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Neoconservatism, from Utopia to Decline

Neoconservatism and the Decline of the American Empire

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To you Dad

Abstract

This dissertation aims to discuss the rise of United States neoconservatism as a utopian ideology emerging following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This study argues the decline of American hegemony as a result of an excess of neoconservative power under the Bush administration. The return of a unipolar world in the post-Cold War era developed overconfidence in the omnipotence of the neoconservative policymakers and intellectuals which overarched the importance of the American military power.

This work will provide a syllogism of the neoconservatism prosperity era, through the Project for the New American Century that resulted to the end of the neoconservatives' utopianism. In this framework, after gaining a worldwide popularity, neoconservatism started carrying the grain of its own decline and that of the American Empire. The new global system has changed from a "World Order" to a "World Disorder", being dominated more by economic than military power. Therefore, in the post-Iraq War era, the world sees a shift of power from unipolarity to multipolarity. In short, this work represents an attempt to identify the impact of neoconservatism on the United States as well as on the world, and to assess the continuity role of the emergent powers, such as: China, Russia, Turkey and the European Union.

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General Introduction

General Introduction

In the months of the demise of the Communist World in the early 1990's, a group of intellectuals and policy makers emerged in the White House, called neo-conservatives. Despite its Latin prefix, neo-conservatism is not new, the term in its most modern context, is derived from the migration of a group of intellectuals throughout the 1960's and 1970's. In fact, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, as the last 'empire', gave the neoconservatives enough trust in the exceptionalism of the American Empire and on its omnipotence to lead the world from a bipolar system to a unipolar one. As a dominant power in the White House, neoconservatives gave the United States a hegemonic position over the '*free world*', arguing that the moment had come to create an American dominant world order, urging decision makers to assert America's role as an unchallenged global leader, even if this includes unilateral actions. Therefore, the September 11th attacks opened the door widely to the neoconservatives, in an arguable manner, to be the leaders of the Bush administration and of the United States foreign policy. Their intention was to ensure American supervision over the oil resources against economic and strategic rivals.

In fact, neoconservatism received so much attention for being one of the clearest signs of realignment in American politics. The movement presented the apostasy of an important and highly articulate group of liberals to the other side so as to maintain the American primacy in the world. In this framework, the neoconservatives viewed the post-September 11th era as the one of a total control over the United States government, reflecting to be as the extreme power elite who were willing and desirous to use military force as well as misinformation to achieve the goals traced in the Project of the New American Century, (PNAC). Eventually, this project helped the neoconservatives enforcing the United States' global peace power, relying upon the preservation of a favorable balance of power in the world. For them, globalization was synonymous to Americanization, sweeping the world to create a New World Order. Unlike the policy of containment that evolved in direct response to Soviet moves around the globe, the post September 11 policy was in fact grounded in an ideology that existed well before, since Reagan's presidency but without popularity.

Neoconservatism could not see the light without a strong institution and an arguable philosophy. Several researchers have investigated the source of such a manner to conduct a government, and they have centered on a little known political philosopher

called Leo Strauss. Most of the neoconservative intellectuals and policy makers were either friends or students of Strauss. The latter with a German Jewish ancestry devoted his life to create a band of loyal policy makers. He believed strongly that the history of Western Civilization had led to the triumph of the inferior; the rule of the wise had to be an antidote to modernity, the age in which the vulgar many had triumphed. In this context, Strauss's role was to convince his alycotes; who were the natural ruling elite and the persecuted few, mainly in a world devoted to the modern idea of equal rights and freedoms.

Through his publications like '*Natural Right and History*' (1953), '*On Tyranny*' (1954), '*The City and Man*' (1962) and others, Strauss became the shaping force behind the neoconservative movement. He taught his students that the pre-moderns were wiser and more insightful than the post-moderns; advocating esotericism and the use of Plato's '*noble lie*'. Accordingly, the wise few had a moral justification to lie so as to avoid persecution; for Strauss, a full disclosure of truth to the many vulgar was harmful. However, Plato's first use of '*noble lie*' had been in response to Socrates' question "*Quis custodiet ipsos custodiet?*" or "*Who will guard the guardians?*" a phrase which became known in the 1st century through the Satires of the Roman Decimus Luvenalis. "*Quis custodiet ipsos custodiet?*" has universality implications to concepts of things such as tyrannical governments or the noble lies used by the rulers. Plato replied by saying that the guardians guarded themselves and the masses had to tell them "*noble lies*" to inform their governors that they were better than those they served.

For whatever usage the philosophy of "*noble lies*" was made, the neoconservatives adopted it. Strauss allowed the elites –the wise few- to use disillusions to be in charge of ordinary people –the vulgar many-. In fact, he was clear about the politicians' role to assert powerful and inspiring myths that everyone should believe in, they might not be true but they were necessary illusions. People should have a shared purpose, a common enemy and live through the dichotomy of religion and the myth of nation. According to philosophers, only the elites had the right to know the truth and should be hidden to the masses.

Through this context, the neoconservatives espoused Strauss's philosophy and gave him the title of *Neoconservatism's Spiritual Father*, exactly as they labeled Irving

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Kristol, *Neoconservatism's Godfather*. Being a student and friend of Strauss, Kristol is considered as one of the most important pillars of this new ideology. The latter made himself synonymous with neoconservatism and offered his latest collection of essays the title of '*Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*' (1994), to tackle the different sides of this movement, considering it utopian and exceptional. Therefore, the neoconservatives espoused, too, these ideas, shaping it with Strauss's philosophy of '*noble lies*'.

The neoconservatism's spiritual father created the myth of American supremacy to spread global democracy in the world, and the godfather traced its first intellectual paths, which was a significant turning point in the world affairs. Both of Strauss and Kristol were seen as neoconservatism's Founding Fathers; in fact, their band succeeded in engraving in the American minds the idea that the United States had a unique destiny, to battle against the forces of evil throughout the world.

Being obsessed by the triumph of Capitalism over Communism, the neoconservatives, as all the Americans, saw their nation exceptionally exceptional. Moreover, in the September 11th era, this group of hawks pointed out that the United States would no longer afford modesty; the various strengths of America's political, economic and military institutions had to be used to their full capacity. With a vision of American Imperialism, the Bush administration embarked, following the September 11th attacks, in a 'War on Terror'; the dichotomy 'good/evil' was present in most of President W. Bush's speeches. The latter's advisors started their plans by destroying Al Qaeda's network in Afghanistan, moving to Iraq to oust President Saddam from power because of his possession of weapons of mass destruction. Iran's proliferation of ballistic missiles, too, was in the road of Bush's axis of evil.

However, the neoconservative project, PNAC, halted in Iraq, as the invasion was seen as a fiasco, a war based on lies and illusions. Soon after the coalition forces invaded Iraq on March 2003, the truth emerged gradually within the international scene; the United Nations Inspectors, including Hans Blix, found no weapons of mass destruction. The Straussian doctrine of *noble lies* justified knowingly misrepresenting the weaponry of Iraq in order to begin a war. Both of Afghanistan and Iraq were the outcomes of the PNAC, therefore, the neoconservatives became embroiled in a

quagmire of dismal military occupation, driving the Bush administration into hard confrontations whether inside or outside the United States.

Reaching the Middle East was the summit of the neoconservatives' grandeur; as well as the graveyard of their projects and dreams that provoked a decline of the American hegemony. In this context, it is worthy to recall Reginald Muata Ashby's work *'Death of American Empire: Neo-conservatism, Theocracy, Economic Imperialism, Environmental Disaster and the Collapse of Civilization'* (2006), which surveys the development and decline of major empires through history. Ashby's emphasize was on the creation of the American Empire along with the social, political and economic policies that led to the prominence of the United States of America as a Superpower. The author also includes the rise of the political control of neoconservative political philosophy of militarism, and explores the factors pointing to the decline of the American Empire economy and imperial power. According to Carroll Quigley's theory of the evolution of civilizations (1979), civilizations raised, flourished, eventually, reached a peak of power and prosperity, and then they weakened and decayed before their final end. Numerous of civilizations and empires had a limited life, appearing and vanishing inspite of their strength and progress.

Quigley's theory pushed me to know whether the American Empire, with all its strength and perfection, will follow the path of the Greeks and the Romans. Neoconservatives always compared the omnipotence of their empire to the Roman one; however, the latter had collapsed to be limited in a small geographical space located in Southern Europe. In this context, I saw it worthy to make the connection between the decline of neoconservatism and that of the American Empire, as each ideology vehicles the grain of its own decline. In order to satisfy the curiosity of such connection, I found myself seduced by the myth of the American Empire. The thirst of knowledge encouraged me to follow the American Studies path, and intensify the interest to identify our present and destiny.

Since the Crusades (XIth century), we become part of the WME, Wide Middle East or as the West usually see us, Wild Middle East. The September 11th attacks intensified the West's bad image of our race and religion. Arabs and Muslims, as a whole, are seen as people whose civilization is based on barbarism and savagism,

wealthy people with rich lands and history but who still live in the Dark Ages. Therefore, they must be under the rule of the elites so as to not harm themselves as well as the wise few. Moreover, following the terrorist attacks of September 11th, the United States considers itself as the world's guardian, making into practice the neoconservatives' agenda. After Afghanistan and Iraq, each country was waiting for its turn, especially the nations known for their oil wells. Obviously, as we belong to the list, we feel ourselves concerned; but with an extra option. Algeria is considered as the door that opens opportunities to the NEPAD, the New Partnership for Africa's Development, a wealthy nation, very well situated and whose population is busy by resolving its internal conflicts.

Before embarking on such an endeavor, sufficient background must be given in order to place the analysis into context. Accordingly, the first chapter of the dissertation is a historiographical framework of the so-called Neo-conservatism, focusing on its historical background, how a group of intellectuals and policy makers emerged in the United States and occupied important positions in the White House, shaping the American foreign policy and proceeding in the War on Terror. Leo Strauss and Irving Kristol, too, had been the centre of interest in this chapter, as their intellectual institution was the origin of the emergence of this ideology. To gain the people's trust and have their unification, Strauss created for the neoconservatives the myth of nation. Religion, too, was an important matter to have a *carte blanche* to go into a battle against the forces of evil throughout the world. Being between religion and politics, neoconservatives considered this combination as intrinsic; each one completed the other to achieve supremacy.

The second chapter scrutinizes the neoconservative prosperity era, as their projects reached the zenith as soon as they conquered the Middle East militarily (Afghanistan and Iraq). The aim of this chapter is to analyze the neoconservatives' foreign policy; the interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq were the opening acts of empire building, as Rodrigue Tremblay tried to anatomize it through '*The New American Empire*' (2004). The White House had been led by a group of people who came from the war and oil industries, people determined to keep the enormous American economical power gained after World War II (1939-1945), as well as the political one following the Cold War.

In fact, the neoconservatives saw themselves responsible of the United States oil wells. The fear of an oil shortage and the need to export Western liberal democracy and free market capitalism to undemocratic nations, urged the neoconservatives making into practice their philosophy of *noble lies*, in addition to their well-planned agenda. Those policy makers were determined to exploit to the hilt the gigantic United States military machine, putting it at their disposition to promote their vision of American interests. The Bush's administration turns around the trilogy of 'Oil', 'War' and 'Israel' to carry on the long and uninterrupted march toward globalization. Facts, data and official declarations also take part in this chapter so as to illustrate the theoretical frame work for the subject of the work.

The intention of the previous chapters is to attempt to enlighten the neoconservative philosophy and policy and its execution shaping the Bush administration using all their strength to maintain the hegemonic position of the American Empire against new global powers. However, the neoconservative projects exhausted the American power; the Iraq occupation made the PNAC vulnerable, and therefore weakened the centre position of the United States hegemony as well as its currency within the international political economy. Indeed, the post-Neoconservatism era witnessed the end of the American exceptionalism.

The last chapter will primarily emphasize on the end of neoconservatism utopianism in the era of new global powers' rising, such as China, Russia and the European Union. After the Iraq invasion, the neoconservatives began collecting the grain of their own decline, losing popularity; The *War on Terror* was seen as a violation of human rights as well as of the Monroe Doctrine, and prevented the hawks to go far in their war. The PNAC's objectives faded and the perceptions of the United States' role at the center of the contemporary international order were evaluated by some observers and scholars. Andrew Bacevich, in his latest book '*The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism*' (2008), witnessed the profound crisis facing the American Empire following the Iraq War. Bacevich blamed the Bush administration for its foreign policy used in the September 11th era, and if the American exceptionalism had been lost, it was mainly because of the neoconservatives' abuse of power. However, while Bacevich asserted that the American Empire declined and its power was limited, Fareed Zakaria focused his energy on the emerging transnational dimension of international

politics. Zakaria's book, *'The Post American World'* (2008), identified the world's gravity for being tipped decisively in favor of the emerging economies.

In this context, Giovanni Arrighi published *'Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty First Century'* (2009), assessing the rise and demise of the neoconservative Project for the New American Century as a preparation of the emergence of China as the leader of the East Asian economic Renaissance. Arrighi interpreted the shift of power from the United States, as a global leader, to the distribution of power as a decline of the American strength. In fact, this chapter underlines the impact of neoconservatism on the United States political economy, as well as on the entire world. The ongoing shift of the epicenter of the global political economy from the United States of America to Europe and East Asia shakes the American role in the globe. The rise of the rest (China, Russia and the European Union) imbalanced the world's power, from a unipolar system to a multipolar one; therefore, the United States is not leading the global change, it subjects to it.

Chapter One :
The Rise of Neoconservatism

I.1. Neoconservatism: Historical Background

Before embarking on a discussion on neoconservatism, sufficient background must be given so as to place the analysis into context. It is necessary to know the importance of this doctrine and to explore what it is not. As a political movement, neoconservatism has succeeded in holding that the United States can effectively act as a positive influence both for the protection of its interests and the promotion of liberal democracy abroad.

As a dominant power in the White House, neoconservatives' role is becoming more and more important, since everyday it affected the lives of many people, outside the United States, as well as inside it, and this because of the soldiers killed since the US military involvement in the Middle East. And to see more this importance, it is vital to know what is the real meaning of neoconservatism, the role of this dominant class in Bush's administration, and what is the role of the Jewish Lobby in the White House; in other words, how did the Jews succeed to be appointed in the White House and have influential views in United States foreign policy, though they had been among the latest immigrant minority settling in America.

Indeed, the emergence of neoconservatism as a movement or as a doctrine was neither a chance nor an error, but it was after a long reflection done by philosophers, political philosophers and political theorists, a staff of intellectuals who lived through the post World War II era, the Korean War, the protest movements of the 1960's, the Vietnam War, the conflicts with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as the years of undeclared wars and social strife.

Neoconservatism is the new version of the old American Conservatism. Its newness had a socialist and liberalist root, it was from the new wave of intellectuals who adopted a strong political philosophy as well as a strong foreign policy thought, just to see America leading the world under the slogan of "Peace, Freedom and Democracy" . Being a branch of the Cold War¹ liberalism, neoconservatives have a deep anti-communist feeling that engraved their desire to spread democratic capitalism in the world even by force. The first generation of neoconservatives were compared to

¹ Cold War: a period of conflict, tension and competition between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies from the mid-1940s until the early 1990s.

the Trotskyists² who dreamed of a socialist revolution in the world, like some great figures of neoconservatism such as Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Richard Perle and Paul Wolfowitz; the latter had been influenced by Max Shachtman, the anti-Soviet version of Trotskyism. Neoconservatism has received so much attention because it was one of the clearest signs of realignment in American politics. It represented the defection of an important and highly articulate group of liberals to the other side.³

It was thought that neoconservatism had been present before the 1960's, but under the title of Wilsonianism referring to the American President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921), the one who believed in the democratic principles of America, considering that America could not live in peace and democracy unless the world lived so. However, such thought saw another vision in the late 1950's and early 1960's, the anti-communist and socialist ideas obsessed the American minds, besides the support of the Civil Rights Movement of Martin Luther King (1929-1968). In fact, inspite of King's war against segregation got the Americans' intention; it was not as dangerous as the cold war occurring between the Eastern and the Western Hemispheres. The two decades following the Second World War (1939-1945) were very critical, thus, the conflict became worse with the murder of the President John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1961- 1963), as the communists were the firsts to be accused of this act.

Eventhough major events happened in the United States foreign policy during the Cold War, Wilson's supremacist ideas did not collapse. Neoconservatives started emerging gradually, until they saw light again with President Ronald Reagan (1981-1989), dominating his foreign policy in his first term⁴. As a Republican president, Reagan gave birth to a new strategy in military affairs SDI (The Strategic Defense Initiative), commonly called "Star Wars". This war had as aim to use nuclear weapons as ultimate solution to delete communism from the world's scene, making an end to the Cold War. Though this strategy had not been used, President Reagan saw himself as the hero who threatened the communist enemy; but in reality, he emphasized on this point to cover the mistakes done in his domestic policy. The weaknesses of the government of

² Trotskyist : referring to the Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky (1879-1940), who formulated in 1905 a theory that became known as the Trotskyist theory of Permanent Revolution.

³ E.J. Dionne, Jr, «*Why Americans Hate Politics*», (Simon & Schuster, INC, Rockefeller Center, 1230 Avenue of the Americas, New York 10020, 2004), p. 56.

⁴ Joan Hoff, «*A Faustian Foreign Policy from Woodrow Wilson to George W. Bush*», (Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 125.

President Reagan were found mainly in his domestic policy, which in spite the fact that he represented a conservative ideal, his government had been imperialistic and fiscally capitalist. He imposed a theory of “trickle-down” economics, a euphemism for a process where proponents of these policies claimed that they would promote new investment and economic growth, thereby indirectly benefiting people in lower tax brackets who did not receive the direct benefits of lower taxes. Opponents characterized this as a claim that the people who would otherwise pay the tax would distribute their benefit to less wealthy individuals, so that a fraction could reach the general population and stimulate the economy. However, this system did not always work because of the selfishness of capitalism in the economic context. “Trickle-down” economics, or “Reaganomics” as they used to call it, increased the United States national debts during the decade of the 1980’s, known as the decade of Wall Street excess on which “Yuppies”⁵ widened the gap between the rich and the poor⁶.

President Reagan had gone and George. H. Bush (1989-1993) succeeded him, whose presidency opened the door to the neoconservatives to appear in the White House. Thanks to the Iraq invasion on Kuwait (August 02nd, 1990) and thanks to Saddam Hussein (1979-2003), things became easier to the neocons to mark their presence as United States foreign policy-makers with the role of establishing peace and democracy in the Middle East.

Indeed, the first Gulf War (1990-1991) helped the neocons to be on the throne of American foreign policy, though they were limited during the presidency of Bill Clinton (1994-1998), but they soon re-emerged after the election of George .W. Bush (2001-2009) who welcomed their ideology, basically in Unites States foreign affairs in cooperation with traditional realists.

⁵ Yuppies : young upwardly mobile professionals, refers to a market segment whose consumers are characterized as self-reliant, financially secure individualists.

⁶ Reginald Muata Ashby, «*Death of American Empire: Neoconservatism, Theocracy, Economic, Imperialism, Environmental Disaster and the Collapse of Civilisation*», (Sema Institute, P.O.BOX 570459, Miami, Florida, 2006), p. 35.

The Rise of Neoconservatism

Eventually, neoconservatism could not be realized without a strong political philosophy applied by great men, sons of the Great Depression⁷. The neoconservative approach had been evolved from the “rollback” school of the Cold War, playing a secondary role in the policy of Containment⁸ during that conflict.

⁷ The Great Depression was a dramatic, worldwide economic downturn beginning in some countries as early as 1928. The beginning of the Great Depression in the United States is associated with the stock market crash on October 29, 1929, known as Black Tuesday, and the end is associated with the onset of the war economy of World War II, beginning around 1939.

⁸ Policy of Containment refers to the foreign policy strategy of the United States in the early years of the Cold War. Its policy was to stop what is called the domino effect of nations moving politically towards Soviet Union-based communism, rather than European-American-based capitalism.

I.2. The Intellectual Institution of Neoconservatism:

By the end of the Cold War, the world had been in a great gap of thoughts, the United States, as a unipolarist power, welcomed the so called “Neo-conservatism”, as a doctrine, and as a political movement. After the end of the Cold War and the emergence of the United States as remaining superpower, neoconservative policy prescriptions urged decision makers to assert America’s role as the unchallenged leader in world affairs, even if this include unilateral action.

However, despite its Latin prefix, neo-conservatism is not new since the term in its most modern context, is derived from the migration of a group of intellectuals from the Left to the Right throughout the 1960’s and 1970’s. As a movement, it may be understood as a radical fundamentalist or purely the same as the traditional conservative movement in the United States; perhaps they have certain elements in common, but in reality neoconservatives have an agenda as expressed by President George. W. Bush and his advisors, an agenda that revolves around deficit spending out to impose the United States model of world economics on the nations of the world.

In fact, at the beginning, neoconservatives were about a small group of legislators, executors and policy-makers whose aims focused on United States foreign policy, trying to avoid mistakes done during the Cold War; but later on their aims became wider and further, since their practice began by opening markets to the United States, but not opening United States markets to other nations, especially less developed nations. They also entailed keeping less developed nations in a dependent and less developed state, through destabilization of governments and economics by facing opposition groups, operations done during the Cold War, such while using the Policy of Containment during the Dwight. D. Eisenhower (1953-1961) and the John. F. Kennedy administrations, covert actions by the CIA; as it was done in the Bay of Pigs Invasion⁹, or to use the ultimate solution, which was to involve directly by ousting government leaders and install puppet governments.

Indeed, the emergence of neoconservatism did not come at once. As a doctrine, its appearance started in the late 1970’s, having an offensive direction toward the

⁹ The Bay of Pigs Invasion (April 12th, 1961), an unsuccessful attempt done by 1200 Cuban exiles and a number of American citizens formed to overthrow the government of the Cuban president Fidel Castro.

Eastern hemisphere with a deep faith on American idealism. It is true that at first this ideology was not named so, but it succeeded at imposing its philosophy within the American thought. Neoconservatives take control of the United States government reflecting to be as the extreme power elite who are willing and desirous to use military force as well as misinformation to achieve their goals. Several researchers have investigated the source of such a manner to conduct a government, and they have centered on a little known political philosopher called “Leo Strauss” (1899-1973), who advanced those ideas to legitimize strategies for running a government. Strauss is known to be the pillar of neoconservatism. As a political philosopher, he is seen as the spiritual father of this new old ideology. A spiritual father who succeeded to make his ideas in practice by forging his philosophy to his disciples, such as Irving Kristol, famous by neoconservatism’s Godfather, and Paul Wolfowitz , the neocons’ architect, who later became the most important figures of neoconservatism policy theorists.

Neoconservatism Spiritual Father:

Famous by Mr. Strauss, Leo Strauss is a political philosopher, with a German Jewish ancestry; he immigrated to the United States in 1937 where he started his long career as a political philosopher. He was a learner of the medieval Jewish and the Arabic philosophy, and an advocator of Friederich Nietzsche’s (1844-1900) aristocratic elitism since he was against pressure of liberalism and for the creation of aristocracy in the midst of American society, drawing an aristocratic elite disdained the broad masses. In this context, Strauss saw that according to nature life was the preserve of a small minority, of the natural elite, of those *who were truly men and not born slaves*¹⁰ He had been also influenced by Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) who developed an antipathy to modernism and technological progress of modern society. For Strauss, Heidegger was “*the only great thinker in our time*”¹¹. Strauss was the author of very difficult and complex texts with a great success of synchronizing the old philosophy with the one of the twentieth century.

Strauss worked several years in the Department of History in Columbia University, and then he moved to the University of Chicago (1949-1968), where he

¹⁰ Leo Strauss, «*Natural Rights and History*», (Published by University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 115.

¹¹ Steven B. Smith, «*Leo Strauss: Politics, Philosophy, Judaism*», (Published by University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 128.

became one of the most influential teachers in the United States. His students became known as the “Straussians”, though they preferred to be called as political philosophers or theorists, as Wolfowitz named himself. These students in their turn have produced another generation of political theorists, many of whom are relocated in Washington D. C. One of the most influential of Strauss’s disciples was Irving Kristol; the latter became famous, within a short stint and adopted the title of neoconservatism’s godfather. Kristol’s influence was seen in the political agenda of Bush’s administration. By being a Trotskyite, an anti-communist and a political theorist, Kristol found that Strauss turned one’s intellectual universe upside down, as he mentioned it in his neoconservative autobiography published in 1994:

Suddenly, one realized that one had been looking at the history of Western political thought through the wrong end of the telescope. Instead of our looking down at them from the high vantage point of our more “advanced” era, he (Strauss) trained us to look at modernity through the eyes of the “ancients” and the “pre-moderns”¹²

Being famous by his controversial interpretations of political philosophers, including Xenophon (431-355 B.C) and Plato (432-348 B.C), Strauss trained his students that the pre-moderns were wiser and more insightful than the post-moderns. He wrote an influential critique of modern political philosophy, the one since Nicolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), who established the true basis for the entire modern tradition thought through his idealistic new reflection about political philosophy. Strauss had always seen the modern philosophy unable to make value judgments about political regimes, disbelieving the Enlightenment dogma. For him, the truth would make men free.

As an intellectual aristocrat, Strauss viewed the truth as the mean that freed men and let to the rise of a conflict between the philosophical truth and the political order. Moreover, he was persuaded that the great philosophers prior to the Age of Reason shared his political opinions as Socrates (469-399 B.C) and Plato did when they explored Pythagore’s (580-490 BC) thoughts about man’s understanding. Plato defined that idea clearly when he gave the example of the beginner, the man who did not leave for one moment the cave, his inferiority in grasping the truth could not make him able to

¹² Irving Kristol, «*Neo conservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*», (Elephant Paperbacks, Ivan R. Dee, Publisher, Chicago, 1999), p. 07.

rule since he had never turned his eyes away from the shadows of man-made things toward the exit of the cave¹³, being ready to believe rulers' "noble lie".

*The governors, who are the superintendents of education, must tell their citizens a "noble lie"*¹⁴.

"Noble lies" was one of the first lessons Strauss taught his students. As a teacher of the Ancient and Medieval philosophy, he expressed clearly his learning to the philosophy that contained esoteric meanings comprehensible only to a learned few, instructing that philosophers had to tell noble lies to people believing on the immutability of moral values, that he conceptualized through the classical idea of natural right. In his famous work "*Natural Right and History*" (1953), Strauss lamented that the classical idea was the one that gave the way in the Western Culture to the unlimited tolerance that led to "Nihilism". Strauss divided the latter into two types "Brutal Nihilism", expressed in the Nazi and the Marxist regimes, two ideologies descendents of the Enlightenment thought; a type that aimed at destroying all what was in relation with tradition, history, ethics, replacing them by force with a supreme authority from which nature and mankind were subjugated and conquered. The second type "Gentle Nihilism", the one expressed in Western liberal democracies, the fabric of contemporary American society

Through "*Natural Right and History*", Strauss combined between ancient, medieval and modern philosophy. He began with a critique of Max Weber's (1864-1920) epistemology, although he considered him as the greatest social scientist of the century¹⁵. Weber was profoundly influenced by Nietzsche's thought, wanting to separate values from science. In fact, Weber found that empirical social science was unable to solve man's moral and political problems.

Strauss, then, moved to Heidegger who did an engagement with his Relativism. For Strauss, Heidegger was the philosopher who could match Plato in his time. As an existentialist, he was against modernism, expressing a profound antipathy to the technological progress of the modern age and to the society developed within it.

¹³ Thomas L. Pangle, «*The Rebirth of Classical Political Rationalism*», (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1989), p. 68.

¹⁴ «*The North British Review*», (Published by W. P. Kennedy, Volume XLIII, Original from Oxford University, Edinburgh: Edmonston And Douglas, September- December 1865), p. 378.

¹⁵ Leo Strauss, «*Natural Rights and History*», *op.cit.*, p. 37.

John Locke (1632-1704) and Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) had also been under the telescope of Strauss by analyzing their thoughts and ideas. The focus was more on Hobbes than on any other philosopher; he had been the most important element in “*Natural Right and History*”, perhaps because Strauss considered him as the first one who drew the consequences for natural right, giving himself the honor of being the founder of political philosophy or political science. Hobbes asserted that traditional political philosophy was a dream rather than science, man was by nature an asocial animal, to avoid the social and the political catastrophes, it was necessary that each man transferred the power from his state of nature to the state of its ruler, and modern natural law had not constructed with reference to nature as the ancient philosophers pretended it¹⁶. Man had to focus on rebuilding nature’s artificiality, if he wanted to avoid nature’s uncertainty. The modern natural law, therefore, remained the subject of man’s willing and therefore followed the mathematical logic of nature.

Owning the most important book in the history of political philosophy, Hobbes wrote the “*Leviathan*” (1651) to influence on all subsequent political thought, continentally and even in England in order to keep societies going with peace and confidence. For Hobbes, Society must be worked into a social contract, and give the monopole of absolute authority, in return a total peace should be maintained; political authority was artificial. In the natural condition, man lacked government which was itself an authority created by man. He claimed that the only authority that naturally existed among human being was that of a mother over her child, because of his weakness and for being indebted to her for his survival. However, among human beings this was invariably, therefore, Hobbes submitted an obvious objection; some of humankind were much stronger than others, though he was very sarcastic about the idea that some were wiser than others. Hobbes did not have much difficulty with the fact that some were fool and others dangerously cunning.

*...there are very many, that thinke themselves wiser, and abler to govern the Publique, better than the rest; and these strive to reform and innovate, one this way, another that way; and there by bring it into Distraction and Civill Warre.*¹⁷

¹⁶ Leo Strauss, «*Natural Rights and History*», *op.cit.*, p.166.

¹⁷ Thomas Hobbes, «*Leviathan*», (Dover Publications, Incorporated, NY11501, 2006, first publication 1651), p. 77.

Strauss moved to Jean Jacques Rousseau's ideas (1712-1778), the gentle political philosopher who was against modernity, but he could not react. He gave up himself to the modern age, seeking the way to go back to the classical thought. Strauss criticized Rousseau's passive reaction in tackling modernity, even though he, too, was against the modern thought of the modern political philosophers, but with the difference that he always tried to synchronize the ancient and the modern philosophy, whereas Rousseau denounced modernity in the name of two classical ideas; the city and the virtue from one side, and nature from the other side. Rousseau compared the ancient politicians to the moderns. The formers dealt with the manners and virtue within the city, giving the example of Geneva comparing it to Rome. Rousseau described the Romans as the most virtuous, intelligent, civilized and powerful people that had ever existed; they were known for being the freest people ever were. Unlike the Genevans who lacked the patriotism of the ancients, since their major interest focused on trade, money and luxury without presence of public spirit¹⁸.

By gathering the most influential philosophers and political philosophers that had ever been since the beginning of humanity, and the history of philosophy, Strauss succeeded at being more influential than them in the United States. His political philosophy had been applied throughout the world within a short stint. As an aristocratic wise man, he knew how to choose the right concept in the right gap, like when he introduced his book by the first lines of the American Declaration of Independence, trying to analyze it philosophically, as he viewed philosophy as the basis of each science, the endless knowledge of human being and his natural right. He defined philosophy as:

...the quest for the "principles" of all things, and this means primarily the quest for the "beginnings" of all things or for "the first things". In this, philosophy is at one with myth... Aristotle calls the first philosophers simply "men who discoursed on nature" and distinguishes them from the men who preceded them and who "discoursed gods"... The whole history of philosophy is nothing but the record of the ever repeated attempts to grasp fully what was implied that crucial discovery which was made by some Greek twenty-six hundred years ago or before.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Op.cit*, p. 152.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 82.

“*Natural Right and History*” was not Strauss’s only famous book, he wrote and published others, and most of them saw success. He wrote essays and published his post-doctorate work; his concentration was almost on the Greek philosophy as well as the one of Moses Maimonides (1135-1204) and Baruch de Spinoza (1632-1677). In 1930, he published a work on Spinoza’s critique of religion; 1932, another on the twelfth century Jewish philosopher Maimonides. In 1936, Strauss published the “*Political Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes*”. All in all, Strauss’s writings emphasized on a critique of modernity whose source did not lie in the scientific transformations but rather in an alteration of how political and moral things were understood.

In 1948, Strauss wrote “*On tyranny*”, through which he referred to natural right as a tyrannical teaching of his beloved ancients who were determined to keep secret as people were not likely to tolerate the fact that they were intended for subordination. They might very well turn their resentment against the superior few, lies were vital to protect them from the persecution of the vulgar many. Noble lie should be told by an elite to maintain social harmony.

Strauss believed strongly that the history of the Western Civilization had led to the triumph of the inferior, the rule of the wise had to be an antidote to modernity, the age in which the vulgar many had triumphed (Plato’s example of the beginner and the philosopher). In this point, Strauss had the role to convince his acolytes who were the natural ruling elite and the persecuted few, especially in a world devoted to the modern ideas of equal rights and freedoms. Thus, the wise few had a moral justification to lie so as to avoid persecution. As a political philosopher, Strauss believed on the supreme political idea that was the rule of the wise, but unachievable in the real world.

Most of Strauss writings turned around the ancient political philosophy compared to the modern one. His other works are as follows: “*Persecution and the Art of Writing*” (1952); “*Thoughts on Machiavelli*” (1958); “*What is political Philosophy*” (1963), written with Joseph Cropsey. “*The City and Man*” (1964), and “*Liberalism: Ancient and Modern*” (1968).

All these writings exteriorized Strauss’s complex philosophical reflections that exercised a deep influence not only in America but abroad, in the East as well as in Europe.

At prima facie, one can find that Strauss's major goal was to teach individuals how to philosophize, but in reality his first concern was to understand the origin of the crisis that occurred to the modern political philosophy. Indeed, for him the need was not only to return to the ancients, but also to re-examine what was at the origin of modernity. Strauss defined modernity as a project whose purpose was to free and equal men and women, according to the universal society, a society that consisted of equal nations fully developed as regards to their power of production. Here, one can notice Strauss's bent to Karl Marx (1818-1883) thoughts, though it may be weird and ironic how could Strauss follow Marx's ideas, but in reality the matter was to locate the source of modernity, making the effort to surround it in the early modern period since the emergence of humanism. Both of Strauss and Marx agreed that any human revolution had been the result of modernity, or at least had its roots from the beginning of modernity.

The idea of Strauss can be seen as clear and complex, and at the same time difficult to apply. What Strauss wanted to teach to his disciples might be summarized in one sentence, "*the wise few should rule the vulgar many using noble lies as the elites (wise few) are the only who can understand esotericism*". The rulers must tell their citizens lies to protect them. As Plato wrote it:

...the lie in words is in certain case useful and not hateful; in dealing with enemies-that would be an instance; or again when those whom we call our friends in a fit of madness or illusion are going to do some harm, then it (lie) is useful and is a sort of medicine or preventive.²⁰

"*Quis custodiet ipsos custodiet?*" Or "*Who will guard the guardians*", is a Latin phrase which comes from the Satires of Decimus Luvenalis, known in English as Juvenal²¹. In its modern usage, the phrase "*Quis custodiet ipsos custodiet?*" has universal implications to concepts of things such as tyrannical governments or the noble lies used by the governors. "*Who will guard the guardians?*" was first said by Socrates²² and answered by Plato who viewed that the guardians will guard themselves, and that the masses had to tell them a 'noble lie' to inform them that their governors were better

²⁰ Plato, «*The Republic*», (Translated by Benjamin Jowett, Published in Plain Label Books, 1946), p. 143.

²¹ Juvenal: Decimus Luvenalis, is a Roman poet, known between the 1st and 2nd centuries. He became famous through his satirical poems (a literary genre whose aim is an ironic critique of the subject).

²² Balot, «*A Companion to Ancient Political Thought*», (Published by John Wiley and Sons, 2009), p. 300.

than those they serve. For Plato, the guardians' responsibility was to protect those lesser than themselves using 'noble lies'.

The emergence of the "Noble Lie" had grown up since Strauss's resuscitation of the ancient philosophy. He gave a unique interpretation of the Platonic dialogues, arguing that Plato wrote esoterically, his true message was hidden within his dialogues. For Strauss, Plato had two major reasons in writing so. The first, was to force the reader to think differently, trying to make efforts by improving his level; in other words, Plato wanted the reader to philosophize while reading. The second aim of Plato was to protect himself from political authorities, ensuring the survival of his ideas and teachings. He saw that writing implicitly would be more careful, avoiding the critics that might face his teachings; though some critics had been given on Plato's esoteric writings for being an initiation to "intellectual racism". Thus, Strauss approved the "theory of Forms"²³ (eidos) rose by Plato. He emphasized more on Plato's insight stating that those in power should establish rules in their own interests; but in terms of superiority, Strauss considered that the superiority of the ruling philosophers was an intellectual superiority and not a moral one, being skeptic about philosophers' trust with political power.

*Those who are fit to rule are those who realize there is no morality and that there is only one natural right- the right of the superior to rule over the inferior...The people are told what they need to know and no more.*²⁴

The superiority of the intellectual, the elite, gives them the green light to hide the truth. Except them, no one can understand the esoteric writings of the ancients because of this exception Carl Schmitt (1888-1985), one of Strauss's teachers and a philosophical opponent of liberalism, argued in his work "*The Concept of the Political*" (1932), that the enemy was an essential construct of any political regime and only the belief of a mortal enemy could unify the populace and invest the regime with meanings. Schmitt deplored liberalism's attempts to dissolve the idea of the enemy by

²³ Theory of Forms: a theory developed by Plato, it asserts that **Forms** (or Ideas), and not the material world of change known to us through sensation, possess the highest and most fundamental kind of reality. Plato spoke of forms in formulating his solution to the problem of universals. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theory_of_forms).

²⁴ William R. Clark, «*Petrodollar Warfare: Oil, Iraq and the Future of the Dollar*», (New Society Publishers, Canada, 2005), p. 99.

emphasizing on peace over war²⁵. Of course Schmitt had been a strong proponent of Plato's noble lie, as Strauss had been. For Plato, the noble lie was a story whose details were fictitious, but at the heat of it was a profound truth. To illustrate more this eidōs, Shadia Drury used Myths of Metal as examples to explain more this point. She spoke about the myth who dealt with those who had golden souls because they were more capable of resisting the temptations of power, these morally trust worthy types were the most fitful ones to rule, just the same when Strauss considered that the superiority of ruling philosophers as an intellectual superiority not a moral one.

In short, Strauss reasoned that the writers had to study their texts with a quasi-Talmudic intensity to distinguish between their "esoteric" and "exoteric" views. The use of exoteric arguments as a method to convey esoteric thoughts, for him, nothing had engraved contemporary enlightened academic political scientists and political philosophers than this approach to the great books of the pre-modern era²⁶. In other words, there are two forms of truth, integral to the understanding of political realities, like the esoteric doctrine of Pythagoras which advocates obscurity for those who did not belong to the circle of the intimate, the vulgar many or the beginners as Plato called them. This form of truth is to be kept in close into an intellectual circle, known only by those privileged or worthy enough to know real truth. And the second form of truth is the exoteric one, the one that the elite would disseminate to the masses and the necessity of lies. In 1952, Strauss wrote "*Persecution and the Art of Writing*", he outlined why secrecy was necessary arguing that the few wise must conceal their views to spare people's feelings to protect the elite from possible reprisals. People could not be happy to learn that there was only natural right, the right of the superior to rule over the inferior, the master over the slave, the husband over the wife, and the wise few over the vulgar many.

As a whole, the necessity of the noble lie is an idea which has been used by the ancient philosophers, especially Plato who tried to pass a message in his dialogues, proclaiming the readers to philosophize, to alter their form of thinking in order not to misunderstand the goal of his writings. Strauss, then encouraged philosophers, including

²⁵ Carl Schmitt, George Schwab, Leo Strauss, J. Harvey Lomax, Tracy B. Strong, «*The Concept of the Political*», (Translated by George Schwab, Tracy B. Strong, University of Chicago Press, 1996).

²⁶ Irving Kristol, «*Neo conservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*», *op.cit.*, p. 08.

his students, to consider the esoteric meanings of Plato's dialogues, and also to begin their own philosophic quest for true knowledge of the good that modern liberal democracy lacked.

Strauss's Influence on Neoconservatism:

According to some observers, Strauss had been of major influence on Kristols, *père et fils*, and most of Jewish neoconservative intellectuals. Strauss was a political theorist who deemed the truth to be accessible to an elite properly initiated into philosophy; as he believed that only such elite could live in a civilized way with philosophy's truths since they were subversive of myths –like the existence of God–that were needed to bind societies, ensuring that masses behave reasonably well²⁷. It is, therefore, important to stress on Strauss's thoughts influence on neocnoservatism as his ideas have been considered as the pillars of this ideology. As a spiritual father of a new fashioned doctrine, Strauss relied on the importance of religion in the political philosophy of a state, as Kristol developed it when he found that the combination of religion and naturalism was the elixir that Strauss advocated as a way to turn natural relaxed, hedonistic men into devote nationalists willing to fight for their God and country.

Religion for Strauss should be one of the most important bases of any society. Though he was an atheistic Jew, he regarded that religion was very crucial to fill the gap of faith in order to impose to people order and organization, considering religion as a political tool to rule the inferior many. Strauss was against Karl Marx's opinion when he considered religion as the opium of people, but at the same time Strauss believed on people's need to that opium to be ruled by the superior few. In sum, Strauss focused on the need of pious elite to govern any society, he thought of religion as a political tool, since it became the guide for public policy which encouraged the emergence of elite able to rule the rest of humanity. And in spite of his deep abiding interest in the Jewish religious tradition, Strauss supported the Christian fundamentalists who were allied with the neoconservatives as a wise few. Religion was necessary to establish a political society with moral order and stability despite the fact that it had always been source of

²⁷ David Biale, Michael Galchinsky, Susannah Heschel, «*Insider/Outsider: American Jews and Multiculturalism*», (University of California Press, 1998), p. 48.

conflicts and perpetual wars, but Strauss knew how to take the right side, believing that democracy relied on the power of religion.

One of the first reasons for which the neoconservatives adopted Strauss's philosophy was the importance he gave to religion in the building of any state, not because of his creed, but because he saw religion as the only myth able to orient people and put them under control. By being a great believer in the efficacy and the usefulness of lies in politics, Strauss repeatedly defended the political realism of Machiavelli, even though he considered him as a "devil" and a teacher of "evil", and he referred to what he labeled as a profound theological truth, which meant that the devil was a fallen angel. Strauss wrote that Machiavelli's thought had a perverted nobility of a very high order.

The idea that Strauss is considered as the "Spiritual Father" of neoconservatism has been the subject of a lot of debates since the collapse of communism and the American contribution in the Gulf War. However, he had taken hold in American politics since the 1970's. This influence is supposed to be so vast that Straussian ideas have been seen as the guiding foundation of foreign policy under President George. W. Bush. Presumably, the planning of the second Gulf War could not have taken place without a strong Straussian influence in the White House. As long as Strauss is considered as the spiritual father of neoconservatism, the focus on the superior or the wise few with their ability to govern in contrast to many vulgar exists, an idea that belonged to the ancients but synchronized to the modern and post-modern era, that is why the neocons, or as some dubbed them the Leo-cons, have adopted a such idea considering themselves as the elite who represents a progressive, even revolutionary force. Some neocons refer to the "Founding" of the United States, since the concept suggests that America sprang from a fresh start, turning its back on the past, on the old ways of Europe, adopting ahistorical²⁸ universal principles. As leaders of neoconservatism, the Straussians have tried to forward the patriotism of the Americans from their historical formed society to the ideological America more to the neoconservatives' liking trying to redefine American conservatism; they have convinced many Americans of limited education to think of conservatism as celebrating a radical grasp of America. William Kristol argued in this context that for America to be

²⁸ Grant Havers, «*Who Is Leo Strauss? Leo Strauss, Willmoore Kendall, and the Meaning of Conservatism*», (Trinity Western University, 2005).

able to carry out its universalistic ideological mission in the world, the American government had to have great military and other governmental might.

Strauss's influence on neoconservatism started to attract public attention when the media and other institutions began tracing the influences behind the campaign of war against Iraq (Gulf War I). Much of the interest focused on the fact that Strauss and the Straussians had advocated political deceit. Indeed, Straussianist features had been put to be used to get the United States into war in the Middle East. The Straussians are known for having cultivated a cliquish attitude of moral and intellectual superiority, possessing genuine insight. In other words, neoconservatives saw right through their elitism, they consider their own philosophical truths to be wholly beyond to grasp ordinary people, able to control the many vulgar under the philosophy of religion using noble lies to convince them; taking into consideration that religion was the guider of people's movement, arguing that secularism could never control people under one state. Michael Loden, as a member in the Council of the Jewish Institute of National Security Affairs, shared the idea of the importance of religion in the military projects and plan, the idea that people would not be able to sacrifice their lives in wars and guerrillas if they did not have a strong faith in God, in heaven and its eternal life.

Strauss had been a good learner of the ancients; he applied their political philosophy in the modern way. Through Plato's "noble lie" which was justifiable and arguable on the ground that was utilitarian in nature, the elites were allowed, according to Strauss's philosophy, to be in charge of the ordinary people –many vulgar- , giving the philosophers the mission to hide their insights since they might pose a threat to the established order. To be able to insert themselves into the counsels of the power, the philosophers had to use deceit, and once in an influential position, they could advance their own objectives using the simplest method, to whisper in the ear of the rulers expressing their interests in universality. As a post-modern philosopher, Strauss's thoughts created a deep prejudice against taking tradition seriously.

"Noble lie", "esoteric truth", "exoteric truth", terms and concepts used by Strauss's students to set up the first steps of the American commercial model of liberal democracy around the globe, being convinced that such an event was good for America as well as for the world. This strong nationalistic spirit consisted in the belief that their nation and its values were the best, because of their values and creeds, and if the

Americans started losing their faith in God, this might consequently empowered themselves with the divine right to transform the world into a utopia. The idea of “chosen people” is implanted in the American’s mind, it does not matter if God exists or not, the main idea is that the Americans are superior in comparison to other nations’ people, as America is the Promised Land “New Jerusalem”. But this idea is not shared by all the Americans and Willmore Kendall is one of them, as he commented in a book written with George W. Carey, that the American order was in a derailment:

God does not exist, but the American people are still the chosen people who must, because God does not exist, build the Promised Land on earth...America will build a New Jerusalem which will be a commonwealth of free and equal men.

If all of this requires remaking human nature, making the unequal to be equal...well no job is too big for the self-chosen people if it knows its destiny and is determined to achieve it.²⁹

The superiority of the Americans and the elitism of the rulers are no other than one Strauss’s synchronization of the ancient philosophy with the modern and the post-modern ones. But this does not mean that Strauss had not been criticized for devaluing history and valorizing democracy by showing more than a simple respect to his newly adopted nation, which granted him citizenship and provided freedom to those who cared for human excellence, at the same time he tried to eschewed hopes of democratizing the planet.

Strauss rejected individual rights of state power, arguing that classical and Christian natural law did not impose strict absolute limit on state power, but that the task of such power is better left to the prudential judgment of the wise statesman. Embracing the philosophy of the German Nietzsche, Strauss had been his great admirer and followed his dimensions in the need of the new ruling, or what Nietzsche called “Overman”, that is why Strauss felt that the full disclosure of truth to the many vulgar was harmful. Both of Nietzsche and Strauss’s works restored the Platonic notion of the noble delusion. Sometimes Strauss was called the “Esoteric Nietzschean”. A matter that helped the neocons in term of United States foreign policy propaganda, which made the connection between the Straussian philosophy and neoconservatism clear in terms of politics and power.

²⁹ Willmore Kendall and George W. Carey, «*The Basic Symbols Of The American Political Tradition*», (The Catholic University of American Press, Washington D.C, 1995), p. 57.

Some American ideologues fully embraced Strauss's far right supremacist ideas to secure their nation against its external enemies as well as its internal decadence and make from the United States a "Global Empire". Indeed, neoconservatives applied the Straussian philosophy as it was theirs or made for them, especially when it dealt with "who should rule who?" As an elite minority or as the philosophers called them "the superior few", the neocons had the right to do whatever fitted their interests, were they political, economical or religious. As Rodrigue Tremblay clarified it when he said:

It does not matter if the US, in so doing, must put aside its fundamental values, as a republic and as a democracy, and become a militarist power, thus betraying the anti-imperial efforts of its Founding Fathers.³⁰

Tremblay considered that these ideological underpinnings were too dangerous. United States foreign policy aimed at controlling military Arab and Muslim countries according to its own interest and to those of Israel. The same idea is shared by Drury when she found that American neoconservatives were like the revolutionaries who always wanted to rearrange the entire Middle East in the interests of Israel in their foreign affairs, and at the same time establish an aristocratic elite to rule the nation, so as they could lie to their people for the sake of the nation. A shared thought reflected by Strauss when he argued that political philosophers could lie to their readers for the sake of the "social good"³¹

Leo Strauss, as a political philosopher, was the principle supervisor of many of the supremacist ideologues behind the neoconservative movement in the United States. His philosophy had been welcomed by neoconservative leaders and ideologues, thanks to him, the pre-modern philosophy had been present in the post-modern era, adding the religious side through which the neocons have succeeded to convince people to fight the "Evil".

Considered altogether, Strauss is seen as the most avid promoters of a new American imperialism, and by teaching in the University of Chicago, he succeeded to engrave his ideas into his students' minds, and the latter became as the most important figures of neoconservatism. Irving Kristol is one of the best and known students of

³⁰ Rodrigue Tremblay, « *The New American Empire* », (Infinity publishing.com, ACHON Books, USA, 2004), p. 66.

³¹ Danny Postel, « *Noble Lies And Perpetual War: Leo Strauss, The Neo-Cons, And Iraq* », (Shadia Drury, « *Leo Strauss and the American Right* », 1997), <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article5010.htm>

Strauss; he was so close to his teacher that he adopted his philosophy. Therefore, Kristol is known to be the godfather to the so-called *Neconservatism*.

Neoonervatism Godfather

It is obvious that Leo Strauss's philosophy alone cannot set up the pillars of neoconservatism. In fact, Strauss was a very good teacher; he succeeded in making his message pass through his students, who became later ideologues, leaders and important figures in the world of politics. Thus, one of these students was Irving Kristol (1920-), an Orthodox Jew, from New York, who had been one of the prominent students of Strauss, and later adopted a new ideology and became its "Godfather".

Who is Irving Kristol, and how has he become the godfather of neoconservatism? The answer is very simple, as it is obvious that an intellectual of over fifty years can succeed in making the first steps of such a movement and becomes its godfather. Being a Trotskyite in his student's days, moving in stages to the right, becoming a liberal anti-communist first, and then a conservative anti-liberal, Kristol has been a formidable presence in American intellectual life for more than half a century, after an early stint as an editor at "Commentary" magazine. He also helped to begin the three influential magazines: "Encounter" 1953, "The Public" 1965, and "The National Interest" 1985.

In the early 1970's, Kristol embraced the label "neo-conservative" and made himself so synonymous with neoconservatism that he had offered his latest collection of essays the title of "*Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*", published in 1995. This book is the most comprehensive selection of Kristol's influential writings in politics and economics as well as in society, religion, culture, literature, education and values. As James Neuchterlein wrote in an article in "Wall Street Journal":

*Mr Kristol posses a genius for making his sophisticated and nuanced arguments appear the commonplaces of everyman... he had thought and written with admirable clarity, honesty and courage.*³²

³² Irving Kristol, *op.cit.*, prologue.

One can guess from the title of Kristol that the book is dealing only with politics, philosophy and foreign affairs, whereas, when going to the table of contents, we can notice that it is a blend of sociology, religion, history, politics, philosophy as well as United States domestic affairs. It is evident that such eclectic book can have a great influence on people, attract intellectuals and help in the widespread of neoconservatism inside and outside the United States.

In the neoconservatives' bible, Kristol's autobiography, the author dreamt of different topics; in United States foreign and domestic thoughts, as well as in the utopianism of the United States as a unilateral pole, after the fall of Communism as a rival doctrine of Capitalism. And both of them are concrete dreams, dreams that had been developed to ideas then to political systems. Kristol too, had been a dreamer, for him what could make the difference between men and animals was the "dream". He reflected that men were dreaming animals, and the capacity to dream made a man less human.³³

But what Kristol dreamt of was the perfection or what he called "Utopianism". An "American" concept, that deals with the "American Dream" and its contribution in the building of the American identity. As a godfather of neoconservatism, Kristol considered that the world's evolution began from a dream of utopianism, of a perfect world, a perfect city, or even a perfect philosophy. He gave the example of Plato's Republic, arguing that it was the first utopian discourse, a work of a philosophic imagination, considering that utopian thinking was a philosophical disengagement from myth declaring its independent status. It is obvious that Kristol derived some of his thoughts and ideas from his teacher Strauss, developing his visions of elitism to the one of utopianism, though Kristol found that the fact of having an ideal society would be absurd, but that did not mean impossible as he said it:

...though the end result will certainly strike many of us being quite an absurd picture of an ideal society, there is nothing illogical in it, nothing miraculous, nothing superhuman. It is a possible society, violating none of the laws of nature and inhabited solely by men who are governed by recognizably human motives and passions³⁴.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 184.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 187.

Kristol found perfection and utopianism mainly in the Western Civilization, if not to say in the United States. For him, the utopian mode of thought saw a strong emergence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, thanks to the Judeo-Christian tradition which without it there would be no such thing as the history of Western Civilization; criticizing the Oriental Islamic thought that saw perfection only in a denial of time's notion, in a superiority of time by the contemplative and withdrawn individual. Thus, Mr. Kristol reflected on the dynamism of the Western Civilization, to its link to the profound belief in the "end of time", as assumptive historical event.

In this context, what Kristol wants to clarify is that the United States as a powerful nation, after the collapse of the Eastern Hemisphere, becomes a utopianist nation, since it is not possible to reach perfection if it is based on a philosophical dreamt idea. At the same time, Kristol borrowed a "prophetic" Judeo-Christian element to define the American status in the world, for its perfect modernity, as well as for the elitism of its rulers. Obviously, kristol's words on United States utopianism meant the perfectionism of neo-conservatism, as an idealist dreamt idea developed into a utopian doctrine.

Kristol's American perfection is not only in its political regime, or in the foundation of its eclectic ideology, it is also in its countercultures that emerged in 1960's, which has been considered as one of the most significant events in the last half-century of the Western Civilization. The godfather views American countercultures as the one that have remolded the American identity, in terms of educational systems, arts, forms of entertainment, sexual conventions as well as the moral codes. Only the fact that the counterculture had not been caused, it had been born, was more than enough for the United States to reach its perfection, hence, its existence was from the time of the Founding Fathers, and their first steps to build up the American Empire.

As a whole, Kristol gave in his book a collection of literary pieces that enlightened the evolution of "neo-conservatism". From a brief dream of utopianism, through a youthful socialism, to a long period of skeptical and self-critical liberalism, arriving to the last point to what is known as "neo-conservatism". Kristol had always been sure that he possessed a neoconservative imagination long before the term was invented or set up; he seemed to be familiar with the movement long before there had been any kind of neo-conservatism ideology. In his autobiography, Kristol described

neo-conservatism as a deep dream which had been concretized through years and events, something that had been hidden in his deepest feelings,

As an intellectual economist, Mr. Kristol gave too much importance to the intellectuals and their role in the guidance of any government –utopian government-. He defined an intellectual as: *A man who speaks with general authority about a subject on which he has no particular competence.*³⁵

Kristol's definition of the "intellectual" is ironic but true. For an intellectual the authority was enough even if specify competence at work. No modern nation ignored the relationship of the modern intellectual to foreign affairs; unwillingly, Kristol found himself obliged to make a connection between American liberal ideology and the American imperial republic, deducing that the United States had unthinkingly accepted world's responsibilities and got involved in international conflicts which were beyond its resources. Kristol wrote articles to refer to the United States involvement in Vietnam's War. In spite the fact that American intellectuals were against that war, it helped Kristol in setting up one of the neoconservative principles.

*...for any imperial policy to work effectively, it needs intellectual and moral guidance.*³⁶

The certitude with which Kristol was speaking, about the need of intellectuals, was due to the foreign affairs policy-makers and their need to intellectuals' values and guidance. Such a compromise was needed in the United States, especially after the Vietnamese War, no matter if President Lyndon. B. Johnson's (1963- 1969) policy in that war was successful or not, but the main point that should be taken into consideration was that the United States was not going to cease being an imperial power, for such reasons, United States policy-makers had to assume their overweening ambition of American imperialism by taking the world responsibility, though they saw it a terrible burden, whereas the intellectuals were stupefied by dreams of power without responsibility, even though they complained of moral responsibility without power.

However, the alteration of the American republic into an imperial power has infuriated the relations between the intellectual and the foreign policy-makers. This

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 75.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 90.

made the formers doubling of American utopianism. Indeed, that utopian ideal was viewed as a crucial theme of American foreign policy, being the root of what they called “isolationism”. As far as the United States had not been a great and unique power in the world, it was not entirely utopian, but as an American republic, isolationism was both practical and idealistic with an expansionist sprinkling. American isolationistic idea disappeared gradually when the American democracy entered World War I without an imperial frame of mind. On this point, Kristol commented by viewing that the whole aim of Wilsonian “crusade” had been to disburden the world of imperial politics.

In fact this disillusionment upon that crusade had prepared the way for the United States to enter history as an imperial power. Since then, it has started its role as the world’s power and widened its responsibilities as a democratic empire. Therefore, Kristol exoterically set up three aims that the United States wishes to establish and sustain a world order:

- a- To ensure United States national security as against the other great powers.
- b- To encourage other nations, especially the smaller ones, to mold their own social, political and economic institutions along lines without being repugnant to American values.
- c- To minimize the possibility of naked armed conflict.

The last point was very important for Kristol in terms that for great powers, conflicts were crucial, without them, tension and reconciliation of such imperial purposes there would have been nothing as “foreign policy” or world of politics. And of course the presence of the intellectuals was necessary to raise imperial dreams and keep United States in a perpetual utopianism and perfectionism. But in the late 1980’s, Kristol announced that the time had come for neo-conservatives emergence as they were in their flourishing stint. The age and the era of ideologies had passed; the main role for American foreign policy was to identify America’s interests with a minimal interference to everything else, and America’s interests could no longer be through accepting world’s responsibility. Kristol argued that as a power, the United States was not obliged to be responsible for the fact that Kashmir, or enforce the peace between

India and Pakistan, or ever pour money into the Philippines. He was for superiority, but not for missionary campaigns and global police work³⁷

Kristol fears from the Cold War and even post-Cold War made him think that they –Americans – should give up their determined moralism; and as intellectuals a need to adjust their thought to set up an ideology to the post Cold War situation. America should do whatever was necessary to maintain its' superpower dominance without trying to build a democratic world. As he added:

“Now that America’s crusade against communism was over, it was time to demythologize American moralism. The United States needed to treat Chinese repression more gingerly than it treated Soviet repression and Americans needed to accept that their country has no “special moral-political mission in the world”, as we habitually think we do”³⁸

The godfather of neo-conservatism wanted to postpone the neoconservative project or at least freeze it until the Cold War tension decrease. Kristol was afraid from the United States' interference in other countries problems, arguing that too much interference would unstable America's utopianism.

In such contexts, Kristol sometimes used to expose directly his deepest thoughts to the public, the use of exoteric writings can be found in his articles, for him there were some harmless truths that could be published to gain the public trust. But this did not mean that he did not favor the esoteric writings. As a student of Strauss, it was obvious that he approved esoteric teachings. Kristol agreed with Strauss in terms of hiding the truth to preserve society, only the wise people had the right to know the truth. Wise people had publicly supported the traditions and myths that preserved the political order, encouraging ordinary people to obey the laws made by the rulers without asking why, just to live in prosperity. According to Kristol, people would not do so unless they believed on the moral rules set up by men inspired by the Divine, that's why he considered that atheism could never establish order in a country. In one of his writings, Kristol exposed clearly his opposition to Sigmund Freud's atheism, when he declared that God did not exist. Such idea would imbalance society's order; the inexistence of God and religion would make troubles within democratic societies; though religion lied

³⁷ Irving Kristol, « *Defending Our National Interest* », (National Interest, fall 1990), p. 23- 24.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 24.

to men, Krsitol preferred letting men believing in the lies of religion keeping the truth to handful sages. Men were divided into the wise and the foolish, the former practiced an esoteric doctrine so that the latter would grasp and believe only what the rulers said. Following Strauss, Kristol too used Plato's "noble lie", especially in religious matters which preserved the faith of the common people in Genesis and thus kept the social order, though Strauss saw that not all truths were always harmless.

The fact that Kristol started this insight dealing with scientists and philosophers' denial of God was because he was convinced that if even they were not mistaken, the existence of the Divine should be for a good and harmonious government. Kristol expressed his position to Darwinism³⁹, considering that the Darwinism evolution could never be accepted easily by postmodern biologists and scientists, just because he found that life could not be understood in terms of chance mutation and the competition for survival, there should be a designer. Charles Darwin (1809-1882) was not a native atheist; he had been a good Christian before the loss of his daughter since then he started to be skeptical about God's existence and power, he deduced that what happened to God's creatures was not because of His direct intervention, but as a result of nature's general law. God had nothing to do with the evolution of men and animals.

Neo-conservatism godfather respected Darwin's theory, but in terms of a scientific theory without dealing with religion. He considered it as a hypothesis; since applying this theory would cripple one of the neo-conservatives' principle which was to rule the many vulgar esoterically under the word of the Lord inspired to the rulers.

Kristol on Religion:

Kristol does not focus on religion only in matters of establishing democracy. Being an Orthodox Jew, he expressed clearly his religion's perfection with regard to Christianity. Indeed, he put in his autobiography a direct comparison between Jewish orthodoxy and Christianity, especially in terms of economy. For him, Christians had always disdained business, saw it as sinful, whereas the Orthodox Jew had never found that business could be a problem or morally dubious inside the Jewish religion, as far as

³⁹ **Darwinism** : a term used for various different movements related to Charles Darwin (1809- 1882), a geologist, who proposed and provided scientific evidence that all species of life have evolved over time from common ancestors through the process he called natural selection.

that richness was acquired using legal ways. Even the rabbis used to believe in the spirit of commerce. Kristol did not find why Christianity was against business, since even Islam agreed with Judaism in the spirit of commerce; he thought that what made things so was because the difference was in terms of religiosity, both Islam and Judaism were religious of the Law, whereas Christianity was a religion that repealed the Law.

As a person who believed in American utopianism, Kristol showed clearly the perfection of his religion. In an article published in "Encounter" in 1979, he decorticated religion in matter of its emergence and the role of prophets in human beings life. He believed strongly that the emergence of Christianity was because of a Jewish rebellion within Judaism, a Jewish Gnostic movement, since before the appearance of Jesus there had been all sorts of Gnostic Millenarian⁴⁰ bubbling within Judaism, sects that were resentful of the Law and of the world, wishing to make a radical reconstruction of reality.

Christianity spread throughout the world within two centuries, and thus became more important than Judaism. But the Jewish Orthodox were convinced that during the first centuries of the Christian era, the church fathers were obliged to synchronize the New Testament into Christian scripture to help convert what was originally a Gnostic Movement into a new creative orthodoxy. As a Jewish Orthodox, Kristol viewed that without the Old Testament, the New Testament could not be understood since it lacked certain key statements, such as when God created the world, an Old Testament doctrine that became a Christian doctrine. Christianity could not be spread and understood without relying entirely on Judaism.

Whether being an Orthodox Jew or an Orthodox Christian, Kristol saw that religion was very crucial. Spirituality governed human beings and helped them coping with their complex existence full of irresolvable problems. Kristol commented by confessing that:

It is true that a good government can improve the people some what, with difficulty. But the notion that a handful true believers

⁴⁰ **Millenarian**: referring to those who believe in the doctrine of Millennium, a doctrine mentioned in Revelation twenty, a thousand year period of holiness during which Jesus and his faithful followers are to rule on earth.

*can, by manipulating the mass of people, create a good society inhabited by good people.*⁴¹

But in reality what Kristol thought about was the future of American Jewry within Christianity. As a Jew, Kristol saw that the American Jewish community had not been influenced in the course of the twentieth century, not as the American Catholics and American Protestants, of whatever ethnic group, had done. He explained that the charge had been gradually but ineluctably in the same direction, toward a far greater religious toleration which had cheered all Jewish hearts.

The United States is known historically by having a religious toleration and this is due to the tension among a multiplicity of religious allegiance. “An American creed” was born, a compound of Judeo-Christian tradition, under a “common faith”, which had come to be called “Liberalism”. That’s why Kristol found that secularization was an integral part of modernization. Secularization a useful concept to explain what happened, an idea that gave sense from a point of view that considered traditional as survivals that could be adapted to nonreligious society. If one looked at secularization without an ideological “*parti pris*” as Kristol called it, it could be described as the victory of a new, emergent religious impulse over the traditional biblical religious that formed the framework of Western Civilization. And as an Orthodox Jew, Kristol concluded that a secular humanist America is good for Jews, in the sense that it deleted the idea of anti-Semitism and made it invisible, permitting individual Jews a civic equality and equality of opportunity that they had ever dreamed before. It was obvious that American Jews welcomed the secular humanist doctrines by being vigilant about removing all the signs and symbols of traditional religion, considering that religion was merely a private affair; the separation of church and state meant the separation of all institutions from any signs of a connection with traditional religion. Thus, secular humanism in the United States throughout American life had been good for Jews and for their interests.

But the main question for Kristol was not whether the Americans were anti-Semitic or not, for him the problem was on the intermarriage. The Reform and Conservative rabbinate tried to confront the problem with strong talk about the

⁴¹ Irving Kristol, «*Neo conservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*», *op. cit.*, p. 439.

importance of Jewish survival, since the young Jews did not care about the basis of ancestral piety while taking their marital decisions, even if they approved to care about the Jewish survival, and they found it easy to assign this anxiety to others. All they cared about was the universal sovereignty of secular humanism, under which Jews and Christians could live in fraternal peace. Though many Jews saw Judaism disappearing more through intermarriage than when the president said something good about Jesus Christ. Unfortunately, neither the intermarriage of the Jews, nor American Christianity could be stopped.

The intermarriage could vanish Judaism more when the bride is non-Jew, since according to the Israeli law a person is considered “Jewish” only if her mother, grandmother, or great-grandmother were Jewish by religion, and even if the non-Jew wanted to convert to Judaism, she should do it in a way satisfactory to the Israeli authorities and dogmas. The conversion should be according to the Talmudic definition, thus the Talmudic and post-Talmudic rabbinic recognize the conversion is performed by authorized rabbis in a proper manner, the latter entails for females, their inspection by three rabbis while naked in a “bath of purification”, a ritual which although known to all readers of the Hebrew press, is not often mentioned by the English media. But such conversion does not occur in the United States, for the simple reason that the most important thing is to attract more and more persons to Judaism, especially females so that they can establish a good appropriate Jewish environment for their children, as the situation of Jews within the American society is more complicated than in Israel.

As a Jewish intellectual, Kristol worried about the future of American Jewry, would it vanish or flourish? The answer according to him was that it was high time for the Jewish intellectuals to take measures as long as secular humanism existed, and as long as American Jews were related to Israel.

Therefore, the main question for Kristol remained whether a less secular, more religious society would mean an increase in anti-Semitism and non-Semitism, not in its real sense, but in terms of the social and economical discrimination that had been seen before World War II; though such discrimination had not been an obstacle for Jews to acquire wealth, education, and even influence. Indeed, Jews started firmly to be established in the mainstream of American life, without caring to what extent hostility toward them would be. For Kristol as well as for Strauss, religion plays an important role in the nation’s order.

I.3. Neoconservatism: Between Religion and Politics

Despite the fact that neoconservatives' movement has mainly a political leaning more than a religious one, their religious creed has also an indirect and sometimes a direct influence in shaping the religious identity of neoconservatism. It should therefore be clearly understood that this movement, as a minority is a source of authority for important decisions taken in the White House. As a Professor in Natural Resource Policy Studies, David J. Eaton quoted in his book, "*The End of Sovereignty?: A Transatlantic Perspective*", about the religious shift within the White House since the neocons' presence in the Bush administration. Eaton said:

The religious myth of neo-conservative presidential power is aptly described on the dust jacket of a DVD on President Bush:

Nobody spends more time on his knees than George W. Bush. The Bush administration hums to the sound of prayer. Prayer meetings take place day and night. It's not uncommon to see White House functionaries hurrying down corridors carrying Bibles⁴².

Therefore, despite the secularity of the United States in its name, it is nonetheless a very religious country; and without going into a detailed description of the origin of religion in the United States, one can confine himself to a few principal points needed for the argument. Basically, the United States has always been a religious country. In fact, it is without a doubt the most religious nation among the Western countries, eventhough it does not seem so, since the American Constitution is a secular document, but the Declaration of Independence (1776) put a direct reference to God, the Creator, as the source of making men free and equal.

We hold the truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.⁴³

As by the end of the declaration, the revolutionaries signed confirming their reliance on the Creator by saying:

⁴² David J. Eaton, «*The End of Sovereignty?: A Transatlantic Perspective*», (LIT Verlag Berlin-Hamburg-Münster, 2006), p 182.

⁴³ The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America, July4, 1776. (<http://www.ushistory.org/Declaration/document/index.htm>)

*And for the support of this Declaration, with firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.*⁴⁴

Actually, the United States has always known to be a religious country. Americans exercise in great numbers the freedom of religion guaranteed by the Constitution. Thus, among the industrialized countries, it is in the United States that religious leaders have the highest approval rating, in contrast with the other developed countries, as shown in the following results of a survey conducted by the Pew Research Centre For the People and the Press, done on December 04th, 2002

	Military	National Government	News Media	Religious Leaders
United States	87	64	65	62
Canada	72	63	69	54
Great Britain	74	66	70	52
France	80	61	55	58
Italy	58	40	60	45
Germany	70	51	77	39
Japan	69	22	48	13

Rating Institutions

(Percent saying a “good influence” in their country)⁴⁵

But being the most religious country in the Western Hemisphere and within the industrialized countries does not mean that it is the only one in the world. The United States is being swept by a strong current of religious fundamentalism; the Middle East is also being so by the sandstorm of Islamic fundamentalism. The more the United States is getting a world economic, political and military empire, the more its citizens embrace the most extreme religious beliefs. That’s why neoconservatives were obliged to have

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, “*What the World Thinks in 2002*”, December 04th, 2002. (www.people-press.org).

an inclination toward religion, since no US politician would go so far as to openly reject democracy so as to embrace theocracy.

It is nevertheless complicated in the United States to pursue a political career without paying at least lip service to the religious bent of the country, which led to a sure expectation from the US politicians of every party to mention God and Jesus in their speeches. Others invoke God's power in their incantations to have a special effect on the auditors; and that what neoconservatives have done since their emergence, as they were aware of the importance of religion within the American society. The neoconservatives knew that religion is a very prosperous entrepreneurial industry, as religious institutions and organizations enjoy a tax-exempt status while possessing radio and television station, universities and different enormous properties.

The United States is the only democratic country where so many television stations are controlled by religious institutions, but many of them have been politicized, and show clearly their support to President W. Bush, who had been their guest several time. He has succeeded in having their faith on him and his divine mission that God gave to him to establish peace and democracy in America as well as in the entire world. President W. Bush has done a kind of a religious Renaissance and become a good Christian by making mostly everyone praying in the White House as the first thing to do in the White House council meetings, between the Old and the New Testament, these men manage United States' and World's affairs. But by choosing Dick Cheney as a Vice President, W. Bush started losing Right-Wing's popularity, just because of Cheney's acceptance his daughter's lesbianism, while the Christian fundamentalist considered homosexuals as morally responsible for the attempts of September 11th.

It was observed that when George W .Bush won the November 2000 presidential elections, it was mainly due to the tax-free religious organizations that played a decisive role in that victory, as he received fewer popular votes than his adversary Albert Arnold Gore, known by Al Gore. Indeed, this was seen as one of the greatest successes that the Republican Party had ever done, as they succeeded to attract the poor white votes that traditionally had gone to the Democrats since Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, but because of the religiosity of the Republicans, the votes were for them. The Bush administration succeeded in granting huge tax reductions to the richest Americans, while at the same time retaining the support of the poorest with the enticement of a

reactionary religious ideology. That is why such polarization of the vote along religious lines instead of socio-economic status had been seen as a new phenomenon. And once in office, President W. Bush quickly acted to reward the religious groups that had openly supported him by creating a system of public subsidies for church-administered charitable organizations⁴⁶.

Thus, it is possible that the United States unconsciously is falling into the Old World pattern of before the French Revolution, when there had been an ill interdependence between political power and religion. One can see Bush's religiosity as the one of European kings who used to count on the religious hierarchy to legitimize their absolute power, and in turn, the kings rewarded the churches by exempting them from taxes and granting them diverse privileges. For such reasons some saw the separation of Church and State an action that brought the greatest advance in civilization in the last three hundred years; since democracy and freedom from state intervention in religious matters are the most important underpinnings of such a distinction. However, some American religious groups dream of controlling the government mechanism for their apostolic vocation, while in the past many Europeans flee a Europe corrupted and chose to migrate to the United States because of the very mixture of state religion and politics.

The attacks of September 11th, some religious leaders took the opportunity of this tragedy to serve their own interest. For these religious extremists, it was secondary that the attack was the work of Islamist terrorists led by Al Qaeda under Osama Bin Laden in revenge for the pro-Israeli American Middle East policies. But in fact, they proclaimed that these attacks were a manifestation of God's punishment for the secular character of the American society. Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority and Pat Robertson, of the 1.7 million strong ultra-right Christian Coalition, one of the most influential organizations in American politics and one of the largest and most powerful lobbying groups in the United States, asserted on Fox TV God's punishment for the Americans' wrong behavior and said :

God continues to lift the curtain and allow the enemies of America to give us probably what we deserve. I really believe that the pagans and the abortionists and the feminists and the

⁴⁶ Rodrigue Tremblay, « *The New American Empire* », *op.cit.*, p. 44.

gays and the lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, ACLU⁴⁷, People for the American Way, all of them who have tried to secularize America. I point the finger in their face and say 'You helped this happen'

Robertson replied: *Well, I totally conver.*⁴⁸

Such opinion was not new; it had existed even before, the fact of being punished by God because of man's sins. A similar idea was shared before by the President Abraham Lincoln (1860- 1865) when he spoke in a similar vein as he started suspecting that what was happening in the United States, he meant the Civil War, was because of dead men's debts. As it was said in Stephen Berry's book, "*House of Abraham Lincoln and the Todds, A Family Divided By War*":

*The awful calamity of civil war, which now isolates the land, may be a punishment, inflicted upon us, for our presumptuous sins.*⁴⁹

After the September 11th attacks, the Americans became more religious and obsessed by the end of the world, the latter was seen as the most disturbing phenomenon whose scenarios were based on the Bible and propagated by several religious denominations. But such reaction would not happen if there was not a background of an apocalyptic thought in the country. In fact, more than anywhere else in the West, American religious organizations acted in parallel as political organizations, which are persuaded that the world seesaws between Good and Evil, and that only the end of the world will Good triumph, using biblical vocabulary of the Apocalypse and the battle of Armageddon⁵⁰ in the combat between Good and Evil, and that what was said in the Inaugural Address of President W. Bush, believing in his own and America's mission, calling to lead the world in an apocalyptic struggles between the forces of good and evil, shaping the world after the American values of liberty, democracy and the free market. In this address, Mr. W. Bush began with a near-

⁴⁷ ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union), an organization founded in 1920, it defends and preserves the individual rights and liberties guaranteed to every person in the United States by the Constitution and laws of the United States.

⁴⁸ Dong Saunders, « *US got what it deserves, Falwell says* », (The Globe Mail, September 15, 2001), p. A2.

⁴⁹ Stephen Berry, « *House of Abraham Lincoln and the Todds, A Family Divided By War* », (Houghton Mifflin Company, November 2007), p. 179.

⁵⁰ **Amrageddon** : the word comes from the deformation of the name of the town of Meggido, in Israel. In Christian belief Armageddon or the Mount of Meggido is the site of the final battle between God and the forces of righteousness, and Satan.

Messianic account of the American story as the pursuit of liberty and of America as the liberator and protector of humanity:

We have a place, all of u, in a long story- a story we continue, but whose end will not see. It is the story of a love-holding society that became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer.⁵¹

In this story, America is the new empire or the new world, rescuer of the old world from where emerged, delivering Europe from the pogroms and totalitarianism that threatened it. Mr. Bush triumphed America's success in the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Empire as well as the one of Communism as an oppressed regime. Defending the story of America as mediator of liberty was an act of faith, the faith in freedom and democracy. But it has been observed that the United States since World War II (1939-1945), is fundamentally a violent society, more than all democratic countries, as it needs an enemy to remain focused and as soon as peace is declared with one enemy, another one emerges, and the United States easily finds another one so that it seems to be in a perpetual state of war. The Federation of American Scientists has listed nearly two hundred military incursions since 1945 in which the United States has been the aggressor, unfortunately the United State has been involved in what the great American historian Charles A. Beard (1874-1948) called *Perpetual War for perpetual peace*⁵².

The United States is known by having the need to create a demand for its products to preserve its economical development. It considers the war industry is much too important part of the American economy, and to do so, the population must be kept on constant alert, and no one cares if this alert is true or not. In such cases the use of "noble lies" becomes necessary, the many vulgar have to believe what the wise few, "the elites", told them. The use of "noble lies" was one of the first lessons learnt by the neoconservatives by their teacher Leo Strauss. The idea of "noble lies" was developed more by the liberalist Schmitt, who argued that the presence of an enemy was an essential construct of any political regime. Indeed, Strauss emphasized on the use of

⁵¹ *President George W. Bush Inaugural Address* », January 20th, 2001. (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/>).

⁵² Gore Vidal, « *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* », (Avalor Publishing Group, New York, 2002), epilogue.

religion in the building of any state since it is the only principle that could orient people and put them under control.

The attacks of September 11th, were the best argument that made people trust their government and believe the lies, mainly when the terrorists attacked were for religious reasons, to establish Islam in the Christian world and recover Al Andalus. As mostly each American was touched by the attacks, they believed on neoconservatism as the best ideology which will establish peace and democracy in the world and protect the United States from terrorism. Thus, the importance of the power of religion in the military projects was shared by both the neocons, whose majority is Jew, and the Bush administration, whose majority are neocons.

President W. Bush needed the support of the American people more than the one of the United Nations to establish democracy in tyrannical lands. Moreover, the fact of considering himself as a Methodist whose role was to protect America and the world from “axis of evil”, as he identified them in the State of the Union Address, on January 29th, 2002, where he described Iraq, Iran and North Korea as regimes that sponsored terror.

State like these (Iraq, Iran and North Korea), and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world... they could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States.⁵³

President W. Bush echoed the words of President Reagan who had dubbed the Soviet Union “The Evil Empire”, but the latter’s description to the enemy was not so alarming as the one of President W. Bush who used elements of the millennialist credo, mainly when those element were espoused by Bush’s neoconservative supporters, followers and students of Mr. Strauss, the one who urged the use of the power of religion in the public sphere, before being out of control, as he viewed religion as absolutely essential in order to impose moral law on the masses; for such reasons Irving Kristol found that the Founding Fathers of the American Republic made a major mistake by insisting on the separation of church and state. If Kristol reflected so, was simply because he noticed the beginning of a secular society in the United States,

⁵³ *President George W. Bush State of the Union Address», January 29th, 2002.* (www.whitehouse.gov/)

though during the Korean War in 1952, President Harry Truman (1945- 1953) sought to make the distinction between Americans and Communists, and it seemed that it was not democracy or capitalism, but religion , Americans worshiped God, while communists were atheists. For that reason, President Truman approved on April 17th, 1952, Public Law 324, which read:

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the President shall set a side and proclaim a suitable day each year, other than a Sunday, as a National Day of Prayer, on which the people of the United States may turn to God in prayer and meditation at churches, in groups, and as individuals⁵⁴.

In retrospect, it is noticed that the fifties and the emergence of the Cold War were the turning points for the United States. At the time it was becoming an economic and military superpower, it came close to changing from a secular republic into a religious one. Such alternatives seemed to push politicians to be trying to outbid each other by inserting explicit mentions of religion in public matters. On July 30th, 1956, Congress adopted the words “*In God We Trust*”, as the official motto of the United States, though this motto was inscribed on a US coin in 1864, following a campaign by a Baptist preacher, Mark R. Watkinson, but it was until 1956 that it was officially used in the United States of America.

As it has been displayed, since the United States got involved in perpetual wars, the mixing of politics and religion is clear, and the most unsettling factor in this mixture is the arrival of George W. Bush, a Texas Republican known by his religious pronouncements, as well as by espousing neoconservatives’ religious philosophy.

It is the first time in the history of the United States that the White House has a “born-again Christian⁵⁵” as president. Since his election, President W. Bush multiplied his sermonizing speeches and public prayers. An example of this happened on March 30th, 2002, when the president promoted peace in a radio address:

We feel our reliance on the Creator who made us. We place our sorrows and cares before Him, seeking God’s mercy. We ask

⁵⁴ Rodrigue Tremblay, « *The New American Empire* », *op. cit.* , p. 42.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

forgiveness for our failures, seeking the renewal He can bring.⁵⁶

And he continued:

Faith brings confidence that failure is never final, and suffering is temporary, and the pains of the earth will be overcome. We can be confident, too, that evil may be present and it may be strong, but it will not prevail.⁵⁷

Rodrigue Tremblay in a book, “*The New American Empire*”, that analyses the causes and consequences of the fundamental shift that foreign and domestic policies have taken at the beginning of the twenty-first century said “...he(President W. Bush) believes himself mandated by God to wage war.⁵⁸

President W. Bush went further in his talk of Armageddon. He made a blend between religion and politics, being obsessed by his thought of his messianism, he hinted that God may have chosen him for a special mission, Tremblay called him the “*American Ayattolah*”⁵⁹, especially after his State of the union Address done on January 28th, 2003, where he insinuated his messianic role in the world.

...But what if God has been holding peace, waiting for the right man and the right nation and the right moment to act for Him and cleanse history of Evil.⁶⁰

Though he is not an important figure of neoconservatism, at least as an ideology, President W. Bush followed this doctrine when dealing with the use of religion to rule the masses. Since his presidency, he has been incapable of expressing himself publicly, notably after the attacks of September 11th, when he stated using biblical concepts, since he is a good Christian it is obvious that he spoke about the Crusades for the destruction of the axis of evil, an axis traced by the neoconservatives who adopted a worldwide imperial doctrine through posing a direct threat to the movement towards the strengthening of international cooperation. Such policy had not been only used to justify the axis demolition, but also to marginalize the United Nations and indirectly to weaken all the other multilateral organizations.

⁵⁶ President George W. Bush, « *President Promotes Peace in Radio Address* », March 30th, 2002 (www.whitehouse.gov/).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Rodrigue Tremblay, « *The New American Empire* », *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Jack Beatty, « *In the Name of God* », *The Atlantic Monthly magazine*, March 05th, 2003.

It is obviously too soon to conclude one way or another that neoconservatives are behind to what is happening in the world today, in particular in the Middle East, though what happened the last forty years is due to the apocalyptic idea of the Jewish-Christian bible as well as the profound fear of annihilation or being taken over by the forces of evil. These pressures have fomented the expansion of neoconservatism as the best ideology whose objective is to establish peace and democracy in the world, especially in the tyrannical countries where dictatorship and oppression remained, but the question that rises itself in this context, is that why do oppression and tyranny exist only where oil wells exist?

Being between religion and politics, neoconservatives' road has been very long; using religion through the President W. Bush's policy, they have succeeded to make the masses believe their rulers. Neoconservatives consider the relation between religion and politics as intrinsic, in terms that the one completes the other in order to achieve both political and religious objectives. Political in terms of conquering the oil of the Middle East, and religious to protect Israel from their Muslim neighbors who consider its people damned by God. According to their religion, the Muslims see that Israel must be purchased from the Holy land of Palestine. In fact, Neoconservatives sought to consolidate American power in the Middle East and change the political culture of the region.

Chapter Two:
Neoconservatism Reached the Zenith

As it has been displayed in the previous chapter, neoconservatism gained popularity by the nomination of George W. Bush as 43rd United States President. Neoconservatives achieved the highest positions in the White House making into practice their doctrine and ideas of imperialism following the September 11th attacks. In fact, neoconservatives' agenda was ready even before W. Bush took office, a well-planned project for a good practice of their supremacist ideology, with a strong believe that the United States should, by itself and militarily, if necessary, spread freedom and free markets worldwide.

Indeed, neoconservatives consider their ideology as exceptional, an exemplar doctrine of perfectionism and utopianism, mainly as they belong to an exceptional nation. For them, the United States is not like the other nations, but the latter should like the United States. Neoconservatives, or the neocons, as they usually dubbed them, have long imagined that their country is an exception to history, seeing that throughout the Cold War, American political leaders maintained that Soviet Communism was an evil as it was ideologically driven to rule the world. Thus, the conception of the Cold War as a struggle to contain an inherently expansionist and totalitarian power encouraged the United States to build a global military system and fight proxy battles with the Soviet Union, not because it aspired to dominate the world, but to keep the Soviet Union from doing so.

Americans have always seen themselves exceptional, starting from the American Revolution (1775- 1783), how they built their nation, going through the World Wars (1914- 1918 / 1939 -1945), to the Cold War (1945 -1991) and the end of communism that triumphed capitalism and marked American remarkableness. Since then and according to the Americans, they possessed the most powerful empire in modern history. Such success and such power must be under permanent control and by persons devoted to such responsibilities, possessing the capacity and power to create an American-dominated world order that is what the neocons have tried to do since their appearance.

The rise of neoconservative has changed the substance of United States foreign policy, and the move toward globalization and the creation of a global market in which multinational corporations can be free to pursue profits withregard to the consequences of national populations. Thus, the first generation of neoconservatives that had emerged in the early seventies and by the end of the Cold War was replaced by a second,

younger and more practical. The latter began to be drawn around the idea of American unipolarism, seeking to control the blood of the earth, a substance that has played a great role in the United States hegemony, as well as world war policies, and succeeded in setting the ideological foundations of a new American foreign policy, a policy that aimed in changing the geopolitical world order, reaching the furthest corners of the globe. The most important point is the fact of controlling oil wells of the Middle East as it has by far the largest pool of cheap oil in the world; whoever controls it politically, it will maintain leverage over oil supplies to the rest of the world for decades to come, An argument that propelled the United States government to use a strong and successful foreign policy.

II.1. Neoconservatives' Foreign Policy

Since January 20th, 2001, the White House has been led by a group of people who came from the war and oil industries, people determined to keep the enormous American economical power gained after World War II, as well as the political one following the Cold War. In fact, in the light of the events happened since September 11th, the president is no longer the sole architect of United States foreign policy, as he is surrounded by a staff of assistants and advisors who devise and implement various propaganda schemes with a full agenda that ensured no superpower emerges as rival to the United States. Perhaps the most telling aspects of the Bush administration policies concern what has become to be known as the “*Bush Doctrine*”, but this doctrine has a Jewish sprinkling with a Straussian smell and a neoconservative state of mind.

Indeed, the first priority of the American foreign policy since President Bush took office has become the security of oil supply. The latter has always played an important role in every industrialized economy, as it comes virtually into economic activities, and because of such importance, the Bush administration considers it as the major centre of interest on which the United States should focus.

As they belong to the Bush administration and advisors staff, neoconservatives feel themselves responsible of US oil wells more than the president himself. The fear of oil shortage, the need to export Western liberal democracy and free-market capitalism to undemocratic countries, urged the neoconservatives to make into practice their philosophy of noble lies in addition to their full agenda. Those policy makers were determined to exploit to the hilt the gigantic United States military machine, putting it at their disposition to promote their vision of American interests.

President W. Bush cabinet is filled with people from the oil business and from the military sector. Since January 2001, the US administration has gathered the most hawkish group ever assembled. Certain advisors have a strong bias toward Israel, that is why it should not be surprising that United States foreign policy focused on three centers of interest “Oil, War, Israel”, under the motto of “*Let us be feared rather than loved, respected rather than admired*¹”

¹ Rodrigue Tremblay, « *The New American Empire* », (Infinity publishing.com, ACHON Books, USA, 2004), p. 74.

It is clear that neoconservatives have succeeded in imposing their ideology in the White House and making their voice of democracy and freedom heard in the United States of America as well as in the entire world. Their decisions, were they good or bad, are of the furthest importance to the stability of the world in the coming years. In this matter, the most important question is; who are these people who lead the world, play a central role in perturbing international oil market and try to establish peace and democracy in the world?

The chief of course is George. W. Bush, though he is not a neocon, he appointed them in key positions within his administration. As it is known, President Bush is the forty-third President of the United States, he was a former director of oil companies, and his political career is awash with oil and gas. His main contributor, for dozen years, was Enron. The Enron Corporation involved millions of dollars in campaign contributors to George W. Bush when he was the Senator of Texas. Indeed, before he became President Bush, Jr was a director of Harken Energy Corporation, he served on Harken's board of directors (1986- 1993). In addition to directors' fees, Harken paid W. Bush from \$80.000 to \$120.000 a year as consultant. His ties to Harken were less about his abilities than about his connections, with the help of his friends and family in the late 1970's, W. Bush formed the oil company Arbusto Energy Ins whose name was eventually changed to Bush Exploration Co. although his oil venture proved unprofitable, Spectrum7 Corporation acquired it in a merger in which W. Bush became chief executive officer, then in 1986, he sold his participation to Spectrum7 Energy.

Once in office, George W. Bush had enough experience in oil field to start a new one in this domain. His political power had been developed in Texas by his family connections rooted in the largest industry of that region, oil, the heaviest business of the post-modern times. President W. Bush understood and embraced United States' superpower dominance; he viewed the United States of America as "*the dominant power in the world, more dominant than any since Rome*"²

His elections brought to prominence a number of neoconservative advisors, senior government officials and prominent commentators, the first in this list was the US Vice President Richard "Dick" Cheney.

Dick Cheney is the forty-sixth and the current US Vice President, he assumed office on January 20th, 2001, as President W. Bush started his first mandate. It was not

² Gary Dorrien, « *Imperial Designs: Neoconservatism and the New Pax American* », (Routledge, 270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, 2004), p. 100.

the first time that Cheney entered the White House, since he was the seventeenth US Secretary of Defense, during the presidency of Bush Senior (1989-1993). Cheney is widely considered as one of the most powerful vice presidents in US history, he played an instrumental role in everything from the beginning of the presidential expansion War on Terror to overthrow unfriendly Mideast regimes and detaining without charge terrorism suspects. Cheney closely connected with the new generation of neocons, he embraced neoconservatives' political faction. As a founding member of PNAC, Project for the New American Century, he supported advocacy efforts to invade Iraq long before the attacks of September 11th occurred, since then, the US Vice President and his neoconservative coterie encouraged implement War on Terror and pushed for a war in Afghanistan and Iraq. Besides his membership in the PNAC since 1997, Cheney also worked as an advisory board member in JINSA, Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, in 2000, and as a former fellow in AEI, American Enterprise Institute, (1993-1995). Like his president, Mr. Cheney has an oil experience, as he served as Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of Halliburton (1995-2000), a world giant in oil services in Dallas, Texas, a Fortune 500 company and market leader in the energy sector. As CEO of Halliburton, Cheney joined W. Bush's Republican team, but resigned from Halliburton once President W. Bush appointed him as US Vice President. Cheney viewed American elitism as unique.

...the United States is blessed and unique nation whose concerns and values must be promoted vigorously around the world³

General Colin Powell also joined Bush's staff since his presidency as a sixty-fifth US Secretary of State (2001- 2005). His competences and military experience appointed him to be the first African American designated to that position. Prior to his appointment, he served as a General in the US Army, as a National Security Advisor (1987- 1989) and as a Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1989- 199). He was a career-military man responsible for foreign policy, a veteran of the Vietnam War (1959-1975), invasion of Panama (1989-1990), and the first and the beginning of the second Gulf Wars (1990-1911), (March, 2003- current). General Powell left office as US Secretary of State in 2005, after an immense career in military actions and United States foreign affairs. His doctrine is set in a list of questions which have to be answered before the United States took a military action.

³ <http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/060123/23cheny2.htm>

1. Is a vital national security interest threatened?
2. Do we have a clear attainable objective?
3. Have the risks and costs been fully and frankly analyzed?
4. Have all other non-violent policy means been fully exhausted?
5. Is there a plausible exit strategy to avoid endless entanglement?
6. Have the consequences of our action been fully considered?
7. Is the action supported by the American people?
8. Do we have genuine broad international support?⁴

One of the most controversial and hardline figures in Bush administration was Donald Rumsfeld, the former Secretary of Defense, the thirteenth (1975- 1977) with President Gerald Ford (1974- 1977), and the twenty-first (2001- 2006), as well as a former US Ambassador to NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). Rumsfeld is also a Founding signatory of the PNAC, after his resignation as a secretary in 2006; he became a visiting fellow at the Hoover Institute on War Revolution and peace, a hawkish think tank based at Stanford University that supplied a number of defense and security advisors to the George W. Bush administration. Rumsfeld responsibilities at Hoover include serving on a task force of experts devoted to researching the “ideology of terrorism”.

Secretary Rumsfeld was responsible for directing the actions of the Defense Department in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11th, including Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan and Operation Iraqi Freedom. He oversaw army, navy, air force and marines from 2001 to December, 2006, he did a reform and transformations of US military to better address the threats of the 21st century. Secretary Rumsfeld proposed and President W. Bush approved. Far from the White House, Rumsfeld sat from 1991 to 2000 on the board of the Swiss company ABB, a company that sold nuclear reactors to North Korea.

Rumsfeld Deputy Secretary of Defense was Paul. D. Wolfowitz (2001- 2005), a brilliant product of east Coast universities. He studied with two of the most eminent professors of the 1960's, Allan Bloom, the disciple of the German Jewish philosopher Leo Strauss, the spirit father of neoconservatism, and Albert Wohlsletter, Professor of Mathematics and a specialist in military strategy. Wolfowitz was a former US

⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Powell_Doctrine

Ambassador in Indonesia, and the 10th President of the World Bank Group (2005-2007). In January, 2008, he was appointed as chair of the US State Department's International Security Advisor Board (ISAB). Wolfowitz is considered as one of the most important pillars of neoconservatism, after Strauss and Irving Kristol, a Founding Signatory of the PNAC and a Visiting Fellow at the AEI. When President W. Bush nominated him to lead the World Bank, many pundits worried that the neocons seemed poised to take their agenda to a new playing field, as he is considered as the architect of neoconservatism since he favored openly war against Iraq for more than a decade. As an advisor of President W. Bush, Wolfowitz has a strong bias toward Israel, as his ties to there have affected his attitudes on United States foreign policy in the Middle East. It was Wolfowitz, not Rumsfeld or President W. Bush, who following the attacks of September 11th, first declared that the United States' new foreign policy should be to make an end to states that sponsored terrorism. According to his plan, the new purpose of American foreign policy was to prevent any nation or group of nations from challenging America's global domination.

In short, Paul Wolfowitz had long been recognized as the intellectual force behind a radical neoconservatism. For years, he had been advancing the idea that the United States should re-consider commitment to international treaties, international law and multilateral organizations like the United Nations. A radical plan for American military domination had been established by Wolfowitz, first during the first draft for a new national security strategy, a document entitled the "Defense planning Guidance", the most controversial element known as the "Wolfowitz Doctrine". Being out of power during the Clinton presidency, Wolfowitz and his neoconservative colleagues affiliated themselves with a number of influential neoconservative think tanks. Again in power with the nomination of President George W. Bush where they proposed another national security strategy, but this one was published by Right Wing think tank calling it the Project for the New American Century, a document that revived the Wolfowitz Doctrine stating that:

1. The United States must become the world's single superpower and must retain that status by preventing the re-emergence of a new rival, either on the territory of the former Soviet Union or elsewhere. The main goal of this point is to strengthen the barriers against the re-emergence of a global threat to the interests of the United States and its allies.

2. The United States must be the supreme power of the world. The necessity of leadership must be shown for the establishment and the protection of a new world order.
3. Pre-emptive Intervention which gives the right to intervene when and where it saw it necessary.
4. The importance of the Middle East's and South West's Asia oil. The United States must have an access to those regions' oil.

*In the Middle East and Persian Gulf, we seek to foster regional stability, deter aggression against our friends and interests in the region, protect U.S. nationals and property, and safeguard our access to international air and seaways and to the region's oil. The United States is committed to the security of Israel and to maintaining the qualitative edge that is critical to Israel's security. Israel's confidence in its security and U.S.-Israel strategic cooperation contribute to the stability of the entire region, as demonstrated once again during the Persian Gulf War. At the same time, our assistance to our Arab friends to defend themselves against aggression also strengthens security throughout the region, including for Israel.*⁵

Indeed, being one of the best students of Mr. Strauss, Wolfowitz has succeeded at imposing himself with his ideologies of supremacy and imperialism. He is considered as the third important mind of neoconservatism after Strauss and Kristol. Following the attacks of September 11th, Wolfowitz became the “architect” of neoconservatism, proving it during the United States Iraq Invasion, March 2003, as it had been planned in his imperialist doctrine.

President W. Bush's list of the most influential minds in his administration can't be closed without adding Condoleezza Rice, the US Secretary of State, and former US National Security Advisor. Rice was a university professor specialized in political and military issues. From 1991 to 2001, she served as a member of the board of directors of oil giant Chevron. As a servant of male agenda and male power, Rice did not make policy but enforced it, as a specialist off the Middle East Affairs; she had always succeeded in spreading the idea of the United States superpower in the World, and as a former political science professor and Bush's National Security Advisor, she was responsible for the committee which penned the foreign policy document Being inspired by the neoconservative approach to the United States foreign policy, Rice aimed at

⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wolfowitz_Doctrine

projecting, as far as possible into the future and the “unipolar advantageous position” that the United States military superiority, not for the benefit of mankind as a whole, but purely for narrow American advantages.

The present United States administration is the most hawkish group ever assembled. George W. Bush’s cabinet is filled with people from the oil business, from the world of politics, and from the military camp, though certain advisors have a pro-Israeli bend like Wolfowitz who has a strong bias toward Israel. Accordingly, and in the light of what has been displayed, George W. Bush’s administration turns around the trilogy of “Oil, War and Israel”.

II.2. Neocnoservatives' Trilogy

II.2.a.Oil

“The Black Gold”, “The World’s Blood”, “The Black water”, or whatever it has been called, it is oil; the substance that plays an important and crucial role in the economy of nations and in changing the world’s geopolitical map. As a world superpower, the United States felt itself concerned on oil more than anyone else in the world. Indeed, oil enters into virtually all economic activities, either as a source of energy or as a raw material for a host of industries. Since the discovery of its effectiveness, oil has been the centre of interest of any powerful nation, whether it is communist or capitalist, though these two systems are often thought of as opposite ends of the political spectrum, they both share one central tenet, they are based on continual economic growth.

The importance of oil is not associated only with the petrol or diesel put in cars. However, the value of oil to our world goes far beyond our personal transportation choices. In fact, there are those who still underestimate the significance of oil and natural gas in the evolution of modern civilization, and our everyday items are either made from oil or are dependent upon oil for their production. This important raw-material is required for nearly every consumer item and tied with his daily life activities whether in the field of food production or water supply, or even with the health care and the advances of medicine done during the last one hundred and fifty years. Therefore, oil has proven to be such a flexible resource that it now underpins many of the items that people take for granted in the modern world, and any interruption of its supply would be very serious. Thus, in the light of the dual challenge of Peak Oil and anthropogenic climate change, it is critical that one can develop targeted interventions to ensure that people do not waste that important resource.

The aftermath of peak Oil will extend far beyond how much you will pay for gas. Simply stated, you can expect: economic collapse, war, widespread starvation, and a mass die off of the world’s population.⁶

“Peak Oil” or “Hubbert Peak Theory”, a theory developed by the geophysicist M. King Hubbert⁷. He proposed his famous project known as the “Hubbert Curve” that studied oil production and shortage over times. During the mid 1950’s, Professor

⁶ Matt Savinar, JD, « *The Oil Age Is Over* », (Matt Savinar Publishing, USA, 2004), p. 15.

⁷ M. King Hubbert (1903- 1989): an American geoscientist who made several important contributions to geology, geophysics, and petroleum geology. He is known by the “*Hubbert Peak Theory*”.

Hubbert predicted, according to his geological and physical studies, that individual oil fields, oil producing regions, and global production would display a bell shaped production curve characterized by a rapid rise, narrow peak, and subsequent rapid fall. Therefore, Hubbert's Peak Theory did not mean the end of oil production, but it certainly meant the end of cheap oil.

In 1956, Hubbert predicted that oil production in the continental United States would peak in the early 1970's. Indeed, the United States oil production peak occurred, and had been increasing since then, but according to Hubbert's model, the United States oil reserves would be exhausted before the end of the twenty-first century, as it is shown in figure 1.

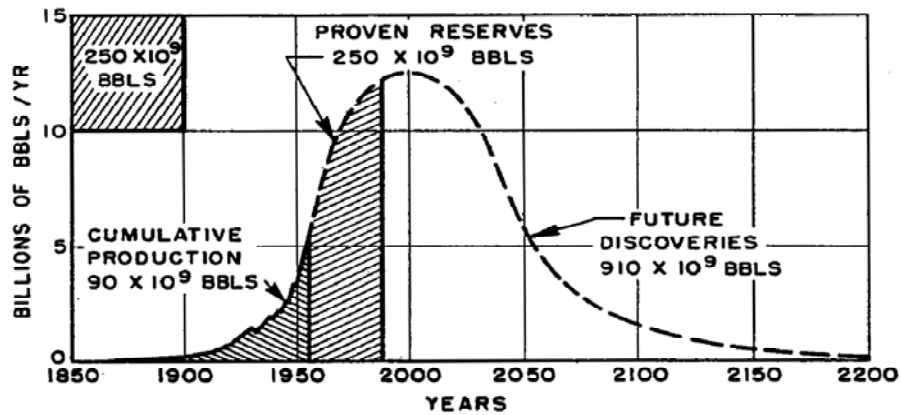


Figure 1: Ultimate world crude-oil production based upon initial reserved of 1250 billion barrels⁸.

Since Hubbert's prediction had been proven to be correct for the United States of America, where oil production peaked in the 1970's, there was a growing concern that total world oil production is close to peak. Proponents of peak oil theory point to the fact an increasing percentage of oil fields are either beginning depletion or are already depleted, therefore, huge exploitable oil fields are likely to be a thing of the past, natural gas is expected to peak anywhere from 2010 to 2020. In fact, since 2002, the price of oil has steadily increased; it has an all-time high of \$140/barrel, and an expectation of \$200/barrel within the next decade is predicted, a matter that rises the global warning and alarm about a near future peak oil, the point at which global oil production reaches its highest level and begins to a decline. For such concerns, the International Energy

⁸ M. King hubbert, Nuclear Energy and the Fossil Fuels, Drilling and Production practice, American Petroleum Institute, 1956, p 22, figure20 (<http://www.hubbertypeak.com/hubbertypeak/1956/1956.pdf>)

Neoconservatism Reached the Zenith

Agency, IEA, has warned an increasingly large body of geologists that oil industry figures and analysts are forecasting that global peak oil production will occur at some point between 2008 and 2012, which automatically means the rise in food and energy prices with these forecasts.

The United States, currently, consumes 19.6 million barrels per day of oil, which is more than 25% of the world's total consumption. Consequently, it produces one fourth of the world's carbon emissions, and the demand on oil is on frequent increase, despite the predictions that the United States will exhaust its supply of oil in as little as forty years, according to Hubbert Peak Theory, which proved United States peak of the 1970's, as it is in the following figure.

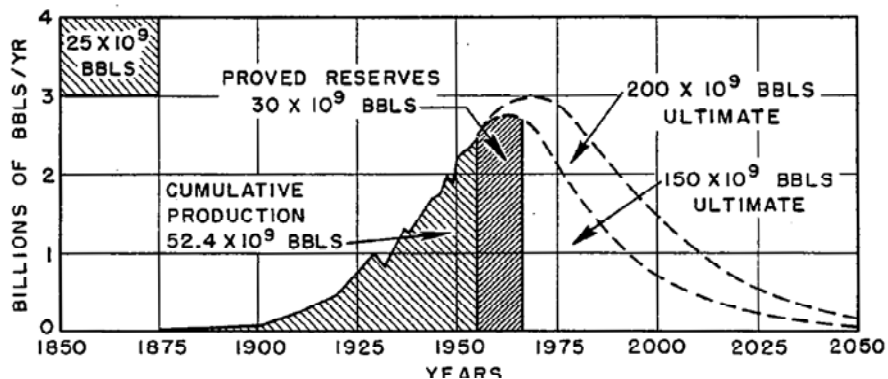


Figure 2: Ultimate United States crude-oil production based on assumed initial reserves of 150 and 200 billion barrels.⁹

The United States produced enough oil to supply its demands until 1970, when it was obliged to start importing oil to meet the demand. The latter increased mainly because of the population growth, and the increase in demand for a resource to augment the living standards. However, the United States oil production is declining dramatically, and there is little to no chance of discovering any significant new onshore oil fields in the United States.

In the early twentieth century, the United States had been the world's foremost oil producing and oil exporting nation, as well as being the world's top oil consumer, but quickly it became the most explored region of the planet for petroleum as its oil discovery peaked in the 1930's with overwhelming finds in Texas. However, the American oil saw a fast decline despite the constant efforts of the United States government to further their fields of exploration. On July 28th, 2008, the Energy

⁹ *Ibid*, figure 21 (<http://www.hubbertypeak.com/hubbertypeak/1956/1956.pdf>)

Neoconservatism Reached the Zenith

Information Administration, the United States official energy statistics, released data on the United States crude oil field production, on which the United States started rising its crude oil production since its discovery, late nineteenth century, reaching the summit late sixties, the peak during the seventies and early eighties, and falling down in the late eighties till nowadays, whereas the United States dependence on oil is increasing.

Figure 3: Annual US Crude Oil Field Production.¹⁰

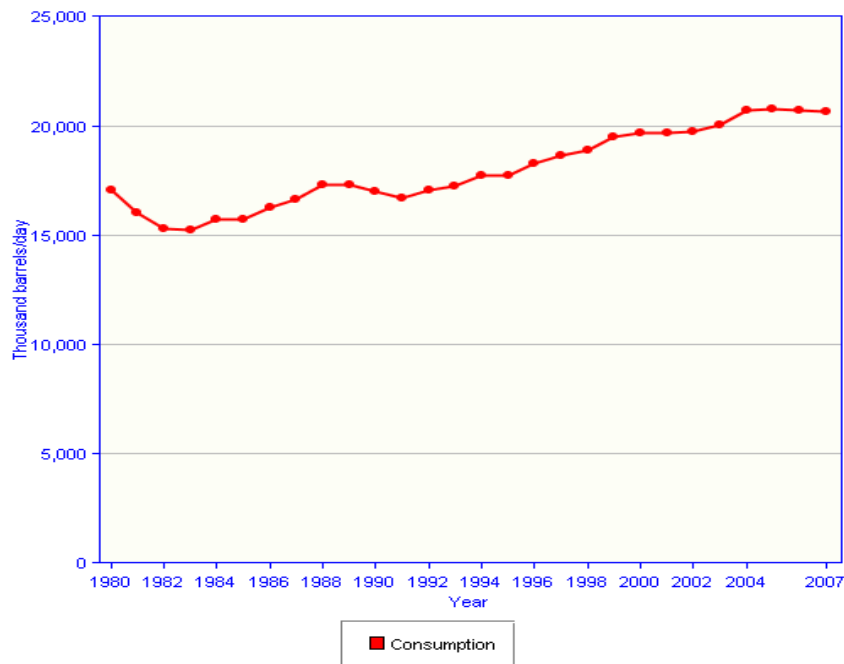
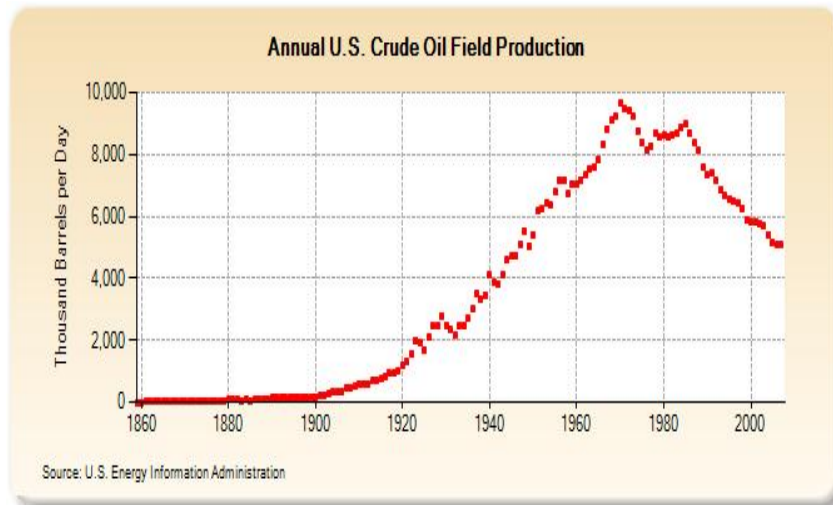


Figure 4: US consumption of petroleum products and direct combustion of crude oil¹¹

¹⁰ [www.http://tonto.eia.doe.gov/dnav/pet/hist/mcrfpus2A.htm](http://tonto.eia.doe.gov/dnav/pet/hist/mcrfpus2A.htm)

¹¹ http://tonto.eia.doe.gov/country/img/charts/US_cons_large.png

Oil had maintained the United States economy during the two World Wars and helped it to be the economical and military force of the world as most of petroleum used by the allies during the wars was from the United States wells. After 1945, the United States was in position to be the world's foremost lender as it had helped to rehabilitate Europe and Japan. In fact, during the presidency of Harry Truman (1945- 1953), the United States objectives in the Middle East had been summarized into three major points: to contain the expansion of the Soviet influence, to secure oil, and finally, to open the door for the expansion of the American free market, mainly the arms market.

As a producer and consumer of oil, the United States tried to stabilize its oil market, especially after the 1970's peak when it sought new cheap fields of energy to be imported from outside. But that cheap oil did not last because of the Arab oil embargo of 1973, an embargo done by the members of the Organization of the Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC¹²), to nations that had approved and supported Israel in the ongoing of Yom Kippur War¹³. The OAPEC members announced that they would no longer ship oil to the United States and its allies in Western Europe and Japan. Unfortunately, such action had dramatic effect on oil exporting nations since the price of oil quadrupled besides the oil control of the Middle East countries of a vital commodity, after being dominated by the industrial powers.

Consequently, after the oil shock which led to real shortage in the countries subject to the embargo, the industrialized countries founded in 1974 the International Energy Agency (IEA). The agency was set up within the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), with just twenty members, including the United States, Canada, Japan and Western Europe, with exception of France, which joined them in 1992, and aimed, first at promoting cooperation between participating countries and reducing their excessive dependence on oil through energy conservation; second, to cooperate with producing countries and oil-consuming countries in stabilizing and used rationally, in the interests of all countries. And the most important aim of the IEA, is to create a plan which would prepare countries for a possible major disruption of supplies and for sharing the available oil in the event of a crisis.

¹² OAPEC: OPEC members plus Egypt and Syria.

OPEC: An Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries that consists the following members: Algeria- Angola –Ecuador- Iran – Iraq- Kuwait- Libya – Nigeria – Qatar- Saudia Arabia- the United Arabia – and Venezuela.

¹³ Yum Kippur War (October 06th, 1973- October 26th, 1973): An Arab- Israeli war, a coalition led by Egypt and Syria against Israel.

Since the 1973 Arab Oil Embargo, the United States oil politics has changed to avoid another shock and tried to secure its interests in the Middle East as most of its oil exportation came from there. In 1979, with the fall of the Shah of Iran, President Jimmy Carter (1977–1981), formalized what would become known as the Carter Doctrine; stating that the United States would use its military force to maintain access to the oil reserves of the Middle East. Approximately the same policy had been used with President Reagan who found the situation in the Middle East very unpleasant, and the United States interests in danger, the Islamic Revolution in Iran, led by Ayatollah Khomeini, which threatened the United States oil interests, besides the Soviet's first steps of invasion in Afghanistan, seen as an advance toward the petroleum fields there. Therefore, these worries made Reagan neglecting the Israeli-Arab conflict, since he saw that the Iranian Revolution of 1979 might be contagious to other Arab monarchs mainly to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait where most of United States interests were gathered there. To avoid a new Iran in the Arab Gulf, the United States decided to sell huge sums of arms and military planes to Saudi Arabia, the country that contained one quarter of world's oil.

From the 1970 oil peak, the United States has suffered a slow but inflexible economic decline. In fact, previously, it had been the world's creditor nation, and now it has become by far the world's foremost debtor one, though it belongs to the four international poles of petroleum services industry, with the United Kingdom, Norway and France. These industries developed alongside the efforts in each country to increase national hydrocarbon resources, the United States has long set the pace for petroleum industry worldwide; it has developed a powerful petroleum services industry that includes many companies which are global players.

To secure its interests, the United States found itself indebted, as it was obliged to strengthen its foreign policy, by intervening in world's affairs and being implicated in foreign wars, such as the Vietnam War (1959- 1975), the Gulf War (1990- 1991), the invasions of both Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003), wars through which the United States government found itself in constant debts as mentioned in the figure below.

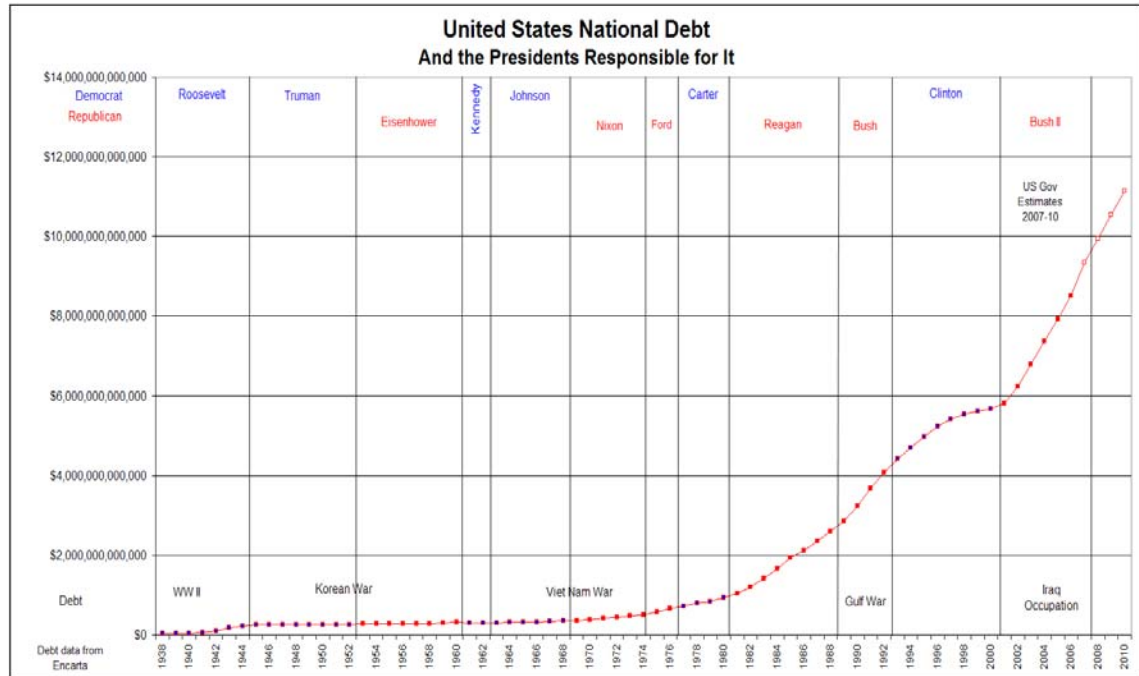


Figure 5: US National Debt And the president Responsible for It¹⁴.

The United States debts are increasing throughout the different administrations that passed through, and the United States oil consumption is increasing too. In 2006, the United States was the first oil consumer and importer, everyday it used about 21 million barrels of oil, more than any other country in the world. It imported about 58% of oil, 11% from Canada, the same from Mexico, Saudi Arabia 9%, Venezuela 8%, Nigeria 7%; Iraq 4% and 8% from other countries. The fact of importing such huge quantity of oil increased United States debts more and more every year, and for such reason, the United States government was obliged to find solutions and issues to decrease their debts and reduce their oil dependence and importation.

Yet, the fact that not enough oil is coming out of the ground shakes United States leaders. The American government has changed its oil policy as well as its energetic strategy and its foreign policy, which has become their centre of interests since the peak of the 1970's. indeed, in the late 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's, and after the elections of President Reagan, the United States foreign policy started focusing on regions where cheap oil might be imported. Therefore, President Reagan tried to regain the idea of the United States strength and superiority, and idea that started to collapse during the presidency of Carter because of his weak foreign policy.

¹⁴ <http://www.cedarcomm.com/~stevelm1/usdebt.htm>

Reagan's main objective was to regain the United States image of the world's leader, the leader of the liberal and democratic world against communism, oppression, tyranny and even against Islamism.

The presidency of Reagan had been the starting point of neoconservatives' emergence, it was not as apparent as today, but they had their sphere of influence in Reagan's administration. Indeed, in the post-Cold War era, the major threat that faced the neoconservatives was the energy disruption, a fact that explained why the focus was on the Middle Eastern oil, mainly if these neocons sought at maximizing oil production without reducing its consumption. As it is known, the Middle East is the centre of activity for world oil production and loosing such markets would be a real deficit for the United States economy, a matter that would shake the American hegemony. Neoconservatives view oil as a security consideration that must be protected everywhere in the world.

It is understandable that as soon as he took office, President W. Bush focused on energy and made it a priority in his political and economical agenda. Being men of oil and enough experimented in this domain, President W. Bush and his Vice Cheney, immediately, set themselves to the task of elaborating a new energy policy. On May 16th; 2001, Cheney tapped a 163 pages report entitled "Reliable, Affordable and Environmentally Sound Energy for America's Future", it contained an ambitious plan to insure the security of the United States energy supply for decades to come, it also noted the need to establish new hub-like bilateral agreements with oil-producing countries, notably Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and African oil producers, with regard the Middle East region, the site of two-third of the world's known crude oil reserves. The report recommended that the United States should encourage Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Yemen, Algeria, and other producing countries to accept international investments in order to expand their energy sectors.

Apparently, Cheney and his neoconservative advisors were enthusiastic toward this report that might secure the United States oil interests in the Middle East as they were conscious of the shortage in the American crude oil production. Over the next twenty years, the United States oil consumption will have grown by over six million barrels per day, whereas its production is in a continuous decrease which means that the United States' crude oil importation will have to grow by a combined 7.5 million barrels per day. Unfortunately for Cheney, his report saw opposition by the Democrats in

Congress, and another oil strategy was needed, of course, under the supervision of Cheney and his neocon followers. However, even if the Democrats had accepted the report, it would change because of the September 11th attacks, and a whole strategy for increasing and better controlling world petroleum production took a new importance with a new shape, the opportunity for the neoconservatives to control Middle East oil.

After having enough evidence about the United States oil situation, and the problems that might face the American economy, neoconservatives took control of the United States strategies, both in energy and foreign policy. Hence, the attacks of September 11th opened the door to the neocons to make into practice their supremacist ideology; thanks to President Bush who welcomed them in the White House, starting by giving to the neoconservative Cheney the function of US Vice President. In fact, neoconservatives gradually imposed their projects of globalization so as to secure the United States interests and oil fields in the world using a strong foreign policy and planning for different possible and impossible means that the United States should employ to embrace its position of hegemony and prevent the emergence of any rival to its power. Neoconservatives had certainly appealed to American use of power to export the Western liberal democracy as well as the free-market capitalism to undemocratic countries; with the view that the United States as an unrivalled power which must keep its position with all the benefits that come along with it, most notably, the benefit of maintaining and enhancing American sovereignty and security. The main purpose of such expansionist thoughts and projects was to insert the American political institutions in specific regions, mainly in the Middle East, a region where indirectly controls United States interests. To avoid a negative control, neoconservatives used their teacher's instructions of "noble lies", notably, neoconservatism's spiritual father, Leo Strauss, was clear about the rulers, the wise few use of the noble lies to govern over the masses, the many vulgar, so as to maintain the nation's stability and security. Thus, the September 11th attacks gave to the neocons the opportunity to use the noble lies to improve and secure the United States' oil in the Wide Middle East, as well as to maintain the American supremacy and in the world.

II.2.b. War

In the post September 11th era, neoconservatives saw that the United States would no longer afford modesty, the various strengths of America's political, economic and military institutions had to be used to their full capacity. Therefore, September 11th was a wake-up call for the United States to unambiguously embrace its imperial responsibilities. Max Boot, a practical neoconservative who belongs to the new generation, saw that:

*The September 11th attack was a result of insufficient American involvement and ambition; the solution is to be more expansive in our goals and more assertive in their implementation.*¹⁵

As most of the neocons, Boot understood that the United States' enemies could reach the American soil and inflict enormous damage upon American society even if they were abroad. However, the most important thing to understand was that evil had not been eradicated from existence with the fall of the Soviet Union, it had rather re-emerged in a new and more dangerous form, from different sources, not only from one state. Therefore, neoconservatives asserted that such assaults were the result of the soft American foreign policy, since the latter had always opened its doors to foreign presence, enemies were they or friends. More importantly, the September 11th attacks had enlightened for the world what was good and what was evil, as President W. Bush declared just following the attacks: *"Today, our nation saw evil"*¹⁶. In that period, terrorism had shown itself to be the greatest evil of modern time; the clash between good and evil was more a clash of ideologies than of civilizations as Samuel P. Huntington predicted it in his famous book, *"The Clash of Civilizations: and the Remaking of World Order"*, a bestseller where Huntington hypothesized a new post-Cold War world order and prior to the end of the Cold War, a period when societies were divided by ideological differences. Of course as a neoconservative think tank, Huntington maintained his hypothesis following the September 11th attacks, where he predicted the great clashes that would occur among different civilizations, as he went back to the ages of empires as a turning point to start his description of the coalition between Islamic and Sinic cultures against the common enemy, the West. Huntington also identified the good side as the one where laid the ideology of freedom and liberty

¹⁵ Max Boot, «*The Case for American Empire*», (Weekly Standard Magazine, Volume 7, October 15th, 2001), p. 27.

¹⁶ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-16.html>

whereas the evil side was the one where laid the ideology of hate, destruction and tyranny. Obviously, as an American Empire builder, Huntington matched the goodness with the Western Hemisphere, by considering the West from the rest as being the only ones able to maintain military superiority through the nonproliferation of the new emerging powers. He also promoted the Western political values as defenders of human rights and democracy with the prediction of a conflict between Islam and the West which would be worse than before.

Five years before the attacks, Huntington warned about the evolution of the religious conflicts. He explained that there had been factors that might aggravate the conflict between Islam and the Western culture, as this later had not been identified according to its geography, but to its religion, which became to be known as the conflict between Islam and Christianity. Indeed, Huntington listed five factors that had increased the severity of the conflict between the two religions in the late twentieth century.

First, Muslim population growth has generated large members of unemployed and disaffected young people who become recruits to Islamic causes.... Second, the Islamic Resurgences of Islam has given Muslims a renewed confidence in the distinctive character and worth of their civilization and values compared to those of the West. Third, the West's simultaneous efforts to universalize its values and institutions, to maintain its military and economic superiority, to intervene in conflicts in the Muslim world generate intense resentment among Muslims. Forth, the collapse of communism removed a common enemy of the West and Islam and left each the perceived major threat to the other. Fifth, the increasing contact between and intermingling of Muslims and Westerners stimulate in each a new sense of their own identity and how it differs from that of the other.¹⁷

Huntington well-predicted the result of such religious conflict, the September 11th attacks are witnesses to the expansion of the evil ideology, as the neocons called it, represented by a small fraction of the Arab Muslim world. Such ideology aimed at dominating the world and destroying what is known as the American Empire, an empire that supported Israel, the first enemy of the Muslims as well as the Arabs.

It was obvious that in the post September 11th era, the United States government took measures to halt the expansion of the terrorists' ideology, which means, to bring the forces of good for a direct confrontation with the ones of evil in the regions that harbor terrorism. In other words, the United States had to be present where terrorism grew up within the Arab and Muslim soils, considering that these governments were too

¹⁷ Samuel P. Huntington, « *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order* », (Simon & Schuster UK Ltd, Africa House, London, 1996), p. 211.

weak or unwilling to deal with terrorism. Therefore, such initiatives would simply mean a United States cover whether thematically, strategically or monetarily.

Though the George W. Bush administration did not follow the neoconservatives' strategy in every aspect, but it has been influenced strongly by this group of think tank, especially following the attacks, when the ideological tensions emerged. By having a full agenda, neoconservatives tried to be careful about the American presence in the enemies' territories, mainly if these states sponsored terrorism, or harbored its training camps and leaders, in such cases a hard-line approach would be necessary for two reasons. Firstly, such cooperation would lead to the destruction of terrorist networks and organizations, the case of the Afghan War (October 07th, 2001- present), and secondly, the clash of ideologies had to be fought and won, as in Iraq (March 20th, 2003- present), where President Saddam Hussein (1979-2003) had been one of the first targets to achieve in the American War on terror.

The United States War on Terror

The art of war is of vital importance to the State. It is a matter of life and death, a road rather to safety or to ruin. Hence, it is a subject of inquiry which can no account be neglected. The art of war, then, is governed by five constant factors, to be taken into account in one's deliberations, where seeking to determine the conditions obtaining in the field. These are: (1) The Moral Law; (2) Heaven, (3) Earth, (4) The Commander, (5) Method and discipline.

1. *The Moral Law, causes the people to be in complete accord with their ruler, so that they will follow him regardless of their lives. Undismayed by any danger.*
2. *Heaven, signifies night and day, cold and heat, time and seasons.*
3. *Earth, compromises distances, great and small; danger and security; open ground and narrow passes; the chances of life and death.*
4. *The Commander, stands for the virtues of wisdom, sincerely, benevolence, courage and strictness.*
5. *By Method And Discipline, are to be understood the marshalling of the army in its proper subdivisions, the graduations of rank among the officers, the maintenance of roads by which supplies may reach the army, and the control of military expenditure.*

*These five heads should be familiar to every general: he who knows them will be victorious; he who knows them not will fail.*¹⁸

Sun Tzu¹⁹

¹⁸ Sun Tzu, « *The Art of War : The Oldest Military Treatise in the World* », (translated by Lionel Giles, published by El Paso Norte Press, USA, 2005), p. 3-4.

¹⁹ Sun Tzu (722- 481 BC): a Chinese Military Commander who wrote an immense influential book on military strategy which influenced Napoleon Bonaparte and Mao Zedong.

In order to have a full support of people in his War on Terror, President W. Bush tried to make the best use of such rules so as to sensibilize his citizens and made them aware of the necessity to wage war on those who attacked their country by killing thousands of innocents. In fact, President W. Bush could not wage War on Terror without the support of the majority of his people, as they would be directly or indirectly touched. Though it was difficult, but President W. Bush succeeded in convincing his subjects to wage War on Terror, through his speeches whispered by neoconservatives, as one of his speechwriters, David J. Frum a neoconservative journalist and writer wrote for him following the attacks of September 11th the famous speech that contains the popular phrase “*axis of evil*”.

Accordingly, President W. Bush and his neoconservative advisors seemed using Tzu’s rules with a full determination in waging and winning the War on Terror, as less than a month following the attacks, the United States started its war in Afghanistan, defining clearly its objectives of that war: defeating, identifying, locating and destroying terrorists organizations as well as their sponsors even if they were statesmen. In coalition with the United Kingdom, the United States launched the first War on Terror on October 07th, 2001, targeting Afghanistan and the regime of Taliban who harbored Osama Bin Laden, the leader of Al Qaeda and the responsible of the September 11th attacks.

The story began during the First Gulf War (1990- 1991), when the Saudi Arabia invited the United States military force to settle their fearing any Iraqi invasion, especially when the United States secretary of Defense at that period, Dick Cheney, and the General Colin Powell, persuaded King Fahad (1982- 2005) that his country was in danger of being invaded by Iraq, though the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) and the Defense Intelligence Agency officials had been skeptic about the existence of any invasion plans by Iraq even after invading Kuwait. After the end of the war and the removal of the Iraqi troops from Kuwait, the American troops never left Saudi Arabia, an action that raised the tension within many Muslims in the area, especially those following the sect known as Wahabism²⁰, obviously Bin Laden belonged to that sect.

The United States presence in the Holy Land was for Bin laden a sin, the agitation exacerbated the enmity of this later against the West, the United States in particular. The United States presence in Saudi Arabia developed into hatred inside that

²⁰ Wahabism: a conservative form of sunni islam.

sect of Islamists who considered the United States as their first enemy who must be deleted; such feelings led to an attack on the World Trade Centre Towers, in New York, and to their destruction in 2001. Bin Laden challenged the West, President W. Bush and his neocons felt implicated in a quagmire of dark military occupation and refused to be between the hands of an Arab fundamentalist who invited them to a confrontation so as to elevate himself as the myth who fought the Western “crusaders”, the Saladin of the XXIst century. In other words, the Arab-Islamic fundamentalists, headed by Bin Laden and the Western-Christian fundamentalists, led by George W. Bush, are locked in an ultimate and a continuing struggle for resources, but also over which religion should dominate the world.

The War on Terror was the first war of the XXIst century, a war that aimed at the destruction of terrorist networks as well as the regimes that harbored them. As it was mentioned before, Afghanistan and the Taliban were the first target of this war, the Taliban regime covered the terrorist training camps and Al Qaeda recruitment there under the leadership of the Saudi Wahabist Bin Laden who widespread its network over most of the Muslim countries and shook the United States stability. Therefore, President W. Bush was determined, first, to smash the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, then, to abolish the other regimes that harbored terrorists.

....anybody who harbors terrorists needs to fear the United States and the rest of the free world. Anybody who houses a terrorist, encourages terrorism will be held accountable. And we are gathering all evidence on this particular crime and other crimes against freedom-loving people.²¹

And he added:

I would strongly urge any nation in the world to reject terrorism, expel terrorists. I would strongly urge the Taliban to turn over the al Qaeda organizers who hide in their country.²²

Afghanistan, the objective of the neoconservatives and their president, is a Muslim country situated approximately in the centre of Asia, South Asia and the Middle East, a country whose 85% of its population live from the opium cultivated in their land, one of the important reasons that attracted different organizations to rule it, after petroleum and natural gas. Afghanistan is known by growing poppy and illicit drugs including the opium and its two derivatives, morphine, heroine and hashish, which are

²¹ President George W. Bush : « President Building Worldwide Campaign Against Terrorism », September 19th, 2001 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010919-1.html>)

²² *Ibid.*

produced and then exported to Pakistan and other neighbor countries. After the Soviet-Afghan War (1979-1989), Afghanistan was the target of different networks, one of them “Taliban”, which means “student”, referring to the movement’s origin in Islamic religious schools, or “madaras”, though most of them did not go to these madaras since their childhood, because of their military trainings there, under the assistance of the United States, and sometimes of Pakistan during the Soviet- Afghan War. However, years after the end of that war, the Taliban with a strong military training, took power in Afghanistan, and in 1996, they became officially at the head of the Afghan government, without any experience in political issues.

The Taliban ruled Afghanistan randomly and hardly over their population who were still under the effect of their war with the Soviet Union, as well as the Civil War that followed it. Thereby, under the direction of Mullah Mohammed Omar (1996- 2001) and his council members, Afghanistan became a fundamentalist Islamist country, as they began instituting an uncompromising regime, since their basic premise was to enforce a pursuit way on their fundamentalist interpretation of Islam. Immediately after having power, the Taliban established the Ministry of Ordering What Is Right and Forbidding What Is Wrong, so as to impose and enforce their rules of conduct. The Taliban’s Amirul-Momineen (Commander of the Faithful), Mohammed Omar, stated rules of conduct based in ancient tribal rules and customs, with a little base of the Quran. His council did not ban only all kinds of entertainment; they closed girls’ schools and forbade all women to work outside their homes, as well. Consequently, children in orphans were abandoned, widows could not provide the necessities for their families, and even hospitals lost almost their staff. No reason was available to break their rules, the Taliban punished anyone disobeyed them. In contrast to their strict beliefs, they took profit from smuggling operations, arms, electronics, and mainly the opium cultivation, though it was a sinful business. However, they soon fell in their own trap, by allowing terrorist organizations to run training camps in their territory and giving refuge to al Qaeda’s leader Osama Bin Laden from 1994 to 2001, as the relation between this later and Taliban was too close. Bin Laden fought with the Mujahideen of Taliban, financed them, and eventually married one of his daughters to Mullah Muhammed Omar, for such reasons were the cause of the United States hostility to Taliban, and determination to make an end to that oppressed regime that harbored one of the most dangerous man of the world.

Following the September 11th attacks, the United States government collected enough evidence of Bin Laden's responsibility of the attacks, placed significant pressure on the Taliban to turn over Bin Laden and Al- Qaeda, but the Taliban refused to give up their refugee. Unfortunately, their refusal's result was seen on October 07th, 2001, when the United States began bombing Taliban's military sites, as well as Al – Qaeda's training camps, and by December, the Taliban were completely routed and a provisional Afghan government had been founded under the leadership of President Hamid Karzai (2001- present).

Until today, Osama Bin Laden is free, he could not be captured or killed, but, the American government did not give up and continued its War on Terror.

Who is Next?

After the Taliban's overthrow, President W. Bush and his administration think tank, tried to collect enough evidence to end Saddam Hussein's government (1971- 2003), and his tyrannical regime. In fact, one day after President W. Bush gave his speech about building worldwide campaign against terrorism, the neoconservative magazine "*The Weekly Standard*", edited by William Kristol the son of neonservatism Godfather, Irving Kristol, published an open letter to President W. Bush calling him to consider terrorism as a serious threat that might menace the United States security.

We write to endorse your admirable commitment to "lead the world victory" in the war against terrorism. We fully support your call for a "broad and sustained campaign" against the "terrorist organizations and those who harbor and support them."²³

As one of the most influential publications in Washington or may be in the United States, the neoconservative magazine, *Weekly Standard*, knew how to make the White House hear their voice and be influenced by their writings. In the same letter, Kristol suggested an anti-terrorism strategy to invade Iraq and remove their president from power as he represented an international danger.

We agree with Secretary of State Powell's recent statement that Saddam Hussein "is one of the leading terrorists on the face of the Earth...". It may be that the Iraqi government provided assistance in some form to the recent attack on the United States. But even if evidence does not link Iraq directly to the attack, any strategy aiming at the eradication of terrorism and

²³ William Kristol, « *The Weekly Standard* », September 20th, 2001, (<http://weeklystandard.com/content/public/articles/000/000/000/040pmoiasp?pg=1>).

its sponsors must include a determined such an effort will constitute an early and perhaps decisive surrender in the war on international terrorism²⁴.

The third point that William Kristol tackled in his letter was to destroy one of the leading terrorist organizations Hezbollah (The Party of God), a party suspected of being involved in the bombings of the American Embassies in Africa in 1998. Hezbollah is a Shi'ite Islamist party which had a full military, financial and political support from Syria and Iran, countries that exhibited their hatred to Israel, a matter that threatened Kristol and made him ask President W. Bush in the same open letter to secure Israel by insisting on the Palestinian authority to stop terrorism against the Jews. The last point of Kristol's letter was to urge for no hesitation in requesting whatever funds for defense were needed. The United States should raise its defense budget to assure victory on its War on Terror. Finally, Kristol concluded the letter by saying:

Our purpose in writing is to assure you of our support as you do what must be done to lead the nation to victory in this fight.²⁵

Whether he followed the neoconservatives' letter plan or not, President W. Bush took Iraq as a second target after Afghanistan, ousting Saddam from power was one of his priorities. The United States government and its agencies tried to collect enough data to have the total support of both national and international to invade Iraq, so as not to be in the front line while the invasion. Indeed, the coalition forces, headed by the United States backed by British forces and smaller contingents from Australia, Poland and Denmark, had been determined to free the Iraqis from the dictatorship and tyranny on which they were living since President Saddam took power, also they were sure about Saddam's possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and of his alliance with Al-Qaeda and Bin Laden. However, the forces of coalition were opposed by some United States traditional allies like France and Germany, as they were not convinced by the cause for that war, both of them did not find enough of proofs for the invasion.

As time passed war preparations intensified, American soldiers had been prepared morally and militarily as they had to transit from war to peacekeeping and to take in charge of postwar Iraq. Also, President W. Bush prepared his nation to the war and tried to make them aware of the invasion's necessity and of the threats coming from Iraq.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

The threats come from Iraq. It arises directly from Iraqi regime's own actions- its history of aggression, and its drive toward an arsenal of terror. Eleven years ago, as a condition for ending the Persian Gulf War, the Iraqi regime was required to destroy its weapons of mass destruction, to cease all development of such weapons, and to stop all support for terrorist groups. The Iraqi regime has violated all those obligations. It possesses and produces chemical and biological weapons. It is seeking nuclear weapons. It has given shelter and support for terrorism and practices terror against its own people. The entire world had witnessed Iraq's eleven-year history of defiance, deception and bad faith.²⁶

On March 17th, 2003, President Bush delivered his final ultimatum:

Saddam Hussein and his sons must leave Iraq within 48 hours. Their refusal to go will result in military conflict commenced at a time of our choosing.²⁷

Coalition troops, massed in the Persian Gulf on the eve of the invasion, expected an Iraqi chemical attack as they had been near Baghdad 20.000 ground troops, almost of them American and British, were backed by an armada of ships in the Gulf and hundreds of Navy and Air Force war planes. At the insistence of Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, the ground force was only half the size of the force that ejected Iraqi forces from Kuwait in 1991.

Zero hour, targeting the top 55 men in the Iraqi leadership, the coalition planned to start the invasion with a speculator opening strike. But a sudden change of plans was in Washington, CIA Chief, George Tenet, had received a tip on when President Saddam would be that night, so the attack plan on the full Iraqi leadership was given up. American commanders were advancing across the Kuwait border; Iraqi regular forces were simply falling apart, taking off uniforms and disappearing among the civilian population, whereas they expected resistance either from the Iraqi army or from the civilians. The Bush administration had been persuaded about the Iraqis cooperation while the invasion by the cabal led by Richard Perle, Chairman of Defense Policy Board (2001- 2003), that “*People will be dancing in the streets of Baghdad the day the United States invades Iraq*”.²⁸

²⁶ President George W. Bush, «President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat », October 07th, 2002. (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021007.8.html>).

²⁷ President George W. Bush, “President Says Saddam Hussein Must Leave Iraq Within 48 Hours”, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030317.7.html>).

²⁸ Rodrigue Tremblay, « *The New American Empire* », (Infinity publishing.com, ACHON Books, USA, 2004), p. 93.

However, when the British army reached the outstrike of Basra, they met with resistance from regular and Fedayeen “self-sacrificers”, a fiercely loyal militia headed by Saddam’s son. But such resistance could not stop the coalition forces and within only 21 days, they toppled the government and captured the key cities, and on the first day of May, President Bush landed on the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln where he announced the end of the major combat operations in Iraq.

*My fellow Americans: Major combat operations in Iraq have ended. In the battle of Iraq, the United States and our allies have prevailed. And now our coalition is engaged in securing and reconstructing that country.*²⁹

The victory of overthrowing Saddam’s regime had been achieved, but President Saddam was still free, till December 14th, 2003, when he had been captured in a farmhouse near his village Tikrit, where he was hiding since the beginning of the invasion. With eleven other senior Beathist leaders, President Saddam had been accused for different crimes against humanity; they were presented in an Iraqi Special Tribunal. The trial of Saddam ended by being responsible of both national and international crimes, the verdict of the trial was to plead Saddam Hussein guilty for crimes against humanity, and to sentence him to death. Saddam Hussein’s danger had been eradicated on December 30th, 2006, by killing him.

Thereby, the Iraqi Invasion was successful, the forces of coalition reached their target, and prepared themselves to the second step which was to keep peace in the region and rebuild a democratic and free Iraq. Despite the thousands of American soldiers killed since the beginning of the Operation Iraqi Freedom, President Bush remained thinking about the operation as successful and had to be done, if the United States did not take such initiative, other September 11th attacks would be repeated, as the United States was living a clash of civilization, a clash between Islam and the West.

*The struggle has been called a clash of civilization. In truth, it’s a struggle for civilization. We fight for a free way of life against a new barbarism, an ideology whose followers have killed thousands on American soil, and seek to kill again on even a greater scale.*³⁰

²⁹ President George W. Bush, “President Bush announces Major Combat Operations in Iraq Have Ended”, May 01st, 2003. (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/05/20030501-15.html>).

³⁰ President George W. Bush, “President Bush Attends Veterans of Foreign Wars National Convention, Discuss War on Terror”, August 22nd, 2007. (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/08/20070822-22.html>)

All in all, President Bush and his administration found the “War on Terror” necessary in the post September 11th era, the United States eradicated the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, destroyed Al-Qaeda’s training camps there and finally, deleted Saddam’s government. However, the United States officials sold the Operation Iraqi Freedom with illusion causes; according to them, President Saddam possessed weapons of mass destruction that he might use against the United States and its allies, especially Israel, whereas the real cause of this war was to consolidate American power in the Middle East and change the political culture of the region. Being surrounded by think tanks advisors, President Bush realized that Saudi Arabia did not provide a secure basis for American influence in the Middle East or even ensure a stable oil supply for the United States as well as for the West.

The vision of a new American power base, political and cultural transformation in the Middle East was related to a neoconservative thought. By the time he took office, President W. Bush, agreed with his key advisors Cheney and Wolfowitz to overthrow the Iraqi president as soon as possible, however, the only question was to find a way to do it, a matter that exasperated the neocons before September 11th. Therefore, the “War on Terror” solved the hard part of the problem, by doing so; President W. Bush concretized the neocons’ dream of being in the middle of the Middle East as they planned it in their project of globalization drafted in 2000 entitled the Project for the New American Century.

The Project for the New American Century

As the 20th century draws to a close, the United States stands as the world’s most preeminent power. Having led the West to victory in the Cold War, America faces an opportunity and a challenge: Does the United States have the vision to build upon the achievement of past decades? Does the United States have the resolve to shape a new century favorable to American principles and interests?

“[What we require is] a military that is strong and ready to meet both present and future challenges; a foreign policy that boldly and purposefully promotes American principles abroad; and national leadership that accepts the United States’ global responsibilities.

“Of course, the United States must be prudent in how it exercises its power. But we cannot safely avoid the responsibilities of global leadership of the costs that are associated with its exercise. America has a vital role in maintaining peace and security in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. If we shirk our responsibilities, we invite challenges to our fundamental interests. The history of the 20th century should have taught us that it is important to shape circumstances before crises emerge, and to meet threats before they become dire. The history of

Neoconservatism Reached the Zenith

the past century should have taught us to embrace the cause of American leadership.

– From the Project’s founding Statement of Principles³¹

The PNAC is a neoconservative imperial project that was established in 1997 by a member of leading neoconservative writers and pundits. Advocating an aggressive American foreign policy, the PNAC is a neoconservative agenda whose goal is to promote the American global leadership and invests in the world. In September 2001, the PNAC published a controversial 90 pages report entitled “Rebuilding America’s Defenses: Strategies, Forces and Resources For a New Century”, indeed, this neoconservative think tank document, based in Washington, D. C , seems adopting Zbigniew Brzezinski’s imperialist strategy following the Cold War; in fact, this document also predicted the need for another Pearl Harbor type event to accelerate the agenda of establishing an American dominance in the world. Therefore, following the philosophy of Machiavelli and Leo Strauss about the creation of the elite class that would remain loyal to the ruler while allowing the populace to continue living under their laws, for that matter, the neocons considered themselves as this elite that had to reign over the many vulgar, and in order to accomplish their mission they outlined their strategy for a perfect political dominance over the populace.

Therefore, when W. Bush came to power with Cheney as Vice President, Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense, and Wolfowitz as Deputy Secretary of Defense, the PNAC became a blueprint for the American Defense and international policy. This policy was officially accepted as a Whit House document under the title of “The National Security Strategy of the United States of America”, personally signed by President Bush, on September 20th, 2002, which led to the evidence that such document would adopt PNAC’s policy as he was surrounded by its most distinguished signatories, Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and Jeb Bush, the president’s brother. It is thereby important to note that many of PNAC members had close ties with both military and oil industry, which was hard for them to be objective and neutral, though they had described their project as “*a non-profit, educational organization whose goal is to promote American global leadership*”.³²

³¹ REBUILDING AMERICA’S DEFENSES: Strategy, Forces and Resources For a New Century «A Report of The Project for the New American Century», September 2000. (www.newamericancentury.org/).

³² *Ibid*, ,p. 02.

As it was mentioned before, the White House had adopted the PNAC's policy of globalization and military domination by drafting the National Security Strategy of the United States of America; consequently, the PNAC became no longer just a neocon project. However, both documents were seen as provocative, and the Bush administration was extending the Monroe Doctrine (1823)³³ to cover the entire world.

The idea of being an expansionist country to protect America's interests did not come only following the September 11th attacks; in fact, it appeared nine years before the attacks, when Dick Cheney was Defense Secretary during the presidency of George H. W. Bush (1989- 1993) and drafted "Defense Planning Guidance", a post Cold- War strategy, where he wrote a number of objectives that the United States should take to maintain its international power and hegemony following the Soviet Union to avoid the appearance of rival powers.

Our first objective is to prevent the re-emergence of a new rival. ... the new regional defense strategy and requires that we endeavor to prevent any hostile power from dominating a region whose resources would, under consolidated control, be sufficient to generate global power.³⁴

He outlined three aspects to the objectives:

...First the US must show the leadership necessary to establish and protect a new order... Second, in the non-defense areas, we must account sufficiently for the interests of the advanced industrial nations to discourage them from challenging our leadership or seeking to overturn the established political and economic order. Finally, we must maintain the mechanisms for deterring potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role.³⁵

Five years later, Cheney's strategy was taken as the basis principle of the PNAC. In 1997, PNAC became an official neoconservative agenda and started to move making into practice their project by putting President Clinton aware of the urgent intervention in Iraq as President Saddam Hussein presented a real threat to the United States as well as to the world, despite of the policy of containment following the First Gulf War (1990-1991). Consequently, on January 26th, 1998, PNAC staff wrote a letter to the President in which they expressed the necessity of overthrowing Saddam's regime not

³³ The Monroe Doctrine was a US policy asserting that the Western Hemisphere was not to be colonized by European countries, but also that the US would not interfere with existing European colonies nor in the internal concerns of European countries. (www.wikipedia.org)

³⁴ Excerpts From 1992 Draft, « *Defense Planning Guidance* ». (<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/iraq/etc/wolf.html>).

³⁵ *Ibid*

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only because of his responsibility for the war, but also for his production and possession of chemical and biological weapons.

Even if the terrorists did not attack the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, the United States would invade Iraq. The Iraqi invasion was pre-planned by the PNAC members, and orchestrated by President Bush to make loads of money, which explained why a number of the PNAC members and signatories were appointed to important positions in Bush's administration. Here are some names, according to their alphabetical order.

Name	Position (s) Held
Elliott Abrams	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• (2005- present) Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Global Democracy Strategy.• (2002- 2005) Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Near East and North African Affairs.• (2001-2002) Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Democracy, Human Rights, and International Operations.
Richard Armitage	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• (2001- 2005) Deputy Secretary of State.
John R. Bolton	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• (2005- 2006) US Ambassador to the UN.• (2001- 2005) Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs.
Dick Cheney	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• (2001- present) US Vice President
Eliot A. Cohen	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• (2007- present) Member of the Defense Policy Advisor Board
Seth Crospey	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• (2002- 2004) Director of the International Broadcasting Bureau.

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- Paula Dobriansky • (2001- 2007) Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs.
- Francis Fukuyama • (2001- 2005) Member of the President’s Council on Bioethics.
- Zalmay Khalizad • (2007- present) US Ambassador to the UN.
• (2005- 2007) US Ambassador to Iraq.
• (2003- 2005) US Ambassador to Afghanistan.
- I. Lewis “Scooter” Libby • (2001- 2005) Chief Staff for the Vice President.
- Richard Perle • (2001- 2003) Chairman of the Board, Defense Policy Board Advisory Committee.
- Peter W. Rodman • (2001- 2007) Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security
- Donald Rumsfeld • (2001- 2006) US Secretary of Defense.
- Randy Scheum Emam • Member of the US Committee on NATO, Project on Transitional Democracies. “International Republican Institute”.
- Paul Wolfowitz • (2005- 2007) President of the World Bank Group.
• (2001- 2005) US Deputy of Defense.
- Dov S. Zekheim • (2001- 2004) Department of Defense Comptroller.
- Robert B. Zoellick • (2007- present) President of the World Bank.
• (2005- 2006) Deputy Secretary of State.
• (2001- 2005) Office of the US Trade Representative.

However, the PNAC Chairman, William Kristol, did not belong to the Bush administration who saw himself more efficient in directing the neocons' projects and ideas by widespreading them through editing one of the most popular American magazine, the "Weekly Standard".

In 2002, the PNAC gave birth to a new group, the Committee for Liberation of Iraq, a committee that met Condoleezza Rice at the time she served as the United States National Security Advisor, so as to formulate a plan to educate the American populace about the need for a war in Iraq. As most of the PNAC signatories Rice believed in the need of a "noble lie" to govern, though she was not one of Strauss's students. However, Rice believed in his theories of the necessity of the wise few to govern the many vulgar with a good use of the noble lie to be in charge of the populace. Thus, thanks to President Bush and to his administration were they neoconservatives or not, the PNAC objectives were achieved gradually, though not all of them, but the most important one was done in Iraq.

Neoconservatives are, therefore, silent thinking about a new way to carry on their supremacist ideology as well as their goals in establishing democracy in the vicinity of Israel.

Their [neoconservatives] goal was to create a new democratic Middle East which would eventually achieve a lasting peace between Israel and Palestine.³⁶

³⁶ Joseph E. Stiglitz, Linda Bilmes, « *The Three Trillion Dollar War: The True Cost of the Iraq Conflict* », (W.W. Norton Boydell & Brewer. March, 2008), p. 04.

II. 2. c. Israel

Israel is the third concern of neoconservatives' trilogy, after Oil and War. Israel is the only United States true ally in the Middle East, it is often portrayed as weak and besieged; a Jewish David surrounded by a hostile Arab Goliath. Today, Israel is the strongest military power in the Middle East with far superior forces to its neighbors, as it is the only state in the region with nuclear weapons. The loss of Israel will mean no American presence in the middle of the Middle East.

The Israel-US relations have been described in a variety of ways. Some American politicians consider Israel as the most reliable ally in the Middle East, if not the word, it is a strategic ally in the region as it shares with the United States common democratic values in the "War on Terror". Others see the Israel-US relations according to Israel's geographical position; it is seen as a tool of United States imperialism to weaken Arab nationalism, a barrier against fundamentalist Islamic terrorism. And others view that the Israeli governments exercise on the American government policy via powerful Jewish lobbies. Thus, the intrinsic Israel-US relation remains ambiguous and necessary for the United States, the global imperial power, for Israel, the regional religious power and for the neoconservatives, the bridge of the two nations. The neocons sought American empire, the Sharonites sought hegemony over the Middle East. The two agendas coincided precisely, the neocons insisted that it was September 11 that had made the case for war on Iraq and militant Islam, however, the origins went back far before³⁷.

Israel-United States Relations:

It has been displayed previously that the founders and the ancestors of neoconservatism are Jews, and obviously this can be seen as weird in a Catholic country like the United States. How could the most important elements of neoconservatism, its spiritual father, godfather and architect be Jews?

In fact, the rising fundamentalism and extremism of the religious right in the United States faith-based religious over the last four decades is a result of fundamentalist and fanatical view of the apocalyptic ideas of the Jewish Christian bible as well as a profound fear of suppression or being taken over by the forces of evil. All of Leo Strauss, Irving Kristol and Paul Wolfowitz's thoughts, ideologies and actions are the result of such pressures, the pressure of seeing the Jewish community decreasing,

³⁷ Gary Dorrien, « *Imperial Designs: Neoconservatism and the New Pax American* », (Routledge, 270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, 2004), p. 82.

losing their dream of recovering their homeland “Promised Land”, since the fact that Israel is a Jewish state does not mean that the dream is reached and the aim is fulfilled, as the state is surrounded by enemies who pushed Israel to be in a frequent state of alarm. Indeed, such pressures provoked the emergence and the expansion of neoconservatism in the United States as a movement that could control American politics; however, the latter is bound up slantingly with the creation of a Jewish state according to what is supposedly meant in the biblical prophesies.

As Jewish neoconservatives, Strauss, Kristol and Wolfowitz belonged to the immigrant Jews who believed strongly on the Promised Land as mentioned in the Old Testament, from which raised the creed of the elites who would rule over the others as they are God’s chosen people. In fact, all of the philosopher, the intellectual and the policy-maker represent just a sample of the Jews who fled persecution and anti-Semitism with the hope to find in the United States what would prepare the track for them to establish the state of Israel and recover their religious heritage. The elitism of these persons is due to the elitism of their people, people who belonged to all the times, most ancient, ancient and modern ones, a description bringing into relief the contrast between the Jewish people, as the best ones because of their long, very long existence.

As for the non-Jew neoconservatives, they share the unwavering support for Israel, which they see as crucial to the United States military sufficiency in a volatile region. They view Israel as a key outpost of democracy in a region ruled by despots, believing that authoritarianism and theocracy allowed anti-Americanism to prosper in the Middle East that is why they favor a democratic transformation of the region, starting with Iraq to oust Saddam Hussein and install a pro-Israeli government, like the one of Ahmed Chalabi, so that they can isolate Palestinian radicals and force an agreement on the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon’s terms of opposing a Palestinian state and defeating its military opposition.

In December 1998, George W. Bush’s advisors organized for him a trip to Israel since he was basically ignorant of major world issues as he was an important presidential candidate. Sharon invited him for a couple of days in Israel, Sharon at that time was Minister of Foreign Affairs, he gave Bush the use of a helicopter so that he could have a full and a good view of the country, where he visited the holy sites which stimulated his religious fervor. However, once in office, President W. Bush was reticent about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but after September 11th, his administration was

divided over what to do about Israel and the Palestinians. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, believed that resolving the conflict was essential to stabilize the Mideast and ending the threat of Islamic radicalism, as he favored to revive the negotiations of President Clinton; however, the Pentagon and National Security neoconservatives wanted the new Bush administration backed to Sharon's Likud Party³⁸ which was against the establishment of Palestine as a free state.

It is important to mention that once in power, President W. Bush was surrounded by a small group of well-known people from the cabal whose goal was to eradicate the most dangerous enemies that besieged Israel. In February 1998, forty famous people formed a cabal under the direction of Richard Perle, an extreme right-wing and absolutist neocon who presides over the obscure but influential Defense Policy Board and became a Pentagon advisor during the presidency of W. Bush, he is dubbed "The Prince of Darkness" of American foreign policy. Perle's group signed an open letter in 1998 to President Clinton to urge him to oust Saddam's regime. Moreover, the cabal had the full support of Henry Kissinger, former Secretary of State in the administration of both President Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford from 1969 to 1976. The cabal most important members are: the former Secretaries of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Frank Carlucci and Donald Rumsfeld, James Woolsey the former head of the CIA, future undersecretaries Paul Wolfowitz (Defense), Douglas Feith (Defense), Richard Armitage (State Department), John Bolton (State Department), Paula Dobriansky (State Department), Elliott Abrams (National Security Council), Robert Zoelick (Trade Department), and politicians such William Kristol, Stephen Solarez, etc. In fact, six months later, President Clinton destined a budget of \$ 97 million to aid the Iraqi opposition by signing a bill into law called the "Iraq Liberation Act". Therefore one should mention the obscure report written by Perle, Feith, Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz in 1996, entitled "A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm", which was drafted by a study group on "A New Israeli Strategy Toward 2000", with the aim of devising a strategy how Israel could transcend its problems with the Palestinians by persuading the American government to change the balance of power in the Middle East through overthrowing Saddam's regime, weakening Syria and Iran, and put pressure on states like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. By doing so, the Palestinian militant organizations, such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad would have no support from those states.

³⁸ Likud Party was founded in 1973; it is a centre-right political party in Israel. It supports free-market capitalism and liberalism. It is now the major party in Israel. (www.wikipedia.org).

*Israel can shape its strategic environment, in cooperation with Turkey and Jordan, by weakening, containing, and even rolling back Syria. This effort can focus on removing Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq — an important Israeli strategic objective in its own right — as a means of foiling Syria's regional ambitions. Jordan has challenged Syria's regional.*³⁹

This classic neocon tract was in the form of a policy advice letter to incoming Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (1996- 1999) to call for the use of armies to misbalance Arab governments in the Middle East. It also advocated Israeli attacks on Syrian military targets in Lebanon, and if necessary, Syria.

*Strengthening Israel's ties with Turkey and Jordan would help to destabilize or overthrow Syria... because Iraq was an enemy of Israel, they wanted Netanyahu to support the Jordanian Hashemites in their challenge to Iraq's birders.*⁴⁰

Netanyahu had closed personal and ideological ties to American neocons, who told him that Americans would support a hard line against the Palestinians. Perle, Feith and David Wurmser, assured that Americans would support a policy of pursuit into Palestinian-controlled areas. Moreover, Israel was not obliged to accept the Oslo agreements⁴¹ if the Palestinians Liberation Organization did not fulfill its obligation of obedience. It was hard time that Israel made a clean break from the past and renewed its relation with the United States, a relation based on a shared policy of peace through strength so that Israel would no longer be besieged by the Arab Goliath.

The United States national interest should be the primary object of American foreign policy. For the past several decades, however, and especially since the Six Day War in 1967, the centerpiece of United States Middle East policy has been its relationship with Israel. The combination of unwavering United States support for Israel and the related effort to spread democracy throughout the region has inflamed Arab and Islamic opinion and jeopardized U.S. security. This situation has no equal in American political history; it is true that the United States has always supported Israel, past American presidents encouraged by active support from civic groups, labor unions, political parties, and members of American and world Jewish communities, supported

³⁹ A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm, 1996, (<http://www.israeleconomy.org/strat1.htm>).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ The Oslo Accords (September 13th, 1993): officially called the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements or Declaration of Principles (DOP) was a milestone in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It was the first direct, face-to-face agreement between Israel and political representatives of Palestinians: Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat.

the concept of establishment in Palestine a national home for the Jewish people as it was alluded in Britain's 1917 Balfour Declaration⁴².

At that time the relation between Palestine and the United States and Britain was damaged because of the Palestinians religious leaders' agreements with Germany, as Palestine in exchange for their support, Germany would free the Palestinians from British control and grant them a sovereign Palestine. Even if the Palestinians did not support the Germans, the United States would approve the establishment of Israel in the land of Palestine, as on May 14, 1948, the United States was the first country to extend de facto recognition to the State of Israel. However, why did the United States set aside its own security in order to advance the interests of another state? One might assume that the bond between the two countries has been based on shared strategic interests or compelling moral imperatives. Since then, the Israeli- US relation started to be close and intrinsic with the aim of securing their interests in the world, especially in the Middle East where it became necessary to secure the region from the oppression of President Saddam, as he presented a danger for both of them because of his support to the Palestinian resistance as well as to the terrorist networks such as Al Qaeda that is why an urgent intervention was needed there. Thanks to President W. Bush the dream had been achieved.

At prima facie, President W. Bush hesitated to engage his country in an open war in Iraq, though the United States had always been a faithful ally and a protector to Israel, but he soon realized the threat that the government of Saddam presented to the stability of international oil markets. It did not take much to persuade President W. Bush to change the regime of Iraq, as he was surrounded by the cabal who drew for him the world petroleum situation that would peak between 2010 and 2020, when half of all exploitable reserves would have been depleted in a period the price of oil would skyrocket; in this way, if several Middle East countries fell under the domination of fundamentalist and Islamic movements and became extremist religious regions, hostile to the West, with a strong economic power, the result could be extremely severe and dangerous for the United States as well as for Israel.

⁴² Balfour Declaration :On November 2nd, 1917, was a classified formal statement of policy by the British government stating that the British government "view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people". The declaration was made in a letter from Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour to Lord Rothschild. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balfour_Declaration_of_1917#Text_of_the_declaration)

Indeed, the United States invaded Iraq, Saddam's regime was ousted and Israel started recovering its security and strategic position in the Middle East. However, such influence raised an important question; how was the Israeli state able to influence the United States imperial state into pursuing a series of wars that would imperil its own imperial economic and security interests and those of Israel? The most suitable and direct answer is to be found in the role that the neoconservatives played in shaping President's W. Bush foreign policy. Those neocons were Pro- Zionist officials who had long standing ideological and political ties to the Israel state, including policy advisory positions. Throughout most of their political lives they had dedicated themselves to furthering Israel's interests in the United States.

The neoconservatives took pride in their closeness to Bush and in their victory in Iraq, and to be sure of Israel's security in the Middle East, they wanted to resume war in Iran or Syria⁴³. As they carried the heaviest weight in the white House as well as in the Pentagon, the Jewish neoconservatives took for granted that a militantly pro-Israel policy was in America's interest. Wolfowitz, Perle, Norman Podhertz, Abrams, Bolton Irving and William Kristol and Max Boot fit that description, as did dozen of neocons at all levels of the Bush administration from Pentagon desk officers to State Department Deputy secretaries and advisors in the vice president's office. Some were active in the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA), founded in 1976, which took a very hard line against the Palestinians and United States diplomatic relations with Syria. JINSA's board of advisors before 2001 included Perle, Dick Cheney, James Woolsey, Bolton and Feith, until the last three resigned to take positions in the Bush administration. The Centre for Security Policy was another hardline Zionist organization that called for wars of regime-changing, transformation throughout the Middle East. This centre was directed by Perle's protégé Frank Gaffney, a faithful right-wing who defended Israel's settlement policy.

The United States' policy in the Middle East is due almost entirely to its domestic policy, and especially to the activities of the "Israel Lobby." Other special interest groups have managed to skew United States foreign policy in directions they favored, but no lobby has managed to divert the American foreign policy as far from what the American national interest would otherwise suggest, while simultaneously convincing Americans that the United States and the Israeli interests are essentially

⁴³ Gary Dorrien, « *Imperial Designs: Neoconservatism and the New Pax American* », *op.cit*, p. 189.

identical. The Israel Lobby or the Jewish Lobby as they are generally called is a group of persons whose Jewish members share certain goals in the profit of Israel and work to bring about the passage, modification, or defeat of laws that affect these goals. This lobby shaped American neoconservatism and succeeded in having important positions in the White House so that they could have enough influence to mold United States foreign policy in a way that it synchronized with Israel's interests, as it had always used to do since the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948.

The United States Government Support for Israel

For decades, the United States and Israel have maintained strong bilateral relations based on a number of factors, including strong domestic U.S. support for Israel; shared strategic goals in the Middle East (concern over Iran, Syria, Islamic extremism); shared democratic values; and historic ties dating back to U.S. support for the creation of Israel in 1948. U.S. economic and military aid has been a major component in cementing and reinforcing these ties.⁴⁴

The only reason the United States supports Israel is because of the powerful Jewish lobby. Since the October War in 1973, Washington has provided Israel with a level of support dwarfing the amounts provided to any other state. It has been the largest annual recipient of direct United States economic and military assistance since 1976 and the largest total recipient since World War II. The total of the United States direct aid to Israel amounts to well over \$140 billion in 2003 dollars. Israel receives about \$3 billion in direct foreign assistance every year, which means one-fifth of America's foreign aid budget. In per capita terms, the United States gives each Israeli a direct subsidy worth about \$500 per year. This assistance is especially striking when one realizes that Israel is now a wealthy industrial state with a per capita income roughly equal to South Korea or Spain.

As Israel has always been besieged by the Arab and the Muslim countries, it was difficult for it to develop and rely on its own economy. The Arab-Israeli conflict is growing up considerably every day, since the establishment of the state of Israel. As a consequence, the United States Congress, supported by board public opinion, agreed to strengthening Israel's military and economy by increasing the foreign aid. According to the Congressional Research Service (CRS), the United States had been determined to make a general transformation to Israel's armed forces to be one of the most

⁴⁴ Congressional Research Service (CRS): « *US Foreign Aid to Israel* », Jeremy M. Sharp. The Library of Congress, January, 2008), p. 04.

technologically sophisticated militaries in the world. The United States military aid for Israel has been designed to secure Israel's qualitative border over neighboring militaries. Accordingly, the CRS report mentioned that the United States had always supported Israel financially, from the foundation of its state till today. The following table shows the United States foreign aid to Israel from 1949 to 2007.

TABLE 1: Direct U.S. Aid to Israel (millions of dollars)⁴⁵

Year	Total	Military Grant	Economic Grant	Immigrant	ASHA	All Other
1949-1996	68,030.9	29,014.9	23,122.4	868.9	121.4	14,903.3
1997	3,132.1	1,800.0	1,200.0	80.0	2.1	50.0
1998	3,080.0	1,800.0	1,200.0	80.0	?	?
1999	3,010.0	1,860.0	1,080.0	70.0	?	?
2000	4,131.85	3,120.0	949.1	60.0	2.75	?
2001	2,876.05	1,975.6	838.2	60.0	2.25	?
2002	2,850.65	2,040.0	720.0	60.0	2.65	28.0
2003	3,745.15	3,086.4	596.1	59.6	3.05	?
2004	2,687.25	2,147.3	477.2	49.7	3.15	9.9
2005	2,612.15	2,202.2	357.0	50.0	2.95	?
2006	2,534.53	2,257.0	237.0	40.0	?	.53
2007	2,500.24	2,340.0	120.0	40.0	?	.24
Total	101,190.8	53,643.4	30,897.0	1,518.2	140.3	14,991.9

*ASHA: American Schools and Hospitals Abroad.

Accordingly, the United States has supported the development of the Israeli military defense industry. The American military assistance for military purchases in Israel is about 26.3%. As \$625 million were given to develop and deploy the Arrow anti-missile missile and \$1.8 billion to develop the Lavi aircraft. Further support comes through the US government's guarantee of Israel's access to oil, via the Israel-United States Memorandum of Agreement, 1 September 1975 which stated that:

If the oil Israel needs to meet all its normal requirements for domestic consumption is unavailable for purchase in circumstances where no quantitative restrictions exist on the ability of the United States to procure oil to meet its normal requirements, the United States Government will promptly make oil available for purchase by Israel to meet all of the aforementioned normal requirements of Israel. If Israel is

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 24.

*unable to secure the necessary means to transport such oil to Israel, the United States Government will make every effort to help Israel secure the necessary means of transport.*⁴⁶

However, the U.S.-Israel relations do not jeopardize relations with others in the region. The United States needs to have a good relationship with its Arab allies, as they are an important source of oil for Americans, while they provide them with crucial military and political support. The US-Israeli relations and close ties were the major causes to raise the degree of hatred in the Middle East as major events had happened because of these relations, starting with the oil embargo of 1967, the oil crisis of 1973, the diplomatic crisis between Iran and the United States where fifty-two American diplomats were held hostage, from November 4th, 1979 to January 20th, 1981, by a group of Islamist students who took over the American embassy, to the first bombing on the World Trade Centre in 1993, and the second one in 2001, concluding with the September 2008 bombing at the United States embassy in Yemen killing 16 persons. Al-Qaeda also has done so far terrorist attacks on American camps in Saudi Arabia to oust the Americans from their country.

Till today, Israel is serving the American government in the region, though it was not helpful during the First and Second Gulf Wars. Even if Israel was a strategic asset during the Cold War, the two Gulf Wars revealed that Israel was becoming a strategic burden. The United States could not use Israeli bases during the war to avoid an Arab coalition and an Islamic opposition which might have inconsiderable consequences for the both sides. President Bush could not ask Israel to help without triggering Arab opposition which explained why Israel stayed on the sidelines while invading Iraq. Starting from the 1990s, and especially after September 11th, the United States support for Israel has been justified by the claim that both states are threatened by terrorist groups coming from the Arab or Muslim states, like Al Qaeda. This motivation implies that the United States should give Israel a free hand in dealing with the Palestinians without putting pressure on Israel to make concessions until all Palestinian terrorists are imprisoned or dead. To fight terrorism also means that the United States should go after countries like the Iran, Iraq, and Syria, that is why Israel is indeed seen as a crucial ally in the War on Terror, as its enemies are America's enemies.

As long as the state of Israel exists, the United States will be obliged to secure its interests there, as the Arab-Israeli conflict is growing up since the establishment of the

⁴⁶ Israel- United States Memorandum of Understanding, September 1st, 1975.
(<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Peace/mou1975.html>)

land of Israel. The Arabs and the Muslims see the Jews as interlopers in the Middle East with no connection with the land which was populated only by aboriginal Palestinians. Palestine, the Land of Israel - the historical birthplace of the Jewish people, the land promised to Abraham, the site of the holy Temple and David's Kingdom - has been the cornerstone of Jewish religious life since the Jewish exile from the land two thousand years ago, and is rooted in Jewish prayer, ritual, literature and culture. The establishment of the state of Israel was necessary for the Jews to recover their "Promised Land".

A Brief History of the Origins of Israel as a Jewish State:

The land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

Exiled from Palestine, the Jewish people remained faithful to it in all the countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and the restoration of their national freedom.⁴⁸ **Declaration of Israel's Independence 1948**

According to their past and present existence, the Jewish people deserve to be called the most historical people "historicissimus" as the world has witnessed their long existence, fight and struggle since Abraham (1500 B.C.E?). Beginning with the progenitor of the Hebrew, "the exalted father", Abraham, ending with the creation of a Jewish state in 1948, and the events surrounding the land today known as Palestine and the creation of the Jewish state of Israel shows the long struggle of the Jewish people to establish a permanent country for themselves, recovering all their religious and historical heritage and the conflict that resulted the Jews' success in taking control of the land which has been considered as the Holy Land for Jews, Christians and Muslims. Thus, the history of these people is described by the Jewish historian, writer and activist Simon. Dubnow as:

If the history of the world be convinced as a circle, then Jewish history occupies the position of the diameter, the line passing through its centre, and the history of every other nation is represented by a chord marking off a smaller segment of the circle. The history of the Jewish people is like an axis crossing the history of mankind from one of its poles to the other. As an unbroken thread it runs through the ancient civilization of Egypt and Mesopotamia, down to the present-day culture of

⁴⁸ *Declaration of Israel's Independence 1948*: Issued at Tel Aviv on May 14, 1948 (5th of Iyar, 5708). (<http://stateofisrael.com/declaration/>)

*France and Germany. Its divisions are measured by thousands of years.*⁴⁹

The dream of the creation of the state of Israel had started in ancient times. This dream became an idea and then a reality. In the Jewish Old Testament, God purportedly made an agreement with the Jewish people to provide them with a promised land after losing it because of the successive invasions and hard circumstances. Indeed, the land of Canaan⁵⁰, which became later on known as the land of Israel, was occupied for centuries by the Jews⁵¹. Therefore, one can trace the origin of the Jewish people and the land of Israel to the monotheist religion of Abraham; father of Yitshak “Isaac”, and the grandfather of Jacob “Israel”; Abraham, Isaac and Israel are the patriarchs of the Israelites. The names Israel, Israeli or Jewish refer to people of the same origin, as according to the Old Testament, Israel is derived from the name given to Jacob, whose son is Yehuda “Judah”.

After their Exodus from Egypt under the leadership of Moses (Moshe in Hebrew), the descendants of Abraham, the Israelites became a nation about 1300 BCE. Soon after the Exodus, Moses transmitted the people of this new emerging nation, the Torah, and the Ten Commandments. After 40 years in the Sinai desert, Moses led them to the Land of Israel that is cited in the Old Testament as the land promised by God to the descendants of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

*And if the Lord thy God enlarge thy coast, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, and give thee all the land which he promised to give unto thy fathers.*⁵²

The Jewish nation is the only one that can with certainty trace its origin through one family, to a single individual, Abraham. Starting with their first patriarch, the Jews have had continuous presence in the land of Israel for the past 3300 years. The Israelites started ruling in the land of Israel around 1250 B.C, when Joshua, the leader who succeeded Moses, began the conquests to recover the Promised Land. Thus, the period from 1000-587 BCE is famous by being the era of the kings, who were noteworthy like David (1010-970 BCE), who established Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, and then his son Solomon (970- 931 BCE, who built the First Temple in Jerusalem, which was

⁴⁹ S.M.Dubnow, « *Jewish History: An Essay in the philosophy of History* », (Kessinger Publishing, LLC, P.O. Box 1404 Whitefish, MT 59937, 2004), p. 11.

⁵⁰ Canaan : the grandson of the prophet Noah. He is the son Ham.

⁵¹ Jew : referring to Yehuda, “Judah”, one of the twelfth sons of Jacob

⁵² « *The Old Testament* »: The fifth Book of Moses “ Deuteronomy”, Chapter 19:19.8. King James Version, The Ages Digital Library, Bibles, Books for the Ages. AGES Software. Albany or USA. Version 1.0©1996, p 454.

destroyed and captured by the Babylonian army. Unfortunately during these conquests, the Jews were obliged to exile to Babylon.

Since the Babylonian invasion to Palestine, the Jewish people saw successive conquests of superpower empires of that time. As from 538- 333 BCE, Israel was conquered by the Persians who allowed to the Jews to return back to their homeland and re-built the Second Temple. However, after the Hellenistic reign (333 BCE- 63 CE), the Romans invaded Jerusalem and the land of Israel and the Second Temple had been again destroyed. The Jewish people were then exiled and dispersed to the Diaspora⁵³. The Romans were followed by Byzantines (313- 636) and then by the Arabs (636 - 1099) who saw different crusades from Europe to capture the Holy Land, following the appeal of Pope Urban II to summoned the attending nobility and the people to wrestle the Holy Land from the hands of the Arabs and the Muslims. However, the Pope's crusading movement was because of the Byzantine's Emperor, Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), appeal for help against the Muslims⁵⁴.

From 1291 to 1516, the land of Israel was under the rule of the Mamluk, who were succeeded by the Ottomans for more than four centuries (1516- 1917). Thus, during their reign; the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem were rebuilt and the population of the Jewish community in Jerusalem increased. However, by the end of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire (1291-1923) began its first steps of decline by leaving Jerusalem to Great Britain.

Therefore, the British were the first to recognize the Jews' rights to establish the state of Israel, as a response to the Zionist movements of liberation which claimed the establishment of the state of Israel in Palestine. Though in 1789 Count Stanilas de Clemont-Tonnerre⁵⁵ declared during the debate in the National Assembly his objection of the creation of the Jewish nation, for him *it was necessary to refuse everything to the Jews as a nation and granted the Jews everything as individuals*⁵⁶.

In 1897, the first Zionist Congress, led by Theodor Herzl, proclaimed the right of the Jewish people to return to their Holy Land, after being exiled and persecuted.

⁵³ Diaspora : the presence of Jews outside of the Land of Israel during the Roman occupation.

⁵⁴ Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. (www.wikipedia.org).

⁵⁵ Count Stanilas de Clemont-Tonnerre (1757-1792) : A French politician, he was the president of the National Constituent Assembly. He desired to model the new constitution of France on the organic laws of England. He opposed to the creation of Jewish nation. He said (original text): "*Il faut tout refuser aux Juifs comme nation et tout accorder aux Juifs comme individus. Il faut qu'ils ne fassent dans l'Etat ni un corps politique ni un ordre*". (www.wikipedia.org).

⁵⁶ David Biale, Michael Galchinsky, Susannah Heschel, «*Insider/Outsider: American Jews and Multiculturalism*», (University of California Press, 1998), p. 05.

Indeed, the Zionist movements in Europe were very active; in order to achieve their dream of recovering Palestine they started organizing congresses to stop the Diaspora of the Jews. In fact, the Zionist leaders in Britain viewed Britain as an important potential supporter in their efforts to create a Jewish state, as Britain was at that time the greatest world empire and military power. Jews had been able to settle there and became part of the power elite of the country, by producing such political and social leaders. Benjamin Disraeli and the Baron Walter Rothschild belonged to them; the former was in 1874, the British Prime Minister, and the latter was the first Jewish peer in England, he was also a Liberal and Liberal Unionist Member of Parliament for Aylesbury. Baron Rothschild was the one who formulated the draft declaration for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Indeed, on November 02, 1917, he received a letter from the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour, in which the British government, as an occupier of Palestine, stated formally through the Balfour Declaration that Palestine would be the national home of the Jewish people. Hence, the Balfour Declaration gave an explicit connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to reconstruct their National Home, at the same time, the declaration expressed the British government sympathy with the Jewish Zionist aspirations.

In the first half of the 20th century there were major waves of immigration of Jews back to Israel from Arab countries and from Europe. During the British rule in Palestine, the Jewish people were subject to great violence and massacres directed by Arab civilians or forces of the neighboring Arab states. During World War II, the Nazi regime in Germany decimated about 6 million Jews creating the great tragedy of The Holocaust. However, in the aftermath of World War II, when the Palestinians were weak militarily and the Western countries were stronger, Britain took control of the land of Israel as well of the land its neighbors. This was the opportunity that the Jewish Zionist leaders were waiting for since their first congress in 1897; yet, this coincided with the Western interest in the Middle Eastern oil, a matter which enabled the Zionist leaders to promote the division of Palestine with the possession of the permission and financing to start a settlement in Palestine.

In 1948, the Jewish Community in Israel under the leadership of David Ben-Gurion reestablished sovereignty over their ancient homeland; therefore, the Declaration of Independence of the modern State of Israel was announced on May 14th, 1948, the day that the last British forces left Israel.

Since then, the Jews succeeded in settling the land, establishing and expanding a Jewish State of Israel by military force. For that, it was necessary to oblige the Palestinians (Arabs and Muslims) to remove by force, the Jews created the Palestinians' settlements, in which they were marginalized and segregated from the Israeli areas and could only go there with special permits in order to work. Such actions raised the tension between the Arabs and the Israelites, which led to several wars (War of Independence 1948, Sinai War 1956, Six Day War and Yom Kippour War 1973), besides the Palestinian resistance inside the country which did not stop since the establishment of the state of Israel.

Most people would like to see a reduction in tension leading to a peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians. However, depending on their experiences individuals understand, and therefore prefer, one version of events which they believe to be more truthful and accurate.⁵⁷

As long as the Arabs and the Muslims carry weapons, and as long as the Zionists are in the Israeli government, the Israeli-Arab conflict will never see an end. Even if the Israeli government does some concessions to the Palestinians, the Zionists will never accept, as they consider themselves the protectors of Jerusalem and of the Holy Land that God promised them. Being elder than Israel, Zionism continues shaping the country even after sixty years of recovering their homeland; however, some Jews feel the need of a secular Israel.

Israel's birth, however, recreated a Jewish nationalist framework based on land, language, culture and everyday life. And once again it is in conflict with demands rooted in religious belief. To avoid repeating the cycle....., nationalism and religion have to be disconnected. This separation is "the next challenge of the Zionist revolution."⁵⁸

If the Palestinians give up there will be no violence, and if the Jews give up there will be no Israel. Sixty years after the establishment of the state of Israel, the Jewish people are as prosperous as they have ever been, for a country with so many wars; Israel still has an economy with the power to astonish the world. Thanks to the United States, Israel maintained its economy even during the global financial crisis of 2008. In fact and as it has been displayed before, the United States has supported Israel politically,

⁵⁷ «*The art of balance : the other side of the coin*»,. The Middle East, (IC Publications, 7 Coldbath Square, London EC1R 4LQ, United Kingdom. August/ September 2008), p. 33.

⁵⁸ «*A special report on Israel: The next Zionist revolution*», The Economist, (Interpress Danmark, Priorparken 839, 2605 Brøndby, Denmark. April 5th- 11th, 2008), p. 25.

economically and militarily, since the establishment of the state of Israel sixty years ago.

Yet, according to their past, the Jews seemed using the same policy everywhere. During the Diaspora, the Jews did not waste their time; as they tried to convince each superpower of Europe to give them their homeland, Palestine; in fact, they got what they had planned for. The Jews occupied important positions within the British government; they succeeded in having enough influence on the British government to approve the establishment of the state of Israel (Balfour Declaration 1917). The same policy was used in the United States; it was neither to found a nation nor to recover nor to recover the Holy Land, but to make an end to its enemies.

As usual, the Jews succeeded in having the total support of the United States. Even the new elected United States President Barack Obama defended the state of Israel in a speech delivered in Cairo in his first visit to the Middle East following his nomination. Though he tried to regain the Muslims' trust after losing it in the wars on Afghanistan and Iraq, President Obama maintained the United States support for Israel, and declared:

America's strong bonds with Israel are well known. This bond is unbreakable. It is based upon cultural and historical ties, and the recognition that the aspiration for a Jewish homeland is rooted in a tragic history that cannot be denied.⁵⁹

The Jews held very important positions in the White House and in shaped the American foreign policy through their new Jewish ideology called “Neoconservatism”. According to its patriarchs: Leo Strauss (the philosopher), Irving Kristol (the intellectual) and Paul Wolfowitz (the policy-maker), neoconservatism emerged by being the ideology of the elitists as the United States of America had always been an exceptional nation. However, by waging the “War on Terror” and securing Israel’s interests in the Middle East, neoconservatives pushed the United States in unknown quagmire there. Being too enthusiastic and too proud by their Jewish ideological shaping, the neoconservatives traced the first steps of their decline, as *each doctrine vehicles in itself the grain of its own decline.*

⁵⁹ *President Obama Speech in Cairo, June 04, 2009.*

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/06/04/obama-speech-in-cairo-vid_n_211215.html

Chapter Three:
Post-Neoconservatism: The End of
Utopia

Constructing a utopia was a useful act of the philosophical imagination.¹

Since the beginning of humanity, man dreams of perfection. He wants to be perfect; having a perfect life in a perfect place with perfect people, which is to say, this dream of perfection is source of man's imagination and creativity. Even, the monotheist religions speak of perfection and utopianism and give the idea of a utopian heaven in their mention of the Garden of Eden. Eutopia or Utopia is the result of man's sufferance from persecution, poverty and misery, of his inability to change his conditions of life and of his wide imagination.

Much has been written and said about "Eutopia", most of the time the term is used to give a perfect image to a state or a government. Eutopia is derived from Greek εὖ "good" or "well" and τόπος "place". Plato was one of those who dreamt of a utopian republic, he is considered to be one of the first philosophers to write on utopia. "*The Republic*" (380BC) is one of Plato's best known works, on which he tried to draw an ideal image of community, speaking about the myths that existed in his utopian city, removing the evils existing on it like poverty and misery.

Plato's most important dialogue, the Republic, consists, broadly, of three parts. The first consists in the construction of an ideal commonwealth; it is the earliest of Utopias.²

Bertrand Russell in his work "*History of Western Philosophy and its Connection with Political and Social Circumstances From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*" (1946), studied Plato's utopia and described the way he divided the citizens into common people, the soldiers, and the guardians and how he considered the latter as the only one who should govern and have the political power³. However, Russell just tried to analyze Plato's utopia through *The Republic*, but the one who was really influenced by the utopianism of Plato was Sir Thomas More (1478- 1535) as he wrote his famous and controversial work *Utopia* (1516) on which he used his wide imagination to construct an ideal island where everything is done in the best possible way⁴. More

¹ Irving Kristol, «*Neo conservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*», (Elephant Paperbacks, Ivan R. Dee, Publisher, Chicago, 1999), p. 188.

² Bertrand Russell, «*History of Western Philosophy and its connection with political and social circumstances from the earliest times to the present day* », (Simon & Schuster, INC, Rockefeller Center, 1230, New York, 1946), p. 108.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 518.

aimed to influence his superiors in the way they should govern so as to have an ideal society.

However, there are many things in the Commonwealth of Utopia that I rather wish, hope, to see followed in our government.⁵

In fact, More's Utopia claimed that the wise people were the one who should rule over the populace. More as a political philosopher influenced a lot of modern and post modern philosophers and political philosophers, among them Leo Strauss and Irving Kristol who agreed on the influence of the superior and their right to govern. Kristol, the godfather of neoconservatism, had been influenced by Plato's Republic and tried to give to his ideology a perfect thought applied by elitists in an exceptional country like the United States. Kristol also exemplified in his autobiography More's Utopia which could not be realized within the reign of King Henry.

He (More) simply thought that, as a political philosopher with a superior vision of the ideal, he might prudently influence the politics of his time toward somewhat more humane ends.⁶

Kristol considered neoconservatism as a utopian ideology since it succeeded in synchronizing ancient and modern utopianism as the spiritual father, Strauss, who believed, too, on the success of the perfection of his philosophy since most of his works were about the ancient and the modern philosophies and how they shaped the modern era.

In fact, neoconservatism turned around utopianism, elitism and perfectionism. According to what has been displayed previously, neoconservatism is an ideology based on the philosophy of the ancients and the moderns, well synchronized by the post-moderns and put into practice by people chosen by God. It is therefore worthy to stress on the origin of neoconservatism spiritual father, Leo Strauss, godfather, Irving Kristol, and architect, Paul Wolfowitz, who are Jews and belong to the elitist people chosen by God. Though it is wrong to suggest that neoconservatism is an exclusively Jewish phenomenon as a lot of its proponents are Christians like President W. Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney, and other important figures.

⁵ Sir Thoma More, «Utopia», (Printed by M.S. Rickerby, Sherboun Lane, London, 1852), p. 183.

⁶ Irving Kristol, «*Neo conservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*», *op.cit*, p. 189.

Following the September 11th attacks, neoconservatives started appearing in the White House shaping the United States foreign policy, till they reached the zenith by occupying two of the important countries of the Middle East, Afghanistan and Iraq. The neocons succeeded in putting in practice their philosophy of “World Order”, which in reality covers the idea of the single thought “*la pensée unique*”. However, the neocons’ dream started fading following the invasion of Iraq 2003 which discontinued their project of conquering the Middle East. After the neoconservatives reached the zenith through their utopian ideology, they began the first path of their own decline.

III.1.Neoconservatism After the Zenith

Following the Second World War, the Western world felt the great desire of creating a better world by putting an end to all the unpleasant horrors seen during the first half of the XIXth century. Of course, the world could not change in a short period, especially with the emergence of two super powers, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, each one tried to defend its ideology in a cold war till the beginning of the 1990's. However, after the end of the Cold War, the world saw a great gap of thoughts, and the United States became the world's super power, which encouraged the emergence of neoconservatism as an ideology that saw the world into two parts of good and evil terms, focused on the United States unilateral action and the most important characteristic was to emphasize on the Middle East.

After the September 11th attacks, the world was in thrall to the idea of American power. The neoconservative agenda dominated the global debate about the future of international relations. Thus, the idea of a new American empire emerged mainly through the success of the "War on Terror" and the "Axis of Evil" which overarched the importance of the American military power. In fact, the Bush administration succeeded in persuading the great majority of countries to accept the priority of war against terror. However, the United States could not have the total support to invade Iraq, but according to the neocon agenda, Iraq had to be invaded with or without the international support. The utopianism and unipolarity of the United States gave the neocons the right to overthrow President Saddam's regime so that to not interrupt their agenda.

The rapid progress made in the fulfillment of the neocons agenda, the PNAC, reflected the degree to which the neoconservatives effectively dominated the United States foreign policy decision making after September 11th. The new wars of the early 2000's marked a significant turning point in world affairs as the neocons tried to create a utopian ideology so as to show the efficiency of their movement and of capitalism in response of communism and to all the oppressed regimes used before. Moreover, the war in Iraq was the neocons' opportunity to show how the new American century might be and how the Middle East should be democratized just as the democratization of Germany and Japan had been after World War II. Though, it is evident that the

democratization of oppressed regimes was not the real reason of the American presence in the Middle East.

As it was displayed before, the neocons had been the conductors of American foreign policy with a full agenda to open the door widely toward the Middle East. Indeed, Afghanistan and Iraq were the best keys that the neocons chose to have a free access to the region, though the reasons they used to be there were not as they had pretended before the invasion. The invasion of Iraq was neither because of the arms of mass destruction nor because of the oppressed regime of President Saddam, it was just because the neocons had a wide vision of American imperialism.

Oil, War and Israel were the first concerns of neoconservatives, the United States will see an oil shortage by 2010, according to Hubert peak. If this shortage happens without finding an alternative, it will limit the United States use of oil and cripple its economy; in other words, the American government had to find new and cheap oil wells outside the State, Iraq for example, in order to avoid any oil shortage, have a control on Iraq huge oil and settle in the middle of the Middle East. In fact, the United States government had to assure oil without reducing its consumption.

The War on Iraq by the United States was in part an attempt to prevent the huge oil economy of Iraq from being turned over to European currency and insuring the supply of oil to the United States of America at favorable prices to the United States oil companies and the United States economy⁷

However, by mid-2003, it had become clear that the Bush administration and its neoconservative allies had miscalculated the war in Iraq and the nature of the region occupied. Driven by the perfectionism of their ideology and the exceptionalism of their country, neoconservatives found themselves in an Iraqi quagmire, difficult to get out. The United States military forces and their allies quickly became perceived as occupier forces instead of being Iraq liberators. The situation had so deteriorated by fall 2003 that Secretary Condoleezza Rice created the ISG (Iraq Stabilization Group) aiming to reduce the Pentagon's control of key aspects of Iraq policy. The creation of the ISG marked not only the beginning of the end of hawks' dominance within the White House, but also it displayed the neocons influence that started to fade.

⁷ Reginald Muata Ashby, «*Death of American Empire: Neoconservatism, Theocracy, Economic, Imperialism, Environmental Disaster and the Collapse of Civilisation*», (Sema Institute, P.O.BOX 570459, Miami, Florida, 2006), p. 116.

Every single argument the Bush administration made to justify the invasion of Iraq has turned out to be false. Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction, posed no imminent threat to the United States, and had no connection to al-Qaeda or to the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001.⁸

By late 2004, it had become clear that the assumptions and justifications used by President W. Bush and his neocon advisors to promote the war in Iraq were unfounded, to not say fabricated, as following the invasion the United States and the coalition forces found no operational ties of any kind between President Saddam and al Qaeda, also no evidence that might prove that Saddam had been developing weapons of mass destruction.

In early 2006, the political and military situation had deteriorated to such an extent that the rebellion in Iraq had sparked violence between the two main religious factions of the country [Sunni and Shia] which further destabilized the country further weakened the USA economy and military.⁹

The neoconservative dream faded in 2006 and began collecting the first grains of its own decline. Neoconservatives started losing popularity within the American and the international scenes, and their cause of War on Terror seemed to be no longer useful and credible. The reasons used for the war in Iraq appeared to be manipulated and invented by the Bush administration; however, there had been far more people less willing to believe what was said by the American government in the fall 2005 about the impending threat from Iran. In fact, the statements about Iran's danger were intensified in fall 2005 because of the infamous statements by President W. Bush use of the term "Axis of Evil" in his state of the Union Address on January 29th, 2002, while describing the supposed regimes that sponsored and harbored terrorism, where he named Iraq, Iran and North Korea as forming that axis. However, this time even the media were not as enthusiastic as they had been previously in their call for war in Iraq.

The war on Iraq traced the first steps of Bush's administration failure in reaching the Middle East, besides that, the latter lost public's trust as the hawks were seen as liars due to the illusion and misinformation they had used. Paul Wolfowitz, former deputy secretary of defense; acknowledged that the "intelligence" used to justify the war was "murky" and that the main rationale for the war on Iraq was to disarm Saddam of a

⁸ Anthony Arrove, «Iraq: The Logic Withdrawal », (Henry Holt and Co., 2007), p. 08.

⁹ *Op.cit.*, p. 123.

supposed reconstituted weapon of mass destruction program. Nonetheless, it was obvious that a student of Strauss like Wolfowitz espoused his teacher's philosophy of 'noble lie', particularly when the latter supervised his student's PhD at the University of Chicago. As the leading advocate of neoconservatism, Wolfowitz justified the lies used in the war in Iraq as "bureaucratic decision". Moreover, Richard Perle, the "Prince of Darkness" and co-architect of Wolfowitz's war on Iraq, affirmed that the war was in violation of international law but nonetheless stated it was the "right thing" to do¹⁰. Noble lies are useful; however, they can cause discord if they are uncovered.

Even if Strauss is the spiritual father of neoconservatism, some of his students misinterpreted their teacher's philosophy of "noble lie".

Strauss willingly accepts the label "noble lie" for this philosophic reticence, although he also says it can properly be called "considering one's social responsibilities", Strauss's emphasis was always quite different from that of contemporary commentators on his doctrine: they emphasize the "lie"; he emphasized "noble". They think he means to justify all lying to the masses by elites, but that is far from his point.¹¹

Catherine and Michael Zuckert, authors of "*The Truth about Leo Strauss*" and former students of Mr. Strauss, tried to enlighten the reality of their master and of his philosophy. During the first decade of the XXIst century, the world saw successive events in relation with President Bush, his administration and his neocon advisors. As former students of Mr. Strauss, Catherine and Michael Zuckert sought to avoid more misinterpretations on Strauss's philosophy as he had become very known in the international scene since the terrorist attacks of September 2001 and the emergence of neoconservatism as a new version of old conservatism but with an empirical vision.

Indeed, in recent years, and particularly from the September 11th events to the Afghan invasion, to the war in Iraq, scholars and commentators across the ideological spectrum had revived the idea of empire to understand the nature of contemporary American global power, and a spiritual father of neoconservatism, Strauss was seen as one of the most important figures of the XXIst century though he had left it more than twenty years before. However, since the United States occupation of Iraq allegations

¹⁰ William R. Clark, *«Petrodollar Warfare: Oil, Iraq and the Future of the Dollar»*, (New Society Publishers, Canada, 2005), p. 99-100.

¹¹ Cathrine and Michael Zuckert, *«The Truth about Leo Strauss: Political Philosophy and American Democracy»*, (University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 127.

had been said regarding Strauss and Iraq, Bush and neoconservatism, though it was clear that there was an intrinsic relation between them, but not as it seemed to be. Strauss had a significant role in shaping the singular features of neoconservatives' principle and policy, particularly in justifying their actions. However, Catherine and Michael Zuckert considered that Strauss's writing had been misread and misinterpreted.

Most of what was said about Strauss seemed to us wrong and misguided, the product of not having read him or not having understood him¹².

Accordingly, Strauss's philosophy of "noble lie" seemed to be a matter of conflict among his students. Some of his followers, Wolfowitz for example, justified the elite's use of lie to the masses so as to manipulate them, arguably for their profit; whereas his other students, like Michael and Catherine Zuckert, viewed that the use of "noble lie" was not to justify knowingly the weaponry of Iraq in order to begin a war and thus help the re-election chances of the ruling party, but to allow the elites to rule over the masses. In spite of the fact that Strauss's students interpreted his philosophy of "noble lie" according to their interests and understandings, both of them agreed on the necessity of the elite to govern the masses using lies to justify their acts. In short, Strauss's philosophy influenced a large number of students who either became neoconservatives or influenced them and then occupied important positions in the White House. These latter influenced the Bush administration to promote the Iraq War. Thus, Leo Strauss caused the War in Iraq¹³.

Iraq: The Grain of Neoconservatism Decline

The Invasion of Iraq was the neocons' best success, a success that maintained United States supremacy and power. However, this invasion was soon seen as a violation of human rights as well as of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States had never presented to the world such a clearly and willfully imperialistic doctrine, a matter that did not occur since the collapse of empires. The United States willingly waged a war on Iraq, as President Obama asserted in a speech delivered in Cairo on June 04, 2009:

¹² *Ibid*, p. IX.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 08.

Iraq was a war of choice that provoked strong differences in my country and around the world¹⁴

The United States of America is a respectful country of a certain historic isolationism; however, for the first time since 1776, a country founded in reaction to the British Empire and to imperialism in general expressed publicly its intention to expand itself into a world empire. The United States Senator Robert Byrd was one of those who criticized the United States imperialist policy in the Senate Floor Speech on February 12, 2003. He expressed the error that the American government would do if it invaded Iraq. Byrd mentioned the consequences and the horrors of war, asking the Senate why they were silent without debating such important matter, with the knowledge that this war might be a turning point of United States foreign policy and of the recent history as a whole, without finding any valuable reason of this war except that Iraq might be threatening in the future.

Byrd saw that Saddam's possession of nuclear arms was not confirmed and doubtful, as the United Nations weapons inspectors did about seven hundred inspections in Iraq without finding any nuclear weapon. Consequently, the war in Iraq was needless as it would be a war of uncertainty.

The doctrine of pre-emption – the idea that the United States or any other nation can legitimately attack a nation that is not imminently threatening but may be threatening in the future- is a radical new twist on the traditional idea of self defense... what could be more destabilizing and unwise than this type of uncertainty, particularly in a world where globalism has tied the vital economic and security interests of many nations so closely together? These are huge cracks emerging in our time-honored alliances, and United States intentions are suddenly subject to damaging worldwide speculation.¹⁵

While giving the speech, Byrd criticized the United States Iraq Invasion as well as the Bush administration that focused only on the country's foreign affairs, neglecting the domestic ones. Senator Byrd accused the United States present administration by crippling the American economic growth, as it spent a large projected surplus in foreign

¹⁴ President Obama Speech in Cairo, June 04, 2009.

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/06/04/obama-speech-in-cairo-vid_n_211215.html

¹⁵ Robert Byrd, US Senator, « Senate Floor Speech », Wednesday February 12th, 2003. ([http://www.Commondreams.org /views03/0212-07.htm](http://www.Commondreams.org/views03/0212-07.htm)).

affairs without results while urgent matters inside the states were waiting, such as the crisis in health care.

Unfortunately, Byrd's speech was useless and too late. One month later, the United States ordered an attack on Iraq with a complete determination to control the region with its oil wells, but the public and the international opinion soon started seeking the nuclear weapons and the arms of mass destruction, mainly after the declarations of Mr. Hans Blix, the former United Nations Inspector, who was at the head of the UNMVIC, the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission, from January 2000 to June 2003, took in charge of monitoring Iraq, where he did not find weapons of mass destruction, as he said it in the Cable News Network, CNN, interview one year after the invasion: *There were about 700 inspections, and in no case did we find weapons of mass destruction.*¹⁶

Blix affirmed that the inspections done following the First Gulf War gave no results.

*We went to sites [in Iraq] given to us by intelligence, and only in three cases did we find something- a stash of nuclear documents, some Vulcan boosters, and several empty warheads for chemical weapons. More inspections were required to determine whether these findings were the 'tips of the iceberg' or simply fragments remaining from that deadly iceberg's past destruction.*¹⁷

Blix was against the United States and the British governments' decision to invade Iraq. As he found nothing that might be dangerous or at least might threaten the United States and its allies, Blix considered the Iraq War as illegal, and his statements about the Iraq WMD (Weapons of Mass Destruction) program contradicted the Bush administration, with criticism from supporters of the invasion who seemed having a wrong behavior with Blix his reports. Blix did not like the wrong behavior of certain members of the United States administration with him, which pushed him to insult them in a CNN interview:

¹⁶ United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission, Hans Blix, «*CNN reporter, Christian Amanpour interviews Hans Blix*», March 18th, 2004.

(http://berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2004/03/18_blix.shtml).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

I have my dictators in Washington. There are 'bastards' who spread things around, of course, who planted nasty things in the media, not that I cared very much.¹⁸

Blix's declarations forced him to retire from his position as UNMVIC. Unfortunately for him, now, he sees Iraq only through satellite photographs on his office wall.

After Blix's confirmations about the absence of any nuclear weapon in Iraq, both public and the international opinions claimed explanations and proofs following the invasion, especially when the American families started losing their family members in that war. Since 2003, there are in Iraq about 4.195 American soldiers killed, more than 58000 United States troops injured or fallen seriously ill, and one hundred thousand American soldiers returned from the war suffering from serious mental health disorders. Therefore, the families of both the victims and the American army, urged President Bush to stop this war and withdraw its troops from the land of war.

The Iraq War started to be seen as a total failure, thousands of lives lost and billions of dollars spent. By being against the new United States policy in Iraq, the national opinion began considering the neocons' foreign policy as unethical and wrong, which served only their interests, as well as their full agenda of the PNAC. However, the Americans are disappointed and dissatisfied as the economic crisis has grown and touched them, whereas their government spends more and more money in Iraq without any positive result.

The present economic crisis has very bad effects in the United States, and the Americans start blaming their Bush's policy as he neglected the domestic affairs by emphasizing on the foreign ones. The Bush administration misestimated the costs of the war in Iraq, Joseph E. Stiglitz, Nobel Prize in Economics in 2001, revealed the true cost of the Iraq War as \$3 trillion instead of \$50 billion projected by the White House. Stiglitz measured what the United States taxpayer's money would have produced if instead this amount had been invested in the further growth of the United States economy. Accordingly, by 2017, the Iraq and the Afghan wars might reach up toward \$5 trillion; Stiglitz also blamed partly the Iraq War of being the major cause of oil price

¹⁸ Hans Blix, « *Blix takes Washington to task* », by Richard Roth, *CNN Senior UN Correspondant*, Thursday June 12th, 2003. (<http://edition.com/2003/US/06/12/blix.interview.cnn/>).

rise which quadrupled since 2003. As a Nobel Prize winner in Economics, Stiglitz saw that the United States will bear the consequences of the neocons' wars even after their removal with their president from the White House. As every year, they had borrowed a couple of hundred of billion dollars to fight the war and take in charge the veterans and the health care of the soldiers wounded in the war. For Stiglitz, it was not the fact of borrowing huge amounts of money which caused a problem; it was the each year interests on that amount, which he estimated by 2017 reaching \$1 trillion.

*The next administration will face these bills, combined with the challenge of the nation's other needs...there is no free lunch, and there are no free wars. In one way or another, we will pay these bills.*¹⁹

However, the blame was mainly toward the neocons who claimed in their project of the century to increase defense spending to 3.8% of GDP (Gross Domestic Products), accusing them by being guided by their enthusiasm and their vision of American supremacy in the Iraq War, *for the neoconservative architects of the policy, Iraq was just the beginning.*

The Iraq War was the consequence of the convergence of interests of three powerful lobbies on American foreign policy; the pro-Israel neoconservative lobby which is considered as the strongest one- Wolfowitz, Perle, the oil lobby which is the reason of the historical and geographical changes that the Middle East had seen since the 2000 election of W. Bush and Cheney; and finally, the Religious Right and Christian conservative lobby which raised the Anti-Islamic fervor within the American society after the September 11th attacks. These three important groups used a strong political affinity to wage an unnecessary war in Iraq. However, eventhough they used a policy of illusion to wage this war, they succeeded in having the support of the Americans who saw the war in Iraq as necessary. The three lobbies used a philosophy of governance openly advocated an end justified the means mentality, allowing deception, violence, and the abrogation of international law.²⁰

The neocons scenario about the reasons to invade Iraq was so credible that the Americans couldn't doubt that it might be a purely neocons' fabrication who viewed the

¹⁹ Joseph E. Stiglitz, Linda Blimes, «*The Three Trillion Dollar War*», (London: Boydell and Brewer Ltd, March 2008), p. 54-55.

²⁰ William R. Clark, «*Petrodollar Warfare : Oil, Iraq and the Future of the Dollar*», *Op.cit.*, p. 115.

necessity of an external threat to inspire the vulgar many. Strauss, the neocons spiritual father, devoted his life to create a loyal band of students, teaching them what a prosperous liberal society was like. In fact, Strauss's ideas had far reaching consequences as they became the shaping force behind the neoconservative movement. He was clear about the politicians' role to assert powerful and inspiring myths everyone could believe in, they might not be true but they were necessary illusions. People should have a shared purpose and a common enemy. They should also live through the dichotomy of religion and the myth of the nation so as to destruct the liberal idea of individual freedom that pushed them to ask questions about everything, about the values and the moral truths. Strauss saw this individual freedom dangerous as the truth which had to be hidden to the masses and only the elites had the right to know it. Indeed, Strauss's band succeeded in engraving in the American minds the idea that the United States had a unique destiny, to battle against the forces of evil throughout the world. He was obsessed by the idea of the good's triumph over the forces of evil, even in his private life, he was a great admirer of the TV and Radio show "*Gunsmoke*" (1955-1975), one of the longest-running prime time series made in the United states whose story was about a conflict between good and evil, of course the hero belonged to the forces of good putting a white heat won the battle whereas the forces of evil with a black heat had been destroyed. Indeed, the show's idea and values were clear and very successful during the Cold War, the struggle between the Western and the Eastern Hemispheres, and was classified with the best shows of any kind and anytime.

Strauss created the myth of American supremacy to spread global democracy throughout the world. His dominating ideas of superiority had been embraced by the Bush administration and traced the first path of the United States supremacy in the Middle East using the idea of the external threat to inspire the vulgar many. As President Bush once stated:

*I am the commander-see, I don't need to explain- I don't need to explain why I say things. That is interesting thing about being president. May be somebody needs to explain to me why they say something, but I don't feel like I owe anybody an explanation.*²¹

²¹ Bob Woodward, «*Bush at War*», (Simon and Schuster Rockefeller Center 1230 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020, August 2002), p. 126.

Though he was not a student of Strauss, President Bush had been overlapped by the former's students who shaped the American foreign policy since the 2000 elections. Bush used Strauss's philosophy of "noble lie" to justify the reasons why the United States was going to invade Iraq so as to have the Americans' support for the war, see it as just and wage their nationalism through an eminent enemy. Even before the September 11th attacks the neoconservatives warned about the Iraq's menace to the world by possessing nuclear weapons, exactly what Vice President Cheney declared two weeks before the attacks:

*Many of us are convinced that Saddam will acquire nuclear weapons fairly soon. Just how soon we cannot gauge.*²²

Of course as a neocon, Cheney used the policy of necessary illusion and a common enemy to justify the war. As he asserted it months following they invaded Iraq.

*Yeah, I did misspeak... We never had any evidence that he (Saddam) had acquired a nuclear weapon.*²³

With such declarations, the neocons started losing popularity and their fall began to be seen soon after the United States and its allies invaded Iraq in 2003. Their plans and projects did not happen as they had planned for in their agenda, the PNAC. President Bush was rightly advised for a successful invasion of Iraq and an easy oust of President Saddam, but they had not taken seriously the following steps, how to re-build Iraq, as they were confronted by the Sunnite and the Shiite resistance, either against themselves or against the American presence in Iraq. The neocons launched a global War on Terror without taking into consideration the consequences of such war on the United States economy. In fact, while drifting the PNAC, the neocons thought on oil wells with the hope of securing cheap oil, on the prominence gained during World War II, and on the frame of the Cold War, however, they did not think about how to exit Iraq after invading it, changing its government's leaders and that they might make its people living miserably, worse than during Saddam Hussein's regime.

The Iraq War prevented the neoconservatives to go far in their war, as they were obliged to halt their worldwide crusade for freedom. The PNAC dreams' started fading by 2006 and the neocons ambitions were reduced to a voice-mail box and a ghostly

²² Vice President Cheney, *remarks*, August 26, 2001/ www.sundayherald.com/34491

²³ Vice President Cheney, *transcript*, Tim Russert, moderator, September 14, 2003/ <http://msnbs.msn.com/id/3080244/>

website; a single employee had been left to wrap things up, to be closed on July 08th, 2008, when the PNAC site displayed:

“This Account Has Been Suspended. Please contact the billing / support department as soon as possible” or “Domain projectforthenewamericancentury.com no longer valid”.

On August 22nd, 2008, the PNAC website started running again, but it did not mean that the neoconservatives regained functions and carried on their agenda. Unfortunately, neoconservatism started to disappear by the vanishing of the United States worldwide prestige.

The prestige of the United States is in a dangerous decline in many parts of the world. Even its natural allies, in Europe and elsewhere, feel a certain sense of exasperation towards the extreme policies of the Bush administration²⁴.

Undoubtedly, the Iraq War was the turning point of neoconservatism as a movement, a doctrine and a supremacist ideology as well for the United States as superpower and a world leader since the end of the Cold War. Rodrigue Tremblay, the author of the 2004 best seller *“The New American Empire”* and a specialist in economics and geopolitics, viewed that the United States of America presented two faces to the world; the first one idealistic, sincere, mature, cultivated, progressive, generous, democratic, internationalist, understanding, pluralist, multiethnic, tolerant, open-minded and heedful of the human rights. For Tremblay, the United States that contributed in the creation of the United Nations and sent a man to the moon in 1969 collapsed and had been replaced by a materialistic, xenophobic, militaristic, isolationist, projecting a spoiled brat and “instant gratification” mentality, and somewhat paranoid America, which reflected the second face of the United States of America that embodied and projected the United States policy with disastrous results for the international image of America since January 2001. From the beginning of his administration, President W. Bush adopted the cabal policy which shaped neoconservatives’ doctrine that widened the rift between Americans and the Western Europeans, further inflamed the Muslim world, softened for the support for the war on

²⁴ Rodrigue Tremblay, « *The New American Empire* », (Infinity publishing.com, ACHON Books, USA, 2004), p. 158.

terror, and significantly weakened global public support for the pillars of the post-World War II and Cold War eras²⁵.

One should admit that neoconservatism had reached the zenith as a supremacist and utopian ideology and succeeded in settling in the middle of the Middle East, in Iraq. Its political philosophers, intellectuals and policy-makers had been strong enough to lead a War on Terror, securing the United States interests in the Middle East and in protecting Israel from being threatened by President Saddam who expressed his hatred toward the Jewish state. However, through their projects, plans and a continual advance toward globalization in the region, neoconservatives began to regress by paving the way of their own decline without pursuing their supremacist projects. A new era began in the White House, unfortunately, with heavy damages such as the limits of the United States power in the world and may be the end of the myth “American Exceptionalism”.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 160.

III.2. Post Neoconservatism and the Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism

...By the act of the people of the “great empire”, the “great republic”, the “American empire”, the United States. The “people of America”, “the American people”, “the people of the United States”, are but terms and names, to designate the grantor of the thing, which was thus formed it, by a thing, this constitution, established by the ratifications of nine things, conventions of nine states, by the people of each as a state. “These states are constituent parts of the United States. They are members of one great empire”.²⁶

Each country is exceptional, but the United States is exceptionally exceptional and likes fancy itself so. That is what the Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Henry Baldwin (1830- 1844), tried to explain when he authored “*A General View of the Origin and the Nature of the Constitution and Government of the United States: deduced from the political history and condition of the colonies and states, from 1774 until 1788 and the decisions of the supreme court of the United States*”. He pointed out that the term United States was the name given to the great republic composed of states and territories. Justice Baldwin asserted that the term United States designated the whole American empire²⁷. Since their independence from the English crown, the Americans have always seen themselves in an exceptional advance from the world, and what made things more particular was the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the triumph of Capitalism and the belief that a new democratic age had dawned. American exceptionalism has been increasing with the industrial advance, social arrangements and the underlying values. In this context, it is worthy recall Deborah L. Madsen’s studies and observations on measuring the roots and the evolution of American exceptionalism. Madsen rooted the American exceptionalism from the Tudors and used this concept to describe the development of American cultural identity from Puritan origins to the present²⁸. The strength of the Americans was derived by their notion of being exceptional, a notion that motivated them to create the United States of American as a superpower, which became later on an American empire.

²⁶ Henry Baldwin, «*A General View of the Origin and the Nature of the Constitution and Government of the United States: deduced from the political history and condition of the colonies and states, from 1774 until 1788 and the decisions of the supreme court of the United States*», (Philadelphia: Printed by John C. Clark, 60 Dock Street, 1837. Reprint, Union, N.J.: Lawbook Exchange Ltd, 2000), p. 14.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p 13.

²⁸ Deborah L. Madsen, «*American Exceptionalism*», (British Association for American Studies, published by Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p. 02.

“American Exceptionalism”, “American Empire”, “American Hegemony”, or “American Imperialism”; terms that have become fashionable since 1991, when the United States became the real and only universal superpower. Though the term “empire” generally refers to territorial dominance, the United States has been called so since its interventions in world affairs and focused more on its foreign policy than on the domestic one. However, it was through the latter that the United States became a powerful nation, thanks to the economic and financial powers, technological advance, cultural influence and the most important one was in terms of military superiority. Hence, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the most recent empire that declined, the United States had reached a hegemonic position ever achieved in the past by any nation as it had no rival that challenged its supremacy. For the first time in history, a country had gained such dominant strength in the world and whose policy became the key of world order. As it was provided by Alejandro Colas in his work *“The War on Terror and the American “Empire” after the Cold War”*, through which he considered that the use of the term “empire” or even “imperialism” was to characterize the current American role in the world. He reflected:

*In recent years, and particularly since the terrorist attacks on the United States in September 2001, scholars and commentators across the ideological spectrum have revived the idea of empire to understand the nature of contemporary American global power-and in some instances promote it.*²⁹

American exceptionalism means the uniqueness of American political institutions³⁰. This phenomenon had been recognized in the XIXth century by the French observer Alexis de Tocqueville who pointed out that the United States of America was “*proceeding along a path to which no limit can be perceived*”³¹. Tocqueville related the term “American Exceptionalism” to the perception that the United States of America was different from the other developed nations. Its distinctiveness had been derived from its national credo, unique origins, and religious institutions, ignoring all kinds of barbarism. Therefore, Tocqueville described American exceptionalism as a kind of romantic nationalism which had been derived from the nobility of the United

²⁹ Alejandro Colas, « *The War on Terror and the American ‘empire’ after the Cold War* », (Routledge, New York, USA, 270 Madison Avenue, NY 10016, 2006), p. 03.

³⁰ Thomas R. Hietala, « *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism and Empire* », (Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 204.

³¹ Kellner Douglas, « *American Exceptionalism* », (<http://gseis.ucla.edu/courses/ed253a/american-exceptionalism.htm>).

States and its people who were supposed to hold a special place in the world, as they were the ones who theoretically offered opportunity and hope for humanity.

In his Farwell Address written to the people of the United States at the end of his second term as President of the United States, George Washington (1789- 1797) dreamt of the day when the United States might acquire the sufficient strength to give it the command of its own fortunes, as he believed, would permit the nation to assert real independence, enabling American to choose between peace or war. However, though his address had been based on the foundation for a tradition of American non-interventionism, Washington referred, in 1783, to the United States as a “rising empire”³² that had been raised through the dignity of the Americans’ conduct and the “glorious example they had exhibited to Mankind”³³.

*The Foundation of our Empire was not laid in the gloomy age of Ignorance and Superstition, but an Epoch when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period.*³⁴

In 1899, President Theodore Roosevelt (1901- 1909) declared that the whole national history of the United States had been the one of expansion and if the United States had a mission it was not to liberate, but to expand. In this context, in the words of the American labor leader, political activist, Sidney Lens, Roosevelt elaborated a variation of manifest Destiny; in his annual message to Congress in 1904, he said that it was not true that the United States felt any land hunger, but it had the right “the exercise of an international police power” if any nation in the hemisphere had been guilty of “chronic wrongdoing”. For Roosevelt, it was imperative for the United States to defend small nations from seizure by European powers, as well as to defend them from themselves. He asserted: *It is our duty towards the people living in barbarism to see they are freed from their chains.*³⁵

³² Sidney Lens and Howard Zinn, « *The Forging of the American Empire: from the revolution of Vietnam, to a history of U.S. imperialism* », (Pluto Press, 345 Archway Road, London N6 5AA., 2003), p 02.

³³ George Washington, «*The Newburgh Address, January 02, 1783*», (<http://www.marksquotes.com/Founding-Fathers/Washington/Index6.htm>)

³⁴ George Washington, «*Circular to the Sates, June 08, 1783*», *Ibid.*

³⁵ Sidney Lens and Howard Zinn, « *The Forging of the American Empire: from the revolution of Vietnam, to a history of U.S. imperialism* », *op.cit.*, p. 04.

Lens wrote in 1974 a book entitled “*The Forging of the American Empire: from the revolution of Vietnam, to a history of U.S. imperialism*”, which was republished by Howard Zinn, with his own introduction. In fact, Lens tried to exhibit how the United States from its independence from the British crown had dominated other nations, using every available means: political, economic and military. He viewed that if the United States had become an empire, it was just because of the fortunate circumstances to which the United States had been exposed to. The United States had always fought against minor powers avoiding a direct conflict with the great ones. From its founding, the United States expressed its intentions of supremacy through its behavior and evolution, in fact, the tradition wants that American exceptionalism becomes one the presidency’s primary extraconstitutional obligations³⁶. Therefore, it is in this regard that the justifications and rhetoric of the American government related to the American exceptionalism and imperialism of United States history offered for President Bush’s attempt to consolidate a new orientation to the world.

The United States fancies itself unique, distinctive, and superior to others with the role of the world’s guardian. As soon as he took office, President Bush understood and embraced America’s superpower dominance. It was in such way that neoconservatism gained power, of course, with Bush’s *carte blanche* that neoconservative policy makers spread their influence throughout the freemasonic network. The neocons’ exceptionalism forged on them the idea that they were the one who should rule over the masses and that nothing would happen without American leadership. Following the philosophy of the ancients, the neocons viewed themselves as Plato’s guardians in defense of American exceptional values. Lens compared the Americans to the Israelites, “a chosen race”, believing that in furtherance of the great law of self preservations “nature had given them a special right to expand³⁷”.

The period after World War II, the United States endowed an economic superiority, a high level of strategic self-sufficiency which could be interpreted as a freedom of action. Indeed, with the collapse of the Soviet Union as a rival power, the

³⁶ Andrew J. Bacevich, « *The Limits of Power: the end of American Exceptionalism* », (Metropolitan Books . Henry Holt and Company, LLC. 175 Fifth Avenue New York 10010, Printed in the United States of America, 2008), p. 18.

³⁷ Lens and Howard Zinn , « *The Forging of the American Empire: from the revolution of Vietnam, to a history of U.S. imperialism* », *Op.cit*, p. 02.

United States began a better decade comparing to the other great powers, Europe and Japan. Between 1990 and 1998, the American economy grew 26 per cent whereas Europe with 17 per cent and Japan with only 7 per cent³⁸, a detail that led the world living under an American imperium, a unique unipolar world, in which the open global economy had spread and fasted dramatically, and gave the United States more strength to be a global power without historical precedent. The Americans liked feel themselves essential and needful, as the former United States secretary, Madeline Albright (1997-2001), asserted it: *If we have to use force, it is because we are America. We are the indispensable nation*³⁹.

Thus, the American empire had gained, furthermore, significant implications after the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001, which offered an unprecedented opportunity to the expansion of the American exceptionalism syndrome and to the emergence of Neoconservatism as the ideology that would protect the United States and the world from tyranny. In fact, in the ensuing decade, the architects of United States foreign policy, neoconservatives, set out to make the most of the terrorist attacks opportunity to lead the world in a “War on Terror”. In the eye of the neoconservative policy-makers, the United States should use the best of its military force to protect the world from evil. In this context, President Bush affirmed that the United States was the dominant power in the world, more dominant than any since Rome⁴⁰.

Therefore, it is worthy to pass through the work of Orestes Augustus Brownson, “*The American Republic: Constitution, Tendencies, and Destiny*”(1866), as he privileged the Americans’ mission which was chosen by God to continue the Greeks and the Romans divine work. As it is said:

The Greeks were the chosen people of God, for the development and realization of the beautiful or the divine splendor in art, and of the true in science and philosophy; and the Romans, for the development of the state, law, and jurisprudence...The United States, or the American Republic, has a mission, and is chosen of God for the realization of a great idea. It has been chosen not only to

³⁸ Michael Cox, Timothy Dunne, Ken Booth, «*Empires, Systems and States: great transformations in international politics*», (Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 191.

³⁹ Andrew J. Bacevich, «*American Empire: the realities and consequences of U.S. diplomacy* », Madeline Albright, *February*, 1998), (Harvard University Press, 2002), p. X.

⁴⁰ Gary Dorrien, «*Imperial Designs : Neoconservatism and the New Pax Americana* », (Routledge, 270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, 2004), p. 100.

*continue the work assigned to Greece and Rome, but to accomplish a greater work than was assigned to either*⁴¹.

The neocons used to compare the American empire to the Roman one, the only difference was that the former would never fall or collapsed, just because of the exceptionalism and the elitism of its rulers. In conducting this conversation, the historian David J. Eaton, author of “*The End of Sovereignty?: A Translantic Persepective*”, made a combination of a mission to better the world, for him, military power and metaphysical legitimation had characterized the self-perceptions of imperial power throughout history. He suggested that the classic formulation of imperial had been provided by Vergil⁴² (70- 19 BCE) in his monumental epic Aeneid, the son of Venus, on the empire of the old Romans who were descendents from Aenas. Aeneid had to revive the prophecy of Rome’s future to rule the peoples of the world, impose a peace order and defeat its enemies. Thusly, historian Eaton had been clever enough to compare this Roman mission to the neoconservative one, *this mission is echoed in Wolfowitz’ characterization of American leadership 2000 years later*⁴³. In fact, Eaton illustrated his idea through the following table⁴⁴

⁴¹ Orestes Augustus Brownson, « *The American Republic: Constitution, Tendencies, and Destiny*», (New York: P. O’shea, 104 Bleecker Street, 1866), p. 10.

⁴² Vergil : Publis Vergilius Maro (70-19 BCE), was a classical Roman poet who abandoned his studies of rhetoric, medicine and astronomy for philosophy.

⁴³ David J. Eaton, « *The End of Sovereignty?: A Translantic Persepective*», (LIT Verlag Berlin-Hamburg-Münster, 2006), p. 182.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 183.

Imperial Myths of Roman and American Identities

Vergil on the Roman Empire ^{a)}

Your task, Roman, and do not forget it, will be

- To govern the peoples of the world in your empire- these will be your arts- and
- To impose a settled pattern upon peace,
- To pardon the defeated and war on the proud.

Wolfowitz on American Leadership ^{b)}

US leadership consists of demonstrating that

- Your friends will be protected and taken care of,
- Your enemies will be punished, and
- Those who refuse to support you will regret not having done so.

a) Aeneid, 6th book, Verses 851-853, translated by David West, The Aeneid, rev. Edition, 2003

b) Statesmanship in the new century, 2000, p 323.

Since the Roman Empire, people have long suffered by the philosophy embraced by their leaders; political order was stable only if the people were united under the fear of an external threat. Neoconservatives usually compare the American Empire to the Roman one, the Straussian governance philosophy, too, required people to be united under fear, hatred and the myth of the nation, and to do so credible evidence were needed, September 11th terrorist attacks, Osama Bin Laden and the network of Al Qaeda, and finally President Saddam Hussein and his possession of weapons of mass destruction.

President Bush needed the neocons, Straussians, more than they needed him; as following World War II and the Cold War, the Americans did no longer want the United States intervene in world's affairs. Military interventions and foreign aid were both unpopular, the public wanted the United States to retreat from the world and keep their country outside all kind of wars. For a decade prior to the attacks, the United States was unchecked on the international scene. However, September 11th changed all that, and the Bush administration got public's full support to intervene in the Middle East, the Americans were united again against an external enemy situated in

Afghanistan and in Iraq. In such way, the observer Fareed Zakaria pointed out a formula to explain Bush's foreign policy, he wrote:

After that terrible attack, Bush had a united country and a largely sympathetic world. The Afghan War heightened the aura of American omnipotence, emboldening the most hard-line elements in the administration, who used success as an argument for going to war with Iraq quickly and doing so in particularly unilateral manner... Unipolarity+ 9/11+ Afghanistan= Unilateralism+ Iraq⁴⁵

The transition punctuated in the United States foreign policy following September 11th attacks was remarkably impressionable. The War on Terror waged by President Bush and his neoconservative advisors was not only to protect the United States and its interests in the Middle East, but to ensure the spread of democracy and human rights in the region. Even President Bush wanted to be exceptionally exceptional; he would hardly be the first American president for whom the axiom "America fights for freedom" served simultaneously as core conviction and convenient rationale⁴⁶. In fact, the Bush administration had justified its foreign policy in terms of increasing the security in the United States by providing a feasible model of world leadership and systematic governance. However, things did not occur as they had planned for, the war in Iraq was a neoconservative fiasco, following the invasion; the reasons of this war seemed to be just lies that the Bush administration used to justify their war, moreover, the thousands of American soldiers lost and the trillions of dollars cost in that war. Even the former United States Secretary of States, Madeline Albright, gave her impression about this war. She said that the Iraq war had been the greatest disaster in American history.

Iraq is going to go down in history as the greatest disaster in American foreign policy. Now, that's quite a statement, because it means I think it is worst than Vietnam. Not in the number of Americans who died, or Vietnamese versus Iraqis, but in terms of those unintended consequences⁴⁷.

President Bush had many insults hurled at him during his time in office; one of the politer accusations is that he is a "unilateralist". He was also blamed by giving a

⁴⁵ Fareed Zakaria, « *The Post American World* », (Allen Lane, Penguin Books Ltd, Registered Offices: 80 Strand, London WC2 R ORL, England, 2008), p. 223.

⁴⁶ Andrew J. Bacevich, « *The Limits of Power: the End of American Exceptionalism* », *op.cit.*, p. 161.

⁴⁷ Former US Secretary of State, Madeline Albright, « *Iraq War: the Greatest Disaster in American History* », (March 27, 2008), (<http://blogs.abcnews.com/politicalpunch/2008/03albright-iraq-w.html>)

carte blanche to those top-level hawks who had controlled much of the policy making process within the Bush administration since 2000. It was these figures led by Vice President Cheney and architected by Wolfowitz who led the United States into Iraq as part of their strategy of reshaping the Middle East by eradicating hostile regimes in Iraq and Iran to strengthen Israel. However, the neoconservative team had gone one after another without carrying their supremacist project, PNAC, which saw an end in Iraq.

The decline of neoconservatism started to be seen when its most important figures began to disappear from the White House and moved towards more normal positions. Wolfowitz was the first to inaugurate the omnipotence of the neocons when he left his position of president of the World Bank, though he served for just two years. Followed by Douglas Feith, a former US Secretary of Defense for Policy, whose father later on had been accused by being a spy to Israel. Feith was considered as one of the most important think tank neocons in the administration of President Bush; he headed the notorious Office of Special Plans which masterminded the distortion of pre-Iraq war intelligence, particularly that President Saddam Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction, Bush's justification for invading Iraq. In 2005, a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Air Force Reserve, Larry Franklin, had pleaded guilty to passing the classified materials to the AIPAC⁴⁸, American Israel Public Affairs Committee, lobbyists. Franklin served with the United States Embassy in Tel-Aviv in the 1990's and in the period 2002-2003, he worked at the Office of Special Plans, set up by Donald Rumsfeld and headed by Feith. Rumsfeld too left office; he resigned from the position of U.S. Secretary of Defense in the fall of 2006. President Bush and his Vice President, Dick Cheney, were the last men standing with responsibility for the Iraq War; however, if they were so, it was only because they were protected by their four-year terms of office.

In this regard, the author and Institute Professor Emeritus at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Noam Chomsky, viewed that the first term of the Bush administration had been the cause of losing the United States world prestige, even with their close allies, but things became better in the second term when *some of the worst offenders, like Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and other, were thrown*. He added that they could

⁴⁸ AIPAC (America's Pro-Israel Lobby): A committee that has existed more than half a century whose aim is to help making Israel more secure by ensuring a strong American support. The New York Times described it as the most important organization affecting America's relationship with Israel. This committee is known by having extremely close relations with the administration of President Bush over the last two decades, especially with prominent pro-Israeli neoconservatives.

not throw Cheney because he was in the administration, so they could not get rid of him⁴⁹.

Following the Iraq War and the lies about the reasons of the invasion, the world no longer trusted the American policy, especially when the latter is blamed by provoking the economic crisis that the world is passing through. For the United States, the period of the world's confidence in its economic prescriptions has ended. The American unique military and political strength had produced a kind of distortion; the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union attracted the United States to proclaim universal political goals in a world of seeming unipolarity, but whose objectives were defined by slogans and speeches rather than by actions. Things have changed, and the United States is obliged to define its global objectives in terms of mature concept of the national interests.

Neoconservatives had put the American Empire in a bad situation. Their enthusiasm led the United States in an un-exited quagmire in the Middle East. Neither the Americans, nor the rest of the world trusted the administration of President Bush. However, it is too late, thousands of American lives lost, trillions of dollars spent, and will be spent to pay the War on Terror's debts, and finally, the world is facing today one of the worst economic crisis ever seen. Sophisticated Americans admit that in the course of two centuries their nation has been guilty of some cruelties and excesses⁵⁰. Unfortunately, even the current American president, Barak Obama, cannot change things easily and in a short period, as he has to pay the war's debts, try to remove the United States military forces from the Middle East, Afghanistan and Iraq, and establish peace in the region, as the disorder had been caused by the American global order, otherwise his country's hatred by the Arab and Muslim countries will rise more than it is today.

The American Empire becomes no longer exceptional as its power had been limited for driving the world into a critical economic situation which resulted by having jobless people, homeless families and a crestless American Empire. The liberal

⁴⁹ Noam Chomsky, « *Noam chomsky on the Global Economic Crisis, Healthcare, US Foreign Policy and Resistance to American Empire* », (Democracy Now TV, Interview with Amy Goodman, April13, 2009), (http://democracy now.org/2009/4/13/noam_chomsky_on_the_global_economic)

⁵⁰ Lens and Howard Zinn , « *The Forging of the American Empire: from the revolution of Vietnam, to a history of U.S. imperialism* », *Op.cit*, p. 13.

economy and the free market have failed, the Iranian President, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (2005-present), declared in an opening speech at a summit of the regional Economic Co-operation Organization (ECO), held in Tehran on March 11, 2009, and he added:

*Capitalism as a system has failed. The economic order is unfair and irresponsible. Unfortunately, nations of the world have to pay the cost of the inefficient politics of certain nations*⁵¹.

It is understandable that President Ahmadinejad expressed his opinion on Capitalism and on the United States with criticism. Since he took office he openly declared his hatred to the United States and Israel. However, even the French president, Nicholas Sarkozy (2007- present), the United States ally, blamed the American government for what is happening today in their economy and the price the European Union is paying to exit the crisis. For him, they have to moralize capitalism so that it can work again as a utopian economic ideology.

The conservative historian Andrew Bacevich and author of the 2002 best seller, *“The New American Militarism: The Realities and Consequences of US Diplomacy”*, got recently the attention of a lot of readers and commentators through his latest book, *“The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism”*. Bacevich served as a colonel in U.S. Army for 23 years. He is also one of the neocons project victims as he had lost his son in 2007 in Iraq, the latter was also working for the U.S. Army. In his latest book, Bacevich blamed President Bush for his abandon to the approach of the post World War II era, when the United States had been able to lead the West, just because it did not abuse from the privileges of its leadership. In fact Bush had been also blamed by using a kind of authority with the other nations; he obliged them to choose their side, whether they aligned themselves with the United States or *they would find themselves pitted against the world’s only superpower*⁵². Bacevich also found that the American use of the policy of containment during the Cold War was arguable, to stop the spread of the Eastern hemisphere influence in the world, whereas, such policy was no longer justifiable in President Bush War on Terror, as its purpose was to prevent the sponsors of radical Islam from extending their influence. The writer was too disappointed from

⁵¹ Ahmadi Nadjad : An opening speech at a summit of the regional Economic Co-operation Organization , *«Indonesia-Iran Hits Capitalism»*, (<http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Indonesia+-+Iran+Hits+Capitalism.-a0195609563>)

⁵² Andrew J. Bacevich, *« The Limits of Power: the end of American Exceptionalism »*, *op.cit.*, p. 175.

what was happening in the United States following the Iraq invasion, he saw that while many in America were paying a heavy price for United States domestic and foreign policy decisions, millions of Americans simply continued to shop, spend and satisfy their appetite for cheap oil, credit and promise of freedom at home, *As the American appetite for freedom has grown, so too has our penchant for empire*⁵³, he pointed out.

Bacevich did not consider the idea of “American Exceptionalism” as new, for him, it had been since the Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony John Winthrop (1630-1649) made his famous sermon and said: “*We shall be a city upon a hill*”⁵⁴ ; which meant that the Americans were a special people with a fortunate mission. In his book, *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism*, Bacevich traced the origins of the American exceptionalism since John Winthrop’s sermon, as it was said, also when in 1776, Thomas Paine had declared that it laid within the American power to begin the world over again⁵⁵. In this context, Paine joined Winthrop’s sight of American uniqueness and said: *The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind*⁵⁶

On August 20th, 2008, Bacevich had been invited in the daily TV news program, *Democracy Now!*, by the broadcast journalist Amy Goodman who interviewed him about his latest book. The interview tackled different themes about the present political, economical and historical situation of the United States, and by the end of her show she asked Bacevich the question that all those who knew the greatness of the American Empire were asking about, she said: *Do you see the end of American Empire?*

Bacevich replied:

Yes, I do. And I think the question is, will the American Empire end catastrophically because of our blind insistence that we will not change? Or will we be able to disengage ourselves from and dismantle the American Empire in a sensible, reasonable

⁵³ _____, «*The Limits of Power: Andrew Bacevich on the End of American Exceptionalism*», (Democracy Now TV, Interview with Amy Goodman, August 20, 2008), (http://democracynow.org/2008/8/20/the_limits_of_power_andrew_bacevich)

⁵⁴ According to encyclopedia wikipedia, the phrase « *City upon a Hill* » entered the American lexicon early in history, with John Winthrop’s sermon «*A Model of Christian Charity*», given in 1630.

⁵⁵ Andrew J. Bacevich, « *The Limits of Power: the end of American Exceptionalism* », *Op.cit.* p. 76.

⁵⁶ Thomas Paine, « *Common Sense* », (Published by Kessinger Publishing, 2004, first publication January, 1776), p. 01.

way that will do the least damage to the world and the least damage to ourselves?

In fact, the same idea was taking place in the last chapter of his book, “*The Limits of Power*”

Adamantly insisting that it is unique among history’s great powers, the United States seems likely to follow the well-worn path taken by others, blind to the perils that it courts through its own feckless behavior⁵⁷.

⁵⁷ Andrew J. Bacevich, « *The Limits of Power: the end of American Exceptionalism* », *op. cit.*, p. 182.

III.3. The Decline of the American Empire and the Rise of the Rest

While Bacevich ended his book by asserting the decline of the American Empire and the limits of its power in the world, Fareed Zakaria started his latest book, published in the same period, by a post-American world, on which we see the rise of other powers, and he calls it “the Rise of the Rest”. Zakaria punctuated that if we look around us the United States of America is no longer the only world superpower, as Antoine van Agtmael wrote in his book *“The Emerging Markets Century: how a new breed of world-class companies is overtaking the world”* that the world’s center of gravity was already tipping decisively in favor of the emerging economies. Agtmael identified the rise of 25 companies to be the world’s next great multinationals; four companies each from Brazil, Mexico, South Korea and Taiwan; three from India; two from China; and one from Argentina, Chile, Malaysia, and South Africa⁵⁸.

Today’s cinema is different from the one of the past, the focus is not only on the principle actor, the hero, this role is shared by two, three or even a group of great actors, or great powers in the world of cinema; this is the United States of today. The ongoing shift of the epicenter of the global political economy from the United States of America to East Asia, from a unipolar world to a multipolar one, shakes the American role in the globe; the United States finds itself sharing its role, it is not leading the global change, it subjects to it. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States is often referred to as the most powerful nation on earth and adopted the superlative suffix “est” to show its strength and omnipotence as the world leader. In economy, it became the largest with the biggest and richest oil companies; militarily, the United States had the best weapons, the speediest planes and the strongest arms; politically, the American Empire owned the furthest political strategy sight, its both domestic and foreign policy were known by a mythical synchronization; and there still be other bests, like the best movies, the highest buildings, the richest men...etc... However, in the post-American Empire era there is a shift of power from the United States as a global leader to the distribution of power. In *“The Post-American World”*, Zakaria provides some examples, though they cannot be as the only reference for the rest rise but in the world of economy they seem to be very important especially when these powers did not exist two decades ago.

⁵⁸ Fareed Zakaria, « *The Post American World* », *op.cit.*, p. 02.

Look around, the tallest building in the world is now in Taipei, and it will soon be overtaken by one being built in Dubai. The world's richest man is Mexican, and its largest traded corporation is Chinese. The world's biggest plane is built in Russia and Ukraine, its leading refinery is under construction in India, and its largest factories are all in China. By many measures, London is becoming the leading financial center, and the United Arab Emirates is home to the most richly endowed investment fund....The world's largest Ferries wheel is in Singapore. Its number one casino is not in Las Vegas but in Macao...The biggest movie industry, in terms of both movies and tickets sold, is Bollywood, not Hollywood.... Such lists are arbitrary, but it is striking that only ten years ago, America was at the top in many, if not most, of these categories⁵⁹.

“Made in China”, a label that is seen in more than 50% of our daily articles; at prima facie it seems normal to us, but one could say that the Chinese are seen as an uncontrollable and unpredictable power, an economic *tour de force*. Before, China was seen as a menace for Asia, however, today it is for the whole world though it still belongs to the list of the world's top 100 countries with the less GDP (Gross Domestic Production) per capita⁶⁰. The following table⁶¹ shows the average annual growth of China's foreign trade.

Period	Two-way trade	Exports	Imports
1981- 1985	+12.8%	+8.6%	+16.1%
1986- 1990	+10.6%	+17.8%	+4.8%
1991- 1995	+19.5%	+19.1%	+19.9%
1996–2000	+11.0%	+10.9%	+11.3%
2000–2005	+24.6%	+25.0%	+24.0%
2006	+27.2%	+19.9%	+23.8%
2007	+25.6%	+20.8%	+23.4%

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ China is classified 90 in the world's top 100 countries with the less GDP, with \$6100 per capita.

⁶¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_the_People's_Republic_of_China

Moreover, the Chinese as well as the Asians wish and seek to free themselves from Western economic, military, and cultural domination; and they are on their way to equal the Western economy⁶².

The China Threat Theory, a theory adopted by Roy Denny in 1996 where he considered the China's rise as a threat to United States hegemony, as it could be a model to the rest, it was a threat to the West. China gained a political power advantage with the largest territory and population in Asia. Eventually, China's acceleration for economic growth, military modernization, and recently in energy demand, made the United States focus deeply on the "China threat".

On July 31, 1995, the neoconservative Charles Krauthammer published an article in "Time", entitled "Why We Must Contain China", where he viewed that China was growing too big and too strong for the continent it found itself on which its neighbors were beginning to feel the pressure. In this context, Krauthammer proposed that the United States should contain China, starting by building relations with China's neighbors, and it would be better if the latter were China's enemies, Vietnam for example. The neoconservative Krauthammer found it vital to contain China to avoid another World War, for him, world wars were the result of not containing Germany, and such error should not *happen with the emerging giant of the 21st century*.⁶³

The political economy scholar and sociologist Giovanni Arrighi asserted that the China's rise was due to the failure of the neoconservative imperial project. In his book, "Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty First Century", Arrighi connected the rise and demise of neoconservatism and the Project of the New American Century with the emergence of People's Republic of China. The author concluded that the real winner of the War on Terror was China, just as the United States emerged as the real winner of the Second World War. The United States not only lost its war on terror, but it helped to the emergence of a dynamic center of economic and commercial expansion. There is a particular example of global free trade that alarms us more than any other, one word

⁶² Samuel P. Huntington, «*The Clash of Civilizations: And the Remaking of World Order*», (Free Press, An imprint of Simon & Schuster UK Ltd, 2002, first publication 1996), p. 184.

⁶³ Charles Krauthammer, « *Why We Must Contain China* », (Time, July 31, 1995), (<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,971,983245-2,00.html>).

will suffice: China.⁶⁴ P. J. O'Rourke is another observer who wrote about the Chinese power, which is for him a source of surprise and shock. He said:

*Of course we had been trading with China, whether we knew it or not, since the time of the Roman Empire. But trade with china remains a source of surprise and shock. It seems the Chinese are selling everything to us. And we are selling hardly anything to the Chinese. China is growing ferociously rich. And what will become of us?*⁶⁵

What is more dramatic for Arrighi is the fact that the Asian region might be under the leadership of China represents an imbalance in the global order, and it is much more competitive vis-à-vis the United States⁶⁶. In Arrighi's thorough work, the Chinese rise was the outcome of the neo-imperialism that he found more than a little utopian. The neoconservative project of reviving the imperialism spirit revived other powers in the globe. However, while President W. Bush and his neoconservative advisors were focusing on the Middle East and giving speeches about the global order, a new order was taking place in the other side of the globe, in a meeting to which the United States architects had not been invited. In short, Arrighi viewed the Iraq war and the current American policy as the major causes of the shift of the United States dominance and hegemony which had become clearer.

*Far from laying the foundation of a new American century, the US occupation of Iraq has jeopardized the credibility of US military might; it has further undermined the centrality of the United States and the US dollar in the global political economy; and it has strengthened the tendency towards the emergence of China as an alternative to US leadership in East Asian region and beyond. It would have been hard to imagine a more rapid and complete failure of the neoconservative imperial project. In all likelihood, the neoconservative bid for global supremacy will go down in history as one of the several "bubbles" that punctuated the terminal crisis of US hegemony.*⁶⁷

China has been a good example for the emergent powers, though comparing to the United States, each rising nation cannot reach the American strength, technological and scientific progress. However, the Americans are afraid from each rising nation or

⁶⁴ P. J. O'Rourke, « *On The Wealth of Nations: Books That Changed The World* », (Published by Grove Press, US, 2007), p. 98.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 99.

⁶⁶ Giovanni Arrighi, « *Hegemony Unravelling II* », (New Left Review, II/32, March – April 2005), p. 40.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 01.

power; especially if it menaces the United States interests. The last decade saw the emergence the most important powers in Eurasia, Russia and Turkey; a region where the Americans seek to gain more and more power, though they seem focusing more on the Middle East. Both are ascendant powers, while the Russia is moving aggressively to extend its influence throughout the former Soviet Empire, Turkey is rousing itself from ninety years of post-Ottoman isolation. Obviously, the two rising powers have sufficient incentives to work together, especially Russia which tries to revive its omnipotence, at least in Eurasia; an action that worries the Americans, after having triumphed in the Cold War, and agitates the Bush administration for use of an aggressive policy in the globe, Afghanistan and Iraq.

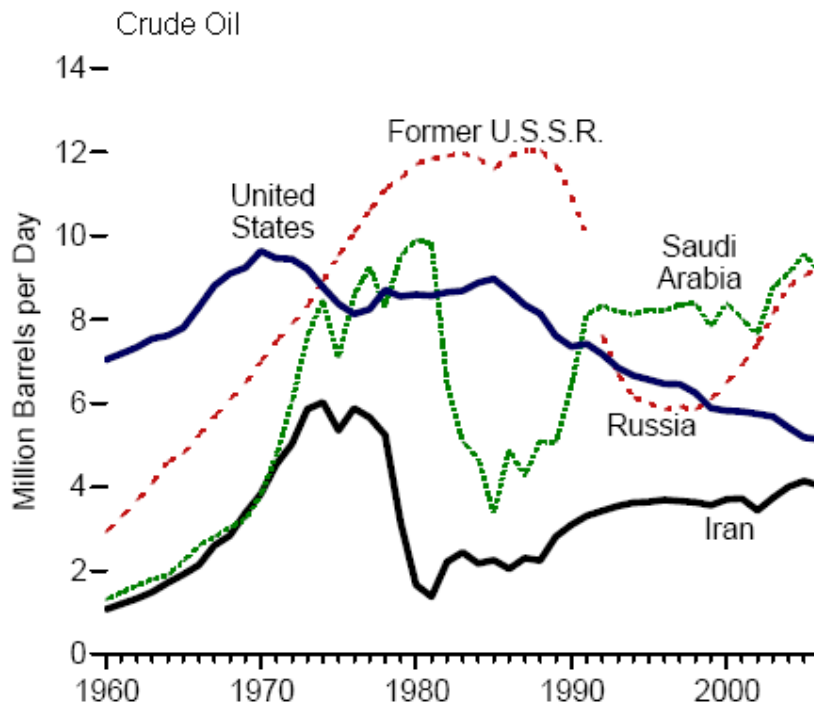


Figure 1: Top Oil Producing Countries 1960-2006⁶⁸

However, the focus is more on Russia than on Turkey, as Moscow is doing everything to secure its interests against external intrusion. In the rise of 2009, it imposed a deadline to Ukraine to make a payment to Russia under the natural gas deal. The natural gas crisis gives to Russia the right to cut off natural gas supplies for

⁶⁸ US DOE, Energy Information Administration, Annual Energy Review 2006, www.eia.doe.gov/steo

Ukraine; moreover, in August 2008, while the United States had been absorbed by its wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, Russia invaded a part of Georgia. Therefore, one should admit that Russia is taking advantage of its enhanced financial position, due to imposing commodity prices, particular in the energy sector, as well as the lack of American presence and options in Eurasia. The Russians are gaining more space and power in the region.



Figure 2: Caspian Region Oil Pipelines⁶⁹

Of course, with the dissolution of the Soviet Eurasian hegemony and the demise of the Communist World in the early 1990's, the United States achieved practical dominance on earth, and the world from bipolarity shifted to unipolarity. However, in contrast to their willing, the dissolution of the Soviet Union had been politically, at least not economically; the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had been divided into small independent nations: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussian, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Latvian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. These new independent nations has received considerable attention since their independence, as there are those which are situated in the Caspian-Caucasus region, such as Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, for their oil reserves, some Western oil executives involved in projects in the region believe that

⁶⁹ http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/commonwealth/caspian_pipelines_2002.pdf

Azerbaijan's reserves- together with those of Kazakhstan- are large enough to alter world energy trading patterns by the end of the next decade⁶⁹. The following figure shows the Caspian Sea oil production growth within the last two years.

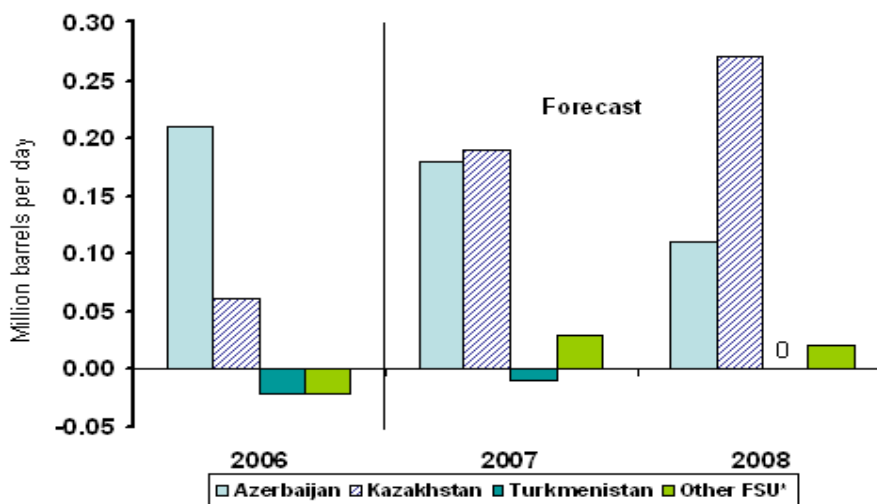


Figure 3: The Caspian Sea Oil Production Growth⁷⁰

Eventually the United States must assure its energy interest in the world, in the Middle East, Africa or Eurasia, the Americans must triumph in this field. Oil is the Americans' blood; therefore, in this context, Neil Smith is one of the observers who tried to see what was beyond the neoconservative project of global order and what was the main objective of President W. Bush adoption of unilateralism. He wrote:

Oil is clearly a central calculation in the decision to invade Iraq and topple the Saddam Hussein regime, but as many have remarked, its relevance goes well beyond Iraq or simply the control of supplies in the world, Iraq becomes a pawn in US competition with Europe and Japan and increasingly China. By the same token, the militarization of post-Soviet southwest Asia- Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan- is part of a struggle to control the supply of large oil reserves from this region.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Bülent Gökay, «*The Politics of Caspian Oil*», (Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, Houndmills Basingstone, Hampshire, 2001), p. 130.

⁷⁰ Source: EIA, Short Term Energy Outlook, www.eia.doe.gov/steo

⁷¹ Neil Smith, «*The Endgame of Globalization*», (Routledge, 270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, 2005), p. 24.

The rise of the rest starts threatening the American Empire, moreover if the danger comes from Europe. On November 01, 1993, under the Treaty of Maastricht⁷², twenty seven European countries gathered to form an economic and political union. The European Union⁷³ emergence was for the United States more dangerous than the Chinese rise, as most of them were collapsed empires trying to revive their age of fame and glory. Few years after being an official union, their currency the “euro” gained more power than the American dollar which saw a gradual decrease. The euro threatened the dollar hegemony. According to some scholars and observers, the Iraq invasion was not just for oil; its objectives were beyond overthrowing Saddam’s regime, finding weapons of mass destruction, or destroying Osama Bin Laden’s terrorist network there, it was to avoid the shift from dollar to euro.

Hall Gardner is one of the scholars and political scientists who tackled the rising of the European Union as a friend rival to the United States. In fact, he focused more on the American vision of Europe which he described by swinging between two extremes. The first of overestimating Europe’s power as it was becoming a “fortress Europe”⁷⁴ able to be totally independent from the United States and threaten American global interests. Thus, neoconservatives believed strongly on the European unity and capacity mainly for independent military action.

In 2005, in a lecture given in the American university of Paris, Gardner expressed clearly how the United States sought to split the Europeans’ unity and stimulate their differences during the Iraq War. Indeed, the United States had been able to ally with the United Kingdom, Italy, Poland and Spain against France, Belgium and Germany, though the Americans were able to lead the war alone, but the purpose was to avoid another 1956 Suez Crisis⁷⁵ where the United States was not informed about the

⁷² Maastricht Treaty was signed on February 07, 1992, in Netherlands; it is the constitutive treaty of the European Union. It affirms its objectives, defines its most important pillars. It also led to the creation of the “euro”.

⁷³ European Union : Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

⁷⁴ Hall Gardner, «*Redifining the Transatlantic Relationship for the Twenty-First Century- Why the US and Europe Need Each Other*», (Lecture in the International for Expert “The European Security and Defence Policy and the Transatlantic Relationship- How to Strike a New Balance?”, organized by the Cicero Foundation in the series Great Debates, Department of International and Comparative Politics American University of Paris, Paris, 8-9, December 2005), p. 03.

⁷⁵ The Suez Crisis was a military attack on Egypt by Britain, France and Israel beginning on October 29, 1956. The attack followed Egypt’s decision to nationalize the Suez Canal after the withdrawal of an offer by Britain and the US to fund the building of the Aswan Dam. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suez_Crisis).

French and British acts in support of Israel. However, on the other extreme, Gardner considered that the United States underestimated Europe by being weak and pacifist. He compared Europe to *Venus* and the United States to *Mars*; he viewed that *Mars* might need *Venus* especially after the Iraq fiasco.

Perhaps even more crucially, the Bush administration has begun to realize that the US is stuck in quicksand in Iraq and that Washington will ultimately need the indirect, if not the direct, assistance of its Allies- if it is ever to withdraw from Iraq "with honor" as Richard Nixon had put it in regard to the Vietnam war, and without permitting the region to descend into further chaos.⁷⁶

The old continent seems to be stimulated by the contact with the rest of the world, as it has always been. As before, there was the use of force, through colonization and finding new roots, whereas now it takes another aspect. In fact, the rise of the Asiatic power arouses the West's feelings of fame and glory of the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. The West has had a major and devastating impact on every other civilization; in such way the neoconservative Samuel P. Huntington saw the West, in his magisterial book, *"The Clash of Civilizations: And the Remaking of World Order"*.

Huntington resulted that the problem in the relation between the West and the rest was the discordance between the West's- particularly America's- efforts to promote a universal Western culture and its declining ability to do so. Moreover, the communism collapse sharpened this discordance by reinforcing in the West the view that its ideology of democratic liberalism had triumphed globally. The West, and especially the United States with its usual missionary nation, viewed that the non-Westerners had to follow the Western values, free markets, limited government, human rights, individualism and the rule of law, *what is universalism to the West is imperialism to the rest*⁷⁷. Effectively, the non-Western Islamic world embraced the Western principles but only if they were not against Islamic fundamentalism. Huntington deemed the Western non-Western relation *hypocrisy*, the West promoted democracy but not if it nonproliferation was preached for Iran and Iraq but not for Israel; free trade was the elixir of economic

⁷⁶ *Op.cit.*, p. 11.

⁷⁷ Samuel P. Huntington, *«The Clash of Civilizations: And the Remaking of World Order»*, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

growth but not for agriculture; human rights were an issue with China but not with Saudi Arabia; aggression against oil-owning Kuwaitis was massively repulsed but not against non-oil-owning Bosnians.

However, the West of the Cold War and the post Cold War era is different from the one of the post September 11, 2001; the only difference is that the United States became the global leader, focusing on its empirical interests in the globe. It is the American Empire and the rest, including Europe, rather than the West and the rest. Indeed, President W. Bush foreign policy, of course with his neoconservative advisors, advocated the American loneliness in the global stage, however it raised the European Union power, gave the Chinese a real *tour de force* in the free market and swung the West's hegemony, the one of the post Cold War and prior to the War on Terror.

In short, for the United States, the rest's thriving is a long and slow process, which secured the American role as the world's savior, at least for another future decade. Though it will remain the most powerful country, it will not retain the position of self-proclaimed tutor; it has to learn the limits of its hegemony. According to some economists, for the American interests, the G8⁷⁸ will need to embrace China, India, Brazil and perhaps South Africa. However, these and other smaller countries have historical animosities, border disputes, and contemporary quarrels with one another, *nationalism will grow along with economic and geopolitical stature*⁷⁹.

The fact that all these rising powers have synchronized with the American Empire decline does not mean that one of them can be a global leader, or that the United States has lost its total power in the world. Following the September 11th attacks, the world saw the emergence of Bush administration ideology, neoconservatism, as a perfect and utopian doctrine that can never see a failure or fall after reaching the zenith, or even disappear from the White House. The neoconservative project, the Project for the New American Century, had as first mission to defend and protect the American empire and its allies from the proliferation of ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction; in this way they began their global war, through a common enemy. After the 2003 Iraq War fiasco, the neocons are seen as the major cause of the American

⁷⁸ G8 : Group of eight; including Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States, that emerged following the 1973 oil crisis.

⁷⁹ Fareed Zakaria, « *The Post American World* », *op.cit.*, p. 232.

decadence; however, the philosophy of their spiritual father, Leo Strauss, of the common enemy still exists within the American government.

*Today, the Cold War has disappeared but thousands of those weapons have not. In a strange turn of history, the threat of global nuclear war has gone down, but the risk of a nuclear attack has gone up. More nations have acquired these weapons. Testing has continued. Black markets trade in nuclear secrets and materials. The technology to build a bomb has spread. Terrorists are determined to buy, build or steal one... Some argue that the spread of these weapons cannot be checked-that we are destined to live in a world where more nations and more people possess the ultimate tools of destruction. This fatalism is a deadly adversary. For if we believe that the spread of nuclear weapons is inevitable, then we are admitting to ourselves that the use of nuclear weapons is inevitable... So today, I state clearly and with conviction **America's commitment to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons.***

BARACK OBAMA,

PRAGUE, APRIL05, 2009.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

April 27, 2009, United States officials expressed concern that a “Swine Flu” virus is landing on the doorstep of their airports. The prospect of Swine Flu outbreak may be panicking people around the globe; however, it is to be very good news for the neoconservative and former U.S. Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, and other politically investors in Gilead Sciences, the California biotech company that owns the rights to Tamiflu, the recommended treatment and prevention of this influenza virus. In 2005, it was the “Bird Flu” which sowed disorder in people’s mind, according to the CNN Money, Rumsfeld was on the board of Gilead Science between 1998 and 2001; when he left to join the Bush administration he retained a large shareholding, its stock price was sitting at around \$7.00 per share, but when Bush announced his pandemic plan, the stock price skyrocketed to over \$50.00. Before concerns about Bird Flu began, Gilead Science was taking losses; however, since then the Tamiflu has become the most sought influenza remedy after drug in the world. Therefore, the question that is in our minds, has neoconservatism really declined? If yes, how can we explain the alert that the world is living today, the shift from the common enemy- War on Terror- to the common crisis in economics to the Swine Flu epidemic?

However, even if the former U.S. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld is controlling Tamiflu, the influenza remedy, India has succeeded in producing it and selling it cheaply. Seemingly, while the neoconservatives are playing their last cards, trying to regain the American hegemonic power, in the other side of the globe new powers are emerging. In fact, the global system suffers from two imbalances. First, one-nation state, as the United States remains the dominant power in the long run, and no combination of powers are, yet, in a position to rival it or at least control its behavior. The second imbalance is within the United States itself, as the bulk of its military power and force are committed to the Middle East, Iraq and Afghanistan, the latter is the opened door to Eurasian regions. The United States is also threatening on occasion to go to war with Iran.

The United States’ economic situation is worsening; the American Empire is not only less powerful, but also vulnerable. The dollar is loosing its value in front of the European euro. In addition to the global economic decline, the United States becomes more and more indebted because of the neoconservatives’ aggressive foreign policy in the Middle East. Therefore, the United States is making a new global disorder so as to

General Conclusion

retrieve its omnipotence. The Americans can not give up their role of the world's guardians and accept a role that involves consultation, cooperation and compromise.

Today's globalization means that there are more powerful international actors whose interests need to be into account. The United States has to deal with the fact that it is just a world's watcher, limiting its objectives of controlling the Middle East's and Eurasian's oil wells, waging a *War on Terror*, and protecting Israel from the Arab and Muslim besiegement, especially if the latter's strength and degree of hatred are increasing around Tel-Aviv.

As a result of an excess of power, the neoconservatives led the American Empire into a hegemonic decline, limiting its global power and putting an end to its exceptionalism. In fact, the neoconservatives' imperial project regress synchronized with a rapid rest's progress. The emergence of China, Russia, Turkey, European Union, Brazil..., threatens the United States' economical and political powers. The Americans have to face up to global rivals and should change their foreign policy using their soft power and trying to respect world public choice and the international diplomatic rules.

The new American President, Barrack Obama enters the great game of global competition and uses a strong *tour de force* to regain United States' hegemony in the world and decrease the Muslims' hatred for the Americans. On June 04, 2009, in a speech giving in the University of Egypt, President Obama called for a '*new beginning between the United States and the Muslims*' searching for peace in the Middle East; promising a total withdrawal of the American army from Afghanistan and Iraq, and suggesting a two-state nations as a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

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