

**MANIFEST DESTINY AS REFLECTED IN PRESIDENT BUSH, JR.
ADMINISTRATION'S DISCOURSE: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS**

**By
Ramiz Fu'ad Bahjat Haddadin**

**Supervisor
Dr. Ahmad Y. Majdoubeh, Prof.**

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Examination Committee

Signature

Dr. Ahmad Y. Majdoubeh, Chairman
Prof. of American Literature

Dr. Tawfiq I. Yousef, Member
Prof. of Modern British Literature

Dr. Hani M. Elayyan, Member
Assist. Prof. of 20th Century American Literature

Dr. Nabil M. El-Sharif, Member
Assist. Prof. of English Literature
(Editor-in-Chief, Ad-Dustour Arabic Daily)

DEDICATION

To the soul that taught me all about life and resourcefulness, my father, Fu'ad
To the soul that taught me all about love and caring, my mother, Mary
To the soul that taught me all about manliness and strength, my brother, Saladin
To the soul that taught me all about sympathy and affection, my sister, Ishtiaq
To the soul that taught me all about honesty and hope, my supervisor, Professor
Ahmad Majdoubeh

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Ramiz Fu'ad Bahjat Haddadin

Supervisor
Dr. Ahmad Y. Majdoubeh, Prof.

ABSTRACT

The importance of this study stems from its attempt to examine thoroughly the change over time, especially after the September 11, 2001 events, in the American Manifest Destiny ideology and its influence on the Middle East region during President George W. Bush's administration.

This study also seeks to anchor the themes and origin of the Manifest Destiny ideology, and how such ideology was first employed to unite people at a time when unification was needed in the United States. Besides, it aims at revealing how the Manifest Destiny ideology has been promoted to justify American interventionist policies throughout the world, currently with respect to Iraq in particular and the Middle East region in general.

This study provides an overview of the neoconservatives' identity and agenda. It also proposes an analytical view of how the current neoconservatives aim at intervening in the world, using the preventive and pre-emptive war strategy after the September 11, 2001 attacks.

This study also explores how the neoconservatives aim to harness the Middle East region economically and then politically through putting in place many strategies, one of which is the Greater Middle East initiative. Through this initiative, the neoconservatives aim at fragmenting the region's countries with strong nationalistic and patriotic affiliations on religious and sectarian bases by using military power. They also aim at exploiting the region's energy resources—oil—through the multinational oil companies in order to contain Europe and China. Finally, the study casts light on whether the Greater Middle East initiative has been successful in the region.

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Introduction: Overview of American Manifest Destiny

Since many nations existed with a sense of national destiny, American Manifest Destiny revitalized a sense of mission or national destiny for Americans. In 1845, the New York journalist and editor, John Louis O’Sullivan, coined the phrase “Manifest Destiny” for the first time. Then, this phrase was used by politicians in the nineteenth century to justify the United States’ continental expansion (Zinn, 1999, p. 151). Politically, Manifest Destiny was first used by the Andrew Jackson Democrats in the 1840’s to back up the annexation of the Oregon territory and Texas. Only in the 1890’s did Republicans reconstruct this term to denote a theoretical justification of the United States’ intervention outside of North America (DeConde, 1971, pp. 69-71). Thus, American Manifest Destiny continued to have a visible influence on American interventionist ideology in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Most of the American people believed that it was their mission to extend the boundaries of freedom and democracy to others by spreading their idealism and belief in democratic institutions to the entire world. At first, the ideology excluded those who were thought of as being incapable of self-government, for instance, Native Americans and those Americans of non-European origin. Then, it expanded to include those who were, according to American conceptions, capable of self-government. In this way, the ideology started to take a worldwide or global framework. In other words, the term “Manifest Destiny” expresses a religious belief in the United States’ colonial mission in the whole world. To fully understand Manifest Destiny, it is important to understand the United States’ economic need to expand farther and that the term “Manifest Destiny” coincides with the belief of

American exceptionalism and with the notion of American natural superiority (Tuveson, 1968, p. 91).

Supported by the Christian right-wing, George W. Bush took office as President of the United States in 2000, so the neoconservatives seized power. After the September 11, 2001 attacks and according to their agenda, the neoconservatives aimed to implement the so-called preventive and pre-emptive war strategy to protect the United States' national security. In this way, the United States used the Manifest Destiny ideology to grant itself the right to intervene militarily by dismantling many nationalistic and patriotic countries, and economically by opening all markets and unifying them at a world level under the control of multinational companies. In order to subdue the world economically and therefore, politically, the influential parts of the world, one of which is the Middle East region of the multiple energy resources, should be fragmented. Furthermore, the Middle East region should be restructured by the neoconservatives on various bases to resurrect what they consider to be non-productive, dependent and prehistoric societies.

According to many politicians, the ideology of the neoconservatives—that of clash of civilizations—is based on the premise that the weak civilization vanishes and the stronger one prevails. Those politicians argue that the neoconservatives are mistaken when they think that the stronger civilization is represented by a strong army, strong industrialization power and tremendous productivity of goods and services. That is why the Bush administration invaded Iraq, aiming to impose its understanding of the American version of federalism on the Iraqis by using military power to spread democracy and freedom. Many politicians also think that the neoconservatives cannot recognize that exporting a culture and implanting it in different nations proves to be impossible, even if those neoconservatives were stronger militarily speaking, for this backfires. Historians argue that

there exists a normal track for the development of the human socioeconomic structure, and what the neoconservatives are attempting to implement and impose is totally against this normal track. On the contrary, the Greater Middle East initiative is one of the strategies used by the neoconservatives to try to dismantle the Middle East region, making use of its affluent energy resources, starting with Iraq. By implementing this initiative, the United States would hit two targets simultaneously. They would exploit the large amounts of oil in the region to be able to have the upper hand over Europe, and contain China—the new Japan (Amirahmadi, 1993, p. 402). On the other hand, this study aims to prove why and how the Greater Middle East initiative is falling apart in Iraq.

The first chapter of this study will be devoted to establishing a solid background of the American Manifest Destiny ideology, its themes and origins. It will also discuss how the Manifest Destiny ideology was used to justify American westward expansion at the expense of the Native Americans' territories. Then, the second chapter will shift to deal with the changes and turning points in the Manifest Destiny ideology and its influence on American foreign policy during George W. Bush's administration, particularly after the September 11, 2001 attacks. Moreover, it will explore how this ideology has been used to justify American interventionism in the Middle East, particularly in Iraq, using the preventive and pre-emptive war strategy. In the second chapter, the neoconservatives' identity and agenda will be discussed as well. Whereas the third chapter will touch upon the Greater Middle East initiative, and how the neoconservatives aim at launching it by utilizing military power and the multinational oil companies. This chapter also investigates the Greater Middle East initiative as a part of the neoconservatives' plans to control the world economically by exploiting oil in the Middle East region. Finally, the third chapter will attempt to find out whether the Greater Middle East initiative has been successful or

not, whether it is deteriorating in Iraq, and will continue to deteriorate on the Middle Eastern level and on the world scale or not.

The Themes and Origins of the American Manifest Destiny

Ideology

Introduction

The idea of Manifest Destiny is as old as America itself. This ideology traveled with Christopher Columbus across the Atlantic. Then, it settled with the first immigrants and Pilgrims in Jamestown. Although the early American history did not know the phrase as it is used nowadays, there were many synonyms used to refer to the not yet named phenomenon. A brief look at some of the United States' history books proves that such synonyms as explorers, territories, expansionism, settlers and immigration were frequently utilized in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries till 1845—the year the phrase “Manifest Destiny” was coined (Zinn, 1999, pp. 1-12). Indeed, many historians argue that the American Manifest Destiny phenomenon is the only reason why the United States intervenes in the world from a military and economic point of view. Thus, Manifest Destiny is the force responsible for forming the current American history the way it is standing now. It was the phenomenon that created the philosophy of a nation (Lubragge, 2003).

Inspired by the Manifest Destiny ideology that encompassed the belief in a divine mission, the United States held the responsibility of expanding and spreading its form of democracy and freedom (Tuveson, 1968, p. 91). Then, this ideology became a common historical term, denoting a territorial expansion of the United States across North America towards the Pacific Ocean and the world as a whole. On the other hand, Manifest Destiny held in its seeds a belief in the superiority of what was then called the “Anglo-Saxon race” and “White Man’s Burden” (Lafeber, 1994, p. 235). This chapter deals with the long history of the United States’ territorial expansion and the westward migration of settlers,

using this ideology as a pretext to justify this westward expansion. In this way, the United States served both its colonial and capitalist interests, paving the way for a long history of American interventionist policies.

The Origin of Manifest Destiny as a Phrase

When tackling history, one can notice that tangible historical events are often connected to specific dates and intervals. The United States' history was made of a chronological record of events, each of which has its own causes and effects on American history as a whole. Manifest Destiny, on the other hand, is a phenomenon that cannot be related to a date or even to a specific time interval (Lubragge, 2006). Manifest Destiny, which means obvious (or undeniable) fate, existed in the nineteenth century; furthermore, it still exists as the ideology that perpetuates and enriches the American life and culture as a whole. Therefore, Manifest Destiny can simply be defined as “A Movement” (“lyricsfreak,” n.d.).

In his *A People's History of the United States* (1999), Howard Zinn explains how an influential New York journalist and democratic editor named John Louis O'Sullivan gave the movement its name (Zinn, 1999, p. 151). In the July–August 1845 issue of his magazine, the *Democratic Review*, O'Sullivan organized his discussions of Manifest Destiny around two central points: the mission to spread American institutions to the whole world and the destiny under God to achieve this mission (Lubragge, 2006). In his essay entitled “Annexation,” O'Sullivan—first user of the Manifest Destiny phrase and advocate—asked the United States to accept Texas into the Union in 1845 (Zinn, 1999, p. 151). O'Sullivan claimed: “Our destiny to overspread the continent allotted by the Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions” (quod. in Zinn,

1999, p. 151). On the other hand, Walter Lafeber explains in *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad* (1994) how O’Sullivan used the phrase for the second time. On December 27, 1845 in his newspaper the *New York Morning News*, O’Sullivan addressed the nation to settle the dispute with Great Britain regarding the Oregon Territory by claiming the American right to the whole of Oregon (Lafeber, 1994, pp. 94-95). He stated:

... the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and development of self government entrusted to us. It is right such as that of the tree to the space of air and the earth suitable for the full expansion of its principle and destiny of growth (Brinkley, 1995, p. 352).

To tell the truth, O’Sullivan believed that Providence, that is God, granted the United States the mission of spreading democracy all over North America as a continent. He also described Manifest Destiny as a moral ideal that is higher than any other law (Lafeber, 1994, pp. 94-95). By being the one who held the torch of the Manifest Destiny doctrine that lit the way for American expansion, O’Sullivan publicized the notion of Manifest Destiny in the newspapers and spurred an argument about it throughout the nation (Lubragge, 2006). However, O’Sullivan’s interpretation of Manifest Destiny was neither a call for forcible territorial expansion nor an imposing of the laws of the United States on people against their will. He believed in expanding the United States’ mode of democracy, and that this should take place without military intervention. For example, O’Sullivan disagreed with the Mexican-American War in 1846 although he believed in its benefits (“Manifest Destiny,” 2006).

The Origin of Manifest Destiny as an Ideology

In spite of the fact that this movement took its name in 1845, its philosophical roots and ideological background stem from the seventeenth century. At that time, the governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, John Winthrop, addressed the nation, delivering his famous sermon in 1630: “We must always consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us” (quod. in Lafeber, 1994, pp. 9, 582). When the Puritans left England, they hoped to realize their dream of building a new secular society. The Puritans who first dwelled in Massachusetts in 1620 had a strong belief that they were establishing the New Israel. (Phillips, 2006, p. 125). In fact, the vast majority of the Puritans believed to have been guided by God as Alexander Whitaker preached from Virginia in 1613: “God hath opened this passage unto us, and led us by the hand unto this work” (quod. in Conrad, 1971, p. 33).

The idea of the Ancient Hebrews’ Promised Land, with which most of the Pilgrims identified themselves, had a tremendous impact on shaping colonial thought. The Pilgrims firmly believed that they had the right to claim that they were God’s chosen people, who were heading towards the Promised Land. Other Pilgrims even went further than that by granting themselves the right to claim that they were divinely called by God. For example, John Rolfe said: “The settlers in Virginia were a peculiar people, marked and chosen by the finger of God” (quod. in Conrad, 1971, p. 26). On the other hand, most of the Pilgrims were Protestants, who fled from religious oppression in Europe, and found in the United States the Promised land, where they can fight their final battle between good and evil—Armageddon (Phillips, 2006, p. 88). In fact, the believers in this ideology will later form the so-called Christian right-wing. Thus, by considering themselves as God’s chosen people

and as the launchers of the “New Israel,” the Pilgrims contributed a further integral image to the theme of America’s self-interpretation (Phillips, 2006, p. 125).

During the revolutionary period (1776-1815), this American self-image emerged with a new force as Samuel Langdon preached in New Hampshire in 1788: “We cannot but acknowledge that God hath graciously patronized our cause and taken us under his special care, as he did his ancient covenant people” (qutd. in Conrad, 1971, p. 99). While delivering his second presidential inaugural address in 1805, Thomas Jefferson, too, reiterated the Promised Land notion. He stated: “I shall need...the favor of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our fathers, as Israel of old, from their native land and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessities and comforts of life” (qutd. in Conrad, 1971, p. 65).

The sense of the colonists’ divine identification with Armageddon and the ancient Canaan resulted in justifying the United States’ expulsion of the indigenous people from their own lands (Phillips, 2006, p. 88). Indeed, the colonists considered themselves as the Canaanites of Israel, who were to face the evil Native Americans in a so-called Armageddon, for those Native Americans aimed at preventing the colonists from gaining more lands (Gaer and Siegal, 1964, p. 65). Since then, the indigenous people have lost massive amounts of acres of land because the Puritans did not respect the farm ownership of those Native Americans. The Puritans sought every possible way to deprive the Native Americans of their lands; they even gained many acres of land through the Massachusetts courts. For instance, Puritan John Winthrop obtained some 1,260 acres along the Concord River from the Native Americans (Koning, 1993, p. 14). In this way, most of the land was taken aggressively, denoting the beginning of the so-called American Colonialism. In addition to wars, the Pilgrims brought diseases that killed many millions of Native

Americans within a few years; these massive killings left the land empty and available for the colonists to own and exploit. When the 1600's ended, most Native Americans in New England had been killed or driven away (Boling, 1982, p. 211).

The nineteenth century witnessed many dramatic events that illustrated the Manifest Destiny ideology on the ground as a strategy that changed the history of the nation. By receiving direct instructions from President James Monroe in 1818, Andrew Jackson led military forces into Florida, destroyed Spanish forces and captured several cities (Demkin, 1997, Chapter 8). Although the Americans did not favor Jackson's rough tactics in the war, they were satisfied with this still at that time unnamed ideology, which led Florida to become a part of the American territories. However, the reason why the Americans were in Florida is another example of Manifest Destiny. To say that the United States was destined to gain Florida amounts to saying that the United States started to appear as a colonial power (Lubragge, 2006).

Since the people of the South sought more fertile lands to satisfy their economic needs to produce more agricultural commodities intensively, they granted themselves the right to own—colonize—lands without any political approval. They just started settling and planting the Florida territories after its occupation. This is perhaps the first example that reveals the tendency Americans had towards colonial expansion. Americans believed that they had a right to take any land they wanted, for they were destined to have it.

As mentioned before, the term “Manifest Destiny” was first used in 1845 to convey the idea that the United States had the rightful destiny to colonization, leading to imperialistic expansion. Indeed, many wars could be connected to the United States' Manifest Destiny. For instance, the United States declared war on Mexico in 1846, succeeding to take over much of what is now the Southwestern United States. Manifest Destiny emerged naturally

out of the desire to occupy new lands, and establish new borders. After the Spanish-American War had ended in 1898, the idea of expansionism grew stronger across the United States (Reynolds, 1995, p. 136). In spite of the fact that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution did not allow such actions, many U.S. Congressional legislators started to call for the annexation of all the Spanish territories. Some newspapers even went further to put forward the annexation of Spain as a whole, and many politicians were calling for launching an American empire.

The Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary

In his famous Monroe Doctrine, President James Monroe stressed in 1822 the idea that the United States should play the role of the world leader when he warned Europe and the rest of the world: “Stay out of the Western Hemisphere” (quod. in Demkin, 1997, Chapter 8). Furthermore, this simple statement crowned the United States as the protector of all the lands in the Western Hemisphere. In this way, President Monroe promoted the Manifest Destiny ideology worldwide. As a result, the United States could extend its control of and intervention in foreign affairs throughout the Western Hemisphere by the confirmation and encouragement of the Monroe Doctrine (Bemis, 1962, p. 372).

Actually, Manifest Destiny and the Monroe Doctrine share many closely related ideas. According to many historians, Manifest Destiny could be seen as a corollary of the Monroe Doctrine because the latter did not focus on expansion as the way to accomplish the Doctrine. Expansion, however, was necessary in order to enforce the Doctrine (Lafeber, 1994, pp. 247-249). The Manifest Destiny ideology, in the same way, did not adopt

expansionism in the 1840's, which was disseminated as a defensive strategy to lessen the European intervention in North America.

An additional promotion of Manifest Destiny came from President Theodore Roosevelt when he established the Roosevelt Corollary in 1904. The Roosevelt Corollary stated clearly: "Chronic wrongdoing may, in America as elsewhere, ultimately require the intervention by some civilized nation...in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power" (quod. in Lafeber, 1994, p. 247). At that time, this statement was made to assert the United States' control over the Western Hemisphere. Moreover, the Roosevelt Corollary denoted clearly that even if a country signed any legal contract agreement with a country of the Western Hemisphere, the United States could interrupt that contract if it believed the deal was not in the best interest of those countries. In this way, not only did the United States become the colonial military protector of the Western Hemisphere, but it also crowned itself as the capitalist business protector by using the Roosevelt Corollary. This "Iron Fisted Neighbor" mentality was also another example of the Manifest Destiny ideology (Lubragge, 2003).

The Manifest Destiny: A Disputed Philosophy

Despite the benefits gained by this ideology at both the economic and expansionary levels, Manifest Destiny became a disputed philosophy. Here are two examples that illustrate the difference in American viewpoints. The first citation is evidence of the opposing attitudes towards the Manifest Destiny ideology (Lubragge, 2003). In 1837, a letter was sent to the Whig Candidate Henry Clay by the journalist William E. Channing, who wrote:

Did this county know itself, or was it disposed to profit by self-knowledge, it would feel the necessity of laying an immediate curb on its passion for extended territory... We are a restless people, prone to encroachment, impatient of the ordinary laws of progress... We boast of our rapid growth, forgetting that, throughout nature, noble growths are slow... It is full time that we should lay on ourselves serious, resolute restraint. Possessed of a domain, vast enough for the growth of ages, it is time for us to stop in the career of acquisition and conquest. Already endangered by our greatness, we cannot advance without imminent peril to our institutions, union, prosperity, virtue, and peace... It is sometimes said, that nations are swayed by laws, as unfailling as those which govern matter; that they have their destinies; that their character and position carry them forward irresistibly to their goal;... that... the Indians have melted before the white man, and the mixed, degraded race of Mexico must melt before the Anglo-Saxon. Away with this vile sophistry! There is no necessity for crime. There is no fate to justify rapacious nations, any more than to justify gamblers and robbers, in plunder. We boast of the progress of society, and this progress consists in the substitution of reason and moral principle for the sway of brute force... We talk of accomplishing our destiny. So did the late conqueror of Europe (Napoleon); and destiny consign him to a lonely rock in the ocean, the prey of ambition which destroyed no peace but his own (qutd. in Blum, McFeely, Morgan & Schlesinger Jr., 1985, p. 276).

On the other hand, the next example discloses the attitude that represented the majority of the American people at that time. The following article appeared in the *Democratic Review* in 1845, stating:

Texas has been absorbed into the Union in the inevitable fulfillment of the general law which is rolling our population westward... It was disintegrated from Mexico in the natural course of events, by a process perfectly legitimate on its own part, blameless on ours... (its) incorporation into the Union was not only inevitable, but the most natural, right and proper thing in the world... California will, probably, next fall away from... Mexico... Imbecile and distracted, Mexico never can exert any real governmental authority over such a country... The Anglo-Saxon foot is already on its borders. Already the advance guard of the irresistible army of Anglo-Saxon emigration has begun to pour down upon it armed with the plow and the rifle, and markings its trail with schools and colleges, courts and representative halls, mills and meeting houses. A population will soon be in actual occupation of California, over which it will be idle for Mexico to dream of dominion... All this without agency of our government, without responsibility of our people—in natural flow of events, the spontaneous working of principles, and the adaptation of the tendencies and wants of the human race to the elemental circumstances in the midst of which they find themselves placed (qutd. in Blum et al., 1985, p. 277).

The Themes of the Manifest Destiny Ideology

The Manifest Destiny ideology had many components; each one served the United States in various ways. Manifest Destiny represented the idealistic vision of social perfection gained through God and the Church and the pride that characterized American Nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century. When it is taken individually, each component created reasons to conquer new lands. Altogether they exemplified the United States' ideological and economic needs to dominate the world from pole to pole, the main themes that contributed to promoting the Manifest Destiny ideology are religious influence and westward expansion.

The Religious Influence

Many believed that the notion of the Divine Providence was *the* triggering factor that helped initiate Manifest Destiny as a doctrine. In fact, most of the American people saw that God granted the United States the right to claim a predestined future to expand its borders without any limits to area or country (Weinberg, 1935, p. 145). Therefore, the expansion that has been taking place till the current time is part of the Manifest Destiny mainstream. The other part is the belief implying that God's will had destined the Americans to spread their standards over the entire continent and its territories the way they found suitable. On the other hand, many expansionists went even further, conceiving of God as the almighty power that granted the white people the right to guide the human destiny: "It was white man's burden to conquer and Christianize the land" (Demkin, 1997, Chapter 8). In other words, the Puritans' city upon a hill idea was finally secularized into Manifest Destiny—an ideology that denotes a sort of religious destiny.

Accordingly, the Manifest Destiny religious influence revolves around three major themes: 1- the virtue of the American people; 2- the mission to spread their standards; 3- and the destiny under God to accomplish these tasks. For example, President Abraham Lincoln described the United States as “the last, best hope of Earth” (qutd. in “Manifest Destiny,” 2006). Therefore, believing in the United States’ mission and virtuous ideals to prevail through territorial expansion was a fundamental aspect of Manifest Destiny. Adding more territories to the United States by colonization meant extending the area of freedom at the expense of the Native Americans, who suffered many massacres and genocides due to the United States’ westward expansion. In 1811, John Quincy Adams wrote to his father:

The whole continent of North America appears to be destined by Divine Providence to be peopled by one *nation*, speaking one language, professing one general system of religious and political principles, and accustomed to one general tenor of social usages and customs. For the common happiness of them all, for their peace and prosperity, I believe it is indispensable that they should be associated in one federal Union (qutd. in “Manifest Destiny,” 2006).

The Mission to Expand Westward

While many people thought of it as God’s will, others saw the Manifest Destiny ideology as the United States’ historical desire to dominate North America from sea to sea in order to extend American liberty and freedom to new territories. Therefore, Northwest expansion started when the American fur trappers sought new reserves of beavers. While doing so, they got to know new ways and passages through the mountains; they also extended across new fertile valleys of the Far West. The immense wealth both in hunting and knowledge made the new region of the West famous and interesting for others to discover agricultural possibilities. In this way, the so-called expansionists were triggered to discover and expand, seizing more lands. Indeed, many historians argue that the economic

wealth gained through this expansion caused the United States to colonize more lands as a capitalist power that favors profiteering (Lubragge, 2003). The fact that many consider Christopher Columbus a capitalist colonizer rather than an explorer, who tried to reach India for trade, is reflected later in the United States' long history of expansionism.

For those expansionists, the Indians who were living on this land were of no importance because the expansionists related the idea of expanding with God's will to do so. As a result, many Native Americans were forced to move westward and even sometimes to give up some of their lands in order to avoid problems with God's predestined believers. Sometimes, Native Americans fought back but could not resist for a long time, surrendering to the Americans' control. Some expansionists forced many of the Native Americans to move to reservations, as they continued to move westward to dominate what they thought of as God's will to harness North America from sea to sea.

During the mid-1800's, technology began to rise in various scientific disciplines, improving the standards of life and elongating the life span of many Americans. Therefore, the United States' population grew from more than 5 million in 1800 to more than 23 million by the mid-century, leading to overcrowded towns. Only then did many Americans take the West as an alternative for possible homes; in addition, the economic factors played a role in considering the West as a place for prosperity because the lands westward represented wealth and self-sufficiency. Moreover, there had been a desire to develop trade with the Far East; therefore, going to the West meant opening new trade routes. By the 1840's, expansion westward had reached the zenith, indicating the United States' economic desire to adopt capitalism as a life-style. Many Americans traveled the Santa Fe Trail or the Oregon Trail, using it to trade manufactured goods for furs. The Missouri trader, William Becknell, was the first to discover the trail, utilizing it as a commercial route between what

was at that time the Western part of the United States and New Mexico. Actually, around 5.000 Americans traveled the Oregon Trail, which was the longest trail known then going westward, to Oregon's Willamette Valley in 1845 ("Free Essays, Cliff Notes and Term Paper Database," 2004). The long travel, which crossed deserts and rugged mountains from Missouri to the Northwest, reached nearly 200 miles. Although this long travel caused many people to die on the way, the expansionists sensed a mission that led them to explore, colonize and gain more territories (Lubragge, 2003).

Thus, the Manifest Destiny ideology inspired the Americans to seek a mission that made the United States grow through territorial expansion and colonization. Furthermore, there was a fear that the security of the United States might be endangered by foreign intervention from areas along its borders. The most effective way to diminish that fear was to conquer lands beyond its borders, and expand American territories.

The Manifest Destiny's Dark Side

Although Manifest Destiny created zest and energy to move westward, it embedded a negative or dark side of the American history by ossifying the idea that only the white man had the right to destroy anything that appeared in the way. By tackling the impact Manifest Destiny made by westward expansion, one can see how many tribal organizations were virtually eliminated, and how Indians were kept in solitary confinement—the reservations. In addition, others witnessed the large massacres and genocides, which were often the results of implementing Manifest Destiny. The settlements that were created by the white man, extending across the Western territories, demonstrated the American dream: the freedom and independence of owning as many acres of lands as possible. In other words,

the American Dream made the Americans conceive of themselves as moving towards perfection and idealism in order that they could establish the new Eden: a bountiful and rewarding land. Therefore, an interest in a material progress and economic prosperity came into existence. These factors altogether perpetuated an attitude, that is, nothing was to prevent the progress of Manifest Destiny. By using this doctrine mixed with the spiritual dimension and the divine belief that Manifest Destiny included the right to do so, Americans could take whatever Indian lands they wanted, planting and farming them (Lubragge, 2003).

The late nineteenth century witnessed a large-scale movement of Native Americans forced into reservations when the United States' government decided to destroy tribal organizations, under what was then said to be the progressive Manifest Destiny doctrine. The arrogance that flowed from the Manifest Destiny ideology was exemplified when member Albert T. Beveridge rose before the United States' Senate, and announced:

God has not been preparing the English-speaking people for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns... He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savages and senile peoples. Theodore Roosevelt, John Cabot Lodge, and John Hay, each in turn, endorsed with a strong sense of certainty the view that the Anglo-Saxon [Americans] was destined to rule the world. Such views expressed in the 19th century and in the early 20th century continue to ring true in the minds of many non-Indian property owners. The superiority of the "white race" is the foundation on which the Anti-Indian Movement organizers and right-wing helpers rest their efforts to dismember Indian tribes (quid. in the Center for World Indigenous Studies, 1992).

Thus, in the age of Manifest Destiny, removing Native Americans gained ground because a large number of Americans regarded the Natives as nothing but savages, who hindered the American colonial expansion. In his influential study *Race and Manifest Destiny*, historian Reginald Horsman argued that racial rhetoric increased during the era of Manifest Destiny. In fact, Americans believed that the Natives would soon fade away as the

United States expanded; this idea was revealed in the great historian Francis Parkman's work, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, in 1851. Parkman wrote: "Indians were destined to melt and vanish before the advancing waves of Anglo-American power, which now rolled westward unchecked and unopposed" (qutd. in "Manifest Destiny," 2006).

White Man's Burden

Rudyard Kipling promoted the so-called philosophy of "White Man's Burden." In his famous poem that holds the same name, Kipling urged the United States to follow in the footsteps of Great Britain (DeConde, 1971, p. 352). He said that since the United States is a world power, it had the burden to extend help to the inferior people of the world by converting them to Christianity. Kipling also preached that it would never be that easy for the United States to play the role of a world leader; the rewards will outweigh the trouble (Demkin, 1997, Chapter 11). When defending the United States' presence in the Philippines, President William McKinley also influenced the masses, and reiterated the idea of "White Man's Burden" by saying: "Duty determines destiny" (qutd. in Lubragge, 2003)

Did the Manifest Destiny Doctrine Come to an End?

In spite of the fact that Manifest Destiny may be looked at as an enigma, it is the ideology, on which the history of the United States of America was built. It, actually, reveals how America indeed became America; moreover, Manifest Destiny created a dispute among historians about when it started, and when it ended. But the question to be raised is: did the Manifest Destiny doctrine come to an end?

When the lands and territories that extended between the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean had been conquered by 1890, most historians believed that the Manifest Destiny doctrine was complete. Nevertheless, those who claim the end of Manifest Destiny do not take into consideration one essential factor that proves that this doctrine is immortal. Those should determine and specify what the word “territories” and “lands” mean. In other words, does the word land refer to only the area of North America, or does it imply other parts of the world? Are we to believe that when standing on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, the Americans had no interest in the world beyond (Lubragge, 2003)?

While many believed that it had not come to an end by the 1890’s, the idea of Manifest Destiny took a totally new dimension after these years—when the territories between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans were conquered. Accordingly, the Manifest Destiny doctrine can be classified into two distinctive parts. The first part is the one responsible for building the American main land, that is, the lands that extend between Canada and Mexico on the North and South, and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans on the East and West. It can be named national Manifest Destiny, which had come to an end by the 1890’s. The second part, on the other hand, could be given the name international Manifest Destiny, which first appeared in 1867 when the United States started to look externally outside its immediate borders to acquire more lands. In this year, the United States purchased Alaska from Russia for \$7,200,000. Actually, the acquisition of Alaska was not the first attempt to acquire lands through this way; the Senate rejected plans to purchase the Virgin Islands from Denmark (Blum et al., 1985, p. 403).

The Pacific Ocean and Beyond

Although the United States' presence in Hawaii appeared first in 1810 through shipping expeditions and explorers in the Pacific Ocean, the international version of Manifest Destiny reappeared in 1898. In this year, the United States witnessed taking the decision to control Hawaii. Indeed, the United States made Hawaii its 50th state in 1959 (Demkin, 1997, p. 20).

The promoters of the international version of Manifest Destiny gave it a new dimension when they used many other synonyms referring to international Manifest Destiny. Imperialism, for example, represents one of the terms that are closely related to international Manifest Destiny. If the belief in the Divine Providence and the predestined mission were the way to implement the Manifest Destiny ideology on ground, imperialism would be the light that lit this way. Fueled by international Manifest Destiny, many American economists believed in the need for the United States to stretch its economic strength over other lands during the period that extended between the late 1800's and the beginning of the 1900's (Lubragge, 2003). This muscular economic stretching could be accomplished politically, militarily or economically. Regardless of the method used for implementation, imperialism, mixed with American colonialism and capitalism, was most of the time the reason for the United States to extend its interests beyond the Pacific Ocean. After it had entered many wars, the United States took the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico via the Spanish-American War:

One popular way of thinking, however, was to attribute imperialism to determinism of some sort: the hand of God, the instinct of race, the laws of Darwinism, the force of Economics and trade - anything but reasonable decision. Though many Americans deemed willing to surrender to imperialist policies, few would admit that they did so because they wanted to (qutd. in Blum et al., 1985, p. 536).

Now, what about the rest of the lands throughout the world? Is it possible nowadays to apply the Manifest Destiny ideology in order to gain more territories? In other words, would the Manifest Destiny ideology be used to acquire new lands on opposite sides of the globe, or does the United States need new methods and strategies to prevail economically and politically in other parts of the world? To colonize territories that are thousands of miles away requires a new military strategy; moreover, it may require a new economic strategy that controls the world and its resources, mainly the energy ones—crude oil and natural gas. These strategies were inspired by Manifest Destiny, and came as a result after the Manifest Destiny ideology had completed its missions. For example, it united the Americans under one flag, granted them a divine right to annexation of territories and countries and allowed them to intervene in the states' and other countries' internal affairs in order to protect the United States' own interests. After Manifest Destiny had accomplished its missions, that is, the first phase, the United States used the Manifest Destiny ideology to enter the second multinational phase that enabled its economy through the multinational oil companies to adopt a multinational framework. In this way, many of the world's resources would be exploited for the benefit of these companies, leading the United States' economy to benefit as well as the United States itself could dominate the whole world.

From Nationalism to Multinationalism

Actually, one must begin by pulling apart the different strands of the economic forces and political agendas that the United States weaves into one, using Manifest Destiny. Many historical events that came into existence throughout the United States' history contributed other dimensions to the Manifest Destiny ideology. When the population and,

consequently, production and consumption of the original colonies grew, and the United States' economy developed, the need to expand into new lands in order to seek new markets for satisfying their products and the surplus in products increased ("U.S. Mexican War," 2006). At that time, land was still the major representative of high income and wealth because it was the tool of production. In the seventeenth century, the first immigrants did not respect the Native Americans' farm ownership. On the contrary, they contrived in many ways to get as many acres of the Native Americans' lands as possible. Supported by legal actions, when a Native American violated, for example, one of the Puritan religious laws, the fine was paid by giving up land (Kickingbird and Ducheneaux, 1973, pp. 14-31). Accordingly, land represented high income, being the tool of production, but societies develop and so too do its tools of production. When this tool of production—the lands—developed due to high-tech machines during the industrial revolution, expansion into the Western frontiers offered opportunities for self-advancement.

In Europe, the industrial society and its tools of production developed as well, transforming society to a capitalist one, whose version of capitalism adopted a national framework. At that time, the national capitalism that appeared in Europe had not been formed in the United States, yet. The first immigrants, who came from Europe and had already experienced national capitalism, had to melt and form a homogenous nation by using a national ideology that united them under one flag. The ideology that was used at that time was the Manifest Destiny ideology. From the nineteenth century till the end of the Cold War, the Manifest Destiny ideology had the purpose of melting the culturally, ethnically and religiously different groups and cults to form one nation. During the Cold War era, the United States really needed a national ideology to fight the socialist bloc led by the traditional enemy—the Soviet Union.

After the end of the Cold War in the early 1990's, Manifest Destiny witnessed a turning point in its influence on the American foreign policy. After the Soviet Union had broken apart, the United States, whose economy did not pass through the national capitalist phase as Europe did, found the world markets free to be exploited to satisfy the surplus of its companies' products (Amirahmadi, 1993, pp. 50-51). These companies, which started to merge and make use of the large free world markets, became gigantic; they adopted a new mode of living worldwide, so-called globalization. In other words, these companies exploited the Manifest Destiny ideology to expand on the world scale, and justified their economic intervention globally as part of the divine mission to spread democracy and prosperity to other nations. Being called the multinational companies, they aim at uniting markets at a world level because the national and domestic markets are no longer sufficient for these companies' products and their surplus. In fact, they need to open the world markets to be able to promote their products, leading to more profits. These companies also aim at uniting the world customs legislations and removing customs barriers for capital, goods and services in order to allow them to move freely, gaining more profit as well. On the other hand, the nationalistic and patriotic countries try to protect their domestic markets by closing them through customs protection laws and imposed tariffs. This process, in turn, contradicts the interests of these multinational companies, which work on dismantling these nationalistic and patriotic countries in order to open their closed markets for their benefit.

In 2000, President George W. Bush won the presidential elections with the support of the Christian right wingers. The September 11 attacks occurred in 2001, bringing the neoconservatives to adopt such new strategies as the preventive and pre-emptive war strategy. Preventive war means using force against non-imminent threats to prevent future attacks whereas pre-emptive military force means striking first at an imminent threat,

believing that an attack is going to occur. After revealing both the neoconservatives' and the multinational oil companies' agendas, many politicians argue that the neoconservatives' political and the multinational oil companies' economic interests intersected, particularly regarding the Middle East region—a region affluent with energy resources. By using the Manifest Destiny ideology to justify worldwide intervention, the neoconservatives are implementing the Greater Middle East initiative that aims at uniting economically the Middle East markets that include the markets of the Arab countries, Turkey, Iran, North Africa, Pakistan and Israel via the multinational oil companies. Politically, however, they aim at fragmenting the countries on denominational bases by using military power. In this way, the neoconservatives aim to resurrect prehistoric societies that are unable to produce because they have entered a phase of religious and denominational conflict like what is happening in Iraq currently. According to many politicians, the neoconservatives aim to restructure these countries to serve their and the multinational oil companies' interests concerning oil—the vital energy resource and the moving power that influences the United States' economy. By implementing the Greater Middle East initiative, the United States would also hit two targets simultaneously: it would exploit the large amounts of oil in the region to be able to have the upper hand over Europe, and to contain China—the new Japan.

Thus, the neoconservatives try to implement their plans by using military force. They invaded Afghanistan, using the pretext of terminating Osama Bin Laden's al Qa'eda, being the cause of the September 11, 2001 events. Then, they occupied Iraq, using the pretext of the weapons of mass destruction. The neoconservatives, it would seem, cannot comprehend from history that culture and civilization are produced accumulatively throughout history. Economic objectives cannot be achieved by fragmenting or terminating this power or that

by imposing any culture on another by force. Moreover, historians and politicians argue that there exists a normal track for the development of the human socioeconomic structure, and what the neoconservatives are attempting to implement and impose is totally against this normal track.

Conclusion

The phrase Manifest Destiny was first used by the New York editor John Louis O'Sullivan to back up the annexation of Texas. Then, this phrase was later used by expansionists in all political parties to justify the acquisition of California and the Oregon Territory (Lubragge, 2003). By the end of the nineteenth century, Manifest Destiny that took the form of an ideology or doctrine had been applied to achieve an annexation of several islands in the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean. In fact, Manifest Destiny was responsible for uniting the people at a time when the United States needed unification. Then, the Manifest Destiny ideology became the reason the United States started to expand beyond the Pacific Ocean. Therefore, Manifest Destiny has no end; it is perpetual and everlasting, especially because it is closely related to religion, which used the Divine Providence to influence people by claiming the predestined right to expand and colonize. On the other hand, the Manifest Destiny ideology underwent many turning points throughout the United States' history, one of which is the September 11, 2001 attacks. After taking office in 2000, the Bush administration and the neoconservatives had in mind many plans and strategies to implement, using the Manifest Destiny ideology and its influence. The Greater Middle East initiative and the preventive and pre-emptive war

strategy are two examples that best illustrate the results of the change over time in the Manifest Destiny ideology.

The Manifest Destiny Influence on American Foreign Policy: the Bush Years

Introduction

History teaches us how to look backward so as to look forward; it instructs us to search its past in order to find reasonable comparisons with current events to detect what may lie ahead. The foreign policy of the Bush administration that followed the era of the September 11, 2001 attacks is frequently juxtaposed with the Manifest Destiny period of the 1840's. The religious discourse in both eras is clear and suitable for launching a comparison among the United States' foreign policies (Lesch, 2003). In 1845, the New York lawyer and journalist John L. O'Sullivan proclaimed that: "It is the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us" (quod. in Brinkley, 1995, p. 352). At that time, Manifest Destiny was a mystic religious belief in a divine mission entrusted to the United States to expand in the name of liberty when it was, according to many politicians, a crusade to civilize the primitive peoples and societies. While some consider Manifest Destiny as an ideology designed to legitimize territorial aggression, it seems that the neoconservatives are hiding nowadays under its veneer policies based on strategic and economic interests. The recent global war on terrorism as manifested in the war against Iraq lists the neoconservatives with imperialists in the Bush administration after taking office in 2000 (Lesch, 2003). However, some call the current period "a New Manifest Destiny" due to many similarities that appear between the post September 11, 2001 attacks atmosphere in the United States, and the first time that Manifest Destiny came into existence. The influence of this existence led to the Spanish-

American war in 1898, which was won by the United States, acquiring the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico, and liberating Cuba from Spanish rule (Halle and Thompson, 1987, pp. 350-351).

Inspired by the neoconservatives' agenda, President Bush is implementing a doctrine that serves as the threshold of a real shift in the United States' foreign policy. Whenever it encountered any force that aimed at subverting the capitalist world order, the United States triumphed by using force and aggression in kind to maintain tranquility worldwide. In order for the United States to increase its economic investments, a stable world was needed; instability caused disruptive opportunities at the expense of the United States' economy. Throughout history, Nazism and Communism challenged the United States' supremacy; both were defeated. After the September 11, 2001 attacks, a force associated with terrorism appeared to challenge the economic, political and cultural hegemony of the United States (Amirahmadi, 1993, p. 393). This force must be beaten as the then Governor Bush stated in a speech during the presidential campaign in November 1999 by referring to the Manifest Destiny ideology:

Some have tried to pose a choice between American ideals and American interests, between who we are and how we act. But the choice is false. America, by decision and destiny, promotes political freedom and gains the most when democracy advances... to turn this time of American influence into generations of democratic peace (quid. in Lesch, 2003).

In effect, President Bush implemented a doctrine, which is an evolution of previous United States' foreign policy doctrines, exactly the way the 1904 Roosevelt Corollary evolved out of the Monroe Doctrine. At that time, the Roosevelt Corollary was made to assert the United States' control over the Western Hemisphere (Lafeber, 1994, pp. 249-251). On the other hand, the Bush administration and the neoconservatives declared in 2003 that former President Saddam Hussein had the ability to develop weapons of mass destruction. By this

accusation, the Bush administration suggested adopting the strategy of preventive and pre-emptive war, delineating President Bush's doctrine that was codified in the administration's *National Security Strategy* of September 2002. This strategy reflected a desire to take preventive and pre-emptive military actions against any country that has weapons of mass destruction. In fact, this is a deliberate attempt to widen the scope of the Bush doctrine.

By using selective diplomacy, the Clinton administration paved the way for the Bush doctrine in the era of post September 11, 2001 attacks. The Clinton administration was trying to secure the same liberal and capitalist world order that the Bush administration sought to maintain and nurture (Zinn, 1999, pp. 631-644). However, the September 11, 2001 events were used as a pretext to enable President Bush to implement the type of foreign policy he envisioned. Today, the Bush administration is ready to implement a global Roosevelt corollary; furthermore, one could say that the United States, since the Monroe doctrine of 1823, has been trying to globalize it. On its part, the strategic nature of the Middle East region in terms of location and energy resources attracts a huge attention and, ultimately, intervention. It has been this attention and intervention that generated negative attitudes in the region towards the United States' foreign policy. As Shibley Telhami pointed out in his book *The Stakes* (2003):

All one has to do is look at polls in various Arab countries that display the favorable attitudes toward France and French leaders as opposed to the distinctly unfavorable attitudes toward the United States. The culture and Western-based values are practically the same, but it has been the foreign policies of Paris and Washington that often differ. Besides, the Arabs and Muslims of this world are not exactly the only ones who have been and currently are opposed to U.S. policies. "They" are not inherently anti-American, although anti-American (and anti-Israeli) sentiments have been fanned in the Middle East for domestic and policy purposes. Therefore, acquiring respect via power is not the only answer (quid. in Lesch, 2003).

What are those neoconservatives? What is their agenda? And how did they manage to take office? All these questions will be tackled in this chapter.

The Emergence of Neoconservatism

In the *Foreign Affairs Magazine*, George Washington University historian, John Ehrman, wrote a striking article under the title: “The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs.” According to his article, Ehrman described that a group of intellectuals—known as neoconservatives—had shaped, and sometimes dominated, American foreign policy for 14 years from 1973 until 1987. Furthermore, they held important positions in the State and Defense Departments during President Ronald Reagan’s first term (Judis, 1995).

By examining the Trotskyist roots in neoconservatism, Ehrman stated that neoconservatism continued to adhere to the main idea of an activist anti-communist foreign policy. He added that the neoconservatives were Cold War liberals, who searched for a Truman in the 1970’s; they found President Reagan in the 1980’s (Ryan, 2000, pp. 126-129). The neoconservatives never saw foreign policy in terms of national interests; on the contrary, neoconservatism was a kind of inverted Trotskyism that aimed to export democracy, in the same way that Trotsky aimed at exporting socialism (Judis, 1995).

Neoconservatism and the Christian Right-Wing

Recently, a religious right neoconservative trend has emerged in the United States as a political force after a deliberate and well-calculated strategy implemented by influential right-wingers in the Republican Party. Those right-wingers realized the need for gaining support of the American fundamentalist Protestants segment of the American population in order to reach political power (Ryan, 2000, pp. 23-24). Those fundamentalist Protestants were not actively involved in national politics. However, this changed in the 1970’s when

the right-wing Republicans recognized that the Republican Party would remain a minority one if it were only interested in military foreign policies and economic interests for the benefit of the wealthy. As a result, Republicans had won only 4 out of 12 presidential elections, and had controlled the Congress for only 2 of its 24 sessions over the previous five decades (Zunes, 2003).

Then, the right-wing Republican strategists adopted conservative views regarding abortion, sex education and homosexuality in order to bring millions of fundamentalist Christian Protestants into their party (Ryan, 2000, pp. 23-24). They even promoted their right political agenda through mass media as press, radio and television. In this way, Republicans could win 4 out of 6 presidential races, dominate the Senate for 7 out of 12 sessions and control the House of Representatives for the past decade. Actually, the Christian right-wingers segment constitutes nearly 1 out of 7 American voters (Zunes, 2003).

The Neoconservatives' Identity

Traditional conservatives strive to maintain the original America as in the American Constitution, which denotes granting the Central—Federal—government a minimum power, giving the State of the Union a maximum power and including a minimum intervention in foreign affairs. Neoconservatives, on the other hand, contrast in that a maximum power shifted to the Central government, a minimum power had been permitted to the 50 states and a maximum foreign intervention had been imposed by using military power to spread democracy and freedom through a new world order called globalization (Owens, 2004).

The neoconservatives penetrated leadership and gained control, reshaping the Republican Party to unseat Democrats by converting its agenda into religious and patriotic generalities. Today, the architects of national policy at the zenith of the Pentagon and the White House hierarchies are neoconservatives as Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle and William Kristol. The neoconservatives ascended to power in most governmental agencies, many universities, many teachers' unions, media and major American institutions. They mutated in conservatism to "Make the very idea of political conservatism more acceptable to a majority of American voters," as Irving Kristol explained the neoconservatives' beginning (quod. in Owens, 2004). The Republican Party needed a bigger and more inclusive base; it had to enlarge this base to attract new voting blocs: the blacks, the poor, foreign-born immigrants and other groups to be diverted from the Democratic base to the Republican one. Accordingly, the Republican leaders shifted to a new trend of adopting conservative issues, attracting the Christian right-wingers voting blocs. Moreover, they pursued their global agenda toward a new world order, over which an American hegemony should dominate. This hegemony would be accomplished only if the neoconservatives were to control the world economically by exploiting the world's most influential energy resources (Amirahmadi, 1993, p. 393).

The Neoconservatives' Agenda

By examining President Bush's policies, he is not a traditional conservative at all except in the tax cut; his agenda is almost entirely a neoconservative one. By being elected with the neoconservatives' support, President Bush is politically obligated to them even if he himself is not fully aware of their ultimate objective—imperialist hegemony imposed on

the world. To accomplish such missions, military intervention in the Middle East region and other influential parts of the world were used as a pretext for the protection and security of the homeland (Ryan, 2000, pp. 156-161).

In accordance with many politicians' point of view, identity theft is a neoconservative tactic. The neoconservatives' ultimate objective designed for the United States' future is an absolute statism at home and worldwide hegemony abroad. The United States is the superpower of the world; its unique Manifest Destiny is an ideology manipulated to rule the world. In the *Weekly Standard*, Kristol stated: "With power come responsibilities, whether sought or not, whether welcome or not. And it is a fact that if you have the kind of power we now have, either you will find opportunities to use it, or the world will discover them for you" (qutd. in Owens, 2004). The recent administration's foreign policy and military intervention, directed by the neoconservatives' influence at levels of government, clarify what is meant by this statement.

A Shift in Foreign Policy towards Israel

In the past, Republicans took a somewhat moderate attitude towards the Arab-Israeli conflict due to the Party's ties to the oil industry. However, this trend witnessed a shift when the neoconservatives took office in 2000. Therefore, interest in Israel increased. Christian fundamentalist leader Gary Bauer, for instance, has met with several Israeli Cabinet members and with former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who noted: "We have no greater friends and allies than right-wing American Christians" (qutd. in Zunes, 2004). It used to be that Republican administrations could resist pressures from Zionist lobbying groups when it seemed important to do so for the United States' interest. For

example, the Eisenhower administration pressured Israel during the Suez Crisis in 1956 to stop the assault on Egypt; the Reagan administration sold Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) planes to Saudi Arabia in 1981 during its early months (Forsythe, 412). With the growing influence of the neoconservatives, these actions are no longer expected; the United States' foreign policy witnessed a severe shift. For the first time, the Republican Party became so pro-Israel that this support cannot be ignored (Hamilton, 1989, p. 65). Top White House officials, as Elliott Abrams, the Director of the National Security Council on Near East and North African Affairs, said about the neoconservatives: "They are very vocal and have shifted the center of gravity toward Israel and against concessions" (quid. in Zunes, 2004). Actually, the Bush administration over-supported former Prime Minister Sharon in many cases. It is obvious that the neoconservatives are significant in the formulation of the United States' foreign policy toward the Arabs and Israel. On the other hand, they made use of religion by exploiting the Manifest Destiny ideology to cause a shift in the American foreign policy (Zunes, 2004).

Cultural Affiliations

The United States shares many similarities with Israel. In part, each country was launched by victims who, mainly, fled from religious persecution. Then, both peoples fashioned a new nation of high ideals with a political system based upon relatively democratic institutions. They established their nations through the massacre and dislocation of huge populations. And now the Israelis and Americans confuse religious faith with nationalist ideology (Zunes, 2004).

John Winthrop, the influential seventeenth century Puritan theologian, called America “city upon a hill,” and “a light upon nations.” In effect, the Manifest Destiny ideology appeared in the nineteenth century as a sort of American Zionism, assuming a divinely inspired mission that gave the Americans the right to expand westward by being the will of God (Zinn, 1999, pp. 13-17). Such ideology did not stop at the Pacific Ocean; the invasion of the Philippines in the 1890’s was justified by President William McKinley as part of an effort to “Christianize” the natives, ignoring the fact that over 90 percent of the Filipinos were Christians (Lafeber, 1994, pp. 203-207). Similarly today, President Bush’s doctrine considers the expansion of American military and economic power as a part of a divine plan. To seek an American Empire in the Middle East is also part of this divine plan (Zunes, 2004).

President Bush Adds God

By using Manifest Destiny to extend the United States’ hegemony in the world, President Bush adds God, changing the whole scene dramatically. This President suggests that the success of the American military and foreign policies is derived from a religiously inspired mission. Moreover, he believes that his presidency may be divinely appointed to him (Wallis, 2003). The former Christian Coalition Leader, Ralph Reed, commented on the elections’ results by saying: “God knew George Bush had the ability to lead in this compelling way” (quid. in Zunes, 2004). By referring to Manifest Destiny, this statement proves that the neoconservatives believed that President Bush was destined to take office (Zunes, 2004).

At the age of 40, President Bush underwent a change from being a nominal Christian to a born-again believer. This personal transformation ended his drinking problems; it gave him a sense of conservatism, which became part of his new administration. After the September 11, 2001 attacks had occurred, President Bush's conservatism and religious affiliations allowed him to declare himself as the commander-in-chief of the "War against Terrorism." In other words, President Bush found his mission in life to rid the world of evil after the September 11, 2001 attacks. His theology was undergoing a critical transformation. In an October 2000 presidential debate, Candidate Bush warned against an over-active American foreign policy in the world by saying: "If we are an arrogant nation, they will resent us; if we're a humble nation, but strong, they'll welcome us" (quid. in Wallis, 2003). President Bush has changed lanes since then. His administration implemented a new doctrine of preventive and pre-emptive war, using the divine mission of the Manifest Destiny ideology. In this way, he started two wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and is now threatening other countries. After the September 11, 2001 events, many countries around the world responded to America's pain—even the French newspaper, *Le Monde*, wrote the headline "We are all Americans now." Indeed, the unilateral foreign policy the United States is adopting now has lessened much of the international support for this unilateral approach. Moreover, President Bush got involved in many wars abroad and a domestic agenda of cutting taxes for the rich. Joe Klein wrote in *Time* magazine: "Bush promised us a foreign policy of humility and a domestic policy of compassion. He has given us a foreign policy of arrogance and a domestic policy that is cynical, myopic and cruel. What happened" (quid. in Wallis, 2003)?

A Sense of Mission, Again

The former Speechwriter of President Bush, David Frum, said of the President: “War had made him... a crusader after all” (qutd. in Wallis, 2003). At the beginning of the war against Iraq, President Bush entreated: “God bless our troops.” In his State of the Union speech, he stated: “America would lead the war against terrorism because this call of history has come to the right country” (qutd. in Wallis, 2003). In his book, *The Right Man: The Surprise Presidency of George W. Bush* (2003), Frum recalled a conversation between the President and his top speechwriter, Mike Gerson. After President Bush’s speech to the Congress after the September 11, 2001 attacks, Frum wrote that Gerson said: “Mr. President, when I saw you on television, I thought—God wanted you there” (qutd. in Wallis, 2003). According to Frum, the President replied: “He wants us all here, Gerson” (qutd. in Wallis, 2003).

Inspired by Manifest Destiny, President Bush always referred to a belief that he would not have become the President if he had not believed in a divine plan that supersedes all human plans. After receiving political power, the President has increasingly seen his presidency as part of that divine plan saying: “I believe God wants me to be president” (qutd. in Phillips, 2006, p. 207). After the September 11, 2001 events, Michael Duffy wrote in the *Time* magazine, the President said: “He was chosen by the grace of God to lead at that moment.” The President believed that the nation is satisfying a God-given righteous mission. By the way, many of the anti-Bush critics accuse the President of politically covering his neoconservative agenda by referring to religion. Theologian Martin Marty, on the other hand, uttered many concerns when he said: “The problem isn’t with Bush’s sincerity, but with his evident conviction that he’s doing God’s will” (qutd. in Wallis,

2003). President Bush's theology needs to be examined on biblical grounds. In other words, is it an American nationalism disguised in its latest version of Manifest Destiny (Wallis, 2003)?

Getting the Words Wrong

President Bush uses religious language more than any president throughout the United States' history; he often uses biblical language. The problem is that the quotes from the Bible are many times either taken out of context or employed in ways different from their original meaning. In the 2003 State of the Union speech, for example, the President quoted a famous line from an old gospel hymn. Talking about the United States' deepest problems, President Bush said: "The need is great. Yet there's power, wonder-working power, in the goodness and idealism and faith of the American people" (qutd. in Phillips, 2006, p. 207). However, that is not what the song talks about. The hymn says there is: "Power, power, wonder-working power *in the blood of the Lamb*". The hymn is about the power of Christ in salvation, not the power of the American people, any people or any country. President Bush's citation was a complete deceptive misuse.

On the first anniversary of the September 11, 2001 attacks, President Bush said: "This ideal of America is the hope of all mankind.... that hope still lights our way. And the light shines in the darkness. And the darkness has not overcome it" (qutd. in, Phillips, 2006, p. 88). Not only Wallis but also many other readers see that those last two sentences are taken out of John's Gospel. But in the Gospel, the light shining in the darkness is the Word of God; the light is the light of Christ. It's not about the United States and its values. President Bush made this mistake intentionally many times, confusing *the nation, Church and God*.

The resulting theology is more American-oriented religion than Christian faith (Wallis, 2003).

The Problem of Evil

Since the September 11, 2001 attacks, President Bush made the White House replete with the term “missions” regarding the United States’ role in the world. Influenced by the belief of the Christian right-wing, President Bush became fully convinced: “We are engaged in a moral battle between good and evil, and those who are not with us are on the wrong side in that divine confrontation” (quod. in Wallis, 2003). The question is to whom does this “we” refer?

In the Christian theology, the problem of evil has been a classic issue that was manipulated by President Bush. His theology became a major part of the trend “they,” denoting *the evil* and “we” denoting *the good* and the Americans are dragged in a war between the good and the evil. In other words, others are either with us or against us. After the September 11, 2001 attacks, the White House declared war on terrorism, using the Manifest Destiny ideology supported by religious beliefs. The President declared to the nation: “Our responsibility to history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil.” Based on Manifest Destiny, this speech became a national liturgy on the television, stressing the divine mission of the nation against terrorism (Phillips, 2006, p. 383). “War against evil” would grant the American foreign policy a moral legitimacy; in other words, an American unilateralism would be accepted as both a policy and a theology. But, critics of the unilateralism policy are many. C.S. Lewis wrote:

Democracy provides a system of checks and balances against any human beings getting too much power. If that is true of nations, it must also be true of

international relations. The vital questions of diplomacy, intervention, war and peace are best left to the collective judgment of many nations, not just one—especially not the most powerful one (qutd. in Wallis, 2003).

According to many politicians' viewpoint, it is not nations that help the world get rid of evil because they are often engaged in political power, economic interests, cultural clashes and nationalist dreams. The real confrontation with evil is an action done through God for the people, who faithfully exercise moral conscience. To mix the role of God with that of the American people, President Bush and the neoconservatives commit a serious theological error. For them, it's easy to demonize the enemy and claim the side of God and good (Wallis, 2003).

Theological Influences: Good versus Evil

The Christian right wingers, who supported the neoconservatives in the 2000 and 2004 elections, believe that reality is divided into absolute good and absolute evil. Their belief stems from the final battle of Armageddon between good and evil. The day after the September 11, 2001 attacks, President Bush stated: "This will be a monumental struggle of good versus evil, but good will prevail" (qutd. in Phillips, 2006, p. 88). In accordance with the President, the United States was targeted only because: "They hate our freedom" not because of the American military presence in the Middle East or the backing up of the Israeli occupation. Moreover, President Bush used some Christological texts to support his war in the Middle East by saying: "And the light [America] has shown in the darkness [the enemies of America], and the darkness will not overcome it [American shall conquer its enemies]." President Bush said repeatedly: "I was called by God to run for presidency" (qutd. in Phillips, 2006, p.207). In short, President Bush believes that he was destined to

hold the responsibility of the mission to lead the free world against evil as part of God's plan (Zunes, 2004).

In the American history, religion has been used in two ways. One invokes *God's intentions* to justice, compassion and freedom. The other way invokes *God's blessing* on the Americans' activities. Many presidents used the language of religion; for example, President Ronald Reagan and President George W. Bush exemplify this category. The real theological problem in the United States today is the nationalist religion of the Bush administration—one that confuses the identity of the nation with the church, and God's purposes with the mission of the American empire. The Manifest Destiny ideology has been manipulated by President Bush to promote the belief in a "mission" to fight the "Axis of Evil." Being the commander-in-chief of "War against Terrorism" corresponds with the responsibility to defend the hopes of all mankind. According to many politicians, this is a dangerous foreign policy that results out of a theology manipulated by Christian right wingers, who brought those dangerous neoconservatives to power (Wallis, 2003).

The United States and the Imperialist Destiny

After winning the Cold War in the early 1990's, the United States became the only superpower on Earth. On the neoconservatives' part, the future would naturally be hegemony over the world, beginning with the domination over the entire Middle East region of the affluent energy resources. The neoconservatives adopted the Reagan administration policy of foreign intervention for extending without limit with a slight difference. This essential difference lies in that President Reagan's intervention was due to the defense against the Soviet enemy and its nuclear warheads, targeting the United States.

Indeed, the importance of such an intervention stopped after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990's (Oye, Lieber & Rothchild, 1987, pp. 196-197). The neoconservatives' intervention, on the other hand, is derived from a vision of world hegemony not defense against any enemy nation. In this way, the United States managed to expand worldwide. Besides, the American armed forces are based in nearly 750 military installations in 120 countries—two-thirds of the world—from the Balkans and the Middle East to South Korea and the Philippines (Lafeber, 1994, pp. 216-217). Of the billions of dollars to back up this global military presence, more billions are paid yearly as foreign aid to buy cooperation from nations to support the United States' national interests.

Is This Imperialism?

Today, the United States is an imperialist empire by all means. Middle East expert, Karl E. Meyer, mentions many examples, one of which is the American attitude of forcing Western style civilization upon every part of the world. President Bush stated: “We will do everything necessary, spend whatever is needed, to liberate enslaved peoples from dictators and give them the gift of free democracy which they deserve” (quid. in Golino, 2003, p. 10). According to President Bush, a noble and divine mission suggests that a strong and civilized nation has the right to rule a backward group of humans, and to impose an advanced civilization on them. In other words, the current neoconservatives changed course from avoidance of foreign entanglements onto the path of uncontrolled interventionism and hegemony throughout the world, announcing a “new Manifest Destiny” (Ryan, 2000, 56-58).

Before the war on Iraq, the United States searched for months, and found no weapons of mass destruction. Moreover, it failed to prove any connection between Iraq and the September 11, 2001 attacks. The search continued for the sake of giving the Americans an acceptable justification for the Bush administration's pre-emptive war strategy and regime change in Iraq. Indeed, the Department of Defense had many plans for this pre-emptive war against Iraq in the Pentagon's *National Security Strategy* in January 2001 even before President Bush took office. Accordingly, the September 11, 2001 attacks were exploited as a mere cover for the neoconservatives' real global strategy. These attacks served the neoconservatives as a perfect pretext to execute the Iraqi war plan. In other words, the American public was clearly misled into a pre-emptive war against former President Saddam Hussein, claiming that the Iraqi regime had been a threat for the United States' and its Middle East allies' national security (Owens, 2004). After taking office, President Bush signed the 2001 *National Security Strategy*, which was prepared by the neoconservatives to guide the White House administrations' foreign policy. After the September 11, 2001 events, the neoconservatives disguised their agenda as the "War on Terrorism." Before this, the agenda was presented as a support for American global leadership. The report of the year 2000 was launched by such neoconservatives as Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld and Paul Wolfowitz (Beeman, 2003). The report included permanent military bases in the Middle East, Southeast Europe, Latin America, Southeast Asia and other strategic sites—in the countries, where no such bases existed. It also included that any regime hostile to the United States' economic interests must be dealt with by diplomatic persuasion or when necessary, by preventive and pre-emptive military force. Moreover, in *The American Conservative*, Pat Buchanan, the politician and editor, wrote:

In 1992, a startling document was leaked from the office of Paul Wolfowitz at the Pentagon... The Wolfowitz Memo called for a permanent U.S. military presence on six continents to deter all potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role. Containment, the victorious strategy of the cold war, was to give way to an ambitious new strategy designed to establish and protect a new order (qtd. in Sisson, 2004).

Buchanan is an example of those, who criticizes the neoconservatives' philosophy for misusing the Manifest Destiny ideology by changing its context to justify American interventionist policies in the world. In other words, this defensive Reaganite foreign policy strategy against the Soviet Union became the neoconservatives' foreign policy of global interventionism (Oye, Lieber & Rothchild, 1987, pp. 196-197). By supporting the war for regime change in Iraq, President Bush and the neoconservatives claimed the defense of homeland from former President Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction as a reason for that change. In this way, the neoconservatives ensured a back up of the United States' global hegemony, starting with controlling the Middle East region and its oil.

On the other hand, most mainstream media were supportive either willingly or reluctantly for fear of appearing unpatriotic before the American public. Jay Bookman, editor of *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, wrote in a September 2002 article:

The official story on Iraq has never made sense. This war, should it come, is intended to mark the official emergence of the U.S. as a full-fledged global empire, seizing sole responsibility and authority as planetary policeman. It would be the culmination of a plan 10 years in the making, carried out by those [neoconservatives] who believe the U.S. must seize the opportunity for global domination, even if it means becoming the 'American imperialists' that our enemies [the Islamic world] always claimed we were (qtd. in Bookman, 2002)

Moreover, Bookman is not surprised at the Pentagon's lack of a post-war exit strategy: "Because we won't be leaving. Having conquered Iraq, the U.S. will create permanent military bases in that country from which to dominate the Middle East, including Iran" (qtd. in Bookman, 2002).

The So-Called Rogue States, Unilateralism and the Preventive and Pre-emptive War Strategy

By claiming the right to do so, the Bush administration stretched its offensive military muscles against what they called “rogue states,” which pursue weapons of mass destruction and align themselves with terrorist groups. To assert this, the administration utilized preventive and pre-emptive war strategy as political results of the September 11, 2001 attacks and the long history of the United States’ interventionist policy. While the striking-first policy has not been a major issue in the United States’ national security, it is becoming nowadays a form of doctrine. On his part, the President’s claim of a predestined right to use it to prevent threats is considered a major part of the American interventionist history.

Since its inception, the United States has been practicing an integral expansive missionary ingredient so that it could extend to others the benefit of its democracy and freedom. Thomas Paine, for instance, was one of the American eighteenth-century deist thinkers, who stressed this idea in 1791 by stating: “America was an asylum for mankind” (quod. in Kramnick, 1983, p. 31). John Winthrop, on the other hand, spoke of the “city upon a hill.” In fact, these slogans served as the cornerstone of the later Manifest Destiny ideology and American exceptionalism.

The September 11, 2001 attacks were used as a pretext by the Bush administration to convert its national security doctrine from the Cold War containment policy into an offensive war strategy against the so-called rogue states and regimes (Lafeber, 1994, pp.474-476). In other words, these attacks shaped a comprehensive strategy, which dealt with the challenges of the post September 11, 2001 attacks era. After these attacks had taken place in 2001, the then National Security Adviser, Dr. Condoleezza Rice, described

the political chance for strategic transformation in the United States' national security policy. She compared the post September 11, 2001 attacks to the post World War II eras, which provided fertile ground for the assertion of the Truman Doctrine:

I really think this period is analogous to 1945 to 1947—that is, the period when the containment doctrine took shape—in that the events so clearly demonstrated that there is a big global threat, and that it's a big global threat to a lot of countries that you would not have normally thought of as being in the coalition. That has started shifting the tectonic plates in international politics. And it's important to try to seize on that and position American interests and institutions and all of that before they harden again (qutd. in Lehmann, 2002, p. 1).

President Bush seemed likely to take the decision of building his doctrine on the basis of targeting states. In a speech on September 12, 2001, President Bush stated: “We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them” (qutd. in “Statement by the President in Address to the Nation,” 2001). President Bush also added: “The attacks were more than acts of terror, they were acts of war.” Because the nature of the September 11, 2001 attacks was not like any other attacks on American targets, these attacks would be interpreted by the Bush administration as the beginning of war against states and non-states alike. In effect, many in the administration believed that the September 11, 2001 attacks were the suitable opportunity to attack Iraq, but others saw that the United States should target only those terrorists and states directly involved in the attacks, namely al-Qa'eda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. The then Deputy Secretary of Defense, Paul Wolfowitz, was one of those neoconservatives, who attempted to influence President Bush to target states. He stated:

I think one has to say it is not just simply a matter of capturing people and holding them accountable, but removing the sanctuaries, removing the support systems, ending states who sponsor terrorism. And that is why it has to be a broad and sustained campaign (qutd. in Wolfowitz, 2003).

Accordingly, the Bush administration made use of the September 11, 2001 attacks to continue to implement the United States' old history of military interventionist policies, including this time, terrorists and state supporters of terrorism throughout the world. In other words, President Bush granted himself the right to overthrow any state that, in accordance with the new American standards, backed up terrorism or tried to own weapons of mass destruction that could be provided for terrorists. In his speech to the Congress on September 20, 2001, the then Deputy Secretary of Defense, Paul Wolfowitz, contended:

And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism... Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime... (qutd. in "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People," 2001).

On his part, President Bush expanded the war on terrorism even further when he included preventive and pre-emptive actions against states that extend support to terrorism, or pursue weapons of mass destruction as mentioned before. In his 2002 State of the Union Meeting, President Bush stated:

First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans and bring terrorists to justice. And second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world (qutd. in "State of Union," 2002).

Then, North Korea, Iran and Iraq were direct targets to President Bush when he linked them to sponsoring terrorism and pursuing weapons of mass destruction; furthermore, he hinted at taking actions against Iraq when he said:

North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens. Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom. Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax and nerve gas and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens, leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is

a regime that agreed to international inspections then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world (qutd. in “State of Union,” 2002).

Besides, President Bush argued that these three states served as a threat to the United States:

States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic (qutd. in “State of Union,” 2002).

In 2002, the 2002 *National Security Strategy* was published, stressing the above mentioned notions, but this time into a formal presidential doctrine. It stated: “Today, our enemies will use weapons of mass destruction as weapons of choice...We cannot let our enemies strike first” (qutd. in “The National Security Strategy of the United States of America,” 2002). Then, it mentioned many justifications for the need to have preventive and pre-emptive war strategy based on the concept of self-protection:

We will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defense by acting preemptively against such terrorists; to prevent them from doing harm against our people and our country... nations need not suffer an attack before they can lawfully take action to defend themselves against forces that present an imminent danger of attack (qutd. in “The National Security Strategy of the United States of America,” 2002).

It also confirmed the United States’ global primacy by stating: “Our forces will be strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military build-up in hopes of surpassing, or equaling, the power of the United States” (qutd. in “The National Security Strategy of the United States of America,” 2002). The preventive and pre-emptive war strategy against terrorists, implemented by President Bush, became known as the first-strike doctrine. These methods of using forces are based on American unilateralism; they also place faith in predicting the future intentions of states and non-states. The preventive and

pre-emptive wars are based on the belief that terrorists, who practice suicidal attacks and states, which support terrorism and pursue weapons of mass destruction, cannot be controlled. The first-strike doctrine of the Bush administration rests on the self-defense right, which had been transformed after the September 11, 2001 attacks to a pre-emptive war known as the “War on Terrorism.” As the former Secretary of State, Colin Powell, argued: “It’s a different world.... It’s a new kind of threat” (qutd. in “A Balance of Power that Favors Freedom,” 2002). The neoconservatives could persuade the American public that non-traditional enemies, for instance, terrorist groups and the so-called rogue states can attack civilians, military personnel and infrastructure. Provoked by the September 11, 2001 attacks, the neoconservatives also manipulated the idea of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, falling into the hands of terrorist groups. In the 2002 *National Security Strategy*, President Bush contended: “Americans face enemies, who reject basic human values and hate the United States and everything for which it stands” (qutd. in “The National Security Strategy of the United States of America,” 2002). Accordingly, the United States’ vulnerability to terrorism and its fear of weapons of mass destruction legitimized the Bush administration’s use of a more offensive military strategy based on self-defense.

Finally, the September 11, 2001 attacks may have justified the United States’ right to use military force defensively against some states as the Taliban that sponsored al-Qa’eda. However, the Bush administration is morally responsible when it assumes that the so-called rogue states are targeted even if they were not engaged in the September 11, 2001 attacks, or pose no military threat. The problem is that the President, along with the neoconservatives, sees no difference between what is known as rogue states and terrorist groups. He demolishes the difference between them by saying: “We make no distinction

between terrorists and those who knowingly harbor or provide aid to them” (quid. in “Statement by the President in Address to the Nation,” 2001).

The Long Tradition of the United States’ Interventionism

In fact, the United States has a long history of using offensive military force, starting from the westward expansion in violation of treaties with Native Americans till the current days. Utilizing non-interventionist policies was not the case within the Western Hemisphere because the United States perceived it as its own geographic sphere of influence. In 1823, President James Monroe altered the United States’ approach to the world by enunciating his famous Monroe Doctrine to the Congress. The Monroe Doctrine was, accordingly, enforced frequently by President Monroe’s successors (Lafeber, 1994, pp. 248-253). Therefore, the United States intervened with its armed forces more than 100 times in Latin America from 1806 until the present. These interventions varied from military forays against coastal areas, efforts to secure the construction of the Panama Canal, arrests of renegades and, sometimes, to direct assistance to get rid of dictatorships. For the public, many pretexts were made ranging from forestalling chaos to saving the lives and property of Americans and extending democracy abroad. Behind the scene, American economic interests were the only reason for such interferences, according to many politicians.

The period of the United States’ zenith dominance in Latin America started with American soldiers occupying Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Haiti and Nicaragua for decades. At that time, upholding the United States’ values south of the border, where the circumstances were unsettled, was the justification. President Theodore Roosevelt formulated a corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, granting the United States the right of

“preventive enforcement” to seize governments that denied their debts (Kegley, Jr. and Wittkopf, 1979, pp. 30-32).

On his part, President Harry Truman rallied the country around the Truman Doctrine and the containment policy to lessen the influence of the Soviet global power and Communism. Thus, the United States has a long history of supporting dictatorships in defense of its interests. On the contrary, the United States would, sometimes, set aside its moral principles in order to contain the Soviet power and Communism (Zinn, 1999, pp. 426-427, 429).

Inspired by the Manifest Destiny ideology, the United States embodied a nationalist movement that transformed the United States’ foreign policy into a moral—often colonial—crusade to spread American values throughout the world via military intervention. Before entering World War II, the United States had intervened 163 times in foreign nations with its armed forces, that is, one intervention per year in average since its independence in 1776 till the end of that war.

Unilateralism versus Multilateralism

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990’s, the United States’ foreign policy has fluctuated between unilateralism and multilateralism. The multilateralism supporters recommend greater American reliance on international laws to manage global issues, favoring containment strategies as a means to promote efficient international cooperation (Spanier, 1962, pp. 25-29, 92-98). On the other hand, advocates of unilateralism, like the neoconservatives, argue that the United States should use its power to reshape the global system to satisfy its interests. After the September 11, 2001 events,

President Bush and his national security team began eliminating all treaties and conventions, which, they believed, constrained the United States' military power. Such actions denote fundamental shifts in the foreign policy discourse of the Bush presidency and his foreign policy team, targeting the United States' ability to stretch its global power.

To make the twenty-first century a "New American Century", the neoconservatives, having the upper hand in the administration, pushed towards a fundamental reordering of the United States' global involvement in military strategies throughout the world. In such a world, the United States is no longer constrained by another superpower. It is indisputable that the United States has a significant military, political, economic and cultural influence on the world. Contrarily, the September 11, 2001 attacks and their aftermath caused the nation to feel vulnerable. At the same time, these attacks introduced and caused a need for the United States to dominate globally. The combination of the United States' vulnerability and global hegemony reinforced unilateral tendencies in the United States' foreign policy, which is implemented by the neoconservatives.

Those, who criticize the neoconservatives' unilateralism, argue that the United States' interests and national security were morally undermined by the flexing of offensive military force in Iraq. Reality shows that the United States had many times placed its political interests above its moral objectives. A traditional example of this is its past history of supporting Osama Bin Laden during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The moral contradictions of the Bush administration are inconsistent with the idealistic image of the United States' "shining city upon a hill." When the Cold War started, the moral values of this city were considered the Western principles. The collapse of the Soviet Union led many to believe in the perfection of the American democratic ideal. The neoconservatives' interpretations of the "end of history" and "clash of civilizations" strongly convict them of

changing the concept of civilization (Kagan, 2002). They did so, according to many politicians, by abandoning the Cold War-style multilateralism of “west against the rest,” and accepting a new strategy of “the U.S. against the rest.”

Thus, the neoconservative foreign policymakers and thinkers believe that the United States’ foreign policy should not get involved in conflicts and humanitarian crises that result in no direct benefit for the United States’ national and economic interests. Moreover, these involvements should assert global hegemony. This agenda was politically legitimized and justified in the minds of the neoconservatives after the September 11, 2001 attacks.

What Is New about President Bush?

Finally, what is really new about President Bush? After all, the United States has its long history of intervening militarily, standing by the United Nations’ decisions sometimes, backing up dictators at other times and considering itself as responsible for a moral and divine mission in many cases. Howard Fineman of *Newsweek* stated: “Every president invokes God and asks for his blessings. Every president promises, though not always in so many words, to lead according to moral principles rooted in biblical tradition” (qutd. in Fineman, 2003, p. 25). But, Fineman describes President Bush as occupying a unique position in this tradition:

It has taken a war, and the prospect of more, to highlight a central fact—this president and this presidency is the most resolutely ‘faith-based’ in modern times, an enterprise founded, supported, and guided by trust in the temporal and spiritual power of God (qutd. in Fineman, 2003, p. 25)

Furthermore, President Bush’s first-strike strategy denotes a new Manifest Destiny because it eliminates the idea that the United States’ leadership should abide by a framework of international rules. Under President Bush, the Manifest Destiny ideology was used to

develop the United States' global engagement, its unilateralism and military interventionism. It also connotated a unique moral interpretation of right and wrong, good and evil and "with-us or against-us" concept. This is the new language of anti-terrorism, which replaced anti-Communism after the September 11, 2001 attacks.

Thus, the Bush doctrine is an agenda based on preventive and pre-emptive war strategy. In addition, it is decorated by a new Manifest Destiny and a moral simplicity, which justify the United States' endless "War against Terrorism." President Bush's moral simplicity of "you are either with us or with the terrorists" reflects a one-dimensional approach to foreign policy—unilateralism. Truly, President Bush outlined a supremacist or neo-imperial agenda of international security in a foreign policy speech at West Point in June 2002. In sum, he emphasized that the United States should prevent the rise of any potential global rival by keeping its military strengths beyond challenges. Concerning moral values, the former Head of the Harvard Divinity School, Bryan Hehir, criticized the neoconservatives' approach to moral values by saying:

The invocation of moral reasoning for any contemplated policy decisions is to be welcomed as long as the complexity of moral issues is given adequate attention. Moral reasoning can indeed support military action, at times obligate such action. It also, equally importantly, can restrain or deny legitimacy to the use of force. To invoke the moral factor is to submit to the full range of its discipline (quid. in Hoffmann, 2003, vol. 13 no. 24).

Conclusion

The plans of the neoconservatives became quite well-known to almost everybody. Those neoconservative leaders succeeded to govern power. Actually, they became emboldened to carry out their agenda after the September 11, 2001 attacks. According to this agenda, Europe is not anymore fit to lead because it is corrupted by secularism, and the developing

world is not either because it is corrupted by poverty. Only the United States could provide the “moral framework” to govern and spread its hegemony through a new world order.

Invading Iraq is a fundamental shift in the United States’ moral and political leadership of the post September 11, 2001 world. President Bush’s desire to make his first-strike doctrine publicly accepted and his claim that “War on Terrorism” is justified has been undermined by the United States’ invasion and current occupation of Iraq. According to critics, this invasion demonstrates that the United States’ unilateralism can redraw regional maps and replace governments by force over the will of the whole world. However, this occupation represents one of the most highly controversial deployments of American power since World War II because this unilateral invasion was opposed by the United Nations and the international community. By this occupation, the United States proved to the world that it is the world’s only superpower. On the other hand, the costs and results of the United States’ invasion and occupation of Iraq may have led to weaken its efforts to destroy the global al-Qa’eda network in Afghanistan. According to many politicians, the United States’ struggle to deal with the insurgency is failing due to the neoconservative policymakers, who pushed for the application of the Bush doctrine in Iraq. As a result, the future application of the Bush doctrine appears in doubt since the President has publicly defined the future success of his strategic policy on the basis of the American success in Iraq. In the absence of finding Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction, the doctrine’s effectiveness in the “War on Terrorism” is tenuous and ambiguous.

On the other hand, the United States has been taking international law into its own hands, creating new standards of military intervention in the presence of one superpower. The way the United Nations and some West European countries opposed the United States indicates that there is no power to counter the American power the way the Soviet Union in

the Cold War era used to do (Amirahmadi, 1993, pp. 50-51). According to the neoconservatives' foreign policy, this age is and should be an American age; the United States is and should serve as the world's leader. The editor of *The Weekly Standard*, William Kristol, is a neoconservative, who charted a much more aggressive American foreign policy, aiming to deepen the vision of an "unquestioned U.S. military pre-eminence." He wrote: "America's grand strategy should aim to preserve and extend this advantageous position as far into the future as possible" (qutd. in Wallis, 2003) He also added: "It is imperative for the United States to accept responsibility for America's unique role in preserving and extending an international order friendly to our security, our prosperity, and our principles. That is really an empire" (qutd. in Wallis, 2003).

Many politicians believe that the September 11, 2001 attacks allowed the United States to make use of Manifest Destiny as a pretext to define its interests more broadly. In other words, these attacks helped expand the interpretation of self-defense in order to justify a first-strike and pre-emptive war against Iraq, and for future offensive wars against both states and non-states. On the other hand, the September 11, 2001 attacks gave the neoconservatives the right to implement their strategies and plans, one of which is the Greater Middle East initiative, to defend their own economic interests and national security.

The Greater Middle East Initiative Examined

Introduction

On many occasions, President George W. Bush declared that the Middle East region lacks freedom and liberty; therefore, the United States adopted a new political and economic reform strategy in the Middle East, the so-called Greater Middle East Initiative. The framework and structure of the Greater Middle East initiative came into existence in late 2003 as a set of guidelines for coordinating efforts by the United States and the other G-8 members of the world's leading industrial powers. According to American policymakers, this initiative aims at promoting political and economic reform in the region, which encompasses the Arab world, Iran, Turkey, Israel, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Based on the successful experience of the American version of federalism, the Bush administration has been trying to apply this unique American federalist approach in Afghanistan and Iraq to implement the Greater Middle East initiative. Theoretically, federalism can work; practically, one cannot predict or even ensure that implanting foreign cultures on other societies can work just because it worked before somewhere else in the world. According to many critics, the neoconservatives try to convince nations to accept several ideas and conceptions diplomatically, sometimes, but often, they impose them on the world forcibly. The approach that the Bush administration is trying to disseminate throughout the Middle East region, particularly with reference to Iraq, revolves clearly around the point of the diversity of ethnic and religious groups. In other words, the current neoconservatives believe that when diverse groups of free people—with different languages, religious faiths or cultural norms—choose to live under an agreed on constitutional framework, they expect a degree of local autonomy and equal economic and

social opportunities. A federal system of government—power shared at the local, regional and national levels—empowers elected officials to design and administer policies tailored in order to satisfy local and regional needs. That is why, the calls for an Iraqi federation are said to solve the many problems Iraq is facing nowadays. According to many critics, dividing Iraq by using the federal system is the first step towards implementing the Greater Middle East initiative, which aims at dismantling the countries of the region on various demographic bases (ethnic, religious and denominational ones). This division will serve the United States' and the multinational oil companies' economic interests by exploiting energy resources—oil—in the region to contain Europe and China. The targeted countries included in the division are Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Syria; the countries expected to grow larger for political purposes are Yemen, Jordan and Afghanistan. This chapter will be anchoring the reasons for choosing the Middle East region, the importance of oil to the United States' economy and whether this Greater Middle East initiative would work or not.

Federalism in Iraq, a Solution or a Failure?

In accordance with many politicians' point of view, the use of federalism as a mechanism to regulate ethnic and religious conflicts and protection of rights in a country like Iraq is controversial. The rationale behind federalism as a territorial strategy of ethnic conflict regulation is that it provides opportunities for self-government to territorially defined ethnic groups. This is also one of the reasons many scholars of ethnic conflict regulation reject federalism, alleging that this process increases pressures for separation of a territorially concentrated ethnic group by further strengthening their ethnic and religious

identities (Lutz, 1988, pp. 65-68). Yugoslavia is often used as such an example of what could result from drawing borders along ethnic and religious lines in Iraq. Therefore, a debate has sprung up between those who argue that if a federal system is to regulate conflicts in a diverse society, it must do so by dividing territorially concentrated groups into different provinces, and those who argue that federalism's main rationale is to accommodate diversity through the recognition of one political unity of territorially defined ethnic and religious groups. In fact, the instability and disorganization the Iraqis are experiencing as a result of disputes between various ethnic and religious groups make them receptive to the creation of a federal government, not of a denominational division.

Ideally, federalism may be a useful political model for Iraq, for its diversity is a formidable obstacle to unity. Practically, promoting a federal government in Iraq might work well. This promotion would occur by distributing power and resources more fairly around the country, bringing government closer to people and allowing local communities some control over their own by granting them substantial autonomy. The more levels of government there are, the greater the opportunity to vote and hold office for those minority groups, which were deprived of such liberties under the former regime. Thus, federalism offers a viable possibility for preventing ethnic and religious conflicts as well as establishing a stable democracy in Iraq. However, what the United States is doing in Iraq—encouraging factionalism between the Sunnis and Shiites and promoting ethnic and religious discrimination—proves that it is far from helping the Iraqis accomplish a federal government and the American version of democracy, which the Iraqis were promised to have.

The question is now whether a division along ethnic and religious lines rather than along the lines of geography is vital. This is where the American version of federalism differs

from the Iraqi one. Although the United States was made up of various religious sects and multiple nationalities at the time of the Constitution Convention in 1787, their division was based on geographical administrative divisions rather than on ethnicity and religion. If we were to imagine such a division in the United States according to religion, we would have Catholics, Quakers and Protestants living in separate homogeneous provinces. Then, what if a Protestant family was living in a Catholic region, would their rights be protected? It would be almost impossible to avoid the existence of some people who do not belong to the dominant religious group within the province. Therefore, there would be a constant danger that minorities within such provinces would be victimized. A brief look at the current situations in Iraq proves that the Bush administration is promoting an Iraqi version of federalism, which depends on ethnic and religious division lines. This, in turn, contradicts with the American version of federalism.

In short, Iraq is capable of finding its own paths towards democracy and modernity. It is a process that must come from inside Iraq and not outside. What many politicians fear is that Iraq is pushed towards a political system acceptable to the Bush administration but not to itself. If the American version of federalism is an acceptable solution to all groups, why is the Bush administration pushing towards a totally different version of federalism, which is based on dismantling Iraq on ethnic and sectarian bases?

In fact, the truth is much more sophisticated and profound than just the idea of implementing the American or the Iraqi version of federalism in Iraq. It goes further than that to include the division of the whole Middle East region's countries. Thus, the Greater Middle East initiative would serve the economic interests of the multinational oil companies and the political ones of the neoconservatives if it succeeds. The former ones would dominate the world's most important energy resources—found mostly in Iraq, and

the latter ones would succeed in implementing the containment strategy of Europe on one hand, and of China on another hand.

The Term “Greater Middle East Initiative”

Before talking about any issue pertaining to the Middle East region, the term “Middle East” should be defined first. In the past, Europeans considered “the East” as all lands lying beyond the Eastern portals of the then-known world. On the other hand, the area that bordered the Eastern coast of the Mediterranean was called “the Near East” whereas the area that bordered the distant Pacific Ocean became “the Far East.” Therefore, the territories that are lying in between were referred to as “the Middle East.” Nowadays, both terms “Near East” and “Middle East” are used interchangeably. The Middle East includes the following countries: Turkey, Iran, Cyprus, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Yemen, Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Gulf countries (Temple, 1966, pp. 184-185).

On February 19, 2004, the Bush administration sent a U.S.-compiled document that contained a proposal to the G-8 governments for comment. On that day, the London-based Arabic daily *Al-Hayat* obtained that document from the Germans, and published it in its entirety. This document became known as the Greater Middle East initiative, which was meant to signal an American plan to reform the Middle East and some other Muslim-majority countries such as Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. According to the Bush administration, the Greater Middle East initiative intended to address the lack of democracy and the deteriorating economic situations felt largely in the Arab world. According to many politicians, the new initiative is designed to intensify the United States’ strategic and

military control over the Middle East region, where oil resources are present in massive amounts (Gambill, 2002).

Before the most influential neoconservative organisation in Washington, the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), President Bush delivered a speech in November 2003 on the freedom deficit in the Middle East region:

Our commitment to democracy is tested in the Middle East, which is my focus today, and must be a focus of American policy for decades to come. In many nations of the Middle East, democracy has not yet taken root. And the questions arise: Are the peoples of the Middle East somehow beyond the reach of liberty? I, for one, do not believe it. I believe every person has the ability and the right to be free (qutd. in “The Greater Middle East Initiative,” 2006).

“Blood Borders: How a Better Middle East Would Look”

Despite the fact that the Greater Middle East initiative might be a supposition, that is, an American way to practice pressure on the Arab and Muslim countries for achieving political objectives, it is worth studying since it touches upon a hot issue in a critical region during a critical time. Under the title: Blood Borders: “How a Better Middle East Would Look,” Ralph Peters published an article, commenting on the report that was issued on the Internet on the American Armed Forces Journal’s official homepage. In his article, Peters talked about the aims of redrawing the Middle East map by fragmenting its countries, separating parts of some and granting others those parts. According to the maps that appeared also in the report, the borders between the Middle East countries have not been finalized, yet. In other words, the neoconservatives claim that the borders are still incomplete and need to be redrawn in order to calm down the countries of the Middle East region (Peters, 2006). These borders were imposed and formed by the Europeans—the British and French—at the beginning of the twentieth century at a time when those borders

served the interests of Great Britain and France in the region. Then, the British and French started to lose battles and territories during the twentieth century. Before the end of their colonization of the Middle East, Great Britain and France divided the region. They established many countries that have been standing independent and forming a homogeneous mixture of ethnic, religious and national groups for many years.

When George W. Bush was elected as President of the United States in 2000, one of the neoconservatives' major priorities was to implement the Greater Middle East initiative. According to the Bush administration, this initiative aims at promoting democracy, good governance and equal economic opportunities in the Middle East region. In fact, this initiative, according to many politicians, aims to dismantle the region's countries on various bases in order to exploit their energy resources, maintaining an American hegemony over Europe and China. Therefore, the neoconservatives aimed to redraw the map of the current Middle East to form many ethnic and religious groups to keep them in continuous conflict. The targeted countries in the division are Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Syria, and the countries expected to grow larger for political purposes are Yemen, Jordan and Afghanistan. By implanting allied governments after the division, only then can the United States easily dominate the oil resources and energy supplies to contain Europe and China.

Why the Middle East Region?

Actually, there are many reasons behind choosing the Middle East region for this initiative; the major one is the affluent amounts of oil in the region. The Arab countries' reserve of oil reaches up to 22 percent of the whole crude oil found in the world; moreover,

if Iran is included in the calculations, this percentage will jump to reach 34 percent of the world' crude oil reserves. To borrow from Henry Kissinger: "Control energy and control the nations" (quod. in Phillips, 2006, p.3) was really a brilliant phrase said once to demonstrate how every leading economic power over the last several hundred years has ridden an abundant fuel resource into the pages of history. During the period that stretched from the late eighteenth century and reached the early twentieth century, Great Britain was a leading economic power through making use of the affluent coal whereas the United States' years were driven by national involvement in a major fossil fuel—oil (Phillips, 2006, pp. 3-6).

Throughout the history of the United States, oil has been playing an ever-increasing role in the advancement and flourishing of its economy. The United States' government always attempts to ensure an enormous abundance of oil, which has a great impact on its economy. Although this impact sometimes takes a positive shape and sometimes a negative one, the United States has been addicted to oil. Without billions of oil barrels being pumped into the veins of its economy every year, the nation would experience a painful and damaging withdrawal in its economy. To illustrate this more clearly, the transportation sector is said to be an example that demonstrates the significance of oil in the United States' economy. Motor vehicles are responsible for about one-third of global oil use, but for nearly two-thirds of United States' oil use; heating and power generation account for almost the rest of oil use. The increase in oil prices during the 1973 Arab oil embargo encouraged the substitution of other fuels in heating and power generation, but in the transportation sector, there is little scope for oil substitution in the short term. The transportation sector in the United States is almost totally dependent on oil, and supplies are running out. It is estimated that the total amount of oil that can be pumped out of the Earth is about 2.000

billion barrels, and that world oil production will peak in the next 10 to 15 years (Szyliowicz and O'Neill, 1976, p. 200).

The United States' administrations have been well aware of the importance of ensuring oil supplies. Every major oil price shock of the past 30 years was followed by a recession in the United States' economy. In 1997, the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflicts identified factors that put the United States at risk. It included rapid population changes that outstripped the capacity of each state to provide essential services and the control of valuable natural resources by a single group. Both factors were key motivators in the war against Iraq. The United States needed oil, and former President Saddam Hussein was monopolizing it.

War in Iraq was inevitable. That there would be war for oil was decided by the United States' economists in the mid-1920's. That it would be in Iraq was decided much more recently by the neoconservatives. The architects of this war were not only military planners, but also economic ones. The neoconservatives claimed that the reason was weapons of mass destruction; on the other hand, the leftists claimed that the reason behind the war was Western imperialism. Both turned out to be wrong; the cause of this war is oil.

The Importance of the Iraqi Oil to the American Economy

The then United States' Secretary of State, Colin Powell, repeatedly stressed that the Iraqi oil was not the main target of the United States war on Iraq. Furthermore, many other politicians reiterated that despite what Colin Powell had announced, oil is still, by all expectations, the major motive. The Bush administration pointed to Iraq's huge oil reserves

and to the United States' oil needs; therefore, many politicians considered both reasons as standing behind the United States' decision to attack Iraq (Paul, 2002).

Economically, Iraq owns 11 percent of the international oil reserves, which accounts to more than 112 billion barrels of oil. Studies by the United States Energy Information Administration put the reserves in excess of 200 billion barrels, which connotes another attraction to occupy Iraq. On the other hand, the studies show that the world's demand for oil will reach 112 million barrels per day in the year 2020. Accordingly, only six countries which are Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Venezuela will be able to meet that demand (Phillips, 2006, p. 5). The United States is considered to be the world's largest oil consumer. While an American citizen consumes 28 barrels per year, his Chinese counterpart burns only 2 barrels per year; by noticing the difference in consuming, one can discover the deadly need to occupy this oil producing country (Hammond, 1975, pp. 313-314).

The declared reason was to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction. International observers and the United Nations' inspectors indicated that Iraq was clear of such weapons; even the United States itself knew that Iraq possessed no such weapons. As for the excuse given to replace the current regime with a democratic one, many observers see that it was not democratic at all to impose a regime by force, that is, with tanks and missiles. The United States' real objectives were disclosed by Powell to the Congress when he said that Washington would carry out structural changes after occupying Iraq. According to many politicians, these mentioned structural changes, which would primarily depend on oil, would be the establishment of a new empire. Empires do not come into being by coincidence (Paul, 2002).

Actually, the Iraqi oil provides nearly all the energy for transportation (cars, trucks, buses, airplanes and many railroad engines) in the United States. It also plays an important role in other energy inputs; for instance, it heats many buildings and fuels industrial and farm equipments. Overall, the Iraqi oil has a 40 percent share in the United States' national energy budget. Apart from energy, oil provides lubrication; it is an essential feedstock for plastics, paint, fertilizers and pharmaceuticals (Temple, 1966, pp. 185-186). Sometime in the future, the world may switch to renewable or other sorts of energy, but oil reigns now as the indispensable ingredient of the modern economy. For this reason, governments are anxious about their national oil supply. As Peter Dale Scott stated clearly in 2003: "The need to dominate oil from Iraq is also deeply intertwined with the defense of the dollar..." (quid in Phillips, 2006, p.68).

Modern warfare, too, relies greatly on oil because all weapons' systems depend on oil like fuel for tanks, trucks, armored vehicles, airplanes and naval ships. For this reason, the governments of powerful nations seek to ensure a steady supply of oil during wartime to fuel oil-hungry military forces in operational theaters.

Economically Speaking, Why Iraq?

In addition to the above-cited reasons, the answer to this question is simple. It is because Iraq's reserves are huge, really huge. According to the declared figures, Iraq's reserves are estimated to exceed 112 billion barrels, as mentioned before. This equals the total reserves of the United States, Canada, Mexico, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, China and the whole non-Middle Eastern Asia. The reserves of all these countries together are 116 billion barrels (Phillips, 2006, pp. 4-5). It is worth mentioning here that these quantities of

oil are pumped from only 15 out of 74 oil wells in Iraq. Imagine the remaining undiscovered amounts of oil.

The United States' Department of Energy has announced recently that by the year 2025, the United States' oil imports will account for perhaps 70 percent of the total U.S. domestic demand. (It was 55 percent in 2002.) The chief of the World Watch Institute, Michael Renner, put it clearly: "U.S. oil deposits are increasingly depleted, and many other non-OPEC (the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) fields are beginning to run dry. The bulk of future supplies will have to come from the Gulf region." Without wondering, the whole President Bush's energy policy is based on the increasing consumption of oil. Some 70 percent of the world's proven oil reserves are in the Middle East. And this looming war against Iraq is not about oil (Fisk, 2003)?

It is significant to have a look over the statistics on the proportion of reserve to oil production—the number of years that reserves of oil will last at current production rates—compiled by Jeremy Rifkin in *Hydrogen Economy*. In the United States, more than 60 percent of the recoverable oil has already been produced; the ratio is just 10 years, and the same ratio takes place in Norway. In Canada, it is 8:1; in Iran, it is 53:1; in Saudi Arabia, it is 55:1; in the United Arab Emirates, it is 75:1; in Kuwait, it is 116:1; whereas in Iraq, it is 526:1. Accordingly, the gap between Iraq's and the other countries' reserves will never shrink; therefore, the war is justified to a lot of politicians in the current United States' administration (Fisk, 2003).

The Real History before the War Happened

One may remember Donald Rumsfeld shaking hands heartily with former President Saddam Hussein in 1983. At that time, it never occurred to anyone that the former master of the Pentagon did not care about human rights or crimes against humanity. Then along came Joost Hilterman's analysis of what was really going on in the Pentagon back in the late 1980's. Hilterman, a politician who was preparing a devastating book on the United States and Iraq, dug through piles of declassified United States' government documents. He discovered that after former President Saddam Hussein had gassed 6,800 Kurdish Iraqis at Halabja (this number exceeds twice the number of the victims of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001), the Pentagon set out to defend former President Saddam by scolding Iran for the atrocity (Forsythe, 1984, pp. 483-502). Another newly declassified document proves that the idea was dreamed up by the Pentagon, which had all along backed up former President Saddam. This document makes it clear that the United States' diplomats received instructions to push the line of Iran's culpability, but not to discuss details. After five years, the U.S. National Security Decision Directive 114 gave formal sanction to billions of dollars in loan guarantees and other credits to Baghdad in 1983—the same year when Rumsfeld visited Baghdad. Back in 1997 during the years of the Clinton administration, Rumsfeld, Dick Cheney and a group of other neoconservatives—of course most involved in the oil business—came up with the idea of the New American Century by demanding “regime change” in Iraq. In a 1998 letter to President Clinton, they all called for the removal of former President Saddam from power. In a letter to Newt Gingrich, who was then Speaker of the House, they wrote: “We should establish and maintain a strong U.S. military presence in the region, and be prepared to use that force to protect our vital

interests in the Gulf and, if necessary, to help remove Saddam from power” (quid. in Loomis, 1998, pp. 18, 20, 126).

The Political Economy behind the War

The United States divides oil-producing countries into two categories. The first category is named the absorber countries while the second one, the non-absorber countries. According to the United States’ classification, absorber countries are dangerous because they possess the capability to build modern and powerful states. They include Iraq and Algeria, which are two of the most indebted countries in the Arab world, and are now including Iran and North Korea. The debt of Algeria, which is categorized as one of the richest oil countries in the Arab world, exceeds 52 billion dollars. Iraq’s debts are far more than that, doubling and even tripling after the recent war. But, how did this happen? It is not a coincidence that these two major Arab oil producing countries have joined the club of debtors. This happened because there was a fear that these absorber countries might become one day powerful states. It is worth mentioning here that when the current United States’ administration came to power, it brought an agenda to establish a new American Empire to dominate the world. Since these countries may endanger this target of the United States, they must undergo an era of debts.

The United States did not import a single barrel of oil before 1970, but now 60 percent of its oil need is imported. How did the United States oil imports jump from zero to 60 percent in a period of 32 years (Irish, and Frank, 1975, pp. 44-45, 66-71)? The first United States’ trade deficit was caused by its oil imports; the United States used to import 45 percent of its oil demand before the 1991 Gulf War. Studies at that time predicted that the

United States' oil imports would increase to 60 percent by the end of the 1990's and to 100 percent in the years to follow. This means that by the year 2007, the United States would have imported all its petroleum from other countries; how would then the United States trade deficit look? Besides, oil prices in the late 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's stood at \$40 per barrel. The prices have deteriorated ever since, and sometimes stood at \$7 or \$8 per barrel. Now, if the price of oil remained at \$40 per barrel, the wealth of the Arab countries would have exceeded \$1.5 trillion. The recent oil price reached to \$70 per barrel, resulting in an Arab wealth of \$2.7 trillion, whereas bottling water actually costs \$50 to \$60 per barrel. The issue of the price is a matter of national security for the United States. In other words, if a state decides to increase or decrease the price in contradiction to the United States' interests, Washington would consider that a violation of its national security; therefore, it can attack, invade and even occupy any country (Paul, 2002).

On the other hand, five multinational oil companies dominate the world oil industry: two of them are of American origin, two are primarily of British origin and one is primarily based in France (Jacques, & Schreiber, 1968, pp. 40-50). Let us assume the level of Iraqi reserves to be at 112 billion barrels (which is a very conservative estimate) and recovery rates at 50 percent (which is also a very conservative estimate). Mathematically speaking, recoverable the Iraqi oil would be worth altogether about \$4.375 trillion. Evaluating production costs of \$1.5 a barrel, total costs would be \$188 billion, leaving a balance of \$4.26 trillion as the difference between costs and sales revenues. Assuming a 50/50 split with the government and further assuming that a production period of 50 years is estimated, the company profits would run to \$42.6 billion per year. That huge sum is nearly two times the \$44 billion total profits earned by the world's five major oil companies combined in

2001. If higher assumptions are used, annual profits might exceed dramatically per year (Hammond, 1975, pp. 296, 313-314).

The multinational oil companies' future profits depend, to a large extent, on their control of reserves. The Oil Nationalization of Iraq in 1972 pushed the United States' and the United Kingdom's companies completely out of the country. Before that year, they held a three-quarter share of the Iraq Petroleum Company, including Iraq's entire national reserves. After 1972, all that oil disappeared from their balance sheets (Phillips, 2006, p. 41).

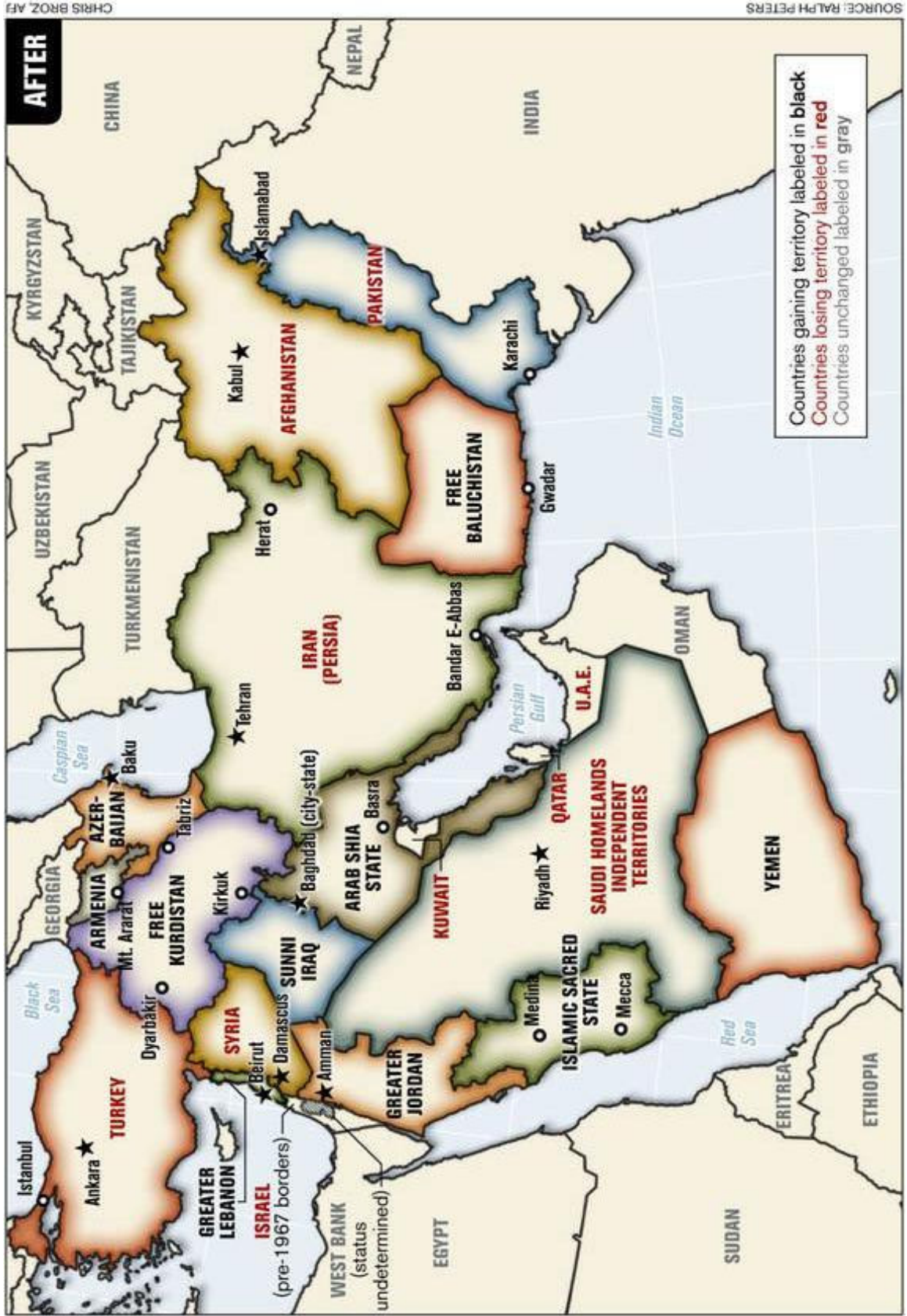
In the 1980's and 1990's, such rivals of the United States as France, Russia and even Japan and China began to make deals that led towards sharing agreements with the Iraqi regime. This sanctioned regime allowed those competitors to gain a large potential share of Iraq's oil reserves. Being enforced under the United Nations, Iraq found itself prevented from satisfying those deals. Thus, the future stake of the United States' and United Kingdom's multinational oil companies was preserved. The tremendous United States' and United Kingdom's multinational oil companies did not keep it a secret that they have a strong desire for the Iraqi oil. BP and Shell conducted secret negotiations with former President Saddam Hussein while Exxon and Chevron took another lane, waiting for Washington to eliminate former President Saddam's regime (Phillips, 2006, p. 88). In 1997, as the sanctions lost international support, Russia's Lukoil, France's Total, China's National and other companies signed deals with the Iraqi government for sharing production in some of Iraq's biggest and most lucrative fields. Therefore, this resulted in the other multinational oil companies' economic interests intersecting with the neoconservatives' political interests to dismantle the Middle East region on various bases, starting with Iraq. If it succeeded, the whole region would be further fragmented to many

states and countries based on religious and denominational sects, regenerating non-producing societies that are in direct and continuous conflict with each other.

Oil Dependence and Energy Security

How much oil is imported affects the economy and the national security of the United States. Today, more than half of the oil used in America is imported. This level of dependence on imports (55 percent) is the highest in the United States' history, and will increase as it uses up domestic resources. The vast majority of the world's oil reserves is concentrated in the Middle East region (65 percent to 75 percent) and has been controlled by the members of the OPEC oil cartel. The United States depends on oil to help people and goods move (Hamilton, 1989, p. 324). In addition, 95 percent of the energy for transportation in the United States comes from oil, since transportation accounts for two-thirds of total United States' petroleum use—nearly all of the high value petroleum products like gasoline and distillate fuel.

In the past, dependence on oil cost the United States' economy much. Oil price shocks and price manipulation by the OPEC cartel from 1979 to 2000 cost the United States' economy about \$7 trillion, almost as much as they spent on national defense over the same time period and more than the interest payments on the national debt. Each major price shock, which happened in the past three decades, was followed by an economic recession in the United States. As long as the United States' imports are growing, and world dependence on OPEC oil cartel is increasing, future price shocks are possible and would be costly to the United States' economy (Phillips, 2006, p. 41).



The Greater Middle East Initiative Examined

Hardly any kind of adjustment of borders in the Middle East region could certainly make every minority satisfied because ethnic and religious groups have been living, intermingling and intermarrying for many decades in many parts of this region (Peters, 2006). Now, the boundaries that would take place—in case the Greater Middle East initiative succeeded—would intend superficially to redress the most oppressed and tyrannized population groups in the region, for example, the Kurds, the Arab Shiites and the Baluch. However, they would fail to satisfy other minority groups. Before discussing the issue of borders, the Bush administration knows that Israel's interests should be protected first in order to get those borders accepted by the international community in case the Greater Middle East initiative were implemented. In fact, Israel would have to return to its pre-1967 borders with some adjustments for security purposes in order for the Hebrew State to have a hope to live in peace with its neighbors. Accordingly, its neighbors should also be divided and remixed in a way that would support Israel's main security concerns and economic interests.

In accordance with the initiative issued on the Internet on the American Armed Forces Journal's official homepage, the most glaring injustice that takes place in the lands between the Balkan Mountains and the Himalayas is the issue of the absence of an independent state for the Kurds. Due to the fact that no country has ever allowed a fair census of the Kurds within its territories, the numbers of Kurds are always estimated imprecisely. There exist between 27 million to 36 million Kurds, living in various parts in the Middle East region. In other words, this number exceeds the population of the present Iraq, even the lowest estimation of the Kurds' population makes them the world's largest ethnic group without a

state of its own. Besides, the Kurds claimed that they have been oppressed and tyrannized by all the governments under which they belonged for many decades. Consequently, Iraq's Kurds would vote for independence as soon as elections take place in Iraq, and they did. In addition, the long suffering Kurds of Turkey, who have endured decades of violent oppression in an effort to eradicate their identity, would do the same exactly, that is, to agree on a sovereign state of their own. Concerning the Kurds of Syria and Iran, they would also join the club of calling for an independent so-called Free Kurdistan State. Furthermore, if the world would reject to champion such a Free Kurdistan State, this would be considered as an obvious violation of human rights; a single country would never dare to refuse such an independent sovereign state (Peters, 2006). In the imagined Greater Middle East initiative that was drawn in the American Armed Forces Journal's official homepage online, there would and should exist a so-called Free Kurdistan State that would have As Sulaymaniyah or Arbil as its center and would contain the Iraqi Kirkuk City of the affluent amounts of crude oil, parts of Turkey, of Iran, of Syria, of Armenia and of Azerbaijan. By stretching from Diyarbakir through Tabriz, this Free Kurdistan State should exist to serve the United States' multiple interests in the region ("Iraq Geography 2000," 2000). It would be the most pro-Western state between Bulgaria and Japan because the Kurds, who were always longing for such an independent state of their own, would satisfy the United States' interests out of gratitude and in order not to lose this finally launched so-called Free Kurdistan State.

As for Iraq, there exists a hidden plan. According to many researchers' view, fragmenting Iraq on various bases is the first step towards dividing the whole Middle East region. Actually, many ideas about using the American version of federalism to calm the current Iraqi disastrous and instable security situations are being held intensively today by

the Bush administration, which used these ideas as a pretext to implement the Greater Middle East initiative. In other words, how many states does the United States plan to launch after fragmenting Iraq in order to create its Greater Middle East initiative? According to many observers, Iraq will be divided into three states to prevent any ethnic or religious group from monopolizing power by keeping them almost equally strong and in continuous conflict among each other. Having a look over the geographical distribution of the ethnic and religious population in Iraq, which is a really multi-ethnic society, shows the following: the dominating two ethnic groups are Arabs and Kurds, and the minor one is Turkmen in the North; other smaller ethnic groups are present in several places as well. Religion, on the other hand, is a major factor that contributes strongly to the Iraqi dispute. Beside the various ethnic groups, the division of Islam to Sunnis and Shiites and the existence of Christians, Yazidis and others add another dimension to the many that helps the United States accomplish the division easily. In accordance with the studies available on the above-mentioned geographical and religious distribution, Sunnis are located mainly in Baghdad and the West—in what is known as the Sunni Triangle, which consists of Baghdad, Ba'qubah and Ar Ramadi; Shiites exist on a large scale in the South (“Iraq Geography 2000,” 2000). Accordingly, Iraq would be divided into 3 states: the Free Kurdistan State, which was cited above with details; the Arab Shiite State that would have An Najaf or Karbala as its center; and the Sunni Iraq State that would have Ar Ramadi or Mosul as its center. The Arab Shiite State would contain the southern part of Iraq, the eastern part of Saudi Arabia—where Saudi Arabia would give up its coastal oil fields to the Arab Shiites who populate that subregion—and the southwestern parts of Iran—where the majority of people are of Arabic origin. This Arab Shiite State would form a belt around the Arab Gulf and would serve a counterbalance to, rather than an ally of, Persian Iran. The

third state, the Sunni Iraq State, would have its center as Ar Ramadi or Mosul (“Iraq Geography 2000,” 2000). This state would take the remaining parts of Iraq, and might be united with Syria, which would lose its littoral to a Mediterranean-oriented Greater Lebanon, Phoenecia reborn at the Syrian expense (Peters, 2006).

According to the maps of the initiative published on the American Armed Forces Journal’s official homepage, Iran would have a similar experience as the other Middle Eastern countries and lose parts of its territories. A Free Baluchistan State would be launched by taking the southern parts of Iran and the southwestern parts of Pakistan. Furthermore, Iran would lose parts for the benefit of Free Kurdistan State and the Arab Shiite State as mentioned before; it would also lose parts to the Unified Azerbaijan State. However, it would gain the provinces around Herat in today’s Afghanistan—where the majority of people are of a historical and linguistic affinity for Persia. In this way, Iran would be a pure ethnic Persian state again. On the other hand, Afghanistan would lose parts of its territories for Iran in the West, but would gain some territories from Pakistan in the East, as Pakistan’s Northwest frontier tribes would be reunited with their Afghan brethren. The Free Baluchistan State would take parts of Pakistan, and the remaining Pakistan would lie entirely to the East of the Indus, except for a westward spur near Karachi.

Like Pakistan, Saudi Arabia would experience the greatest loss of territories; it would be divided into two states. One would be a religious state, being called the Islamic Sacred State like the Vatican; it would contain all the important Islamic Holy sites for all the Muslims throughout the world. A cause of the broad stagnation of the Muslim World stems from the way Saudi Arabia’s government treats Mecca and Medina as their fiefdom. The best way to solve this would be launching a sort of Muslim Vatican where the future faith might be debated rather than merely decreed. In its Greater Middle East initiative, the Bush

administration tries to persuade the Muslims to further dismantle the region by suggesting a healthier way for the Muslims to deal with Mecca and Medina. The administration would put forward a way to rule these two sacred cities by forming a rotating council representative of the world's major Muslim trends and movements in a so-called Islamic Sacred State. On the other hand, the other state that would result out of the division is a political Saudi Arabia state that would be called Saudi Homelands Independent Territories around Riyadh. Parts of the original Saudi Arabia would be granted for other countries like Yemen and Jordan. Jordan would retain its current territory with some southward expansion at the expense of Saudi Arabia; furthermore, parts of the occupied Palestine's territories might be ceded to Jordan to include the Palestinians inside Israel and the outside-of-Israel dispersed Palestinians to launch the so-called Greater Jordan. Yemen would also share some of the southern territories of Saudi Arabia. As for the United Arab Emirates, parts of it might be incorporated to the Arab Shiite State whereas Dubai would be permitted to keep its current territory for a rich social rank. Kuwait would remain within its current borders, as would Oman.

Why Reveal the Greater Middle East Initiative Map Now?

The Bush administration had envisioned its plan of a greater and more democratic Middle East region, starting from eliminating the ancient maps of the British and French colonization at the beginning of the twentieth century. This elimination comes as a result of the new national and denominational variables of the states and countries targeted with the division. Dismantling states and countries is a means to weaken them. Therefore, the new resulting countries would be proponents of the Bush administration out of gratitude since

they always longed for such separation and a new style of self-governing. The states that would expand due to the fragmentation of other countries would also be proponents of the Bush administration and the initiative. Greater Jordan, for example, would serve the best solution for the Palestinian issue and the Palestinian refugees. It would be a major solution for Israel to the problem that it confronts continuously, that is, the problem of the demographic factor of the Palestinians (Peters, 2006).

According to many politicians, the idea of presenting this map online is a way to pressure the following countries for the following reasons:

1. Turkey: if Turkey ever opposed this initiative and the idea of launching the Free Kurdistan State in Iraq. According to the Greater Middle East initiative, the Free Kurdistan State should exist as a shelter for the American troops while retreating from the region in case this initiative failed.
2. Iran: this initiative would serve as a threat to Iran in order to oblige it to decrease its tremendous interference in Iraq, and because Iran has crossed the red lines concerning its nuclear experiments according to the American national security strategies.
3. Saudi Arabia: because Saudi Arabia fears a Shiite federation in the South of Iraq; this may endanger Saudi Arabia's security due to a Shiite triangle siege that would unite Iran, Southern Iraq, South Lebanon and Syria all together. In this way, Saudi Arabia would do anything to maintain a Sunni existence in Iraq, for the initiative would give the Arab Shiites of Iraq a separate state.
4. Pakistan: to ensure that the Pakistani government would not hesitate to attack the Taliban and the so-called Islamic extremists. In this way, the United States would guarantee that Pakistan would stand by the American side.

5. The Kurds: to accomplish a Kurdish autonomy that the Kurds have always aimed to by backing up this initiative.

The fragmentation and dismantling policy cannot be imposed on any state or country that is recognized by the international community. Also, it cannot be achieved forcibly the way it is taking place in Iraq now after the American invasion. The Bush administration gives the maximum priority to lead this initiative to success in Iraq in order to generalize it on the region as a whole. Finally, it is worth the targeted-with-the-division states and countries to give great attention to former President Saddam Hussein's words before the invasion when he said that Iraq would be the first step towards dismantling the whole region. Regardless of its identity, the role of the so-called Iraqi national resistance is that it is involved not only in overthrowing the American occupation, but also in rescuing the whole Middle East region (Peters, 2006).

The Failure of the Greater Middle East Initiative

History is usually a major factor that determines whether or not a military victory has been converted into a long-term success. Even the best military achievement may be downgraded after reassessing its overall political, economic and socio-cultural consequences. It is, perhaps, early to reassess, but there have already appeared a number of signs that reveal the failure of the Greater Middle East initiative (Lesch, 2003).

The Bush administration will continue to fight for implementing this Greater Middle East initiative for the sake of securing the United States against terrorism, spreading democracy and gaining an access to oil supplies in the region. The deformations, which might occur in case the Greater Middle East initiative were implemented, would lead to

worsening the situations by forming a suitable breeding ground for religious extremism and recruitment of the so-called terrorists (Peters, 2006). Moreover, the bloodshed and genocide, which are taking place in Iraq now, are part of the results of the United States' occupation, leading the situation to an uncontrollable deterioration. According to many observers' opinion, this Greater Middle East initiative is falling apart in Iraq for many reasons.

In fact, the neoconservatives are nowadays facing a difficulty in dealing with the number of victims among the American soldiers in the Iraqi war. According to the Bush administration, the number of victims among the American soldiers is worth the democracy and tranquility that are to prevail after undoing the insurgents, but the reality on the ground is far from this. Before the invasion, the Bush administration estimated that the war cost would reach \$60 billion, and that this cost would be covered from the Iraqi oil. However, according to *France Press Agency*, recent reports leaked from two official commissions in the U.S. Congress show that the Iraqi war cost reached \$350 billion. On the other hand, the Congress voted for additional \$70 billion from the 2007 fiscal year budget for sponsoring "War against Terrorism." \$50 billion out of the \$70 billion will be granted for the Iraqi war. Oil pipes and refineries are permanently under attack of the so-called Iraqi resistance, which was not expected by the American military commanders of war. To further prove these points, one can take a look at the American economy. The economic indicators prove that the American economy suffered after the war; there are clear indications that this plan has already started to fail not only at the Middle Eastern level but also on a world scale. When President Bush took office in 2000, there had been a surplus of \$280 billion in the federal budget; now there is an annual deficit that increases rapidly. Moreover, this year the deficit is expected to reach \$360 billion, and the war on Iraq cost is much more than

expected. President Bush's assumption that he could pay back the war costs from the Iraqi oil failed as well. In addition, the American people started to realize that this war is not in their interest; the weapons of mass destruction pretext to invade Iraq was disclosed as a big lie. Democratic freedom has declined in the United States due to eavesdropping and wiretapping, threatening to cause a new Watergate scandal. On the other hand, the then National Security Counselor, Dr. Condoleezza Rice, stated that there had been mistakes committed during the war on Iraq pertaining to tactics ("Al Rai Daily Newspaper" 2006). President Bush himself asserted on ABC News Network for the first time on October 18, 2006 that there exist many similarities between the war in Iraq and the war in Vietnam. Moreover, *The National Strategy for Victory in Iraq* that was issued on November 30, 2005 stated: "...We will remain in Iraq as long as necessary, and not a day more... Our mission in Iraq is to win the war. Our troops will return home when that mission is complete." *The National Strategy for Victory in Iraq* makes it clear that the American troops will return home after being done with their mission. It was in 2003 when the then *National Security Strategy* did not even mention a word on returning home and reaffirmed a long stay in Iraq, which proves that the American troops' situation changed between 2003 and 2006 in Iraq.

The recent October and November polls of 2006, on the other hand, prove that the American people are not satisfied at all with what is happening in Iraq. *The Independent's* polls and *the Guardian's* polls have recently proved that the percent of the American people, who think that the United States' troops should retreat immediately from Iraq, are 72 percent and 68 percent, respectively. It is now obvious that the situation in Iraq is deteriorating, and will continue. In October 2006, the number of Iraqi dead casualties reached 3,709 with an increase in 400 more dead than the previous month, leading to questioning the American promises to spread security and democracy ("Al Rai Daily

Newspaper,” 2006). At first, it was disorganized, but then more and more organized; the so-called resistance movement started to oppose the United States’ presence in Iraq. The more the number of American casualties increases in Iraq, the more the public and Congress begin to become impatient calling for an immediate withdrawal. The Bush administration is weakened politically at home and abroad. The so-called Islamic extremism grows across the region, particularly in Egypt and Saudi Arabia, where pro-United States’ regimes have a difficult time in maintaining their relationship with Washington and staying in power. The al-Qa’eda Network grows in strength; terrorist attacks against United States’ interests are likely to happen at anytime and in anyplace throughout the world (Lesch, 2003).

Before he resigned, the then Defense Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, recommended that the American Armed Forces should decrease its operational attacks in Iraq considerably. He also ossified that the United States’ strategy in the Iraqi war needs to be amended. A few months ago, he asked for some amendments in the tactics, considering the strategy a success. Actually, these recommendations had been directed to the White House before the recent midterm elections that took place on November 7, 2006. At first, the *New York Times* got these recommendations, and the Pentagon then reassured their legitimacy (“Al Rai Daily Newspaper,” 2006). The Iraqi war was a central issue in the recent midterm U.S. Congressional elections. The discontent over the Iraqi war provided the Democrats with an opportunity to gain both chambers of the Congress: 199 Republicans, 231 Democrats in the House of Representatives and 49 Republicans, 51 Democrats in the Senate (“Iraq a central issue in U.S. Congress elections, 2006).

Even the legitimacy of the war against Iraq was neither accepted by the United Nations on an international level nor within the United States itself. Headed by the former Secretary of State, James A. Baker, and the former Representative, Lee Hamilton, the Baker-

Hamilton Commission has met periodically, announcing that they have set a timetable for U.S. withdrawal from Iraq by 2008. The Commission made it clear that President Bush is nowadays facing mounting pressures to change course in Iraq after an upsurge of violence during November and the Republicans' loss in the U.S. Congressional midterm elections ("Al Rai Daily Newspaper," 2006). Many members of the Congress showed their resistance for the war since the beginning. Edward Kennedy, for example, the Democrat Senator for Massachusetts State stated on October 26, 2003:

As a result of the Administration's failure to plan for the true costs of Iraq operation and its failure to obtain substantial international support, we are now faced with a staggering reconstruction bill of \$20.3 billion for Iraq that may only be a first installment. Ambassador Bremer is now suggesting that the total reconstruction costs may ultimately reach \$60 billion. Because of the Administration's go-it-alone policy on Iraq, the cost of that mistake has already climbed to over \$120 billion. Clearly the circumstances have changed. The Administration has grossly underestimated the costs now coming due. President Bush, Secretary Rumsfeld, and Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz wanted to go to war in the worst way, and they did (quod. in "Public Statements," n.d.).

Actually, the United States' invasion of Iraq in March 2003 reflects morally problematic elements. At first, the Bush administration claimed that the United States has a political right to use preventive forces against any regime it deems as a rogue state producing weapons of mass destruction. After 3 years had passed on the collapse of Baghdad, the United States found no such weapons, proving the fact that the neoconservatives concealed a hidden agenda towards the Middle East region, whose implementation should start with Iraq. Secondly, the Bush administration declared that the goals of the United States' military actions around the world would be overthrowing of any threatening rogue regime that supports terrorism, and pursues weapons of mass destruction. They invaded Afghanistan and Iraq in defiance of international organizations, the United Nations and the international community, which deemed these invasions as immoral. Third, the

neoconservatives asserted a right of the United States to act unilaterally if other countries and states are not willing to do so. However, the United States' wars were made in the context of a strategic doctrine that gave the priority to maintain an American global supremacy, and to preserve a power to utilize preventive and pre-emptive war strategy. This illegal war caused the United States to suffer from a perpetual war, whose casualties and negative effects would exceed the expectations.

A Perpetual War

The September 11, 2001 attacks are now indicative of the horror of the terrorist attacks on American soil. It is remembered with the same grief and anger as the Japanese attacks against Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 that drove the United States into the World War II. At that time, President Roosevelt had only to mention "Day of Infamy" to pass any legislation through the Congress. Today, the Bush administration has only to say "9/11" to gain passion for its war on world terrorism, starting with war against the Taliban and al-Qa'eda in Afghanistan, the weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and the terrorist regimes anywhere else in the world. Accordingly, the neoconservatives' foreign and interventionist policies had brought former President Saddam Hussein's and the Taliban's regimes to an end by using American high-tech war. But the insurgents organized a guerrilla war of terror and ambush similar to the American (lost) war in Vietnam. Over the cost of the war itself in casualties, the American occupation of Iraq costs \$4 billion per month (Owens, 2004).

Since the September 11, 2001 attacks and the "War on Terror," the United States' foreign policy aftermath has brought the United States under siege on its own soil, creating a perpetual war. According to many observers, suicide bombing and attacks like the

September 11, 2001 attacks can occur any time, anywhere and with no warning throughout the United States. Every American is at risk of a surprise attack by angry enemies driven by religious fervor. A month after the September 11, 2001 attacks, President Bush signed the *Patriot Acts*, granting law enforcement agencies, for example the FBI, the power to arrest any person arbitrarily; the laws were contrary to the United States' tradition of individual freedom. The *Patriot Acts*, already 5 years old, lean toward a typical dictatorship and control of every citizen. Concepts of the 2001 *Patriot Acts* include expanding the role of police searches and secret searches of homes and personal records (Caruso, 2003, p.1).

Neoconservatives' Globalism and Islamic Jihad

The theme dominating all the neoconservatives' minds is a single word—power. The neoconservatives' agenda clearly envisions imposing global hegemony by using an American form of “democracy and freedom” everywhere on the Earth. Local and individual freedoms have largely been surrendered to the federal power. The hysteria, resulting from the September 11, 2001 attacks, offered the neoconservatives a golden opportunity for a leap in power in the noble name of protecting the homeland. The “War on Terror” has all signs of being a permanent war (Owens, 2004).

According to many politicians, the neoconservatives' foreign interventionist policy in the Arab and Muslim worlds fueled their religious affiliation, and helped grow the hatred towards Americans as crusade attackers against Islam as a religion. Driven by the treachery of the neoconservatives' desire for a global power, the United States is now marching blindly into this path. Their interventionism has transformed the United States into an enemy hated worldwide and into a tremendous military spending. Unsurprisingly,

thousands of religious “martyrs” are enlisting to fight the “Great Satan,” and driving it from their lands by all means imaginable (Owens, 2004).

The neoconservatives reversed the causes and effects of the September 11, 2001 attacks. Many scholars believe that the United States is threatening the Islamic religion’s way of life; the Islamic martyrs were only a desperate response to the American aggression in their countries. This ever-intensifying Jihad “holy” war against the United States could have been entirely avoidable. It was brought by the neoconservatives’ interventions and meddling in Islam’s holy lands and their passionately believed religious customs. For instance, the presence of the American military bases in Saudi Arabia created “freedom fighters” (Owens, 2004).

Finally, many observers think that the neoconservatives’ doctrine of preventive and pre-emptive war strategy is an insane strategy. The threats to the United States’ survival can be removed only if the neoconservatives themselves are totally removed from government, if there is a sharp reversal of foreign and interventionist policies and if the American troops get out of other peoples’ lands and internal affairs.

Conclusion

Oil, this insoluble organic compound that occupies the heart of the current crises in the Middle East, led the United States to a war against Iraq. For more than a hundred years, major powers had battled to take control over this enormous source of wealth and strategic power throughout history. The major multinational oil companies, whose main headquarters are located in the United States and in the United Kingdom, are keen to regain their domination over the Iraqi oil. This domination has been lost with the Iraqi

Nationalization Policy in 1972 (Phillips, 2006, p. 41). To understand how high the stakes in Iraq really are, one has to acknowledge how much the history of the world's oil industry is a history of power, national rivalry and military force.

The United States' economy needs oil badly. Iraq has more than 112 billion barrels, and it is considered the largest supplier in the world after Saudi Arabia. Even before the first shot had been fired, there were discussions about how Iraq's oil reserves would be carved up during the war. Actually, all five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council own multinational oil companies that have an interest in "regime change" in Baghdad. The first gasoline war was waged in Kuwait, and the second was waged in Iraq (Paul, 2002).

The Iraqi oil is coveted by the multinational oil companies; it is especially attractive to these huge corporations for the following three factors:

1. High quality/high value product: Iraq's oil is generally of high quality because it has attractive chemical properties, notably high carbon content and sometimes, low sulfur content. This makes it tremendously suitable for refining into the high-value products.
2. Huge supplies: Iraq's oil is very plentiful. The country's estimated reserves in 2002 were listed at 112.5 billion barrels, but experts believe that Iraq has potential reserves substantially above 200 billion barrels.
3. Exceptionally low production costs, resulting in high profit per barrel: this is due to the nature of the Iraqi reservoirs that come in enormous fields that can be tapped by relatively shallow wells, producing a high "flow rate." The Iraqi oil rises rapidly to the surface because of high pressure on the oil reservoir from water and from associated natural gas deposits.

To demonstrate the profound fear of the lack of oil and the importance of subduing affluent amounts of it, here are some statistics. If everyone on the Earth were to consume petroleum at the per capita rate of industrialized countries, it would require a fivefold increase in current oil production to meet the demand. If, by 2060, the world's population reaches the expected 11 billion, and all were to consume as much energy as, for example, the average Australian does now; annual worldwide oil production would need to be increased about 30 times. In fact, the rate of oil discovery is falling sharply. The world consumes 23 billion barrels a year, but the oil industry finds only 7 billion barrels a year. That's why the United States seeks to satisfy its needs for oil. Iraq, with its crude oil, is the solution for the whole problem. In effect, the United States went to a war for oil and only for oil ("Strengthen National Energy Security" n.d.).

In order for the United States to make use of the oil in the Middle East region, many plans and strategies have been launched, one of which is the Greater Middle East initiative. According to the neoconservatives, this initiative aims at promoting reform plans concerning democracy, the economic situation and some social issues in the Middle East region. In accordance with many politicians' opinion, this initiative aims at further fragmenting the Middle East region into many states and countries on denominational and sectarian bases to create non-productive societies. In this way, the United States—side by side with the multinational oil companies—would be able to dominate the massive amounts of oil in the region to contain Europe and China.

Conclusion

In its multiple forms, Manifest Destiny came into existence throughout the United States' history. It controlled America's destiny; furthermore, America would not be America without the phenomenon of Manifest Destiny. The phenomenon that built the American history and, therefore, the American nation was the expansionists' sense of mission used to justify territorial and colonial growth. Some used the Manifest Destiny doctrine as a political ideology to expand; others used it as a reason to explore new lands. Throughout history, the United States' people used Manifest Destiny as their proclamation of superiority and exceptionalism, and granted themselves a divine mission to spread their forms of democracy and freedom (DeConde, 1971, p. 219). American exceptionalism, or as it is called America the unusual, is the belief that the United States is a unique nation, and differs historically from the rest of the world in crucial ways that offer opportunity and hope for humanity. This belief is not new in the American history; on the contrary, it has played a significant role in shaping American ideology right from the beginning when America was inhabited by groups of colonists. In fact, Manifest Destiny was responsible for creating the American history (Irish and Frank, 1975, pp. 398-400). Without Manifest Destiny, the United States' territory would not extend farther than its first settlements. It was the movement responsible for American independence and American expansion. Thus, because of the notion of Manifest Destiny, the United States' need and desire to conquer new lands will never die (Kegley, Jr. and Wittkopf, 1979, pp. 16-18, 80).

Accordingly, the Manifest Destiny ideology had at first a national discourse to unite the groups of immigrants, who came to the United States from different backgrounds. When this ideology succeeded in accomplishing this mission and the national capitalism

transformed to a global one after the end of the Cold War, the version of this ideology transformed from an ideology directed to the interior of the United States to an ideology directed to the exterior, that is, to the whole world. Then, the United States started to spread the divine notion that it should serve the whole world because America is divinely destined to spread its forms of democracy and freedom. After the September 11, 2001 attacks, everything changed.

The September 11, 2001 attacks were manipulated by the Bush administration. The real threat of sudden attacks using biological, chemical or nuclear weapons drove the United States to implement a preventive and pre-emptive war strategy. The document *National Security Strategy* of the United States is worth reading with great attention, since it does not require any U.S. Congressional approval; it is plain statements by the administration. In accordance with these statements, the United States may act sometimes without warning upon intelligence information that must not be compromised even on the territory of allies. In fact, this process began with an echo of “Manifest Destiny.” It is to our time as the Monroe Doctrine of 1822, but extended now from the Western Hemisphere to consist of the rest of the world, announcing that in the twenty-first century, the United States will consistently crusade on behalf of that “model for national success: freedom, democracy and free enterprise” (Lafeber, 1994, pp.247-253). In order to have this hegemony, the United States has adopted many plans and strategies to control the most influential parts of the world, one of which is the Middle East region of oil and energy resources.

The Bush administration and the neoconservatives aim to implement the so-called Greater Middle East initiative that, according to American conceptions, helps the region’s countries reform the democratic, economic and social situations. Although the Greater Middle East initiative might be a mere supposition used by the United States to threaten

and blackmail the region's countries to achieve political objectives, it is worth studying because it aims at redrawing the Middle East map, as it is published on the American Armed Forces Journal on the Internet. Politically, the Greater Middle East initiative aims to dismantle the nationalistic and patriotic ideologies in the Middle Eastern countries by growing all kinds of sectarian, denominational and regional sects to reproduce prehistoric societies that are unable to produce. Economically, the plan is to unite the Middle East markets by applying open markets' strategy via the multinational companies. By dividing Iraq, the American pilot planet, President Bush's administration put forward the idea of dismantling it, using the American version of federalism to serve the first step towards fragmenting the region as a whole. If this succeeded in Iraq, it would be easy for the neoconservatives, in principle, to apply the same initiative to Syria and Iran, then Saudi Arabia and Egypt, the most influential countries in the Middle East, that is, it would be easy to further dismantle countries on the basis of Sunnis and Shiites, or on Druze and Christian cults and so on. In addition, the multinational companies' greed for oil and other energy resources in the Middle East region and the Bush administration's target to Europe and China added another dimension to encourage the implementation of the Greater Middle East initiative. In fact, the Greater Middle East initiative is falling apart in Iraq for many reasons, and so are its promoters—the neoconservatives—behind it. Those neoconservatives cannot understand that there exists a normal track for the development of the human socioeconomic structure, and what the neoconservatives are trying to do is against this normal track.

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فكرة الحتمية كما تظهر في خطاب إدارة الرئيس بوش الابن: تحليل نقدي

إعداد
رامز فؤاد بهجت حدادين

المشرف
الأستاذ الدكتور أحمد يعقوب مجدوبة

الملخص

تكمن أهمية هذه الدراسة في كونها محاولة للبحث بشكل كامل عن التغير في أيديولوجية الفكرة الحتمية الأمريكية عبر الزمن، وخاصة ذلك التغير الذي طرأ على هذه الأيديولوجية مؤخراً. هذا وتبحث هذه الدراسة كذلك في تأثير هذه الأيديولوجية على منطقة الشرق الأوسط أثناء إدارة الرئيس بوش الابن.

تقوم هذه الدراسة بإرساء العناصر الرئيسية لأيديولوجية الفكرة الحتمية الأمريكية ولكيفية ظهورها. وتظهر الدراسة الطريقة التي تم فيها استخدام هذه الأيديولوجية لتوحيد الأمريكيين في الوقت الذي كانت فيه الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية بحاجة ماسة لعملية التوحيد. هذا وتكشف الدراسة عن كيفية استخدام أيديولوجية الفكرة الحتمية الأمريكية لتبرير السياسات التوسعية الأمريكية حتى وقتنا الحاضر في العالم، وبما يخص منطقة الشرق الأوسط بشكل عام والعراق بشكل خاص.

وتقدم هذه الدراسة نبذة عن هوية المحافظين الجدد وأجندة أعمالهم. وتقدم كذلك قراءة تحليلية للكيفية التي يقوم من خلالها الجناح اليميني الحالي للمحافظين الجدد بالتدخل في شؤون العالم باستعمال استراتيجية الحرب الوقائية والحرب الإستباقية، خاصة بعد أحداث الحادي عشر من أيلول.

وتصف هذه الدراسة كيف يحاول المحافظون الجدد السيطرة على منطقة الشرق الأوسط عن طريق تطبيق العديد من الإستراتيجيات، حيث يعتبر مشروع الشرق الأوسط الكبير أو الجديد واحداً من تلك الإستراتيجيات. هذا ويحاول المحافظون الجدد من خلال هذا المشروع تقسيم دول المنطقة ذات الإنتماءات الوطنية والقومية على أساس ديني وطائفي باستعمال القوة العسكرية. ويسعى المحافظون الجدد كذلك إلى استغلال مصادر الطاقة في المنطقة، وبخاصة النفط، من خلال شركات النفط المتعددة الجنسيات وذلك لاحتواء أوروبا والصين. وختاماً، تسلط هذه الدراسة الضوء على ما إذا كان مشروع الشرق الأوسط الكبير أو الجديد سينجح في المنطقة أم لا.