U.S. of discriminatory move and of violating the "spirit and letter" of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Iranian officials said, "while Iran faced restrictions and was being "deprived from access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, India

signed with the U.S. the Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act" (Reuters, "Iran accuses U.S. of double-standards on atom issue"*b92 b92.net*).

Understandably, India is very keen to get the international rules changed so that it has access to the world market in nuclear goods in order to develop its nuclear power program. The U.S. has agreed to facilitate India, in a transparent attempt to draw it into the U.S. sphere of influence as a counterweight to China (Morrison *david-morrison.org.uk*). President Bush stated:

"... the bill will help keep America safe by paving the way for India to join the global effort to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. India has conducted its civilian nuclear energy program in a safe and responsible way for decades. Now, in return for access to American technology, India has agreed to open its civilian nuclear power program to international inspection. This is an important achievement for the whole world. After 30 years outside the system, India will now operate its civilian nuclear energy program under internationally accepted guidelines - and the world is going to be safer as a result." ("Remarks by President Bush in Signing of H.R.5682"*U.S. Department of State state.gov*)

This is a contradiction. How can the world be safer by supplying India with nuclear technology, particularly when its military facilities will not be subject to IAEA inspection? If India did choose to help another state develop nuclear weapons, then it would obviously do so with material and equipment from its military facilities that will not be subject to IAEA inspection.

Unlike India, Iran is a signatory to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and had the right to develop nuclear material and equipments for peaceful services, but The United States, China, Russia, Britain, France and Germany offered Iran economic and other incentives to coax it into halting uranium enrichment, which can have both civilian and military uses. The freeze idea is aimed at getting preliminary talks started, although formal

negotiations on the incentives package will not start before Iran stops enriching uranium, which Tehran says is solely aimed at providing fuel for power plants (Reuters, "Iran accuses U.S. of double-standards on atom issue"*b92 b92.net*).

The deadline came and went, without Iran suspending enrichment and related activity.<sup>4</sup> It was nearly four months after the deadline passed before the Security Council adopted "measures under Article 41" by passing resolution 1737 [15] on 23 December 2006 (Morrison *david-morrison.org.uk*).

### **3.4.3. Israel's Nuclear Capacity**

By stark contrast, nobody says boo to Israel, which has had nuclear weapons<sup>5</sup> since the late 60s, and has now got a fully functional arsenal pointing at its neighbors including Iran. One may claim that the West is, yet again, applying a double standard, that the proliferation of nuclear weapons is fine providing it to allies (Morrison ).

To be fair to the US, that is its publicly stated position. John Bolton is deputy secretary for arms control in the State Department, responsible for the non-proliferation of nuclear (and other) weapons. At a press conference in London on 9 October 2003, he was asked about Israel's nuclear weapons capability and replied: "The issue for the US is what poses a threat to the US." Proliferation of nuclear weapons to allies is OK" (Morrison).

European states have not been as overt in saying that proliferation to allies is OK. They have stuck to the technicality that Iran must honor its obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, as interpreted by the International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA). But the basic policy is the same: Israel is allowed to have as many nuclear weapons as it likes, but Iran is not allowed to have any (Morrison).

Israel's motivation behind its opposition to a nuclear deal with Tehran is two-fold: to thwart Iran's rehabilitation following the lifting of sanctions, and to stop the spotlight from turning back on its nuclear weapons. This highlights the hypocrisy of the Middle East's only nuclear power - backed by the world's only superpower with the largest nuclear arsenal - complaining about others in the region obtaining such weapons. It also highlights the

absurdity of Israel's constant self-portrayals as vulnerable and existentially threatened by its neighbors (Nashashibi *MEE middleeasteye.net*).

Israel has threatened to attack Iran many times and Iran on its behalf promised (in the words of Mr. Ahmedinejad) to "wipe Israel off the map". Norman Podhoretz the editor of Commentary magazine asserted that "unless Iran could be stopped before acquiring a nuclear capability, the Israelis would be faced with only two choices: either strike first, or pray that the fear of retaliation would deter the Iranian from beating them to the punch" (Bennett and Shambaugh 95).

But Iran confirmed in many occasions that Iranians cannot be thwarted by the fear of retaliation. Former Iranian president Hashemi Rafsanjani noticed: "If a day comes when the world of Islam is duly equipped with arms Israel has in its possession, ... application of an atomic bomb would not leave anything in Israel, but the same thing would just produce damages in the Muslim world" (Bennett and Shambaugh 95).

The Israeli nuclear arsenal has profound implications for the future of peace in the Middle East, and indeed, for the entire planet. It is clear from Israel Shahak that Israel has no interest in peace except that which is dictated on its own terms, and has absolutely no intention of negotiating in good faith to curtail its nuclear program or discuss seriously a nuclear-free Middle East" (Kazerooni *mamkazerooniblog.wordpress.com*).

## **Conclusion**

All in all, U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East after the 9/11 attack was marked by duality. The Bush administration manipulated the language it used to apply his strategy in way similar to "Big Brother" of *Nineteen Eighty Four* novel written by George Orwell, in which the government invented a new language called "Newspeak" to control the thoughts of its populace. People were convinced that "war is peace", "ignorance is strength" and "freedom is Slavery." Adding to that, the potential ally with nuclear weapons is rewarded in an attempt to make it a firm ally and a perceived enemy without nuclear weapons is punished. Unless and

until the world community confronts Israel over its covert nuclear program it is unlikely that there will be any meaningful resolution of the Israeli/Arab conflict and no peace in the Middle East.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>The new draft has not been publicly released, but has been described in the *Washington Post*, *Financial Times* and *Los Angeles Times* and widely circulated to foreign governments and non-governmental organizations for comment. This note is based on a copy of the GMEI text acquired from a non-American source. Surprisingly, given the controversy generated by the leak of the first draft, the new draft has not generated significant media discussion (WittesBrookings brookings.edu).

<sup>2</sup>Vice-President Joe Biden to Israel in March 2010. Since Barack Obama came to power in January 2009, his administration has pushed Israel to put on halt the construction of new settlements in East Jerusalem and on the West Bank. Yet, when Biden arrived to Israel he was faced with the announcement of the construction of 1600 new houses in East Jerusalem. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton singly called this action an "insult", and according to the Israeli Ambassador in Washington DC the relations between the U.S. and Israel are "record low for 35 years" (ADL adl.org).

<sup>3</sup>To their surprise the Inspectors noticed that the American experts were not even willing to listen to them, but instead offered their own "truth" (which, as we know now, was just the opposite) (Zakaria 226).

<sup>4</sup>At the moment the deadline for the negotiations with Iran is over and the U.S. is pushing for more sanctions in the Security Council. There the obstacles to be lifted before the sanctions are the possible Russians and Chinese vetoes. When writing this it looks like Russia is ready for tougher sanctions but China with her dependency on Iranian oil and Gas is still a question mark (La Rosa Global Research globalresearch.ca).

<sup>5</sup>In the light of International Law Israeli Nukes are not exactly illegal because Israel has not signed the treaty; they are only immoral or unethical.

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## Conclusion

The political analyst Ken O'Keefe once edited on U.S. stupid wars and claimed that understanding U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East after 9/11 requires reading of an important document entitled "A Strategy for Israel in the 1980's" by Oded Yinon. In that document which is pretty much applied to a tee and has been for many years, there were serious objectives for Israel and its main objective is to expand and grow in line with "The Greater Israel's Project." And in order for Israel to do that, there would be a need for an excuse to justify its expansion. This can be achieved through sowing the seeds of sectarian hatred and violence in the Middle East. The number one target of this plan is Iraq. That's not a failure, it is indeed a success. Iraq is a failed state largely, an absolute basket case, the spread of sectarian hatred is insane and the beheadings is seen all over the country. Looking at Syria, the goal is once again the same.

Under George W. Bush the foreign policy of the United States with respect to the Middle East after 9/11 was characterized by duality. Bush claimed democracy to the whole Middle East region but in fact he advanced the U.S. interests and protected the security of Israel. The U.S. is the only country in the world that speaks one thing and does another thing.

The history of the U.S. foreign policy proved to be full of contradictions and marked with racism since its inception. According to Magid Shihade from Lahore University of Pakistan, the U.S. and its spokespersons keep blaming their opponents for their inflexibility and this is, as he said, the work of pathology of projection. The U.S. does something then it accuses its opponents for that same thing. As it happened in Iraq, the U.S. killed, raped and tortured its people then it accused the Iraqis for being so violent. Furthermore, this pattern of pathology of projection is a replica of white settlers' behavior against Native Americans, the Cherokee case, who were brutalized then had been blamed for being brutal.

The American scholar and author of *Anti Arab Racism in the U.S.* Steven Salaita argued that manifest destiny and other core principles in the settler colonial structure of the U.S. continue to frame its domestic and foreign policies against those who deemed non-

White/ civilized. White settlers were dominant yet felt besieged. They carried with them the sense of puritan persecution then committed all sorts of aggression. This was reminiscent in U.S. wars against Vietnam and Iraq. This is also applicable to Zionists who survived from the Holocaust then exterminated Palestinians.

The Arab scholar Ibn Khaldoune in the 14<sup>th</sup> century explained that the states' policies of expansion are reflective of the states' origin and self image or self perception and the development of the state is shaped by these issues and interests. Americans' soak in Indians blood centuries ago is not a haphazard, indeed it is soaking in Muslims blood.

During the so called cold war, the U.S. exhibited a strong hostility towards third world national liberation movement especially towards Arabs nationalism. So, U.S. targeting of the Middle East in particular and the Arabs and Muslims in general lies not only on economic interests (greed) but also to the racial thinking. Therefore, it would be fair to say that the war against communism was never about communism itself, but was about U.S. expansion, greed and racism.

Edward Said once claimed that, the U.S. propaganda by propagandists helped to make Islam a substitute to communism because the U.S needed such a pretext to realize its global hegemony. Likewise, Noam Chomsky and James Petras asserted that U.S. doctrines such as "dual containment" or "one percent doctrine" have been declared or theorized but in fact they are a tool and pretext to justify policies of expansion, aggression and intervention. They added to confirm that these policy, declaration and doctrines are needed because the U.S. always needs a new enemy to pursue global hegemony.

Kissinger once said "it is stupid to be an enemy of the U.S. and quite dangerous to be its friend." However, states do not choose to be friends or foes of the United States. In reality, the U.S. frames its friends and enemies according to its interests, ideologies and racial thinking. Mamdani Mahmood argued that the U.S. helped to create al Qaeda and in empowering Taliban who Ronald Regan had described as similar to the "Founding Fathers" of the U.S. later, the same group over night became the most wanted terrorists.

Francis Fukuyama, a staunch neoconservative had suddenly changed his mind after the failure of the war in Iraq argued in *America at crossroads* that many neoconservatives particularly, Richard Perle and Paul Wolfowitz were Jewish Americans who misled Americans with Israeli interests and promoted policies after 9/11 that served Israel not the U.S. Also, James Petras asserted that the Zionist lobby dominated U.S. foreign policy to divert it towards Israeli hegemony over Arab and Islamic countries.

A number of scholars, who analyzed Bush's democratization of the Middle East especially in Iraq from 9/11 up to 2008, found it problematic. Gregory Gause and others observed that U.S. intervention in Iraq helped to embolden jihadists and sectarian terrorism and it failed to achieve basic order or at least keep the country from falling apart.

American democracy means following the dictation of the United States one way of democracy. Once, the U.S. politicians depicted the Algerian elections of 1992 as "one man, one vote, one time" and now this example haunts U.S. democratization policies in Arab countries. This was clear and obvious when Hamas won the 2006 elections in the Palestinian territories. The United States refused to deal with Hamas elected officials, but at the same time continued to deal with unelected regimes or dictatorship regime such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

The nuclear policy of the United States in the Middle East is one of the most hypocritical in the region. United States launched the war on Iraq based on false intelligence reports about the Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), while uttering not even one word about the nukes in Israel, and at the same time pushing and demanding the world community to put sanctions on Iran because of her nuclear program (devoted for peaceful purposes, as Iran claims).

The United States castigate human rights violators each year before the United Nations, but the double standards of the United States on Human Rights shocked the world when the graphic images of torture and abuse of Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib Prison came to

public. Not only the pictures of those prisoners were horrifying and inhumane but also were disturbing and embarrassing to the United States image in the world as well.

The most shocking things of the US duality on Human Rights were the techniques of enhanced interrogations that US applied and the methods that US used against the terrorists suspects on the War on Terror. US violated not only the international law and the Geneva conventions but also its own constitution by allowing and approving such techniques and methods to torture.

United States' duality continued to be above the international law by redefining the Geneva conventions for its own purposes, by the illegal renditions which was highly criticized in the Martin Scheinin Report to the United Nations, and the secret detention places around the world.

President George Bush has claimed he was told by God to invade Iraq and attack Osama bin Laden's stronghold of Afghanistan as part of a divine mission to bring peace to the Middle East, security for Israel, and a state for the Palestinians. This shows it is a down ride time for Bush; the people who were using him are finished with him and are ready to declare him insane now. Bush did not know he was expendable too, just like Saddam.

Even though the United States is one of the permanent members in the Security Council, this does not require her full monopoly on votes. United States vetoed each and every resolution which condemns Israel or is for Palestinians rights. To give the best two examples, the first one is the war on Lebanon in the summer of 2006, the second one is the war on Gaza in 08/09. Even when it comes from UN personnel, such as Goldstone's report, U.S. always support Israel by saying "Israel has the right to defend itself."

There is an absolute continuity in U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. U.S. top officials will never tell the American people or the world that the U.S. is going to fight wars of aggression, invasion or to spend millions, trillions of dollars to achieve the goal of full spectrum dominance which is to absolute control over air, land, sea, space and science space.

The American people will never agree on that, instead a bunch of lies in the form of flowery rhetoric are more adequate.

The interests of the United States in the Middle East were, are and will be centered on oil, business and the security of its beloved ally Israel. That's why the character of duality in the foreign policy of the US will continue and the image of the US will be negative in the Middle East. The negative image of the United States in the Middle East is a neat result of the character of duality in its foreign policy toward the Arab and Muslim issues, especially the U.S. extreme support to Israel against Palestinians, and the unlimited support to Israel. Consequently, it's hard for the United States to win hearts and minds in the Middle East.

Winning the hearts and minds of Arab and Muslim People must start with the change of U.S. Foreign Policy and its duality toward Arab and Muslim issues, including the U.S. attitude in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the occupation of Iraq. The problem with Arabs and Muslims is not with the American people, but with the character of duality in the foreign policy of the American government which is unacceptable.

The US can regain its credibility by listening to Middle East Publics and gaining a better understanding of their side. To win hearts and minds in the Middle East the U.S. must be the real savior of humanitarian values which are based on justice, freedom and human rights for all. That must be practice not just logos, bumper stickers and lip service.

I would like to conclude by pointing out that the military and foreign policies of the United States have indeed breed hatred. The only way for America to get back the positive image or at least to reduce the negative one and get the rest of the world to respect its foreign policy would be to do away with its duality, its self-serving attitude, engage and encourage more dialogues, stand on the same distance of all parties -Muslims and Jews- curb the use of force and believe in a world to be shared with others not to be dominated.

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## Résumé

La politique étrangère américaine est la politique que les États-Unis traitent avec les pays étrangers. Les États-Unis continuent d'exercer une grande influence dans le monde en tant que seule superpuissance, l'objectif principal de la politique étrangère des États-Unis étant de créer un monde sécurisé et démocratique pour le peuple américain et la communauté internationale.

Cette étude se propose d'étudier la nature de la dualité de la politique étrangère américaine au Moyen-Orient après les événements du 11 septembre 2001. Les chercheurs affirment qu'il existe un net décalage entre les valeurs américaines déclarées et leurs actions; que la justice, l'autodétermination et les droits de l'homme sont victimes d'intérêts nationaux; Est-ce qui compte dans la politique étrangère des États-Unis. Cette étude cherche à déterminer si la politique étrangère américaine à l'égard du Moyen-Orient est une politique à deux normes après les événements du 11 septembre.

La thèse est basée sur deux hypothèses: premièrement, les États-Unis prône des normes élevées et travaillent en fait à des mesures à deux normes, Afin de découvrir les raisons de la nature de la duplicité de la politique étrangère américaine, nous avons pris l'Irak et l'Afghanistan comme étude de cas. Le travail utilise ces deux cas pour comparer l'ordre du jour de la démocratie américaine avec ses intérêts. Ce travail utilise la recherche historique pour fournir une analyse précise et complète.

L'une des principales conclusions de cette recherche est que les allégations faites par l'administration Bush de faire la guerre en Afghanistan et en Irak se sont révélées illusoires. Le seul moyen dont disposent les États-Unis pour restaurer leur image positive ou au moins pour réduire leur image négative et faire respecter le reste du monde à sa politique étrangère consiste à éliminer la politique de la duplication, sa position intéressée, d'engager et d'encourager davantage de dialogues, De tous les côtés - musulmans et juifs – pour limiter l'usage de la force et croire en un monde dans lequel les autres partagent et ne dominent pas.

**Mots-clés:** Duplication, Politique étrangère américaine au Moyen-Orient, 9/11

السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة هي السياسة التي تتعامل بها الولايات المتحدة مع الدول الأجنبية. لا تزال الولايات المتحدة ذات نفوذ كبير في العالم باعتبارها القوة العظمى الوحيدة. إن الهدف الرئيسي للسياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة هو خلق عالم آمن وديمقراطي للشعب الأمريكي والمجتمع الدولي.

يتعهد هذا البحث بدراسة طبيعة الازدواجية في السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة اتجاه الشرق الأوسط بعد أحداث 11 سبتمبر 2001. يقول العلماء أن هناك تبايناً واضحاً بين القيم الأمريكية المعلنة وأفعالها في الواقع؛ أن العدالة وتقرير المصير وحقوق الإنسان هم ضحايا للمصالح الوطنية؛ إن نزعة "القوة المُصَحَّحة" هي ما يهم في السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة. يسعى هذا البحث إلى التحقق مما إذا كانت السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة اتجاه الشرق الأوسط هي سياسة الكيل بمكيالين بعد أحداث 11 سبتمبر.

تستند الرسالة إلى فرضيتين ؛ الأولى أن الولايات المتحدة تدعو إلى العمل بمعايير عالية وهي في الحقيقة تعمل بسياسة الكيل بمكيالين، والثانية أن الولايات المتحدة تتظاهر بتصدير مُثُلها العليا لكنها تسعى أساساً إلى أن تكون الحاكم الأعلى من أجل الحفاظ على الامتيازات المكتسبة بعد انهيار الاتحاد السوفياتي. في محاولة للكشف عن الأسباب الكامنة وراء الطبيعة المزدوجة للسياسة الخارجية الأمريكية ، أخذنا العراق وأفغانستان كدراسة حالة. يستخدم البحث هاتين الحالتين لمقارنة الأجندة الديمقراطية الأمريكية مع مصالحها الحقيقية.

يستخدم هذا البحث منهجية البحث التاريخي لتوفير تحليل دقيق شامل لهذا الطرح.

أحد النتائج الرئيسية لهذا البحث هو أن المزاعم التي قدمتها إدارة بوش لشن الحروب على أفغانستان والعراق أثبتت أنها وهمية. إن السياسة العسكرية والسياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة تسببت في إثارة الكراهية. الطريقة الوحيدة لأمريكا لاستعادة الصورة الإيجابية أو على الأقل لتقليل الصورة السلبية وجعل بقية العالم يحترم سياستها الخارجية هي التخلص من سياسة الازدواجية، موقفها التي تخدم مصالحها الذاتية، إشراك وتشجيع المزيد من الحوارات، والوقوف على مسافة واحدة من جميع الأطراف - المسلمين واليهود - كبح استخدام القوة والإيمان بعالم يشترك فيه الآخرون ولا يُهيمن عليه أحد.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** الازدواجية ، السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة في الشرق الأوسط ، 11/9.