People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Mentouri University of Constantine 1
Faculty of Letters and Languages

AMERICAN NEOCONSERVATISM
AND ITS
NEO-ORIENTALIST CONSTRUCTIONS OF ISLAM AND THE ARAB MUSLIM WORLD

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTORAT ES SCIENCES
IN
AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

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2017

MENTOURI UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINE 1

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Dedication

To the memory of my father

To my family:

Mom, Sihem, Hadil, Mouatezbillah, Roumeissa, Chima, and my sister Fatima

To my two brothers

To my brothers-in-law Adel and Hamoudi

Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks and deep respect are due to all the people along the path that has led me here.

First and foremost, I am indebted to my supervisors, Professor **Brahim Harouni**, of Mentouri University of Constantine 1, and Professor **Pierre Guerlain**, of Université Paris Ouest, Nanterre; two men from whom I have learned greatly in the course of writing this dissertation. Both of them have helped and guided me in my research these past few years, and I am sincerely grateful. Both have spent amounts of their precious time talking with me, reading and commenting my work, and I am better off because of it. Professor Harouni's intellectual rigor and patience are inspiring, and his example is one against which I fall embarrassingly short, yet nevertheless strive for. Professor Guerlain's indispensable advice, constructive critique, and attention to the big picture and the key details have made him an ideal supervisor. His intellectual insights will guide me long in years ahead. Both of them combined constructive criticism and encouragement for my research project, and their help has been an invaluable and personally illuminating part of my journey.

I also wish to thank the members of the board of examiners, Prof**. Nacereddine Magherbi,** Prof. **Mohamed Yazid Benjeddou,** Prof. **Salah Bouregbi,** Prof. **Eladi Tolgui,** and Prof. **Abdelhak Elagoun** who have kindly accepted to take from their precious time to evaluate this dissertation and make insightful comments on it.

Special thanks are also due to Professor **Cornelius Crowley**, Head of the Centre de Recherches Anglophones (CREA) at Université Paris Ouest for his precious help, his warm welcome to the CREA, and his valuable advice during our conversations. I also thank Professor **John J. Mearsheimer,** of the University of Chicago, who was very kind in giving me his opinions and in answering my questions during my short stay in the US. I am also indebted to Professor **Laura Sjoberg,** of the University of Florida, who provided me with many valuable sources.

I am grateful to my friends and colleagues, Dr. **Fatima Hamadouche**, Dr **Ahmed Chawki Hoadjli** and Dr **Ramdane Mehiri** for their encouragement that mattered much more than they know. Many thanks also go to **all the people of the English Division** at Biskra University, and especially Dr **Boudiaf Naima** and Ms

Nachoua Hassina, for their professional and personal support. I should also thank **all the people of the Department of Letters and English Language at Mentouri University**, **Constantine**, for their help during my graduate studies.

Finally, these acknowledgements would be incomplete without mentioning my wife **Sihem** who has helped and encouraged me in more ways that I can possibly list here.

Abstract

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, new representations of Islam and Muslims have invaded the American and Western public spaces. These representations construct Islam-related social objects as the source of Western ontological insecurity. The present dissertation examines the emergence of American Neoconservatism as one of the sources of those constructions; constructions that are embodied in a twenty-first century neo-Orientalism. The thesis of the dissertation looks into the neoconservative movement and reconsiders it as an identity and ideologically motivated school of thought. Based on a set of interdisciplinary approaches, the dissertation contends that since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the neoconservative school of thought has been imposing a new foreign policy and international (and intercultural) relations paradigm that is mainly inspired from Bernard Lewis and Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations thesis. This imposed paradigm is a framework of thinking that operates according to a renewed (or neo-) Orientalism. It constructs Islam, Muslims, and the Arab-Muslim World as existential threats to Western civilization and as the sources of its ontological insecurity. The neoconservative discourse generates biased knowledge; and its Manicheism, its essentialism, and its conflation of issues such as terrorism, Islamism, Islam, and Muslims in the West and in Muslim societies, have been some of the constructed causes of contemporary intersubjective suspicion and hatred towards Muslims in the West and in the Muslim World. Additionally, the dissertation argues that this twenty-first century neo-Orientalism is relayed and propagated in the American (and Western) public space by pro-Israeli actors, mainly neoconservatives and their like-minded allies. This neoconservative neo-Orientalism is thus essentially instrumental for it espouses the pro-Israeli narrative in its antagonism towards the peoples of the region, and it aims at promoting Israel's agenda in the Near and Middle East.

Résumé

La présente thèse étudie le néoconservatisme américain comme source principale d'un néo-orientalisme contemporain. En se basant sur une recherche et des approches interdisciplinaires, la thèse analyse cette école de pensée et maintien qu'elle est essentiellement identitaire et idéologiquement motivée. La thèse soutient que depuis le début du vingt-et-unième siècle, l'école de pensée néoconservatrice s'attache à tenter d'imposer un nouveau paradigme dans les domaines de la politique étrangère, et des relations internationales et interculturelles. Ce paradigme s'inspire essentiellement de la thèse du clash des civilisations telle que formulée par Bernard Lewis et Samuel Huntington. Il s'agit d'un schéma de pensée qui opère selon un orientalisme renouvelé – un néo-orientalisme – qui construit l'Islam et le monde arabo-musulman comme menace existentielle et comme source d'insécurité ontologique du monde occidental. Le néoconservatisme développe un discours manichéen, essentialiste et amalgamant sur les questions du terrorisme, de l'Islam, de l'islamisme, et des musulmans en occident et dans le monde arabo-musulman. Ce discours produit un savoir biaisé qui est l'une des principales causes intersubjectives et construites du sentiment de suspicion et/ou de haine envers le musulman, qu'il soit résident en occident ou dans le monde arabo-musulman. Enfin, la thèse maintient que ce discours néoconservateur et néo-orientaliste est principalement relayé et propagé dans l'espace public occidental par des réseaux pro-israéliens (tout particulièrement les réseaux néoconservateurs aux Etats Unis et en Europe). Ce néo-orientalisme néoconservateur est donc essentiellement instrumental en ce sens qu'il adopte le récit pro-israélien et qu'il a pour but d'imposer la vision et l'agenda israéliens au Proche et Moyen Orient.

ملخص

تدرس هذه الأطروحة المحافظين الجدد باعتبار فكرهم مصدرا رئيسيا للاستشراق الجديد المعاصر. وبناء على دراسة متعددة المقاربات, الأطروحة تفحص هذه المدرسة الفكرية على أنها مبنية على الهوية وان دوافعها أيديولوجية بحتة. كما تبين هذه الأطروحة أنه منذ بداية القرن الواحد وعشرون ومدرسة المحافظين الجدد تحاول فرض نموذج فكري جديد في مجال السياسة الخارجية والعلاقات الدولية والعلاقات الثقافية. حيث يستند هذا النموذج على فكرة اصطدام الحضارات كما قدمها برنارد لويس وصموئيل هنتنغتون، ويتمثل في نمط من التفكير يعمل كاستشراق جديد والذي يجسد الإسلام والعالم الإسلامي على أنه تهديد وجودي ومصدر لانعدام الأمن الأنطولوجي في العالم الغربي. المحافظون الجدد يصنعون خطاب مانوي (أي مؤسس على ثنائية الخير والشر او بالاحرى تصادم الحضارات)، ماهوي يخلط بين قضايا الإرهاب، الإسلام والمسلمين في العالم العربي الإسلامي وفي الغرب. هذا الخطاب هو أحد الأسباب الرئيسية للإحساس بالشك والكراهية الذاتية المشتركة اتجاه الآخر(المسلم) ، سواءا كان مقيما في العالم العربي الإسلامي أو في الغرب. وتؤكد الأطروحة كذلك أن هذا الخطاب المحافظ، الإستشراقي الجديد متناقل ومنتشر في فضاء العام الغربي من طرف شبكات المحافظين الجدد في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وأروبا. هذا الاستشراق الجديد هو في الاساس أداة، لأنه يتبنى الرواية الإسرائيلية وهدفه فرض الرؤية والأجندة الإسرائيلية السياسية في الشرق الأوسط.

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List of Abbreviations

ABCFM:	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ADA:	Americans for Democratic Action
ADL:	Anti- Defamation League
AEI:	American Enterprise Institute
AIPAC:	American Israeli Public Affairs Committee
AJC:	American Jewish Committee
CAIR:	Council of American Islamic Relations
CAMERA:	Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America
CDM:	Coalition for a Democratic Majority
CIA:	Central Intelligence Agency
CIDFMW:	Center for Islam, Democracy, and the Future of the Muslim World
CMPDP:	Committee to Maintain a Prudent Defense Policy
CPD:	Committee on the Present Danger (I, II, and III)
CSP:	Center for Security Policy
CUFI:	Christians United For Israel
CWAR:	Committee on World Area Research
DPG:	Defense Planning Guidance
ECI:	Emergency Committee for Israel
EMET:	Endowment for Middle East Truth
EPPC:	Ethics and Public Policy Center
FDD:	Foundation for the Defense of Democracies
FII:	Friends of Israel Initiative
FPA:	Foreign Policy Analysis
HJS:	Henry Jackson Society
IR:	International Relations Theory
ISL:	Independent Socialist League
JINSA:	Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs
JS:	Jerusalem Summit
MEF:	Middle East Forum
MEI:	Middle East Institute

MEMRI:	Middle East Media Reporting Initiative
MESA:	Middle East Studies Association
NYI:	New York Intellectuals
PNAC:	Project for a New American Century
SALT:	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (I and II)
SPLC:	Southern Poverty Law Center
SSRC:	Social Science Research Council
US/USA:	United States/United States of America
WASP:	White Anglo-Saxon Protestant
WINEP:	Washington Institute of Near East Policy
WP:	Workers Party
ZOA:	Zionist Organization of America

Introduction

Background and Research Problem

In the aftermath of September 11, 2001 attacks, policymakers within the United States administration of the period designed and adopted a neoconservative-inspired strategy to wage what they called the "Global War on Terror." Since then, several wars in the Arab and Muslim Worlds have taken place, with great instability and violence sweeping the region of the Near and Middle East. Wars and efforts to reshape states through regime changes such as in Afghanistan, Iraq, then in Libya, and the one attempting to take place in Syria, have created a great deal of instability, institutional and social collapses, and the rise and expansion of violent extremism allegedly acting on behalf of the Muslim faith. This dialectic has brutally imposed itself on the peoples of the Arab-Muslim world with much harshness, dreadful contingencies, and ongoing painful consequences.

Simultaneously, a new phenomenon has emerged in the United States of America and in Europe. The image of the Islamic faith and the Muslim has seriously deteriorated in the eyes of the Western public opinions. Large segments of Western societies hold negative views towards the Islamic faith and cultures. They also see the Muslim as a malevolent and potentially threatening Other. Peculiar portrayals of Islam and Muslims have invaded the Western public space. Peoples belonging to the Arab-Muslim world or western citizens of Muslim and Arab origins are viewed as an ominous threat not only to western individuals or countries but also to the very existence of what some intellectuals and pundits call "Western Civilization," its alleged values, and its ways of life.

In the United States and in Europe, some individual public figures, and political and social groups have been developing a discourse targeting sometimes Islamism, other times Islam, Muslims, and the Arab-Muslim world, as the new enemy or as the principal source of insecurity. These images of Islam and the Muslim Other are processed through essentializations and Manichean characterization that are very similar to the one worked out during the Cold War. The sources of these distorted constructions can be identified in right wing and neoconservative circles.

In light of the above-mentioned research contextualization, the dissertation probes the following primary research question:

- How and why does American (and Western) Neoconservatism produce and propagate peculiar constructions of Islam and the Arab-Muslim world?

This principal question is itself investigated through the following secondary questions:

- How have constructions of the Muslim Other developed to fit specific identity and ideological western concerns?

- Why is Neoconservatism so concerned with propagating constructions of the Muslim Other?

- On what ideational and identity-related bases does American (and Western) Neoconservatism construct Islam, the Arab Muslim World, and Middle-Eastern issues?

- How and why are they portraying Islam and the Muslim World as a threat to Western values and even existence?

The above questions are crucial in the sense that they tackle sensitive present-day issues such as those of contemporary terrorism, its portrayal in the Western public space, and its alleged link with the Muslim faith and people. They tackle also other questions that merit attention such as the political and ideological motivations behind

the promotion of an alleged irrepressible civilizational conflict between two constructions: Islam and the West.

Research Aims

The principal aim of the present dissertation is to shed light on the American neoconservative school of thought and its constructions of Islam and the Arab-Muslim world as well as its views on how the Western world and the United States at its lead must behave accordingly. The study argues that, among a myriad of American collective actors, Neoconservatism is a movement of political thought that has been playing an influential intellectual social role in the post-9/11 negative constructions of Islam and the Arab-Muslim World. Since the tragic September 11, 2001 events, the neoconservative elite together with political figures, pundits, political activists, and supposed experts of Islam and the Muslim World have been contributing in the propagation of those constructions in the United States and European public spaces.

The thesis developed in this dissertation is that the neoconservatives and their like-minded and tacit allies are creating a new knowledge, providing – via an essentialist and culturalist discourse and anecdotal evidence – peculiar constructions of the Arab-Muslim World. These constructions do not come out of the blue, but they originate from what this dissertation considers critical neoconservative ideational and identity concerns. Additionally, they are mainly instrumental for they aim at imposing a specific international relations and inter-civilizational paradigm.

It is worth mentioning that academia and researches in the social sciences often rightly draw the difference between the Arab World and the Muslim World. Nevertheless, the present research examines neoconservative constructions on both realms as if they were one since, as it is going to demonstrate, neoconservative ideology often conflates Arabs and Muslims. Those constructions are mainly

instrumental in the sense that the constructed object (Arab and/or Muslim Other) changes according to neoconservative chief concern (which itself remains constant, namely, Israel's interests and the propagation of its worldview).

This dissertation does not deal with the United States' War on Terror per se; nor does it account for and detail US military engagements in Afghanistan, Iraq, the different United States postures towards the Arab-Muslim World, and the Arab-Israeli conflict over the Palestinian question. This work attempts to offer an analysis of a significant and influential school of thought in American politics and of its constructions of Islam and the Arab-Muslim world in the wake of the September 2001 attacks on the United States. The research also aims at probing the motivations behind those constructions.

Research Gap and Originality

A great deal of literature has attempted to examine Neoconservatism, its history, aspects of its ideological credo, and its relationship with US foreign policy and military engagements during the presidency of George W. Bush (2001-2008). Furthermore, the social constructivist approach has also been the subject of research in many disciplines (sociology, international relations, education). In addition, much scholarly research has studied questions such as those of otherness and Western constructions of the Orient within the postcolonial approach and in a wide array of domains.

However, the aforementioned theoretical frames have been examined or have operated in scholarly research quasi-independently from one another or at least without any reference to Neoconservatism. Moreover, when some researches explore present-day distorted representations of Islam and the Arab-Muslim world, they do so without looking at the *sources* and the *motivations* behind those constructions. The

originality of the present dissertation lies in its endeavor to *integrate* them to explore and analyze Neoconservatism not solely as an influential agent in foreign policy making, but also and most importantly as *the main identity and ideologically motivated source of neo-Orientalism that is committed to promote and impose a Clash of Civilization paradigm in the Western public space.* Relying on the different approaches and theories aforementioned, the dissertation is the outcome of an interdisciplinary investigation that studies Neoconservatism from a specific social constructivist-based perspective regarding its identity and contemporary agenda. It explores how and why the neoconservative school of thought conceives Islam and the Arab and Muslim peoples. This work aims thus at filling a segment of the knowledge gap in the aforementioned issues.

Sources and Methodology

Due to the complexity of the different themes and concepts examined in the dissertation, and since the line of argument is developed on the basis of a huge quantity of sources, their analysis and discussion, I have deemed it necessary not to clutter the main text with parenthetical citations. These would have disrupted the text flow, the readers' thought processes, and his/her understanding of my argumentation. This is why I have found it more relevant to use footnotes instead of in-text (parenthetical) citations. All along the dissertation, sources are thus cited in accordance with the 16th edition of the Chicago Manual of Style (CMS, 2010).

Additionally, the bibliography at the end of the dissertation follows the recommendations of the CMS above mentioned.[1] It thus does not divide sources into primary and secondary, nor does it provide a categorization into short works (articles,

[1] *The Chicago Manual of Style* 16th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 684-85

book chapters), long works (books) or reference books. This indiscrimination of sources has been made on purpose. First, I have endeavored to make the bibliography reader-friendly. Sources are thus arranged in a single alphabetical list that enables the reader to refer frequently from notes to bibliography through a direct targeting of the author and his/her work(s). Second, my object of study is neoconservative and neo-Orientalist ideas per se. Since these ideas are formulated in books and articles in periodicals, I consider the latter as primary sources of study; and their dispersal in different sections would have created much inconvenience to the reader.

Like any other doctoral work, the present dissertation relies on both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are mainly (but not exclusively) used to make my case all along the dissertation. These primary sources mainly consist of neoconservative writings produced by intellectuals and activists of the school of thought as well as philosophers and thinkers they inspire from (Chapters 3 and 4). Another body of primary sources deals with important philosophical and sociological concepts (Chapters 1 and 2) and key issues in US foreign policy (Chapter 4). The body of secondary sources is used all along the dissertation. Its main purpose is to confront to each other the different ideas in relation to constructivism, security, identity, Orientalism and neo-Orientalism, Islamophobia, and western representations of Islam and the Arab-Muslim World.

Additionally, it is worth mentioning that my research has led me to analyze and discuss a significant number of articles published in the leading neoconservative magazine *Commentary*. Those articles can be considered as primary sources since the main aim of the dissertation is to discuss neoconservative identity and ideas. These latter represent the crux of the present study. Finally, some segments of the

dissertation rely on online posts and articles retrieved from the different websites of neoconservative and neo-Orientalist organizations (in Chapter 5 for example).

The dissertation is the outcome of an interdisciplinary research involving political sociology, political science, and political and intellectual history. It has been thus necessary to employ interpretive methods of research within a constructivist research framework. The dissertation bases upon the historical method blended with critical analysis. The first two chapters intend to set the conceptual and theoretical framework of the object of study. However, it has been necessary to integrate aspects of the thesis within those two chapters, and this in order to show the links that exist between some research concepts (constructivism, identity, ontological in/security, Clash of Civilizations, neo-Orientalism, and Islamophobia), and with the guiding theme of my dissertation.

The nature of the subject has needed an interdisciplinary conduct integrating approaches and theories from quite different disciplines such as social constructivism, International Relations theory (IR), Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA), intellectual history, and their relationship to culturalism, Orientalism and the metamorphosis of this latter into a twenty-first century neoconservative-led *neo-Orientalism.* Chapter 2 discusses a segment of the subject through the lens of post-colonial approach. Additionally, critical analysis and interpretation of Neoconservatism/ the Israel Lobby as a collective identity agent is undertaken in Chapters 3 and 4. Finally, Chapter 5 relies first on a more descriptive method, but then shifts to a critical analysis of neoconservatives' neo-Orientalist neologisms.

Structure of the Dissertation

As previously mentioned, the dissertation consists of a body of five chapters (in addition to this introduction, a conclusion, a glossary of terms, and a list of selected appendices).

The first chapter paves the way for a theoretical and conceptual understanding of the following chapters. It looks into constructivism as an approach attempting to link social world, human intersubjectivity, and how groups create images of the Other on the basis of their own identity and interests. In that sense, it gives a broad overview of the social constructivist approach and links it to other concepts tackled in the dissertation. The chapter thus emphasizes the implementation of social constructivism in the fields of International Relations (IR) and Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA), especially regarding the role and function of domestic agency in foreign affairs. It also explores the concepts of collective identity and ontological insecurity. A brief but critical introduction of the concepts tackled in the dissertation includes works such as of Husserl, Weber, Berger, Luckman, and Burr, for the social constructivist approach. It also includes, respectively, the work of Hudson, the seminal works of Wendt, and of Buzan, for constructivism in the field of political science, international relations, and critical security studies. Finally, and importantly, the tie is made between constructivism and cultural realism with a special and necessary focus on Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" thesis.

In addition to social constructivism, Edward Said's postcolonial theory offers some logic on how to investigate how states, human groupings, or identity-based interest groups see others from a self-centric, culturalist reading grid. The second chapter blends theory and historical analysis. It discusses the paradigmatic shifts that have affected the concept of Orientalism and shows how Said's theory is still relevant

and most crucial today to understand what can be called a contemporary neo-Orientalism. The chapter first accounts for the main tenets of the theory and the historical contexts of empires and their hegemonic discourse as asserted by Said. It also deals with Said's main neoconservative/ neo/Orientalist detractors (Bernard Lewis, Martin Kramer, and other neoconservatives and pro-Israeli actors). Chapter 2 then projects the theory on what can be called a Cold War "American Orientalism," and its sources and agenda. Chapter 2 ultimately moves on to introduce and discuss the most important constituting element of the thesis: what can be nowadays called a Post 9/11 *Neo-Orientalism* towards Islam and the Arab Muslim World. My argument is that *identity-inspired collective agents* – mainly belonging to the neoconservative school of thought – propagate this instrumental neo-Orientalism with some political objectives in mind.

The third chapter undertakes a historical and critical analysis of the neoconservative school of thought, and the genesis, development, and identity-based transformations of its main tenets. The main line of argument is that Neoconservatism is not only a US school of political thought but also, and more importantly, an *identity-based and ideologically motivated collective actor* that came to birth and developed in the public scene to defend and promote the Zionist narrative and the Israeli worldview. It then sees social world exclusively through the lens of Israeli interests.

Chapter 4 historicizes the ideas and agency of Neoconservatism in the United States' foreign policy and behavior on the world stage. It discusses the role of neoconservative individual and collective actors since the Cold War, and how they adapted to historical changes that affected the United States relationship with the

world. This chapter too emphasizes Zionism and Israel as a core concern of Neoconservatism.

Chapter 5 relies on the preceding chapters and inventories and classifies neoconservative and neo-Orientalist actors (collective and individual) that construct Islam, Muslims, and the Arab-Muslim World, from a collective identity standpoint, and as an existential and ontological threat to what they call the Western World. In that respect, special focus is put on the myriad of highly influential neoconservative organizations, think tanks, and advocacy groups, their members, and their pervasive influence in the Western public space. Finally, the chapter discusses some neo-Orientalist neologisms employed by neoconservative and pro-Israel actors to construct Muslims and the Arab-Muslim World.

The conclusion consists of a summary of arguments, a few implications regarding international and intercultural relations, and suggestions for future research. The dissertation ends with a bibliography, a glossary of terms, and a list of appendices that enable the reader to understand the power and pervasiveness of neoconservative networks.

Chapter 1

Thinking about Constructivism and Culturalism:

The Self and the Other in International Affairs

People use politics not just to advance their interests but also to define their identity. We know who we are only when we know who we are not and often only when we know whom we are against.

- Samuel Huntington[1]

Social threats are constructed, not natural.

- Alexander Wendt[2]

1.1. Introduction

The principal aim of this chapter is to bring some understanding on Social Constructivism, first as a philosophical approach to knowledge, then as it has been deployed in the field of International Relations theory (IR) and how it can be applied to Foreign Policy Studies and intercultural relations. This sheds lights on how the neoconservative ideology conceives how the Western World, and the United States at its lead, should behave towards the Muslim Arab World. It also gives a reading grid a bit different from the interpretations previously provided by some scholars.

A study of the neoconservative conception of Islam and the Muslim World can then be undertaken through the constructivist paradigm. It is the analysis of how a significant segment of the United States intellectual and political elite views the nature and attributes of Islam and the Arab-Muslim World. It is also how what they call the "Western World," and at its lead the United States of America, must behave

[1] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 74.

[2] Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: the Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46:2 (Spring 1992), 405.

and articulate its foreign policy accordingly. The study later links that constructivist approach to the neo-Orientalist reading grid within which Neoconservatism is entrapped to perceive and construct Islam and the Muslim World.

First, the present chapter explores the character of constructivism as a philosophical approach that puts human understanding of real world as the key element of any ontological perception of one's own self and surrounding. Social constructions are then decisive in any epistemological inquiry and interpretation. This chapter offers a reading grid that is necessary to probe the questions developed in the following chapters. The chapter clarifies social constructivism in its broader sense and from a philosophical and sociological viewpoint. Then it discusses the constructivist approach in IR theory, foreign policy analysis, and the importance it places on identity and ontological security. Finally, the chapter connects social constructivism and cultural realism in international affairs. A special emphasis is put on Bernard Lewis and Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" thesis, its main line of argument, its inconsistencies, and how it can be seen as subjective, erroneous, and culturalist construction of antagonistic others, i.e. an "Us vs Them" theory (the West versus the Arab-Muslim World). The aim of the chapter is not to detail this approach in the fields aforementioned. Rather, the guiding theme of this chapter is to draw the nexus between social constructivism, group identity – and the case of the present dissertation, namely neoconservative identity – and their role in collective agency's culturalist representations of the Self and the Other. All this helps understand how some individuals, human groupings, and ideological movements perceive and conceive otherness and the threat from otherness.

1.2. The Broad Sense of the Constructivist Theory

What does it mean that something is socially constructed? Constructivism purports that social facts are social institutions and/or beliefs that have no reality outside Man's subjective understanding. Rather, they present themselves as if they were an objective reality.

Essentially, constructivism derives from the early twentieth century's anti-positivist thinking of scholars such as German philosopher Edmund Husserl and social scientist Max Weber. Those early thinkers within the constructivist paradigm viewed the need for a social science that primary concern would be to investigate the world created by human beings and the meanings these latter assign to their experience in the social world. This man-created social world can consist of social institutions, value systems, language, cultural outlooks, religious beliefs, and so on.[3]

Husserl's discipline of phenomenology – and basically the two concepts of "intentionality" and "intersubjectivity" – laid the foundation for a constructivist interpretation of social facts and objects in real world.

Broadly defined, phenomenology is the study of lived or experiential meaning. This philosophical discipline attempts to describe and interpret meanings in the ways that they emerge and how they are shaped by human consciousness, language, or cognitive and non-cognitive sensibilities. It emphasizes the role of Man's pre-understandings and presuppositions. In that sense, Husserl's phenomenology attempts to describe the way that knowledge comes into being in consciousness

[3] Tracie E. Costantino, "Constructivism," in Lisa M. Given, ed. *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods,* Vol. 1 (Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage, 2008), 116-19.

and clarifies the assumptions upon which all human understandings are grounded.[4]

Husserl's philosophical concept of "intentionality" refers to human being's mental ability to construct representations. It is "the power of minds to be about, to represent, or to stand for, things, properties and states of affairs." [5] As for "intersubjectivity," it presupposes that human beings – individually or collectively – share common constructed meanings and implicitly and consciously or unconsciously agree on the significations of those meanings. Intersubjective meanings are then building blocks of interpersonal and inter-group relations because they "give a people a common language to talk about social reality and a common understanding of certain norms."[6] The idea of intersubjectivity is then essential to comprehend the constructivist representations of the social world.[7] It has been greatly emphasized by the German philosopher in his works on phenomenology.[8]

Weber for his part is among the first to emphasize and develop the importance of agency in human experience. He views Man's actions as guided by their own values and the meaning they ascribe to those actions. To him the main objective of human science is to interpretively comprehend the meaning an action has for an individual. This understanding is essential for trying to explain why an action occurs

[4] Catherine Adams and Max van Manen, "Phenomenology," in Given, ed. *Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods,* 614-15. John J. Drummond, "Husserl, Edmund" (2005) in Donald M. Borchert, ed., *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* vol. 3. 2nd ed. (Farmington Hills: Thomson-Gale, 2006), 522.

[5] Pierre Jacob, "Intentionality." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Aug 31, 2010). http://www.science.uva.nl/~seop/entries/intentionality/ (Accessed on 02 January 2013).

[6] Charles Taylor, "Interpretation and the Sciences of Man," in Paul Rabinow and William Sullivan, eds. *Interpretative Social Science: A Reader* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 51.

[7] Alexander Gillespie and Flora Cornish, "Intersubjectivity: Towards a Dialogical Analysis," *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 40 (2010), 18-19.

[8] Edmund Husserl, *Cartesian Mediations: an Introduction to Phenomenology*. Trans. Dorion Cairns, 7th ed. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 41, 42, 89, 95, and 96.

and how it occurs the way it does. Thus, Weber endeavors to link understanding and explanation of social facts as aims for social science from the perspective of man's own subjectivity. Weber's concern deals with the relativism and subjectivism of the knowledge that may be constructed based on an actor's description of his or her own motivation.[9] To him,

> 'action' ...is meant the human behaviour when and to the extent the agent or agents see it as *subjectively meaningful* ... the meaning to which we refer may be either (a) the meaning actually intended either by an individual agent on a particular historical occasion or by a number of agents on an approximate average in a given set of cases, or (b) the meaning attributed to the agent or agents, as types, in a pure type constructed in the abstract. In neither case is the 'meaning' thought of as somehow objectively 'correct' or 'true' by some metaphysical criterion. This is the difference between the empirical sciences of action, such as sociology and history, and any kind of *a priori* discipline, such as jurisprudence, logic, ethics, or aesthetics whose aim is to extract from their subject-matter 'correct' or 'valid' meaning.[10]

Weber's other contribution is his clear-cut differentiation between cultural and historical knowledge on the one hand and scientific (i.e. hard and positivist science) knowledge on the other.[11] Constructivists, whatever the academic field in which they evolve, also draw this distinction. They highlight the difference between theory in the

[9] Constantino, "Constructivism," 117.

[10] Max Weber, *The Nature of Social Action*, in W.G. Runciman, ed. *Weber: Selections in Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 7.

[11] Sung Ho Kim, "Max Weber," in Edward N. Zalta, ed. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2012 Edition), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2012/entries/weber/>. (Accessed on 02/02/2013).

natural and hard sciences (such as biology, chemistry, or physics) as opposed to theory in the humanities and social sciences. As a matter of fact, the laws of physics are independent from Man's own thinking and behavior. They are independent from human beings' individual or collective intersubjectivity and intentionality. A single but illustrative example is the fact that "gravity will force a dropped book to the ground regardless of whether we think this will or should happen." However, the clear-cut boundary between theory and behavior is inexistent in the social realm. In the humanities and social sciences there is a close relationship between what people think about how the world works and how they choose to behave in that world.[12]

Another twentieth century key anti-positivist philosopher whose works enable comprehend the constructivist approach is critical theorist Jürgen Habermas of the Frankfurt School. Habermas criticizes the positivist approach that assimilates all sciences to a natural-scientific model. He stresses the "intimate relationship between the social sciences and history, and the fact that they are based on a situation-specific understanding of meaning that can be explicated only hermeneutically." [13] To Habermas, history and anthropology are cultural sciences; and as such, their aim is to comprehend the complexities of subjectively created ways of life. This is why their study necessitates interpretive models. His position does not differ with regard to other disciplines of the social sciences. He views the task of the social scientist as to understand the ideologically distorted subjective situations of individual or collective agents and to explore the forces that have generated those situations.[14]

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[12] Keith L. Shimko, *International Relations: Perspectives and Controversies*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Wadsworth, 2010), 56.

[13] William Outhwaite, *Habermas: Key Contemporary Thinkers*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 22.

[14] John S. Dryzek, "Critical Theory as a Research Program," in Stephen K. White, ed. *Cambridge Companion to Habermas* (New York: Cambridge U P, 1995), 98-99 (97-119).

Throughout the twentieth century, the development of the constructivist approach in the humanities and social sciences scholarships emerged more explicitly with the works of social scientist Karl Mannheim,[15] and philosopher of social sciences Alfred Schutz (himself a disciple of Husserl). This latter relies on the works of Weber and Husserl to explore and examine human action and its "intended meaning." Schutz stresses the importance of subjective meaning in the understanding of human beings.[16]

More specifically, social constructivism came into view during the second half of the twentieth century with the scholarship of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann.[17] These latter have made subjective consciousness the key element of any understanding of social reality. Berger and Luckmann developed the idea that social objects are not given in the world but "constructed, negotiated, reshaped, adapted and arranged by human beings in their effort to make sense of what happens in the world."[18]

The culminating point of the constructivist theory is then the abandonment of the classical distinction between the subject and the object. The object is no more independent from the subject but a construction of it. This premise leads to a redefinition of the commonly called status of "objective reality." In fact, from a constructivist perspective, it is plausible that there is no *a priori* objective reality (though Berger and Luckman do not deny its existence or importance). Rather, real world is appropriated by an individual or a group of individuals; it is then

[15] Karl Mannheim, *Utopie et idéologie* (1929, 1995), Trans. Jean-Luc Evard (Paris : Editions de la maison des sciences de l'homme, 2006), Chap. 1, 11-26.

[16] Alfred Schutz, *The Phenomenology of the Social World* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1967).

[17] Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1966).

[18] Theodore R. Sarbin and John I. Kitsuse, eds., *Constructing the Social* (London : Sage, 1994), 3.

reconstructed within their cognitive system and integrated by a value system that is derived from the individual's or group's own history, identity, and the social and ideological contexts that surround them. This appropriated and restructured – or better say reconstructed – reality in its turn constitutes what the actor/agent – whether individual or collective – regards as an objective reality.[19]

For his part, social scientist Vivien Burr gives a more nuanced explanation. Burr argues that a clear single definition of social constructivism is quite difficult to establish since it derives from and shapes studies in various disciplines. Nonetheless, he purports that the social constructivist approach holds four characteristics. First, it takes a critical posture towards knowledge that otherwise is usually taken for granted. Second – and that is worth mentioning for the understanding of the following chapters – constructivism emphasizes the historical and cultural specificity of knowledge. Third, constructivism asserts that knowledge is mostly created and sustained by social processes. Finally, and this point is also important, knowledge and social action cannot be detached from one another.[20] Burr goes even farther in assuming that knowledge cannot not be based on neutral observations or interpretations of what can be seen as "natural." Furthermore, and that is worth noticing, he argues that from a constructivist viewpoint, "all knowledge is derived from looking at the world from some perspective or another, and is in the service of some interests rather than others."[21] The aforementioned identification of knowledge is of great importance

[19] Peter Berger et Thomas Luckmann, *La construction sociale de la réalité* (Paris : Armand Colin, 1996), Chap. 2 (« La société comme réalité objective »). For a critique of Berger and Luckmann's scholarship see Mohamed Chahid, « Le constructivisme social : notes critiques sur la thèse de Berger et Luckmann ». http://mchahid.files.wordpress.com/2011/03/le-constructivisme-social.pdf

[20] Vivien Burr, *An introduction to Social Constructionism* (London: Routledge, 2003), 2-5.

[21] Ibid, 6.

since it tackles our object of study and helps probe the research question and understand the thesis developed in this dissertation.

Social Constructivism is then an approach that puts human subjectivity, ideational constructs, and meanings as key inspiring forces behind the perception and production of knowledge, and driving forces behind human agency and behavior. This approach has been one of the philosophical assumptions upon which rely some studies within several social sciences disciplines such as sociology, education, and of course political science and international relations theory. The two latter disciplines are of great importance in the present research.

1.3. Constructivism, IR, and Foreign Policy Analysis

This section intends to add another element to the conceptual and theoretical background of the study. The research cannot be fully explored and analyzed without an interdisciplinary conduct integrating approaches and theories from quite different disciplines such as International Relations theory (IR), Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA), post-colonial studies, critical studies, and/or communication theory.

In order to undertake an analysis of the neoconservative view of world affairs, and ultimately of its conception of Islam and the Muslim World, I propose to integrate a set of theoretical assumptions, which, each from a different perspective and explaining a different aspect of the study, all converge to the understanding of my thesis. These theoretical assumptions also enable comprehend how the neoconservative credo has taken shape on the ground at the United States' domestic level and the subjective bases upon which it operates (discussed in Chapters 3 and 4). Among these theoretical assumptions, constructivist IR theory and foreign policy studies are important.

As aforementioned, a fundamental principle of social constructivist theory is that people act towards objects and others, on the basis of the meanings that these latter have for them.[22] More specifically, constructivists, both at the domestic level or at the supra-state level, view the course of international relations primarily shaped by ideational constructs and identity preferences within and through a process involving interactions between agency and structure. Agency is the behavior and practices of individuals or group actors, human beings or collective entities such as interest groups, corporations, organizations, or governments. Ideas of agents (or actors) such as individuals, groups, social, economic, or political associations, and states, and communication among them serve to create systemic structures in the sense that they generate elements of the structure: agreements, rules, legislations, national and international organizations, and other elements of national and international systems. These structures, in turn, shape the ideas of the agents and communications between them.[23] Consequently, the nature and power of the agents are more inclined to generate a structure that protects, propagates, and benefits their worldview.

Alexander Wendt and his seminal work *Social Theory of International Politics* (1999) has been the first to formulate a comprehensive scheme of the constructivist approach to the International Relations (IR) theory. He successfully points out the shortcomings of structuralist IR theories (Realism and Idealism/Liberalism) in the sense that they provide an inadequate or at least insufficient conception of the role of ideational social constructs in analyzing and interpreting state behavior in the international arena.[24] Indeed, classical realists (such as Hans Morgenthau), neorealists

[22] Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It," 396-97.

[23] John T. Rourke and Mark A. Boyer. *International Politics on the World Stage* 8th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2010), 26.

[24] Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1999).

(Kenneth Waltz, Robert Jervis), and liberalists (Joseph Nye, Robert Keohane), despite their fundamental theoretical divergences in the field of IR, all concur to emphasize the roles of structures and the state as ***the*** agent determining interstate relations. Furthermore, they conceive international politics as an arena in which only states (as monolithic entities) are players. Power and interests as put forward by the realist (and the neorealist) approach, or cooperation and interdependence as emphasized by the liberal/idealist approach, are therefore solely defined from a state-based perspective and by reference to the structure of the system.[25] For his part, Wendt proposes a new theory governing IR studies. He points out that the decisive roles of ideas and identities have often been neglected in classical (i.e. structuralist) IR scholarships. He contends that ideas construct preferences and interests. He also emphasizes the need to understand the critical role of identities and interest-formation of states.[26]

The core debate between constructivists, such as Wendt, and their realist and liberalist counterparts revolves then around a wide range of empirical and theoretical questions. Among these, the nature of social agency and its ideational influence on the structure, the relative importance of normative versus material forces (the predominant debate within structuralists between idealists and realists), and the balance between continuity (a principle of realism) and transformation (a principle of constructivism) in world politics.[27]

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[25] For more in-depth analysis of classical realism, see Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Knopf, 1948); and for a better understanding of the main precepts of structural realism, see Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State, and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959) and *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979). See also the glossary for a brief description of these IR schools.

[26] Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It," 393-94.

[27] Scott Burchill, Andrew Linklater, Richard Devetak, Jack Donnelly, Matthew Paterson, Christian Reus-Smit, and Jacqui True, *Theories of International Relations* 3rd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 202.

However, according to many Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) scholars, an inadequacy of Wendt's work is its sole emphasis on the supra-state systemic level. He, like the classical realists and neo-realists he criticizes (principally and respectively, Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz), put the state as the elemental subject of his study and the international system as the sole environment within which states operate as actors. Paradoxically, Wendt's theory emphasizes the role of ideas and social constructs but it does not stress the role of human beings. Wendt makes his case arguing about states having "enemies" and "friends," making "calculations," and having "intersubjective understandings and expectations." He also emphasizes the "distribution of knowledge" that composes "states' conceptions of self and other." [28] Powerful concepts are here put forwards by Wendt: ideas, identities, and knowledge.

Additionally, as he admits, Wendt draws an analogy between the individual human being and the state, and he confers to the latter anthropomorphous characteristics [29] such as having intentions, desires, and beliefs. [30] He thus conceptualizes the state as an actor that cannot be reduced to its part.[31] Yet, Wendt does not go lower than the state in the international system; he does not open the black box. He does not go down the infra-state stratum, does not explore domestic agency and does not go deeper than the state-level analysis. And here lies the contention between his thesis and that of some constructivist Foreign Policy scholars.

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[28] Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It," 397.

[29] Ibid. Footnote 21, 397.

See also Alexander Wendt, "The State as a Person in International Theory," *Review of International Studies* 30:2 (2004), 289–316. For the debate over this issue of the anthropomorphous state, see Peter Lomas, "Anthropomorphism, Personification and Ethics: a Reply to Alexander Wendt," *Review of International Studies* 31 (2005), 349–55; and Alexander Wendt, "How not to Argue against State Personhood," *Review of International Studies* 31 (2005), 357–60.

[30] Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 197, 215-24.

[31] Ibid.

Indeed, Foreign Policy Analysis contends that ideational constructs are the products of human beings, not states. In fact, these latter are only abstract entities elaborated by and for human preferences. Only human beings, individually or collectively, can generate ideas and hold values, can create or believe in self-elaborated identities, and act on those subjective bases.[32] Thus, to FPA scholars, any constructionist analysis of inter-state relations and/or state foreign policy behavior should pay attention to human agency at the infra-state level rather than looking into the state as a monolithic and homogeneous entity. Though Wendt rightfully asserts that identities and interests are constituted by "collective meanings" that are always in process,[33] he does not mention *who* generates those collective meanings or how they are maintained, developed, propagated, or erased.

Unlike Wendt, some FPA scholars such as Jack Snyder, Jeffrey Frieden, and Helen Milner[34] emphasize the role of human agency, domestic perception of foreign issues and the interaction between domestic politics and international affairs. They show the implication of the human element in identity formation and promotion in state behavior. Those scholars assert that an essential current concern of the constructivist approach is how different human groups and communities conceive their identities and interests. They have undertaken research on how some interest groups in the domestic arena can distort and reshape the pattern of state preferences in

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[32] Valerie M. Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 10-11.

[33] Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It," 407.

[34] Helen V. Milner, "Rationalizing Politics: The Emerging Synthesis of International, American, and Comparative Politics." *International Organization* 52:4 (autumn 1998), 759–786. See also *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton U P, 1997).

Jeffrey Frieden, "Actors and Preferences in International Relations." in David A. Lake and Robert Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton U P, 1999), 39-75.

Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U P, 1991), 1-20.

order to promote some specific most-favored behavior in foreign policy issues at the international level.[35] Indeed, interest groups are collective agents in the domestic political arena and they have political, social, or cultural identities that are essentially mental representations of who these agents are, and how they should behave. They believe that nonmaterial factors such as ideology, values, and cultural outlooks should play a central role in the policymaking process. So, FPA constructivists place significant emphasis on the internal political processes within the state and how domestic dynamics create and shape a country's perceptions of the world and interactions with it.[36] Of course, the shaping and/or distortion of state preferences occur at the infra-state level, not at the international systemic level.

Moreover, this preferences formation is principally undertaken through the formulation and propagation of ideas and meanings. Here enter *language*, *discourse*, and *communication.* These three elements create a subjective reality that actors/ agents take or mistake for an objective reality and that shapes and sustains their identity and credo. The whole process causes them to create structures that reinforce their distorted perceptions of real world.[37] Indeed, the ways in which agents communicate through oral (speeches and statements) and in written forms (texts, reports), or any other means, and the way they think about the world and their place in it shape both their preferences and their behavior. In that sense, an important feature of IR and FPA constructivists is their belief that language (and more specifically discourse[38]) creates social objects. To them, the use of specific labels or terms such as

[35] Stephen Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," in John C. Pevehouse and Joshua S. Goldstein, eds. *Readings in International Relations* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2008), 9.

[36] Rourke and Boyer, *International Politics on the World Stage*, 26.

[37] Ibid, 30. Also, Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Understanding International Politics* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007), 7.

[38] See Glossary for a definition of the term "discourse" employed in this dissertation.

"foreigner," "enemy," "friend," "threat," or "ally" to qualify social objects, is primarily generated by the extent to which individual or collective agents attach special values to those labels. Socially and politically speaking, the subjective choice of labels is critical in the sense that agents' behavior derives from what objects mean to them.[39] Moreover, labelling objects leads to specific behavior towards them.

It should nonetheless be mentioned that Foreign Policy Analysis does not emphasize the role of ideational constructs in explaining foreign policy making, and/or state and/or group behavior in the international scene. FPA constructivists do; but other trends in Foreign Policy studies have developed and emphasized the importance of other models to explain decision making in some foreign policy issues.[40] For example, the rational approach (and its deriving models of the same name), the bureaucratic models, or the poliheuristic approach to foreign policy decision making assume that actors' perceptions and behaviors are culture-free and do not originate from identity and self-conception.

Drawing from the constructivist approach towards both domestic politics, international politics, and the sources and influence of the former on the latter, it is then feasible to cast not only some interest and lobby groups within the category of agents in policy making but also wider or fuzzier political movements or schools of political thought. Within the wide array of categories, Christian Evangelicals, US Zionist movements and organizations as well as broader intellectual and political movements such as Neoconservatism or what Mearsheimer and Walt call the "Israel

[39] Rourke and Boyer, *International Politics on the World Stage*, 27.

[40] Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouan Jr., *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making* (New York: Cambridge U P, 2010), 55-73.

Lobby,"[41] all are examples of collective agents that operate in the United States domestic spheres to shape US foreign policy and international behavior.

Identity-based ideologies, discourses of those ideologies, and policymaking based on or inspired by those ideologies, all are conceived, created, and promoted to fit the identity of those collective agents. Neoconservatism, as a school of political thought, can be considered as wider than a political movement, but evolving and operating with and within the Israel Lobby that is principally an identity-based collective agent (see Chapters 3 and 4).

In addition to giving importance to ideational constructs and identity formation and projection, IR and FPA constructivists link the aforementioned concerns to – and provide interesting analyses on – other international relations issues such as ontological security (and insecurity) and the (inter)subjective identification of foreign (and sometimes domestic) threats.

1.4. Constructivism, Identity, and Ontological Security

The academic exploration of the role of social constructivism in the IR field of security studies is quite recent. Traditional security studies have been associated with classical/structuralist schools in International Relations theory (realism and liberalism). The main characteristic of these classical scholarships in security studies is an emphasis on their empiricist dimensions and their positivist-like aspirations.[42] However, new approaches related to – and inspired from – the social constructivist approach have manifested with what scholars call "Critical Security Studies" and more specifically with the works of the Copenhagen School. This latter regards the

[41] John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby," *The London Review of Books* 28:6 (March 23, 2006), 3-12.

[42] Anthony D. Lott, *Creating Insecurity: Realism, Constructivism, and US Security Policy* (Hants : Ashgate, 2004), 27.

late 1980s and the end of the Cold War as a shifting period which witnessed the disappearance of global conflicts, and thus the ending of global military insecurity among the leading states of the fading Cold War system.[43] On the other hand, the Copenhagen School views that new issues involving security and insecurity have come to the fore. Among these, one can for instance mention environmental, economic, and especially identity questions.

The Copenhagen School of security studies thus argues that the concepts of security and insecurity should not be solely confined to the realm of the military and/or the use of force. Rather, scholars of this school of thought in IR propose a new framework, the Copenhagen School Framework, to understand and tackle newly emerging security issues. To them, a widening of the security agenda beyond the question of the military is necessary to address issues related to in/security in a post-Cold War World.[44] In other words, elements other than a military aggression may pose a threat to an entity's security, be this entity a state or something else. The framework stipulates then that other sectors are involved in – and contribute to – the understanding of what security is and is about. The Copenhagen School and its leading figures such as Barry Buzan and Olin Waever therefore identify five sectors within which the broad concept of security may come to thinking: the purely military sector (i.e. state security), the social sector which concerns identity (or societal) security, the economic sector, the political sector, and the environmental one. [45] One of the concerns of this dissertation is the societal sector within which identity and thus ontological security are the key organizing concepts.

[43] Barry Buzan, "Rethinking Security after the Cold War," *Cooperation and Conflict* 32-1 (1997), 13.

[44] Ibid., 13.

[45] Barry Buzan, Olin Waever, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1998).

It should be remarked that this dissertation tackles the anthropological and sociological meanings of "identity." It is the ways in which individuals and groups view themselves as similar to, or different from, each other. Identity is then both a social process and a construct involving perception and differentiation. Moreover, from an anthropological and sociological viewpoint, identity is not static but dynamic and can change over time. It also has individual and collective dimensions in the sense that people identify as unique in certain respects and as members of social groups in other contexts.[46] Social scientists also define "identity" as a multi-part component of an "overall self." An "overall self" is an addition of specific selves that characterize an individual or a group. Selves therefore refer to the different positions an individual perceives himself - and is perceived by others – taking within the group (man, woman, father, boss, employee, heterosexual, homosexual, Arab, Muslim, Jew, European, Buddhist, Scottish, can be seen as examples of selves). Identity is then an "internalized positional designation."[47]

More specifically, in the realm of IR social constructivist theory, social identities are sets of meanings that an actor "attributes to itself while taking the perspective of others, that is, as a social object."[48] In addition, those social identities define the agency of the actors, i.e. how these latter behave towards foreign others and how they initiate or respond to specific situations (of perceived insecurity for instance). Sustaining and promoting social identity is of critical importance for a collective actor's ontological security. Indeed, the different (collective) actors within the domestic or international scenes view themselves as having much at stake to

[46] Mark Sherry, "Identity," in Given, ed. *Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, 415.

[47] Jan E. Stets and Peter J. Burke, "A Sociological Approach to Self and Identity," in Mark R. Leary and June Price Tangney, eds. *Handbook of Self and Identity* (New York: Guilford, 2003), 132.

[48] Alexander Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," *American Political Science Review* 88 : 2 (June 1994), 385.

lose in not attempting to preserve and/or enhance their social identities.[49] Throughout this dissertation and since our object of study is Neoconservatism as an intellectual and political body of thought of a collective agent, the emphasis is put on collective (and not individual) identities and collective overall selves.

Moreover, according to constructivist/critical security studies scholars of the Copenhagen School, identity insecurity appears when collective agents (ethnic groups, religious communities, civil or social rights movements, minorities, and so on) "define a development or potentialities as a threat to their survival as a community." To those constructivists, "societal security is about large, self-sustaining identity groups."[50] Then, from a constructivist standpoint, identity insecurity is defined as an ontological insecurity, i.e. insecurity of the self.[51] Here too, the ontological attribute does not refer to an individual but a collective entity.

Still from a constructivist perspective, and owing to Husserl and his followers, a community's identity security relies principally on the intersubjective understanding (from a Husserlian conceptual viewpoint) of how that community conceive themselves and others. Indeed, it is impossible to separate the social construction of the Other from representations of one's own self or of a group's collective identity.[52] This conceptualization of identity and all its constituting elements (cultural components, collective history, collective memory, metaphysical values, collective material and non-material interests and preferences, and so on) implies essential

[49] Badredine Arfi, "Ethnic Fear: the Social Construction of Insecurity," *Security Studies* 8:1 (1998), 159.

[50] Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, *Security*, 119.

[51] Jennifer Mitzen, "Ontological Security in World Politics," *CIDEL Workshop, From Civilian to Military Power: The European Union at a Crossroads?* (Oslo, October 22-23 2004), 2. URL: http://www.sv.uio.no/arena/english/research/projects/cidel/old/WorkshopOsloSecurity/Mitzen.pdf (accessed on February 23, 2013).

[52] Iver B. Neumann, "Foreword," in Brent J. Steele, *Ontological Security in International Relations: Self-Identity and the IR State* (Abingdon Oxon: Routledge, 2008), x.

existential subjective questions such as "Who are we?" "Who are they?" "What do we do?"[53] It is the idea formulated by French social scientist Dominique Schnapper that collective attachments are always affirmed and reinforced in opposition to others.[54]

Indeed, the "Who are we?" question implies an *ontological doubt* that may sometimes come to the fore in the wake of nation states' or groups' systemic changes. When the group undergo or are subjected to historical societal change, there arises some kind of ontological uncertainty about who "we" are (i.e. whom the "we" refers to). Social scientist Valerie Hudson notes that, amidst that identity uncertainty, "various power nodes within the nation-state [and by extension within any other collective entity] will begin to answer that question according to their [own] political aims."[55] Recent debates in European societies (especially in France, the United Kingdom, and the Netherland) over the place of Islam and Muslim communities in the public space is a significant example of the rising concern over the concept of collective identity. Indeed, the increasing visibility in the public space of people belonging to the Muslim faith or having Arab origins is being raised by political and intellectual segments in those societies, reviving or creating a feeling of ontological insecurity from the part of collective agents who regard themselves as "true" citizens of the country and Muslims/ Arabs as threatening foreign Others.

The concept of identity security cannot then be isolated from a group's relationship with what they consider as "foreign" and/or as a threat. In addition to the Copenhagen School in security studies, David Campbell's *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* provides a thorough explanation of

[53] Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 104.

[54] Dominique Schnapper, *La communauté des citoyens : sur l'idée moderne de nation* (Paris : Gallimard, 1994), 183.

[55] Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 105.

the relationship between collective identity, security, and political discourse.[56] Campbell's key scholarship aims at explaining how "identity is constituted in relation to difference" and "how that difference engenders insecurity which [in its turn] maintains and perpetuates identity."[57] Moreover, Campbell stresses the importance of the use of security in specific discourses. Campbell insists that security policy is not simply about protecting the physical integrity of human groupings. It also aims at preserving and perpetuating particular collective identities.[58]

Constructivists of the Copenhagen School also link political discourse to security issues. Indeed, another of their key concepts is that of "securitization." Security studies constructivists argue that security is not only a social or political notion but also a "speech act" which entails various consequences in the contexts of national and international politics. One of these consequences is the process of "securitization." The securitization of an issue means "talking" solely security about that issue. Actors hide all aspects of the issue and promote the security element in the public space. When actors – be they individuals or a group – "talk" security, their aim is to move an issue away from the realm of politics and integrate it into the area of security concerns. This securitization helps those actors legitimize extraordinary measures against the socially constructed threat.[59]

To be successful, the process of securitization needs to be intersubjective. It means that it may neither be a question of an objective threat nor be a subjective perception of a threat. Rather, the securitization of a subject highly depends on the

[56] David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1998).

[57] Ibid, 226-27.

[58] Ibid., 227.

[59] Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, *Security*, 28-32, 177-78.

agreed meaning (intersubjectivity) of what the constructed threat is. In other words, it depends on the discursive relationship between the securitizing actor (initiator and promoter of the speech act) and the audience accepting the securitization speech act. It is the increasing process of gradually constructing a threat, presenting it to an audience that thus needs to be securitized. From a constructivist standpoint, and Wendt puts it clearly, "social threats are constructed, not natural."[60] The following chapters link this theorization of constructed threats to Neoconservatism as an identity- and ideologically-based securitizing agent, and Islam, Muslims, and the Arab-Muslim World as the socially constructed threats.

The Copenhagen School also acknowledge that the process of "securitization" does not only concern the state or governmental officials. They assert that other social entities (such as identity groups, social or political movements, or even individual intellectuals) can raise a specific issue to the level of general consideration.[61]

Additionally, the social construction of identity, otherness, and insecurity, cannot be detached from other critical elements participating in that constructed relationship. Indeed, fear and enmity towards different others is the logical outcome of a relationship based on differentiation, fear, and insecurity. It is important to understand how collective agents construct foreign threats and how antagonism results from such constructions.

An interesting interpretation of how foreign threats to one's own or collective ontological security are constructed is that of political scientist and IR scholar Badredine Arfi. In his work on the Balkan ethnic wars of the 1990s, Arfi gives an interesting understanding of how insecurity and aggressiveness fuel one another, and

[60] Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It," 405.

[61] Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, *Security*, 39-40.

how hostility towards the Other is socially constructed. To him, a set of subjective assumptions, actions, and reactions lead to mutual constructions of threats. Among these, there is a use of collective memories to construct political myths, a propagation of those myths and their internalization in collective consciousness, the maintenance of a discourse to "demonize" the other, and finally the latter's reciprocation by using similar discourses and actions.[62] Aggressiveness-based collective identity highlights the fact that some social groups view one another as a permanent threat, as an all-out enemy.

Within that contextually and ideologically constructed insecurity, when a group believes that the others are committed to its harm, then no behavior is perceived natural or at least defensive. To the contrary, all actions undertaken by the Other, even the most limited or trivial behavior, are seen as offensive and as a threat. Each group is persuaded that other groups are committed to its destruction. [63] Insecurity becomes prevailing in the group's collective psyche. Here also, examples can be drawn from recent debates over trivial Muslim behaviors in American and European societies. Heated disputes over the construction of a mosque for instance, food preferences, veils, or long skirts, have taken disproportionate dimensions and fueled the subjective constructions of a threatening Muslim Other.

Another more recent analysis of how threats and enmity are socially constructed is that of French political scientist Pierre Conesa.[64] The latter argues that the designation of an enemy is a political choice, not a fact. The image of the enemy is an intellectual construct of otherness that aims at shaping a public opinion, binding

[62] Arfi, "Ethnic Fear," 153.

[63] Ibid, 161.

[64] Pierre Conesa, *La fabrication de l'ennemi, ou comment tuer avec sa conscience pour soit* (Paris : Robert Laffont, 2011).

together a group or a nation, consolidating a popularity and political posture, or even finding a market to a state's military-industrial complex.[65] It is worth noting that the parallel can be clearly made between Conesa's argumentation of how threats and enemies are constructed, and the Copenhagen School's concept of securitization.

Security is then closely linked to identity, fear, and aggressiveness towards the Other who is seen – constructed – as the enemy. That constructed Other comes to hold different identity characteristics such as culture, history, and religion. These are the features with which ominous Otherness is constructed and identified.

1.5. Constructivism, Cultural Realism, and the Clash of Civilizations Thesis

In the realm of a culturally and religiously diverse social world, the construction of otherness often consists of a culturalist conception of who that Other is and how he/she behaves. Culturalism has a long history in inter-personal and inter-group relations. However, the term and the concept it refers to have historically been subjected to continuous semantic reversal and confusion in the public discourse.

The historical context that enabled the birth of culturalism in the social sciences is one of the 1930s. It came into being and developed then within the disciplines of anthropology and psychoanalysis and mainly as a rebuttal of the biological racialist and ethnocentric theories that dominated the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Anthropologists Franz Boas and Margaret Mead, and Psychoanalyst Ruth Benedict (disciple of Boas) pioneered in the demonstration that

[65] Jean Guisnel, "Comment les démocraties fabriquent leurs ennemis," Interview with Pierre Conesa, *Le Point* (13/09/2011), http://www.lepoint.fr/editos-du-point/jean-guisnel/comment-les-democraties-fabriquent-leurs-ennemis-13-09-2011-1372758_53.php ; Gérard Chaliand, Review of Conesa's book available at http://www.diploweb.com/La-fabrication-de-l-ennemi-ou.html. See also, Philippe Leymarie, "Review of *La fabrication de l'ennemi, ou comment tuer avec sa conscience pour soit*," *Le Monde Diplomatique* (Janvier 2012). http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2012/01/LEYMARIE/47229

human behaviors that had been previously attributed to nature, biology, and "races" are in fact the products of social and cultural factors. [66] Those social scientists thus criticized naturalist and biologist ideologies that justified inequalities and dominations of Western imperialism and colonialism that prevailed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Indeed, the scientifically based assertion of cultural relativism, as posited at that time by Boas, Mead, and Benedict, enabled to question the scientific validity and moral probity of two main ideologies of that period. The first was an evolutionary anthropology which situated and graded cultures hierarchically according to civilizational (an even racial) parameters. The second was a salient ethnocentrism which provided value-judgments on non-Western cultures from European-based criteria and on the explicit ground that European culture was superior. Colonial ideologies and their mobilizing mottos, such as the "civilizing mission"[67] and "the White Man's Burden,"[68] are gross misrepresentations that exemplify the paradigm that dominated that period and against which Mead and Benedict's early culturalism developed.

However, the term culturalism underwent drastic conceptual and semantic transformation during the second half of the twentieth century and the early twenty-first century. Then and nowadays, racist ideologies have tended to recapture the term

[66] Franz Boas, "Museums of Ethnology and Their Classification," *Science* 9 (1887), 589. And also *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York: Collier, 1963 [1911]). And Franz Boas, "Introduction," in Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York : Houghton Mifflin, 2005 [1934]), xxi-xxiii.

[67] Jules Ferry, "Les fondements de la politique coloniale," Speech. French *Assemblée Nationale* (July 28, 1885). URL : http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/histoire/Ferry1885.asp

[68] Not only is "The White Man's Burden" the title of a poem by Rudyard Kipling (1899) but it was also an imperial motto, and concept with which Kipling urged the United States, and more generally the "white man" of European descent and Christian faith, accept what he viewed as the ungrateful burden of empire. It was in his view the White Man's duty to civilize and uplift other peoples who are viewed as brethren, irrational, and child-like.

"culture" and have conferred it essentialist explanations. Indeed, cultures are regularly confused with natures (as developed by earlier racialist and ethnocentric ideologies) and the argumentation has shifted from a biological ground to a cultural one. Culture is now interpreted and explained with all the attributes conferred previously to nature: a-historicism (inaccuracies, suppression of temporality, or disregard for historical contexts), essentialism, homogeneity, absence of nonconformist trends as well as the nonexistence of contradiction and discussion within the culture, differentiation and hierarchization of the object culture by the culturalist subject.[69]

Cultural relativism that was once an intellectual and academic framework encouraging and promoting cultural equality and emancipation has then mutated to become, in the contemporary historical context, an absolute principle that justifies and reproduces unequal interactions, and at the same time refutes the existence of such interactions. Indeed, far right political movements utilize cultural relativism to claim that cultures are radically different, impermeable to influences or sharing from one another, incompatible, and thus need to be separated. In that sense, contemporary culturalism tends to become an ideology of differentiation, segregation, and domination. It has replaced biological racialism and ethnocentrism. A culturalist construction of the Other tends to regard the latter by reducing them not to a biological difference but to a cultural one. In other words, cultural racial prejudice has replaced biological racial prejudice. Culture is then a major if not the only factor that implicitly or explicitly explains the behavior of the Other. Additionally, culturalism is

[69] Saïd Bouamama, Jessy Cormont, and Yvon Fotia, "Culture et culturalisme," *Dictionnaire des Dominations* (Paris : Editions Syllepse, 2010). URL: <http://lmsi.net/Culture-et-culturalisme> (accessed in January 2014).

also a euphemistic form of biologism because its promoters view culture as static and naturalized. Moreover, culturalist ideologues view culture as a fixed element within society, as factor that is not likely to change, not likely to be subjected to influences, impermeable to exchanges, that does not contain composite shapes, that is not open to new and emerging forms; and cultural forms are thus returned to their cultural origin - which excludes any cultural evolution or innovation.[70]

Out of this new conceptualization of cultural relativism, the social constructivist approach can help understand a peculiar branch of realism in International Relations theory, namely cultural realism. This trend within International Studies is a derivative of realism that slightly overlaps constructivism in the sense that it focuses on cultural factors as key determinants of a state's international behavior and foreign policy. Cultural Realism mainly posits that states belonging to different cultural backgrounds are more likely to become involved in conflict than those that share a common cultural background. This view contrasts with "cultural idealism" that sees cultures as a factor of cooperation and benignity not an element triggering antagonism and confrontation.[71]

The most prominent voice of this cultural realist trend is Samuel Huntington and his controversial "Clash of Civilizations" thesis. The expression is in fact the creation of a neoconservative and Zionist neo-Orientalist named Bernard Lewis (see quote page 44). [72] Though not being a neoconservative but a conservative realist, Huntington stresses the importance of the cultural element in international affairs. In a

[70] Ibid.

[71] Errol A. Henderson and Richard Tucker, "Clear and Present Strangers: the Clash of Civilizations and International Conflict," *International Studies Quarterly* 45 (2001), 318, Footnote 2.

[72] Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of the Muslim Rage," *The Atlantic Monthly* 266:3 (September 1990), 47-60. Lewis' Orientalist views are discussed in Chapter 2 and neo-Orientalist political influence of Neoconservatism in Chapters 4 and 5.

1993 contentious and widely discussed article, he supplies United States (and more generally Western) policy makers with an original descriptive and prescriptive theory of interstate and intergroup relations. Huntington conceives post-Cold War politics as one mainly driven by cultural and civilizational considerations.

Huntington claims that Post-Cold War relationships between states – and especially conflictual relationships – rely on the respective cultural characteristics of those states. To him,

> the great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics.[73]

Huntington's principal diagnosis is that traditional sources of conflict – or better say traditional impetus behind conflicts – such as animosity over economic interests, or ideological antagonisms, do not have much importance in twenty-first century conflicts. Instead, he asserts that "civilization identity" is the new component shaping interaction between actors in international politics.[74] Huntington confers to civilizations and cultures important identity characteristics.[75] He views a civilization as "the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes humans from other species." To him

[73] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 12:3 (summer 1993), 25.

[74] Ibid, 25.

[75] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 43.

civilization is also "the biggest 'we' within which we feel culturally at home as distinguished from all the other 'thems' out there."[76]

The main deduction drawn from Huntington's thesis is that he views that great conflicts no more occur between states or human groupings sharing the same culture. Rather, warfare occurs between foreign cultures i.e. broad collective entities having different identities and reciprocally seeing one another as ontological threats.

Huntington identifies four main post-Cold War factors that have led him formulate his thesis. The first is the growing interaction among peoples of different civilizations. The second is de-Westernization and indigenization of elites in non-Western states. The third element is growing economic regionalization, which – he thinks – leads to an intensification of civilization consciousness. The last factor is a global resurgence of religious identity that is replacing diminishing local and state-based identities.[77]

In addition, among the eight world civilizations he identifies, Huntington asserts that conflicts will likely to occur between what he calls "Western" and "Islamic" civilizations. It is worth noting that Huntington confers a geographical attribute to what he calls "Western" civilization, and a religious characteristic to what he views as the "Islamic" civilization. Indeed, Huntington views that Islamic civilization is one of two civilizations that are very likely to posit salient threats to the West (the other being Sinic civilization led by China). To him, Islam, its remarkably increasing population and what he sees as looming cultural resurgence, is the most urgent threat. He also suggests that the absence of a powerful regulating core state within the Islamic civilization might lead this latter to a high propensity for conflict

[76] Ibid, 41.

[77] Ibid.

with other civilizations. Huntington acknowledges that the Muslim World is deeply divided and quite weak, but these facts do not belittle his conviction. Indeed, he sees Islam and the West as very nearly at war already, observing that "dedicated Islamic militants exploit the open societies of the West and plant car bombs at selected targets. Western military professionals exploit the open skies of Islam and drop smart bombs on selected targets." He believes that the challenge from Islam is inherently cultural, and that it is likely to last.

In the late 1990s, Huntington's culturalist thesis very quickly became the focus of scholarly discourse on the impact of cultural factors on international conflict. His contentious article, and the book that followed, provoked a heated debate in academic as well as political circles.[78] Among the many critiques towards the "Clash of Civilizations" thesis, Harvard Historian of Islam Roy Mottaheded, Columbia University scholar Edward Said, French political theoretician Pierre Hassner, and International Relations scholar Stephen Walt are perhaps the most ardent.

Mottaheded, for instance, explicates how Huntington's thesis is empirically flawed and theoretically questionable. To Mottaheded, Huntington's theoretical structure that explains and links cultural background to political behavior is highly doubtful. In a methodical analysis of Huntington's *Foreign Affairs* piece, the Harvard historian argues for example that Huntington's indiscriminate use of the two terms "Arabs" and "Muslims" as if they were interchangeable is a manifest misunderstanding of the reality and the diversity in the "Islamic Civilization" Huntington attempts but fails to describe. Furthermore, Mottaheded even questions

[78] For more critiques on Huntington's thesis, see Michael J. Mazarr, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Washington Quarterly* 19: 2 (spring 1996), 177-97; Mahmood Monshipouri and Gina Petonito, "Constructing the Enemy in the Post-Cold War Era: The Flaws of the 'Islamic Conspiracy' Theory," *Journal of Church and State* 37: 4 (autumn 1995), 773-92; Richard E. Rubenstein and Jarle Crocker, "Challenging Huntington," *Foreign Policy* 96 (fall 1994), 113-28.

the premise that the notion of "civilization" can be effectively operatory to explain the issues Huntington discusses, such as identity, inter-group conflicts, or the diverse and sometimes diverging opinions and actions of members of that "civilization."[79] David A. Welsh makes the same reproach. Indeed, though Huntington places civilization and civilization identity as the key element of his piece, he fails to provide an "operationalizable definition of 'civilization.'"[80] Moreover, Huntington does not detail which of the different objective and subjective elements he pinpoints as components of civilizations are essential or sufficient for differentiating between one civilization and another.[81]

Edward Said, for his part, views Huntington's thesis as an ideological instrument that endeavors to explain "civilizations and identities into what they are not." Huntington's presupposition that civilizations or identities are monolithic, unchangeable and impermeable entities does not resist examination based on factual evidence. Said reproaches Huntington for ignoring historical evidence that shows that civilizations have always included diverse (and often conflicting) cultural and social currents in their midst. Furthermore, Said asserts that different cultures have always based their mutual relationships not only on intermittent competition, enmity, or warfare, but also on mutual "exchanges, cross-fertilization, and sharing."[82]

Furthermore, it is worth noting that Huntington agrees with Bernard Lewis' binary and Manichean worldview. Lewis' use of the "We versus Them" essentialist rhetoric is crystal-clear in the following quote from which Huntington is inspired:

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[79] Roy P. Mottaheded, "The Clash of Civilizations: an Islamicist's Critique." *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 2 (1995), 1–26.

[80] David A. Welch, "The 'Clash of Civilizations' Thesis as an Argument and as a Phenomenon," *Security Studies* 6:4 (1997), 201.

[81] Ibid, 202.

[82] Edward Said, "Clash of Ignorance," *The Nation* (October 22, 2001).

> **...we** are facing a mood and movement in Islam far transcending the level of issues and policies and the governments that pursue them. This is no less than a clash of civilizations. The perhaps **irrational**, but surely historic receptions of an **ancient rival** against **our** Judeo Christian heritage, **our** secular present and the world-wide expansion of both. It is crucially important that **we** on **our side** should not be provoked into an equally historic but also equally **irrational** reaction against **that rival**.[83] (Bold emphases are added)

Said also questions Huntington's wisdom, his ideological (and professional) motivations and his aims behind such prescriptive thesis. In fact, Said wonders if the best way to understand the world is to produce a prescriptive map of colliding civilizations and cultures upon which American (and Western) policy makers would take fateful decisions.[84] Why is Huntington postulating such thesis? A thorough look into Huntington's writings shows that he has always been the author and proponent of controversial conservative ideas about the United States' military during the Vietnam War,[85] and the preservation of an "American identity" as a White Anglo Saxon Protestant identity.[86] It should be mentioned that Huntington was not only an academic but also a political adviser to different US policy makers at the highest

[83] Lewis, "The Roots of the Muslim Rage." Lewis' article, published in 1990, is the first sign of a paradigmatic shift in the culturalist construction of a threatening Muslim Other; a construction that, since then, has not ceased expand in the Western public space.

[84] Edward Said, "The Myth of the 'Clash of Civilizations,'" Speech transcript. Media Education Foundation (1998). http://www.mediaed.org/

[85] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Bases of Accommodation," Foreign *Affairs* 46:4 (July 1968), 642–56. Huntington advocated a policy of "forced-draft urbanization" i.e. a mass bombing of Vietnam's rural areas to force Vietnamese leave the countryside and refugee in cities. According to him, that would prevent the Viet Cong exercise their authority on those people. For a critique and a debate of this thesis, see "A Frustrating Task: Noam Chomsky debates with Samuel Huntington," *The New York Review of Books* (February 26, 1970).

[86] Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004).

levels.[87] His close relationship with the military and intelligence establishment is well documented and some of the research he published was funded by the Central Intelligence Agency.[88] He was an unofficial adviser to the government of South Africa in the early 1980s, and suggested the South African Apartheid regime carry on a cautious policy of reform based on "an elite conspiracy to restrain political competition within and among communal groups."[89] He also recommended and a policy of mixed repression, fear, duplicity, and faulty assumptions so that South Africans could find – according to him – a *modus vivendi* that would preserve minority (i.e. white) rule.[90] He and Lewis also counselled Israeli Benjamin Netanyahu.[91] The political role of Lewis is discussed in Chapters 3 and 5 of this dissertation.

Stephen Walt's gives a more nuanced critique of the *Clash of Civilization* than those of Motahedded and Said. As an IR neorealist, Walt acknowledges the originality and scholarliness of Huntington's thesis. He even praises the stylistic seductiveness with which Huntington writes to make his case.[92] Additionally, the premise that cultural considerations might shape inter-group and interstate relations

[87] Huntington was chairperson of the Democratic Party's Foreign Policy Advisory Committee in the mid-1970s, and member of the United States' National Security Council from1977 to 1979, during the administration of President Jimmy Carter. Richard K. Betts, "Samuel P. Huntington," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Online (April 22, 2013). http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/766295/Samuel-P-Huntington. (Accessed on 21 June 2013).

[88] Ido Oren, *Our Enemies and US: America's Rivalries and the Making of Political Science* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 3-4.

[89] Samuel P. Huntington as quoted in Gay Seidman, "Mr. Huntington Goes to Pretoria: A Conspiracy that Can't Help South Africa," *The Harvard Crimson* (November 5, 1987). URL: http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1987/11/5/mr-huntington-goes-to-pretoria-pperhaps/ (accessed in January 2014).

[90] Seidman, "Mr. Huntington Goes to Pretoria."

[91] Thomas Brisson, "La critique arabe de l'orientalisme en France et aux Etats Unis : lieux, temporalités et modalités d'une relecture," *Revue d'anthropologie des connaissances* 2 :3 (2008/3), par. 23. (505-521).

[92] Stephen Walt, "Building up New Bogeymen: The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order," *Foreign Policy* 106 (spring 1997).

seems sometimes well founded and can be viewed as an easy but simplistic explanation to some twentieth century conflicts in which antagonistic parts also come to belong to different cultures. However, Walt argues that the book's central idea does not stand up to close scrutiny. He concurs with Pierre Hassner[93] to think that the thesis of colliding civilizations is an "unreliable guide to the emerging world order and a potentially dangerous blueprint for policy." Walt presents a set of questions that shake the central argument of Huntington's thesis. Among these, Walt wonders why Huntington does not explain the reasons behind the shift of people's loyalty from the nation-level to the civilization one. Then, he questions Huntington's emphasis on the broad concept of civilization and his disregard for the patent resurgence of nationalism.[94]

Many other scholars view the "Clash of Civilizations" thesis if not completely flawed, at least containing methodological and/or historical inconsistencies. The London School of Economics scholar of the Middle East Fred Halliday for example, concurs with Said and rejects the premise that civilizations are distinct and isolated from one another. He argues that there have always been borrowings and sharing between civilizations and cultures.[95] This assertion coincides with other scholars' views that Huntington does not pay attention to the rise of essential factors such as the critical role of information technology in bridging cultural gaps,[96] the power of

[93] Pierre Hassner, "Morally Objectionable, Politically Dangerous," *The National Interest* 46 (winter 1997), 63-69.

[94] Walt, "Building Up New Bogueymen."

[95] Fred Halliday, "A New World Myth," *The New Statesman* 447:10 (1997), 42–3.

[96] Benjamin Barber, "Fantasy of Fear," *Harvard International Review* 20:1 (Winter 1997/1998), 66-71.

modernity, economic interdependence, and a more financially and commercially integrated world.[97]

In addition, Huntington's idea that Islam poses the most urgent threat to the Western World is highly questionable and is contradicted by contemporary factual evidence. The "Clash of Civilization" thesis that assumes that religion and culture are linked, that any culture has some sort of religious roots, or that any religion is embodied in a specific culture, is flawed in a new era of rapid globalization and intensive human migration. This is particularly evident nowadays when a clear delineation between a fuzzy geographical area such as the West and a vivid religion such as Islam is difficult if not impossible to make. Furthermore, globalization has led to the de-territorialisation of cultures, religions, and individuals. [98] All this is utterly neglected by Huntington. Indeed, as Islamic studies scholar Olivier Roy rightly puts it, in an increasing era of globalization, and its impact on cultures and religions, these latter "have no more territorial bases ...the East is Westernized, and Islam is in the West." [99] Roy and another political scientist, Mahmood Mamdani, dispute the culturalist approach, adopted by the neoconservative school of thought towards Islam and the Muslim World. They disagree with intellectuals such as Bernard Lewis or Samuel Huntington who both contend that religion drives Islamic culture and politics, and that the motivation for Islamic violence is religious fundamentalism. Mamdani

[97] Frederick Tipson, "Culture Clash-ification: A Verse to Huntington's Curse," *Foreign Affairs* 76:2 (March/ April 1997).

[98] Olivier Roy, "Globalization and Islam," Interview by Harry Kreisler, *Conversations With History*. Video. Institute of International Studies (University of California at Berkley, January 25, 2007).

[99] Olivier Roy, "The Political Imagination of Islam," Interview by Harry Kreisler, *Conversations With History*. Video. Institute of International Studies, (University of California at Berkley, April 16, 2002).

and Roy view the culturalist conception of Islam and the Muslim World as primarily essentialist in nature.[100]

In addition, History has shown that all religions have moved to different lands, have encountered different cultures, and have adapted to them through a process of acculturation. For example, Christianity has had to adapt to new cultural contexts when it has rooted itself in Africa or Asia. Muslim communities in the West have adopted its local cultures even though they have impregnated them with some of their own religious markers.[101]

Another important historically based refutation of Huntington's thesis is that most ethnic conflicts occur due to economic and political discrimination or oppression of an ethnic or cultural group by another, not to what Huntington regards as the *inherent* antagonism between cultures.[102] For their part, Pierre Hassner,[103] William Pfaff,[104] and John G. Ikenberry[105] charge Huntington with oversimplification, and regard his description and the prescriptions that follow as dangerous.

Although the "Clash of Civilization" thesis met fierce scholarly criticism by the end of the twentieth century, it gained recognition in some intellectual and political circles in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States mainland. Then and now, the most outspoken proponents and promoters of

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[100] Mahmood Mamdani, "Whither Political Islam? Understanding the Modern Jihad," *Foreign Affairs* 84:1 (January/February 2005), 148-55.

Olivier Roy. "'Bon' Islam, 'mauvais' Islam." *Le Monde Diplomatique* (October 2005).

[101] Roy, "Globalization and Islam."

[102] Dieter Senghass, "A Clash of Civilizations: an Idée Fixe?" *Journal of Peace Research* 35:1 (1998), 127-32.

[103] Hassner, "Morally Objectionable."

[104] William Pfaff, "The Reality of Human Affairs," *World Policy Journal* 14:2 (1997), 89-96.

[105] John G. Ikenberry et al, "The West: Precious, Not Unique: Civilizations Make for a Poor Paradigm Just like the Rest," *Foreign Affairs* 76:2 (March/April 1997).

Huntington's theory have come from the neoconservative movement and its like-minded ideological allies in their attempt to establish a foreign policy and foreign affairs paradigm that would bring the differentiation – and even confrontation – between identities, cultures, and civilizations to the fore of any international relation thinking. That elevation of Huntington's "Clash of Civilization" from the thesis-level to the paradigm-level occurred during the first decade of the twenty-first century. That new paradigm has been the creation of the neoconservative school of thought. Neoconservative thinking operates within that paradigm and provides the Western public opinion with a neo-Orientalist construction of Islam and the Muslim World (see Chapters 2, 4, and 5). A specific discourse has come into being, has developed in the American and European intellectual and political scenes, and has created a new body of knowledge in the public setting.

However, and as political scientist Leon Hadar puts it, the problem is that "foreign policy paradigms are intellectual constructs that reflect the imaginations of their producers and the interests of their promoters, not necessarily the reality."[106]

1.6. Conclusion

To conclude, a close and coherent nexus can be drawn between the social constructivist theory, its employment to comprehend international relations, and the culturalist construction of otherness. Human collective agency and how they conceive their own identity, ontological security, and interests, molds the subjective construction of different Others and their behavior towards them. Additionally, all the entailing elements that intervene in the subjective conception of interstate and

[106] Leon Hadar, "Islam and the West: the Myth of the Green Peril," *Cato Institute*. http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/islam-west-myth-green-peril# (accessed on December 12, 2008).

intergroup relations imply that some specific construction of otherness is deployed in the public discourse; and knowledge of that Other is created and disseminated in the public setting. In the case of Neoconservatism (and other close like-minded actors) and its intellectual and political discourses on Islam and the Arab-Muslim World, that construction of the Other comes into sight on two aspects. First, the construction takes shape within a renewed vision of clashing civilizations and cultures. Second, it takes the form of an Orientalist and neo-Orientalist discourse that generates a specific body of knowledge about the Arab-Muslim World, the Muslim faith and the peoples who belong to them. The first aspect has been dealt with in this chapter, and the second one is going to be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 2

From Orientalism to Neo-Orientalism:

Early and Contemporary Constructions of the Orient

To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it ...since we know it and it exists, in a sense, as we know it.

- Edward W. Said[1]

2.1. Introduction

The present chapter explores the second theoretical pillar of the dissertation. In addition to social constructivism and cultural realism, Edward Said's postcolonial theory offers some logic in investigating how – and especially what for – states, human groupings, or interest groups see others from a self-centric and culturalist reading grid. This chapter argues that there have been different kinds of Orientalism[2] but all can be viewed as constructivist-based systems of knowledge that create and propagate subjective representations of the Other from the Orient.[3] They are then some kinds of constructivist interpretations of otherness.

This chapter accounts for the main tenets of the theory and the historical contexts of empires and hegemony of empires as asserted by Said. The chapter also looks into Said's main neoconservative critics such as Bernard Lewis, Martin Kramer,

[1] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 32.

[2] Throughout this chapter, *Orientalism* (italicized) refers to the title of Edward Said's book whereas "Orientalism" refers to the concept analyzed, debated, and/or criticized by Said and other scholars.

[3] In the present dissertation, my understanding of what Orientalists and Edward Said call "the Orient" refers to the geographic area that stretches from North Africa (starting from the Atlantic shores of Morocco) to the Middle East and Iran, and in which Islam and Muslim cultures prevail, regardless of the variants of Islam and the ethnic attributes of the different peoples who live there. While referring to the Orient as discussed by Said and the Orientalists he criticizes, it should be understood – and this dissertation shows it – that Israel, Zionist ideology, and Jewish people and faith are not part of the object constructed by the Orientalist – and the Neo-Orientalist – discourse and body of knowledge about that Orient.

and Ibn Warraq among others. The chapter then projects the theory on what Said calls a twentieth century "American Orientalism," its sources, and what can be nowadays called a post 9/11 *neo-Orientalism* towards Islam and the Arab Muslim World. It is the neoconservative construction of Islam and the Muslim World as a social and existential threat to what neoconservatives call the Western world and/or civilization.[4] A peculiar aspect of this neo-Orientalism manifests itself in different forms within the Western social world and with regard to how this latter views countries and peoples of the Arab-Muslim World or Muslim people within Western societies. The most hostile manifestation is a social phenomenon called islamophobia. This chapter provides a part of the core argument of the dissertation, developed in the following chapters, which is that neoconservative agency is an *identity-based collective agency* that creates and propagates this instrumental (and not systemic) neo-Orientalism with some political objectives in mind.

2.2. Early Orientalism: Construction and Imperial Domination

The concept of Orientalism has been widely discussed in postcolonial research and literature. However, Edward Said's seminal work *Orientalism* was one of the precursors and the most authoritative scholarship in the field.[5] *Orientalism* examines the question of why when people of Western culture think of the Middle East they have preconceived representations of the people who live there. These preconceived notions comprise a wide array of subjective constructs about the peoples of the Orient, their beliefs, and the way they act, even though those Westerners may have been into

[4] Short of any valid term to designate the broad original sources of Orientalism, in the present dissertation, I use the terms/expressions "the West," "Western societies/ countries," or "Western Civilization," to refer to a complex and intersubjectively constructed entity. It is the highly ethnically, socially, politically, culturally, and linguistically diverse historical and geographic areas which is set up in differentiation and even opposition to the Orient by the Orientalist as well as postcolonial research viewpoints.

[5] Said, *Orientalism*.

contact only with very few or with no one from there. More generally, *Orientalism* probes how the Western framework of thinking comes to understand foreign peoples who *seem* to look different to those of the West by virtue of the color of their skin, culture, or religion.

The chief argument of *Orientalism* revolves then around questions of knowledge of the Other, the production of this knowledge, and the motivations behind its dissemination in the West. Edward Said argues that the acquisition of knowledge of the Orient, or the Other from the Orient, is neither objective, nor neutral, nor innocent. Rather, it is the end-result of a process that reflects some interests and a specific constructed Western-centric worldview. In that sense, the construction of the Other is highly motivated by political and imperial aims. Specifically, Said stresses the point that while the West – Europe and the United States – looks at the countries of the Near and Middle East, it is through a prism that distorts the actual reality of those countries and the people who live there. He calls that prism through which the West perceives and conceives that part of the world "Orientalism."[6]

Said then views Orientalism as a framework of thinking that someone from the West consciously or unconsciously uses to understand the unfamiliar and the strange, to make the people of the Middle East appear different, implicitly inferior, and/or threatening. Said's contribution to the understanding of how this general process of stereotyping is produced, understood and deciphered in Western societies has been significant in the fields of literature, anthropology, history, and political science.

Edward Said's attention on how the Western academic and intellectual prism constructs and shapes otherness emerged in the wake of the Arab-Israeli War of

[6] Sut Jhally, *Said on Orientalism*, Documentary (Northampton, MA: Media Education Foundation, 1998).

1967.[7] The aftermath of the war and Israel's victory brought what he calls a "deafening chorus" in the United States' and Western public scene on how the Western World views the peoples of the Middle East. Indeed, a wave of triumphalism swept the West, about the West and its values. The United States and Britain's public scenes enjoyed some kind of euphoria as Israel's victory was also perceived as the victory of the West.[8] That was Said's first experience of how the West constructed the Orient and more specifically the Arab-Muslim World; a world some early Western Orientalists portrayed as backward and silent, or silent because backward. It is one of the aims of this study to explore how those first Orientalist views of the Arab-Muslim World have been recaptured and intensified by the neoconservative creed in order to reconstruct contemporary Muslims not only as backward and inferior but also a violent and threatening.

Though the first editions of Said's *Orientalism* were published in 1978 and 1979, only a short segment of the thesis of the scholarship refers to the events and issues contemporary with its publication.[9] Most of the temporal frame of Said's work deals with the nineteenth century, the culminating period of British and French empires and their hegemonic power on the African, Asian, and Caribbean lands they conquered and colonized. *Orientalism* is then not only the title of an articulate work

[7] Edward Said, interview by Michaël Zeeman, *Leven en Werken*. VPRO Channel (Amsterdam, 2000). And also Thomas Brisson, « La critique arabe de l'orientalisme en France et aux Etats Unis : lieux, temporalités et modalités d'une relecture » *Revue d'anthropologie des connaissances* 2 : 3 (2008/3), par. 17; 505-21. It is worth mentioning that the 1967 Arab-Israeli War marked a watershed in neoconservative thinking and agency. See Chapter 3.

[8] Said. Interview by Michaël Zeeman. Anthropologist Talal Asad also raises the same remark since he observed the same phenomenon. Talal Asad, "Thinking about Religion, Secularism, and Politics," Interview by Harry Kreisler, *Conversations with History*. Institute of International Studies (University of California at Berkeley, October 2, 2008).

[9] Said, *Orientalism*, 284-328.

but also – and more significantly – a concept referring to a multi-dimensional system of knowledge created and propagated to justify imperial and colonial projects.

In his main line of argument, Said uses the Foucauldian theory of discourse and power. That theory derives from French Philosopher Michel Foucault's effort to examine discourse in relation with events at the moment of their happening. [10] Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, as it is called, does not regard texts as transparent nor neutral, and does not consider their unity as definite, limited, and non-expandable. Unlike Derridean deconstruction,[11] the concern of Foucauldian peculiar method of textual analysis is not to look at the underlying structures and meanings behind discourse. Foucauldian Discourse Analysis also attempts to set itself free from categories imposed by other textual analyses, to become more sensitive and to be able to describe the interactions and relations within and outside what Foucault calls "discursive events."[12] To set oneself free from categories implies that Foucauldian Discourse Analysis does not cast textual analysis within specific compartmented groups such as literature, history, fiction, science, medicine, etc. Rather it endeavors "to grasp other forms of regularity, other types of relations,"[13] i.e. to seize the consistency and the continuity of relationship between the aforementioned different textual productions and their relationship to a certain reality.

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[10] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock, 1972). For the original edition, see Michel Foucault, *l'Archeologie du savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), 32-33.

[11] Deconstruction can be understood as French Philosopher Jacques Derrida's theory and method of reading and analytic exploration that aims to undermine the logic of contradictions within texts. It is a set of practices oriented toward unveiling or "deconstructing" what the reader's/writer's usual cultural and cognitive schemas disregard or marginalize. It is a disposition toward reading for subtexts and/or textual contradictions. Derridean analysis aims at unveiling what is textually invisible or textually excluded but which is nonetheless there. Noel Gough, "Deconstruction," in Given, ed. *Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, 203. For more information about Jacques Derrida's theory of deconstruction, see Jacques Derrida, *Deconstruction in a Nutshell: A Conversation with Jacques Derrida*, J. D. Caputo, ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007).

[12] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 29.

[13] Ibid.

In addition, though Foucauldian textual analysis is context-linked, it is also *context-producing*. It also tends to be neither subordinated to nor influenced by any of the classical minority or materialist ideologies such as Marxist, Feminist, or Ethnic textual theories.

Foucauldian analysis is then concerned with the way in which different texts themselves are constructed, ordered, shaped, and linked in terms of the social and historical contexts in which they are produced. Texts are thus both products of and in turn *produce discursive-based understandings of aspects of reality*. Foucault asserts that any text will only ever convey and produce a partial perspective of the social or historical reality being presented. Furthermore, the image of an object represented in a text is constructed according to the frame or focus (in the text) that shapes what is to be seen. Foucauldian Discourse Analysis implies then that *some texts converge to shape particular contexts.* This premise challenges the notion that texts are neutral and value-free receptacles, or that they are simply conveyors of information. They are more than that; they construct specific social objects and specific realities. Thus, an important assumption that underpins Foucauldian Discourse Analysis is that language cannot be considered to be transparent or value-free.[14]

Drawing on Foucault's theory, Said demonstrates then that what he calls "Orientalism" is mainly a complex concept that entails the production and dissemination of different texts and works of art which *seem* unrelated but which actually converge in constructing the Orient by "making statement about it, authorizing views about it, teaching it, settling it, ruling over it."[15] In that sense, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Orientalism was a network of Western powers

[14] Julianne Cheek, "Foucauldian Discourse Analysis," in Given, ed. *Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods,* 356.

[15] Said, *Orientalism*, 3.

and interests which operated whenever necessary to fulfill imperial and colonial agendas. Furthermore, the concept of Orientalism shows that Western culture produced a specific body of knowledge which enabled it to strengthen and gain power in identity "by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self"[16] in the sense that – according to Said – the relationship between the West and the Orient was that of power and domination of the former on the latter. From a social constructivist viewpoint, the imaginary attributes of the Orient emerged out of a subjective construction of the Western Self; be that Self, individual or collective. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the main aim of that construction was to justify political or imperial control of the subject over the constructed object.

Furthermore, as mentioned above and as argued by Said, the complexity of Orientalism lies in the fact that it is a Western concept which encompasses three overlapping meanings. First, it refers to the historical and cultural changes in the relationship between the countries of Europe and those of the Near and Middle East since the early moments of Antiquity. The second aspect of Orientalism is the nineteenth century Western scholarly discipline that involved the study of various Oriental cultures and traditions. Finally, it is what Said views as the "ideological suppositions, images, and fantasies" about the Orient, a geographical area that has always taken great importance in the eyes of the West. To Said, those three facets of the broad concept of Orientalism share a critical common ground: it is the frontier delineating the Orient from the Occident, and this, Said acknowledges, is "less a fact of nature than it is a fact of human production." It is, in Said's words, an "imaginative

[16] Ibid.

geography" constructed by Orientalists.[17] The question of knowledge and its relationship with spatial and cultural fantasies is clearly raised by Said while he discusses Orientalism and what he calls the "ugly neologism" of "area studies," a discipline in which Orientalists assign a particular geography ("area") to specific peoples, and cultures.[18]

It is then important to point out that nineteenth century power and hegemony that led to the European domination of the Other was preceded and accompanied by a system of knowledge of that Other in the Orient, created by some in the West, some of its academics, its institutions, its artists, and its governments.[19] Said emphasizes the active role played by some writers, novelists, and poets in the creation and propagation of that body of knowledge. To him and the adherents of the post-colonial theory, texts produced by some artists and scholars of the West who depict an imaginary Orient are neither neutral nor innocent. For Said, aesthetical works cannot be immune of contamination of ideological connections. Artistic creations as well as academic productions can be utilized as ideological instruments by and for the interests of Western power structures.[20] Furthermore, interdisciplinary historian and anthropologist James Clifford asserts that Said's suspicion of Western academics of the Orient lies in his belief that "pure" scholarship does not exist. This is why when this latter is institutionalized, culturally built up, hegemonic, and restrictive, Said believes that it should be actively resisted by a "counterknowledge."[21]

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[17] Edward Said, "Orientalism Reconsidered," *Cultural Critique* 1 (autumn 1985), 90.

[18] Said, *Orientalism*, 53-54.

[19] Ibid, 94.

[20] Said, interview by Michaël Zeeman.

[21] James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Harvard University Press, 1988), 256.

Orientalism as a system of knowledge that aimed at constructing an imaginary Other principally employed essentialist portrayals of that Other, their cultures, history, and behaviors. Anthropological and historical essentialism is then the epistemological basis upon which construction of the Orient was undertaken and achieved in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Moreover, it is upon the same basis that a framework of meaning is created to understand present-day Islam, Muslim societies, and Muslim communities in Western societies.

Social Constructivism utilized to explain eighteenth and nineteenth century early Orientalism as well as post 9/11 neo-Orientalism diagnoses an essentialist reconstruction of Islam and the Arab-Muslim World. The various trends of the Muslim faith (Shiite, Sunni, Ibadi, Druze, etc.), the different traditions of Sunni Islam (Malekite, Hanafite, ...), the fact that there exist different secular views, and thus movements, the different social and cultural varieties of the Arab-Muslim World, the diversity of political and social actors within Arab and Muslim countries, all are put aside. They leave place to an essentialist and culturalist reading grid of a monolithic and unchanging Orient.

To understand the phenomena of Orientalism and neo-Orientalism, a conceptual explanation of essentialism is necessary. From a sociological and anthropological viewpoint, essentialism is a form of reductionism. Essentialist discourse is mainly undertaken through the use of logical fallacies and is usually associated with other semantically closely-related concepts such as reification or gross generalization.[22] The process of reification (also known as hypostatization) for example, assumes the treatment of abstractions as actual existing entities. This

[22] Michael Herzfeld, "Essentialism," in Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spence, eds. *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2010), 234.

process enables the simplification of the message to be conveyed. However, this simplification obliterates rational and objective understanding of the object of the message. The meaning of the message is perverted by the essentialist framework of discourse within which it is conveyed. That is mainly undertaken through the use of logical fallacy for while essentialist discourse reduces complex, abstract objects to concrete ones, it also wrongly maintains the same attributes of those objects.

Additionally, one of the main distinctive features of essentialism is its suppression of temporality, evolution, and change. Indeed, it assumes or attributes unchanging, fundamental ontological characteristics to social objects that actually are the historically contingent products of human or other forms of agency.[23]

Said is not the first to undertake a critique of essentialist Western-produced Orientalist scholarships and works of art. Social scientist Anouar Abdelmalek clearly explains essentialist and biased Orientalism one decade before Said's scholarship.[24] However, Said was the first to formulate a quasi-exhaustive analysis of the relationship between Orientalist constructions of the Orient and Western imperial domination of that Orient. Nevertheless, both authors concur to view that Orientalists regarded the Oriental as a passive object of study.[25]

Examples of essentialist portrayals used by Orientalists are Ernest Renan's assertion that "Islam, in order to be best understood should be reduced to tent and tribe,"[26] or more recently, Huntington's reified claims that "Islam has bloody borders."[27] One can also mention the multitude of texts by Bernard Lewis whose

[23] Ibid.

[24] Anouar Abdelmalek, "Orientalism in Crisis," *Diogenes* 44 (winter 1963), 107.

[25] Ibid, 97.

[26] Ernest Renan as quoted in Said, *Orientalism*, 105.

[27] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 12-3 (summer 1993), 35.

sophisticated language and style disarm the mind of the neophytes in the realm of Middle Eastern studies or the common untrained readers curious of Islam and the Arab-Muslim World. However, Lewis' essentialism and lack of nuances provide a binary, simplistic, Manichean, and thus distorted picture of the Arab and Muslim World. As a matter of fact, one may wonder what kind of Islam Lewis talks about in the essentialist title of his 2001 piece "The Revolt of Islam."[28] Is it Al Qaida's interpretations of the Islamic scriptures? Or is it Sunni or Shiite Islam? Or does Lewis contend that more than one billion Muslims stretching for Morocco to Indonesia want to revolt against what he calls the West? Or is Islam, as a religion, an abstract concept, able to revolt? In his piece, Lewis attempts to explicate that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 were the logical historical outcome of a millenary struggle between a religion and its believers (regardless of the multitude of variants, spiritual, political, and cultural, linguistic diversities) and a geographically situated, culturally heterogeneous, and ideologically constructed Western Civilization. Actually, the crux of Lewis' abundant scholarship lies on this thesis. He promotes the extremely essentialist vision of a Muslim World whose

> hatred goes beyond hostility to specific interests or actions or policies or even countries and becomes a rejection of Western civilisation as such, not only what it does but what it is, and the principles and values that it practices and professes. These are indeed seen as innately evil, and those who promote or accept them as the 'enemies of God'.[29]

[28] Bernard Lewis, "The Revolt of Islam: When Did the Conflict with the West Begin, and How Could It End?" *The New Yorker* (November 19, 2001).

[29] Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of the Muslim Rage," *Policy* 17:4 (Summer 2001-2002), 18. The article was originally published in 1990 in *The Atlantic Monthly* (cited in Chapter 1).

However, well-documented research and historical evidence have discarded Lewis' (and Huntington's) thesis (see Chapter 1).

2.3. Criticizing *Orientalism*: Academic Arguments

Edward Said's scholarship has paved the way for a myriad of works exploring and interpreting literary, historical, and political texts and issues from a post-colonial perspective. However, Said's intellectual and academic achievements are also challenged in academia. His work has sparked some critique in Europe and the United States. Two kinds of critiques can be identified. The first has emerged out of the wish to comprehend the dimension of postcolonial scholarships and balance its analysis of Western interpretations of the Orient. The second critique is motivated less by intellectual and academic rigor than by political and ideological outrage with regard to Said's personal intellectual trajectory and his political commitment to the Palestinian cause. Furthermore, and more importantly, Said's vehement contradictors (within the second circle of critics) are perhaps infuriated by the success as well as the influence his scholarship has had on a wide array of disciplines, and especially the revolution in Middle Eastern Studies in the United States. Significant examples of this second critique are discussed in the following section ("Criticizing Orientalism: Ideological Outrage") of this chapter. Additionally, the ideological and political motivations of that second type of critique constitute the core of my analysis in the following parts of the dissertation (especially in Chapter 5).

The first kind of academic critique towards Said's *Orientalism* embraces legitimate academic and intellectual assessments undertaken by Melani McAlister, Albert Hourani, James Clifford, Aijaz Ahmad, and to some extent Ian Buruma.

American Studies scholar Melani McAlister recognizes Orientalism as a politically important framework for it has an extraordinary "identity-forging power."

To her, the Orientalist concept of the East has played a significant role in constructing "Western" and European identity, in constructing the "modern" or "rational" self of the European as opposed to the presumed primitive and irrational Oriental.[30] McAlister also acknowledges Said's pioneering analysis and its value to analyze and interpret colonial and post-colonial power. Nevertheless, she also accounts for the limits of his work and identifies some shortcomings in Said's framework.[31]

McAlistair for example attributes to Said the mistake of representing the West as one and undiversified (a critique also made by Fred Halliday[32]) and of more or less equating European and American constructions of the Orient. She argues that Said is somehow right as far as nineteenth European and American types of Orientalism are concerned; but she also asserts that he fails to understand the nature of what she calls American "post-Orientalism" of the post-Second World War era, one that directly opposed European Orientalism. To McAlister, the second half of the twentieth century witnessed Orientalist representations of the Middle East imposed by an American power that "worked very hard to fracture the old European logic and install new frameworks" about the Orient.[33]

Marxist literary critic and theorist Aijaz Ahmad is another critic of Said's *Orientalism*. Though being an admirer of Said's political and intellectual commitments, Ahmad views himself in complete and "irreconcilable" opposition with him with regard to *Orientalism*, both in theory and history.[34] Ahmad reproaches Said

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[30] Melani MacAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and US Interests in the Middle East Since 1945* updated Ed. (Berkeley University of California Press, 2005), 10.

[31] Ibid, 9.

[32] Fred Halliday, "Orientalism and Its Critics," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 20:2 (1993), 145-163.

[33] McAlister, *Epic Encounters*, 10-11.

[34] Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London: Verso, 1994), 159.

for using Foucault's approach of textual analysis without drawing the consequences of such usage.[35] In fact, he disagrees with Said over the purpose and duty of the intellectual. As a steadfast Marxist critic, Ahmad formulates a peculiar but nonetheless interesting intellectual critique of *Orientalism*. He argues that Said, as the theoretical architect of postcolonial studies, a field – in Ahmad's view – that is guilty of ignoring considerations of class struggle, is oblivious of his influence, and ignores the Marxist dimension of the historical relationship between the concepts of knowledge and power, [36] a Foucauldian duality Said heavily underscores in *Orientalism*.

Historian Ian Buruma presents another critique of Said's thesis in which he asserts the latter fails to distinguish between the different Western Orientalist traditions. In a 2008 paper for example, Buruma argues that Said's thesis ignores German Orientalist scholarship which defended "exotic otherness against the rationalist assumptions of France and other imperialist powers."[37] It is worth noting that Buruma recaptures this critique made by Bernard Lewis in 1982 (twenty six years earlier)[38] and to whom Said had clearly replied by asserting that his work does not aim at covering all eighteenth and nineteenth centuries scholarship and representations of the Orient but the ones related to the two imperial projects of the period, the British and the French ones. Said reiterated then that *Orientalism* is about

[35] Ibid, 165-68.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ian Buruma, "Orientalism? Not a Term of Endearment." *The Guardian* (16 June 2008). http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/jun/16/middleeast.islam

[38] Bernard Lewis, "The Question of Orientalism," *New York Review of Books* 29:11 (June 24, 1982).

the relationship between the produced system of knowledge about the Orient and the French and British colonial and imperial hegemony on that Orient.[39]

Nonetheless, to Buruma, Said and his followers in the realm of post-colonial studies fall into the prejudice trap they endeavor to denounce since – still according to Buruma – post-colonial scholars replicate the same academic clichés and stereotypes about the West.[40] That other charge against *Orientalism* is, as well, not Buruma's original diagnosis. James Clifford already made it in 1988.[41] Additionally and unfortunately, Buruma's critique has come too late for Said to respond for he died in 2003.

Buruma and his co-author Avishai Margalit have published another work in which they present a reversed concept of Orientalism; they call it "Occidentalism." Here too, the term is in fact not a product of their own; Hourani, and later, critical theorist and University of North Carolina scholar William D. Hart, already charged Said of that kind of critique but with more nuanced and scholarly arguments.[42] Buruma and Margalit give a sharper and Manichean explanation of "Occidentalism." It is the Oriental representations of the West. A West these two authors view as depicted by peoples of the Orient (Asians, Arabs, and especially of Muslim identity) as evil, morally decaying, and corrupted by individual liberties and capitalism.

[39] Edward Said, "Orientalism: an Exchange," *New York Review of Books* 29:13 (August 12, 1982).

[40] Buruma, "Orientalism?"

[41] Clifford, *Predicament of Culture*, 262.

[42] Albert Hourani, "The Road to Morocco," *New York Review of Books* 26:3 (March, 8, 1979).

William D. Hart, *Edward Said and the Religious Effects of Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2000), 72.

Buruma and Margalit argue that what they call "Occidentalism" is the main source of Muslim hatred towards the West and all the manifestations of anti-Americanism.[43]

However, Buruma and Margalit's assertion ignores all the nuances and subtlety of what the term anti-Americanism refers to, and even the semantic confusion it entails in public and political discourse. As scholar of American Studies Pierre Guerlain puts it, "there is a very clear gap between essentialist Americanophobia and non-nationalist critiques of the United States." Guerlain rightly notes that definitions of anti-Americanism are often tinted with ideological connotations and even "nationalist blindness" that ignore the history of the United States' foreign policy, the history of its military engagements, and the consequences on other peoples' perceptions.[44]

Additionally, one may also challenge Buruma's and Margalit's thesis and consider it another form of Orientalism. Indeed, Buruma's and Margalit's thesis itself carries, ironically, more than a tinge of prejudice. Indiscriminately viewing peoples of the Muslim World as producing distorted knowledge, representations, and fantasies about the West, is not that a kind of Orientalism? Especially when research has demonstrated that American values seduce Muslims to the extent that their immigration to the United States has doubled in the period 1992-2012.[45] Moreover, the vicious circle of reciprocal responses, blame-game, and contending claims about how one (whoever they may be) stare at the other and construct the other, can be carried out *ad infinitum*. Nevertheless, Buruma and Margalit also forget the history of

[43] Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: the West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* (New York: Penguin, 2004).

[44] Pierre Guerlain, "A Tale of Two Anti-Americanisms," *European Journal of American Studies* [Online], 2 | 2007 (Online since 15 November 2007), par. 27-35. URL : http://ejas.revues.org/1523

[45] Pew Research Center, "The Religious Affiliation of US Immigrants," (May, 17, 2013), http://www.pewforum.org/2013/05/17/the-religious-affiliation-of-us-immigrants/ (accessed on December 02, 2013).

colonialisms and imperialisms in which important elements should be taken into consideration: those of power, influence, and domination, and who has exercised and still exercises them.

One of the most interesting and most insightful analyses of Said's *Orientalism* is perhaps that of Anthropologist and interdisciplinary Historian James Clifford. Clifford notes that *Orientalism* raises a key theoretical issue: "the status of *all* forms of thought and representation for dealing with the alien."[46] Clifford probes the thesis developed by Said and notices that he attacks Orientalist discourse from different positions without providing any alternative on how, on which bases, and who can study and understand peoples of different cultures. In Clifford's opinion, Said's thesis generates a set of questions about scholars and artists' legitimacy on interpreting and judging other groups' cultures and identities [47] but does not give answers to the problem. However, Said makes it clear that what he tackles in *Orientalism* and other works does not refute the rights of non-Orientals to study the Orient. More generally, Clifford's work goes beyond Said's thesis and raises questions over who has the authority to speak for any group's identity and authenticity and how to identify the essential elements and boundaries of a culture.[48]

Unlike the above-mentioned critics, other academics and pundits did not (and do not) base their evaluations of Said's scholarship on academic and unbiased criteria. Their critique is rather driven by political, ideological, and even identity-based concerns.

[46] Clifford, *Predicament of Culture*, 261.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid, 8.

2.4. Criticizing *Orientalism*: Ideological Outrage

Hostile charges on Edward Said's person and entire works come from an ideologically orientated segment of academia. neoconservative intellectual figures such as Bernard Lewis, Martin Kramer, and Joshua Muravchik are examples of politicized and pro-Israel worldview-linked scholars who assaulted Said not on academic bases but on political and ideological grounds.

Bernard Lewis is perhaps the most well-known Orientalist critic of Said's *Orientalism*, though most of the offensives have often been undertaken by his disciples or followers. Lewis' contempt for *Orientalism* is perhaps because his scholarship is included in Said's analysis and critique of Western Orientalism.[49] In a 1983 article, Lewis chose to review the book five years after its publication. However, contrary to his supposed renowned expertise on the subject of Islamic and Oriental History, Lewis' review and critique of Said's work suffers from severe shortcomings and falls short of his celebrated status. Lewis' apparent neutral tone, articulate, and seemingly erudite text does not address Said's research agenda. Instead of engaging in a debate over Said's thesis, Lewis charges him with blaming Europeans for their academic and artistic concern for the Orient, which in fact is not the case. Lewis also assumes that Said undertakes a nominological critique of the word Orientalism. Lewis thus undertakes a long definition of the term, bypassing the core of the scholarship[50] and especially what Said recurrently evokes as the "remarkable coincidence between the rise of modern Orientalist scholarship and the acquisition of vast Eastern empires by Britain and France."[51]

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[49] Said, *Orientalism*, 315-21, 332, 335, 336, 343, 349, and 350.

[50] Lewis, "The Question of Orientalism."

[51] Said, "Orientalism: an Exchange."

Another of the harshest critics of Edward Said, of his overall scholarship, and more generally of post-colonial studies, is neoconservative scholar of Islam and the Middle East Martin Kramer. In a 2007 *Commentary* magazine piece, Kramer argues that Said has turned the term Orientalism into a pejorative one. Kramer claims that Said's interpretive analysis of nineteenth century scholars of the Orient is flawed. He dismisses the argument that those Orientalists were stakeholders in the imperial enterprise.

However, while mentioning French Linguist Silvestre de Sacy (one of the Orientalists whose academic production Said analyzes) for example, Kramer makes an *ignoratio elenchi* fallacy.[52] He presents a set of arguments irrelevant to what he criticizes. He thus embarks on vague digressions and diverts the subject thoroughly examined by Said in order to avoid the core thesis of *Orientalism* (the connection between Orientalist scholarships and European imperial hegemony).[53]

While defending Sacy's Orientalist work, Kramer for instance emphasizes the fact that the French linguist founded a great school of Arabic studies in Paris, and that Napoleon Bonaparte made him Baron.[54] In fact the school was not solely specialized in Arabic Studies but in a wide range of Oriental/Eastern languages (its exact name was *école des langues orientales*); and it was the French *Convention* which founded it in 1795, not Sacy.[55] Moreover, Kramer fails to mention that Sacy was also a politician

[52] An *ignoratio elenchi* fallacy is one of "ignorance of refutation." The writer/speaker fails to meet any of the necessary conditions for a successful refutation. Instead, he/she addresses points that are irrelevant to the discussion/ debate. Hans V. Hansen and Robert C. Pinto, *Fallacies: Classical and Contemporary Readings* (Penn State Press, 2010), 6.

[53] Martin Kramer, "Enough Said," *Commentary* 123: 3 (March 2007), 63. The article can also be found as a "Policy Analysis" paper, at the Washington Institute of Near East Policy (WINEP) website: https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/enough-said

[54] Ibid.

[55] Michel Nusimovici, "Les écoles de l'An III," *Bulletin de l'A.N.M.O.N.M.*35 (2010), 5.

(elected member of the *assemblée nationale*) and an adviser of successive French governments on what the Orient was all about.[56] Kramer does not mention that Sacy worked for the French Foreign and War ministries, helped with the translation of Napoleon's 1806 manifesto that aimed at galvanizing what Sacy called "Muslim fanaticism" against France's enemy of the period: Orthodox Russia. Other missions of de Sacy involved his work as adviser and translator when France invaded and colonized Algeria in 1830.[57]

Moreover, while giving other examples such as Guillaume Postel and Louis Massignon (whom Kramer identifies in his article as an anti-Semite), Kramer asserts that many Orientalists were in fact "eccentric" scholars on the verge of madness who did not pay attention to imperial adventures that were in preparation or actually happening.[58]

Furthermore, the most ruthless words are Kramer's *ad hominem* attacks on Edward Said. He labels *Orientalism* as a "dirt thrown by Said" that swept the general field of the humanities and created "the faux-academic discipline now known as post-colonialism,"[59] but Kramer does not provide any argument to demonstrate in what way post-colonial studies do not meet academic studies requirements. Throughout his massive assault on *Orientalism* and post-colonial studies, Kramer does not elaborate an intellectual appraisal of the ideas and arguments put forward by Said. Instead, not only does he harshly criticize Said personally, but also the entire revolution Said's thesis has brought about in Middle and Eastern Studies in the United States. Kramer

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The National Convention (*Convention Nationale*), 1792-1795, was the first elected legislative body in the aftermath of the French Revolution.

[56] Said, *Orientalism*, 223.

[57] Ibid, 124.

[58] Kramer, "Enough Said," 63.

[59] Ibid.

thus charges Said with having "brought Middle Eastern studies to the brink of ruin."[60] Moreover, he sarcastically mocks the US academic institution MESA (Middle East Studies Association) and its conferences he has attended and in which Said was applauded and honored by his peers. [61] He also blames the institution for not conferring on Bernard Lewis the title of honorary fellow.[62]

Additionally, while praising all eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' Orientalists,[63] it is incomprehensible that Kramer ignores racialist ideologies and colonial ethnology, produced and promoted by scholars of those times. Kramer does not pay attention to the nineteenth century factual and textual evidence that enabled Said to develop his thesis. It is for instance easy to cite promoters of colonial ethnology and what Historian Achilles Mbembe labels "conquerors' pseudoscience."[64] Among those colonial scholars and promoters, one can mention French Orientalist philologist Ernest Renan,[65] and British Joseph Chamberlain,[66] their respective notions of "superior races," and the assumed European responsibility to conquer, control, and civilize other "inferior races." There was also British

[60] Martin Kramer, "Me and My MESA," *Commentary* (November 11, 2014) Online: http://www.commentarymagazine.com/2014/11/23/me-and-my-mesa/ (accessed on November, 30, 2014).

[61] Kramer, "Enough Said," 63.

[62] Kramer, "Me and My MESA."

[63] Kramer, "Enough Said," 63.

[64] Achille Mbembe reviews this "colonial ethnology" and its 21st century reincarnation in his insightful discourse analysis of former French President Nicolas Sarkozy's polemical Dakar's Speech (July 2007). Achille Mbembe, "L'Afrique de Nicolas Sarkozy," *Africulture* (01/08/2007), http://www.africultures.com/php/index.php?nav=article&no=6784. (accessed on 02/06/2011).

[65] Ernest Renan, *La réforme intellectuelle et morale* 3rd ed. (Paris : Michel Levy, 1872) in Gallica, bibliothèque numérique, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, URL : http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k58130553 (accessed and retrieved on March 3, 2014).

[66] Joseph Chamberlain, "The True Conception of Empire," speech, in Walter L. Arnstein, ed. *The Past Speaks: Sources and Problems in British History* 2nd Ed. (Lexington: Heath, 1993), 276-278.

anthropologist Edward B. Tylor's works on "primitive" cultures,[67] or French Colonial Secretary Jules Ferry and his "civilizing mission"" motto.[68]

The 2007 *Commentary* piece is not the only paper in which Kramer attacks Said. All along his career, it seems that Kramer has been making it his duty to criticize and undermine all that Said has stood for. The antagonism is not only intellectual but also ideological and political. In 2001, Kramer published a monograph titled *Ivory Towers on Sand: the Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America*. That other piece was an onslaught on Middle (and Near) Eastern Studies in the United States of America, a field of area studies, Kramer views as contaminated by Said's postcolonial scholarship.[69]

Actually, no rigorous and serious evaluation of Said's scholarship has been undertaken by his ideologically motivated critics. Put under scrutiny, and due to his persistent ideological bias, Martin Kramer's intellectual probity may be put into question. It is worth noting that Kramer is a disciple of Anglo-American neoconservative Orientalist Bernard Lewis (whom Said identifies as among the Orientalists whose writings are politically orientated); he took his PhD dissertation under his supervision. He is also an Israeli scholar, currently president of the Israel-based *Shalem College*, previously called *Shalem Center*. Kramer was president of the *Moshe Dayan Center for African and Middle Eastern Studies* (Tel Aviv), and is

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[67] Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (London: John Murray, 1871). Also, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *La mentalité primitive* (Paris : Les presses universitaires de France, 1922).

[68] Jules Ferry, "Les fondements de la politique coloniale » Speech. French *Assemblée Nationale* (July 28, 1885).

URL : http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/histoire/Ferry1885.asp

[69] Martin Kramer, *Ivory Towers on Sand: the Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America* (Washington: Washington Institute of Near East Policy, 2001).

currently a fellow at the United States-based *Washington Institute for Near East Policy (*WINEP),[70] a think tank founded and funded by the AIPAC.

Throughout his writings, Kramer builds a Zionist- and pro-Israeli-centered vision of Islam and the Muslim World. It is out of the scope of this dissertation to examine and detail all of Kramer's identity-based and politicized writings about Islam, the Muslim World, and Middle Eastern issues. However, since one of the aims of this dissertation is to point out the link between Zionist-Israeli worldview and interests, and the neoconservative constructions of the Muslim World, some examples of Kramer's twisted and ideologically biased work are necessary and can be briefly mentioned.

For instance, in 1984, Kramer – and other neoconservatives – were prompt to praise the then best-selling but now proven unscholarly and propagandistic book, Joan Peters' *From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict Over Palestine* (published by Harper and Row). In that book, Peters used falsified statistics and out-of-context and irrelevant citations to claim that there were no Arab Palestinians in Palestine before the creation of Israel in 1948, and therefore that these latter have no justified claim on the land.[71] Many well-versed historians (among them

[70] Shalem College website, URL: http://shalem.ac.il/en/about/executive-leadership/ (accessed on March 3, 2014).

[71] Martin Kramer, "The New Case for Israel," *The New Leader* (May 14, 1984), 17-19. Other positive reviews by prominent neoconservatives include Daniel Pipes, "From Time Immemorial, by Joan Peters," *Commentary* (July 1984). Others who praised the book were novelist Saul Bellow, activist Elie Wiesel, historian Lucy Dawidowicz, and *The New Republic*'s Marty Peretz. See Colin Campbell, "Dispute Flares over Book on Claims to Palestine," *New York Review of Books* (November 28, 1985). It was Historian and Political Scientist Norman G. Finkelstein who unveiled Joan Peters' fraudulous book. Norman Finkelstein, "A Spectacular Fraud: *From Time Immemorial*," *In These Times* (September 5-11 1984). See also *Images and Reality in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (London: Verso, 1995); and Noam Chomsky, *Understanding Power* (The New Press, 2002), 244-248. Also, Noam Chomsky, "The Fate of an Honest Intellectual," URL: http://www.chomsky.info/books/power01.htm

Israelis rebutted the thesis of Peter's book and labelled the latter as "ludicrous and worthless,"[72] "sheer forgery," and a "propaganda weapon."[73]

Another example is Kramer's call, in a speech at the 2010 Herzliya Conference (in Israel), for the West to take measures to limit the births of what he labels "superfluous" Palestinians by stopping to help them financially. According to him,

> Those [Western] subsidies are one reason why, in the ten years from 1997 to 2007, Gaza's population grew by an astonishing 40 percent. At that rate, Gaza's population will double by 2030, to three million. Israel's present sanctions on Gaza have a political aim—undermine the Hamas regime—but if they also break Gaza's runaway population growth—and there is some evidence that they have—that might begin to crack the culture of martyrdom which demands a constant supply of superfluous young men. That is rising to the real challenge of radical indoctrination, and treating it at its root.[74]

Kramer's biased writings exemplify the kind of neo-Orientalism this entire dissertation is about. It is an ideologically orientated construction of Islam and the Muslim World and the production of a specific knowledge about it that endeavors to carry out political agendas, the common denominator being the Israeli-Palestinian issue. The problem (recurrently mentioned in this dissertation with regard to other

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[72] Albert Hourani, "An Ancient War," *The Observer* (March 3, 1985), 27.

[73] Yehoshua Porath, "Mrs Peters' Palestine" *New York Review of Books* (January 16, 1986).

[74] The quote can be found at Martin Kramer's website:
http://www.martinkramer.org/sandbox/2010/02/smear-intifada/

For a critique of Kramer's controversial statement, see "Harvard Fellow Calls for Genocidal Measure to Curb Palestinian Births" *The Electronic Intifada* (22 February 2010), URL: http://electronicintifada.net/content/harvard-fellow-calls-genocidal-measure-curb-palestinian-births/8692. See also Stephen Walt, "Kramer versus Kramer," *Foreign Policy* website (February 28, 2010). http://www.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/02/27/kramer_versus_kramer

intellectuals and think tanks) is that Martin Kramer is not viewed as a second rank university professor. He (like his mentor Bernard Lewis, and other neoconservative intellectuals and academics discussed in the following chapters of this dissertation) is considered by many in the United States as a scholarly reference in Islam and Near Eastern Studies. Kramer is regularly invited to give his opinions and "expertise" on Islam and the Middle East at WINEP and in various prestigious universities. He has also taught as a visiting professor at Brandeis University, the University of Chicago, Cornell University, and Georgetown University. He also served twice as a fellow of the Washington-based Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. [75] Furthermore, he regularly writes for *The Weekly Standard* and *Commentary*.

Along with Martin Kramer, well-known self-proclaimed neoconservative Joshua Muravchik is another harsh critic of Edward Said and his scholarship.[76] Still and comparable to his friend Kramer, Muravchik's appraisal addresses neither the core nor the edge of *Orientalism* or others of Said's writings. Instead, he misquotes Said, employs innuendos, and digresses by stressing the biography of Said as a well-off Palestinian who does not know much about his people.[77]

As a matter of fact, in a 2013 article about the legacy of Edward Said, Muravchik quotes him without mentioning the page number from which he takes the quoted statement (it is in fact page 204 of the 1979 edition of *Orientalism*). Muravchik quotes Said having written that "every European, in what he could say

[75] Shalem College website.

[76] Joshua Muravchik, "Can the Neocons Get Their Groove Back?" *Washington Post* (November 19, 2006). And "How to Save the Neocons," *Foreign Policy* (Nov/Dec 2006), 64-65.

[77] Joshua Muravchik, "Enough Said: The False Scholarship of Edward Said," *World Affairs* (March/April 2013). http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/enough-said-false-scholarship-edward-said

about the Orient, was ...a racist, an imperialist, and almost totally ethnocentric."[78] The afore mentioned quote attributed to Said would have been a crystal clear value-judgement and essentialization of Europeans had Muravchik not misquoted and not taken Said's original statement out-of-context. In this passage, Muravchik uses ellipses that indicate that a segment of the original source has been omitted.[79] This segment is in fact a single word Muravchik could have added if not due to specific reasons only known of him. The deleted word is "consequently."[80] The omission of this connector leads to a skewed meaning. Indeed, the quoted statement should have been linked to and explained within the wider context of the previous page (203). The idea of Said (distorted by Muravchik) is a Nietzschean interpretation of how Orientalist scholars of the nineteenth century continuously produced and propagated knowledge of the Orient using a language that made what was presented as truth about that Orient. In that sense, Said relies on Friedrich Nietzsche's conception of how language means or constructs what is (wrongly) perceived as truth. To Nietzsche,

> A mobile army of metaphors, metonyms, and anthropomorphisms – in short, a sum of human relations, which have been enhanced, transposed, and embellished poetically and rhetorically, and **which after long use seem firm, canonical, and obligatory to a people:**

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ellipses are used in a quotation to indicate omissions. These omissions are made of material that is considered irrelevant to the discussion at hand or, occasionally to adjust for the grammar of the surrounding text. Particular care needs to be exercised when eliding text to ensure that the sense of the original is not lost or misrepresented. *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 16th ed. (Chicago: Chicago UP, 2010), 637.

[80] Full quotation in Said, *Orientalism*, 204.

> truths are illusions about which one has forgotten that this is what they are. [81] (Bold emphasis is mine)

In other words, and that is made it clear by Said, "nineteenth century" Europeans were *consequently* made racist, ethnocentric, and imperialists due to the constant exercise of a specific language conveying a knowledge provided by Orientalists of the period.[82] Said's critique is thus on Orientalism and its devastating effects on the intellectual and public settings of nineteenth century Europe, not on rank-and-file Europeans who were unconscious and passive consumers of that knowledge.

Another strident ideological critic of Edward Said is self-proclaimed, and proud-to-be-so, apostate of Islam Ibn Warraq.[83] The latter even quotes Orientalist Ernest Renan to defend and justify his posture vis-à-vis his former faith.[84] Of course, Ibn Warraq's personal convictions are not to be questioned; but as an "Oriental" fascinated by the West, Ibn Warraq develops a Manichean vision of a timeless modernized West and an everlasting awkward Orient. Ibn Warraq misses the nuances and complexities of European and American political and diplomatic history; and he overlooks the multifaceted social, political, and cultural characteristics of the peoples living within the Arab-Muslim World. He thus presents an idealized but shallow image of a monolithic West, putting forward all its intellectual and scientific achievements but neglecting some gloomy periods and hiding many controversial

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[81] Friedrich Nietzsche, as quoted in Said, *Orientalism*, 203. For a primary source, see Friedrich Nietzsche, "On Truth and Lies in a Nonmoral Sense," *Interactive Media Research Laboratory*, Utah State University website. http://imrl.usu.edu/6890/OnTruthandLies.pdf (accessed on February 02, 2014). And a French translation is available at the *Académie de Grenoble* website http://www.ac-grenoble.fr/PhiloSophie/file/essai.pdf (accessed on February, 02, 2014).

[82] Said, *Orientalism*, 203-4.

[83] Ibn Warraq, *Why I Am Not a Muslim* (New York: Prometheus, 1995). Ibn Warraq makes part of a wide and influential network of American and European neoconservative and pro-Israeli activists. See Chapter 5.

[84] Ibid. Second page (unnumbered) after front cover.

deeds of European powers or highly debatable episodes in the history of American foreign policy.[85]

Ibn Warraq also provides an aggrandized picture of Orientalists and charges Said with ignoring what he sees as the exceptional works of German and Russian scholars of the Oriental studies.[86] As a former Oriental who rejects the Orient and the Muslim World, and views them as far inferior in values and culture to what he calls the West,[87] Ibn Warraq (along with Wafa Sultan and other figures of Muslim backgrounds) has made it his duty to attack the Muslim faith and the Muslim World whenever he could to the extent that his anti-Muslim radicalism made him one of the most renowned anti-Muslim mouthpieces. He has thus become an asset for neoconservative thinking. Ibn Warraq makes part of a wide and influential network of US and European neoconservative and pro-Israel pundits turned activists such as Bat Ye'or, Melanie Phillips, Douglas Murray (Britain), Guy Millière (France), Geert Wilders (The Netherlands), Robert Spencer, Rebecca Bynum, David Horowitz, Phyllis Chesler, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Wafa Sultan, and Daniel Pipes. All provide a steadfast support for Israel and a rough neo-Orientalist construction of Islam and the Arab-Muslim World (see Chapter 5).

Furthermore, it is worth noting that neoconservative strident and ideologically based critique of Edward Said, as a scholar and as a politically committed intellectual,

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[85] Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2007)

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibn Warraq. *Why the West is Best: A Muslim Apostate's Defense of Liberal Democracy* (Encounter Books, 2011). See also a debate over the alleged superiority of Western values and civilization, between Ibn Warraq, Douglas Murray, David Aaronovitch, on one side, against Tariq Ramadan, William Dalrymple, and Charles Glass, on the other. Intelligence Squared Debates (London, 9th October 2007). http://www.intelligencesquared.com/iq2-video/2007/we-should-not-be-reluctant-to-assert-the-superiority-of-western-values (accessed on April, 10, 2012).

is not limited to Lewis, Kramer, Muravchik, or Ibn Warraq. Many other neoconservative and American pro-Israeli intellectuals have constantly attacked him in their key publications such as *Commentary*, the *Weekly Standard*, or Daniel Pipes' *Middle East Forum* website and *Middle East Quarterly*.[88] Moreover, those hateful attacks never address the subject and validity of Said's scholarship but are *ad hominem* assaults. For example well-known Drama critic and regular *Commentary* contributor Terry Teachout labels him as "an intellectual thug who poses as a thoughtful, troubled citizen of the world while simultaneously serving as an apologist for Arab terrorism."[89] Another example is Paul Hollander, of the University of Massachusetts, who charges Said and other well-known figures and critics of US foreign policy (such as linguist and political analyst Noam Chomsky, writer and novelist Susan Sontag, writer Norman Mailer, playwright and Nobel Prize Laureate Harold Pinter, and Historian Paul Kennedy) with anti-Americanism and having a "longstanding dislike or detestation of our [i.e. American] society and culture."[90]

Additionally, Efraim Karsh – a former Israeli Defense Forces officer and intelligence analyst, now a professor at King's College, London, regular contributor to neoconservative magazines *Commentary* and Chief Editor of Daniel Pipes's *Middle*

[88] Edward Alexander, "Professor of Terror," *Commentary* (August 1989); Justus Reid Weiner, "'My Beautiful Old House' and other Fabrications by Edward Said," *Commentary* (September 1999); Stanley Kurtz, "Edward Said, Imperialist: the Hegemonic Impulse of Post-Colonialism," *The Weekly Standard* 7:04 (October 08, 2001). Efraim Karsh and Rory Miller, "Did Edward Said Really Speak Truth to Power?" *Middle East Quarterly* 15:1 (winter 2008), 13-21.

[89] Terry Teachout, "Musical (and Moral) Equivalence," *Commentary (November 2002),* 62.

[90] Paul Hollander, "Anti-Americanism Revisited: Round up the Usual Suspects," *The Weekly Standard* 7:6 (October 22, 2001). Here also, as with Buruma and Margalit (see pages 63-64), Hollander does not draw the distinction between widely acclaimed American democratic values and culture and some debatable US domestic and foreign policies, especially in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. See Pierre Guerlain, "A Tale of Two Anti-Americanisms."

East Quarterly[91] is another vehement opponent of Edward Said. Karsh accuses Said of hypocrisy, plagiarism, opportunism, and fabrication of facts.[92] It is also important to mention that neoconservatives' attacks on Edward Said and his scholarship were not only orchestrated at the public level but also within the most sensitive political spheres. For example, in a 2003 testimony before the House Subcommittee on Select Education, the Hoover Institution's Stanley Kurtz recaptured the charges of Kramer and asserted that Said's legacy of post-colonial critique had undermined US foreign policy since it had left American Middle Eastern Studies scholars impotent to contribute to the War on Terror.[93] Zionist antagonism toward Said rose even to level of threats to his person and family as well as to violent deeds and murder attempts.[94]

In short, a serious and honest reading (and critique) of the arguments exposed by Said does not seem to be the first concern of Kramer or Muravchik, and other neoconservative and Zionist intellectuals. All out attacks on Edward Said's *Orientalism* can better be explained by the fact that his scholarship brings into focus the sensitive and serious acquaintance between the production of knowledge about the Middle East and political and ideological interests of some pro-Israel lobbies in the Western World. Said's seminal and insightful work has come to shake the pre-

[91] See Efraim Karsh's curriculum vitae at http://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Prof.-Efraim-Karshs-CV.pdf (accessed on April 02, 2014). See also the *Middle East Quarterly* website: http://www.meforum.org/meq/editors.php.

[92] Karsh and Miller, "Did Edward Said Really Speak Truth to Power?"

[93] Stanley Kurtz, Testimony before the Subcommittee on Select Education – Committee on Education and the Workforce. United States House of Representatives (June 19, 2003). Accessible online at http://archives.republicans.edlabor.house.gov/archive/hearings/108th/sed/titlevi61903/kurtz.htm. See also David Price, "How the FBI Spied on Edward Said," Counterpunch (January 13, 2006). http://www.counterpunch.org/2006/01/13/how-the-fbi-spied-on-edward-said. For an in-depth analysis of Kurtz' role, see also, Gaurav Desai, "The Scholar and the State," *The Global South* 1:01-02 (2007), 98-108.

[94] Zoe Heller, "Radical, Chic," in Amrijit Singh and Bruce G. Johnson, Eds. *Interviews with Edward W. Said* (The University Press of Mississippi, 2004), 71. Also, George Wright, "World-Renowned Scholar Edward Said Dies," *The Guardian* (Thursday 25 September 2003). http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/sep/25/israel.booksnews

existing representations of the Arab-Muslim World and the state of Middle Eastern studies previously dominated by views of people such as Lewis, Kramer, or Muravchik. Said sheds light on this complicit relationship when he asserts that

> [T]he great likelihood that ideas about the Orient drawn from Orientalism can be put to political use, is an important yet extremely sensitive truth. It raises questions about the predisposition towards innocence or guilt, **scholarly disinterest or pressure group complicity**.[95] (Emphasis added)

It is then comprehensible that Lewis, Kramer, and their fellows see *Orientalism*-like scholarships and post-colonial studies research as a threat to their political and identity-based agenda.

2.5. The Cold War Paradigm: American Orientalism

American-based Orientalism grew in importance and scope during and after the Cold War. However, it is worth noting that there had been a weak but nonetheless existing nineteenth century US construction of the Orient that had competed (though not officially and diplomatically) with the European one. Indeed, American missionaries and Christian travelers had had a European-like image of the East long before the United States became a superpower. Nevertheless, quasi-similar to European ones, American constructions of the Orient relied on the identification of their own selves. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), an institution founded in 1820, conveyed an example of that Western benignly self-viewed image. Historian Ussama Makdisi suggests that the US institution and its missionaries viewed themselves as "participants in a benevolent and

[95] Said, *Orientalism*, 96.

universal evangelism."[96] Another example put forward by Makdisi is the case of co-founder and first President of the American University in Beirut Daniel Bliss and this latter's claim that the doors of the scholarly institution were opened "to the members of the most advanced and most backward of races."[97]

Despite their Christian-inspired commitment to the Near and Middle East, nineteenth century travelers and missionaries of the ABCFM found their work heavily complicated by their "uneasy relationship with nineteenth-century secular technology in an age of increasing European hegemony."[98] They hence could not compete with the powerful French and British Empires.

Hence, though some fragile presence and early constructions of the Orient in the United States, American actual preeminence in the Muslim Orient did not take place in the nineteenth century but during the second half of the twentieth century. Nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' Orientalist constructions of Islam and the Arab-Muslim World metamorphosed all along the twentieth century to leave the place to a new kind of Orientalism. Whereas the first types of studies on the Orient were principally the end-products of European scholars and artists, the second emerged and developed in the United States of America. That American Orientalism became apparent by the end of the Second World War. Then, United States' officials and academics involved with foreign policy issues started to view the Arab-Muslim world as a region of great importance for the United States, its vital economic interests, and its security.[99]

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[96] Ussama Makdisi. "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity," *The American Historical Review* 102:3 (June 1997), 681.

[97] Daniel Bliss as quoted in Makdissi, "The Land of the Bible," 680.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: the History and Politics of Orientalism* 2nd Ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 122 and 123.

The geographical shift of the source of Orientalism then took place during the early moments of the Cold War when the United States supplanted old European imperial powers after their decline, and when it became a superpower struggling to secure its economic interests and ideological credo against the Communist Soviet Union. That geographical shift went along a redistribution of powers in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s and the 1960s. American first footprints in the Near and Middle East, the effective control of the Arabian Peninsula and its oil in 1945,[100] the creation of Israel in 1948 in the midst of a predominantly Oriental Muslim World, the recognition of its strategic value after the 1967 War, all necessitated for the United States policy makers to acquire some kind of knowledge of a specific part of an Orient that grew in importance and whose full understanding was necessary. It was then that a new kind of Orientalism started to evolve and operate within the Cold War paradigm, and due to US economic and political interests in that Orient, in the second half of the twentieth century.

As early as 1946, a group of businessmen, politicians, and scholars having concern with the Arab-Muslim World created the Middle East Institute (MEI). The institute focused primarily on international politics and US business interests with relations to countries of the region. For that purpose, it launched the *Middle East Journal.* The original role of that periodical was to publish analyses on the region's importance to the United States in terms related to "questions of power politics," and

[100] President Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous symbolic agreement with King Ibn Saud onboard USS *Quincy* in February 1945 is a defining moment in US foreign policy and relations with the region. Though the official records remain silent about what the two men said about oil and security, most historians agree that the oral agreement provided Saudi Arabia with US protection in exchange for the availably of cheap oil. More about the meeting and agreement see Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: the Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power* (New York: Free Press, 1992, 2008). Thomas W. Lippman, "The Day FDR met Saudi Arabia's Ibn Saud," *The Link* 38:2 (April/May 2005) AMEU publishing. http://www.ameu.org.

evaluate all the forces and factors affecting that area.[101] Many members of the MEI were (and still are) former or would-be top officials in the United States security establishment and former diplomats.[102] At a time when Israel did not yet exist, and when President Harry Truman's administration debated among themselves about the necessity or not to support the Zionist project in the Near East,[103] the Institute and its members considered that the partition of Palestine, and the creation of a Jewish state there, would jeopardize vital economic ties with Arab countries and would then be detrimental to long term US interests in the Middle East.[104]

It is important to note that the Arab-Muslim World was not the sole concern of American academics and policy makers. It was rather part of broader reconfiguration of the United States' role in the world. Because of their country's new status, American universities and think tanks became more and more concerned with other

[101] Timothy Mitchell, "The Middle East in the Past and Future of Social Science," in David L. Szanton, ed. *The Politics of Knowledge: Area Studies and the Disciplines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 74. Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, 128.

[102] Among the prominent members of the Institute were would be CIA top official Kermit Roosevelt (who also became chairman of the Institute in the 1960s) and Congressman and Governor and would be President Eisenhower's Secretary of State Christian Archibald Herter. Nowadays the Middle East Institute comprises among its ranks Richard A. Clarke (former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and former Assistant Secretary of State for Politico-Military Affairs), former President G. W. Bush's special envoy and administrator to Iraq (2003) Anthony C. Zinni, former Ambassador to Algeria and Syria (2010-2014) Robert Ford, and many other military, intelligence, and diplomatic figures. See the Middle East Institute website, Board of Governors and Experts, http://www.mei.edu/board. (Accessed on May 3, 2013).

[103] Richard Halbrooke, "Washington's Battle Over Israel's Birth," *The Washington Post* (May 7, 2008). http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/05/06/AR2008050602447.html. While President Harry Truman was under extreme pressure from influential parts of American Jewry to support the Zionist cause, his Defense Secretary James Forrestal, his State Secretary Georges C. Marshall, and diplomats from the State Department such as Georges F. Kennan and Edwin M. Wright believed the creation of Israel would go against the United States' interests. For an eyewitness account, see Edwin M. Wright, "Oral History Interview" by Richard D. McKinzie (Wooster, Ohio: July 26, 1974), *The Truman Library*. URL: http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/wright.htm. For a critical analysis of the question, see John B. Judis, *Genesis: Truman, American Jews, and the Origins of the Arab/Israeli Conflict* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2014).

[104] Kermit Roosevelt, "Partition of Palestine: a Lesson in Pressure Politics." The Institute of Arab-American Affairs, New York (February 1948). https://archive.org/details/PartitionOfPalestineALessonInPressurePolitices (accessed on February 20, 2010). To K. Roosevelt: "Will the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine jeopardize the position of the United States in the Middle East? When all factors are taken into account, it is difficult to arrive at anything but an affirmative answer." (p. 8).

peoples and nations around the globe. Two fields were greatly affected and thus witnessed dramatic developments: International Studies and Area Studies. In 1946, the Social Science Research Council (SSRC)[105] set up the Committee on World Area Research (CWAR) so as to explore and "identify foreign regions of growing American national concern."[106] In 1947, one of its reports stated that "[the United States'] national welfare in the post war period more than ever requires a citizenry well-informed as to other peoples, and a creation of vast body of knowledge about them."[107] Great interest in the field of Area Studies started then to take importance in American academia.

In the midst of that dynamic, the SSRC created a specific committee for the Near and Middle East in 1951. Prestigious and wealthy foundations such as the Rockefeller, Ford, or Carnegie Foundations got more and more involved in funding research in the United States, sponsor conferences, and promote the American worldview around the globe.[108]

Within that context, the weighty task to provide the United States public and political scenes with knowledge about the Near/Middle East became the duty of what University of Florida Historian Matthew F. Jacobs calls "an informal network of experts."[109] It is then important to notice that scholars of the Orient, who once started their career and evolved in Europe and Britain, moved during the second half of the

[105] The Social Science Research Council (SSRC), founded in 1924, was a nongovernmental scholarly body aimed at promoting the social sciences in the United States.

[106] Quoted in Thomas Naff, Ed. *Paths to the Middle East: Ten Scholars Look Back* (Albany: State of New York University Press, 1993), 96.

[107] Robert B. Hall, *Area Studies: With Special Implication for Research in the Social Sciences* (New York: SSRC, 1947), 84.

[108] Lockman, *Contending Visions*, 125-27.

[109] Matthew F. Jacobs, *Imagining the Middle East: the Building of an American Foreign Policy* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 5.

twentieth century in the United States and made that new superpower's policy makers and academia benefit from the expertise they had previously offered to the British Empire. Those United States-based experts of the Arab Muslim World formed some kind of system of scholars who aimed at educating the public and policymakers about their area of study. To Historian Jessica Harland-Jacobs, a network, in the human sense of the term, is an "interconnected system ...an interrelated group of people who share interests and concerns and interact for mutual assistance" and who can operate at local, national, or international levels.[110]

Matthew F. Jacobs concurs with Harland-Jacobs when he describes twentieth century US-based specialists of the Middle East as a "transnational" network of experts who shared a common worldview, and common interests and concerns with respect to the Arab-Muslim World.[111] To him, the network was more or less informal but it existed within its scholarship some kind of "intertextuality," its members shared a specific "policy-oriented interest in the Middle East," and all communicated with each other and became the authoritative voices on the Middle East. He mentions renowned British experts such as Historians of Islamic Civilization Hamilton A. R. Gibb and Bernard Lewis as the most prominent ones.[112] Gibb and Lewis were then among those Orientalists who offered their services to the new superpower. Gibb got a Chair at Harvard whereas Lewis became the expert on Islam and the Middle East in Princeton. The works of Gibb such as his *Modern Trends in Islam* (a series of lectures he gave in Chicago in 1945) were authoritative in post-war American political and

[110] Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire: Freemasons and British Imperialism, 1717-1927* (University of North Carolina Press Books, 2007), 23.

[111] Jacobs, *Imagining the Middle East,* 5.

[112] Ibid, 4-5.

intellectual milieus that did know much about the people and history of the Arab-Muslim World.

The question of a United States'-based Orientalism is also dealt with by Edward Said. He views European and American kinds of Orientalism as two different Western experiences with the Middle East. Though both generated essentialist constructions of the Orient and conveyed negative images of its people, Said draws distinctions between them.[113] One of the characteristics of American Orientalism is "its singular avoidance of [concern for] literature." To Said, whereas European Orientalists had a background study on philology, and thus mastered and did research on the languages and literatures of the Middle and Near East, American experts of the Orient were social scientists who emphasized the study of "facts" and neglected the importance of Oriental arts and literatures. The effect was the dehumanization of the Oriental, his experiences, and his relegation to mere "trends" and "statistics."[114]

Another difference characterizing European Orientalism from the American one is in terms of policy. Whereas the former colonized the Orient, the latter's experience is – according to Said – much less direct and "much more based on abstractions." Indeed, the United States has never colonized the countries of the Near or Middle East but has exercised (and still exercises) a powerful political and economic influence on them.[115]

Additionally, Said notes another much more important feature of American Orientalism. To him, that kind of Orientalism is much more politicized due to the presence of Israel for which the United States is the chief and unwavering ally. The

[113] Edward Said, Interview by Sut Jhally, *Said on Orientalism*, Documentary (Northampton, MA: Media Education Foundation, 1998).

[114] Said, *Orientalism*, 290-91.

[115] Said, Interview by Suth Jhally.

presence of Israel as a self-declared Western country in the middle of the Muslim World is a central factor that is imported in American Orientalism.[116] This latter espouses the Zionist narrative – especially after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War – and suggests a binary characterization of the Orient. American Orientalist discourses view the Israeli as making part of Western identity while the Arab and/or Muslim, "if [he]occupies space enough for attention," is viewed as "the disrupter of Israel's and the West's existence ...bloodthirsty ...[and as] an oversexed degenerate."[117] Over a few pages, Said accounts for different crude ideas and stereotypes associated with the Oriental in American cinema, course guides, magazines, and news-photos that are backed, not contradicted, by the social scientists experts that are supposed to study the Near and Middle East.[118] Matthew Jacobs raises the same remark while he asserts that Orientalist specialists viewed that their mission was to educate the American public opinion about the "allegedly inherent traits of 'Arabs,' 'Moslems,' or 'Mohammedans'" through "binary characterizations."[119] The discourse and entailing knowledge provided by this American Orientalism makes it virtually impossible for ordinary American citizen to get knowledge about the Near/Middle East which is not shaped by the Arab-Israeli conflict and which is full of images of Arabs and Palestinians as irrational, violent, and even terrorists.

Whereas nineteenth century European scholars and artists were the originators of early Orientalism, American Orientalism was not the exclusive creation of intellectual and academic textual production. Another medium contributed to the production and propagation of representations of the Orient in the United States

[116] Ibid.

[117] Said, *Orientalism*, 285, 286, 287, and 288.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Jacobs, *Imagining the Middle East*, 10.

public scene, namely American cultural and entertaining media and at its lead the Hollywood industry of the post-second World War period. That new medium not only provided the American public with a new image of the Orient, but it also constructed and projected a peculiar image of the United States and its new responsibilities on the world stage.

Melani McAlister argues that Hollywood movies, from the 1950s to the 1980s, were full participants in the positive portrayal of the United States and its "benevolent supremacy."[120] She provides an original interpretation of the central role of Biblical epics and super productions such as Cecil B. DeMille's *Ten Commandments* (1956), Mervyn LeRoy's *Quo Vadis* (1951), or William Wyler's *Ben Hur* (1959) in providing Western public opinions with tropes about the "benevolent" role of the United States and its foreign policy around the world. McAlister asserts that tropes referring to democracy versus totalitarianism, "liberty-from slavery," and "peoples under God" versus people under "human tyrants," framed images of America's Cold War identity and mission inside and outside the United States.[121] The link between those movies and implicit message they convey and American foreign policy was made clear by Producer and Director DeMille during the première of the *Ten Commandments* in 1956. He made a special appearance before the audience and presented the movie in terms of contemporary politics. To him the movie was neither just a religious narrative nor a mere entertainment; rather, it addressed political questions of the time.[122]

[120] Melani MacAlister, *Epic Encounters*, Chap. 1, 43-83.

[121] Ibid, 44.

[122] Ibid, 44-45.

Another scholar who links the United States movie industry and representations of the United States and the Orient is social scientist Jack Shaheen. He undertakes a systematic and exhaustive inventory and analysis of more than a thousand American-produced movies, and he shows how – via the Arab characters they portray – they construct negative stereotypes of Arab and Muslim people.[123] Shaheen makes it clear when, owing to Renaissance Philosopher Niccolo Machiavelli,[124] he asserts that fictional narratives have the capacity to alter reality.[125] To him "Hollywood celluloid mythology" about Arabs and Muslims has been dominating American (and Western) culture.[126]

It is thus essential to observe that McAllister and Shaheen raise a question that has gone beyond the role of the Hollywood Industry and has invaded the general public scene in the United States. Specific frames[127] have been dominating the media and popular culture about what Arab and Muslims are supposed to be and to behave, and what the Arab Muslim World is alleged to be. Neoconservative agency and its discourse are major participants in the creation of those *neo-Orientalist* frames, the outcome being the emergence of a identity-related social phenomenon called Islamophobia.

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[123] Jack Shaheen, *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People* (Northampton: Olive Branch Press, 2009). See also Jack Shaheen, *Guilty: Hollywood's Verdict on Arabs after 9/11* (Northampton: Olive Branch Press, 2008).

[124] Niccolo Machiavelli: "The great majority of mankind is more often influenced by things that seem rather than by things that are." As quoted in Shaheen, *Reel Bad Arabs*, Foreword, 1-2. For another, and more acute, translation of the quote: "the mass of mankind accept what seems as what is; nay, are often touched more nearly by appearances than by realities." Niccolo Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, Ninian Hill Thomson, Trans. (Mineola, NY: Dover Books, 2007), Ch. XXV, 69.

[125] Shaheen, *Reel Bad Arabs*, 2.

[126] Ibid.

[127] For a definition of framing in communication theories see Glossary.

2.6. The War on Terror Paradigm: Neo-Orientalism and Islamophobia

In the aftermath of the September 11th, 2001 attacks on the United States, American policymakers started to wage what they called the "Global War on Terror" against a non-state actor called Al Qaida, and its satellites and affiliate movements throughout the world. Since then, more and more Western intellectuals and academics have been looking into the ideologies that inspire those non-state actors in their attempt to comprehend what actually happened, why it happened, and how to deal with it.[128]

However, simultaneously, another new phenomenon came to the fore and developed during the first decade of the twenty-first century. It is a feeling of apprehension, discomfort, and to some extent fear and hatred about all that deals with Islam and the Muslims. While it is true that terrorist movements acting on behalf of their peculiar and distorted view of the Islamic faith are one of the sources of some apprehension towards Islam and Muslims, the problem is exacerbated by some identity-based and ideological constructions of Islam and the Muslim World. Those constructions originate from some limited but influential circles within Western societies, mainly belonging to the neoconservative school of thought.

Contrary to nineteenth century Orientalism which was European-based and which created knowledge about the Orient so as to conquer and dominate it, or twentieth century American Orientalism which aimed at depicting the benign and securing power of the United States on that much precious Orient, with the need to secure American economic and geostrategic interests, post-9/11 *neo-Orientalism*

[128] Among the many works on the subject, see for example those of John L. Esposito, *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Talal Asad, *On Suicide Bombing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Reda Aslan, *Beyond Fundamentalism: Confronting Religious Extremism in the Age of Globalization* (New York: Random House, 2010).

operates within a "Clash of Civilizations" paradigm (See Figure 1, page 106). It is a body of knowledge, news, analyses, current affairs comments created and propagated by a loose coalition of intellectuals, pundits, opinion makers, and to a lesser extent political figures of Western public life that enjoy a special and affective relationship with Israel and the Zionist cause. In a sense, it is identity and ideologically motivated.

Recent years have witnessed surveys and studies on the phenomenon of Islamophobia.[129] In August 2011, the *Center for American Progress*, a Washington-based nonpartisan research and educational institute, released a seventy-page research report on this rising phenomenon in the United States.[130] The report exposed the funding and dissemination of islamophobic propaganda by prestigious and wealthy foundations as well as presumed experts and politicians in the American public scene. The report emphasized the domestic dimension of the Anti-Muslim campaigns, but it is worth noting that the actors working within the United States intellectual and media milieus also contribute to peculiar constructions vis-à-vis the Arab-Muslim World as a whole. The report also analyses the role of some prominent intellectuals, pundits, and politicians this dissertation categorizes as neoconservatives such as Daniel Pipes, Newt Gingrich, Robert Spencer, and David Horowitz in the creation of peculiar representations of Islam, the Muslim World, and Muslims in the United States.[131] Those representations are produced via a discourse whose main specificity is that it conflates Islam with terrorist-related activities, Muslims and terrorists, and the War on Terror and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

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[129] *Islamophobia and Its Impact in the United States: January 2009-December 2010* (Washington, DC: Council on American-Islamic Relations, 2010). And *Legislating Fear: Islamophobia and Its Impact in the United States* (Washington, DC: Council on American-Islamic Relations, 2013).

[130] Wajahat, A. Clifton, E., Duss, M., Fang, L., Keyes, S., and Shakir, F. *Fear, Inc.: the Roots of the Islamophobia Network in America* (Washington, DC: Center for American Progress, 2011). More about neoconservative manifestations of Islamophobia in the US in Chapter 5.

[131] Ibid.

The study of identity-related concepts involving the fear or hatred of the "Other" such as anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, or racism, is difficult to undertake since there is no or very little consensus on the terms used to identify those phenomena. The definitions of those terms, like other terms such as "anti-Americanism," are not agreed upon by scholars in the field of the humanities or the social sciences.[132]

For the specific term "Islamophobia," a great deal of debate is open over its definition and use in the public space. Some pundits such as French Journalist Caroline Fourest or Essayist Pascal Bruckner even try to discredit the term and state that its designers and users are "Islamists" (another term that has not yet been clearly defined) whose agenda is to fight secularism in European societies. These opponents of the use of the term Islamophobia assert that a fundamental right in secular societies is to criticize or mock religions.[133] In the United States, the term is rejected by neoconservative and pro-Israeli figures such as Daniel Pipes and other contributors to the *Middle East Forum* (MEF) and *FrontpageMagazine.com*. A great number of print and online articles issued by these neoconservative circles allege that Islamophobia (as a concept and as a social phenomenon) is in fact a "myth."[134]

Other observers and politicians in the European public scene also reject the use of the term Islamophobia and prefer the attribute/modifier "Anti-Muslim" or simply the common term of "racial prejudice" to qualify hateful and/or aggressive behavior

[132] An interesting analysis of the concept of "Anti-Americanism" and its excessive usage and mishandling is thoroughly examined and dissected by American Studies scholar Pierre Guerlain, "A Tale of Two Anti-Americanisms," *European Journal of American Studies* [Online], 2 | 2007, document 4, online since 15 November 2007. URL : http://ejas.revues.org/1523), par. 27.

[133] Caroline Fourest and Fiammentta Venner, "Islamophobie?" *ProChoix* 26-27 (Autumn-Winter 2003). http://www.prochoix.org/frameset/26/islamophobie26.html (Accessed in June 2013). And Pascal Bruckner, "Le chantage à l'islamophobie," *Le Figaro* (November, 5, 2003). Pascal Bruckner, *The Tyranny of Guilt : an Essay on Western Masochism*, Steven Rendall, Trans. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 47-50.

[134] Daniel Pipes, "Islamophobia ?" *The New York Sun* (October, 25, 2005). Accessible online at the *Middle East Forum* website: http://www.meforum.org/4340/islamophobia. More about Pipes, Neoconservatism, and Islamophobia in the United States see Chapter 5.

against people belonging to the Muslim faith. A significant example of the refusal to use this term is French Prime Minister Manuel Valls who concurs with the ideas of Fourest and Bruckner on the subject. He contends that the word "Islamophobia" is a "Trojan Horse" used by "Salafists" to undermine the French secular society and its "republican compact" ("pacte républicain").[135]

However, great deals of academic research, opinion editorials, and even United Nations' official statements[136] concur to define Islamophobia in a sense broader than just merely a critique of the Islamic faith.[137] The University of California at Berkley Center for Race and Gender Studies even created a scholarly journal in 2012 that aims at publishing critical analyses on this phenomenon. [138] Arab-American intellectual Hussein Ibish, who is far from being a Muslim apologist,[139] succeeds in arguing in favor of the use of the term "Islamophobia" rather than the one of "racial prejudice." He rightly notes that

> ...bigotry, bias and discrimination against Muslims in the West is based on a very specific set of ideas, images, stereotypes and arguments that are both ancient and modern, and that are particular to a range of

[135] Manuel Valls, Interview. *Le Nouvel Observateur* (July 31, 2013). http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/politique/20130731.OBS1612/manuel-valls-l-islamophobie-est-le-cheval-de-troie-des-salafistes.html. (Accessed in December 2013).

[136] "Unlearning Intolerance: Secretary-General to Open Seminar on Confronting Islamophobia at Headquarters," United Nations Organization website (November 10, 2004). http://www.un.org/press/en/2004/hr4798.doc.htm. And *Report of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance*, United Nations Organization (Durban: August 31- September 8, 2001), 18 (issue n°61).

[137] Fernando Bravo Lopez, "Towards a Definition of Islamophobia: Approximations of the Early Twentieth Century," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34:4 (2011), 556-573. Houda Asal, "Islamophobie : la fabrique d'un nouveau concept. État des lieux de la recherche," *Sociologie* 5 :1 (2014), 13-29. Marwan Mohammed, "Sociologie de l'islamophobie : un nouveau champ de recherche," *Sociologie* 4:1 (2014).

[138] *Islamophobia Studies Journal*, 1:1 (Fall 2012). Center of Race and Gender Studies. http://crg.berkeley.edu/content/ISJ-Spring2012

[139] In a *Democracy Now* debate with Daniel Pipes, Hussein Ibish views himself an agnostic. See *Democracy Now*. Talk Show (April 21, 2003). http://www.democracynow.org/2003/4/21/bush_nominates_islamophobe_daniel_pipes_to

> discourses that inform that bias. They overlap in many interesting ways with other defamatory discourses, such as anti-black racism, anti-Semitism and other ideologies of hate, but there is a specific set of concepts that inform anti-Muslim bias, especially in the West. Therefore, we need a word that will refer to that set of ideas precisely, as a discrete subset of the broader problem of bigotry and racism ...That term is, and will remain, Islamophobia, because after several decades of constant use it has become the settled and consensus word for it. It is not an ideal term, by any means. But it is far too late to find a different one. ...what's crucial to any term is the generally accepted definition of it, not the word itself. Any word or phrase is liable to be abused or defined in such a way that it promotes social harm. What is decisive in language is not the signifier, but the consensus view of the signified.[140]

The term *"*Islamophobia" is thus a neologism constituted from the root of the word "Islam" and "phobia" which means irrational fear. Literally speaking, Islamophobia is the irrational fear of the Muslim faith. By extension, it is then the fear of the people who practice that religion. That fear can be expressed through different affects: simple apprehension, fear, rejection, contempt, and/or even hatred of Islam and the Muslims. This term and the phenomena it signifies reappeared in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 events, but the word was first introduced in the 1910s in different works by French Africanists Alain Quellien, Maurice Delafosse,

[140] Hussein Ibish, "Defining Islamophobia: It's not the Signifier; It's the Signified," *Now News* online (January 18, 2015) https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/commentary/564741-defining-islamophobia (Accessed on January 29, 2015).

and Paul Marty.[141] The term was also used to refer to Islam and Arab-Muslim societies in the early 1920s by Algerian essayist Slimane Ben Ibrahim and French painter Etienne Dinet.[142] The recent reappearance of that term underscores a new element in the Western – and especially the United States' – relationship with the Arab-Muslim World, new constructions of Islam as a whole, and in the intricate relationship between American and European societies with regard to their own Muslim communities.

To French Social Scientist Marwan Mohammed, Islamophobia is a broad social phenomenon that should not be conflated with the "legitimate criticism of religions,"[143] and that should not be reducible to a mere act of rejection. He also thinks that the phenomenon is one of the consequences of the artificially constructed "Muslim problem" ("un problème musulman") in European societies, a "problem" whose fundamental stake is to question "the legitimacy of Muslims presence" ("légitimité présentielle des musulmans") there.[144] Mohammed thus restricts Islamophobia to a society- and nation-related issue solely linked to Muslim immigration in Europe; and he views Islamophobia as a phenomenon involving only its xenophobic promoters and Muslims in European societies. Mohammed's analysis is highly interesting in the sense that constructed elements such as identity and ontological insecurity are essential components that drive Islamophobia. However,

[141] Alain Quellien. *La politique musulmane dans l'Afrique occidentale française* (Paris : Emile Larose, 1910), 133. Maurice Delafosse, "L'âme d'un peuple africain : les Bambara," *Revue des études ethnographiques et sociologiques* 3-4 (1911), 10. Paul Marty, "L'Islam en Guinée," *Revue du monde musulman* vol. XXXVI (1918-1919), 174.

[142] Slimane Ben Brahim and Etienne Dinet, *L'Orient vu de l'Occident* (Paris: Piazza-Geuthner, 1925), 26.

[143] Mohamed, "Sociologie de l'islamophobie," par. 1. And *Islamophobia: a Challenge for Us All, Report of the Runnymede Trust Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia.* The Runnymade Trust (October 1997), 4.

[144] Mohamed, "Sociologie de l'islamophobie," par. 1.

this researcher sheds light on only one aspect of the phenomenon. Clear evidence suggests that Islamophobia is a much more global phenomenon.

Islamophobia is a general term that signifies a complex phenomenon having world-wide echoes and consequences. It involves all the processes that function on a culturalist and reductionist reading grid not only of Islam but also of Muslims, be they in Western societies or in the Arab Muslim World. However, as American Studies scholar Pierre Guerlain puts it, there is often confusion between whether Islamophobia is about the fear/hatred of Muslims or of Arabs, since the term is sometimes confused and/or coupled with racial prejudice against people of Arabic origins and cultures who are not necessarily practicing Muslims and may even be agnostic or atheists.[145]

Islamophobia mainly operates within a culturalist frame that explains and links individuals' behaviors to their cultural and religious belonging or origins, in this case Islam and/or Islamic cultures. This ultimately leads to some kind of essentialization, targeted stigmatization, stereotyping, and culturalist reductionism. The Western-centric vision of the Orient, Islam, and the Arab-Muslim World is perceived through the lens of a *renewed* Orientalism, or *neo-Orientalism*, emphasizing exclusively on what are considered as negative dimensions and components of Islamic faith and culture, or the alleged behavior of the Muslim. Islamophobia is also a kind of xenophobia since it also represents Islam and/or Muslims as elements extraneous and irreconcilable to the societies of the Western World.[146] American and European

[145] Pierre Guerlain, "Islamophobie: un mot Janus," *Le Huffington Post* (French Edition) (21/08/2013). http://www.huffingtonpost.fr/pierre-guerlain/islamophobie-un-mot-janus_b_3785398.html. (Accessed on September 08, 2013).

[146] "Islamophobie." "Glossaire critique des notions liées aux discriminations racistes, sexistes, classistes," in *Les Figures de la Domination* [on line], (01/03/2010), URL : http://lesfiguresdeladomination.org/index.php?id=288. (Accessed on December 25, 2011).

neoconservatives often try to make the case on this alleged incompatibility in their neo-Orientalist discourse.

It is important to recast Islamophobia in a new theoretical framework being imposed for two decades by the "Clash of Civilization" thesis elaborated and argued for by Samuel Huntington,[147] and exacerbated by the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States. The emergence of a peculiar kind of terrorism claiming to act on behalf of the Muslim faith and the subsequent "War on Terror" paradigm have been closely working in relation to different (and often distorted) understandings of the Muslim faith or the Muslim peoples. Moreover, the spread of Islamophobia is also fueled by the implicit ideational concurrence between those terrorist groups and some right-wing groups who denounce them in American and European (mainly neoconservative and pro-Israeli) circles. Both respectively put forward a simplistic definition of Islam and the Western world, both produce Manichean and essentializing discourses to construct Otherness, and both view the Other as a direct and dedicated threat to one's own ontological security.

Though Huntington's thesis has been discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation, it is important re-emphasis its relationship with how some people in the West perceive and conceive Islam, Muslims, and the Muslim World. The new structure of thought provided by Huntington presupposes that great irreducible cultural antagonisms underline modern societies, and that cultures and religions are doomed to collide. Moreover, it also stresses the essentialist belief that Islam is an awkward, degenerated, and threatening religion. Twenty first century "Clash of

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See also *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All.*

Bernard Lowe, "Islam and the Media in New South Wales," *Islam in Australia* (Sydney: New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board, 1985), 55-61.

[147] Samuel P. Huntington. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).

Civilization" paradigm has thus the central function to identify and construct a new ontological enemy[148] who comes to take many aspects in the social world. This new paradigm and its entailing neo-Orientalism might indiscriminately target the Muslim faith, Islam-related practices, Qur'anic scriptures and their alleged threatening commandments, Muslims in American and European societies, and the Muslim World in general, represented as a homogenous and monolithic bloc, the phenomenon of Islamophobia being the social outcome of that distorted reading of real social world.

It is important however to underline that the "Clash of Civilizations" theory as it was developed and argued for by Samuel Huntington did not target Islam or the Muslim World per se. Huntington's thesis was a formula to explain the possible course of development of a post-Cold War world where cultural groupings and affiliations (not only Islamic-based cultures) are believed to play an important role in inter-state relations. However, the recent promotion and exploitation of this thesis by neoconservatives and other pro-Israel actors have restricted it to Islam and the Arab-Muslim World.

Media frames have thus conceptualized Islamophobia as a fundamentally negative "cognitive, affective, or conative" posturing of individuals, groups, and social orders or norms towards Islam and/or Muslims.[149] Though the image of Islam (or the Muslim) as a threat is occupying a great part of present-day American and European public debates, as mentioned above, this construction is not recent, and moreover, the attitudes close to it have been widely dealt with in the literature of the social sciences and the humanities. British Historian Norman Daniel for example analyzed and commented how Christendom has constructed images of Islam for

[148] "Islamophobie."

[149] Iqbal Zafar, "Understanding Islamophobia: Conceptualizing and Measuring the Construct," *European Journal of Social Sciences* 13: 4 (2010), 279. (574-90)

centuries. [150] More recently, studies have shown how images and discourses throughout western media are framing representations (and misrepresentations) and are portraying a negative image of Islam and the Muslim World.[151] Islamophobia has even been defined by a Muslim scholar as a "new word for an old fear."[152]

Nonetheless, it is important to mention that if the fear of the different aspects of Islam as political and cultural dogma has a long history, it increased and exacerbated after the end of the Cold War and the demise of Communism. This phobia of the Muslim and the distorted conflations it entails in Western collective consciousness (Islam, Islamism, Salafism, Jihadism, Terrorism, etc.) , or the impression of phobia conveyed by some media, and part of the intellectual community, and recaptured by some western politicians has replaced the phobia of Communism as a threatening ideology.[153]

Twenty-first century neoconservatives and their like-minded fellows are among the actors that place the images of Islam and the Muslim as ontological threats at the center of their discursive architecture. While it is clear that some Western phobia of Islam and the Muslim people is not the exclusive result of neoconservative neo-Orientalism, this latter exacerbates an already delicate and complex relationship

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[150] Norman Daniel. *Islam and the West: the Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: the University Press, 1960).

[151] Elizabeth Poole and John E. Richardson, Eds. *Muslims and the News Media* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006).

[152] Abduljalil Sajid, Paper presentation, *OSCE Conference on Anti-Semitism and on Other Forms of Intolerance*, (Cordoba, 8-9 June 2005). http://www.osce.org/documents/cio/2005/06/15198_en.pdf. (Retrieved on October 21, 2008.)

[153] David Miller, "Think Tanks Must Drop This Cold War Approach to Islamism," *The Guardian* (August 23, 2011). http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2011/aug/23/thinktanks-islamism-muslims-islamophobia. Also, Simon Jenkins, "We Are Fighting Islamism from Ignorance, as We Did the Cold War," *The Guardian* (March 1, 2012). http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/mar/01/islamism-ignorance-cold-war. Also, Gerd Nonneman, "Muslim Communities in the New Europe: Themes and Puzzles," in Gerd Nonneman, Tim Niblock, and Bogdan Szajkowski, Eds. *Muslim Communities in New Europe* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1996), 3-20.

between Western societies and the Arab/Muslim peoples, regardless of their citizenship, ethnicity, or the countries they live in.

2.7. Conclusion

Three kinds of Orientalism developed and succeeded to one another along the nineteenth, twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (see Figure 1 below).

Figure 1: Overview of the Types of Orientalism

	ORIENTALISM	**AMERICAN ORIENTALISM**	**NEO-ORIENTALISM**
Time	Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries	The Cold War/ Post Cold War Era (1945-1990s)	**1990s and more specifically since 2001**
Paradigm	Colonial/Imperial Paradigm	Cold War Paradigm	**"War on Terror" and "Clash of Civilizations" paradigms**
Source	Britain and France (philologists and artists)	The United States (Social Scientists and Media)	**Neoconservatives and Pro-Israeli circles in the US and in Europe**
Constructed Object(s)	The Orient and its Peoples	- The USA - The Orient and its peoples	**- The Arab-Muslim World and Its Peoples** **- Muslims in Western societies**
Characteristics of the Constructed Objects	- passive - inferior - backward	- USA: Benevolent Superpower - Orient: backward and violent	**- Ontological and Existential Threats to Israel and the "West"**
Agenda	- Domination - Colonization	- US Geostrategic interests - Economic interests - Israel's security	**- Israel's Worldview and Interests**

As Figure 1 shows, whereas the two first aimed at creating a body of knowledge about the peoples of Orient, and more specifically the Arab-Muslim World, the third one has a less territorialized dimension. Moreover, the scope, aim, and sources of what we can call a twenty-first century *neo-Orientalism* are more different. This latter operates in the United States and European public scenes, and its constructed objects are the Islamic faith and Muslims in the Western and Muslim Worlds alike. This neo-Orientalism is the prism through which knowledge about Islam and the Muslim World is produced. Though not alone in doing so, neo-Orientalist knowledge feeds the social phenomenon of Islamophobia in the West and towards the Orient. As for its sources, they are almost constituted of neoconservative and pro-Israel circles in the United States and Europe.

To understand the motivations and nature of this neo-Orientalism, and the discourse with which it operates, it is necessary to explore its main source, namely Neoconservatism, its ideology, and the identity-related international issues this school of thought is concerned with.

Chapter 3

Neoconservatism Reconsidered:

Intellectual Inception, Identity, and Israel

Neoconservatism was the logical consequence of defending Israel and the Jews from Arab belligerence and the hypocrisy of liberal reproach.

- Ruth R. Wisse[1]

3.1. Introduction

What is Neoconservatism, how did it come into being, and where should one place this school of thought in the United States' (and even Western) intellectual and political spectrum? What are the core principles of its credo and how do the people who hold its ideology view themselves in the United States' public space? The guiding theme of this chapter is an analysis of Neoconservatism as a school of political thought whose individual and collective adherents to its credo operate as identity-based and ideologically-motivated collective agents. The chapter looks into the self-identification of neoconservatives and the ideological foundations upon which they operate. The aim of this chapter is then to historicize neoconservative ideology and place it within identity politics. A study of the neoconservative origins, development, and credo enables us to comprehend its place and influence in the United States' political and intellectual history.

This chapter then explores the ideas advocated by neoconservatives and their attention which recurrently turns toward the role and attitude of the United States, and

[1] Ruth R. Wisse, "The Jewishness of *Commentary*," in Murray Friedman ed. *Commentary in American Life* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005), 68.

its political and intellectual elites towards Israel, Zionism, and what they call "the West" and towards new realities that – they believe – endanger its ontological security and even existence.

3.2. Genealogy of Neoconservatism

According to Harvard University professor, Social Scientist and leading neoconservative intellectual Nathan Glazer, "a neoconservative is someone who *wasn't* a conservative."[2] Indeed, neoconservatives' origins are far from belonging to the traditional conservative school of thought in American politics and society. The label "neoconservative" may perhaps mislead the common foreign observer of American politics, and the term may be misunderstood, but contrary to the general impression, the neoconservatives are part of a very singular trend in the United States' broad conservative movement. Moreover, their close acquaintance with *some* forms of present-day Conservatism is recent and – as this chapter shows – somehow ideologically hegemonic. Though many principles of Neoconservatism and of other traditional forms of Conservatism sometimes overlap, the ideological origins of the former differ, and sometimes conflict, with the values and vision of many traditional conservatives (see section 3.4 pages 136-141).

So, if Neoconservatism is not a variant of American *traditional* conservatism, where does it come from? It could perhaps be unusual but many and the most emblematic figures of Neoconservatism are former radical leftists and liberals[3] (in the

[2] Nathan Glazer quoted in Kevin Phillips, *Post-Conservative America: People, Politics, and Ideology in a Time of Crisis* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 44. (Emphasis added).

[3] In this dissertation, the terms "liberal(s)" and "liberalism" should be understood in the American political sense: a political trend belonging to the American Left/ center Left, holding progressive ideas, and historically opposing the conservative Right. See Glossary.

political sense of the term) who refused the posture of the New Left[4] with regard to domestic and foreign policies of the 1960s. As an explicitly independent current, Neoconservatism emerged by the end of the 1960s out of the "the liberal split" over some great issues and was involved in the "culture war" of the period. At home, the divide was related to the "radicalization" of the Civil Rights movement and desegregation through the politics of ethnic quotas and Affirmative Action, and President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society program (especially the War on Poverty program). Abroad, it concerned the course of the Cold War (more precisely the course of the American-Soviet confrontation; see chapter 4) and the Arab-Israeli conflict.[5]

Despite the clear fact that Neoconservatism came into view by the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, almost all social scientists agree about the roots of its inception and emergence. However, there exists sometimes disagreement over the concept and the different aspects of its ideology.

As for the origins of this school of thought, in fact, there is some evidence that the genesis of actors who would belong to Neoconservatism as a body of political ideas goes back to the first half of the twentieth century and more specifically to the inter-war period. Though the label "Neoconservatism" was first coined by writer and socialist political activist Michael Harrington in 1973,[6] the individual figures that are associated with present-day Neoconservatism had been around since the late 1930s.

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[4] The New Left was a political and cultural movement of the 1960s which criticized the system of representative democracy and asked for more popular participation in political decision making. The New Left supported welfare politics, quotas and the Black civil rights movement, opposed the Vietnam War, and advocated the idea of a "counter-culture."

[5] John Ehrman, *The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994 (*New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 125-27. Jacob Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right: the Rise of the Neocons* (New York: Anchor Books, 2009), 67.

[6] Michael Harrington, "The Welfare State and Its Neoconservative Critics," *Dissent* 20: 4 (September 1973). Benjamin Ross, "Who Named the Neocons?" *Dissent* 54: 3 (July 2007), 77.

Harrington created the term to label his former fellow leftist intellectuals and activists who rejected the ideas of the New Left of the 1960s and early 1970s.

The New Republic's former Senior Editor and scholar John B. Judis, concurs with the general thesis that Neoconservatism is a radical metamorphosis of the old ideas that dominated American Trotskyism in the 1930s and 1940s. Judis – as well as political analyst Michael Lind and many others (among whom some neoconservatives)[7] – argue that most neoconservative intellectuals were former interventionist Marxists who changed their minds after the Second World War to become fierce anti-Communists in the 1950s and 1960s.[8] Indeed, in the words of author and *The Nation's* senior contributor Michelle Goldberg, neoconservatives are "ex-leftists – many of them Jewish – who lost their youthful ideals but not their radical (and sometimes rigidly ideological) habits of mind."[9]

Historian John Ehrman and neoconservative Nathan Glazer, for their part, date the true birth of Neoconservatism to 1965 with the launch of the *Public Interest* by one of its Godfathers, Irving Kristol.[10] Though Ehrman emphasizes the fact that some neoconservative ideas had always been present in some scattered form in the United States public scene, he argues that Kristol's *Public Interest* and more vocally Norman Podhoretz' *Commentary* (principally since 1960) were the most powerful

[7] For example Murray Friedman, John Ehrman, Jacob Heilbrunn, Benjamin Balint, and Kevin Phillips (widely cited in this dissertation).

[8] John B. Judis, "Trotskyism to Anachronism: the Neoconservative Revolution," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 1995), 123-29. Michael Lind, "A Tragedy of Errors," *The Nation* (February 23, 2004).

[9] Michelle Goldberg, "The Taboo Truth of the Conspiracy Minded," *The Public Eye* 24: 2 (Political Research Associates, summer 2009). Par.7. Retrieved from http://www.publiceye.org/magazine/v24n2/book-transparent-cabal.html

[10] John Ehrman, "*Commentary*'s Children: Neoconservatism in the Twenty First Century," in Murray Friedman, Ed. *Commentary in American Life* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005), 174. Nathan Glazer, "Neoconservative from the Start," *The Public Interest* (spring 2005), 16-17. Murray Friedman. *The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 116.

mouthpieces of Neoconservatism.[11] As neoconservative Ben Wattenberg puts it, though Neoconservatism was a new word in the early 1970s, it was not a new concept.[12]

Present-day Neoconservatism is then the output of a diversity of political and philosophical thoughts which developed and changed throughout the twentieth century. Neoconservatives, even before being called so, had been disillusioned liberal intellectuals (from their own perspective)[13] and political activists who, during the twentieth century, moved from one spot to another across the political and societal spectrums of the United States public scene. Basically, the shift took place gradually from what is considered as the far left to the right of the political spectrum.

The core and most visible figures of this school of thought came from the New York Intellectuals (NYIs) movement of the 1930s-1940s. The New York Intellectuals constituted the first generation of would-be neoconservatives. Many of whom (if not all) professing their Jewish identity – and later linking it to their political concerns and worries – those intellectuals were, in their early days, supporters of Marxist-to-radical and Anti-Stalinist Leftism to become staunch anti-Communists (while remaining momentarily liberals) after the Second World War. In the words of one of their members, the literary critic Irving Howe,

> [New York Intellectuals] appear to have a common history ...a common ethnic origin. They are, or until recently have been, anti-Communist; they are, or until some time ago were, radicals; they have

[11] Ehrman, "*Commentary*'s Children, 174-75.

[12] Ben Wattenberg, *Fighting Words: a Tale of How Liberals Created Neo-Conservatism* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2008), 15.

[13] Irving Kristol's famous quote that a neoconservative is a "liberal who has been mugged by reality." Irving Kristol, *Reflections of a Neoconservative: Looking Back, Looking Ahead* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 75.

> a fondness for ideological speculation; they write literary criticism with a strong social emphasis; they revel in polemic; they strive self-consciously to be "brilliant"; and by birth or osmosis, they are Jews.[14]

Among other most noticeable members of that movement were writers, literary critics, social scientists, political thinkers, and activists Sidney Hook, Seymour Martin Lipset, Daniel Bell, Nathan Glazer, Irving Kristol, Norman Podhoretz, Saul Bellow, Midge Decter (Podhoretz' wife), Eliot E. Cohen,[15] Phillip Rahv, and Diana and Lionel Trilling.[16]

Many of these intellectual figures became staunch symbols of Neoconservatism and have remained so (Podhoretz, Decter, and Kristol for example). Others, who remained anti-Communist liberals and held some neoconservative principles, separated from this school of thought due to different reasons. Irving Howe for instance, broke with Norman Podhoretz (then Chief Editor of *Commentary*) in 1974. He ceased to speak to him and stopped writing for *Commentary*. After having written thirty-five articles for the magazine, Howe became distressed with how Podhoretz turned it into a right-wing political magazine.[17] Glazer also broke with his fellow neoconservatives due to divergences over their support of right-wing Israeli

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[14] Irving Howe, "The New York Intellectuals: a Chronicle and a Critique," *Commentary* (October 1968).

[15] Eliot E. Cohen (1899-1959), the NYI and founder of *Commentary*, should not be confused with Eliot A. Cohen (1956-) the neoconservative military historian, also cited in this dissertation.

[16] Robert Fulford, "Lives of the New York intellectuals," *Globe and Mail* (May 29, 1999). And *Arguing the World*, Documentary. Joseph Dorman, dir. and prod. Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). http://www.pbs.org/arguing/. Also, Friedman, *The Neoconservative Revolution*, 15, 29-34, 57, and 78. For a more thorough history of the New York Intellectuals (NYI) movement, see Alexander Bloom, *Prodigal Sons: The New York Intellectuals and Their World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Joseph Dorman, *Arguing the World: The New York Intellectuals in their Own Words* (New York: Free Press, 2000); and for NYI dissentions and split in the late 1960s-early 1970s, see David Laskin, *Partisans: Marriage, Politics, and Betrayal Among the New York Intellectuals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

[17] Benjamin Balint, *Running Commentary: the Contentious Magazine that Transformed the Jewish Left into the Neoconservative Right* (New York: Public Affairs, 2010), 124.

governments and the question of the Palestinian territories Israel occupied in 1967. Similarly to Howe, Lipset's and Bell's early defections came out of a divide over the extreme conservative trend Neoconservatism took in the late 1970s.[18] In a telephone conversation with Temple University Historian Murray Friedman, Glazer claimed that Bell even denied he ever was a neoconservative.[19] In 1988, Bell also showed his dissatisfaction with Israel's policy. When asked by *Commentary* on his late views about Zionism and Israel, he admitted being a supporter of the "Peace Now" movement, he claimed the right to criticize Israel, and he even suspected *Commentary* of being biased and having a "hidden agenda" when it condemned any public criticism of Israel.[20]

The *Washington Post* illustration (Figure 2, page 111) displays the inception and development of Neoconservatism throughout the twentieth till the early twenty-first centuries. The figure exhibits the main intellectual and political actors of this school of thought, the periodicals through which they convey their ideas and the academic and political institutions in which they evolve and operate. The figure suggests (as aforementioned) that the original intellectual roots of the movement go back to the radical and anti-Stalinist Left of the late 1920s and 1930s. That Marxist Left was composed of the disciples of Soviet refugee Leon Trotsky, especially union activist and Socialist intellectual Max Shachtman, political thinker James Burnham, as well as intellectual and journalist Eliot E. Cohen, the would-be first Editor-in-Chief of *Commentary* magazine. During that period, those anti-Stalinist Marxists (and others

[18] Friedman. *Neoconservative Revolution*, 234 and 235.

[19] Ibid, 234 and 288, endnote 50.

[20] Daniel Bell, "American Jews and Israel: a Symposium," Questions asked by Nathan Glazer. *Commentary* (February 1988).

such as Sidney Hook) expressed their ideas in the radical leftist magazine of the time, namely *Partisan Review*.[21]

Max Shachtman – whose ideas influenced the NYIs – had befriended Trotsky and was a faithful adherent to his Universalist ideas. But Shachtman broke with Trotsky in 1940 and formed the Workers Party (WP) with James Burnham. The latter would later become an agent of the United States' intelligence agency, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS);[22] he would shift to the far right, and would become a strong anti-Communist and a militarist conservative. Burnham would also become an unfaltering critic of the Left in general and mainstream Liberalism in particular, an ideology he viewed as a "pathology" that – if not stopped and its alleged inconsistencies exposed – would lead America and the West to decay.[23] Burnham would co-found the *National Review* with New Rightists William F. Buckley and Frank Meyer (two influential right-wing anti-Communists) in 1955. Through that influential conservative magazine, all three would play an important role in the Cold War intellectual and political fight not only against Communism and the Soviet Bloc abroad, but also against Liberalism at home.

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[21] Later (in the 1950s and 1960s), *Partisan Review* together with other magazines such as *The Reporter* and *The New Leader* received secret funding from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)and became major actors in Anti-Communism and the cultural confrontation against the Soviet Union. See Elke Van Cassel, "*The Reporter* Magazine and the Cold War," Helen Laville and Hugh Wilford, Eds. *The US Government, Citizen Groups and the Cold War: The State-Private Network* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 119 and 125. Hugh Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 103-06.

[22] The OSS was the forerunner of the CIA.

[23] James Burnham, *Suicide of the West: an Essay on the Meaning and Destiny of Liberalism* (1964) 2nd Ed. (New York: Encounter Books, 2014). Donald Kagan, "Conference on James Burham's *Suicide of the West*," 4rth Annual Conference of the William F. Buckley Program, Yale University (New Haven, CT, November 14, 2014). James Burnham's thinking greatly influenced President Ronald Reagan's geopolitical outlook. See Ronald Reagan, "Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medal of Freedom," (Washington, DC, February 23, 1983). Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum. http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1983/22383c.htm

Together with Shachtman, Burnham, and Cohen, other early American Marxists such as Michael Harrington, Dwight MacDonald, and Irving Howe were also co-founders or early active members of the Workers Party. The WP was the political version of what its members called the "Third Camp," one that refused to side the United States, but which also held strong attitudes against the Soviet Union. Shachtman's early beliefs (in the 1920s and early 1930s) were strongly Trotskyst/Marxist, anti-imperialist and, though he was Jewish, he was hostile to the Zionist project. Indeed, he viewed Zionism as "reactionary-utopian" in character and as the "trail-blazer" of British Imperialism:

> Misled by the glowing promises of the Zionist leaders, thousands of Jewish workers were brought to Palestine to serve as the instruments of British imperialism against the Arab natives and the reactionary aims of well fed Jewish magnates in establishing a state in Palestine dominated by the Jews – who to this day form only about one-seventh of the population – and serving the cause of the Union Jack.[24]

However, Shachtman's attitude changed by the early-mid-1940s. He and many of the WP started to become sympathetic to Zionism.[25] He started to open the pages of the *New International* (of which he was Editor in Chief) to Marxist/Socialist writers supportive to the Zionist cause or at least the creation of Israel.[26] The Workers Party

[24] Max Shachtman, "Palestine: Pogrom or Revolution?" *The Militant* 2:15 (October 1929), 5.

[25] "Notes of the Month: the Jews of Europe and Immigration to Palestine," *The New International* 12: 9 (November 1946), 259-61.

[26] Edward Findley and Albert Findley, "Assimilation Utopian: Self-Determination of the Jews," *The New International* 12: 9 (November 1946), 267-70; "The Jewish Question and Israel: Resolution Adopted by the Independent Socialist League," *The New International*, 17: 4 (July-August 1951), 222-31. Albert Findley, "Israel's Laboristic Economy: a Discussion of its Strength and Weakness," *The New International* 22: 1(Spring 1956), 29-39. Hal Draper, "How to Defend Israel: A Political Program for Israeli Socialists," *The New International* 14: 5 (July 1948), 133-37. Draper was an anti-Zionist who advocated for the creation of Israel as a bi-national state.

changed to become the Independent Socialist League (ISL) in 1949, and the sympathy of the latter for Zionism was probably based on a class struggle rationale (early and post-1948 Jewish settlements and kibbutz systems in Palestine, and early Israeli governments were socialist in nature).

Shachtman later moved further to the right while keeping some social-democratic ideas but also espousing right-wing others.[27] In the early 1970s, he even attacked presidential candidate George McGovern (a critic of the Vietnam War and American interventionism) and supported right-wing neoconservative Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson (who paradoxically belonged to the Democratic Party).[28] While some of those Marxist/Socialist figures very quickly moved to the far right (James Burnham in the late 1940s-early-mid 1950s for example), others' journey to conservatism was slower (Norman Podhoretz and Irving Kristol in the 1960s), others moved beyond social-democracy (Shachtman), and others (as mentioned in pages 106-107) remained committed to many ideals of the radical Left (Michael Harrington, Daniel Bell, or Philip Rahv for example).

Though the illustration (Figure 2) misses important nuances in the genesis and development of neoconservative identity and ideology (the Trotsky- Shachtman divergence for example, the somehow irrelevant presence of George Orwell or Winston Churchill, or the incorporation of the prominent conservative intellectual William F. Buckley Jr. whereas he was only an intellectually powerful like-minded ally), it shows that Neoconservatism has been influenced by many different thoughts.

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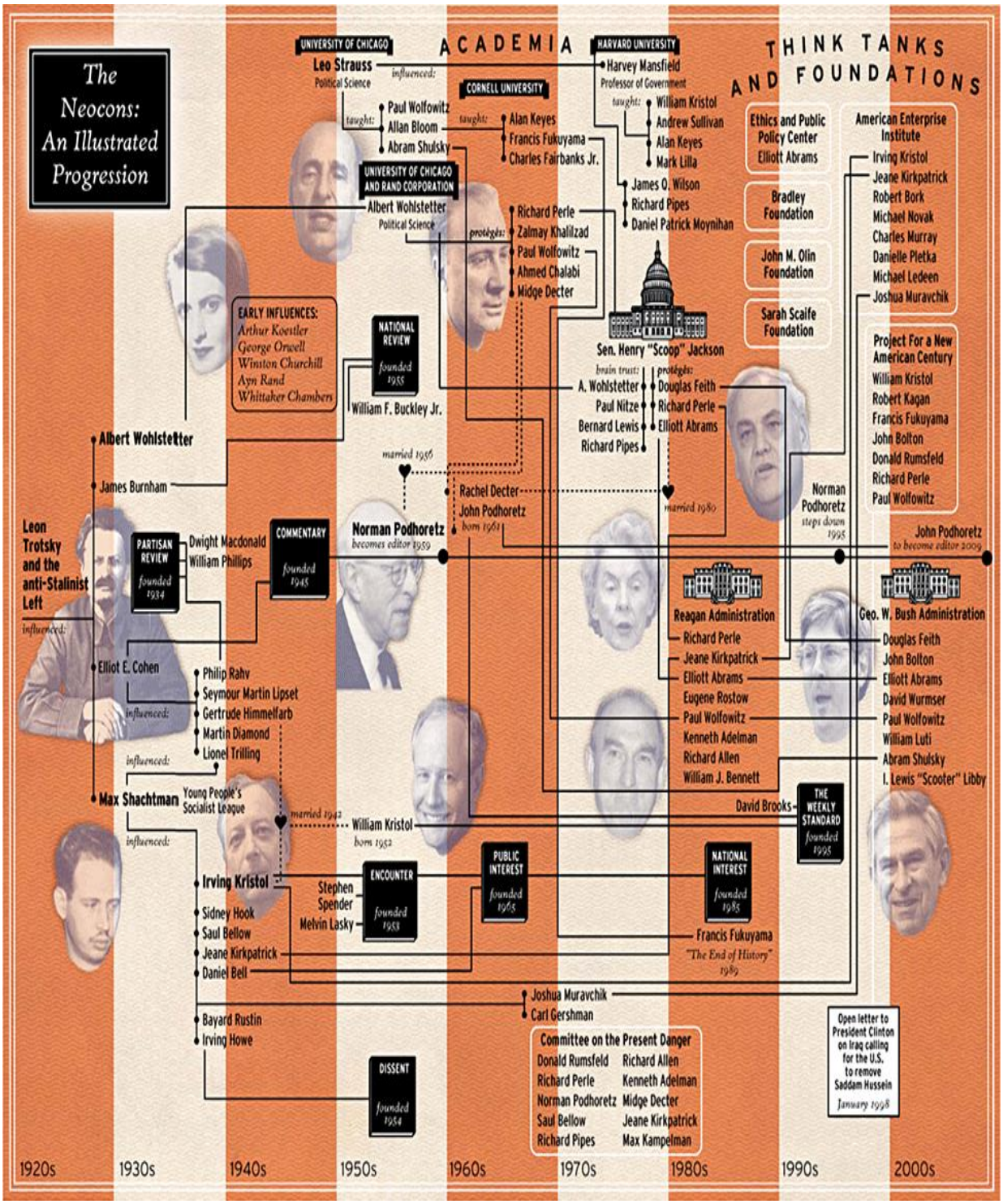
[27] In the 1960s and early 1970s, Shachtman's political postures converged with those of the American Right: he refused to condemn the CIA-led Bay of Pigs operation in Cuba (1961) and he refused to ask for an American withdrawal of Vietnam. See Van Goose, *Where the Boys are: Cuba, Cold War America, and the Making of a New Left* (London: Verso, 1993), 233, and 251, footnote 104.

[28] Jim Higgins, "Max Shachtman and His Left," *Revolutionary History* 5: 3 (Spring 1995), 209–13. For a thorough account of Shachtman's ideological reversal, see Jack Ross, *The Socialist Party of America: a Complete History* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), chap. 16 and 17. The role of Senator Henry Jackson is discussed in Chapter 4.

Figure 2: Neoconservatism: Historical Agency [29]



[29] "The Neocons: An Illustrated Progression," *Washington Post* (February 01, 2008). http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/graphic/2008/02/01/GR2008020102389.html

Figure 2 also exhibits Neoconservatism as an intellectual trend that encompasses a wide array of actors who have much in common. One of the specific features of Neoconservatism is its *core* (mainly the NYIs and their heirs), constituted of successive generations of individuals bound by mentorship and/or kinship. John Ehrman argues that "most neoconservatives are Jewish and are often closely related by blood or long friendship."[30]

These neoconservative intellectuals form what former Assistant Editor of *Commentary* Benjamin Balint calls "the Family," referring collectively to neoconservatives who, at one time or another, contributed to *Commentary* magazine.[31] As a matter of fact, one can notice for example Sociographer Milton Himmelfarb; his sister Historian Gertrude Himmelfarb who is also the wife of Irving Kristol (died in 2009). It is also important to mention the latter's son, William (Bill), founder and Chief Editor of the *Weekly Standard* and member of many pro-Israel and neo-Orientalist organizations (ECI, FDD, PNAC, AEI, EPPC, the Jerusalem Summit, see Chapter 5). There are also Richard Pipes, the father of Daniel Pipes; Norman Podhoretz, his spouse Midge Decter, their son John Podhoretz who is currently Chief Editor of *Commentary*. The "Family" also includes Elliott Abrams, the son-in-law of the Podhoretz (spouse of Rachel, daughter of Midge). Abrams is Senior member of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), and held important posts in the Ronald Reagan (1980-1988) and George W. Bush Administrations (from 2001 to 2008, the latest one being Presidential Envoy to the Middle East and negotiator in the Israeli-

[30] Ehrman, "*Commentary*'s Children," 176.

[31] Balint, *Running Commentary*, 6, 7, 8-212.

Palestinian talks). One can also mention Joshua Muravchick who is the nephew of Midge Decter.[32]

The figure also displays the close connections, and ideological and institutional influences neoconservatives have on one another. Furthermore, the neoconservatives mentioned above – and many others shown in Figure 2 – are major players in twenty-first century think tanks and organizations that are not displayed here, that generate neo-Orientalist constructions of the Arab-Muslim World, which I shall discuss in Chapter 5.

3.3. Neoconservatism as Anti-Liberalism

The late 1960s witnessed deep cultural and ideological discord in the United States public space over issues such as the Vietnam War, domestic political issues, societal questions (civil rights, women's emancipations, educational innovations and reforms), and individual freedoms. Neoconservatism came thus into being as an intellectual and identity response to and amidst the culture war of the period. Social Scientists Grant Havers and Mark Wexler assert that neoconservative ideas are likely to flourish when a "Kulturkampf" (i.e. a culture war) predominates the American public scene.[33] It is sensible to assume that all along the second half of the twentieth century, and especially in the late 1960s and 1970s, neoconservatives shook the social, cultural, and political settings in the United States and stood as a peculiar and new intellectual conservative response to the liberal ideals of the New Left. It is also true that they give a great importance to cultural and societal issues. The questions of cultural identity and values have always been primordial in neoconservative thinking.

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[32] Jerry W. Sanders, *Peddlers of Crisis: The Committee on the Present Danger and the Politics of Containment* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1983), 205.

[33] Grant Havers and Mark Wexler, "Is Neoconservatism Dead?" *The Quarterly Journal of Ideology* 24:3–4 (Louisiana State University, 2001). For a definition of the term "Kulturkampf," see Glossary.

Thinkers such as Philosopher Leo Strauss (see Chapter 4) and his disciple Allan Bloom have also been important in implicitly theorizing (Strauss) or adopting and propagating (Bloom) some aspects of Neoconservatism with respect to political, societal and cultural values. Bloom's best-seller, *The Closing of the American Mind* was almost completely inspired by the thoughts of Strauss. In his book, Bloom undertakes a late but nonetheless powerful neoconservative-like critique and contempt of American Liberalism, multiculturalism, and "*value* relativism," issues that dominated the culture war of the late 1960s-1970s, and that – according to its author – prevent the American society from legitimately talking about "Good and Evil."[34] Indeed, Bloom rejects the idea that "truth is a social construct utilized by those in power to enhance their position and place." He views that American academia (colleges and universities) has been corrupted by some kinds Nietzschean leftist ideologies and has surrendered to the demands of students, feminists, black power, and multicultural movements, and to the ideas of progressive scholars such as Margaret Mead or Herbert Marcuse.[35]

Neoconservatives employ cultural references for political and especially foreign policy purposes. For sure, culture, identity, and values play essential roles in neoconservative ideology. But their importance should not be noted in isolation to how those intellectuals conceive the United States' role and mission in the world. Havers and Wexler argue that neoconservatives are primarily interested in culture, not political alliances. [36] However, there is a great deal of evidence that link Neoconservatism to specific ideological alliances (with the New Right in the 1970s or

[34] Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1987), 141.

[35] Ibid., 33, 78, 147, 367. Friedman, *Neoconservative Revolution*, 192.

[36] Havers and Wexler, "Is Neoconservatism Dead?"

the Zionist Christian Right nowadays for example) and foreign policy agendas, especially the United States' behavior towards the Middle East and its relationship with Israel. Both arguments are valid and constitute two closely linked concerns of Neoconservatism. Moreover, in many instances, such as in the Cold War confrontation, the neoconservative-inspired War on Iraq (2003), or the War on Terror (2001- present), culture, identity, and values justify the claim for specific political and intellectual alliances and specific foreign policy agendas.

For his part, Social Scientist Kevin Phillips is among the first to identify – though partially – neoconservative agency. He considers that the neoconservative movement mainly consists of a group of former Democratic scholars and intellectuals belonging to the eastern coast intelligentsia. Phillips argues that neoconservatives (as well as New Rightists) were ex-liberals who had reformed their politics in reaction to what they regarded as "the incursions of the Left on traditional liberal policies and values."[37]

A dissonant view about Neoconservatism is that of *Public Interest* former Editor Adam Wolfson who defends the ideas of this school of thought. He sees in Neoconservatism more a recurrent conservative revival in American democracy than a kind of political and intellectual reaction against the ideas advocated by the New Left in the 1960s.[38]

Apart from Wolfson; scholars such as Havers, Wexler, and Phillips recognize neoconservatives' antagonism towards Liberalism within an ideological and cultural "war" but without raising the identity-based motives explicitly expressed by neoconservatives themselves. Indeed, the question of 1960s and 1970s Liberalism as a

[37] Philips, *Post-conservative America*, 46.

[38] Adam Wolfson, "Conservatives and Neoconservatives," *The Public Interest* 154 (winter 2004).

threat to Jewish ontological security is predominant in neoconservatives' thinking and heavily articulated in their discourse.

Undeniably, neoconservatives thought that Liberalism had betrayed its original ideals, had come with "eminently anti-liberal ideas,"[39] and thus constituted a menace to Jews. *Commentary* held a symposium on that issue on the eve of the 1980 presidential election, the one that would bring Ronald Reagan (and many neoconservatives with him) to power. Through some of its speakers such as Elliott Abrams, Ruth Wisse, Midge Decter, and Robert Alter, the *Commentary* symposium marked the actual and definitive break between neoconservatives and American liberals. The former charged the latter with being a threat to Jewish identity and interests because of their widespread support for the policy of quotas (Affirmative Action) at home, their "diminishing enthusiasm" for Israel, and their growing sympathy for the Palestinians.[40]

American Liberalism that once was acclaimed by neoconservatives became – from their viewpoint – the source of their ontological insecurity and a threat to the entire American Jewish community and Israel. That feeling could not be better illustrated than through the words of Gertrude Himmelfarb who viewed that

> we may begin to suspect ...that the liberalism that brought us into modernity, that gave us our freedom as individuals and tolerated us as Jews, has been replaced by a new liberalism that is inhospitable to us both as individuals and as Jews.[41]

[39] Robert Alter, "Liberalism and the Jews: a Symposium," *Commentary* (January 1980).

[40] Ibid.

[41] Gertrude Himmelfarb, "Liberalism and the Jews: a Symposium," Questions by Robert Alter.

Elliott Abrams also explicitly acknowledged the identity politics dimension of Neoconservatism, its particularism, and the main cause of its gradual switch to the Right:

> we became liberals because liberalism embraced and embodied the political values which protected and advanced Jewish principles and interests. As this ceases to be the case, Jews will find the automatic preference of Left over Right more and more uncertain. ...Jews are not so secure that we can afford to vote against our interests out of sentimental attachments. ....to vote for quotas or against the defense budget by supporting purebred Left liberals is a luxury Jews cannot afford.[42]

In 1992, neoconservative scholar and *Commentary* regular contributor Ruth R. Wisse made same critique towards Liberalism but with more conflation of Jewishness, Zionism and Israel, and the Middle East conflict.[43] She decries Liberalism for nurturing anti-Semitism in its midst; a hatred she views as manifesting itself in the "demonization of Israel."[44] That neoconservative constructed ontological insecurity was of course not shared by an important segment of American Jews who many of them remained liberals and held progressive values (for example Noam Chomsky, Norman Finkelstein, or Gabriel Kolko among many others).

Neoconservatives became thus involved in US identity politics through strong negative attitudes with regard to Liberalism and multiculturalism in general, and more specifically towards the socio-political advancement of other ethnic minorities. Those

[42] Elliott Abrams, "Liberalism and the Jews."

[43] Ruth R. Wisse, *If I Am not for Myself: the Liberal Betrayal of the Jews* (New York: Free Press, 1992).

[44] Ibid, 117-39.

two issues became the principal domestic targets of the neoconservatives' involvement in the culture war of the 1960s and early 1970s. Irving Kristol viewed multiculturalism as a "major educational, social, and eventually political problem," and as "an ideology whose educational program is subordinated to a political program that is, above all, anti-American and Anti-Western."[45] To him, radicals and the Left held a multiculturalist agenda whose aims were to instill in the minds of students (mainly African American) a "Third World consciousness" and to wage a war against the West as much Nazism and Fascism did in the 1930s and 1940s.[46]

Under the pretext of meritocracy, neoconservatives also nurtured some suspicion – and even hostility – towards African Americans' demands for emancipation and equal opportunities, and harsh criticism towards the support coming from liberals of the period. That Jewish neoconservatives-versus-Black antagonism clearly emerged in the 1960s. As a matter of fact, prominent Historian Howard M. Sachar observes that many neoconservatives – among whom Norman Podhoretz, Irving Kristol, Sidney Hook, and Nathan Glazer – held very negative impressions on the policy of Affirmative Action.[47] Neoconservatives viewed those progressive policies as a direct threat to Jewish status and well-being in American society. Nathan Glazer for example declared in a 1972 *Commentary* debate that the politics of Affirmative Action and quotas "inevitably entail a restriction on the opportunities of Jews."[48] Murray Friedman made the same assertion when he argued that the policy of quotas that aimed at benefiting to Blacks and women was a "source of deep anxieties

[45] Irving Kristol, *Neoconservatism: the Autobiography of an Idea, Selected Essays, 1949-1995* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 52.

[46] Ibid, 52 and 53.

[47] Howard M. Sachar, *A History of Jews in America* (New York: Knopf, 1992), 818.

[48] Nathan Glazer, "McGovern and the Jews: a Debate," *Commentary* (September 1972).

among Jews" because it "had been used as a form of discrimination against them, a means of placing a ceiling on their opportunities and aspirations."[49]

Moreover, Norman Podhoretz's negative attitude towards the then emerging African-American radical political postures and claims for civil and social rights epitomizes one of the causes of the evolution of some American Jewish (former) liberals towards conservatism. In the 1960s and throughout the 1970s, Podhoretz used *Commentary* as the intellectual platform of opposition to Affirmative Action and the politics of quotas. In the words of one of his fellow neoconservative Mark Gerson, "the issue to which Norman Podhoretz and *Commentary* dedicated most of their ideological firepower was the legacy of the civil rights movement." They thus "attacked affirmative action from every angle."[50]

Nathan Abrams goes even further in affirming that Podhoretz turned *Commentary* into an "anti-liberal and anti-black" magazine.[51] A close look at *Commentary*'s archives confirms Abrams' assertions. During the culture war of the 1960s and early 1970s, the neoconservative magazine published numerous articles expressing worry about and opposition to the rise a strong Black American political and social consciousness.[52] Novelist and African American intellectual Ralph Ellison explicitly raised the question of *Commentary*'s anti-black editorial line when, in 1965,

[49] Murray Friedman, "Politics and Intergroup Relations in the United States," *American Jewish Year Book, 1973* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1974), 175. Accessible online at the Berman Jewish Policy Archives: http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=20801

[50] Mark Gerson, "Norman's Conquests," *Policy Review* 74 (Fall 1995), 65-66. (64-68).

[51] Nathan Abrams, *Norman Podhoretz and Commentary Magazine: the Rise and Fall of the Neocons* (New York: Continuum, 2010), 6 and Chap. 2.

[52] Midge Decter, "The Negro and the New York Schools," *Commentary* 38 (September 1964); George Denison, "The Demagogy of LeRoi Jones," *Commentary* (February 1965), 67-72. Black Civil Rights activist Bayard Rustin, supporter of the Zionist cause through his Black Americans to Support Israel Committee, shared the neoconservatives' view and wrote a piece for *Commentary* on the subject; see Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics, the Future of the Civil Rights Movement," *Commentary* (February 1965). For Rustin's close tie to N. Podhoretz and Neoconservatism, see Randall Kennedy, "From Protest to Patronage," *The Nation* (September 29, 2003); accessible online at: http://www.thenation.com/article/protest-patronage?page=0,3

he asserted that "in the name of the highest motives," the neoconservative magazine and its writers were the "new apologists for segregation."[53]

Neoconservatives' hostility towards the social and political awakening of African-Americans was not exclusively based on domestic concerns. Similarly to Kristol, Podhoretz and his fellows also viewed African-American position as pro-Arab and "thirdworldist," thus – from Podhoretz' viewpoint – as anti-Semitic.[54] That opinion was not restricted to Podhoretz and Kristol. Other neoconservatives such as Earl Raab, Nathan Glazer, or Daniel P. Moynihan expressed worry about what they perceived as an increasing African-American anti-Semitism.[55] The deterioration of the relationship between Blacks and Jews was illustrated in all aspects of the United States public scene. The animosity went so far as to argue that some Jewish intellectuals of the time also curiously viewed black radicals as "mentally unstable."[56]

Neoconservatives thus refused to view 1960s and 1970s liberalism, multiculturalism and the struggle for minorities' social and political emancipation as a natural progressive effort for more equality in the United States public space. Those neoconservative assertions and all the constructs about the decay of American society and the ontological insecurity of Jews and their interests because of multiculturalism, liberalism, and/or Black threats paradoxically went against the long struggle of many

[53] Ralph Ellison, *Conversations with Ralph Ellison*, Maryemma Graham and Amritjit Singh, eds. (University Press of Mississippi, 1995), 122.

[54] Norman Podhoretz, "My Negro Problem, and Ours," *Commentary* 35:2 (February 1963), 93-101. Sachar, *History of Jews in America*, 818.

[55] Nathan Glazer, "Negroes and Jews: the New Challenge to Pluralism," *Commentary* 38 (December 1964), 29-34. Earl Raab, "The Black Revolution and the Jewish Question," *Commentary* 47: 1 (January 1969), 23-33. Nathan Glazer, "Blacks, Jews, and the Intellectuals," *Commentary* 47: 4 (April 1969). Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 71-77.

[56] Heilbrunn. *They Knew They Were Right*, 85.

Jewish liberals alongside African Americans for their civil and social rights in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

Neoconservatives' concern over issues of multiculturalism, Conservatism-versus-Liberalism, Zionism, or Israel were (and still are) recurrently displayed in *Commentary*.

3.4. *Commentary* and Neoconservative Identity

The most outspoken publicist of neoconservative identity and ideas is without doubt *Commentary* magazine. Ehrman asserts that, throughout a life of nearly seventy years, *Commentary* has always been an authoritative voice against American mainstream liberalism and became, in the 1990s, the leading intellectual journal of the American Right.[57]

But more than a journal propagating and defending the neoconservative conception of Conservatism, *Commentary* is also identified by its editors and contributors as embodying the ideas of the American Jewish community. Indeed, the overt and persistent wish to associate Neoconservatism and Jewishness is palpable among the contributors of *Commentary*. Moreover, it is even a neoconservative wish to monopolize Jewishness, to give it an exclusively rightist and Zionist dimension, and to integrate it with Neoconservatism. Irving Kristol and Ruth R. Wisse contend that "*Commentary* has been the most influential Jewish magazine in history."[58] At the same time, to most American political observers, *Commentary* is synonymous of Neoconservatism.[59] At one time or another, neoconservatives, the old generation or

[57] Ehrman, "*Commentary*'s Children," 175.

[58] Ruth Wisse, "The Jewishness of *Commentary*," in Murray Friedman, Ed. *Commentary in American Life*, 52.

[59] Ehrman, "*Commentary*'s Children," 174; and Balint, *Running Commentary*. Balint's entire book explicitly deals with Jewishness, Zionism, and Neoconservatism as three intertwined facets of *Commentary*'s identity.

the younger one, took their pens to promote or defend these ideas. But more than a voice for Neoconservatism, *Commentary* epitomizes – through the different articles it publishes – the wish to promote what it views as the intimate link between Zionist identity and some members of the American Jewish community.

Ruth R. Wisse, a Harvard scholar and an ardent neoconservative who does not hide her extreme right-wing views on the Israeli-Palestinian question,[60] and who regularly writes for the magazine, also argues that *Commentary* has always met the challenge of being simultaneously "American," "intellectual," "independent," and "Jewish."[61] She also asserts that the aim of the magazine is "the defense of Jews as Jews."[62] She even goes further in asserting that the post-Second World War "new Jewish assertiveness" that was expressed in *Commentary*'s pages went together with a durable and strong defense of the then newly created Israel.[63] It is then as if the regular contributors of the journal such as Wisse, could not dissociate Neoconservatism, American Jewishness, and Zionism. To them, the Zionism of *Commentary* had political, cultural, and historical dimensions.[64]

However, Wisse's claim that *Commentary* has always put Israel as the top of its concerns seems somehow anachronous. Her assertion may not reflect the character of *Commentary* in its early years. Nathan Abrams argues that under the editorship of Eliot E. Cohen (1945-1960), *Commentary* was an authoritative magazine dealing with matters of universal interests from a non-Zionist (not anti-) Jewish perspective and

[60] Huge contempt and hatred towards Palestinians transpires in Wisse's writings. For example, she asserts that "the obvious key to the success of Arab strategy is the presence, in the disputed territories [sic] …of Palestinian Arabs, people who breed and bleed and advertise their misery." Ruth R. Wisse, "Israel and the Intellectuals: a Failure of the Nerves?" *Commentary* (May 1988), par. 8.

[61] Wisse, "The Jewishness of *Commentary*," 53.

[62] Ibid, 68.

[63] Ibid, 59.

[64] Ibid, 58.

giving its diverse contributors some form of editorial freedom. It was only with the arrival of Podhoretz at its head (1960-1995) that this latter turned the magazine "into an extension of his own personality."[65] In his analysis of the rise and development of *Commentary* under Podhoretz' guidance, Abrams asserts that the neoconservative magazine was an ideological weapon not only against Communists, but also against liberals, blacks, the counterculture of the 1960s, women's rights, and many other progressive issues.[66]

The development of *Commentary* gives some hint about the rise of Neoconservatism as an identity-motivated school of thought. Originally, the American Jewish Committee[67] (AJC) created *Commentary* in 1945 to replace its initial magazine, the *Contemporary Jewish Record* (published from 1938 to 1945). However, *Commentary* was seen as much more than a tool to express the views of the AJC. Not only did the AJC want the periodical to be a "journal of significant thought and opinion on Jewish affairs,"[68] but its early aim was to echo the "compatibility of Americanism and Judaism," and the unity of their values and culture.[69] In that sense, Nathan Abrams argues that early (and then late) contributors to *Commentary* developed discourses of Jewishness[70] interwoven with those of Americanism. That discursive fusion would – according to Abrams – enable Judaism fit the American public space.[71] The editors and regular contributors of *Commentary* assumed that the

[65] Abrams, *Norman Podhoretz and Commentary Magazine*, 3-4.

[66] Ibid. Chapters 2-8.

[67] The American Jewish Committee is an international advocacy organization founded in 1906. More about its role and work, see its website:
http://www.ajc.org/site/c.7oJILSPwFfJSG/b.8449641/k.BD8F/Home.htm

[68] Nathan Abrams, "America is Home," in Friedman, Ed. *Commentary in American Life*, 18.

[69] Ibid, 30.

[70] For definitions and differentiation of Jewishness and Judaism, see Glossary.

[71] Abrams, "America is Home," 31.

convergence of interests between America and the Jews was not fortuitous. Rather, they argued that the intimate relationship between them comes from "basic values that were held in common by the two people."[72]

Another and not less important aim of the AJC – but paradoxically contradictory to the one mentioned above – was to encourage Jewish intellectuals to return to their Jewishness, away from the universalism they once had embraced but which – according to them – "had failed them."[73] Furthermore, *Commentary*'s post Second World War ideological purpose was to fight Communism, to dissociate Jews from it, and to discuss questions of concern to American Jews and their security. At that time, the AJC endeavored to dissociate Communism and Judaism in the United States public mind.[74]

Nowadays, *Commentary*'s mission does not differ much from the day of its inception but with a scope not only maintaining and conflating identities and concepts such as Jewishness, Zionism, and Americanism; but also extending beyond them. For a few decades, and probably since 1967, Israel and what they call "Western Civilization" have become part of neoconservatives' – and thus *Commentary*'s – concern and discourse, all with a new type of conflation, one that is identity-based, ideologically motivated, and that leaves no place for nuances. According to its present-day editors, *Commentary*'s mission is

> to maintain, sustain, and cultivate the future of the Jewish people; to bear witness against anti-Semitism and defend Zionism and the State of Israel; to take inventory in and increase the storehouse of the best

[72] Wisse, "The Jewishness of *Commentary*," 54.

[73] Abrams, "America is Home," 19.

[74] Ibid, 22.

> that has been thought and said; and to stand with and for the West and its finest flowering, the United States.[75]

Neoconservatives view *Commentary* as

> an act of faith in its singular approach to the consideration of the traditions of Judaism and Jewish life. The traditions of Western civilization, of which the Hebrew Bible is the wellspring, are also our constant concern. *Commentary* is a reflection of and, taken as a whole, a reflection on the manifold glories of the West and the inestimable contribution it has made to the betterment of humankind.[76]

This conflation has resulted in neoconservatives viewing any criticism of Israel as not only a manifestation of Anti-Semitism but also as contempt for – and hatred of – Americanism and of Western values. Podhoretz, for example, viewed that "hostility toward Israel is a sure sign of failing faith in and support for the virtues and values of Western Civilization in general and of America in particular."[77]

Since the 1970s, the influence of *Commentary* has spread well beyond the intellectual community to dominate American political life. Indeed, many of its regular contributors received high-level appointments in the Reagan administration (1981-1988). Its contributors were well-known for their ardent Zionism, staunch anti-Communism and anti-Third-Worldism. Prominent political figures who were made known by *Commentary* were Jeane Kirkpatrick and Daniel Patrick Moyhinan. Both were successively appointed as US ambassadors to the United Nations in the 1970s

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[75] "Mission," *Commentary* magazine website. https://www.commentarymagazine.com/about/mission/

[76] Ibid.

[77] Norman Podhoretz, "J'accuse," Norman Podhoretz and Thomas L. Jeffers, eds. *The Norman Podhoretz Reader: a Selection of His Writings from the 1950s to the 1990s* (New York: the Free Press, 2004). 159.

and 1980s. Other examples are Richard Pipes, who became Ronald Reagan's Soviet Affairs Advisor, Elliott Abrams, or Ben Wattenberg among many others.

Since the 1990s and especially after the tragic and symbolic date of September 11, 2001, *Commentary*'s ideological purpose has shifted to new issues while maintaining a traditional neoconservative stance. From a journal whose initial concern was Jews and Jewishness in the United States and their affective and devoted relationship with the pro-Israeli cause, *Commentary* has added a new construct to its ideological concern: the Arab-Muslim threat to Jewish, American, and Western ontological security. The neoconservative magazine has turned then to be also concerned with Islam, Muslims in Europe and the United States, and the Muslim World with special emphasis on threats coming from the Near/Middle East, Palestinian militancy and Iran having the lion's share of the magazine's attention. Nowadays, the neoconservative magazine integrates those new issues in its editorial policy, in its website, and many articles and online posts emphasize Arab-Muslim-related issues and discuss these latter within a Huntingtonian "Clash of Civilizations" paradigm and from an exclusively Israeli perspective.[78]

Commentary's contemporary contributors are nowadays among the most visible supporters of what Norman Podhoretz and Eliot A. Cohen call "World War IV" against "Islamofascism."[79] President George W. Bush used this term in his speech to refer to terrorism that claims to act in the name of Islam. However the association of

[78] See for example numerous "Threat Assessment" articles and online posts by Jonathan Tobin, *Commentary* Senior online Editor. https://www.commentarymagazine.com/pods-author/jonathan-tobin/. See also many articles on the subject; for example Norman Podhoretz, "the Case for Bombing Iran," *Commentary* (June 2007). Bret Stephens, "How to Manage Savagery," *Commentary* (September 2008), 19-26. Bret Stephens, "Iran Cannot Be Contained," *Commentary* (July/August 2010), 61-70.

[79] Eliot A. Cohen, "World War IV: Let's Call This Conflict What It Is," *The Wall Street Journal* (November 20, 2001); Norman Podhoretz, "How to Win World War IV," *Commentary* (February 2002); Norman Podhoretz, "World War IV: How It Started, What It Means, and Why We Have to Win," *Commentary* (September 2004).

the words “Islam” and “Fascism” in the Western psyche makes it highly controversial and dangerous (see Chapter 5).

3.5. Neoconservative Identity and Israel

While many political observers understand Neoconservatism in terms of United States domestic anti-liberal political thought and/or broad Grand Strategy (see Chapter 4, page 199), there is then also a great deal of evidence (as discussed in 3.2 and 3.3) that Neoconservatism also operates within identity politics reading grids with regard to issues in foreign affairs. The relationship between neoconservative agency – both at the American and European levels – and pro-Israeli concerns is easy to establish. However, though many pundits link Jewishness – without any nuance and in its generic sense – to Neoconservatism, there is clear evidence that Jewishness is synonymous neither of Neoconservatism nor of Zionism, and that many American Jewish intellectuals – religious and non-religious alike – strongly oppose the neoconservative creed, neoconservative support of Israel, Israel’s political behavior, or even the status of Israel itself.[80] Rather, Neoconservatism can be better understood in terms of Western Zionist identity and an unconditional support for Israel’s role in the Middle East, and of its antagonistic relationship with the countries of the region as well as its policy towards the Palestinian people.

[80] Among the Jewish groups against Neoconservatism and its pro-Israel stance: Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/content/jvp-mission-statement; *Tikkun Magazine*, http://www.tikkun.org/nextgen/about; and the orthodox Jewish community Neiture Karta, http://www.nkusa.org/aboutus/index.cfm. There are also individual figures such as political observers Richard Silverstein (http://www.richardsilverstein.com/) and Phillip Weiss (http://mondoweiss.net/). In Israel, the Interreligious Coordinating Council in Israel, Tag Meir. http://icci.org.il/programs/tag-meir/. See also the interesting work of *The Nation*’s Editor and *London Review of Books* regular contributor Adam Shatz, Ed. *Prophets Outcast: A Century of Dissent Jewish Writing about Israel and Zionism* (New York: Nation Books, 2004). For the necessity of a Jewish critique of Zionism, see Judith Butler, *Parting Ways: Jewishness and the Critique of Zionism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012). For a critique of Israel as a Jewish state see Israeli scholar Shlomo Sand, *The Invention of the Land of Israel* (London: Verso, 2012).

Neoconservatives' self-identification both and simultaneously with Jewishness and Zionism even goes against several ideas held by Jewish Israelis and non-Israelis on the successive Israeli policies towards the Palestinian issue. Nevertheless, Neoconservative intellectuals – via opinion magazines such as *Commentary* (and now the *Weekly Standard*) and many pro-Israel organizations – commit themselves to conflating Jewishness and Zionism in the United States' political debate. For them Jewishness and Zionism are identical.

The question of Zionism as a pivotal aspect of Neoconservatism is not new but does not go back to the 1930s or even to the post-Second World War period. There is some contention on whether early/would-be neoconservative intellectuals were ardent supporters or indifferent to the Zionist cause and the creation of a national state for the Jewish people in Palestine. Contrary to the claim of Ruth Wisse or of the "mission statement" of the current *Commentary* (see pages 124-25), some New York intellectuals or other early Jewish contributors who wrote for the then nascent *Commentary* (from 1945 to nearly 1950) were not all enthusiastic supporters of Zionism or any kind of ethnic/religious nationalism. Balint asserts that even *Commentary*'s first Chief Editor Eliot Cohen was not keen towards the newly created Israel.[81] A *Commentary* article of that early period even criticized the idea of an independent state for Jews in Palestine.[82] Others, though they did not deplore Jewish immigration to Palestine, were very suspicious to the idea of establishing a "national" state for Jews.[83] Sidney Hook admitted that during that period, "none of us [the NYIs]

[81] Balint, *Running Commentary*, 36-38 and 41.

[82] Mosche Smelansky, "A Palestinian's Solution," *Commentary* (March 1946).

[83] Ernest Muntz, "Nationalism Is the Enemy," *Commentary* (August 1946).

were Zionists," though he changed his mind later.[84] Yet, other neoconservatives nurtured a subjective affection for Israel right from its birth. Decter for example acknowledged that she was "born and bred in Zionist theory and Zionist sentiment."[85]

In concurrence with Decter's aforementioned statement, a look at *Commentary*'s archives shows that some of the American magazine's early contributors emphasized Zionism and Jewish migration and settlement in Palestine. Shlomo Katz for example defended "Jewish resistance" of the Hagana and the Irgun against Arabs "inspired and to a considerable extent financed by fascist sources in Europe."[86]

Furthermore, Zionism and Israel became the increasing concern of some American Jews, and more precisely the neoconservative heirs of the New York Intellectuals, after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War.

The 1967 War occurred at a time when the United States was engaging in a close relationship with Israel. Former advisor to Presidents Nixon and Carter William B. Quandt and Oxford Historian Avi Shlaim (a Jewish historian who is very critical of Israel) assert that President Lyndon B. Johnson's views on Israel were ranging from warmth to admiration. This was mainly due to the fact that, throughout his career, Johnson's relationship with the American Jewish communities was close.[87] The same

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[84] Sidney Hook, *Out of Step: an Unquiet Life in the 20th Century* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 5.

[85] Midge Decter, "American Jews and Israel: a Symposium," Questions by Edward Alexander. *Commentary* (February 1988), 73-74.

[86] Shlomo Katz, "Understanding Jewish Resistance in Palestine," *Commentary* (July 1946).

[87] William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001), 23. Avi Shlaim, *Le mur de fer : Israël et le monde arabe*, trans. Odile Demange (Paris : Buchet Chastel, 2007), 257.

remark is raised by Historian and former Israeli Ambassador to the United States Michael Oren.[88]

An illustrative and striking example is the relationship between President Johnson and billionaire of the movie industry Arthur B. Krim and his wife Mathilde. The Krims were Johnson's closest friends, his principal fund-raisers, and more importantly and unusually, his kitchen cabinet advisers. Arthur and Mathilde Krim had also close connections to Israel and Israeli leaders. Mathilde had, in the words of the *Time*'s former bureau Chief in Israel Donald Neff, "a particularly intriguing background." Indeed, she had a long history of supporting extreme Zionist groups and was an active Irgun operative in the 1940s.[89]

The Krims always refused to talk publicly of their unofficial but highly influential role in the White House, a place where they had their own special bedroom during the Johnson years, and where they almost spent all their time with the president. The nature of the Krims relationship with President Johnson was one of the Administration's best-kept secrets. Jack Valenti, a close friend of Krim, and who was president of the Motion Picture Association of America, and who also worked for the White House at that time, affirms that in the last two years of the Johnson Presidency, no man "had the total confidence of the President to the degree of intimacy and respect of Arthur Krim."[90] He also adds that "practically everywhere the Johnsons

[88] Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 111-12.

[89] Donald Neff, *Warriors for Jerusalem: the Six Days That Changed the Middle East* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1984), 157-58.

[90] Jack Valenti as quoted in Jane Perlez, "A Peek at Arthur Krim, Adviser to Presidents," *The New York Times* (April 14, 1986). And Ruth Schwartz, "Mathilde Krim," *Jewish Women Archives* Retrieved from http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/krim-matilde (Accessed on May, 10, 2013).

went, the Krims went, including Texas," where the Krims bought a ranch neighboring their friend's home.[91]

According to Grace Halsell, one of President Johnson's speechwriters and an eye witness of the period, when the 1967 War broke out in the night of June 5, President Johnson woke up Mathilde (then spending some time in the Whitehouse) and informed her before anyone else. On that same day, Arthur Krim sent a memo to Johnson saying: "Many arms shipments are packed and ready to go to Israel, but are being held up. It would be helpful if these could be released."[92] The president followed the counsel of his friend and got the shipments sent to Israel.[93]

For the first time since 1948, Johnson was the president who provided Israel with unconditional and critical military and diplomatic support. That happened during the 1967 War and the United Nations' debates that followed it. To enable Israel confront what he called the "bunch of Arabs,"[94] Johnson supplied it with three considerable arms packages in 1965, 1966, and 1968. Johnson's foreign policy choices and policies laid the foundation for the United States-Israel strategic partnership and the special relationship that continues to exist nowadays.[95] That could not have been achieved without the Krims and some neoconservatives and like-minded pro-Israel people who made part of the inner circle in the then Johnson (Democratic) Administration: neoconservative Eugene Rostow (who would be

[91] Perlez, "A Peek at Arthur Krim."

[92] Arthur B. Krim as quoted in Grace Halsell, "How LBJ's Vietnam War Paralyzed His Mideast Policymakers," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (June 1993), 20.

[93] Halsell, "How LBJ's Vietnam War Paralyzed His Mideast Policymakers."

[94] Lyndon B. Johnson. Conversation with Arthur Goldberg on March 24, 1968 (WH6803.05). Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Recordings. Miller Center (Charlottesville, VA). Retrieved from http://millercenter.org/presidentialrecordings/lbj-wh6803.05-12843. And Robert David Johnson, "LBJ's Secret Israel Tapes," *The New York Sun* (May 28, 2008).

[95] Johnson, "LBJ's Secret Israel Tapes."

member of the CDM and CPD II) at the State Department, his brother Walt at the White House, Arthur Goldberg, ambassador to the United Nations. Other pro-Israel advisers included Abe Fortas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; Democratic Party fundraiser Abraham Feinberg; Johnson's advisers Leo White and Jake Jacobsen; White House writers Richard Goodwin and neoconservative Ben Wattenberg (CDM, CPD II, and CPD III member); and domestic affairs aide Larry Levinson. Grace Halsell, who was present at that time, recalls that "everyone around [her], without exception, was pro-Israel."[96]

That period coincides with the emergence of the Neoconservatism we know today. The Israeli cause is then one of the most important constituting elements of the birth of Neoconservatism. Whether Neoconservatism enabled an increasing US support of Israel, or the burgeoning support of Israel made Neoconservatism appear is still debatable; but it is nonetheless clear that Neoconservatism (mainly through the pages of *Commentary*) became the intellectual and identity basis upon which the unconditional defense of Israel rested. In the aftermath of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, *Commentary*, through the pens of many of its contributors celebrated the victory of Israel and the annexation of the remaining Palestinian territories, passionately defended Israel's behavior and policies vis-à-vis the Arab World, but also expressed concern on its future security.[97]

It is then explainable why, in the early 1970s, the American New Left understood Neoconservatism in terms of identity politics. Indeed, Kevin Phillips

[96] Halsell, "How LBJ's Vietnam War Paralyzed His Mideast Policymakers." Oren acknowledges that Johnson's administration was pro-Israel. Oren, *Six Days of War*, 112.

[97] Milton Himmelfarb, "In Light of Israel's Victory," *Commentary* (October 1967). J. L. Talmon, "Israel Among the Nations," *Commentary* (June 1968). Robert J. Lewis, "Israel's Rights and Arab Propaganda," *Commentary* (August 1975). Shlomo Avineri, "Israel's Dilemma," *Commentary* (December 1977).

contends that the New Left considered Neoconservatism as a response of the dominant Jewish intelligentsia to the domestic threat of ethnic quotas and the international menace of the Soviet and Arab leftist threat to Israel.[98]

For their part, some observers and political scientists such as Michael Lind or French political scientist Justin Vaisse do not assimilate Neoconservatism to a purely Jewish movement. They note that while this new intellectual and political current came to birth, it rallied Jewish as well as non-Jewish supporters. For example, Lind cites prominent non-Jewish neoconservatives such as William Bennett (former Secretary of Education) and Michael Novak whom the progressive think tank *Institute for Policy Studies* (IPS) labels as "Catholic Theocon."[99] He also mentions Jeane Kirkpatrick (former US Ambassador to the United Nations), James Woolsey (who held important posts in the Department of Defense and was Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and is currently member of many pro-Israeli and neo-Orientalist advocacy groups), and John Bolton. Lind does not forget to mention Donald Rumsfeld (Secretary of Defense under Presidents Gerald Ford in 1976 and George W. Bush from 2001 to 2006) and Richard (Dick) Cheney (President Gerald Ford's Chief of Staff in the Whitehouse and Vice President of George W. Bush from 2001 to 2008);[100] though younger generation neoconservative Max Boot views these latter not as neoconservatives but as "traditional national-interest conservatives."[101]

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[98] Philips, *Post-conservative America*, 46.

[99] According to the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Michael Novak has helped create a religious common ground for social conservatives, neoconservatives, and the Christian Right. He is a Catholic theologian and he has over the past three decades worked to bring Catholics into the neoconservative fold. For more information, see Right Web Project (belonging to the IPS): http://rightweb.irc-online.org/ind/novak/novak.php.

[100] Lind, "A Tragedy of Errors." Ehrman, *The Rise of Neoconservatism*. Ehrman also mentions many neoconservatives such as Norman Podhoretz, Elliott Abrams, Daniel Bell, Max Boot, Jeb Bush (Governor of Florida), Richard Pipes, Douglas Feith (former Undersecretary of Defense 2001-2008), David Horowitz, David Frum (speechwriter of former President George W. Bush), and Francis Fukuyama (though this later reconsidered his previous neoconservative thinking and became more

Vaïsse for his part contends that the identification of Neoconservatism as an essentially Jewish movement is not convincing and that this thesis usually stems from anti-Semites.[102] While Vaisse's scholarship, an exhaustive historical description of Neoconservatism, is one of the most authoritative non-American works on the subject, he misses – or at least does not emphasize – the point that neoconservatives themselves peculiarly emphasize their Jewishness, the conflation of Zionism and Neoconservatism, and their commitment to identity politics and their own definition and defense of a Jewish particularism.

Numerous examples demonstrate that this exaggerated self-assertion of Neoconservatism as an identity-motivated school of political thought with special commitment to the Zionist cause is clearly assumed and displayed by neoconservatives in their own words. While debating about the "Jewish vote" during the 1972 US presidential election, Milton Himmelfarb asserted that "the Jews' overriding foreign-policy interest is Israel. More accurately, our overriding interest of any kind is Israel."[103] In the aftermath of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, Norman Podhoretz made it clear that American Jews had no other option but to embrace the Zionist cause and the unconditional support of Israel in its fight against Arab countries.[104] Nowadays, Wisse acknowledges that "Neoconservatism was the logical

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suspicious towards his former fellows). Heilbrunn, Ehrman, and Stelzer mention John Bolton (former United States Ambassador at the United Nations), Lynne Cheney (wife of Dick Cheney), Frank Gaffney (former Assistant Secretary of Defence for International Security Policy under the Reagan Administration), Newt Gingrich (former Speaker of the House of Representatives and former Presidential candidate), Gertrude Himmelfarb (historian and wife of Irving Kristol) and Lewis Libby (former assistant of Paul Wolfowitz, and Chief of Staff of former Vice-President Richard "Dick" Cheney).

[101] Max Boot, "Myths about Neoconservatism," Irwin Stelzer, Ed. *Neoconservatism* (London: Atlantic Books, 2005), 45.

[102] Justin Vaisse, *L'Histoire du néoconservatisme aux Etats Unis* (Paris : Odile Jacob, 2008), 282-83.

[103] Milton Himmelfarb, "McGovern and the Jews: a Debate," *Commentary* (September 1972).

[104] Norman Podhoretz, "Now: Instant Zionism," *The New York Times* (February 3, 1974).

consequence of defending Israel and the Jews from Arab belligerence and the hypocrisy of liberal reproach."[105]

That identity-based commitment to Israel was sometimes displayed without any concern for other Jewish ideological orientations or for what the interests of the United States ought to be. For instance, in a piece for the magazine of the American Jewish Congress, the *Congress Bi-Weekly,* in 1973, Irving Kristol claimed that cutting the United States' military budget would be tantamount to "driving a knife in the heart of Israel." To him,

> Jews don't like big military budgets. But it is now an interest of the Jews to have a large and powerful military establishment in the United States… American Jews who care about the survival of the state of Israel have to say, no, we don't want to cut the military budget, it is important to keep that military budget big, so that we can defend Israel.[106]

In 1979, Podhoretz made a similar assertion and linked the safety of Israel to the United States' world interventionism. He claimed that any American retreat in world affairs constituted a direct threat to the security of Israel.[107]

Neoconservatives' overstated self-identification with Jewishness does not mean that all neoconservative figures are of Jewish origins or operate according to identity considerations; a few of them are not. But all neoconservatives give, according to Kevin MacDonald – professor of psychology at California State

[105] Wisse, "The Jewishness of *Commentary*," 68.

[106] Irving Kristol as quoted in Phillip Weiss, "30 Years Ago, Neocons Were More Candid About Their Israel-Centered Views," Mondoweiss (May 23, 2007). Retrieved from Phillip Weiss' website: http://mondoweiss.net/2007/05/30_years_ago_ne

[107] Norman Podhoretz, *Breaking Ranks: a Political Memoir* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 336.

University – a strong and unconditional support to Israel.[108] MacDonald also argues that Neoconservatism fits into the common pattern of Jewish intellectual and political activism. He stresses the point that neoconservatives' early identity as radical or liberal leftist disciples shifted to become stalwartly anti-Russian as there began to be evidence of, according to them, a resurgence of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.[109]

MacDonald's works and personal ideas are quite controversial and problematic. Though being a scholar, the civil rights and anti-discrimination Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) often refers to him as a "white nationalist," close to the Charles Martel Society and its publication the *Occidental Quarterly,*[110] and very critical to immigration policies and the power of minorities (Jewish, Black, and Hispanics) in the United States.[111] His work on what he regards as Jewish involvement and influence in twentieth century America[112] has sparked a great deal of debate. It is perceived by most academic circles as an example of intellectual anti-Semitism.[113] The problem is that MacDonald's analysis of Neoconservatism concurs with the claims of self-identified neoconservatives themselves such as Elliott Abrams, Ruth Wisse, or Murray Friedman or some like-minded intellectuals. It is thus worth mentioning that people suspected of – or who actually display – hatred towards Jews converge with self-identified Zionists such as neoconservatives to provide similar

[108] Kevin MacDonald, "Thinking about Neoconservatism," September, 18, 2003. http://www.vdare.com/misc/macdonald_neoconservatism.htm

[109] Kevin MacDonald, *Culture of Critique: an Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth Century Intellectual and Political Movements* (Westport, Ct: Praeger, 1998), 103.

[110] See "Extremist Files: *Occidental Quarterly*," *Southern Poverty Law Center* website (2015). Retrieved from https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/occidental-quarterly.

[111] "Kevin MacDonald," Profiles. *Southern Poverty Law Center* website (2015). Retrieved from http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files/profiles/kevin-macdonald.

[112] MacDonald, *Culture of Critique.*

[113] George Michael, "Professor Kevin MacDonald's Critique of Judaism: Legitimate Scholarship or the Intellectualization of Anti-Semitism?" *Journal of Church and State* 48:4 (2006), 779-806.

constructed diagnoses about what Jewishness is or ought to be. Though they hold opposite ideologies and political agendas, they fuel each other's' subjective constructs and resort to what Guerlain calls "the same ethnicization of thoughts."[114]

Ehrman observes that most intellectuals that would later be labelled as neoconservatives were Zionist Jews who disconnected from the traditional Left and moved to the Right because they were worried about "what they saw as a sharp increase in Black anti-Semitism" and the anti-Zionist reaction of the New Left after the Arab-Israeli Six-Day War of June 1967.[115] Ehrman and others such as prominent scholar of American Jewish History Murray Friedman,[116] pundit Jacob Heilbrunn[117] and former *Commentary* Assistant Editor Benjamin Balint[118] also wish to draw the link between Neoconservatism, Zionism, and what they consider as a "Jewish" identity and culture.

Murray Friedman (1926-2004) extensively and positively profiles what he considers as the neoconservatives' cultural, intellectual, and political contribution to the shaping of twentieth century America.[119] It is worth mentioning that Friedman was close to the neoconservative movement. He was an adherent to its ideas, and he also asked for more rapprochement and cooperation between American Jews and

[114] Pierre Guerlain, "Fighting for the Hearts and Minds of American Jews: Identity Politics at the Crossroads of Domestic and Foreign Policy," *Graat*, Online Occasional Papers (April 2009), 3. Retrieved from http://www.graat.fr/Pierre%20Guerlain.pdf

[115] Ehrman, *Rise of Neoconservatism*, 37- 41.

[116] Friedman. *Neoconservative Revolution*. Murray Friedman (1926-2005) was a regular contributor to *Commentary* magazine.

[117] Heilbrunn. *They Knew They Were Right.*

[118] Balint, *Running Commentary.*

[119] Friedman. *Neoconservative Revolution*, 3-27.

Evangelical Christians. Friedman was a regional director of the AJC; he also regularly wrote for *Commentary*, the *New Republic* and the *Wall Street Journal*.[120]

Friedman then exhaustively accounts for the Jewish figures who have left their substantial imprint on arts, literature, academia, and post-Second World War American conservative political thought. He definitely views Neoconservatism as a Jewish kind of conservatism, and he forcefully argues that twentieth century Jewish intellectual involvement was the root of present day Neoconservatism.[121] This idea is also asserted by many other former or present-day neoconservatives. For example, Ehrman views that "Neoconservatism might fairly be described as the conservatism of the Jews;"[122] Heilbrunn, formerly attracted by the school of thought, views that "neoconservatism is in a decisive respect a Jewish phenomenon, reflecting a subset of Jewish concerns."[123] Additionally, British neoconservative and neo-Orientalist pundit Melanie Phillips holds that "neo-conservatism is a quintessentially Jewish project."[124]

Friedman thus argues that contemporary neoconservative thought owes to a wide matrix of influential ideas in a large array of domains such as arts, literature, cinema, economy, and politics. In the arts and literature, he cites the names of playwright Arthur Miller, novelists Saul Bellow (who was a close friend of Allan Bloom, who was a frequent contributor to *Commentary*, and whom Friedman

[120] Michael Alexander, "We Remember Our Colleagues: Murray Friedman," *AJS Perspectives* (Fall 2005), 30. Association for Jewish Studies. Accessible online at http://www.ajsnet.org/ajsp05fa-1.pdf.

[121] Friedman, *Neoconservative Revolution*, 3-27.

[122] Ehrman, "*Commentary*'s Children," 176.

[123] Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right*, 11.

[124] Melanie Phillips, "The Politics of Progress," *Jewish Chronicle* (January 1, 2005).

identifies as a neoconservative), Philip Roth, or Bernard Malamud among many others.[125]

Friedman also identifies a diverse number of American Jewish intellectuals and scholars such as holocaust Historian Lucy Davidowics and Harvard Professor Robert Nozick as neoconservatives. He also contends that prominent economic theoreticians such as Friedrich Von Hayek or Milton Friedman have a preponderant influence on neoconservative social and economic thought.[126] Furthermore, He cites the names of extremely individualistic and self-described "Objectivist" thinker and novelist Ayn Rand and the influence of her atypical ideas on some contemporary capitalistic (mainly Libertarian) and individualist segments American economic thought.[127]

Apart from her peculiar atheistic and free spirit philosophy, and the fact that many New York Intellectuals did not hold her ideas in high esteem, Ayn Rand supported politician neoconservatives such as Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson even though he was a social conservative and a Democrat. Both expressed dedication to militarism and the pro-Israeli cause.[128] Indeed, Ayn Rand was committed to the well-being of Israel in a region she viewed dominated by barbarism. Her unconditional support of Israel came from her peculiar premise that it was an "advanced, technological, civilized country amidst a group of almost totally primitive savages

[125] Friedman, *Neoconservative Revolution*, 16. It is important to mention that Friedman exaggerates the fact that all Jewish intellectuals contributed to the emergence of Neoconservatism. For example, Arthur Miller and Philip Roth have never been conservatives or neoconservatives but always remained on the progressive side of the US intellectual spectrum.

[126] Ibid, 178.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Jennifer Burns, *Goddess of the Market: Ayn Rand and the American Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1 and 184-85.

who have not changed for years."[129] As for the Palestinians, she viewed that they had no right to any land.[130] Ayn Rand's works also influenced noticeable present-day pro-Israeli and anti-Muslim neoconservative activists such as Pamela Geller or Robert Spencer.[131]

There is then from Friedman, Ehrman, Balint, Heilbrunn, Wisse, or Melanie Phillips (and many other prominent neoconservatives) some kind of persistent effort to assimilate Neoconservatism into Jewish identity and place it in the overall shaping of twentieth century American culture and politics.

Unlike Friedman, Balint, and Ehrman, other neoconservatives such as Irwin Stelzer and David Brooks define Neoconservatism differently from – and broader than – a "cabal" (their word) of Jewish intellectuals and politicians plotting to control the United States foreign and security policies.[132] Stelzer argues that neoconservative thinking is rooted in "early American and British history." He goes even farther in claiming that neoconservative principles were present in ideas of historical leaders such as Presidents John Quincy Adams and Theodore Roosevelt, and more recently, non-American political figures such as former British Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair.[133] Stelzer also endeavors to cast Neoconservatism out of any Jewish agenda to defend and support Israel. He charges critics of Neoconservatism of wrongly conflating Neoconservatism with Jewish intellectual

[129] Ayn Rand, Interview. The Phil Donahue Show. Chicago (May 16, 1979). The show is accessible online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vpPwJq9ybcE.

[130] Burns, *Goddess of the Market*, 265-66.

[131] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Pamela Geller," Profile. http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files/profiles/pamela-geller. Pamela Geller's former website Atlas Shrugs" (https://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/) was named after Rand's bestselling novel *Atlas Shrugged* (1957). Geller's website: http://pamelageller.com/about/.

[132] Irwin Stelzer, "Neoconservatives and Their Critics," in Stelzer, ed. *Neoconservatism*, 4. David Brooks, "The Era of Distortion," *The New York Times* (January 6, 2004).

[133] Stelzer, "Neoconservatives and Their Critics," 4.

activism.[134] To make his case, he cites many non-Jewish neoconservative intellectual and political figures.

Present-day neoconservatives Joshua Muravchik, David Brooks, and Max Boot concur with Steltzer and find it almost defamatory to draw any link between Jewishness or even Zionism and neoconservatives. Actually, Muravchik denies many of the characteristics of Neoconservatism such as the fact that its most prominent founders are formers Trotskyists, or that Philosopher Leo Strauss had any influence on the thinking of the second generation of neoconservatives.[135] He also asserts that political observers such as Elizabeth Drew, William Pfaff, or John B. Judis are wrong when they argue that Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle, Lewis Libby, John Bolton, Eliot Abrams, or Douglas Feith have any connection to Trotskyism.[136] However those observers in no case make such a claim. They just recall the origins, as well as the intellectual and ideological developments of the first generation neoconservatives (Kristol, Podhoretz, Hook, Glazer, etc.) in the broader – and not necessarily linked – analysis of the second generation's influence on President George W. Bush's foreign policy.[137] Muravchik also views as anti-Semitic the assertion that neoconservatives are mostly of Jewish origins or Zionists and thus ardent supporters of Israel.[138]

There is then some kind of dissonance – or even incoherence – among neoconservatives themselves – Friedman, Heilbrunn, Balint, Wisse, Himmelfarb, or even Elliott Abrams, on the one side, and Stelzer, Muravchik, or Max Boot on the

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[134] Ibid, 5-6.

[135] Joshua Muravchik, "The Neoconservative Cabal," in Stelzer, ed. *Neoconservatism*, 247.

[136] Ibid, 246.

[137] Elizabeth Drew, "The Neocons in Power," *The New York Review of Books* (June 12, 2003); William Pfaff, "The long reach of Leo Strauss," *International Herald Tribune* (Thursday, May 15, 2003); and Judis, "Trotskyism to Anachronism."

[138] Muravchik, "The Neoconservative Cabal," 249-52. For the philosophical influence of Leo Strauss on Neoconservatism, see Chapter 4.

other – over what Neoconservatism is or who neoconservatives are. In any case, it seems also that the first group of neoconservatives have a lucid appreciation of the development, metamorphosis, and commitments of the movement, and assume it. However, the second group find it disturbing to connect Neoconservatism and the Zionist cause, and are not at ease – and even in the state of denial – with being reminded the origins and fundamental identity-related principles of that school of thought. Additionally, a possible explanation (and reason) of their rebuttal of any link between Neoconservatism and Zionism has come amidst the neoconservative-led War on Terror and the controversial 2003 War on Iraq and the occupation of this latter by US forces. Indeed, the book edited by Seltzer, that aims at explaining Neoconservatism; and to which they contributed, was published in 2004, in the course of a huge worldwide criticism against the Bush administration and its foreign policy.

Michael Lind and many others such as political scientists John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt incorporate the neoconservatives in a broad American Zionist coalition that gives an unconditional support to Israel, what these scholars define as the "Israel Lobby" inside the American political arena.[139] The neoconservative-Israeli nexus is at the core of this study because all neoconservatives – without any exception – have been holding an intimate and unconditional affection for Israel, some since its creation and others since the 1960s.

The "liberal split" of the late 1960s, cited by John Ehrman, was mainly due to the diverging attitudes the different radical-to-liberal American currents adopted towards the United States' foreign policy at that time. Indeed, Post- Second World War America witnessed a broad consensus on how to deal with foreign affairs and

[139] Lind, "A Tragedy of Errors." John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy* (New York: Farrar and Strauss, 2006), 128-31.

especially with the Soviet Union. In the late 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s, global affairs interventionism and Containment were the motto. But by the late 1960s, the devastating effects of the Vietnam War on the public opinion – a war which was supposed to be waged to contain and roll back communist expansion in Southeast Asia – troubled the general judgment of most liberal intellectuals who did not recognize American principles in such issue. Hence, most anti-war voices came from the radical and liberal Left which were not comfortable with the United States' foreign policy of that moment. However, a minority of liberal intellectuals and politicians (mainly Jewish) did not accept this new stance of the American Left. They dissociated themselves from the traditional (Jewish and non-Jewish) leftist liberals and joined the Conservative Right. Two main political currents emerged: the neoconservatives and the New Right. Nowadays, while the New Right has left the place to another movement similar in traditions and principles (namely the Tea Party), the neoconservatives are still important actors in American politics and society.

3.6. Neoconservatism and/in/as American Conservatism

Conservatism can be defined as a broad modern school of thought that champions historical continuity and the preservation of traditional institutions within society. Its adherents usually oppose any change in the structural social, societal, or political status quo. In the twentieth century, it has become a major force in politics. Conservative ways of thinking can take the form of an ideology, a political party, or a cultural movement, and they can have significant impacts in the society in which they endeavor to preserve its established values and norms.[140]

[140] Amos Nascimento, "Conservatism," in Rodney P. Carlisle, ed., *Encyclopedia of Politics: the Left and the Right Vol. 2* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005), 594-95.

In his broad definition of Conservatism, Columbia University scholar of Intellectual History Jerry Z. Muller provides three reasons why the Conservative credo emphasizes the preservation a society's existing institutions. First, it assumes that the enduring survival of those institutions presumes that they served some useful function within society. Second, Conservatism presupposes that the elimination of – or radical change in – those institutions may lead to unintended and harmful consequences in the society. Third, the society's attachment to those institutions that have existed and survived over time makes them potentially usable for new valuable purposes.[141]

However, the above-mentioned definition does not help fully understand some trends of post Second World War (and even present-day) American Conservatism for the latter suffered deep ideological confusion and inconsistencies. Indeed, rather than one and homogenous school of thought, there have always been different trends within twentieth century American Conservatism. Changes, external influences, and ideological dissensions shaped a diversity of conservative and sometimes competing movements. Hence, the twentieth century American Right witnessed different currents in its midst, each claiming owning the essence of American Conservatism: the Old Right before the Second World War; the New Right in the 1950s, 1970s, and 1980s; Neoconservatism since the 1970s; and Libertarians since the 1950s. There are also all the in-betweens of these various trends as well as the promoters of overlapping variant theories such as Ayn Rand's Objectivism (some kind of atheistic, individualist, extreme Social Darwinist, and militarist Libertarianism) or William F.

[141] Jerry Z. Muller, *Conservatism: an Anthology of Social and Political Thought from David Hume to the Present* (Princeton University Press, 1997), 5.

Buckley's and Frank Meyer's political Fusionism (a call for fusion of the different anti-liberal political movements of the Right).

Friedman depicts a dark image of the pre-Second World War American traditional conservatism, the one before it was infused by the "more cosmopolitan and human impulses of [Economist and Philosopher] F. A. Hayek [and Philosopher] Leo Strauss [sic]." [142] He argues that prior to the Second World War, American Conservatism was embodied in the Old Right, a movement that comprised many "bigots" and that showed staunch hostility to the New Deal and international alliances (and especially US intervention in the Second World War). Friedman also rightly asserts that the conservatism of that period opposed liberal, humanist, and secular ideals, and was at ease with – and even supportive to – racial and religious discrimination against African Americans, Jews, and other minorities. [143] His judgement of the conservatism of New Right of the 1950s – before what he considered the intellectual influence of Neoconservatism upon them – was no more sympathetic.[144]

Broadly speaking, Post-Second World War American Conservatism took shape in the ideas of Russell Kirk who can be viewed as the intellectual Godfather of contemporary American Conservatism. But more than his own ideas, Kirk compiles, dissects, and interprets the intellectual foundations and development of Conservatism, with special attention to the legacy of English Philosopher Edmund Burke. Indeed, Kirk contends that Burkean Conservatism ought to play a major intellectual role in

[142] Friedman, *Neoconservative Revolution*, 80. The idea that Hayek's neoliberal economic principles that were praised by President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and that influenced their respective economic policy (Reaganocomics and Thatcherism) in the 1980s can hardly be viewed as "human" oriented.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Ibid, 81.

reviving and propagating ideas that would stand as alternatives to liberal ideals of progressive social change and would guarantee social stability and harmony.[145] In his own words, Kirk's contribution

> endeavor[s] to conserve the spiritual and intellectual and political tradition of our civilization; and if we are to rescue the modern mind, we must do it very soon. What Matthew Arnold called 'an epoch of concentration' is impending, in any case. If we are to make that approaching era a time of enlightened conservatism, rather than an era of stagnant repression, we need to move with decision. The struggle will be decided in the minds of the rising generation—and within that generation, substantially by the minority who have the gift of reason.[146]

As far as Neoconservatism is concerned, Kirk's appreciation is somehow ambivalent. While he praises neoconservatives' commitment to combat the ideas of the Left at home and the former Soviet Union abroad, he nonetheless criticizes them for "pursuing a fanciful democratic globalism rather that the national interest of the United States." Furthermore, on their passionate attachment to Israel, Kirk ironically views that "not seldom it has seemed as if some eminent neoconservatives mistook Tel Aviv for the capital of the United States."[147]

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[145] Russel Kirk, *The Conservative Mind: From Burke to Eliot* 7th ed. (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2001).

[146] Ibid, iii.

[147] Russel Kirk, "The Neoconservatives: an Endangered Species," Lecture 178 on Political Thought. The Heritage Foundation (December 15, 1988). Sec. 4. http://www.heritage.org/research/lecture/the-neoconservatives-an-endangered-species

In 1988, he wrongly assumed that Neoconservatism was a temporary trend that would very quickly dilute and disappear in the broad conservative family. He incorrectly asserted that

> We will hear no more of the Neoconservatives: some will have fallen away, and others will have been merged with the main current of America's conservative movement, and yet others [due to their old age] will have been silenced by the tomb. [148]

In fact, Neoconservatism did not dilute into Conservatism but the opposite; the former wielded a hegemonic intellectual influence on the latter in foreign affairs. The shift of neoconservatives to the conservative realm had consequences on both Neoconservatism and other trends of Conservatism. Both had an original Anti-communist stance, but they also exchanged and adopted from each other basic principles and ideas that are fundamental aspects of the Republican Party of nowadays. Neoconservatives took from conservatives their domestic concern on economic and societal issues (especially during the culture war of the 1960s and 1970s); and some (not all) conservatives – especially the New Right and its heirs – found appeal in the neoconservative support for Zionism and Israel, and in nowadays virulent suspicion towards Islam and the Muslims. Present-day illustrative examples can be found in well-known Tea Party figures such as Representatives Michelle Bachmann who claimed – with other Congressmen – that the State Department was infiltrated by the Muslim Brotherhood;[149] and Peter T. King who suspected that American Muslims

[148] Ibid. Sec. 3.

[149] Michelle Bachman, Trent Franks, Louie Gohmert, Thomas Rooney, and Lynn Westmorland, Letter to Harold W. Geisel, Deputy Inspector General at Department of State. Washington, DC, June 13, 2012. http://gohmert.house.gov/uploadedfiles/ig_letter_dept_of_state.pdf

On the subject in the US press, see Susan Milligan, "Michelle Bachmann's Vicious Smear Campaign," *US News and World Report* (July 19, 2012). http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/susan-

refused to fight radicalization within their own ranks in the United States.[150] Another case is that of former US Representative and Tea Party member Allen West who is in the eyes of anti-Muslim propagandist Pamela Geller a "hero", and who regularly writes anti-Muslim columns on her website.[151]

Neoconservatives' rally to and hegemonic influence on the Right was not looked upon favorably by all conservatives. What are commonly called paleo-conservatives, or *traditional* conservatives, display firm hostility towards what they consider a neoconservative takeover of the American traditional Right and the Republican Party. This takeover is even acknowledged by neoconservative Mark Gerson when he asserts that neoconservative intellectual and cultural contribution has helped shape present-day conservatism. To him, "what was once considered exclusively neoconservatism is now conservatism."[152]

Contrary to Neoconservatism, American *traditional* conservatism which is also labelled "paleo-conservatism,"[153] believes in neo-isolationism as the sole way to preserve American interests. Paleo-conservatives are literalist followers of the United States Founding Fathers such as President George Washington who warned the

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milligan/2012/07/19/michele-bachmanns-vicious-smear-campaign. And Lauren Fox, "Michelle Bachmann Sticks to Accusations about Muslim Brotherhood," *US News and World Report* (July 19, 2012), http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2012/07/19/michele-bachmann-sticks-to-accusations-about-muslim-brotherhood

[150] Peter T. King, "What's Radicalizing Muslim Americans?" *Newsday* (December 17, 2010). http://www.newsday.com/opinion/oped/king-what-s-radicalizing-muslim-americans-1.2550488. See also "Congressman: Muslim 'Enemy" Amongst Us," *WorldNetDaily* (February 13, 2004). http://www.wnd.com/2004/02/23257/. Representative Peter King subsequently (in March 2010) chaired a House Committee which held controversial and much publically debated hearings on Muslim radicalization in the United States.

[151] "Category Archives: Allen West: Lt. Colonel's Column from Kandahar,"Pamela Geller's Website. http://pamelageller.com/category/allen-west-lt-colonels-column-from-kandahar/

[152] Mark Gerson, *The Neoconservative Vision: from the Cold War to the Culture War*s (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1996), 27. For a liberal account of the neoconservative takeover of the Republican Party, see Max Blumenthal, *Republican Gomorrah: Inside the Movement that Shattered the Party* (New York: Nation Books, 2009).

[153] See a comparison of the different United States' conservative movements in Adam Wolfson, "Conservatives and Neoconservatives."

United States against "passionate attachment" for foreign nations,[154] Presidents Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809) and John Quincy Adams (1825-1829) who warned Americans against going abroad "in search of [foreign] monsters to destroy."[155] They are fiercely opposed to any kind of American imperialism,[156] and although they traditionally belong to the Republican Party (though this latter has undergone some great changes), many of them switched to vote for Democratic candidates John Kerry in 2004 and Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012.[157]

Traditional conservatives such as Patrick Buchanan, Justin Raimondo (who is also a libertarian), and Paul E. Gottfried (a right wing philosopher) argue that neoconservatives do not make part of the actual American Right. They assert that neoconservatives have "hijacked" and corrupted the true sense of Conservatism.[158]

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[154] George Washington, "Farewell Address," (1796). The original source can be consulted on Yale University website: URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp. (Accessed on January 16, 2010).

[155] John Quincy Adams. Speech (1821) in *Documents Relating to American Foreign Policy Prior to 1898*. https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/jqadams.htm. "[America] has, in the lapse of nearly half a century, without a single exception, respected the independence of other nations while asserting and maintaining her own. She has abstained from interference in the concerns of others, even when conflict has been for principles to which she clings, as to the last vital drop that visits the heart. ...she goes not abroad, in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She will commend the general cause by the countenance of her voice, and the benignant sympathy of her example. She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence; she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom. The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from *liberty* to *force*.... She might become the dictatress of the world. She would be no longer the ruler of her own spirit…"

[156] Alain Frachon and Daniel Vernet, *L'Amérique messianique* (Paris : Seuil, 2004), 35.

[157] For example, Andrew Bacevich, "The Right Choice: the Conservative Case for Barack Obama," *The American Conservative* (March 24, 2008). Christopher Buckley, "Sorry, Dad, I'm Voting for Obama," *The Daily Beast* (October 10, 2008). (Christopher Buckley is the son of William F. Buckley). Jacob Heilbrunn, "The Great Conservative Crackup," *Washington Monthly* (May 2006). Robert D. Novak, "The Obamacons Who Worry McCain," *Washington Post* (June 26, 2008). http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/06/25/AR2008062501942.html.

See also *Republicans for Obama* website: http://www.republicansforobama.org/ (accessed in January 2015).

[158] Patrick Buchanan, *Where The Right Went Wrong: How Neoconservatives Subverted the Reagan Revolution and Hijacked the Bush Presidency* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2004). Paul E. Gottfried, *Conservatism in America: Making Sense of the American Right* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007).

Buchanan is the most strident opponent of Neoconservatism in the Right. He views Podhoretz, Kristol, and their friends as "impostors and opportunists" who "defected from liberalism only when they saw Conservatism in the ascendancy" and who "rode the Reagan revolution into power."[159] Buchanan and Raimondo claim that "the Right was captured and co-opted by the undocumented aliens from the Left, carrying with them the viruses of statism and globalism."[160] Buchanan and Raimondo's charge of "undocumented aliens" was not only directed at neoconservatives. It also targeted former leftists who turned New Rightists as James Burnham, or conservatives who adhered to the neoconservative credo and were too complacent with – if not ardent supporters of – the United States' world affairs interventionism (such as Frank Meyer and William F. Buckley) and its close relationship with Israel during and after the Cold War.

In 1999, Buchanan grieved that after the Republican Party had opened its doors and welcomed to its ranks Norman Podhoretz and his fellow neoconservatives, the latter then became the "inquisitors" of that same party, "hurling anathemas as any who decline to embrace their revised dogmas." [161] Buchanan's bitter view on neoconservatives' move to and ascendency on the political Right cannot be expressed more bluntly than the following words:

> All my life I labored in the vineyards of the Republican Party, and fought in more campaigns than ever did Mr. Podhoretz and his cohorts. But, today, I look upon that party the way a man looks on a beloved

[159] Buchanan, *Where The Right Went Wrong*, 250.

[160] Patrick Buchanan, "Foreword," in Justin Raimondo, *Reclaiming the American Right: the Lost Legacy of the Conservative Movement* (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2008), viii.

[161] Patrick Buchanan, "Letter to the Editor," Pat Buchanan's response to Norman Podhoretz' op-ed, *Wall Street Journal* (November 5, 1999), 30.

home in the old neighborhood where he grew up, as he sees squatters convert it into a crack house.[162]

Mises Institute fellow and Libertarian Economist Hans-Hermann Hoppe holds the same opinion. He asserts that neoconservatives have always been "engaged in betraying conservatism's cultural agenda from inside in order to promote an entirely different agenda." To him, neoconservatives "are not truly concerned about cultural matters but recognize that they must play the cultural-conservatism card so as not to lose power and promote their entirely different goals."[163]

The most important significant divergence between neoconservatives and traditional conservatives (especially libertarians and paleo-conservatives) is their respective and opposite conceptions of how the United States should behave on the world stage (see Figure 3 page 199). An example is the question of the 2003 War on Iraq and the United States' policy in the Middle East.[164] As an unwavering neo-isolationist, Buchanan sees in US imperialism the greatest threat to the interests of the American people. Before and during the War on Iraq, he concurred with the anti-war movement of the far Left and he heavily criticized neoconservatives, and President George W. Bush and his administration for embarking the United States into endless conflicts abroad and "fight other nations' wars."[165] Buchanan charged the Bush administration of preaching democracy and human rights while in reality "prop[ping] up dictators and oligarchies who oppress Islamic peoples and steal and squander their

[162] Ibid.

[163] Hans-Hermann Hoppe, "The Intellectual Incoherence of Conservatism," Mises Institute (Auburn, Alabama: March 4, 2005), par. 3 and 4. URL: http://mises.org/library/intellectual-incoherence-conservatism. (Accessed in October 2013).

[164] See articles written by Patrick Buchanan on the question and especially "Whose War?" *The American Conservative* (March 24, 2003); "The Cost of Empire," *The American Conservative* (October 6, 2003); and "No end to War," *The American Conservative* (March 1, 2004). See also articles published in Justin Raimondo's Antiwar.com website: http://antiwar.com/who.php.

[165] Buchanan, *Where The Right Went Wrong*, 253.

wealth."[166] Also refusing the "Clash of Civilizations" thesis, he emphasizes the dreadful consequences of such policy in the Arab-Muslim World. To him President Bush's and neoconservatives' assertion that Terrorism is the product of some people who hate the United States because of what it is and not what it does [167] is flawed. Buchanan contends that

> We are not hated for who we are. We are hated for what we do. It is not our principles that we have spawned pandemic hatred of America in the Islamic world. It is our policies. Nothing justifies the mass murders of 9/11. If we wish to avert a clash of civilizations, from which we have nothing to gain, we need to listen to what they say – not what we say – about America.[168]

While President George W. Bush, as a statesman and a careful politician, made various statements with tactical distinctions between terrorists (such as Al Qaida) and mainstream Muslims, and made it clear that the United States was not at war on Islam or Muslims,[169] his followers and supporters outside the political establishment were – as Chapter 5 demonstrates – less cautious and less nuanced. The Huntingtonian "We versus Them" thesis is heavily emphasized in neoconservative writings and heavily displayed in the different websites of their organizations (see Chapter 5).

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[166] Ibid, 80-81.

[167] See for example George W. Bush, Press Conference (October 11, 2001). And George W. Bush, Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, (September 20, 2001). http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html

[168] Buchanan, *Where The Right Went Wrong*, 80.

[169] Bush, Press Conference (October 11, 2001); and Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, (September 20, 2001).

Buchanan is not less harsh against neoconservatives, Israel, and the unconditional support of and affective attachment of the former with the latter, at the expense of – according to him – long-term United States interests and values.[170]

Justin Raimondo also displays bitterness while recounting the story of what he considers the decay and fracture of the conservative movement. To Raimondo, the true Right should have been the legatee of the Old Right of the 1930s, the one so severely decried by Friedman and other neoconservatives. However, the most important problem of that Right was its lack of intellectual force, the attitude of many of its elite and members towards ethnic minorities (racism and anti-Semitism), and its refusal of American interventionism, neither in the Second World War, nor during the Cold War. It thus never took pre-eminence in the American public space. Rather, it was infiltrated from the Left in the form of two movements having a strong intellectual framework: the New Right first (in the 1950s), and Neoconservatism then (in the late 1960s). To Raimondo, "Machiavellianism" drove those two movements to corrupt Conservatism.[171] Though Buchanan and Raimondo's harsh views on Neoconservatism are spurred by political and ideological antagonism, a segment of their line of argument seems valid. Indeed, nowadays, with regard to unilateralism, interventionism, their conception of the Arab-Muslim World, and their unconditional support of Israel, the foreign affairs principles of the American Conservative movement and of the quasi-totality of the Republican Party, are identical to the ones long advocated by the neoconservatives.

Neoconservatives' most visible incursion into the Conservative realm started with their connection with the New Right in the early 1970s. Despite many

[170] Buchanan, *Where The Right Went Wrong*, 37-60, 81, 126, 242, 250.

[171] Raimondo, *Reclaiming the American Right,* 1-27.

differences with regard to the backgrounds of their respective members, the neoconservatives and the New Right had many characteristics in common.

First, it is essential to mention that the New Right and the neoconservatives proceeded beyond the conventional Democratic-Republican political divide. Second, both had left liberal origins and a Democratic background. Some of their members even remained in the Democratic Party for years and paradoxically supported Ronald Reagan for presidency in 1976 and 1980. Reagan was heavily influenced by neoconservatives' thinking and they almost schooled him when he was member of CPD II (see Chapter 4). He focused his 1976 and 1980 presidential campaigns using neoconservative and New Rightist rhetoric on attacking Détente and arms control.[172] Later, many neoconservatives held important posts in his administration. Since these neoconservatives had previously held Democratic principles and belonged to Henry "Scoop" Jackson's Coalition for a Democratic Majority (CDM, see Chapter 4), they were commonly labelled as the "Reagan's Democrats."[173] The New Right and the neoconservative movements also converged in having a strong anti-communist stance and contributed to the creation of influential pressure groups to oppose the policy of Détente. Finally, these two currents came formally into being nearly at the same time, by the early-to-mid-1970s.[174]

Structurally and individually, however, significant differences could be drawn from these two political currents. Neoconservatives are in most cases intellectuals and

[172] Ronald Reagan, "To Restore America," speech (March 31, 1976), and "America's Purpose in the World," speech, 5th Annual CPAC Conference, March 17, 1978. See Also Thomas H. Moorer, "The 1970s: the Decade of Disarmament," American Security Council Foundation (Washington, 2004). http://www.ascfusa.org/publications/american_century (accessed on June 12, 2006).

[173] Indeed, the label "Reagan's Democrats" refers to neoconservative figures such as Jeane Kirkpatrick, Richard Perle and more than thirty others who were Democrats but supported Ronald Reagan in the 1980 presidential campaign and held key posts during his first term of office (1981-1984).

[174] Phillips, *Post-conservative America*, 46.

academics from the East Coast of the United States. They have a great access to the mainstream opinion-molding press such as the *Wall Street Journal* the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*.[175] They also write in typical magazines as *Commentary*, the *Weekly Standard*, or the *Public Interest* (1965-2005).

Kevin Phillips makes a clear-cut difference between neoconservatives and the New Right of the 1970s-early 1980s. He sees the first as "anti-leftist upper-middle-class scholars," the second as a "mass movement of lower-middle-class fundamentalists."[176] Whereas neoconservatives have no popular base, no electoral constituency and only a little number hold an elective office; most members of the New Right are politicians and enjoy an electoral support. While neoconservatives tend to be intellectuals, thinkers and "reconstructors," the New Right is essentially made of politicians or political activists.[177]

In addition, neoconservatives develop their ideas in think tanks and academic research centers, they think in terms of global strategies, and they communicate their ideas through books and articles in scholarly or opinion journals. On the other hand, the New Right of the 1970s-1980s aimed at reaching grass-root voters by the use of direct-mail solicitation or a variety of forums like church groups.[178] The remark Phillips raised in 1983 remains relevant thirty years later: the analogy between the New Right of the 1970s-early 1980s and the present-day Tea Party is striking. In other words, whereas movements such as the New Right yesterday and the Tea Party today are parochially oriented, many neoconservatives mostly address the elites and

[175] Ibid, 44.

[176] Ibid, 45.

[177] Ibid.

[178] George McKenna and Stanley Feingold, eds. "Introduction: Labels and Alignments in American Politics," in *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Political Issues*, 6th ed. (Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishing Group, 1989), xvii.

decision-makers. The two grassroots conservative political movements provide the popular legitimacy while neoconservatives provide the intellectual grid work. That probably has enabled the neoconservatives a considerable intellectual takeover of the conservative movement in the United States.

In the 1970s, the New Right and the neoconservatives rose and allied to constitute a powerful opposition to Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter foreign and defense policies i.e. *Détente* and arms control. In 1980, they formed the backbone of Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign and were the architects of his election. In 2001, the same alliance with the inheritor of the New Right succeeded in bringing George W. Bush to the White House. Furthermore, many neoconservative figures played a major role in designing his defense and foreign policies. Nowadays, conservatives of the Tea Party constitute the heirs of the New Right. Tea Party Republicans hold strong affinities with neoconservatives and especially their foreign policy outlook and their neo-Orientalist constructions of Islam and the Arab Muslim world.

3.7. Conclusion

Neoconservatism is then not only a school of political thought but also an intellectual, self-identified, and subjective American Zionist response to the constructed ontological threats to the security and interests of American Jews and Israel. What can be called as a neoconservative weltanschauung[179] is then a mixture of conflation of Jewishness, pro-Israeli ideology, and what this school of thought views what American and Western values ought to be. Neoconservatives have succeeded in imposing this conflation in the US political debate and in dominating a great segment

[179] A comprehensive conception or apprehension of the world from a specific viewpoint (here the neoconservative one).

of the American public space. Moreover, neoconservatives, even before being called so, have always been key and uncompromising players in putting forwards these ideological and identity-based concerns in the successive broad foreign policy debates.

Chapter 4

Neoconservatism: Intellectual Agency in US Foreign Policy

Neoconservatism isn't dead; it can be renovated and returned to prominence, because, even today, it remains unrivaled as a guiding principle for U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East and beyond.

- Joshua Muravchik (November 2006)[1]

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses neoconservative thinking and agency with regard to the United States diplomatic and defense history since the Cold War Era. It looks into the historical evolution of this school of thought with regard to foreign affairs, and its ideological postures and commitment. After having examined a critical aspect of Neoconservatism as an identity-based intellectual response to the liberal ideas that emerged in 1960s America, it is important to raise another aspect of this school of thought: the philosophical roots of its foreign policy thinking, and its political and intellectual agency in the history of the United States' foreign policy behavior in general and towards issues related to Israel in particular.

This chapter accounts for the role played by Neoconservatism during and after the Cold War. It also contends that identity-based neoconservative concerns mutated to adapt to the paradigmatic shift that occurred at the turn of the twenty-first century. In that sense Neoconservatism does not only advocate the establishment of an American global hegemony based on overall American military supremacy, but also – and most importantly – it sees the US posture in the international scene through the lens of Israeli interest. This school of thought endeavors to create and/or promote

[1] Muravchik, "Can the Neocons Get Their Groove Back?" par. 4.

intersubjective constructs in the United States (and to lesser extent European) public space to justify an unconditional support of Israel.

4.2. Reinhold Niebuhr, Leo Strauss, and Neoconservative Foreign Policy Thinking

Neoconservative foreign affairs principles owe much to the German-born philosopher Leo Strauss. An introduction to the political ideas of this thinker is necessary to understand the motivation of the neoconservatives regarding the role of the United States in the world, and ultimately, the making of its foreign policy. But before discussing the deep influence of Strauss, a look at another American thinker, namely Reinhold Niebuhr, neoconservatives like to refer to but often misinterpret his ideas.

American Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr (1897-1971) had a great impact on contemporary American political thought. Historian Andrew Bacevich asserts that almost every trend in American politics, motivated by their own preconceived convictions and own agenda, claim to be inspired by Niebuhr's thinking and thus interpret his foreign policy thinking at the expense of the theologian's true intellectual outlook and political intentions.[2]

With the end of the Second World War, Niebuhr advocated a new approach toward a national interest based interventionist foreign policy. However, far from being an advocate of overseas Imperialism, Reinhold Niebuhr was strongly pessimistic vis-à-vis collective human nature and believed in a "Christian Realism," a realistic approach towards foreign affairs, shaped with Christian values.[3] Ehrman

[2] Andrew Bacevich, "Prophets and Poseurs: Niebuhr and Our Times," *World Affairs* (winter 2008).

[3] Reinhold Niebuhr, Excerpt from "The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness," Jack Lane & Maurice O'Sullivan, Eds *A Twentieth Century American Reader Vol. 1, 1900-1945* (Washington D.C.: United States Information Agency, 1999), 495-503.

argues that most of the neoconservative ideas had been developed by Niebuhr.[4] However, Ehrman's 1995 understanding of neoconservative foreign policy principles (year of publication of his book) fails to anticipate the true credo of Neoconservatism. He for instance contends that neoconservatives are inspired from Niebuhr when they view "the American constitutional system as a model which other peoples could aspire to follow, [but they] remained reluctant to try to impose it on other countries."[5] In fact, the aggressive interventionism and "regime change" policy displayed in neoconservatives' political discourse such as the one of David Frum, Richard Perle, William Kristol, or David Wurmser, and the 2003 Iraq War experiment contradict Ehrman's assertion.[6]

Another misinterpretation of Niebuhrian thinking is that of Robert G. Kaufman, a political scientist and biographer of Congressman and neoconservative politician Henry "Scoop" Jackson. Kaufman contends that Jackson concurred with Niebuhr regarding foreign policy and defense.[7] Additionally, in the 1970s, other neoconservatives, such as Jeane Kirkpatrick, Norman Podhoretz, Irving Kristol, or Michael Novack used to cite Niebuhr while making their case regarding an enthusiastically interventionist American foreign policy.[8] However, the theologian's

[4] Ehrman, *Rise of Neoconservatism*, viii, 11, and 184.

[5] Ibid, viii.

[6] David Wurmser, *Tyranny's Ally: America's Failure to Defeat Saddam Hussein* (Washington, DC: AEI Press, 1999), 44-46 and 56-57. David Frum and Richard Perle, *An End to Evil: How to Win the War on Terror* (New York: Random House, 2003). Lawrence Kaplan and William Kristol, *The War over Iraq: Saddam's Tyranny and America's Mission* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2003), 183-205. Paula Dobriansky, Henry A. Crumpton, and F. Gregory Gause III, "Tyranny and Terror," *Foreign Affairs* (January/ February 2008). Nathan Sharansky and Ron Dermer, *The Case for Democracy: the Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny and Terror* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 18-38.

[7] Robert Gordon Kaufman, *Henry M. Jackson: a Life in Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 46-47.

[8] Daniel F. Rice, *Reinhold Niebuhr Revisited: Engagements with an American Original* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2009), 29. Michael Novack, "Needing Niebuhr Again," *Commentary* (September 1972).

commitment Kaufmann and others often refer to was part of a Cold War Liberal consensus, in the 1950s and 1960s, which comprised not only would-be neoconservatives but also a wide array of other intellectuals and policymakers such as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and George F. Kennan. The neoconservatives' definitive break with Liberalism, their shift to the Right in the 1970s, and their alliance with the Reagan administration (in the 1980s) put them at odds with Niebuhr's foreign policy thinking.[9]

Indeed, would-be neoconservatives of the early Cold War period were part of what Schlesinger called the "Vital Center."[10] Together with influential intellectuals, politicians, and pundits, they converged in viewing Communist ideology and the Soviet Bloc as a threat to the values of the United States and Western democracies in general. Advocacy groups such as the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) emerged to form an ideological and cultural opposition to Soviet ideology.

Neoconservative foreign policy outlook that opposes Niebuhr's Christian Realism is clearly acknowledged by *The Atlantic* and the *New York Times* columnist David Brooks (also a regular contributor to *The Weekly Standard*), and William Kristol and Lawrence Kaplan. These neoconservatives acknowledge that Niebuhr – together with other fellow realists Hans Morgenthau and George F. Kennan – would have been "blinded by [their] line of reasoning," and would have condemned the United States' military invasion of Iraq in 2003.[11] Indeed, Kennan did disapprove of

[9] Rice, *Reinhold Niebuhr Revisited*, 29.

[10] Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr, "Not Left, Not Right, but a Vital Center," *The New York Times* (April 4, 1948). See Glossary for a brief explanation of this concept.

[11] David Brooks, "A Man on a Gray Horse," *Atlantic Monthly* (September 2002). Kaplan and Kristol, *War over Iraq*, 213-15.

the Iraq war and he criticized democrats who voted for it.[12] In sum, while both liberal realists and neoconservatives concurred to hold foreign and defense policy principles that operated within a Cold War paradigm, things changed, and their respective political creeds diverged by the end of the twentieth century.

In fact, in both the Cold War and the War on Terror paradigms, neoconservatives' foreign policy outlook can be rather associated – at least in its rhetorical aspect – with the philosophical principles of Leo Strauss (1899-1973).

Much ink has been spilled these recent years on Strauss's philosophy, its relation with the political, and its influence on American Conservatism and/or Neoconservatism. Some scholarship engaged in a heated debate between Straussians (scholars followers of Strauss) and traditional (paleo-)conservatives over the influence of Leo Strauss on American Conservatism and whether the philosopher's political thinking epitomizes true Conservatism or not.[13] In addition, a great deal of scholarship link Straussian philosophy to Neoconservatism and US foreign policy during the Bush era (2001-2008).[14] Those scholarly writings attempt to comprehend neoconservative foreign policy in light of Strauss's thinking; but they have also sparked some responses by Strauss's students and defenders. Among the latter, Michael and Catherine Zuckert, of Notre Dame University, refute any intellectual link between their teacher and neoconservatives, or at least they deny the influence of the

[12] John Lewis Gaddis, *John F. Kennan: an American Life* (New York: Penguin, 2011), Pt. V, Ch. 25, sec. VI.

[13] See for example the debate between Grant Havers and Paul Gottfried. Grant Havers, "Leo Strauss, Wilmoore Kendall, and the Meaning of Conservatism," *Humanitas* 18:1-2 (2005), 5-25. Paul Gottfried, "Strauss and the Straussians," *Humanitas* 18:1-2 (2005), 26-30.

[14] Anne Norton, *Leo Strauss and the Politics of American Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). John Langmore, "The Bush Foreign Policy Revolution: Its Origins and Alternatives," *Global Policy Forum* (August 2004). Nicholas Xenos, "Leo Strauss and the Rhetoric of the War on Terror," *Logos* 3:2 (2004), 1-19. Nicholas Xenos, *Cloaked in Virtue: Unveiling Leo Strauss and the Rhetoric of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Routledge, 2008). James Mann, *Rise of the Vulcans: the History of Bush's War Cabinet* (New York: Viking, 2004), 26-29 and 165. Pfaff, "The Long Reach of Leo Strauss."

former on the latter.[15] Robert Howse is another defender of Strauss and rejects the idea that the philosopher brought and propagated anti-liberal ideas in the United States.[16] One can also mention Peter Minowitz who defends Strauss against what he considers hateful liberal radicals.[17]

Strauss left Germany in 1938. The persecution of Jews there haunted him and shaped his ideas about totalitarian regimes. He moved to the USA and taught for many years at the University of Chicago. Irving Kristol, founder and leading intellectual figure of Neoconservatism, recognizes Strauss as the source of inspiration of most of the neoconservative ideology.[18] To Kristol, his encounter with Straussian thought was an "intellectual shock that is a once-in-a-lifetime experience."[19] Kristol also acknowledges that Strauss' political philosophy has been significant in shaping neoconservative foreign policy principles.[20]

Authors and columnists William Pfaff and Jacob Heilbrunn, among others, point out that several of the prominent neoconservatives were students and disciples of Strauss. They mention the names of Paul Wolfowitz and Abraham Shulsky (an influential top official at the Defense Department from 2001 to 2006 and member of PNAC, the Hudson Institute, and JINSA).[21] Moreover, Robert Loke, one of the self-

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[15] Catherine Zuckert and Michael Zuckert, *The Truth about Leo Strauss: Political Philosophy and American Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 7-8, 13, 23, 30 and 263-66.

[16] Robert Howse, "Misreading Leo Strauss," *Policy Review* 176 (December 2012).

[17] Peter Minowitz, *Straussphobia: Defending Leo Strauss and Straussians against Shadia Drury and Other Accusers* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009).

[18] Irving Kristol, *Neoconservatism: the Autobiography of an Idea, Selected Essays, 1949-1995* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 6.

[19] Ibid, 7.

[20] Irving Kristol, "The Neoconservative Persuasion: What It Was and What It Is," *The Weekly Standard* 8: 47 (August 25, 2003).

[21] Pfaff, "The Long Reach of Leo Strauss;" and Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right*, 97.

Paul Wolfowitz held key defense posts for twenty-five years. He was Under-Secretary of Defense during G.W. Bush presidency, and was director of the World Bank. Abraham Shulsky was a Rand

proclaimed followers of Strauss, concurs with Pfaff and Heilbrunn, and mentions that prominent American opinion-makers and policymakers during the presidencies of Ronald Reagan (1981-1988) and George W. Bush (2001-2008) were among his students.[22]

However, though it is undeniable that Strauss' political philosophy has a huge influence on neoconservative ideology, and though all Straussians are neoconservatives, not all neoconservatives are Straussians. While Irving Kristol, Allan Bloom, Paul Wolfowitz, Abraham Shulsky, or Francis Fukuyama (before he became critical of neoconservatives and broke with them in 2006[23]) are deeply impregnated with the philosopher's political outlook, it is not the case with Norman Podhoretz, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, or Elliott Abrams who do not have much interest in Straussian philosophy.[24] Nevertheless, all intellectuals and pundits of the neoconservative school of thought embrace ideas criticizing liberalism and value relativism, emphasizing the nature of political regimes, and supporting Zionism and Israel. Those principles are the ones Strauss held and professed during his life. Even if it is not sensible to cast Strauss and neoconservatives in a concerted alliance to shape the United States' political regime or foreign policy outlook, it is also irrational to

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researcher and he worked under Richard Perle in the Defense Department under the Reagan administration. It should also be mentioned that A. Shulsky was the Director of the Department of Defense's Office of Special Plans under the George W. Bush administration (2001-2008). For more information see the Right Web Project, Institute of Policy Studies, "Individual Profiles," http://www.irc-online.org/

[22] Robert Loke, "Leo Strauss, Conservative Mastermind," *FrontPage Magazine* (May 31, 2002). http://www.frontpagemag.com

[23] Francis Fukuyama, "After Neoconservatism," *The New York Times* (February 19, 2006). http://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/19/magazine/neo.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0. And David Kirkpatrick, "Fukuyama Makes History; War Heats Up in the Neoconservative Fold," *The New York Times* (August 22, 2004).

[24] Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right*, 108.

deny that many neoconservative foreign policy principles are theorized in and constitute core tenets of Straussian political philosophy.

One of the critical ideas Leo Strauss puts forward and extensively develops is that Western Credo rests on what he calls a "Judeo-Christian" tradition which in turns owes everything to Socratic rationality and Biblical faith, what he views as the convergence between "Athens and Jerusalem." However, throughout his works, Strauss implies that this tradition is in jeopardy, or better say has been in jeopardy since the advent and prominence of modern philosophy and its moral weaknesses embodied in its liberal ideals. To Friedman, Strauss holds that the West, blinded by the weaknesses of "modernism and utopian ideologies had lost its moral moorings."[25]

Strauss' philosophy thus examines ancient and modern philosophers and asserts that the former – not the latter – founded the true liberal ideals of political life. Strauss diagnoses two types of Liberalism: the one of the Classics, the genuine one, but one that has vanished; and the modern one which has been corrupted by some kind of relativism.[26] The parallel with neoconservatives' posture towards Liberalism (discussed in Chapter 3) is striking.

Strauss argues that the West is suffering from a "crisis of modernity" because of its complacency for tolerance. To him, tolerance and relativism in liberal democracy have not only hidden possibilities of intolerance but has also led to the abdication of the basis for defending its own principles. To him, when liberal

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[25] Friedman, *Neoconservative Revolution*, 40.

[26] Harry V. Jaffa, "Strauss at One Hundred," in Kenneth L. Deutch and James A. Murley, eds. *Leo Strauss, the Straussians, and the American Regime* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), 45. Ronald J. Terchek, "Locating Leo Strauss in the Liberal-Communitarian Debate," in Deutch and Murley, Eds. *Leo Strauss, the Straussians, and the American Regime*, 151.

Relativism is the view that there is no universal truth; instead values and norms are relative to one's particular society or culture. The position of relativism is that no one should pass judgement on others with substantially different values. David Wong, "Relativism," in Peter Singer, Ed. *A Companion to Ethics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), xv and 447.

democracy becomes relativistic, it leads to the "abandonment of all standards including its own."[27] This is why Strauss believes that relativism ultimately leads to nihilism. [28] Hence Strauss denounces relativism that, he thinks, leads modern American society to the moral confusion that may prevent it from clearly identifying its real enemies. As an example, he evokes the interwar years German Weimar Republic (1919 –1933) which was an example of liberal democracy but whose weakness and tolerant principles allowed the rise of Nazism in the 1930s.[29]

Indeed, projected into the terms of political philosophy, the outcome of relativism is seen by the neoconservatives in the United States' and Europe's accommodation with political regimes, cultures, and civilizations that do not hold the Western values of liberal democracy. That resentment towards any understanding with non-Western political regimes and cultures manifested itself during the Cold War era and more specifically against the policy of Détente and the convergence between the United States of America and the Soviet Union in the 1970s. To neoconservatives, that rapprochement was not only a political defeat but also – and more importantly – a moral one. To them it implied the awful acknowledgement that there was a moral equivalence between American democracy and the Soviet communism.

Like Strauss, then *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz, for instance, evoked the memory of the French and British governments' behaviors before the Second

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[27] Kenneth L. Deutsch, *The Crisis of Liberal Democracy: a Straussian Perspective* (Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press, 1987), 70.

[28] Leo Strauss, *Natural Right and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 12-13 and 15-20.

[29] Shadia Drury, *Leo Strauss and the American Right* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), 5-6; William A. Galston, "Leo Strauss's Qualified Embrace of Liberal Democracy," in Steven B. Smith, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Leo Strauss* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 202. Friedman, *Neoconservative Revolution*, 57. And Pfaff, "The Long Reach of Leo Strauss." See also an interesting website explaining Straussian political philosophy: http://www.straussian.net/

World War and their refusal to face up the growing peril of Nazi Germany.[30] It seems that the same comparison re-emerged in the twenty-first century towards not only what neoconservatives called "rogue states" or non-state actors who claim to act on behalf of the Muslim faith, but also toward the Arab-Muslim world in general. The analogy was being made after the September 11, 2001 terror attacks; and it is still being made nowadays with what Podhoretz calls "World War IV" against "militant Islam."[31] In that respect, contemporary neoconservatives recurrently call for "moral clarity" to confront that threatening relativism (See a more thorough critical analysis of Podhoretz' line of reasoning in Chapter 5).

Relativism is thus intolerable for Leo Strauss' neoconservative disciples. For Strauss as well as for the neoconservatives, there exist good and bad political cultures, and the greatest threat comes from states and/or cultures that do not share the values of American democracy. Strauss' assumption was that political considerations and foreign policy priorities must not be dispossessed of what they viewed as vital guiding value judgments. The neoconservative conception of "moral clarity" (a concept so dear to them, see p. 202) should prevail, and good regimes have the right and even the duty to defend themselves against wicked ones.[32]

It is however important to point out the duplicity of neoconservatives with regard to tenets they advocate. Indeed, neoconservatives are blatantly selective when they raise the questions of morality, freedoms, democracy, and other alleged Western values. Neoconservatives display this duplicity in their foreign policy behavior towards autocratic and dictatorial regimes in Latin America in the 1970s and in the

[30] Ehrman, *Rise of Neoconservatism,* 108.

[31] Podhoretz, "How to Win World War IV," and "World War IV: How It Started, What It Means, and Why We Have to Win."

[32] Alain Frachon and Daniel Vernet, "Le stratège et le philosophe," *Le Monde* (April, 15, 2003).

Middle East nowadays, a place where democracy, individual liberties, and political freedoms are seldom acknowledged if not commonly violated and denied to the peoples who live there. In 1979, prominent neoconservative intellectual and would-be policymaker Jeane Kirkpatrick even attempted to justify the need for such duplicity.[33] More recently, Martin Kramer made the same assertion when he viewed that Arab-Muslim peoples are not mature for political pluralism and democracy.[34]

On the domestic front, neoconservatives' political and social ideas concurred with those of Strauss with regard to value relativism and modern liberalism that emerged with the New Left since the 1960s (see Chapter 3).

Moreover, from Leo Strauss' point of view, the implementation of his political ideals can only be achieved through deliberately veiled "esoteric meanings" whose truths can be comprehended only by a very few, an elite, and would be misunderstood by the masses, for the masses are not fit for either truth or liberty.[35] This of course implies that common citizens are incapable of understanding political objectives and are thus inept in participating in political debates. Hence, and relying on his own interpretation of Socratic principles, it has been essential – according to Strauss – to emphasize and promote "pious frauds" and "noble lies," frauds and lies for the common good, to common people about the complex nature of political reality.[36] Irving Kristol shows the clear evidence of that neoconservative-Straussian

[33] Jeane Kirkpatrick, "Dictatorships and Double Standards," *Commentary* 68:5 (November 1979), 34-45

[34] Martin Kramer, "Can America Promote a Liberal, Democratic Middle East?" in *Bush Administration Middle East Policy: A Mid-Term Assessment* (Washington, D.C.: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2003), 72-75.

[35] Shadia B. Drury, "Saving America: Leo Strauss and the Neoconservatives," par. 7. Information Clearing House. http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article6750.htm. (Accessed in February 2010).

[36] Leo Strauss, *The City and Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 102-3. For an analysis of Strauss' conception of "noble lies" and "pious frauds," see Shadia B. Drury, *The Political Ideas of Leo Strauss*, updated ed. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), ix-lviii, 84, and 194-95.

convergence when he agrees with Strauss's "disbelief in the Enlightenment dogma that 'truth will make men free.'" Through his understanding of Strauss's political ideas, Kristol viewed him as

> an intellectual aristocrat who thought that the truth could make ***some*** [i.e. not all] minds free, but he was convinced that there was an inherent conflict between philosophic truth and the political order, and that the popularization and vulgarization of these truths might import unease, turmoil ...with utterly unpredictable, but mostly negative, consequences.[37] (Emphasis original)

Additionally, according to Shadia Drury, professor of philosophy and political science at Regina University (Canada), Strauss believed that in order to draw away what he considered as "political decay," a society should be constituted of militant citizens fueled with a radical nationalism. Moreover, the best way to achieve a permanent national mobilization is to be in a perpetual war against a threatening enemy. And if the enemy cannot be found, then it must be invented.[38] To the philosopher, noble lies are therefore necessary for the survival of his own conception of liberal democracy. Leo Strauss then made the case for highly esoteric writings in political philosophy.[39] This is why his own philosophical productions are somehow deliberately ambiguous and unclear for common people.[40]

Leo Strauss' relationship and common cause with his neoconservative disciples is not circumscribed to political philosophy but they also integrate important

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[37] Kristol, *Neoconservatism: the Autobiography of an Idea*, 8.

[38] Shadia B. Drury, "Leo Strauss and the Grand Inquisitor," *Free Inquiry Magazine* 24: 4 (November 2004).

[39] Leo Strauss, "Persecution and the Art of Writing," *Social Research* 8:1/4 (1941), 488-504.

[40] Pfaff, "The Long Reach of Leo Strauss." Drury, *Leo Strauss and the American Right*.

identity and ideological dimensions. Leo Strauss was a faithful follower of right wing Zionist Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky whom he occasionally met and discussed with.[41] He thus had an intimate affection for nationalist Zionism and Israel which, according to his philosophical outlook, was an outpost of the West surrounded by mortal enemies.[42] During the Weimar Republic, even before the oppression and destruction of the Jews by Nazi Germany, Strauss rejected all forms of assimilation of the Jewish communities in European societies. Throughout his life, Strauss remained faithful to his commitments towards Israel and to his strong Zionist identity.[43]

However, Strauss's commitment to his Jewishness and strong Zionism did not paradoxically prevent him from espousing (with some critique) the ideas of German Political Theorist and Jurist Carl Schmitt, and especially the latter's conception of the political. Indeed, Schmitt had a long and close acquaintance with Nazism, and this "ostensibly unlikely pairing"[44] of philosophers criticized Liberalism for its incapacity to provide an adequate political order. Even Straussians concede that both viewed that

[41] Leo Strauss, *Jewish Philosophy and the Crisis of Modernity: Essays and Lectures in Modern Jewish Thought*, Kenneth Hart Green ed. (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1997), 319. Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right*, 94. Steven B. Smith, *Reading Leo Strauss: Politics, Philosophy, Judaism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 60-1. Michael Zank, trans. and ed., *Leo Strauss: the Early Writings, 1921-1932* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002), 35, 40, and 41, footnote 40. Paul E. Gottfried, *Leo Strauss and the Conservative Movement in America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 20. It should be noted that other neoconservatives such as former under-Secretary of Defense Douglas Feith (2001-2005) are followers of Jabotinsky; see Feith's lecture commemorating Jabotinsky published in *FrontpageMag.com*, "A Giant of Jewish History," (August 30, 2010), http://www.frontpagemag.com/fpm/70408/giant-jewish-history-douglas-j-feith.

[42] Heillbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right*, 94.

[43] Pierre Bouretz, "Leo Strauss devant la modernité juive," *Raisons politiques* 8 (November 2002), 36 (33-50). Clifford Orwin, "Review of Steven B. Smith's *Reading Leo Strauss: Politics, Philosophy, Judaism*," *Commentary* (May 2006), 76-78. Smith, *Reading Leo Strauss*, 60-63 and 76. Friedman, *Neoconservative Revolution*, 40. And "Leo Strauss," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (December 01, 2010), sec. 1, par. 1. Retrieved from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/strauss-leo/

[44] Michael Presley, "Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss: Victims of the Political Concept," *The Brussels Journal* (June, 06, 2011), par. 6. Retrieved from http://www.brusselsjournal.com/node/4756.

Liberalism has failed, that it is the negation of the political, and that the latter is the quintessence of human social order.[45]

Apart from the influence of Straussian thinking on many neoconservatives, the latter nurtured strong links with other intellectuals and specialists of the defense and foreign policy establishment during the Cold War period. Since then, their role have not ceased being critical.

4.3. Neoconservative Agency in the Cold War Era

Regarding Neoconservatism, the Cold War Era can be divided into two periods: the one before the explicit visibility and rise of this school of thought (1945-1960s); and the second one in which it played an overtly important role (1970s-1980s). The first period was characterized by a broad intellectual and political consensus in which NYIs and would-be neoconservatives were part of. The second period witnessed a sharp rise and dominance of the neoconservative credo. Since then, the influence of the neoconservatives was pervasive and efficient. At the intellectual level, Norman Podhoretz and other *Commentary* contributors were very active. The neoconservative alliance with William F. Buckley's, James Burnham's and Frank Meyer's *National Review* was also critical. In the political establishment, figures such as Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson played an important role in making the voice of the neoconservative heard. With regard to the military field and the United States' security strategy, scholars such as Historians Richard Pipes, Edward Luttwak and Walter Laqueur, or strategists such as Paul Nitze and Albert Wohlstetter were part of or had powerful ascendency on neoconservative thinking.

American intellectuals and pundits who would later be labeled as neoconservatives were fervent anti-Communist actors during the Cold War. Early

[45] Zuckert and Zuckert, *Truth about Leo Strauss*, 189.

neoconservatives' scheme of thinking operated then through a Cold War paradigm. They were part of the broad consensus of the time that assumed not only an ideological conflict between a Capitalist United States and a Communist Soviet Union, but also what most Americans considered a conflict of cultures and values between the "Free World" and Totalitarianism. Right from the beginning of the Cold War, pre-neoconservatives called for and promoted unconditional foreign and security policies against the Soviet Union and its allies.

Those pre-neoconservatives were individual people who, before the emergence of Neoconservatism in the late 1960s-early 1970s, held most of its characteristics and principles but were – at that time (1930s-1960s) – not yet called neoconservatives. They worked outside and within the different administrations, from the presidency of Harry Truman (1945-1953) to the one of Ronald Reagan (1981-1988) to ensure and maintain a robust militarization of the United States Cold War policy under the pretext of (now proven exaggerated) looming Soviet world hegemony.

As early as the late 1940s and 1950s, Paul Nitze and Albert Wohlstetter – two highly influential specialists in the spheres of security and defense – were among the most prominent *pre-neoconservatives* of that period.

Heilbrunn contends that Nitze was not a dedicated neoconservative but one of their ambivalent but closest allies. Nevertheless, Heilbrunn asserts that Nitze together with the neoconservatives formed a "symbiotic" relationship, for his hawkish views and positions inside the security establishment provided legitimacy to neoconservatives' claims for what Anne Hessing Cahn calls "a militarization of

American foreign policy"[46] and a confrontation with the Communist Bloc.[47] As a strategist and a policymaker, Nitze was one of the – if not *the* – most influential theorists of the militarist containment of the Soviet Union**.** William Burr and Robert Wampler assert – rightly – that the different positions Nitze held in the defense and foreign policy establishments "placed him at the center of practically every significant decision or debate about U.S. Cold War strategy and nuclear weapons policies" for forty years.[48]

As an influential actor who contributed to determining the course of the Cold War conflict, Nitze's first key strategic production was without doubt the famous *National Security Council memo n°68* (*NSC-68*). Nitze submitted the memo to President Truman in March 1950. Then Head of the newly created Policy Planning Staff at the State Department (and succeeding George F. Kennan), Nitze and his team drafted the document that orientated American defense policies during the two following decades. *NSC-68* stipulated that the original policy of Containment, as conceived and advocated by George F. Kennan,[49] was not efficient unless it was coupled with a strong and unparalleled military build-up and a strategy of confrontation. To Nitze and his team,

[46] Anne Hessing Cahn, *Killing Détente: The Right Attacks the CIA* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 16.

[47] Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right*, 119.

[48] William Burr and Robert Wampler, "The Master of the Game: Paul H. Nitze and U.S. Cold War Strategy from Truman to Reagan," *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book* 139 (October 27, 2004). http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB139/

[49] The policy of Containment was prescribed in two key Cold War documents: George Frost Kennan. "The Long Telegram." (1946). Document accessible online at National Security Archives, George Washington University Website. http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm. Also, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." *Foreign Affairs* (1946). Kennan anonymously wrote the article.

> Without superior aggregate military strength, in being and readily mobilizable, a policy of 'containment' – which is in effect a policy of calculated and gradual coercion – is no more than a policy of bluff.[50]

A debate took place inside the Truman administration over the relevance of the document. Kennan viewed that Nitze was guilty of a severe distortion and misapplication of the policy he had outlined, and the diplomat denounced Nitze for "militarizing" containment.[51] In spite of Kennan's views that the build-up of a United States' large nuclear arsenal would be unwise,[52] *NSC-68* gained the approbation of President Truman. The result was a readjustment of American foreign and defense policies with a huge increase of armament expenditures. *NSC-68* advocated a strong military build-up, more economic assistance to Western Europe, covert operations, and psychological warfare against the then Soviet Union and its allies.[53] *NSC-68* also allowed the realization of the Hydrogen Bomb, a project promoted and supervised by Dean Acheson (Truman's State Secretary), Nitze, and Scientist Edward Teller.[54] *NSC-68* also paved the way for more involvement in the Korean Peninsula (The Korean War of 1950-1954), for the exacerbation of the security dilemma[55] governing US-

[50] United States of America. *National Security Council n°68* (1950). *Naval War College Review*, Vol. XXVII (May-June, 1975), 51-108. Also U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States: 1950*, Volume I.

[51] Burr and Wampler, "The Master of the Game."

[52] Allen Weinstein and David Rubel. *The Story of America: Freedom and Crisis from Settlement to Superpower* (New York: DK Publishing, 2002), 583.

[53] George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: US Foreign Relations since 1776* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 638.

[54] Curt Cardwell, *NSC-68 and the Political Economy of the Early Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 187-90. Jerry W. Sanders, *Peddlers of Crisis: The Committee on the Present Danger and the Politics of Containment* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1983), 23-38.

[55] See glossary.

USSR relationships, and so, the pursuit and intensification of the Cold War in the following decades.[56]

Paul Nitze's influence within the different US administrations remained central all along the Cold War period. While simultaneously being an insider of the Truman administration, he was also the co-founder and active member of the first version of the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) in 1950.[57]

Nitze was also the father of the theory of "graduated deterrence" and "graduated retaliation."[58] He also claims to have played the most major role in helping draft the most important defense document of the 1950s, the *Gaither Report* (officially called "Survival and Deterrence in the Nuclear Age," 1957).[59] That document questioned the ability of the Eisenhower Administration to meet technological challenges related to defense. The report, which relayed the recommendations of Strategist Albert Wohlstetter,[60] also criticized policymakers for neglecting the "missile gap" between the United States and the Soviet Union.[61] A few

[56] Paul Y. Hammond, ed. "NSC-68: Prologue to Rearmament," *Strategy, Politics, and Defense Budgets* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 267-378.

[57] For more about the Committee on the Present Danger and its role in the Cold War era as well as in the present War on Terror, see Chapter 5.

[58] Paul Nitze, "Atoms, Strategy, and Policy," *Foreign Affairs* 34:2 (January 1956), 188.

[59] Paul Nitze, *From Hiroshima to Glasnost: At the Center of Decision* (New York: Grove Weidenfield, 1989), 167. David Lindsey Snead, "Eisenhower and the Gaither Report: the Influence of a Committee of Experts on National Security Policy in the Late 1950s," PhD Dissertation (University of Virginia, 1997), 111-12. Fred M. Kaplan, *Wizards of Armageddon* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 137.

[60] Kaplan, *Wizards of Armageddon*, 144.

[61] United States of America, "Deterrence and Survival in the Nuclear Age," Report by the Security Resources Panel of the Science Advisory Committee (November, 7, 1957). Document accessible online at National Security Archives, George Washington University website: http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB139/nitze02.pdf. The document is better known as the *Gaither Report*, named after the leader of the Advisory Panel H. R. Gaither. Though Nitze is mentioned in the report as secondary member of a security panel, Historians David L. Snead and Nicholas Thomson (who is also Nitze's grandson) contend that he was the central member of the Committee and the true final draft composer of the document. See Nicholas Thomson, *The Hawk and the Dove: Paul Nitze, George Kennan, and the History of the Cold War* (New York: Henry Holt, 2009), 168. Snead, "Eisenhower and the Gaither Report," 111-12.

years later, in October 1962, Nitze was a member of the Executive Committee of the National Security Council (ExComm), the small group of men President John F. Kennedy gathered to debate how the United States should respond to the Cuban Missile Crisis.[62] During that crisis, Nitze was among the hawks who asked for urgent military action and the destruction of Soviet missiles before they become operational.[63]

While Nitze was an insider, Albert Wohlstetter was a Rand[64] strategist and a mathematician at the University of Chicago. He did not hold any official post, but he regularly briefed the Department of Defense,[65] he remained an authority in the field of nuclear strategy all along the Cold War period, and he was referred to as the "dean of American nuclear strategists."[66] Wohlstetter was a close friend of Sidney Hook and, like him, had been a fervent Trotskyist in the 1930s before changing his mind (like many *pre-neoconservatives*) after the Second World War. He knew the Podhoretz family, and he also became the advisor of neoconservative Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson.[67] He greatly influenced the second generation of neoconservatives such as Richard Perle (who dated his daughter in the late 1960s early 1970s) and Paul Wolfowitz (who wrote his PhD dissertation under his supervision). Perle and

[62] Nicholas Thompson, "We Will All Fry," *The New Yorker* (October 15, 2012). According to Thompson, Nitze was the only member of ExComm President Kennedy authorized to take notes during the discussions.

[63] James A. Bill, *George Ball: Behind the Scene in US Foreign Policy* (Yale University Press, 1997), 177-79.

[64] The Rand Corporation is a think tank that promotes and undertakes research in the field of security strategy and foreign affairs. During the Cold War, it was funded by the Department of Defense and its reports and studies greatly influenced the United States' defense policy.

[65] Husain Khurram, "Neocons: the Men Behind the Curtain," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 59: 6 (November/December 2003), 63-64.

[66] Andrew Bacevich, *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 152.

[67] Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right*, 98.

Wolfowitz were his protégés and held top defense posts in the Ronald Reagan (1981-1988) and George W. Bush (2001-2008) administrations.[68]

Albert Wohlstetter revolutionized the United States' strategic thinking of the Cold War era. Early Cold War military strategy had been built on an assessment of the enemy's intentions and capabilities. It basically relied on secret intelligence and scholarly analysis of communist ideology. But as a mathematician, Wohlstetter relied on a new methodology to assess the intentions of the Soviet Union. It based on probabilistic reasoning that operated through systems analysis and game theory. The enemy was supposed to have the worst designs, and worst-case scenarios were believed as a future probability. The result was that even a small possibility of vulnerability, or a potential future vulnerability, could be presented as a quasi-certainty and thus as a virtual state of national emergency.[69]

In one of the most important Rand analysis papers of the Cold War period, Wohlstetter developed a key argument upon which the United States' Cold War hawks relied. Basically, in "The Delicate Balance of Terror" (1958), he viewed that nuclear weaponry did not guarantee deterrence:

> What can we say then, in sum, on the balance of terror theory of automatic deterrence? It is a contribution to the rhetoric rather than the logic of war in the thermonuclear age. In suggesting that a carefully

[68] Richard Perle, "The Making of a Neoconservative," Interview by Ben Wattenberg. *Think Tank*. PBS (2003). http://www.pbs.org/thinktank/transcript1017.html. Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right*, 98-99.

[69] Khurram, "Neocons: the Men Behind the Curtain," 63-66.

> planned surprise attack can be checkmated almost effortlessly ...it is wrong and its nearly universal acceptance is terribly dangerous.[70]

Historian Andrew Bacevich argues that the concept of vulnerability was for Wohlstetter and the neoconservatives he influenced "an obsession and eventually a fetish."[71] Indeed, Wohlstetter's paradoxical logic of extreme cautiousness did not make him ask for arms control but the opposite. He considered the United States had to engage in "urgent and continuing effort" and in the long run permanent military-technological innovations so as to be able to respond to any change in the alleged "Balance of Terror."[72] Paul Nitze and Albert Wohlstetter's worst-case assessments were well-considered in the 1950s and 1960s, but they lost credibility with the arrival of Détente in the early 1970s.

In the 1970s, the neoconservatives opposed *Détente*. That was a policy of rapprochement initiated by President Nixon and his National Security Advisor, and then State Secretary, Henry Kissinger. Détente was afterwards carried on successively by Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. The policy of Détente implied a series of rounds of negotiations on nuclear disarmament via the SALT process (SALT I in 1969 and SALT II in 1979). Throughout that period, neoconservatives did not view *Détente* as a policy of rapprochement but as one of conciliation and even surrender. For instance, Podhoretz regarded it as the symbol of the American decline and rejection of its global mission. To him, the 1970s American political ambience was synonymous to a terrifying "culture of appeasement," plagued by a "national mood of

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[70] Albert Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," in Robert Zarate and Henry Sokolski, eds, *Nuclear Heuristics: Selected Writings of Albert and Roberta Wohlstetter* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2009), 208-9.

[71] Bacevich, *New American Militarism*, 153. See also Andrew Bacevich "Tailors to the Emperor." *New Left Review* 69 (May/June 2011).

[72] Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," 209.

self-doubt and self-disgust."[73] Owing to Leo Strauss' discontent with the Weimar Republic and the European situation of pre-Second World War years, neoconservatives recurrently recall that period to sound the alarm against what they consider as looming existential enemies. They very often evoke European democracies of the time and their wish to appease Nazi Dictator Adolf Hitler with all the dreadful consequences that followed. Podhoretz, for instance, recalled the behaviors of the French and British governments of the period and their refusal to face up to the growing peril of Nazi Germany.[74] Similarly, Eugene Rostow compared the years of Détente to the passive European behaviors before the two World Wars. He claimed that

> Since the final bitter phases of the Vietnam War, our governments have been preaching with the fear, passivity, and inadequacy which characterized the British and American policy so fatally in the Thirties, and British policy before 1914.[75]

In 2003, looking back to the 1970s, Richard Perle also viewed that Détente resembled the period of appeasement that enabled the rise of Nazi Germany.[76] Neoconservatives drew the same parallel against critics of the 2003 War on Iraq and the War of Terror (2001-),[77] and against the opponents of armed conflict with Iran. Podhoretz views

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[73] Norman Podhoretz, "The Culture of Appeasement," *Harper's Magazine* (October 1977). Also Norman Podhoretz as quoted in Edward Tabor Linenthal, "War and Sacrifice in the Nuclear Age: The Committee on the Present Danger and the Renewal of Martial Enthusiasm," in Ira Chernus, ed. *A Shuddering Dawn: Religious Studies and the Nuclear Age* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 24.

[74] Podhoretz, "Culture of Appeasement." Ehrman, *Rise of Neoconservatism*, 108.

[75] Eugene Rostow as quoted in Linenthal, "War and Sacrifice in the Nuclear Age," 25.

[76] Richard Perle, Interview by Jonathan Holmes. "Four Corners." ABC (February 18, 2003). http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/content/2003/20030310_american_dreamers/int_perle.htm

[77] Richard Perle, "Why the West Must Strike First against Saddam Hussein," *Daily Telegraph* (August 9, 2002). Accessible online at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/3580181/Why-the-West-must-strike-first-against-Saddam-Hussein.html

criticism against bombing Iran and the wish to negotiate with the latter as an "irresponsible complacency."[78]

Neoconservatives exploited the political malaise of the mid-1970s, and they allied to other rightist and militarist pressure groups to systematically criticize and question the official policy of the United States. They asserted that Détente and SALTs were a failure since the Soviet Union was inherently wicked, did not believe in deterrence, and had hostile objectives.[79] In the 1970s, *Commentary* echoed the neoconservatives' views and published numerous articles attacking Détente and arms control from different perspectives.[80]

The first neoconservative assault on arms control began in May 1969. Paul Nitze, together with Albert Wohlstetter and Senator Henry M. Jackson founded the Committee to Maintain a Prudent Defense Policy (CMPDP). The committee was headed by former State Secretary Dean Acheson and included among its ranks Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz, and Historian Edward Luttwak.[81] Jackson – with the aid of Perle – led the work of the CMPDP in Capitol Hill. The committee heavily lobbied Congress, helped the adoption of ABM systems in 1969,[82] launched the 1970s

[78] Norman Podhoretz, "Debate Stirs Over Possible U.S. Military Action Against Iran," Debate with Fareed Zakaria. *Newshour*. PBS (October 29, 2007). Transcript available online at http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/middle_east-july-dec07-iran_10-29/

[79] For an understanding of neoconservative domestic agency against the policy of Détente, see the author's Magister dissertation: Salim Kerboua, "The Policy of Détente and the Neoconservative Agenda: Undermining the 1970s Foreign Policy," Unpublished Magister Dissertation (Mentouri University of Constantine, Algeria, 2007). Accessible online at http://bu.umc.edu.dz/theses/anglais/KER10044.pdf.

[80] See for example Walter Laqueur, "Kissinger and the Politics of Détente," *Commentary* (December 1973); Walter Laqueur, "The West in Retreat," *Commentary* 60:2 (February 1975); Edward Luttwak, "Why Arms Control Failed," *Commentary* 65:1 (January 1978), 19-28; Norman Podhoretz, "The Present Danger," *Commentary* 69:3 (March 1980), 27-33.

[81] Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right*, 121-22.

[82] Ibid.

debate over the official policy Détente and SALT negotiations, and systematically opposed Nixon and Kissinger.

In the mid-1970s, Nitze and Wohlstetter criticized the Department of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency on the subject of their estimations of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. They asserted that for a decade, the Pentagon and the intelligence analyses underestimated the real nature of the Soviet strength and threat. Nitze affirmed that under the terms of SALT agreements, the Soviet Union would not stop seeking a nuclear superiority and it intended to achieve a "theoretical war-winning capability."[83] Making a complex counting and calculation of the American and Soviet arsenals provisioned by SALT, and modelling a virtual nuclear exchange between the two superpowers, Nitze concluded that the United States was confronting a window of vulnerability. He argued that in any foreseeable nuclear war, the Soviet Union would have an overall nuclear advantage of retaliation.[84] In short and as paradoxical as it could be, he implied that arms control negotiations as they were pursued by the United States were endangering international stability and jeopardizing American (and Western) security. To him, only a huge American nuclear strength would persuade the Russians to abandon their quest for military superiority.[85] Despite scholarly replies by high a ranking member of the SALT negotiating team, Jan Lodal,[86] Nitze's views were recaptured by the neoconservatives of CPD II and their militarist allies in the American Right.

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[83] Paul Nitze, "Assuring Strategic Stability in an Era of Détente," *Foreign Affairs* 54:2 (January 1976), 207.

[84] Ibid, 226-31.

[85] Ibid. 207-8.

[86] Richard Crockatt, *The Fifty Years War: The United States and the Soviet Union in World Politics: 1941-1991* (London: Routledge, 2002), 262-63. Jan Lodal, "Assuring Strategic Stability: An Alternate View," *Foreign Affairs* (April 1976). The 1976 Nitze's and Lodal's exchange on strategic issues in *Foreign Affairs* was known as the "Nitze-Lodal-Nitze Debate."

Nitze concurred with Wohlstetter. The latter detailed his arguments against arms control and the intelligence community in a series of highly regarded journals as *Foreign Policy*, *Strategic Review* and the *Walt Street Journal*.[87] His arguments were in accord with the views of Nitze and other neoconservatives such as Eugene Rostow and Richard Pipes (see respectively pages 179 and 184-85). Paul Nitze resigned from the SALT negotiating team and publicly backed the views of his friend Wohlstetter. Despite responses from William Colby (the then Director of the CIA) that Wohlstetter and his fellow neoconservatives oversimplified the complex record of intelligence assessments,[88] a shadow of suspicion spread in the public space and the intellectual community.

Furthermore, the messy situation the United States government was in, in the troubling late 1974 did not arrange things. Indeed, the credibility and authority of the United States political establishment deteriorated due to CIA illegal operations scandals revealed by the *New York Times*[89] (these led to Congressional investigations on the subject) and the Watergate Scandal which forced President Nixon to resign in August 1974. The ideas of Nitze and Wohlstetter re-emerged in the neoconservatives' thinking of the 1990s and 2000s. Indeed, the question of American unparalleled military superiority is a non-negotiable constant of neoconservative thinking.

Richard Pipes attacked Détente from a different angle but more in concurrence with neoconservative intellectual thinking. Richard Pipes was a Harvard University historian, and he is the father of well-known second-generation neoconservative

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[87] Albert Wohlstetter, "Is There a Strategic Arms Race?" *Foreign Policy* 15 (summer 1974), 3-20; "Clocking the Strategic Arms Race," *Wall Street Journal* (September 24, 1974), 24; Cahn, *Killing Détente,* 11-13.

[88] Cahn, *Killing Détente*, 15.

[89] Seymour Hersh, "Huge CIA Operations Reported Against Antiwar Forces in the United States," *The New York Times* CXXIV: 42, 701 (December 22, 1974), 01 and 26.

Daniel Pipes. He was also the leader of a group of experts outside the Central Intelligence Agency labelled as "Team B." Under pressure from neoconservatives and right-wing militarists, The White House had set that team in July 1976. The purpose of Team B was to undertake an experiment in competitive analysis with the analysts of the Agency on the Soviet military capabilities and strategic objectives. The findings of Team B were highly controversial in an era of Détente and arms control with the Soviet Union.

Pipes also served as a consultant to Senator Henry Jackson in the early 1970s. He also belonged to the second version of the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD II) in 1976 (see Chapter 5); and he later became member of the National Security Council (NSC) under Ronald Reagan's administration as well as the President's Advisor for Soviet Affairs.[90]

According to Pipes, the United States did not accurately realize the nature of the Soviet threat. He based his arguments on the assertion that there was an apparent peril in the Soviet nuclear doctrine and that it was hazardous for the United States to adhere unilaterally to a strategy of mutual deterrence. Pipes contended that American and Soviet nuclear doctrines were in complete opposition and that "Soviet leaders are first and foremost offensively rather than defensively minded."[91] He believed thus that the perception the United States had of deterrence and Détente was not the Soviets' perception.

[90] "Richard Pipes," Sourcewatch, article, Center for Media and Democracy, January 2005, http://www.prwatch.org/ and http://www.sourcewatch.org. See also "Richard Pipes," Right Web Profiles. Institute for Policy Studies (July 13, 2013). http://www.rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/Pipes_Richard

[91] Richard Pipes as quoted in Paul Warnke, "Review of *Killing Détente: the Right Attacks the CIA*," *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*," 55:1 (January/February 1999).

In a *Commentary* article published in 1977, Pipes relied on his understanding of Russian history and Communist ideology to develop a line of reasoning to interpret its military doctrine, its strategic intentions and construct the Soviet Union as a malevolent Other. According to Pipes, the Soviet Union did not believe in mutual deterrence but harbored manifest malignant intentions. He argued, for example, that the Western World viewed nuclear strategy as a means of maintaining peace through mutual deterrence whereas the Soviet Union considered nuclear weaponry – like other conventional arms – as a means with which it could guarantee internal control over its population and pursue territorial expansion abroad. He also asserted that American strategic theories were developed largely by civilian scientists who were considerably guided by fiscal imperatives, while in the Communist world, strategy was elaborated by the military with no economic constraints.[92]

Richard Pipes also implied that the Soviet Union was a country that could not be trusted and which could – if necessary – sacrifice millions of it citizens to achieve its ambitions for world hegemony. Richard Pipes warned that "ignoring or not taking seriously Soviet military doctrine may have very detrimental effects on U.S. security."[93]

> In 1980, Pipes went even further to assert that the Soviet Union was an enemy who is driven not by fear but by aggressive impulses, who is generally more innovative in the field of political strategy than [the United States is], and who selects his victims carefully, with long-term objectives in mind.[94]

[92] Richard Pipes, "Why the Soviet Union Thinks It could Fight and Win a Nuclear War," *Commentary* 64:1 (July 1977).

[93] Ibid, 32-33.

[94] Richard Pipes, "Soviet Global Strategy," *Commentary* 69:4 (April 1980), 39.

Pipes also asserted Soviet strategy operated on a "first-strike" doctrine, implying the likelihood for the Soviet policy makers to launch a pre-emptive nuclear strike on the United States. Believing that in the 1980s the United States would find its nuclear capabilities under growing menace, he thus claimed that the ratification of SALT II would not exert a significant effect on future Soviet military deployments but would inhibit and even exclude any U.S military response to a Soviet attack.[95]

Finally, Pipes put a huge criticism on the United States policy makers of the period and the different agencies in charge of assessing Soviet intentions and capabilities. He for example characterized Kissinger's approach toward diplomacy as short-ranged and dangerous. He also declared that Kissinger was more concerned with his prestige and standing in the international scene than he was with the United States' interests.[96] Wohlstetter, Nitze, and Pipes were not alone in attacking arms control and 1970s US foreign policy. Other theorists of the neoconservative approach on international relations such as historians Robert W. Tucker, Edward Luttwak, and Walter Laqueur also viewed that the policies of the period were an indication of the American foreign policy elite's loss of will, a view which was shared by figures such as Norman Podhoretz.[97]

Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson was another hawkish figure closely related to Cold War Neoconservatism. Jackson was neither an intellectual nor a security expert. He was a career politician affiliated with the Democratic Party but meeting all the criteria of a staunch neoconservative: firm anti-Communist, supporter for high defense

[95] Ibid, 36.

[96] Robert D. Schulzinger, *Henry Kissinger: Doctor of Diplomacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 220-21.

[97] Laqueur, "Kissinger and the Politics of Détente;" "The West in Retreat;" Luttwak, "Why Arms Control Failed;" Podhoretz, "The Present Danger;" Ehrman, *Rise of Neoconservatism*, 53 and 55.

expenditures, and unconditional champion of Israel and the Zionist cause.[98] In his autobiography, former Army intelligence officer (1950s) and Senator (1969-1981) Mike Gravel refers to Jackson as "the senator who personified the military-industrial power"[99] and "the poster boy for the military-industrial complex in Congress."[100] Some even refer to him as "the Senator from Boeing" due to his close ties with the constructor. [101] Jackson had also close ties with intellectual and activist neoconservatives as well as a long history of initiating, backing, and/or promoting legislations in favor of the Military-Industrial Complex.[102] The well-being of Israel was also Jackson's chief concern. In the 1970s, he and another neoconservative, Daniel P. Moynihan, worked closely with AIPAC to enable its influence rise and expand in the Congress so as to counterbalance and overwhelm what they considered as oil-interests (and thus Arab) controlled State Department.[103]

To counter the policy of Détente, arms control, and the policies of the successive administrations of the 1970s, Jackson created the Coalition for a Democratic Majority (CDM) in 1972. The CDM, together with the CMDPD, was the first neoconservative collective political actor determined to influence policymaking. The advocacy group was also a response against Senator McGovern's liberal ideas that dominated the Democratic Party of the time (McGovern was the nominated

[98] Cahn, *Killing Détente*, 39.

[99] Mike Gravel and Joe Lauria, *A Political Odyssey: the Rise of American Militarism and One Man's Fight to Stop It* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2008), 13.

[100] Ibid, 159.

[101] Kaufman, *Henry M. Jackson*, 145. Cahn, *Killing Détente*, 39. Gravel and Lauria, *Political Odyssey*, 160. Elliott Abrams, "The Real Scoop Jackson," *The Weekly Standard* 19:27 (March 24, 2014).

[102] Gravel and Lauria, *Political Odyssey*, 157-65.

[103] Lawrence Davidson, *Foreign Policy, Inc.: Privatizing America's National Interest* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 113-14. J. C. Hurewitz, *Oil, the Arab-Israel Dispute, and the Industrial World* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1976), 81-82. Marving C. Feuerwerger, *Congress and Israel: Foreign Aid Decision-Making in the House of Representatives, 1969-1976* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 38 and 83-84. Bernard Avishai, "How Chuck Schumer Lost on Iran," *The New Yorker* (September 9, 2015).

Democratic presidential candidate in 1972, and the leading figure of the Democratic Party of the period). Ben Wattenberg and Irving Kristol co-chaired the CDM. Norman Podhoretz, Eugene Rostow, Daniel P. Moynihan, Samuel Huntington, Richard Pipes, Nathan Glazer, James Woolsey, Michael Novak, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Emanuel and Joshua Muravchick (father and son), and many other neoconservatives belonged to that coalition.[104]

The CDM then emerged against both the Nixon Administration and the mainstream liberal ideas advocated by the Democratic Party of the time. The CDM claimed it emphasized the promotion of democracy, anticommunism, and a global interventionist foreign policy. It therefore concurred with the ideas of the New Right in asking for a strong military. The CDM put forward and publicized the concept of "peace through strength,"[105] a motto that has been recaptured the American militarist right. It also helped to reactivate the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD II) in 1976. Together with the CPD II, the broader goal of the CDM was to undermine Détente and to restore containment militarism at the core of the United States' foreign policy. The CDM argued that the United States had to develop a powerful national defense and a foreign policy of confrontation to what it called "totalitarianism and repression." In addition, the neoconservatives belonging to the Coalition conveyed neoconservative principles of the time i.e. they stressed that Communism was a "Great Evil" and that the United States had a moral obligation to

[104] Sanders, *Peddlers of Crisis*, 150, 281. See also "Coalition for a Democratic Majority," Right Web. GroupWatch Archives. Institute for Policy Studies (January, 08, 1989). Accessible online at http://www.rightweb.irc-online.org/articles/display/Coalition_for_a_Democratic_Majority.

[105] The concept of "Peace Through Strength" has been recurrently advocated since then by neoconservative think tanks such as the Project for a New American Century (PNAC), the Center for Security Policy (CSP), the Hoover Institution, or the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). See websites of these think tanks. It is now recaptured by a newly found lobby group named the John Hay Initiative, headed by prominent neoconservatives such as Elliott Abrams, Eliot Cohen, Karl Rove, and Paula Dobriansky among many others. See website of the group: http://www.choosingtolead.net/

eradicate it and foster democracy throughout the world. The coalition had seminal private and government connections. Its members were full participants in other pressure groups and held key positions in the American political and bureaucratic spheres.[106]

In the 1970s, many neoconservatives were closely linked to Senator Jackson. Richard Perle and Elliott Abrams were part of his congressional staff,[107] and Joshua Muravchik worked for him during his presidential campaign in 1976.[108] Jackson and his congressional aides (such as Perle) regarded the policy of Détente and the appeasement between the United States and the Soviet Union as a threat to the interests of Israel.[109] During that period, Jackson and Perle were the initiators of the famous Jackson-Vanick (also called "freedom-of-emigration") Amendment, Section 402, of the Trade Bill of 1974.[110] Former US Diplomat and Scholar Raymond Garthoff contends that Perle was the true initiator of the Jackson-Vanick amendment.[111]

According to Anne Hessing Cahn, the amendment was a key factor that undermined the relations between the USA and the USSR and therefore started to damage the policy of Détente.[112] During the Détente period, the primary goal of Soviet policy was to succeed in attracting substantial United States capital

[106] "Coalition for a Democratic Majority," Right Web. GroupWatch Archives. Institute for Policy Studies (January, 08, 1989). Accessible online at http://www.rightweb.irc-online.org/articles/display/Coalition_for_a_Democratic_Majority

[107] Abrams, "The Real Scoop Jackson."

[108] Joshua Muravchik, "'Scoop' Jackson at One Hundred," *Commentary* (July 2012).

[109] Richard Perle, interview by CNN (March 3, 1997). National Security Archives, George Washington University website. Retrieved from http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/coldwar/interviews

[110] United States of America, "Trade Act of 1974," 206, Sec. 402. United States Congress. http://legcounsel.house.gov/Comps/93-618.pdf

[111] Raymond L. Garthoff, *The Great Transition: American-Soviet Relations and the End of the Cold War* (Washington, D.C. Brookings Institution Press, 1994), 34.

[112] Cahn, *Killing Détente,* 5.

investments and to import sophisticated American technology with the aim of stimulating the fading Soviet economy.[113] The 1972 package agreements linked to arms limitation negotiations initiated by the American administration included some substantial trade agreements between the United Stated States and so-called "Non-Market Economy" countries of the period and especially the former Soviet Union.

However, that same year, the Soviet Union imposed a kind of educational tax on would-be emigrants who received higher education in the USSR but wanted to leave the country. That measure was actually designed to combat the brain drain caused by growing emigration of the Soviet Jews and other members of the Russian élite to the West and Israel.[114] Jackson and Perle found it then necessary to add an amendment to the trade bill of 1974 then being discussed in Congress, under which "most-favored-nation" status[115] would be denied to any country that restricted its citizens' emigration (understand here the Soviet Union).[116] The Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Bill of 1974 met fierce denunciation from the USSR which saw in the amendment an interference in its domestic affairs.

Another example of neoconservatives' interference in US foreign policy and their hardline support of Israel was their opposition to a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1977. A US-Soviet joint statement, first initiated by President Carter sought to bring Israelis and Arabs-Palestinians to the negotiations for a lasting solution in the Middle East. However, Jackson and Perle attacked the

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[113] "1975: USSR," archive article, *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopaedia*, CD-ROM (Microsoft Corporation, 2002).

[114] Congressional Research Service, "The Jackson-Vanik Amendment: a Survey," CRS Report for Congress, n° 98-545, Updated (August 1, 2005), 1. Accessible online: https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/98-545.pdf. See also Kaufman, *Henry M. Jackson*, 266.

[115] "Most-favored-nation" status gives specific privileges to a country in its commercial relations with the United States.

[116] "1975: USSR." Encarta Encyclopedia. Also Cahn, *Killing Détente*, 39-44.

initiative and opposed any language in the settlement that made reference to "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people."[117] Since the 1970s, Jackson has become an icon in neoconservative political thinking.

Nowadays, American and British neoconservatives hold Jackson in the highest esteem. For example, the US think tank, Jewish Institute for International Security Affairs (JINSA) dedicates the *Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson Distinguished Service Award* to American and international figures it deems they contribute to the defense of Israel and its special relationship with the US.[118]

In 2005, neoconservatives created and named after him a British think tank to promote their interventionist, pro-Israel, and neo-Orientalist agenda. The Henry Jackson Society (HJS) was created under the blessing of "international patrons" including American neoconservatives such as William Kristol, Max Kampelman, Robert Kagan, Carl Gershman, Richard Perle, Joshua Muravchick, Clifford May, Max Boot, James Woolsey, Israeli Nathan Sharansky, and right-wing Israeli diplomat Dore Gold.[119] Among British neoconservatives who operate within the HJS is Douglas Murray. The latter wrote a book in praise of Neoconservatism, to support the 2003 War on Iraq, against moral and cultural relativism, and on the need to defend the West against countries and cultures who do not hold the values of liberal democracy.[120] Another member of the HJS is Diplomat David Trimble (member of CPD III and the Jerusalem Summit). Many of these figures are members of other pro-Israel and neo-

[117] Rashid Khalidi, *Sowing Crisis: the Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2009), 135 and 136.

[118] Dick Cheney, Paul Wolfowitz (2002), and other neoconservatives were recipients of this annual award. See http://www.jinsa.org/events/annual-awards-dinners/henry-m-scoop-jackson-distinguished-service-award-dinners.

[119] "International Patrons of the Henry Jackson Society," Henry Jackson Society website. http://henryjacksonsociety.org/about-the-society/international-patrons-2/. See also http://web.archive.org/web/20060430054221/http://zope06.v.servelocity.net/hjs/patrons_html.

[120] Douglas Murray, *Neoconservatism: Why We Need It* (New York: Encounter, 2006).

Orientalist organizations such as CPD III, the Friends of Israel Initiative (FII), or the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies (FDD).[121]

The HJS has recently been involved in a scandal for refusing to disclose its donors who themselves appear to be linked to US and European Islamophobic propagandists and pro-Israel donors with an anti-Muslim orientation.[122] The findings of the study by the Public Interest Investigations/Spinwatch concur with the thesis of the present dissertation. The authors of the study argue that

> right-wing politics is apparent not only in the ideas that the HJS promotes, but also emerges distinctly on examination of its funders. Although the society does not disclose its sources of funding, our investigation uncovers several donors, both in Britain and the United States, that have a strong track record of funding hardline pro-Israel/Zionist and Islamophobic causes.
>
> By solidifying a transatlantic alliance between anti-Islam groups and those unconditionally supportive of Zionism, the Islamophobia network has successfully tapped into the financial and political resources of the Israel lobby. In addition, the proponents of this agenda have sought to increase public support by conflating complex contemporary debates about immigration, austerity, multiculturalism

[121] See Figure 10, Chapter 5.

[122] Randeep Ramesh, "Rightwing Think Tank Pulls Funds for Commons Group after Disclosure Row," *The Guardian* (December 30, 2014). http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/dec/30/rightwing-thinktank-pulls-funds-commons-groups-disclosure-rules. Hilary Haked, David Miller, and Melissa Jones, "Henry Jackson Society Forced to Quit Westminster Role after Spinwatch Complaint," *Spinwatch* (January 7, 2015). http://www.spinwatch.org/index.php/issues/politics/item/5706-henry-jackson-society-forced-to-quit-westminster-role-after-spinwatch-complaint.

and women's rights with the anti-Muslim discourse associated with the ongoing 'War on Terror.'[123]

The recurrent reference to Cold War neoconservative icons such as Jackson demonstrates the ideological continuity of Neoconservatism and its historical development as an essentially pro-Israel collective actor. Its first Cold War concerns were the militarization of US foreign policy and the defense of Israeli interests against the Soviet Union and its Arab allies. Organizations such as the HJS (and others dealt with in Chapter 5) show that the constant concerns of twenty-first century Neoconservatism remain the defense of Israeli interests and the promotion of its worldview in the Western public scene.

4.4. Post-Cold War Neoconservative Foreign Policy Agency

The converging neoconservative interpretations of influential philosophical ideas such as those of Strauss enabled intellectuals to build upon them to lay down the basic principles of a neoconservative foreign policy that had faith in the uniqueness of the United States and rejected moral and cultural relativism but which also looked at the world through culturalist lenses. Neoconservatives believe that America personifies Good. They believe in the idea of a universal message held by the United States of America, the sense of a mission to fulfil. These principles of course predispose to the explicit belief in American moral superiority, in American Exceptionalism.[124] Since the Cold War, neoconservative intellectuals have not ceased attacking neo-isolationists, be they from the Left or the Right. They also believed in a

[123] Tom Griffin, Hilary Aked, David Miller, and Sarah Marusek, *The Henry Jackson Society and the Degeneration of British Neoconservatism: Liberal Interventionism, Islamophobia, and the War on Terror*. Report by Public Investigations/Spinwatch and the Cordoba Foundation (June 2015), 5. Accessible online at http://www.spinwatch.org/images/Reports/HJS_spinwatch%20report_web_2015.pdf

[124] Frachon and Vernet, *L'Amérique messianique*, 33.

world divided into two camps, the camp of democracies and the camp of what Norman Podhoretz called "barbarism and misery;" and the latter threatening the survival of the former.[125]

However in opposition to traditional conservative isolationists who believe that the United States has the moral obligation of being a model to be followed (the famous "City upon a hill" expressed by Puritan patriarch John Winthrop[126]), not an exporter of values, neoconservatives want to intervene in a world they view full of problems. As early as 1967, Irving Kristol asserted that the United States "is not going to cease being an imperial power."[127] In 1968, he also warned that

> If the nations of the world become persuaded that [America] can not be counted upon to do the kind of 'policeman's' work... [America] shall unquestionably witness an alarming upsurge in national delinquency and international disorder."[128]

After the Cold War, the neoconservative school of thought maintained that vision of the indispensability of the United States.

The collapse of the Communist ideology and the Soviet Union led many observers, among them believers in Neoconservatism, that the school of thought was vanishing since its main enemy and raison d'être disappeared.[129] But in fact, that was

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[125] Norman Podhoretz, "Making the World Safe for Communism," *Commentary* (April 1976). The rhetoric that promotes the binary vision of a world divided in Good and Evil is a central element of Neoconservatism.

[126] John Winthrop, "A Model of Christian Charity," Speech (1630). Winthrop's thesis is embodied in that famous speech. The quote: "For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us." The full text is available at http://www.winthropsociety.com/doc_charity.php.

[127] Irving Kristol as quoted in Ehrman, *The Rise of Neoconservatism*, 49.

[128] Irving Kristol, "We Can't Resign as Policeman of the World," *New York Times Magazine* (May 12, 1968), 27.

[129] Jay Winik, "The Neoconservative Construction," *Foreign Affairs* (winter 1988/1989), 135-36. Norman Podhoretz, "Neoconservatism: a Eulogy," *Commentary* (March 1996), 19-27. James

the starting point of a paradigm shift within which Neoconservatism had to adapt and direct its concern to new constructed threats. As Muravchik put it in 2006 (amidst the catastrophic consequences of the Iraq War), "Neoconservatism isn't dead; it can be renovated and returned to prominence, because, even today, it remains unrivaled as a guiding principle for U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East and beyond."[130]

The first Post-Cold War neoconservative prescription of the United States foreign policy was Charles Krauthammer's "The Unipolar Moment." He identified the collapse of the Soviet Union and the demise of Communist ideology as an opportunity for the United States to employ its unparalleled military power to shape a world reflective of American values.[131]

An ardent neoconservative who writes for the *Weekly Standard* and *Commentary,* who supported PNAC and who now occasionally serves in the activities of WINEP and the FDD, it is no surprise that Krauthammer is also an unfaltering defender of Israel (and its policy towards Palestinians) in the different periodicals and talk shows he contributes to.[132] He is also a staunch critic of any American wish to comprehend the Arab-Muslim World. He for example vehemently criticized President Barak Obama's "On a New Beginning" Speech (better known as the "Cairo Speech to the Muslim World," June 04, 2009), and he viewed it as a large damage to the "United States' philosophy" and a speech full of "apologies and moral equivalence."[133]

Nuechterlein, "The End of Neoconservatism," *First Things* (May 1996). Judis, "From Trotskyism to Anachronism," 123-29.

[130] Muravchik, "Can the Neocons Get Their Groove Back?" par. 4.

[131] Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment," *Foreign Affairs* 70 (winter 1990-1991), 23-33.

[132] Charles Krauthammer, like other neoconservatives such as Norman Podhoretz, Daniel Pipes, Caroline Glick, Ruth R. Wisse, and Senator Joe Lieberman, is recipient of the Bar-Ilan University annual Guardian of Zion Award. See http://www1.biu.ac.il/indexE.php?id=33&pt=20&pid=117&level=2&cPath=33&type=1&news=2418.

[133] Charles Krauthammer, "Special Report Panel on Obama's Address to the Muslim World," Transcript. *Fox News* (June 5, 2005). Retrieved from

During President Bill Clinton's years, neoconservatives re-asserted the need for an American global hegemony. Disdaining neo-isolationism advocated by traditional paleo-conservatives, and rejecting what they sometimes called the "Wilsonian multilateralism" – and other times, the "wishful liberalism"[134] – of President Clinton, William Kristol, Robert Kagan, and other neoconservative pundits made the case for a "Neo-Reaganite foreign policy." They claimed that such policy would be driven by "moral clarity," and would recognize and impose the United States' "benevolent hegemony" on the world.[135] The concept of "moral clarity" has been recurrently and widely evoked since then by neoconservatives, other pro-Israel figures, or even Israeli leaders (Benjamin Netanyahu and Nathan Sharansky). These latter often use the idea of "moral clarity" with regard to the United States foreign policy and the role of the West to oppose the forces of Evil (from an Israeli viewpoint) and allegedly end conflicts throughout the World.[136]

Neo-Reaganism was a doctrine that implied foreign and defense policies that would follow the path of former President Ronald Reagan and his view on the United States' posture and behavior at the world stage. To Kristol and Kagan, Reagan (and his administration in which their fellow neoconservatives were prominent actors) recognized the moral superiority of "American Exceptionalism." Kristol and Kagan

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http://www.foxnews.com/story/2009/06/05/special-report-panel-on-obama-address-to-muslim-world.html. See also Krauthammer's numerous articles and talk show contributions, and his vehement attitude vis-à-vis Barak Obama's presidency and foreign policy. For example, Charles Krauthammer, "What Obama Did to Israel," *Washington Post* (May 26, 2011) and other articles at https://www.washingtonpost.com/people/charles-krauthammer.

[134] Kaplan and Kristol, *War over Iraq*, 100-25.

[135] William Kristol and Robert Kagan, "Towards a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* 75 (July 1996), 18-32.

[136] For example William J. Bennett, *Why We Fight: Moral Clarity and the War on Terrorism* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2002), 24, 79, and 182. Sharansky, *The Case for Democracy*, viii-xix and 193-226. Kaplan and Kristol, *War over Iraq*, 143-44. Benjamin Netanyahu et al, *The Jerusalem Alternative: Moral Clarity for Ending the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Noble, OK: Balfour Books, 2005); the book comprises a series of allocutions by Netanyahu, Richard Perle, Daniel Pipes, William Kristol. See also the pro-Israeli *Jerusalem Summit*, http://www.jerusalemsummit.org/eng/index_js1.php.

praised Reagan for he refused to accept "the limits of American power imposed by the domestic political realities that others assumed were fixed," and inflicted an "ideological and strategic victory" on the United States' enemies of the time, the Soviet Union and its allies.[137] The two neoconservative pundits reiterated their views in 2000 in a compiled work with their neoconservative fellows.[138]

Neoconservatives were very active during that *Clintonian interlude,* especially during President Bill Clinton's second term of office (1996-2000). Despising Clinton's approach and emphasis on economic policy at home and multilateralism in foreign affairs, the new generation of neoconservatives (followers of Strauss, Podhoretz and Irving Kristol) founded and then clustered around the *Project for a New American Century* (PNAC) to put their "Neo-Reaganite" foreign policy principles on the table of the political debate. Broadly speaking, the main principles of that "non-profit educational organization," as it proclaimed itself, was the outlook that American power and leadership was not only good for the United States but also good for the entire globe. It was also the Straussian idea that moral relativism was dangerous if not fatal. This is why the Project advocated the "rebuilding" of a huge military strength and what it called "commitment to moral principles" in foreign policy. [139] Those principles emphasized an alleged expansion of freedom and

[137] Kristol and Kagan, "Towards a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy."

[138] William Kristol and Robert Kagan, Eds. *Present Dangers: Crisis and Opportunity in American Foreign and Defense Policy* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2000). Among the contributors of the book were Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle, Elliott Abrams, William Bennett, and the Kagan family: Robert, Frederick, and their father Donald.

[139] William Kristol et al, "Statement of Principles," Project for a New American Century (1997). http://www.newamericancentury.org/statementofprinciples.htm (accessed in January 2005). The website is no longer active. The PNAC's statements of principles, its signatories (among whom Norman Podhoretz, Frank Gaffney, Francis Fukuyama, Elliott Abrams, Paul Wolfowitz, D. Rumsfeld, etc.), and members as well its role and influence on the Bush administration has been widely discussed and documented. For more information, see the *Institute for Policy Studies* website, http://www.rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/project_for_the_new_american_century (accessed in April 2013).

democracy in countries subjected to "Tyranny" and "Terror." The neoconservative-led regime change in Iraq, the quasi-disintegration of the latter, and the unparalleled rise of terrorism and instability in the region have proved that the neoconservative agenda has been far from instilling democracy and freedom in the Arab Muslim World.

Before the creation of the PNAC, its basic tenets had been outlined in Paul Wolfowitz' *Defense Planning Guidance* (DPG) in 1992. The DPG was another influence of the neoconservative strategic thinking on defense and foreign affairs. Then Undersecretary of Defense in the George H. Bush administration (Dick Cheney was Secretary of Defense), Wolfowitz, together with Lewis Libby, Abram Shulsky, and with outside advice from Wohlstetter and Perle,[140] produced the DPG, a then secret set of documents which were revealed by the *New York Times*.[141] The documents advocated the aggressive foreign and defense measures that would be reiterated by a PNAC report in 2000 under the authorship of Donald Kagan and the participation of Eliot Cohen, William Kristol, Lewis Libby, Abram Shulsky, and Paul Wolfowitz among others. The 1992 DPG and the 2000 PNAC report would underlie the official and neoconservative-designed 2002 *National Security Strategy of the United States*, better known as the Bush Doctrine: unparalleled military might, unilateralism, pre-emptive war, and regime change in the Arab-Muslim World,[142] with all the dreadful consequences one can see nowadays.

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[140] Mann, *Rise of the Vulcans*, 209-15.

[141] "Excerpts From Pentagon's Plan: 'Prevent the Re-Emergence of a New Rival,'" *The New York Time*s (March 8, 1992). http://www.nytimes.com/1992/03/08/world/excerpts-from-pentagon-s-plan-prevent-the-re-emergence-of-a-new-rival.html

[142] Department of Defense documents that helped compose the Defense Planning Guidance (DPG) are accessible online at the National Security Archives Project, George Washington University. URL : http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb245/

See also http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb245/doc03_extract_nytedit.pdf.

And for a secondary source account of the DPG, see Mann, *Rise of the Vulcans*, 209-15.

Furthermore, neoconservatives in their own words made their case in the United States public space. [143] The PNAC with its platform exemplify neoconservatives' rally against Clinton's years. The foreign policy principles advocated by neoconservatives assume vigorous suspicion toward international bodies that may hinder the implementation of those tenets. However, neoconservatives' claim for "moral clarity" in international affairs and their wish to defend and export Western values for the greater good of the world does not meet the actual policies they undertook as policymakers under the Bush administration.

It is then understandable that neo-realist theoretician in International Relations theory John Mearsheimer casts Neoconservatism not only as part of an "Israel Lobby" (see section 4.4.) but also as a strand of what he calls the "Global Dominance" approach (see Figure 3, page 199).

For the 2000 PNAC report, see Project for a New American Century, *Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century* (September 2000). Accessible online: https://web.archive.org/web/20130501130739/http://www.newamericancentury.org/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf

For the 2002 Bush Doctrine, see United States of America, *The National Security Strategy of the United States* (September 2002), Department of State. URL: http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf

[143] Wurmser, *Tyranny's Ally*. Frum and Perle, *End to Evil*. Kaplan and Kristol, *War over Iraq*. Dobriansky, Crumpton, and Gause III, "Tyranny and Terror." Paula Dobriansky is a well-known neoconservative, member of CPD III. Sharansky and Dermer, *The Case for Democracy.* Sharansky's and Dermer's book influenced the thinking of President George W. Bush. Sharansky was President of Israel. Ron Dermer was the Israeli ambassador to the United States involved in the February/March 2015 dispute between Republicans and the Obama Administration over Benjamin Netanyahu's speech before the US Congress.

Figure 3: Neoconservatism in Post-Cold War US Grand Strategy Approaches [144]

GRAND STRATEGY APPROACH	GLOBAL DOMINANCE (PRIMACY)		SELECTIVE ENGAGEMENT	ISOLATIONISM
SCHOOL OF POLITICAL THOUGHT	LIBERAL IMPERIALISM	NEOCONSERVATISM	CONSERVATIVE NEO-REALISM	TRADITIONAL CONSERVATISM & LIBERTARIANISM
BASIC FOREIGN POLICY PRINCIPLES	- global leadership - Multilateralism - Reluctance to use military force. - Confidence in/ regular use of international institutions	- global hegemony - Unilateralism - Keen on the use of military force (pre-emptive wars, regime change) - Suspicion/ Contempt towards international institutions	- global leadership / regional hegemony - Multilateralism - selective use of force - confidence in/ regular use of international institutions	-No interest in hegemony or leadership - non-intervention - use of military force for self-defense only
Conception of National Interests	- global	- global	-selective/ regional	- narrow
Presidencies	- Bill Clinton (1993-2000) (Madeleine Albright)	- George W. Bush (2002-2008)	- George H. Bush (1989-1992) (James Baker)	/

Figure 3 above displays the basic neoconservative tenets regarding the role of the United States on the world stage. It shows that together with "Liberal Imperialism," embodied in Bill Clinton and Madeleine Albright's foreign policy in the 1990s,[145] Neoconservatism advocates enthusiastic and robust interventionism in international affairs.

[144] Adapted from two sources: the author's discussion with John J. Mearsheimer ; and Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing Visions of US Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21:3 (Winter 1996/97), 6 (5-53).

[145] Madeleine Albrights, Interview by NBC (February, 19, 1998). The transcript can be found on the Federation of American Scientists (FAS) website: http://fas.org/news/iraq/1998/02/19/98021907_tpo.html (accessed on November 14, 2011). Albrights' quote: "But if we have to use force, it is because we are America; we are the indispensable nation. We stand tall and we see further than other countries into the future, and we see the danger here to all of us."

The first strand, Liberal Imperialism, is associated with the United States' policy makers who belong to the Democratic party, and who believe that the United States can and should use international institutions and multilateralism (mainly through its European allies) to run international affairs. However, Neoconservatism is nowadays associated to the Republican Party (a party which is also claimed for opposite purposes by isolationists). It holds deep suspicion towards the efficiency and usefulness of international organizations (the UNO and its institutions), and it promotes unilateralism and an aggressive interventionism in international affairs. While imperial liberalists have what John Mearsheimer calls "a healthy appreciation of the limits within military force [and] are extremely reluctant to use it," [146] neoconservatives do not hesitate to use force to achieve foreign policy agendas.

However, Mearsheimer does not note that present-day Neoconservatism can be identified with the political beliefs of Democratic leaders such as Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson in the 1970s or Senator Joseph Lieberman nowadays. Neoconservatism, hence, transcends the common Republicans/Democrats divide and has always fueled the foreign policy debate in the United States.

Neoconservatives did not only commit to designing and advocating a foreign policy and security strategy for the United States. Their commitment to the interests of the right wing trends in Israel has been overcoming any other concern.

In 1997 for example, a study group affiliated to the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies (IASPS, an Israeli think tank), and comprising would-be key neoconservative actors in President George W. Bush's administration (2001-2008), produced a prescriptive report for the then Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu about the future (i.e. the 2000s) of Israel's strategy in the Middle East. The

[146] John J. Mearsheimer, discussion with the author (University of Chicago, August 2, 2011).

study group who produced "A Clean Break: a New Strategy for Securing the Realm" comprised Richard Perle, Douglas Feith (would be Under-Secretary of Defense), and David Wurmser. The latter would hold the post of Adviser to Vice-President Dick Cheney and Special Assistant to John Bolton. He is currently member of AEI and EMET. Meyrav Wurmser, David's wife, was also co-author of the report. She is the co-founder of MEMRI and member of JINSA, CPD-III, and the Jerusalem Summit. Apart from the peculiar fact that American pundits (and recurrent foreign policy officials) produced a hawkish policy prescriptions for a foreign leader, in "A Clean Break," Perle and his co-authors counselled Netanyahu reject the traditional "Peace for Land" concept for a "Peace for Peace" one, i.e. an Israeli unilateral peace plan on exclusively Israeli terms. The report also advocated a tough policy of regime change and destabilization of Iraq and Syria. [147]

William Kristol and Robert Kagan also regularly emphasize the role of Israel in the United States "responsibility" in the world. They contend that the United States' close alliance with Israel in the Middle East is "the bulwark of American Power."[148] They also recycle the recurrent rhetorical assertion that the relationship between the two countries constitutes "the heart of the liberal democratic civilization the United States seek to preserve and extend."[149] Moreover, they urge the United States to act as if any threat to Israel's interests were threats to United States' interests.[150] This effort to associate and conflate US interests and values with the Israeli ones has always been

[147] Richard Perle et al, "A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm," The Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies (Jerusalem, 1996). The document is accessible online at Douglas Feith's website: http://www.dougfeith.com/docs/Clean_Break.pdf (Accessed on March 12, 2014).

[148] Kristol and Kagan, "Introduction: National Interest and Global Responsibility," Kristol and Kagan, Eds. *Present Dangers,* 15.

[149] Ibid.

[150] Ibid, 16.

a prime objective for neoconservatives and other pro-Israel actors in the United States public scene.

4.5. Neoconservatism and the Israel Lobby in the United States

As discussed in Chapter 3 and in some segment of this chapter, neoconservatives' identity-based ideology and agency since the Cold War have always put the Zionist cause and Israel at the top of its concerns. Neoconservatives show eagerness in associating Israel's interests with those of the United States as if they were not even identical but one. That concern and the support of Israel's policies towards Palestinians has always been a fundamental aspect of Neoconservatism. This makes its adherents ardent components of what is commonly called the "Israel Lobby" in the United States.

A great deal of research has analyzed the structure and function of the Lobby in the United States political establishment. Political Scientist and IR theoreticians John J. Mearsheimer of the University of Chicago and Stephen Walt, of Harvard University, were the authors of the most recent and controversial scholarship.[151] The controversy was not only based on the thesis of the book itself but on the fact that it did not come from leftist activists or right-wing anti-Semites, but from two prominent scholars, considered as quite mainstream conservatives in their views, who are also distinguished and renowned experts in the field of IR.[152]

However, before Mearsheimer and Walt, a wide range of political figures, social scientists, and historians pointed out the power of an Israel Lobby in different bodies of the American system of government, the United States foreign policy

[151] John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008).

[152] In a 2007 survey, Mearsheimer ranked fifth on a list of scholars who have had the greatest impact on the field of IR over the past twenty years, while Walt ranked twenty-second. See Evan R. Goldstein, "'Waltheimer' on the Hot Seat," *Chronicle of Higher Education Review* (November 2, 2007).

establishment, or in the media. The label "Israel lobby" was often used before the work of Mearsheimer and Walt, and this latter only comes to validate early research on that lobby group.

As early as 1973, Senator J. William Fulbright claimed on the CBS "Face the Nation" television program that the Senate was submissive to Israel and thus prohibited the Nixon Administration from exerting pressure on that country. Fulbright, who was then Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, also declared that though the U.S. possessed the leverage to put pressure on Israel, it could not be utilized because "Israel controls the Senate."[153]

In 1974, Michael C. Hudson, of John Hopkins University, analyzed the influence of the pro-Israel lobby in the US political realm. He argued that the "pro-Israel Lobby" uses different methods and addresses all factions of American politics and especially non-Jews to ensure their support of Israel against its Arab enemies.[154]

In a 1977 *Foreign Affairs* article, Diplomat George W. Ball expressed some worry about the difficulty to criticize Israel in the United States. He wondered

> How far should [the United States] go in continuing to subsidize a policy shaped to accommodate understandable Israeli compulsions which do not accord with the best interests – as we see it – either of Israel or the United States, but are threat to world peace? Because many articulate Americans are passionately committed to Israel, the slightest challenge to any aspect of current Israeli policy is likely to provoke a shrill *ad hominem* response. To suggest that America should take a stronger and more assertive line in the search for Middle East

[153] "Fulbright: Israel Controls Senate," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* (April 17, 1973).

[154] Michael C. Hudson, "Politique intérieure et politique extérieure américaine dans ses rapports avec le conflit israélo-arabe," *Politique étrangère* 6 (1974), 643 (642-48).

> peace is to risk being attacked as a servant either of Arab interests or of the oil companies, or being denounced as anti-Israel, or, by a careless confusion of language, even condemned as anti-Semitic.[155]

In 1992, he and his son Douglas discussed and criticized the special relationship between the United States and Israel, and the financial as well as moral costs of that relationship. Basing on George Washington's famous "passionate attachment" quote,[156] Ball and Ball emphasized the disproportionate influence of Israel and its supporters in the United States political establishment.[157] Though Ball's criticism was extremely mild and cautious towards Israel, he was met with huge criticism and even attacked by many neoconservatives such as Daniel Pipes who viewed Ball as "hypocritical, deceptive," and having written a book "bad in substance" with "major defects" and "obvious sloppiness."[158]

In 1987, author and documentary producer Edward Tivnan also wrote a book making a harsh criticism of the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and its significant role in directing congressional pressure on the Executive Branch and its foreign policy towards Israel. He views the lobby group as being "too successful in discourage objective debate within the American Jewish community

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[155] George Ball, "The Middle East: How to Save Israel in Spite of Herself," *Foreign Affairs* (April 1977).

[156] George Washington, "Farewell Address," (1796), par. 33. The quote: "...a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without adequate inducement or justification."

[157] George W. Ball and Douglas B. Ball, *The Passionate Attachment: America's Involvement with Israel, 1947 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 1992). Also George W. Ball, "Book Discussion on *The Passionate Attachment*" (May 6, 1993). http://www.c-span.org/video/?40763-1/book-discussion-passionate-attachment.

[158] Daniel Pipes, "Review of *The Passionate Attachment: America's Involvement with Israel, 1947 to the Present*," *Washington Times* (December 6, 1992). Pipes' review can be consulted online at the Middle East Forum website: http://www.danielpipes.org/883/the-passionate-attachment-americas-involvement-with-israel.

about the effectiveness and worth of the policies of successive Israeli governments. He views AIPAC as an "obstacle to peace in the Middle East."[159]

Others such as left-wing Zionist author and *The Forward* Editor-at-Large Jonathan J. Goldberg, Political Scientist Benjamin Ginsberg, or social scientist and anti-Zionist leftist activist and Social Scientist James Petras also draw the link between what they call "Jewish Power" in America and the United States' strong and unrestricted support of Israel.[160] They thus restrict the Israel Lobby to a "Jewish" one, ignoring other actors such as Christian Zionists. In 2003, former Congressman Paul Findley authored a book surveying American public figures who confronted the influence of the "Israel's Lobby" in the United States.[161]

William B. Quandt also points out the power of the Israel Lobby in defining American behavior and policy towards the Arab-Israeli conflict. He acknowledges that Congress is the place where the Lobby's work is the most important and the most fruitful. Indeed, the support for Israel is extremely high in Congress. There, Quandt asserts that "pro-Israel lobbies tend concentrate their efforts [and] frequently exert influence over foreign policy," through the support of US representatives and Senators who control the budget.[162] Quandt and other scholars such as Historian (and former supporter of the Zionist cause) Tony Judt assert that the recurrent tactical positions of US Congressmen on the Arab-Israeli conflict and their systematic

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[159] Edward Tivnan, *The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1987).

[160] Jonathan J. Goldberg, *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment* (New York: Basic Books, 1997). Benjamin Ginsberg, *The Fatal Embrace: Jews and the State* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 1-3. James Petras, *The Power of Israel in the United States* (Atlanta: Clarity Press, 2006); and "Israel and the US: a Unique Relationship," (January 23, 2002). See James Petras' website: http://petras.lahaine.org/?p=93.

[161] Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 2003).

[162] Quandt, *Peace Process*, 8.

support of Israel is part of their re-election strategy.[163] Avi Shlaim is another well-known historian who acknowledges that the Israel Lobby enjoys much power in the United States. He contends that the Lobby is not a unified movement but a relatively fuzzy coalition of individuals and organizations who want the United States to deal with Israel as if it were the 51th state of the country.[164]

More recently, in March 2009, Ambassador Charles "Chas" Freeman, who was named by the Obama administration to chair the National Intelligence Council,[165] was obliged to withdraw from the nomination due to attacks from the pro-Israel community.[166] Freeman declared then that

> The tactics of the Israel Lobby plumb the depths of dishonor and indecency and include character assassination, selective misquotation, the willful distortion of the record, the fabrication of falsehoods, and an utter disregard for the truth. The aim of this Lobby is control of the policy process through the exercise of a veto over the appointment of people who dispute the wisdom of its views, the substitution of political correctness for analysis, and the exclusion of any and all options for decision by Americans and our government other than those that it favors.[167]

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[163] Ibid. And Tony Judt, "The Israel Lobby," documentary, Dir. Marije Meerman *Backlight*, VRPO, the Netherland (2007).

[164] Shlaim, *Le mur de fer*, 673.

[165] The NIC produces the highly authoritative National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs), which are consensus judgments of all 16 United States intelligence agencies.

[166] John Mearsheimer, "The Lobby Falters," *London Review of Books* 31:6 (March 26, 2009). And Anti-Defamation League, "Charles W. Freeman in His Own Words," ADL website http://archive.adl.org/nr/exeres/e513934e-5aae-4369-a6e0-00547edb0c50,db7611a2-02cd-43af-8147-649e26813571,frameless.html

[167] Chas Freeman as quoted in Laura Rozen, "Chas Freeman Speaks out on His Exit," *Foreign Policy* website (March 10, 2009). http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/03/10/freeman-speaks-out-on-his-exit/

Mearsheimer and Walt's *Israel Lobby* is thus not the first work on the subject but is perhaps the most comprehensive and one that is produced by highly authoritative scholars. They presented their thesis in a long article published in the *London Review of Books* after it had been ordered but then rejected by the *Atlantic*.[168] The article was then expanded in a book that created much debate in the public scene.

In their work, Mearsheimer and Walt thoroughly document the sources of the Lobby, its different manifestations in American politics, in the media, and in academia, as well as its incredible and sprawling power in the United States. They contend that what they call the "Israel Lobby" is not a lobby in its formal sense but a much broader entity. It is not centralized. It is not a specific organization with membership, leadership, and specific platform. They argue that it is rather a "pro-Israel community," i.e. some kind of wide and loose coalition of individuals, interest groups, and organizations which sometimes do not agree on some specific domestic or foreign policy issues, but which nonetheless all converge in their unconditional support of Israel and which "work to influence policy in a variety of ways."[169] To them, the Lobby incorporates a very wide range of different individual figures in the US foreign policy establishment that *appear* to be moderate such as Martin Indyk, and explicitly harsh pro-Israel activists such as David Horowitz. The lobby comprises also organizations such as the ZOA, JINSA, AIPAC, WINEP, or the Zionist evangelicals such as CUFI.[170]

Mearsheimer and Walt's *Israel Lobby* spurred a heated debate in the United States political and intellectual scenes. Most neoconservatives labelled their work as

[168] Mearsheimer and Walt, *Israel Lobby*, vi-vii.

[169] Ibid, 112.

[170] Ibid.

bad scholarship, irrelevant, disconnected from reality, and/or anti-Semitic. Richard Perle even denied the existence of an "Israel Lobby."[171] Criticism and attacks came from the different actors who viewed themselves targets of Mearsheimer and Walt's scholarship. As Walt puts it, raising the role of the Israel Lobby in the United States public scene is "as much as grabbing the third rail with both hands."[172]

In their book, Mearsheimer and Walt draw the clear distinction between Zionism, the unconditional support of Israel, and Jewishness; and they make it clear that many elements of the Israel Lobby are not Jews, and many Jews are not members of the Lobby.[173] Furthermore, many individual and collective members of the American Jewish community even criticize the Lobby and Israel's policies. Indeed, the attitude of the elements of the world Jewish community towards Israel is extremely varied. In the United States and Israel alike, as well as in many European countries, there are many Jews who are very critical of some trends of Zionism or of some segments of the Israeli political establishment, others of Israel's policies towards its own Arab citizens or towards Palestinians, and some (though few) even towards the status of Israel as a strictly Jewish state.[174] However, those Jewish or Israeli critics of the Israel Lobby or Israel do not enjoy much visibility in the United States public scene. Their voice is restricted to academic events and some periodicals

[171] Richard Perle, "The Israel Lobby," documentary, Dir. Marije Meerman *Backlight,* VRPO, the Netherland (2007).

[172] Stephen Walt, Conference, Cambridge, Massachusetts (October 29, 2007).

[173] Mearsheimer and Walt, *Israel Lobby*, 115.

[174] Shatz, Ed. *Prophets Outcast*. In the United States, individual figures such as Noam Chomsky, Norman Finkelstein, Richard Falk, the late Tony Judt, Sara Roy, Isaac Asimov, Gabriel Kolko, and collective movements such as Jewish Voice for Peace. In Israel, *Haaretz*' Gideon Levy, Amira Hass, or the Bet'Selem NGO, Ilan Pappé, Avi Shlaim, and Shlomo Sand.

See also Guerlain, "Fighting for the Hearts and Minds of American Jews."

and blogs. The Zionist and pro-Israel community have much more power and influence.

Nonetheless, the two scholars are accused of anti-Semitism or at least of favoring its spreading. Their least severe detractors accuse them of being useful idiots used as mouthpieces by anti-Semites. Former US Ambassador to Israel, negotiator, and WINEP scholar Martin Indyk considered the book "anti-Semitic."[175] Charges of anti-Semitism were also made by neoconservative military historian, former adviser to Condoleezza Rice, and CPD-III member Eliot A. Cohen,[176] as well as famous pro-Israeli columnist Jeffrey Goldberg who labelled the spirit of the book as "malignant and dishonest."[177] In two *Commentary* magazine pieces, Gabriel Schoenfeld (of the *Weekly Standard* and the Hudson Institute) and Bret Stephens (of the EPPC, the Jerusalem Summit, and columnist at the *Wall Street Journal*) also contend that the thesis of the book is anti-Semitic. Shoenfeld asserts that the two IR scholars defame the Bush Administration, Israel, and American Jewry.[178] Stephens for his part labels the book as a "travesty of academic standard."[179]

Mearsheimer and Walt's *Israel Lobby* and the subsequent debate it engendered among US policymakers, scholars, and intellectuals is a breakthrough in a debate that was almost impossible in the late twentieth century. Even among harsh

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[175] Martin Indyk, "The Israel Lobby: Does It Have too much Influence on US Foreign Policy?" Round table organized by the *London Review of Books*, Cooper Union, New York City (September 28, 2006). http://www.scribemedia.org/2006/10/11/israel-lobby. (Accessed on November 10, 2011).

[176] Eliot A. Cohen, "Yes, It's Anti-Semitic," *Washington Post* (April 5, 2006). See Noam Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle: the United States, Israel, and the Palestinians,* updated ed. (London: Pluto Press, 1999). EBook. http://www.elecbook.com.

[177] Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Usual Suspects," *New Republic* (October 8, 2007).

[178] Gabriel Shoenfeld, "Dual Loyalty and the Israel Lobby," *Commentary* (November 2006).

[179] Bret Stephens, "*The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* by John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, Academic Protocols," *Commentary* (November 2007).

critics of Israel on the Left, there is some disagreement over Mearsheimer and Walt's Israel lobby thesis.

A divergent opinion about the Israel Lobby is that of Linguist and political analyst Noam Chomsky. While being an uncompromising critic of US foreign policy and its relationship with Israel,[180] Chomsky does not consider Mearsheimer and Walt's thesis convincing. He does not regard the Israel Lobby as *the* agent driving US foreign policy in the Middle East. Furthermore, another main criticism of Chomsky is that the Lobby as defined by Mearsheimer and Walt comprises every powerful institution in the US. In fact, Chomsky's criticism of Mearsheimer and Walt is somehow unfounded. Indeed, as Chapter 5 shows, the power of pro-Israel actors is pervasive and dominates nearly every influential think tank in the US.

While Mearsheimer and Walt argue that the Lobby influences the United States policymakers to support Israel without any condition, Chomsky believes it is the other way round. He views the US political establishment utilizes Israel as its agent in its Grand Strategy in the Near and Middle East. He thinks the Lobby is succeeding only when its agenda coincides with the "strategic-economic interests of concentrations of domestic power in the tight state-corporate linkage," i.e. American economic interests related to oil/energy corporations and the military-industrial complex; otherwise, it is the latter that take pre-eminence in dictating US foreign policy.[181] In sum, Chomsky sees Israel as just a client state, some kind of outpost that

[180] Noam Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle: the United States, Israel, and the Palestinians,* updated ed. (London: Pluto Press, 1999). EBook. http://www.elecbook.com.

[181] Noam Chomsky, "The Israel Lobby?" (March 28, 2006), par. 5-6. Noam Chomsky website: http://www.chomsky.info/articles/20060328.htm

works in the service of the United States' economic interests in the Near and Middle East.[182]

Chomsky's appraisal of Mearsheimer and Walt's *Israel Lobby* theory is heavily criticized by social scientist and Leftist activist James Petras. Petras argues that Chomsky's denial of the influence of the Israel Lobby stems from his "political blindness" when it comes to dealing with the role and responsibility of "his own ethnic group, the Jewish Pro-Israel lobby and their Zionist supporters in the government."[183] Petras' thesis on the power of the Israel Lobby broadly concurs with – and even goes farther than – that of Mearsheimer and Walt. However, Petras gives the lobby (and Zionism in general) an ethnic dimension, ignoring many non-Jews (cited by Mearsheimer and Walt) who also hold an unconditional support of Israel.

Furthermore, in his critique of Mearsheimer and Walt, Chomsky does not mention the role of some (if not all) Arab dictatorial/autocratic regimes which willingly or reluctantly participate in the special relationship between the US and Israel.

Columbia University Historian Rashid Khalidi successfully captures the culturalist essence of the Israel Lobby in the United States. Differently to Mearsheimer and Walt, Khalidi does not limit the power of the Israeli Lobby to foreign policy decision-making and how influential the Lobby is on the successive US administrations and their (unchanging) foreign policy in the Middle East. He presents a much broader perspective of how one should understand and appraise the power of the Lobby on US political behavior with regard to the Israel-Arab/Palestinian conflict.

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[182] Ibid, par 7.

[183] James Petras, "Noam Chomsky and the Pro-Israel Lobby: Fourteen Erroneous Theses," James Petras website (April 06, 2006). http://petras.lahaine.org/?p=7

Khalidi's explanation integrates domestic legislation, legislation about foreign aid, about terror, and how all this is interpreted in the public scene. More importantly for this dissertation, Khalidi emphasizes the weight of the Israel Lobby in shaping the American political discourse not only at the level of the Congress but also in the public debate. In that sense, he stresses how "extraordinarily important, the degree to which the public debate has been shifted [by the Israeli Lobby] in so far as [the American People's] understanding of the Middle East."[184]

Khalidi points out a definition of the Lobby that should be understood in much broader terms than the ones provided by Mearsheimer and Walt. Indeed, to him, it is too narrow and misleading to focus solely on the issue of foreign policy and ignoring the broader environment within the United States. Khalidi raises an important point: how the public opinion perceive and misunderstand the Middle East, and how images have been created in the public mind not just about Iraq, but also about the different actors of the region: Iran, Syria, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), or Hamas.[185]

Indeed, while Mearsheimer and Walt examine and unveil the role of the Israel Lobby in putting pressure on the Congress and in influencing American foreign policy in favor of Israel's interests in the Near and Middle East, they perhaps miss another aspect – no less important – of the Lobby. Mearsheimer and Walt do not emphasize the creation of an entire paradigm, a worldview in concurrence with the Israeli one: the promotion of a "Clash of Civilizations" between the Western world,

[184] Rashid Khalidi, "The Israel Lobby: Does It Have too much Influence on US Foreign Policy?" Round table organized by the *London Review of Books*, Cooper Union, New York City (September 28, 2006). http://www.scribemedia.org/2006/10/11/israel-lobby. (Accessed on November 10, 2011).

[185] Ibid.

with the United States at its lead, Israel as its first outpost, and some kind of radical Islam neoconservatives fail to delineate and to define correctly but use as a bogeyman.

4.6. The Neo-Orientalist Outlook of the Bush Administration.

Since September 11, 2001, the official War on Terror strategy was accompanied with an implicit neo-Orientalist worldview in the Bush Administration. There occurred a persistent effort to promote a neo-Orientalist discourse that conveys negative stereotypes about the people of the Arab-Muslim World. The unofficial neoconservative ascendency on the American administration was as important as the latter's proclaimed agenda. This neo-Orientalist Weltanschauung was inspired much from Bernard Lewis' theses,[186] whom Mearsheimer and Walt regard as a neoconservative,[187] and whom Marxist critical theorist Aijaz Ahmad describes as "one of the doyens of Zionist historiography."[188] The neo-Orientalist outlook of key members of the Bush administration was not openly displayed but the influence of Orientalist and neo-Orientalist pundits was actually significant. Close ties linked Bernard Lewis and influential actors of the Bush Administration, and especially Vice-President Dick Cheney and his staff.[189] Furthermore, in 2002, Wolfowitz (then Undersecretary of Defense) praised the works of Lewis and greeted him for he helped

[186] Avi Shlaim, *Le mur de fer*, 672. Heillbrunn, *They Knew They Were Rights*, 252. Ehrman, *Commentary*'s Children, 177.

[187] Mearsheimer and Walt, *Israel Lobby*, 129 and 244.

[188] Ahmad, *In Theory*, 173.

[189] Heillbrunn, *They Knew They Were Rights*, 252. Bernard Lewis, together with James Woolsey, Ben Wattenberg, and other neoconservatives, was among members of the Lewis Libby Legal Justice Trust, the fund set up to provide legal and political support for their fellow neoconservative Lewis "Scooter" Libby in the Valerie Plame Affair. See "The Advisory Committee Members of the Libby Legal Defense Trust," http://www.scooterlibby.com/committee/default.html. (Accessed in June 2013).

the Bush administration "understand" the Arab-Muslim World, and for he guided them in their policy there.[190]

It should be noted that the Orientalist/neo-Orientalist influence of Lewis on Neoconservatism did not begin in the early 2000s with his intellectual ascendency on the Bush administration. As early as the 1970s, Lewis was a major player in the association of the former Soviet Union and Arab countries as the two major threats to Jews and Israel. Indeed, Lewis shaped Henry Jackson and Patrick Moynihan's Zionist ideology and their political support of Israel.[191] Together with Richard Pipes and Albert Wohlstetter – each in his own domain of expertise (respectively the Arab-Muslim World, the Soviet Union, and military strategy) – they constituted what Heilbrunn calls Jackson's "brain trust."[192]

However, Lewis is not alone in having a neo-Orientalist influence on the Bush administration. Another less known Israeli cultural anthropologist was also widely read in the Bush administration circles, namely Raphael Patai. His book, *The Arab Mind* (1973), is considered as "the bible of the neocons on Arab behavior."[193] The book was also a reference in the US military academy. *The Guardian's* Brian Whitaker contends that, though Patai's book had long been discredited by academics and specialists of the Arab-Muslim World, it remained nonetheless used as a textbook for officers at the JFK special warfare school in Fort Bragg. Moreover, the State

[190] Lamis Adoni, "In the Service of Empire," *Al Ahram Weekly* 616 (December 12-18, 2002), par. 1. http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2002/616/re4.htm

[191] Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right*, 123 and 139.

[192] Ibid, 115.

[193] Seymour Hersh, "The Gray Zone," *The New Yorker* (May 24, 2004), par. 35. Retrieved from http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2004/05/24/the-gray-zone. Macalister, *Epic Encounter*, 291.

Department sent copies of the book to its personnel in some of its embassies in Arab countries.[194] To Whitakers, the book found an appeal in the US military because

> it gives a superficially coherent view of the Arab enemy and their supposed personality defects. It is also readily digestible, uncomplicated by nuances and caveats, and has lots of juicy quotes, a generous helping of sex, and no academic jargon.[195]

Indeed, the book was the archetype of a culturalist and essentialist description what an Arab is thought to be. It depicts some times Arabs, other times Muslims as inherently lazy and obsessed with women separation, with humiliation, and with sex. To Patai,

> the segregation of the sexes, the veiling of the women …and all the other minute rules that govern and restrict contact between men and women, have the effect of making sex a prime mental preoccupation in the Arab world.[196]

The book was written in 1973. This is probably why Patai uses the term "Arab" and does not talk about Islam or the Muslim's obsession with sex and women. The historical paradigm and scheme of thinking within which pro-Israel pundits and intellectuals operated at that time were ones of the Cold War, and theirs and Israel's first worry was Third-Worldism, Arab nationalism, and the Soviet support of the latter, not what they consider nowadays as the Islamic threat. The paradigm shift of

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[194] Brian Whitaker, "Its Best Use Is as a Doorstop," *The Guardian* (May 24, 2004), par. 12. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/may/24/worlddispatch.usa

[195] Ibid, par. 13-15.

[196] Raphael Patai as quoted in Hersh, "The Gray Zone," par. 35. See Also Seymour M. Hersh, *Chain of Command: the Road from 9/11 to Abu Ghraib* (New York: Harper & Collins/ Perfectbound, 2004), 38-39.

the late 1990s-early 2000s made that neoconservatives and other pro-Israel circles speak no more (or less) about Arabs and more about Muslims.

Whitaker notes that Patai's *Arab Mind* was highly regarded in the United States armed forces.[197] An assertion that is supported by Colonel Novelle B. De Atkine who acknowledges, in the foreword of the 2002 edition of Patai's book, that "at the institution where I teach military officers, *The Arab Mind* forms the basis of my cultural instruction."[198] The book also got a very positive review in the CIA's *Center for the Study of Intelligence.*[199]

The culturalist and essentialist constructions of Lewis and Patai were the lens through which some influent members of the Bush administration viewed the Arab-Muslim World. Those representations are still (explicitly or implicitly) conveyed in pro-Israeli and neoconservative discourses in the United States public scene through individual statements, think tanks, advocacy groups, websites, and magazines.

4.7. Conclusion

American neoconservatives and their like-minded allies have recurrently played a significant role in the intellectual and political debates during and after the Cold War. During the Cold War, they coupled their militarism, staunch stance against Communism, Arab nationalism, and Third-Worldism, with a strong defense of Israel. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, their concern turned towards another enemy that constituted a threat to Israel's interests. To them, that other menace has

[197] Whitaker, "Its Best Use Is as a Doorstop."

[198] Novelle B. De Atkin cited in Todd McGowan, "Fantasies of the Unsexualized Other, or, the Naiveté of the Arab Mind," *Culture Critique* 01:02 (July 2009), 6.

[199] Lloyd F. Jorda, "*The Arab Mind* by Raphael Patai," book review, *Studies in Intelligence* 18:3 (July 1996). Center for the Study of Intelligence. https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol18no3/html/v18i3a06p_0001.htm

been embodied in some unclear representations of Islam and the Muslim World. Indeed, since the end of the Cold War, and especially since the tragic paradigmatic shift of 9/11, neoconservatives' ideological behavior, essentially based on subjective and identity-related concerns, has been deploying a new essentialist and culturalist discourse, indiscriminately and directly and indirectly targeting Arabs, Muslims, and the Arab-Muslim World.

Chapter 5

Neo-Orientalist Neoconservatism:

The Construction of an Ontological Threat

[Neoconservatives are] intellectuals whose views about Islam and the Middle East came to dominate foreign policy after 9/11.[1]

- Chicago Tribune

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is two-fold. First it attempts to inventory and categorize actors operating in line with neoconservative thinking. Second, it examines twenty-first century neoconservative constructions of Islam and the Muslim World. Additionally, the chapter relies on the previous chapters to link Neoconservatism, pro-Israeli narrative, and Neo-Orientalist constructions of Islam and the Muslim World. Neoconservative thinking deploys a neo-Orientalist rhetoric to construct the Muslim faith and people. This is often coupled and interwoven with a pro-Israel discourse. An exploration of neoconservative pervasive and influential agency in the United States (and more generally the Western World) public scene allows categorizing different milieus of evolution, and different levels of ideological involvement. Moreover, Neoconservative neo-Orientalism manifest itself in the rhetorical lexeme and the use of neologism to identify and construct Muslim otherness. The construction of a malevolent Muslim Other is one of the causes behind a rising collective sentiment of

[1] Paul Baumann, "Power Politics: a Useful Look at the Origins and Influence of the Neoconservative Movement," book review, *Chicago Tribune* (February 9, 2008).

suspicion, hostility, and/or hatred towards Islam and the Muslim people in the United States and Europe.

5.2. Post-9/11 Views of Muslims and the Arab-Muslim World.

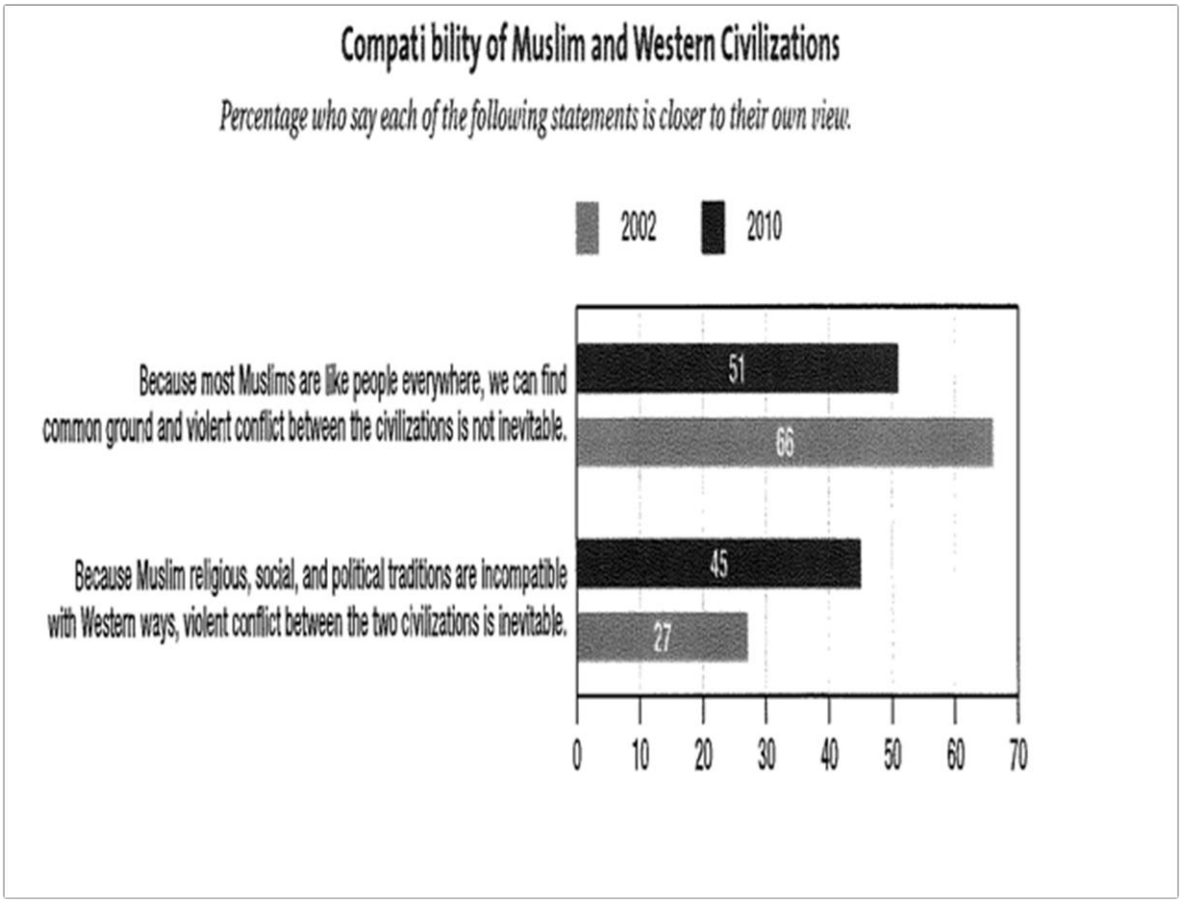
The first decade of the twenty-first century has witnessed a Western growing suspicion towards Islam, Muslims, and the Arab-Muslim World. The many polls that have been conducted since the September 11, 2001 terror attacks on the United States show that the trend has been increasing.

The Chicago Council on Global Affairs undertook a survey in 2010 (see Figure 4 page 220). It shows that the number of Americans who believe that Islam is "incompatible" with "Western ways" and that violent conflict between the "two civilizations" will inevitably occur rose from 27% in 2002 to 45% in 2010. By the same token, the rate of Americans who think that common grounds can be found and think that conflict between the "two civilizations" is not inevitable fell from 66% in 2002, to 51% in 2010.

Figure 4 shows that pessimistic and negative views towards the Muslim World have raised while positive opinions have decreased. The common sense would have suggested that the peak in pessimism and/or hostility directly occurred in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, i.e. in 2002 or 2003, and then, it should have decreased or at least remained unchanged. That was not the case. There has been a constant increase in negative views.[2]

[2] See Shibley Telhami, *The World through Arab Eyes: Arab Public Opinion and the Reshaping of the Middle East* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), Chap. 11. The chapter accounts for the attitude of American public opinion toward Arabs and Muslims.

Figure 4: US Public Opinion on the Compatibility of Muslim and Western Civilizations[3]



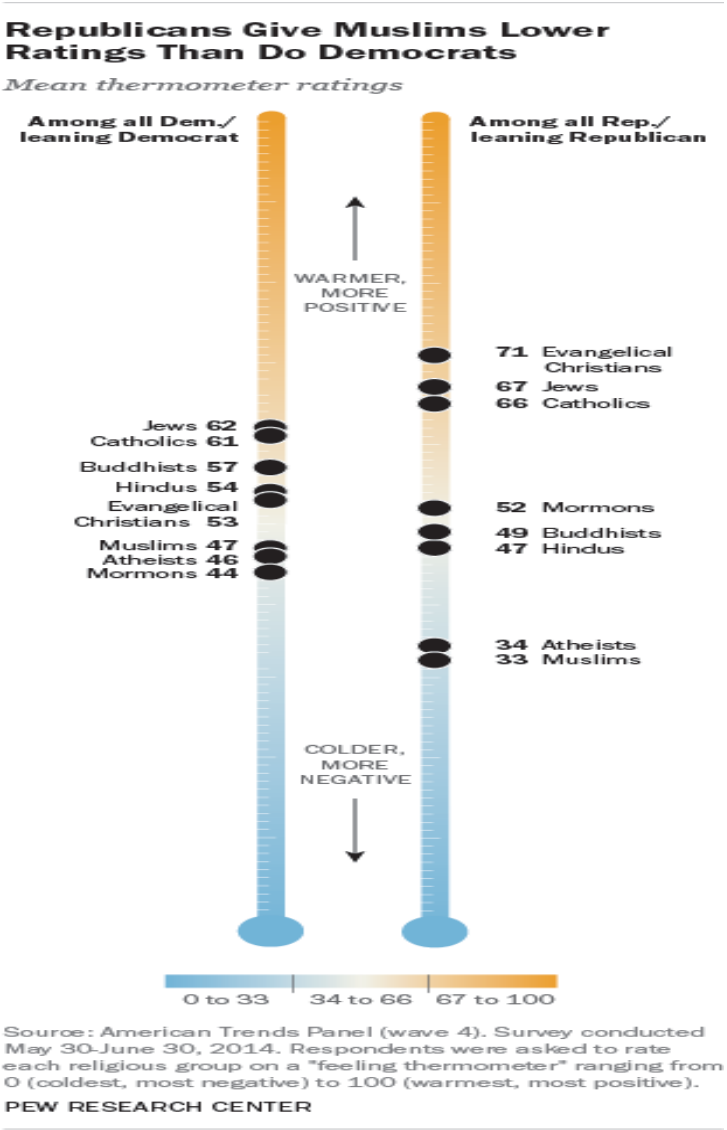
According to another study, a 2010 *ABC News*/*Washington Post* poll, only 37% of Americans have a favorable opinion of Islam: the lowest favorability rating since 2001.[4]

[3] Chicago Council on Global Affairs. 2010 Survey. In Stephen Craig, "Overview of US Mass Politics," Lecture Presentation, University of Florida, Gainesville (July 5, 2011).

[4] "ABC News/Washington Post poll: Views of Islam," ABC News. Available at http://a.abcnews.go.com/images/us/ht_cordoba_house_100908.pdf. See also, Shibley Telhami, "What Americans Really Think About Muslims and Islam," *Middle East Politics and Society Blog* (Brookings, December 9, 2015).

Islam is now the most negatively viewed religion in America.[5] Moreover, the most antagonistic attitude comes from conservatives and sympathizers and/or members of the Republican Party (see Figure 5, below), a segment of the political scene where neoconservatives and Christian Zionists enjoy much power and influence.

Figure 5: The US Political Divide on Views Toward Muslims and Islam[6]



[5] "How Americans Feel about Religious Groups: Jews, Catholics, and Evangelicals Rated Warmly, Atheists and Muslims more Coldly," Pew Research Center (July, 16, 2014). http://www.pewforum.org/files/2014/07/Views-of-Religious-Groups-07-27-full-PDF-for-web.pdf.

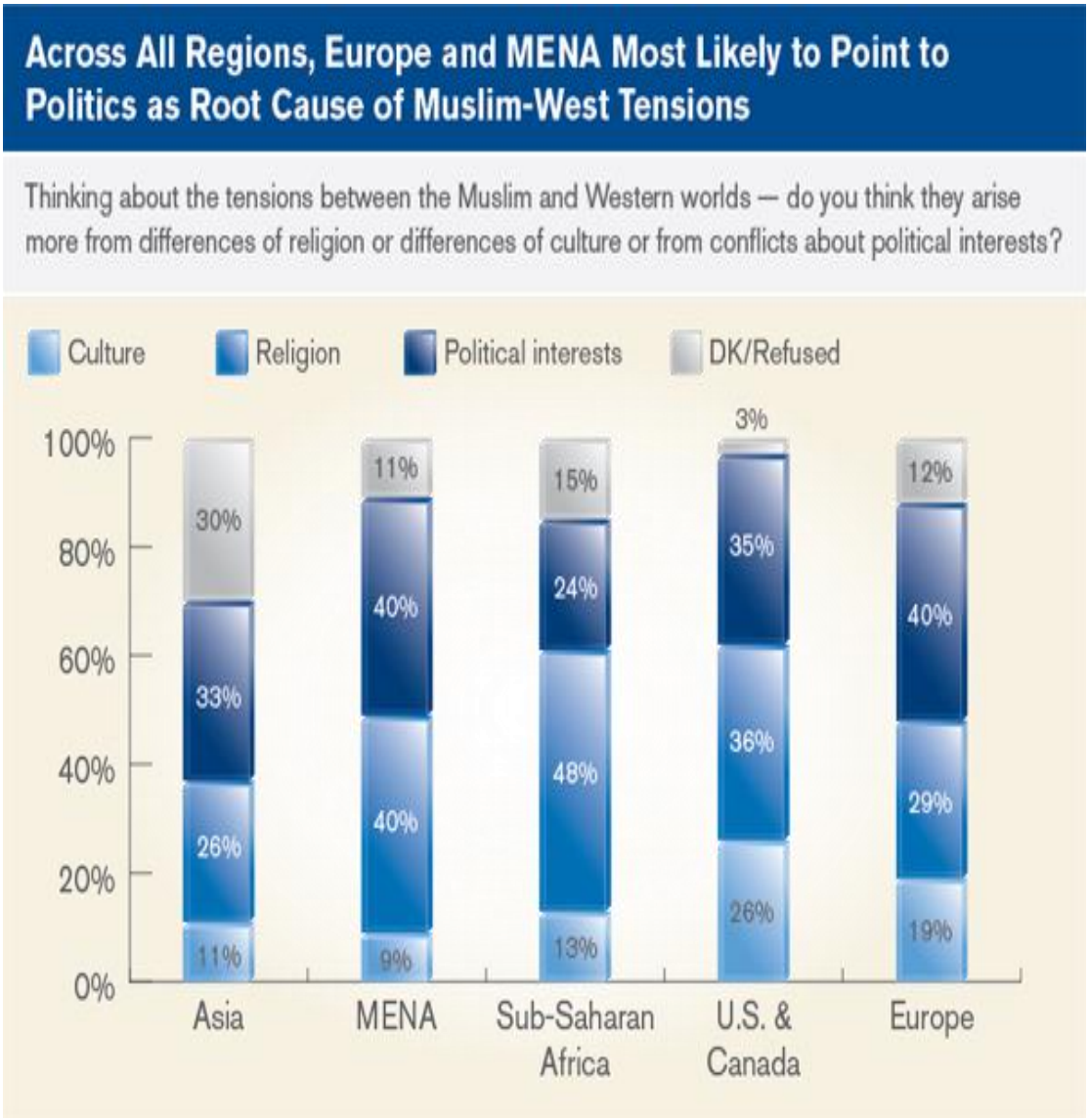
[6] Michael Lipka, "The Political Divide on Views about Muslims and Islam," Pew Research Center (January, 29, 2015). http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/01/29/the-political-divide-on-views-toward-muslims-and-islam/

Many other polls conducted in the US and Europe displayed different results on American and European public opinions on Islam and Muslims. The co-relation between media frames about the Islamic faith and Muslims and neo-Orientalist discourse that has developed these recent years is difficult to establish. However, recent studies have shown the link between media frames, the collective feeling of ontological insecurity in the United States and Europe, and Islamophobia.[7]

As for the perceived causes behind Americans' resentment towards Islam and Muslims, a 2011 Gallup poll conducted in the United States and Canada revealed that only 35% of the people believe that the roots of the believed tensions between Muslims and the West arise from conflicts over political interests. On the contrary, 62% of Americans and Canadians think those perceived tensions arise from differences in religion or culture (see Figure 6, page 223). Muslim cultural and religious antagonisms are thus believed to be the main ontological threats to the North American peoples.

[7] Lawrence Pintak, "Framing the Other: Worldview, Rhetoric, and Media Dissonance since 9/11," in Poole and Richardson, eds, *Muslims and the News Media*, 188-98. John E. Richardson, *(Mis)representing Islam: the Racism and Rhetoric of British Broadsheet Newspapers* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2004), chaps. 1 and 2.

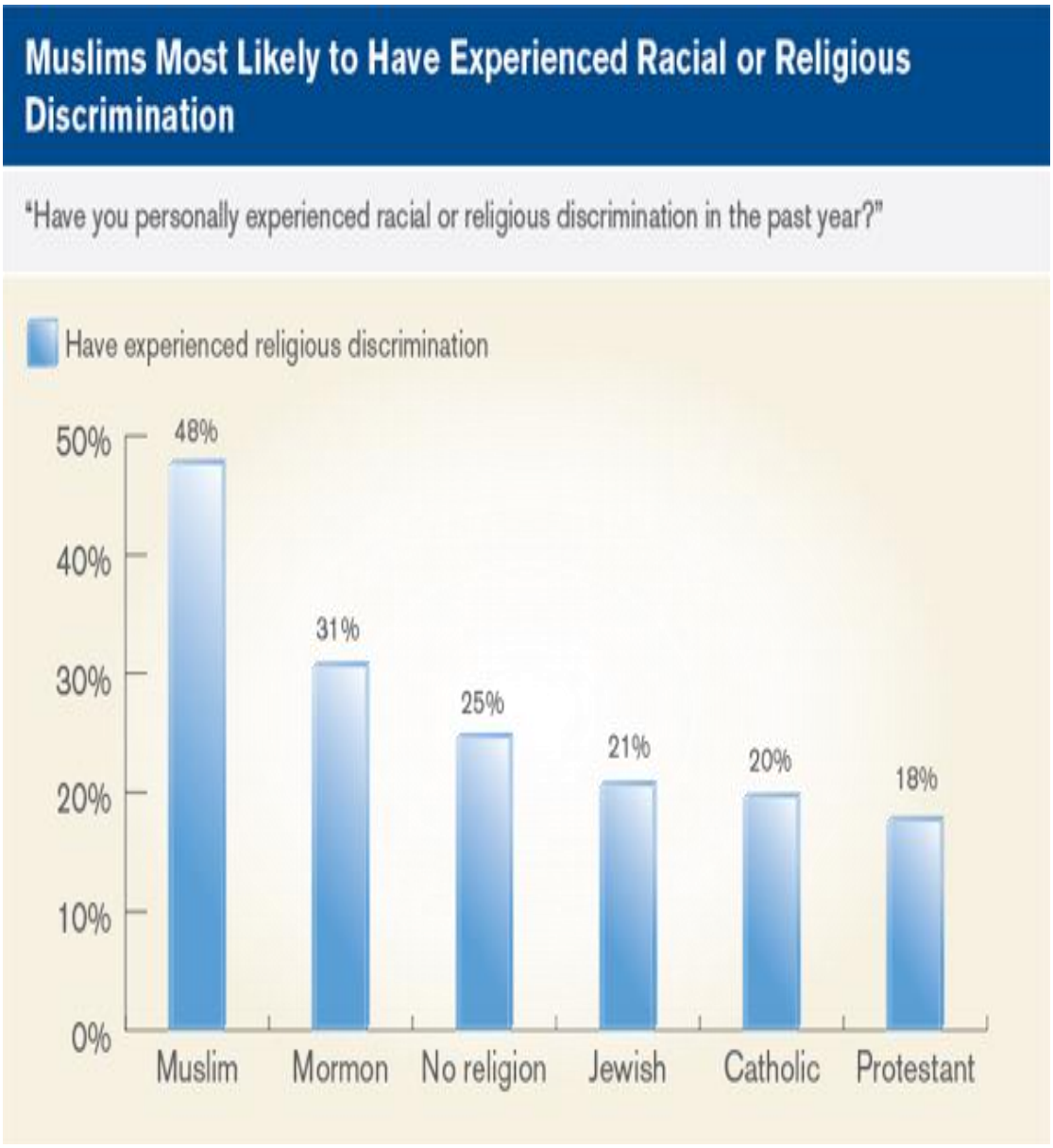
Figure 6: Causes of Tensions between the West and the Muslim World[8]



The same poll indicates that Americans see the majority of Muslims as intolerant of other religions. The poll also shows that 52% of the American people think the West does not respect Muslim societies. It also reveals that the Muslim community is the religious group the most subject to discrimination because of their faith or origin (see Figure 7, page 224).

[8] "Islamophobia: Understanding Anti-Muslim Sentiment in the West," Gallup Poll. Retrieved (January, 21, 2014) from http://www.gallup.com/poll/157082/islamophobia-understanding-anti-muslim-sentiment-west.aspx

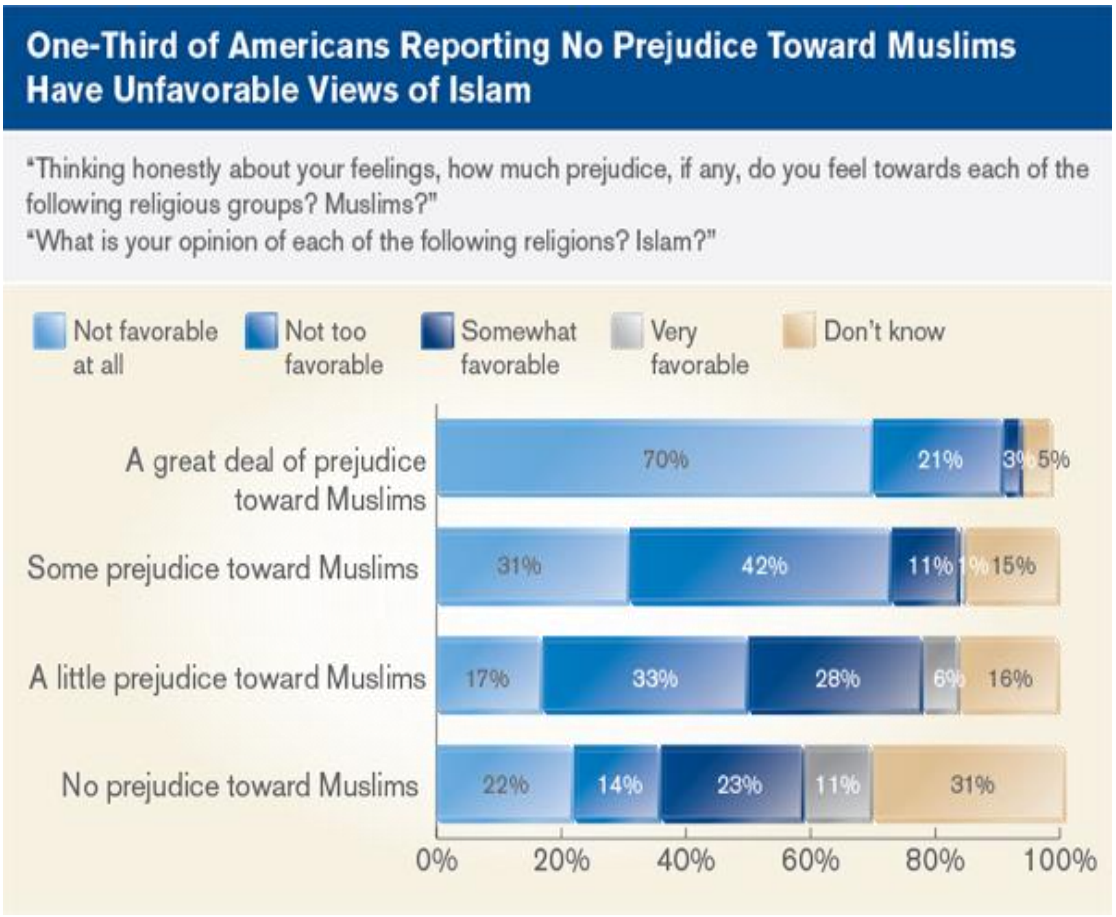
Figure 7: Religious Groups and Discrimination in the United States (2011)[9]



[9] Ibid.

Even when Muslims are not targeted as individuals, their faith is viewed negatively. Indeed, among Americans who *do not hold unfavorable* views towards Muslims as people, 35% hold from *unfavorable* to very *unfavorable* views towards Islam as a faith (see Figure 8, below).

Figure 8: Americans Holding Unfavorable Views towards Islam and Muslims[10]



Hence, since the 9/11 terror attacks on the United States, a growing significant segment of American and Western public opinion has not ceased holding negative views on Muslims and Islam. Though it is important to mention that acts of terror undertaken by some groups are among the causes of the rising anti-Muslim resentment, it is important to note that mainstream Western people fail to distinguish

[10] Ibid.

between Muslims and Islam, and the violent deeds committed by extremist groups on its behalf. Conflations and misrepresentations based on essentialist consumption of neo-Orientalist frames have dominated the United States and Western public space for more than a decade. It is then important to look into the sources of these intersubjective neo-Orientalist frames, and the identity-based collective and individual actors who promote those frames.

In its book endorsement for Heilbrunn's *They Knew They Were Right*, the *Chicago Tribune* asserts that neoconservatives are "intellectuals whose views about Islam and the Middle East came to dominate foreign policy after 9/11."[11] This chapter probes this assertion. It hence explores the sources of neo-Orientalist frames; sources that are essentially neoconservative and pro-Israeli in nature, for the latter have found in terrorism and its twisted ideology a fertile ground on which they can portray Muslims and Islam, and justify Western unconditional support of Israel.

The emergence and everlasting recurrences of new concepts, largely invented by neoconservatives or other players of the Israel Lobby cast very different and unconnected issues such as terrorism, religious fanaticism, social and political problems in the Arab-Muslim World, Palestinian militancy for their rights, Muslims in the West, and Islam in the same basket. Norman Podhoretz' "Islamofascism" and "World War IV," Eliot Cohen's "Long War," Daniel Pipes' "Militant Islam" or Bat Ye'or's "Eurabia" and "Dhimmitude;" all deal with the abovementioned issues indiscriminately and create a feeling of ontological insecurity within a paradigm of colliding civilizations.

[11] Heibrunn, *They Knew They Were Right*, book cover. See also Paul Baumann, "Power Politics: a Useful Look the Origins and Influence of the Neoconservative Movement," book review. *Chicago Tribune* (February 9, 2008).

5.3. Neo-Orientalist Neoconservatives: Actors and Allies

There is in fact a wide range of individual and collective actors who can be categorized as neoconservatives. I categorize neoconservative constellation into *Intellectual/ politician* neoconservatives and *activist* neoconservatives (see Figure 9, page 228). From pseudo-academic but well-funded and influential think tanks such as WINEP, the Center for Security Policy, the American Enterprise Institute, and the Hudson Institute (intellectual collective actors of Neoconservatism), and deeply rooted Zionist-identity journals such as *Commentary* (intellectual), extremely powerful interest groups (AIPAC, ZOA, JINSA) and individual well-known figures (such as Senator Joe Lieberman, Paul Wolfowitz, John Bolton, Dov Zarkheim, Franck Gaffney, Eliot Abrams, Eliot Cohen), others to right-wing Zionist *activist* organizations and websites such as the Middle East Forum (MEF), *Frontpage Magazine*, the Clarion Project, the Emergency Committee for Israel (ECI), MEMRI, CAMERA, or Christians United for Israel (CUFI).

Neoconservative networks operate at different levels. Though there is no close connection between an intellectual such as Norman Podhoretz and an activist such as David Horowitz, both sustain an affective link with Israel and an unconditional support to any kind of Israeli policy towards the Palestinian people. By the same token, they also view and interpret the United States' relationship with Islam and the Arab-Muslim World through the lens of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Podhoretz and Horowitz can be seen as neoconservatives since they believe in and share the neoconservative creed.

Figure 9: Activist and Intellectual Neoconservatism/ Neo-Orientalism

	ACTIVIST NEOCONSERVATIVES		**INTELLECTUAL/POLITICAL NEOCONSERVATIVES**
	Hard-core Neo-Orientalism		**Intellectual and pseudo-academic Neo-Orientalism**
Discourse Against Islam and Muslims	explicit		Implicit/ subtle
	Explicit reference to Islam & Muslims as degenerated and violent religion & people.		Emphasis on Islamism and political Islam with an intended conflation of terms and concepts
Examples of actors	D. Horowitz R. Spencer P. Geller Bat Ye'or Mark Steyn Lee Harris F. Gaffney	N. Podhoretz D. Pipes M. Kramer B. Lewis	B. Lewis R. Satloff H. Fradkin M. Kramer
Examples of political figures	Allen West		Newt Gingrich Jon Kyl
Websites and organizations (selected)	frontpageMag.com Jihad Watch Pamelageller.com Clarion Project EMET MEMRI		WINEP CIDFMW (Hudson Institute) *Commentary*

The difficulty to categorize neoconservatives into hard-core neo-Orientalist neoconservatives and "softer" pseudo-academic (or intellectual) neo-Orientalist neoconservatives is difficult if not impossible to undertake. Indeed, the frontier between their discourses is blurred and there is a great deal of permeability between the two categories.

Among the pro-Israeli pundits who are also experts in the Arab-Muslim World is for example Robert Satloff. He hosts a talk show at the Department of State funded

and public diplomacy orientated Al Hurra TV, and he is the executive director at the WINEP.[12] However, he is also a regular contributor to Pipes' *Middle East Quarterly*/ Middle East Forum; and in 2011, he was a speaker at the very right wing neo-Orientalist and hard line pro-Israeli Christians United for Israel (CUFI). Satloff endorses the strange view that Hamas, Iran, or the Hezbollah are "dedicated to the destruction of Israel and the Western World."[13] Another example is that of Hillel Fradkin, a presumed expert on Islam and the Muslim World. Fradkin is a senior researcher at the Hudson Institute where he heads the Center for Islam, Democracy, and the Future of the Muslim World (CIDFMW); and he is the editor of its *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*. However, he is also a member of the hardline pro-Israeli Jerusalem Summit, and he is a regular guest speaker at CUFI conferences. Many other pundits frequently commute from hard-core neo-Orientalism to pseudo-intellectual neo-Orientalism (and vice-versa) among whom Daniel Pipes, Frank Gaffney, James Woolsey, Martin Kramer, or Norman Podhoretz.

The social role of these collective and individual actors (*identity-motivated collective agents*) is not only to deploy a public discourse in favor of Israeli hegemony in the Middle East and the American-Israeli "special relationship" (as discussed by Walt and Mearsheimer), but *they also function as a loose but collective generator of a peculiar knowledge on Islam and the Muslim World.* Furthermore, it is worth noting that these kinds of neoconservative agency overlap. For example, a given neoconservative actor may simultaneously be an intellectual and activist, or a politician and an activist. Additionally, as Figure 10 shows (see pages 230-32) and as

[12] http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/experts/view/satloff-robert. Satloff hosts the tv program "Dakhil Washington" (Inside Washington) on Al-Hurra TV.

[13] Christians United for Israel, "2011 Washington Summit Program." http://www.cufi.org/images/sunday/CUFISundayProgram2011.pdf

displayed in the appendices of the present dissertation, the same actors can operate in a multitude of neoconservative advocacy groups, i.e. they may simultaneously be part of more than one collective agent.

Figure 10: Neo-Orientalist Neoconservatism: Collective and Individual Actors

NEOCONSERVATIVE-LINKED AND NEO-ORIENTALIST ORGANIZATIONS (NON-EXAUSTIVE)	MAIN FOUNDERS/MEMBERS/CONTRIBUTORS (NON-EXHAUSTIVE)
Committee on the Present Danger (CPD-III)	Norman Podhoretz (*Commentary*, AEI, Hudson Institute), Ben Wattenberg (Hudson Institute), James Woolsey, Joe Lieberman, Midge Decter (AEI, *Commentary*), Daniel Pipes (MEF, Jerusalem Summit, WINEP, CSP) George Weigel, José Maria Aznar, John Bolton, Gary Bauer (CUFI, MEF, FDD), Rachel Ehrenfeld, David Pryce-Jones (FII, Jerusalem Summit), Meyrav Wurmser (JINSA, MEMRI), Morris Amitay (JINSA, CSP, AIPAC), Joshua Muravchik (PNAC, WINEP, MEF, FDD, JINSA)
Foundation for the Defense of Democracies (FDD)	Clifford May (CPD,PNAC), Joe Lieberman (JINSA, CPD), James Woolsey(PNAC, CPD, CSP, JINSA), Jonathan Schanzer (CPD), Mark Dubowitz (CPD), Reuel Marc Gerecht (CPD), Michael Ledeen (CSP, FDD), Paula Dobriansky (former State Department Undersecretary, CPD), Steve Forbes (Forbes CEO, CPD)), Matthew Levitt (WINEP), Charles Krauthammer, William Kristol (EPPC, ECI, PNAC), Bret Stephens (Jerusalem Summit, EPPC), Joshua Muravchik (PNAC, WINEP, CPD, MEF, HJS, JINSA), Max Kampelman (dec.), Jeane Kirkpatrick (dec.), Jack Kemp (dec.)
Center for Security Policy (CSP)	Frank Gaffney (PNAC, CPD, FDD), James Woolsey (PNAC, CPD, FDD, JINSA), Elliott Abrams (PNAC, Hudson Institute, WINEP, *Commentary*), Daniel Pipes (CPD, MEF, Jerusalem Summit, WINEP), Caroline Glick (Israeli Intelligence, former Israeli PM advisor, MEF, FrontpageMag, Horowitz Center), Nonie Darwish (*Arabs for Israel* advocacy group), Morris Amitay (JINSA, CPD, AIPAC)
Washington Institute of Near East Policy (WINEP)	Robert Satloff (MEI, CUFI guest speaker), Matthew Lewitt, Patrick Clawson, Richard Perle (CSP, PNAC), James Woolsey (CPD, JINSA, PNAC), Joe Lieberman (CPD, JINSA), Edward Luttwack (*Commentary*), Jeane Kirkpatrick (EPPC, CPD, EPPC), Michael Makovsky (JINSA), Daniel Pipes (MEF,

	Jerusalem Summit, FDD, CSP, EPPC), Joshua Muravchik (PNAC, CPD, MEF, HJS, JINSA), Eliot A. Cohen (PNAC, CPD, and creator of the concept of "World War IV"),
Friends of Israel Initiative (FII)	John Bolton (CSP, JINSA, CPD, AEI), Richard Kemp (CPD), George Weigel (EPPC, AEI, CPD), José Maria Aznar (CPD), David Pryce-Jones (Jerusalem Summit, CPD)
Jerusalem Summit (JS)	Daniel Pipes (sits at the presidium) (CPD, MEI, CSP, FDD), Frank Gaffney (CSP, FDD, EPPC, CPD, JINSA), Hillel Fradkin (advisory board) (Hudson Institute) Gary Bauer (ECI, PNAC, President of *American Values* and chairman of the ad.b), Rachel Ehrenfeld (CPD), David Pryce-Jones (CPD, , Meyrav Wurmser (MEMRI, CPD, JINSA), , Morris Amitay (CPD, JINSA), Bret Stephens (FDD), Dennis Prager, Avigdor Lieberman (Israeli Government). Bret Stephens (WSJ, FDD), Richard Perle (WINEP, CSP, PNAC)
Emergency Committee for Israel (ECI)	William Kristol (*Weekly Standard*, PNAC, FDD, EPPC, HJS), Gary Bauer (Jerusalem Summit, PNAC, CUFI), Rachel Abrams (former wife of Elliott Abrams)
Henry Jackson Society (HJS – Britain)	Alan Mendoza (AIPAC connections), Douglas Murray, William Kristol (*Weekly Standard*, PNAC, FDD, EPPC, ECI), Max Kampelman (CPD), Robert Kagan, Carl Gershman (PNAC), Richard Perle (PNAC, CSP, WINEP), Joshua Muravchick (WINEP, CPD, MEF, FDD, JINSA), Clifford May (CPD PNAC, FDD), Max Boot (PNAC), James Woolsey (CSP, JINSA, CPD, EPPC), Israeli Nathan Sharansky, Dore Gold (Israeli Government), David Trimble (Jerusalem Summit)
Middle East Media Reporting Initiative (MEMRI)	Meyrav Wurmser (co-founder, CPD, JINSA,) Yigal Carmon (Israeli intelligence). The website does not disclose its members or contributors.
Middle East Forum (MEF)	Daniel Pipes (Founder and Director, CPD, FDD, Jerusalem Summit, CSP)), Martin Kramer, Robert Satloff (WINEP, CUFI speaker), Patrick Clawson, Gary Bauer (CPD, CUFI, PNAC), Efraim Karsh (Israeli intelligence), Phyllis Chesler (FrontpageMag, Horowitz Center).
David Horowitz Freedom Center (FrontpageMag.com)	David Horowitz, Robert Spencer (Jihad Watch, FrontpageMag.com) Pamela Geller (SION: Stop the Islamization of America), Daniel Pipes (contributor, MEF, CPD, FDD)

Jewish Institute of National Security Affairs (JINSA)	Meyrav Wurmser (MEMRI) Morris Amitay (CSP, CPD, AIPAC), Joshua Muravchick (WINEP, CPD, MEF, FDD, HJS), John Bolton (CSP, CPD, JINSA), Anne Bayefski (CPD), Eric Cantor, Joseph Lieberman (CPD, JINSA, EPPC), Michael Makovsky (WINEP).
Ethics and Public Policy Center (EPPC)	Hillel Fradkin (PNAC, CIDFMW, Hudson Institute, Jerusalem Summit, EPPC, AEI), Elliott Abrams, Jeane Kirkpatrick (CPD, FDD, PNAC), Stanley Kurtz (Hudson Institute, *Commentary*), William Kristol (*Weekly Standard*, PNAC, FDD, ECI, HJS). Michael Novak.
Hudson Institute & the Center on Islam, Democracy, and the Future of the Muslim World (CIDFMW)	Douglas Feith (PNAC, Horowitz Center, JINSA), Lewis Libby, Gabriel Shoenfeld, Abraham Shulsky (CPD, JINSA), Nina Shea (CPD), Hillel Fradkin (EPPC, Jerusalem Summit, CUFI guest speaker, AEI) , Irwin Stelzer, Norman Podhoretz, Shmuel Bar (Israeli intelligence & government)
American Enterprise Institute (AEI)	Hillel Fradkin (PNAC, Hudson Institute, Jerusalem Summit, EPPC, AEI, CUFI guest speaker), Midge Decter (*Commentary*, PNAC, CPD), John Bolton (FII, CSP, Hudson Institute, JINSA)
Clarion Project (*Obsession*, *The Third Jihad*, *Iranium*)	Walid Phares, James Woolsey, Bernard Lewis, Rachel Ehrenfeld, Ayan Hirsi Ali, Melanie Philips, Tom Ridge, Joseph Lieberman, Mark Steyn. Caroline Glick, Daniel Pipes; Alan Dershowitz, Brigitte Gabriel, John Bolton, John Kyl, Walid Phares, Frank Gaffney, Dore Gold, Clifford May, Michael Ledeen, Ruel Marc Gerecht
Christians United For Israel (CUFI)	Though it is not a neoconservative-led organization, many neoconservatives such as John Podhoretz (*Commentary*), Robert Satloff (WINEP, MEI), John Bolton (FII, CSP, Hudson Institute, JINSA), Clifford May (AEI, FDD, CPD III), Franck Gaffney (CSP, CPD III, FDD), George Weigel, William Kristol, Elliott Abrams, James Woolsey, are speakers in CUFI Annual Conference.

5.3.1. The Committee on the Present Danger (CPD III)

The Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) is perhaps the most symbolizing collective agent of Neoconservatism. Through the influential and powerful people it aggregates, the CPD also shows how efficient neoconservatives are in bringing up key peoples coming from a wide array of the public scene. Since its first inception, and throughout its recurrent versions (CPD I in 1950, CPD II in 1976, and CPD III in 2004) this "advocacy group" has been playing an influential role in constructing and portraying what its members have been perceiving as successive existential threats to the United States and the Western World. The creation and/ or reactivation of the committee regularly aimed at stirring the public opinion (and Western public opinion for the 2004 version) and lobbying policymakers to take action against constructed looming external dangers. During the Cold War, that interest group called for an uncompromising stand towards the Soviet Union and advocated a strong US military build-up. Nowadays, it calls for a confrontation against an enemy it fails to define exactly.

The CPD came to being in 1950, before Neoconservatism emerged as a clearly identified American school of political thought. During that period, would-be neoconservatives did not integrate that lobby group. The CPD was originally founded by fervent Cold Warriors who pushed hard towards an uncompromising confrontation with the Soviet Union. Among its founding members were Tracy S. Voorhees, James B. Conant, and Vannevar Bush.[14] None of these were neoconservatives. However, Paul Nitze helped the creation of the Committee.[15] Tracy S. Voorhees held various functions within the Department of Defense among which the post of Under Secretary

[14] Sanders, *Peddlers of Crisis*, 54.

[15] Gravel and Lauria, *Political Odyssey*, 125.

of the United States Army from August 1949 to April 1950. He was Chair of the CPD from 1951 to 1953. James B. Conant was a prominent scientist working inside the defense establishment. In 1941, he became the Chair of the National Defense Research Committee (NDRC). During the Second World War, he supervised key military research projects such as the Manhattan Project which developed the first atomic bomb. In 1945, he was an influential member of the Interim Committee which advocated the use the atomic bomb against Japan. After the Second World War, he was member of the powerful General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC).

The initial aim of CPD I was to overcome the opposition to *NSC-68* inside the Truman Administration and among Congressmen. Its objective was also to "awake" a people it judged "asleep" about the "gravity of the situation."[16] Due to the lobbying of the CPD together with the start of the war between North Korea and its Southern counterpart, President Truman adopted the recommendations of the fateful document.[17] In the late 1950 and throughout year 1951, the CPD strove – with success – to alert the public opinion and put pressure on policymakers to implement the essence of NSC-68 i.e. huge defense spending and the elaboration of the Hydrogen Bomb. To achieve that task the CPD worked both inside and outside the political establishment, lobbying Congress, and airing weekly television shows on NBC and a radio shows on the MBS (Mutual Broadcasting System). That year the defense budget took 67 percent of the federal budget, rising from 13 billion dollars to 60 billion dollars.[18] Via its various campaigns from 1951 to 1953, the CPD and Nitze

[16] James Conant as quoted in James G. Hershberg, *James B. Conant: Harvard to Hiroshima and the Making of the Nuclear Age* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 491.

[17] Gravel and Lauria, *Political Odyssey*, 125.

[18] Ibid.

worked hard to alert and prepare the American people on what they considered the "year of maximum danger" for the United States: 1954.[19] Cold War Historian James G. Hershberg argues that the CPD generated an "ideological appeal to the American People to win a Cold War of indefinite duration or else to triumph in a hot war."[20] CPD I dissolved in 1953.

The Second reincarnation of the CPD (CPD II) occurred in November 1976, in the direct aftermath of – and as a reaction to – Jimmy Carter's election to the Presidency. Most members of CPD-II were dyed-in-the-wool neoconservatives who allied with other right wing and militarist pressure groups such as the American Security Council (ASC) and the ADM. That coalition was the most dedicated and the most efficient opponents of the policy of Détente and arms limitations talks (SALTs). While the aim of CPD I was to implement NSC-68, the purpose of CPD II was to educate the public opinion on the dangers evoked by the alarmist Team-B report about the strategic capabilities and intentions of the Soviet Union.[21]

In 2004, the Committee on the Present Danger came back to life a third time in order to confront a new enemy but with the same rhetoric it had used during the Cold War. The Committee was re-launched in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks against the United States, and the subsequent wars on Afghanistan (2001-) and Iraq (2003-). Similarly to the previous versions, it claims to be a non-partisan organization. The old and younger generations of neoconservatives helped create and rallied CPD III, as well as many conservative politicians, people from the military, and conservative intellectuals and pundits. Two US Senators are Honorary

[19] Paul Nitze as quoted in Crockatt, *Fifty Years War*, 262.

[20] Hershberg, *James B. Conant*, 493-94.

[21] More about Team B experiment, Chapter 4, page 193; and this chapter, page 253.

Chairmen of the Committee: neoconservative Joseph Lieberman and John Kyl. James Woolsey and George Shultz (former State Secretary, 1982-89) effectively chair the lobby group. Other pro-Israel and staunch neoconservatives such as Rachel Ehrenfeld and Clifford May sit at the Board of Directors.

Among CPD III members one can note historical first generation neoconservatives such as Midge Decter, Norman Podhoretz, or Ben Wattenberg; and also second generation neoconservatives and former members of the late PNAC such as Frank Gaffney, Daniel Pipes, Newt Gingrich, Ilan Berman, Anne Bayefsky, Mark Dubowitz, Victor Davis Hanson, Robert Lieber, Clifford May, Joshua Muravchik, Michael Novak, Paula Dobriansky, Jonathan Schanzer, Randy Sheunemann, Kenneth Timmerman, Dov Zakheim. It should be reiterated that the abovementioned people are staunch pro-Israel figures. Additionally, other people claiming to be human rights activits (but who are also pro-Israel) such as Elie Wiesel also make part of the Committee.

Moreover, differently from the previous CPD versions, CPD III takes a global dimension. Indeed, it includes among its ranks international figures – some well-known to the public and others less famous – whose common ground is an active and unflattering support of Israel. One can for example notice former Spanish Prime Minister José Maria Aznar (staunch advocate and participant of the War on Iraq, member of the Jerusalem Summit and of the Friends of Israel Initiative), French politician Edmond Alphandery, Israeli General Moshe Yaalon General (former chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces), or British neoconservative writer and *Commentary* contributor David Pryce Jones.

Right from its motto, "fighting terrorism and the ideologies that drive it,"[22] CPD III explains that not only terrorism constitutes a threat to the West but also some vaguely defined "ideologies." The idea that terrorism constitutes a threat to the West is a key notion in neoconservative ideology. It is the idea of a cosmic conflict that goes far beyond rational police measures, intelligence activities, or even national defense. Designating no less than the "West" as a target implies a Western ontological mobilization for its survival. Neoconservative members of the CPD recurrently and concurrently point out this cosmic conflict between "the West" and what they vaguely view as the sources of terror. James Woolsey for example emphasizes the undefined duration of the conflict with inconceivability of disengagement. He stoically contends that the West is "fighting the Long War of the 21st Century, having been targeted by several totalitarian movements rooted in the Middle East. We cannot opt out, and we must not fail."[23] Here too the enemy is vaguely designated. Joe Lieberman voices the same chorus but with more analogy with the Cold War era. He also emphasizes the importance to defend Western values against enemies he does not clearly designate. To him,

> the war against terrorism is not just a war of arms, but also a war of values. The threat from Islamist terrorism is the challenge of our generation, just as fascism and communism were the challenges past generations of Americans faced. We defeated those enemies, and we will defeat this one, if we stay steadfast in our purpose and true to our

[22] Committee on the Present Danger. Home page and subsequent pages. http://www.committeeonthepresentdanger.org/index.php?option=com_cpdfront&Itemid=90

[23] Committee on the Present Danger website. http://www.committeeonthepresentdanger.org/index.php?option=com_cpdteam&id=1743&Itemid=89

values. The values we cherish – life, liberty and happiness for all – will carry us to victory.[24]

Whereas all CPD members refer to past glories, the United States successive victories of over Fascism, Nazism, and Communism, they fail to clearly identify who the present existential enemy is. Is it Islam as activist neoconservatives explicitly state it? Is it a variant of Islam, or is it terrorism in the name of Islam? The question of its geographical location is also problematic, for neoconservatives include Palestinian territories as the one of the sources of terror.[25] If it is a war of values, how is one to combat? These are questions neoconservatives of the CPD rarely and wrongly address. They just cast the War on Terror within what they subjectively construct as a continuity of existential challenges for the United States, Israel, and the West.

Moreover, it is worth noting that terrorism has always operated throughout history, has targeted different societies and states, but has never destroyed any country or civilization. Furthermore, while the duty to combat terrorism seems valid, its definition as a concept is vague and subject to various, often contradictory and highly subjective interpretations. Indeed, CPD mentions an enemy that is not clearly designated, or at least, is wrongly designated. CPD III implies that the threat is far from solely being collective terrorist agents and non-state actors who commit violent deeds against people. To CPD III and the neoconservatives it gathers, terrorism is rooted in a variety of entities defined as "totalitarian movements" located in the Middle East but whose identities are left undefined.

A look at the CPD III website helps understand what its key targets are. Indeed, CPD III does not emphasize the threat coming from Al Qaida or the nowadays so

[24] Ibid.

[25] See for example the Jerusalem Summit, Bat Ye'or, Podhoretz, and Horowitz, in the following pages.

called “Islamic State” (also labelled “ISIS”or “Daesh”). Rather, CPD publications focus on Iran or Palestinian militancy (which have nothing to do with 9/11, Al Qaida, or Daesh/ISIS). In its mission statement, CPD III denies having any specific ideology. However, a significant aspect of CPD III is its members’ commitment to the Zionist cause and their unwavering pro-Israel stance. Almost all members of CPD III also belong to other neo-Orientalist and pro-Israel advocacy groups. Moreover, instead of clearly identifying the “enemy,” CPD III posts articles targeting Iran and its alleged nuclear program; or targeting Palestinian militancy on every side.

5.3.2. The Foundation for the Defense of Democracies (FDD)

Another influential neoconservative collective actor is the FDD. Its members show how powerful and pervasive the neoconservative FDD is in the US political and Media establishment (see Figure 10). The FDD endeavors to promote a neo-Orientalist outlook that divides the world into two alleged opposing human grouping. On the one side, the West, embodied in democracies, and at their lead the United States and Israel; on the other, some still not explicitly defined but implied, enemies. Indeed, in its own words the FDD asserts that it is

> a non-profit, non-partisan policy institute working **to defend free nations against their enemies**. FDD was founded shortly after 9/11 by a group of visionary philanthropists and policymakers **who understood the threat facing America, Israel and the West.**[26] (Emphasis added).

Like other neoconservative interest groups, FDD gives great importance on how its ideas can be put into practice. It then seeks to shape the United States public

[26] *Foundation for the Defense of Democracies*, “Who We Are,” http://www.defenddemocracy.org/about-fdd/who-we-are/http://www.defenddemocracy.org/about-fdd/who-we-are/

opinion, “by focusing its efforts where opinions are formed and decisions are made.” FDD also works at the level of the Congress, the State Department, and the military, and organizes events with key members of the three latter. FDD members are highly influential in the Congress. They regularly provide legislators with the pro-Israel view about the Arab-Muslim World in Congressional hearings and testimonies.[27]

5.3.3. The Endowment for Middle East Truth (EMET)

Activist hardline neoconservatives such as Kenneth Timmerman, Rachel Erhenfeld, Daniel Pipes, Frank Gaffney, James Woolsey, and Jeane Kirkpatrick (dec.) are full members of EMET. Some figures linked to Israeli military and intelligence services such as Caroline Glick and Meyrav Wurmser are also full participants of the organization. EMET was founded in 2005. It is a Washington, D.C. based think tank and policy center with a fierce pro-Israel stance. EMET, like many other pro-Israel collective actors in the US domestic politics, attack any criticism of Israel in the American public space. It endeavors to challenge what it considers as “the falsehoods and misrepresentations that abound in U.S. Middle East policy.” It also base its discourse on a conflation of Islam, Palestinian militancy, and terrorism. Indeed, according to EMET, its role is to provide the Congress with

> informed decisions that will improve American security and the security of America’s ally, Israel ... a strong and secure America, and a strong American-Israeli alliance against the forces of radical Islam and terror.[28]

EMET discourse and message addresses mainly US legislators. This is why the activist neoconservative group develops close working relationships with Senators

[27] Ibid. http://www.defenddemocracy.org/congress

[28] “About,” Endowment for Middle East Truth website. http://emetonline.org/about-emet/

and members of the House of Representatives, and provides them with biased pro-Israel analyses about the Arab and Muslim World. EMET also combats any efforts undertaken by other interest groups vis-à-vis the US Congress with what it views as "misrepresentations about Israel and the Middle East." Among the Lobbying activities of EMET, there are monthly seminars for the education of Senators, Members of Congress, their staff, and the general public. Furthermore, EMET claims to educate members of Congress on "the Palestinian Authority's blatant and repeated violations of the Oslo Accords while other organizations were busy drawing up detailed maps of the next territory Israel should surrender in the failed 'Land-for-Peace' paradigm."[29] EMET also nurtures close connections with other pro-Israel and neo-Orientalist organizations such as Frank Gaffney's CSP. Every year, EMET organizes its "Rays of Light in the Darkness Dinner," in which it introduces neo-Orientalist and pro-Israel guests (pundits and congressmen) as "Speaker of Truth Honorees." [30]

5.3.4. The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI)

MEMRI is another pro-Israel organization that propagates and promotes neo-Orientalist constructions of the Arab and Muslim World. MEMRI, founded in 1998, works first and foremost at the level of the United States public scene, but it also owns a multi-language website (French, Polish, Spanish, and Japanese). The aim of this website is to promote and publicize the pro-Israeli view about Muslims and Arabs.

[29] Ibid.

[30] EMET introduces Franck Gaffney as 2016 "Speaker of Truth Honoree." Past honorees were hard core pro-Israel and anti-Muslim figures such as Senator Tom Cotton and Rabbi Shmuley Boteach (2015), Charles Krauthammer and Representative Mike Huckabee (2014), Bret Stephens and Senator Ted Cruz (2013), John Bolton and Allen West (2012), Ayaan Hirsi Ali (2011), John Lieberman, Jon Kyl, Walid Phares, and James Woolsey (2009). See http://emetonline.org/save-the-date-june-8th-201610th-anniversary-rays-of-light-in-the-darkness-dinner/

The website of this organization is very cautious not to introduce its founders, its funders, or the people who contribute to its functioning.[31] In fact, neoconservative Meyrav Wurmser and Israeli intelligence officer Yigal Carmon are the founders and co-directors of MEMRI. The executive director of MEMRI is Steven Stalinksy, a former assistant to the Bill Clinton/Al Gore campaign (1992 and 1996) who has contributed to numerous neoconservative publications and advocacy groups such as Kristol's The *Weekly Standard* and Daniel Pipes's Middle East Forum.[32]

MEMRI translates into English news from throughout the Arab and Muslim World(s) and presents them to the US (and Western) public opinion. The main function of MEMRI is to pick out decontextualized segments of Arab television shows, or anecdotal examples to demonstrate that Muslim values are quite incompatible with democratic ideals. It also deals with what it considers as issues regarding anti-Semitism in Muslim countries. MEMRI also mixes what it calls news about Iran, Palestinian militancy (secular and Islamist groups), Al Qaida, and Daesh, and conflates all actors operating in the Arab and Muslim World. Like other neoconservative neo-Orientalist actors, MEMRI, wants to divert the Palestinian issue and endeavors to portray Palestinian struggle for independence not as a political and an anti-colonial issue, but as an existential conflict between the forces of Evil, anti-Semitism, against Israel and the West. Its reports are recaptured by Israeli and US pro-Israeli pundits to justify Israeli policy and agenda in Palestine and the Near/Middle East.

[31] MEMRI website. http://www.memri.org/middle-east-media-research-institute.html

[32] "Middle East Media Research Institute," Right Web Profiles, *Institute for Policy Studies* (November 09, 2011). Retrieved (May, 2, 2013) from http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/Middle_East_Media_Research_Institute

5.3.5. The CSP: From Team B to Team B II

The Center for Security Policy (CSP) is another neoconservative and right wing collective actor which intertwines pro-Israeli and neo-Orientalist discourses. CSP promotes the "Clash of Civilizations" paradigm and the obsidional vision of a West assaulted by Islam and the Muslim World. The center's website posts neo-Orientalist online articles, rubrics and produces publications.

It is through the CSP and other groups (CPD-III for example) that twenty-first century Neoconservatism attempts to replicate the rhetoric used during the Cold War. Then and now, similar strategies are employed. During the 1950s and later, the 1970s, interest groups were created to launch media campaigns against any appeasement with the former Soviet Union.

In 2010, CSP produced a "study in competitive analysis," it deems similar to the 1976 Team B report. In 1976, Team B and its report undermined the official and authoritative National Intelligence Estimates (NIE) on Soviet strategic capabilities and intentions.[33] Similarly to the 1976 neoconservative inspired Intelligence Assessment on Soviet Capabilities and Strategic Intentions, two running members of the CSP, Frank Gaffney and James Woolsey, co-authored the 2010 "report." The latter however was on Islam and the Muslim World. Also titled "Report of Team B II,"[34] the book recycles the old and new anti-Muslim stereotypes. It contends that Post-9/11 understanding of what it calls "the threat posed by Islamic terrorism" and

[33] United States of America, NIO M 76-021J, *Intelligence Community Experiment in Competitive Analysis: Soviet Strategic Objectives, An Alternate View: Report of Team "B,"* December 1976. (Declassified on September 16, 1992), http://www.foia.cia.gov/ For an analysis of Team B's report on 1970s US defense, Arms control, and Détente see Cahn, *Killing Détente*; For an official appraisal of the report see United States Congress, "The National Intelligence Estimates A-B Team Episode Concerning Soviet Strategic Capability and Objectives: Report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Subcommittee on Collection, Production, and Quality." (Washington, DC: February 16, 1978).

[34] *Shariah: the Threat to America: an Exercise in Competitive Analysis - Report of Team B II* (Washington: Center for Security Policy, 2010). http://shariahthethreat.org/

all the approaches undertaken by the United States' national security establishment are flawed. The authors of the report reject the idea that the dangers posed by terrorism have nothing to do with the religion of Islam. They rather claim that there is a direct tie between mainstream Islam, which – according to them – is deploying "insidious" efforts to achieve the same goal as Al Qaida or other violent extremist groups.[35]

Frank Gaffney, James Woolsey and their fellow co-authors of the report borrow from – and support – Bat Ye'or's obsessive vision of the "enemy within;"[36] an idea that is also regularly voiced by Daniel Pipes and his *Middle East Forum*.[37] Backing the usual conspiracy theory, they also deploy her concepts of "Eurabia" and "Dhimmitude."[38] Former Speaker of the House of Representatives and presidential candidate Newt Gingrich has praised and endorsed the report. He states that the study is a "warn of danger every American should read."[39]

It should be noted that both Gaffney and Woolsey are closely linked to the policy-making establishment. Woolsey was Undersecretary of the Navy (1977-1979) and director of the CIA (1993-1995). Gaffney held the post of Assistant of Secretary of Defense in 1988; and 2016 Republican and extremely conservative Presidential Candidate Ted Cruz appointed him as his foreign policy adviser in March 2016.[40] The authoritative SPLC describes Gaffney as "one of America's most notorious

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid, 232.

[37] See a multitude articles on the subject and about the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) in the Middle East Forum website: http://www.meforum.org/search.php?cx=015692155655874064424%3Abbfcmdvi9ym&cof=FORID%3A9&ie=UTF-8&q=CAIR&sa=Search.

[38] *Shariah: the Threat to America*, 234-35.

[39] http://www.securefreedomradio.org/about/

[40] See James Poulos, "Frank Gaffney and More of Ted Cruz' Crazy Advisers," *The Daily Beast* (March 18, 2016). Retrieved from http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/03/18/frank-gaffney-more-of-ted-cruz-s-crazy-advisers.html.

Islamophobes … [g]ripped by paranoid fantasies about Muslims destroying the West from within…"[41]

5.3.6. The Emergency Committee for Israel (ECI)

William Kristol is the chair of the Emergency Committee for Israel (ECI), a group funded by Sheldon Adelson, a multibillionaire and close friend of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. In its website, the ECI states that it

> is committed to mounting an active defense of the US-Israel relationship by educating the public about the positions of political candidates on this important issue, and by keeping the public informed of the latest developments in both countries. [It asks people] to help support Israel and her many friends here in the United States.[42]

The board of the ECI includes Rachel Abrams (dec.), former spouse of Elliott Abrams and step-daughter of Norman Podhoretz.[43] ECI also even attacks other pro-Israel groups (such as J.Street) which it considers not enough supportive of the Zionist cause.[44]

5.3.7. Christians United For Israel (CUFI)

CUFI is not a neoconservative organization. However, it nurtures close ties with neoconservative individuals and collective actors. Irving Kristol and Elliott Abrams, for example, view evangelical groups such as CUFI or Jerry Falwell's 1980s

[41] "Frank Gaffney," Extremist Files. Southern Poverty Law Center website (March 2016).https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/frank-gaffney-jr

[42] Emergency Committee for Israel Website at http://www.committeeforisrael.com/board/

[43] "Rachel Abrams," Right Web Profiles. Institute for Policy Studies website, IPS, http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/abrams_rachel

[44] "A Letter to Dennis Ross: Give Voice to America's Pro-Israel Values." Emergency Committee for Israel website (February 24, 2011). http://www.committeeforisrael.com/category/newsroom/

Moral Majority as the best allies of Israel.[45] Indeed, as its name indicates, CUFI is a Dispensationalist group[46] which espouses the Zionist narrative from a Christian eschatological viewpoint. It is the belief that the Second Coming of the Christ cannot happen unless all Jews gather in Palestine. CUFI therefore holds that Christians have the responsibility to support the Zionist project and Israel in its attempt to impose Jewish sovereignty all over Palestine. It should be noted that CUFI does not express great concern about the fate of Palestinian Christians. Neoconservative intellectuals, pundits, and politicians are regularly invited as guest speakers to CUFI's national events. Among its guests, one can mention Benjamin Netanyahu, Elliott Abrams, Ted Cruz, James Woolsey, Charles Krauthammer (for more, see Figure 10, page 232).[47]

Instead of looking at the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict as a political struggle involving colonization and the violation of human rights of peoples under occupation, CUFI – like its neoconservatives allies – espouses the neo-Orientalist "Clash of Civilizations" (or even clash of religions) and "Good versus Evil" rhetoric in its description of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Its founder and president Reverend John Hagee states that the situation in the Middle East is "a battle between good and evil" and that supporting Israel equates to embracing "God's foreign policy."[48]

5.3.8. The Clarion Project

The Clarion Project (also called Clarion Fund) is an Islamophobic and pro-Israel US group founded in 2006 by journalist and rabbi Raphael Shore. It is closely

[45] Irving Kristol as quoted in Blumenthal, *Republican Gomorrah*, 278. Elliott Abrams, *Faith or Fear: How Jews Can Survive in a Christian America* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 68. More recently, Elliott Abrams, "Two Words," *Mosaic Magazine* (October 2013).

[46] See Glossary for a definition of the term.

[47] Christians United for Israel, Website. http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=the2014summit

[48] David Kirkpatrick, "For Evangelicals, Supporting Israel Is God's Foreign Policy," *The New York Times* (November 14, 2006).

linked to the Zionist organization Aish Atorah. It came to the fore of the US political scene when it released three neo-Orientalist/ Islamophobic documentaries depicting Islam and the Muslim World as inherently backward, obsessed with Sharia law, and as a threat to Western Civilization.

The first documentary, *Obsession: Radical Islam's War Against the West*, was written and produced by Shore in 2006. Though the documentary claims that it does not target "Islam" but "Radical Islam," it raises the usual neo-Orientalist stereotypes that conflate Islam, Muslim cultures, Terrorism, and Palestinian militancy. *Obsession* does not address the root causes of the rise of terrorism, or US foreign policy in an already politically and socially complex Arab/Muslim World. On the contrary, it imposes a civilizational and cosmic conflict, and terrorism that comes out of the blue. For example, it associates Palestinian militancy, the Lebanese Hezbollah, and the terrorist unterritorialized Al Qaida, in the same Islamic agenda to wage war against the West. Furthermore, the documentary does not present balanced and debating views. Quite the opposite, its contributors are pro-Israeli and islamophobic pundits such as neoconservatives Daniel Pipes, Caroline Glick, Martin Gilbert, Alan Dershowitz, or Nonie Darwish (founder of *Arabs for Israel* advocacy group).[49] The effort to justify Western support of Israel in its policy against Palestinians and against the growing power of Iran (which is a political issue) under the pretext of the war on terrorism and an irrepressible clash of civilizations is hence highly palpable in the interviewees' discourses.

The other documentaries, *The Third Jihad* (2008) and *Iranium* (2011), are in the same vein. Israeli, Pro-Israeli, and neoconservative pundits such as Bernard Lewis,

[49] *Obsession: Radical Islam's War against the West.* Wayne Kopping, Dir. Raphael Shore, Prod. (2006). The movie is accessible online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AediQLpoGGM

Richard Perle, Ayan Hirsi Ali, Melanie Phillips, Joe Lieberman, James Woolsey, Mark Steyn, Frank Gaffney, Dore Gold, Clifford May, Kenneth Timmerman, and John Bolton are among the many contributors of those Anti-Muslim documentaries.[50]

5.3.9. Pipes' Middle East Forum (MEF)

The Middle East Forum (MEF) is another powerful neoconservative organization that produces and propagates neo-Orientalist knowledge about Islam, Muslims, and the Arab and Muslim Worlds. Daniel Pipes, the founder and director of the MEF, is described by many observers as one of the leading islamophobes in the United States.[51] The MEF aggregates Israeli and pro-Israeli scholars such as Efraim Karsh and Martin Kramer, and promotes the Zionist narrative regarding Near and Middle Eastern issues.

According to the MEF, its primary mission is to promote "American interests in the Middle East and protects Western values from Middle Eastern threats."[52] The question of values, way of life, and other identity concerns are put forward by the MEF to hide the political and legal conflict over Palestinian territories. Additionally, The MEF posts Anti-Muslim articles that promote the Clash of Civilizations thesis and portray Islam as an existential threat to the West, Christianity, and Judaism.[53] MEF is closely linked to Horowitz' Frontpage.com and many contributors of the latter also write for the former. MEF also funds a wide array of projects such as Campus

[50] "Clarion Project," Right Web Profile, Institute for Policy Studies (January 25, 2015). http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/clarion_fund/. The documentaries are accessible online: *The Third Jihad*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4XUub1no1qw. And *Iranium*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t4IDy-0CJbE.

[51] Amy Goodman, *Democracy Now*. Talk Show (April 21, 2003). http://www.democracynow.org/2003/4/21/bush_nominates_islamophobe_daniel_pipes_to

[52] Middle East Forum website. http://www.meforum.org/about.php (accessed on January 12, 2014).

[53] See the different articles posted online at http://www.meforum.org/topics/12/islam; for example: Raymond Ibrahim, "How Islam Erases Christianity from History," Middle East Forum (April 21, 2016). http://www.meforum.org/5970/how-islam-erases-christianity-from-history.

Watch and Islamist Watch. The organization claims that those projects target political Islam and the "politicization and biases of Middle East studies in North American universities." However, it is surprising that its chairman, Daniel Pipes, claims to work for neutrality and objectivity while he himself sits at various pro-Israeli organizations such as the Jerusalem Summit, and contributes to various neo-Orientalist and anti-Muslim advocacy groups such as Frontpage.com.[54]

MEF also publishes the *Middle East Quarterly*, a periodical that claims to be "the most authoritative journal of Middle Eastern affairs," but whose sloppiness, pro-Israel bias, and essentialism regarding Arab and Muslim peoples are flagrant. For example, among its "most widely read" articles, some are titled "Worldwide Trends in Honor Killing," " Beheading in the Name of Islam," "Is Female Genital Mutilation an Islamic Problem?" and "Are Judaism and Christianism as Violent as Islam?" All these articles (and a multitude of other ones) propagate the Orientalist and neo-Orientalist constructs about Arabs and Muslims as degenerated, backward, and inherently barbaric.[55]

5.3.10. The Jerusalem Summit

Like other neoconservative advocacy groups, the Jerusalem Summit couples the portrayal of the Muslim World as a threat to the West with a strong support of the most rightist Israeli views. JS also recycles the usual neoconservative tenets such as the defense of the "Free World," "moral clarity," the rejection of "moral relativism," and the fight against "Evil." JS moves even farther than the alleged official US and Israeli positions and it even opposes them. For example, it contends that its members regularly meet to

[54] "Daniel Pipes," Right Web Profiles. Institute for Policy Studies (October 26, 2015). http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/pipes_daniel/

[55] Middle East Forum website. http://www.meforum.org/5869/middle-east-quarterly-top-10

> provide the free world with **moral clarity** in the fight against radical Islam and **new paradigms** of thinking about the Middle East conflict …[and] develop a joint strategy against the Totalitarianism of the East represented by radical Islam, as well as against Moral Relativism of the West, which erodes our resolve to fight that evil … The State of Israel is both a symbol and a front-line state in the battle for our civilization. A terrorist PLO state will pose mortal danger to Israel and the free world at large. Jerusalem Summit will develop and promote efficient alternatives to the Oslo process.[56] (Emphasis original)

The Jerusalem Summit and its various symposiums brought about a set of principles concerning issues in the Near and Middle East. Among these principles are the abandonment of a "new Levantine state [i.e. a Palestinian state]" and the impossibility for Israel to rule over the Palestinians or to concede any territory;[57] which means a policy of population transfer outside the occupied territories. Signatories of the Jerusalem Summit and its hardline Israeli views include leading neoconservatives who also come to be promotors of neo-Orientalist theses. Among those people are Daniel Pipes, Richard Perle, Bret Stephens, Meyrav Wurmser, Frank Gaffney, and Hillel Fradkin.[58]

5.3.11. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP)

WINEP is perhaps the most sophisticated neoconservative think tank. It claims to include a wide array of experts and scholars on the Near and Middle East. WINEP also contends that it "seeks to advance a balanced and realistic understanding

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[56] Jerusalem Summit website. http://www.jerusalemsummit.org/eng/index_js1.php

[57] Ibid.

[58] "International Advisory Board," Jerusalem Summit website. http://www.jerusalemsummit.org/eng/board.php

of American interests in the Middle East and to promote the policies that secure them."[59] However, nowhere in WINEP's website, it is mentioned that it was AIPAC which founded the Institute. WINEP does not target Islam or Muslims but emphasizes the dangers of political Islam for the region, US interests there, and the eventuality of a Palestinian/Arab peace agreement with Israel. However, WINEP biased writings on the questions is easily identifiable. Indeed, while the institute devotes a multitude of articles, policy papers, and monographs to questions tackling problems in Arab and Muslims countries, no article deals with Israel's policy in the occupied territories or criticizes Israeli daily oppressive measures towards Palestinians there.

The above mentioned various neoconservative collective actors and others are operating in the intellectual and pseudo-academic spheres and they have easy access to the mainstream public opinion molding media such as *Commentary*, the *Weekly Standard*, the *National Review* (B. Kristol, F. Gaffney, C. Krauthammer), the *New York Post* (F. Gaffney, J. Podhoretz, Clifford May), the *Wall Street Journal* (B. Stephens, C. Krauthammer), the *Washington Times* (D. Pipes), *Fox News* (C. Krauthammer), the Hoover Institution, or the Hudson Institute's Center for Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World (CIDFMW, headed by Fradkin). These multitudes of collective actors are the sources of a neo-Orientalism whose main specificity is to impose a peculiar construction of Islam and the Muslim Other. They thus use neologisms, fallacies, and essentialist characterizations to produce a "knowledge" that portrays Islam and the Muslim people as ontological threats to Western world.

[59] http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/about/mission-and-history/

5.4. "Eurabia" and the Islamization of the West

The neo-Orientalist dystopic vision of an Islamic assault on the West is a key recurrent theme in neoconservative rhetoric. Disregarding the tremendous development of globalization, mass communication and mass culture, and the reality of an heterogeneous Arab and Muslim World, American neoconservatives and their European allies deploy a Manichean vision of colliding cultures and civilizations and the conspirationist theme that Muslims are plotting to invade the West, convert its people or submit them to "dhimmitude." Their discourse relies basically on the promotion of neologisms that associate Islam and Muslims and/or Arabs with terms holding negative connotations.

Among hard-core activist neoconservatives who propagate gross neo-Orientalist images of Islam or Arab-Muslim peoples, Robert Spencer, David Horowitz, and Pamela Geller are also pro-Israeli activists in the United States. Spencer heads the Horowitz Center funded Jihad Watch,[60] and Geller runs Stop Islamization of America (SIOA) and the Stop Islamization of Nations (SION) advocacy groups.[61] The websites of these conspirationist groups post a multitude of decontextualized, unverified, and undocumented news items depicting Islam and Muslims as degenerated, backward, and violent. It is worth noting that Spencer and Geller, despite their loony conspiracy theories, are influential opinion makers. Spencer even lectured his themes to the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI), the United States Central Command, the United States Army Command and General Staff College, the U.S. Army's Asymmetric Warfare Group, the Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF), the U.S.

[60] Jihad Watch website. https://www.jihadwatch.org/

[61] http://freedomdefense.typepad.com/sioa/ It is worth mentioning that even the ADL criticizes Spencer and Geller's tactics and Islam-related conspiracy theories. See the ADL report on SIOA at http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/civil-rights/stop-islamization-of-america-2013-1-11-v1.pdf

intelligence community, and officials of the State Department.[62] FBI agents were even taught in PowerPoint presentations that "Muslims are 7th Century simpletons."[63]

British and Swiss Jewish Historian Bat Ye'or (whose true name is Gisele Orebi-Littman) is another publicist of the dystopian and obsidional vision of a Western civilization assaulted by the Arab-Muslim World. While she was actually concerned with the history of Jewish minorities in Muslim lands in her early publications[64] (and whose distorted interpretations are highly debatable), Bat Ye'or turned paying attention to contemporary Euro-Arab relations, Muslims of Europe after the United Sates declared War on Terror in 2001, and what she sees as an Arab-Muslim project to "islamicize Europe."

In 2005, she introduced the concept of "Eurabia." Her construction of "Eurabia" refers to what she sees as a "Euro-Arab fusion" that has been taking place from the two shores of the Mediterranean Sea. She claims that the driving force behind this "Eurabian" fusion is a European "officially sponsored anti-Americanism, anti-Semitism/ anti-Zionism, and Palestinianism."[65] By "Palestinianism" Bat Ye'or denounces what she sees as a "Eurabian cult" of the Palestinian question and a European hatred towards Israel.[66] She assimilates that "Eurabian" trends with neo-Nazis and fascists and other anti-Semitic groups. By associating totalitarian ideologies

[62] https://www.jihadwatch.org/about-robert

[63] Spencer Ackerman, "FBI 'Islam 101' Guide Depicted Muslims as 7th Century Simpletons," *Wired Magazine* (July 27, 2011). The FBI PowerPoint presentation was leaked and is accessible online at http://www.wired.com/images_blogs/dangerroom/2011/07/Cultural-Interviewing-Interrogation-PowerPoint1.pdf. For a thorough account of the question see Meg Stalcup and Joshua Craze, "How We Train Our Cops to Fear Islam," *Washington Monthly* (March/ April 2011).

[64] Bat Ye'or. *The Decline of Eastern Christianity: From Jihad to Dhimmitude;Seventh-Twentieth Century* (Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985). *The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians under Islam* (Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985). *Les Juifs en Egypte* (Genève : Editions de l'Avenir, 1971).

[65] Bat Ye'or, *Eurabia: the Euro-Arab Axis* (Madison : Fairleigh Dickinson U P, 2005), Preface.

[66] Bat Ye'or, *Eurabia*, chaps. 10 and 14.

and the political support of the Palestinian people under occupation, Bat Ye'or attempts to disqualify anti-Zionism or any public criticism of Israel. She contends that the main responsible for the development of what she calls a "Eurabian ideology" is the Euro-Arabic Dialogue initiated by European and Arab countries and encouraged by the French political elite of the 1970s. Bat Ye'or claims that France's principal wish at that time was to provide its foreign policy with some prestige and give the European Union a political weight that would enable it to compete with and counterbalance American influence in the Arab World. She however expresses her abhorrence of what she views as the intolerable demands of Arab countries: European recognition of a Palestinian state, support to the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and allowance to more immigration into Europe.[67] These are Bat Ye'or's three obsessive issues. Additionally, she views Arab and Muslim immigration to Europe as a planned conspiracy to arabize/Islamicize (the conflation is clear) what she considers as a Judeo-Christian civilization.

Bat Ye'or clearly promotes the ontological fear of the Arab/Muslim Other when she develops her concept of "Eurabia," and she implements it in all domains of Western public life. Indeed, she for example talks of "Eurabian press" and an 'Eurabian policy." Even officials of Christian Church are not spared by her critique since she asserts that there is an "islamicized Church" in Europe.[68] She warns Western countries of what she sees as a probable "islamicization" of their societies on the long term. From her obsessive view of Arab and Muslim immigration to Europe, she deduces that it was "as if the Mediterranean Sea has disappeared and as if Europe and

[67] Bat Ye'or, *Eurabia: the Euro-Arab Axis* (Madison : Fairleigh Dickinson U P, 2005).

[68] Bat Ye'or. "Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis. An interview with Bat Ye'or." Interview by John W. Whitehead. The Rutherford Institute, Charlottesville, VA. (June 09, 2005). Accessed on December 30, 2012.

Arab countries were forming one entity."[69] For Bat Ye'or, what she sees as trends of Islam-linked manifestations of hostility against the United States and Israel could easily be detected during the War on Iraq (2003). She asserts that "millions of Europeans walked in the streets calling for the "death of America," of President Bush, and of Israel, and claiming their solidarity with Saddam Hussein and with Arafat."[70] It is worth noting that her reference to Saddam Hussein and Yasser Arafat implies an association between the War on Iraq, the War on Terror, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Bat Ye'or goes even further in claiming that strong anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism are widely accepted in Europe, forgetting perhaps that overt anti-Semitism is legally criminalized in most Western Europe. She even gives anecdotal evidence, individual examples and generalizes them to the entire Arab-Muslim communities of Europe, ignoring the complexities of such communities, their so often, limited or even no attachment to the Islamic religion or their parents' and grandparents' original lands. She provides individual cases of manifestations of that "Islamicization" of Europe as sex separations, pupils' refusal to study about the destruction of European Jews during the Second World War, aggressiveness, and an overall refusal of the European heritage and culture. They prefer according to her, the Arab-Islamic view of history. She however does provide any statistic to support her case. Additionally, she does not mention the social and identity problems young Muslim European face on a daily base; problems that may constitute the sources of their antagonism towards their western native societies. Bat Ye'or's thesis eludes questions such as the discrimination and ghettoization of Muslim youths in European

[69] Ibid.

[70] Bat Ye'or, "Eurabia: the Euro-Arab Axis." Lecture. The Hudson Institute, New York. February 17, 2005.

countries. Furthermore, her odd view on Muslims in the West is contradicted by much more serious scholarships such as those of social scientists Jocelyn Cesari, Olivier Roy, or Raphael Liogier.[71]

The link between Bat Ye'or's thinking and the neoconservative worldview is easily visible: she often writes for David Horowitz' pro-Israeli and anti-Muslim publication *Frontpage Magazine* and pro-Israeli (and self-declared neoconservative) website *Dreuz.com*.[72] She has also contributed to Robert Spencer's Anti-Muslim propagandist book, *The Myth of Islamic Tolerance: How Islamic Law Treats Non-Muslims* (2005), she got positive reviews from neoconservative Daniel Pipes' *Middle East Quarterly*[73] and the leading Zionist journal *Midstream*.[74] Additionally, she is regularly invited in neoconservative-linked think tanks such as the Hudson Institute.[75]

Not only does Bat Ye'or propagate an extremely negative and obsidional view of Islamic World and Muslims in Western lands, she also contributes to distorted explanations and interpretations of Islamic concepts and terms by oversimplifying their complexities. As a matter of fact, she asserts that "jihad regulates the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims according to Islamic laws,"[76]

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[71] Jocelyn Cesari, *When Islam and Democracy Meet: Muslims in Europe and the United States* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004). Roy, "Globalization and Islam." Raphael Liogier, "Le Mythe de l'invasion arabo-musulmane," *Le Monde Diplomatique* (May 2014), 8-9 ; and *Le Mythe de l'islamisation* (Paris : Seuil, 2012).

[72] Other contributors to the French neoconservative and pro-Israel Dreuz.com are Daniel Pipes, Guy Millière, Shmuel Trigano, and Pierre André Taguieff. See http://www.dreuz.info/nos-auteurs/

[73] Mordechai Nisan. "Review of *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide," Middle East Quarterly* (September 2002).

[74] Paul Fenton. "Review of *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide," Midstream* (February 2003)

[75] See footnote 67.

[76] Bat Ye'or. "Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis An interview with Bat Ye'or." Interview by John W. Whitehead. The Rutherford Institute, Charlottesville, VA. (June 09, 2005). Accessed on December 30, 2012. https://www.rutherford.org/publications_resources/oldspeak/eurabia_the_euro_arab_axis_an_interview_with_bat_yeor.

whereas any glance at the complex concept of jihad in Islamic scriptures (Qur'an, Hadith, and Scholars' commentaries) shows something different.[77] This reductionism constitutes the core argument of Bat Ye'or's thinking.

Bat Ye'or's works received much criticism from scholars in Middle Eastern Studies, Religion, and Islamic Studies. Sidney H. Griffith, professor of Early Christian Studies at the Catholic University of America (Washington, DC) notes two fundamental shortcomings in Bat Ye'or thesis. The first is the theoretical inadequacy of interpretive concepts such as "Jihad" and "Dhimmitude" as she employs them in her books; and the second is the lack of mastery of the historical method, and all the misleading conclusions that came out of her study.[78] For his part, Robert Irwin judges the work of Bat Ye'or as an unsatisfactory scholarship, "relentlessly and one-sidedly polemical," with a very diffuse subject matter and no use of sources in the target countries languages (Persian, Arabic, and Turkish).[79]

Another critique of Bat Ye'or's sloppiness in dealing with historical facts and theological concepts has come from Michael Sells, Professor of Islamic History and Literature at the University of Chicago. Sells argues that by providing Europe with a Judeo-Christian historical identity, Bat Ye'or eclipses the existence of pre-Christian and non-Christian communities that long lived there and which some disappeared. Sells also adds that Bat Ye'or

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[77] It is out of the scope of this dissertation to discuss Islamic concepts such as those of Jihad, Salafism, Sharia, Dhimmi, etc. However, Western and Muslim scholars of Theology and Islamic Studies give insightful explanations and discussions of those concepts with debates over their historical uses and abuses. For the concept of "Jihad," its interpretations and misinterpretations in the Western public space, see the interesting work of a non-Muslim scholar: Noah Feldman, *After Jihad: America and the Struggle for Islamic Democracy* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2004).

[78] Sidney H. Griffith. "Review of *The Decline of Eastern Christianity under Islam: From Jihad to Dhimmitude, Seventh-Twentieth Century*." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30:4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, November 1998), 619.

[79] Robert Irwin, "Review of *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide*." *Middle Eastern Studies* 38: 4 (October, 2002), 213.

> constructs an invidious comparison between the allegedly humane Europe of Christian and Enlightenment values and the ever present persecution within Islam. Whenever the possibility is raised of actually comparing circumstances of non-Christians in Europe to non-Muslims under Islamic governance in a careful, thoughtful manner, Bat Ye'or forecloses such comparison.[80]

Actually, Bat Ye'or harsh antagonism towards Arabs, Muslims, and Islam can better be explained by her identity-based ideology. The case of Bat Ye'or is emblematic as how individuals are affected by their own personal experience (that according to logic cannot be generalized) and how they employ their subjectivity as a reading grid to construct the Other. Bat Ye'or constructs an antagonistic relationship with that Other with the effort to spread her subjectivity to an entire Western public opinion. Indeed, it seems that Bat Ye'or's twisted interpretations and constructions of Islam and the Arab-Muslim World is the result of her own alleged traumatic experience in Nasserian Egypt in the aftermath of the 1956 Suez War. She contends that her family was persecuted and expelled after the Israeli-French-British military expedition had waged war against Egypt to control the Suez Canal.[81]

Bat Ye'or's extreme views have found some echo in the American and European public scenes. Concepts close to those of "Eurabia" and "dhimmitude" are being propagated in the Western public space.

The Weekly Standard and *Financial Times'* Christopher Caldwell is another neoconservative who propagates an ideology close to the one of Bat Ye'or and the

[80] Emran Qureshi and Michael A. Sells, eds, *The New Crusades: Constructing the Muslim Enemy*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 364.

[81] Bat Ye'or. "Eurabia," Interview by Whitehead. See also self-identified Zionist Historian Martin Gilbert, *A History of the Twentieth Century Vol.III* (Harper Collins, 1997), 142.

idea that the West is under the assault of Islam. With much more sophistication than Bat Ye'or, Caldwell asserts that the demographic of Europe – and thus its essence and face – is changing due to mass immigration from Arab and Muslim countries.[82] He concurs with other right-wing pundits holding harsh neo-Orientalist views. These public figures are neoconservatives such as US writer Lee Harris,[83] American-Canadian Mark Steyn,[84] British Melanie Phillips[85] and David Pryce-Johns,[86] or French social scientists and neoconservatives Michèle Tribalat.[87] Others are right-wing anti-Muslim essayists such as French Renaud Camus and his "Great Replacement" thesis,[88] Pascal Bruckner who argues that there is a "worldwide offensive of Islam,"[89] or pro-Israeli author Alain Finkielkraut.[90] It is worth noting that the concurring theses of those authors have enjoyed great popularity in the Western and European public spaces. Their dystopian vision of a West assaulted by Islam has even been recaptured in the fictional and bestselling works of novelists such as

[82] Christopher Caldwell, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam, and the West* (New York: Doubleday, 2009). In the cover page of the Allen Lane-Penguin edition (2009), Caldwell asks this rhetorical question: "Can Europe be the same with different people in it?" implying that Muslims cannot be Europeans. The book cover presents a picture displaying a mosque within a "European like" environment.

[83] Lee Harris, *Civilization and Its Enemies: The Next Stage of History* (New York: Free Press, 2004). Lee Harris, *The Suicide of Reason: Radical Islam's Threat to the West* (New York: Basic Books, 2007).

[84] Mark Steyn, *America Alone: The End of the World as We Know It* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2006). And *After America: Get Ready for Armageddon* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2011).

[85] Melanie Phillips, *Londonistan* (New York: Encounter Books, 2006).

[86] David Pryce-Jones, "The Islamization of Europe?" *Commentary* (December 2004), 29-33.

[87] Michèle Tribalat, "L'Islam reste une menace," *Le Monde* (October, 13, 2011). http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2011/10/13/l-islam-reste-une-menace_1587160_3232.html. Tribalat wrote the preface of French edition of Caldwell's book and popularized it in France.

[88] Renaud Camus, *Le grand remplacement* (Neuilly-Sur-Seine : David Reinharc, 2011). And *Le changement de peuple* (n.p. Renaud Camus, 2013).

[89] Bruckner, *Tyranny of Guilt*, 13.

[90] Alain Finkelkraut, *L'identité malheureuse* (Paris : Stock, 2013).

Michel Houellebecq and Boualem Sansal.[91] The latter participate in the creation of an atmosphere of collective ontological insecurity in Europe. Here too, one can recall Said's thesis that works of art cannot be immune of ideological contamination and the Foucauldian thesis that texts converge to construct specific knowledge and a specific reality. Additionally, Shaheen's remark that fictional narratives have the capacity to alter reality (see pages 53-54 and 87) is more genuine than ever.

Among the Europeans having close ties with US neoconservatives and Israel, Dutch Politician Geert Wilders is the most well-known. Wilders holds an affective relationship with Israel, its government and intelligence services.[92] He then espouses an ideology that can be well defined as "American-inspired Neoconservatism."[93] Wilders is another promoter of the Clash of Civilization thesis. He compares Islam with Fascism and Communism, an analogy that is also made by many members of CPD III, but with more subtlety than by the Dutch politician. Wilders also equals the Holy *Qur'an* with Hitler's *Mein Kampf.*[94] He has set up an "international freedom alliance" to counter what he views as the growing influence of Islam in the West. Daniel Pipes' MEF, Frank Gaffney's CSP, and the influential Hudson Institute regularly invite the Dutch politician to speak in the United States. Wilders also

[91] Michel Houellebecq, *Soumission* (Paris: Flammarion, 2015). Boualem Sansal, *2084 : la fin du monde* (Paris : Gallimard, 2015). It is worth mentioning that Sansal's harsh critique of the Muslim peoples and cultures goes along his endeavor to nurture a controversial relationship with Israel.

[92] Door Theo Koelé and Michiel Kruijt, "Verliefd op Israël," *De Volkskrant* (April, 10, 2007). The title of the article can be translated into "In Love with Israël." Cnaan Liphshiz, "Far Right Dutch Politician Brings His Anti-Islam Rhetoric Back to Jerusalem," *Haaretz* (January, 11, 2008). http://www.haaretz.com/far-right-dutch-politician-brings-his-anti-islam-rhetoric-back-to-jerusalem-1.237038

[93] Koen Vossen, "Classifying Wilders: the Ideological Development of Geert Wilders and His Party for Freedom," *Politics* 31:3 (2011), 179.

[94] Geert Wilders, Interview by Laura Emmett. *Russia Today* (March 7, 2010). The video is accessible online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GanFV4b1wvk

contributes to the Horowitz Freedom Center.[95] Furthermore, Wilders was able to get access to the US political establishment. Indeed, in 2009, Republican Senator Jon Kyl (head of CPD III) invited him screen his anti-Muslim documentary *Fitna* in the Congress.[96]

All these American and European authors and political activists adhere to the classical anti-liberal and neoconservative credo discussed in Chapter 3, and they promote its contemporary neo-Orientalism. Indeed, they argue that the West (and more specifically their respective countries) is on its way to ontological self-destruction due to its dangerous liberal ideals that promote immigration, multiculturalism, and cultural relativism towards its own Muslim communities. To those pundits, Western identity – and even existence - is threatened by Islam and Muslim immigration and the West's alleged inability to stand up for its culture and values. Pipes, Gaffney, Horowitz, Bat Ye'or, Caldwell, Steyn, Harris, Tribalat, Finkielkraut, and others see Islam as an adversary culture and religion supplanting what they regard as a decaying Judeo-Christian civilization. Melanie Phillips maintains the same idea. She asserts that Muslims do not do anything to condemn terrorism in the name of Islam. She also asserts that Muslims deny what she views as the responsibility of their religion on terrorist acts.[97] All these pundits affirm that cultural and religious diversity in society is a dangerous illusion, a fatal utopia.

[95] "Geert Wilders," Right Web Profiles. Institute for Policy Studies (May 5, 2015). Retrieved from http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/wilders_geert.

[96] Anahad O'Connor, "Mr Wilders Goes to Washington," *The Lede Blog. The New York Times* website (February 26, 2009). Retrieved from http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/02/26/mr-wilders-goes-to-washington/?_r=0

[97] Phillips, *Londonistan*, 78-80.

5.5. The Invention of "Islamofascism"

One of the most important neologisms used and promoted in the public discourse by neoconservatives is the term "Islamofascism." This term became highly controversial when it was used by President George W. Bush – under the influence of neoconservatives – on three occasions.[98] It is a word which according to Scholar of Religions Reda Aslan "has no meaning,"[99] but which, according to security expert Daniel Benjamin aims at "arousing strong emotion and tarnishing one's opponent." [100]

Nevertheless the word does not give any clue about the true belief or ideology of terrorists for it does not aim at understanding religious-based political violence. On the contrary, it endeavors to instill fear and disgust in the Western collective consciousness and impose an intersubjective meaning of what some alleged aspects of Islam are. It is in some sense an element of securitization (discussed in Chapter 1) for it intends to construct and target an ontological and existential enemy that needs to be defeated and destroyed. Indeed, the use of the term stems more from a wish to stir the public's affect and arouse aversion than the wish to categorize (wrongly) terrorist groups within an alleged strand of Islam. Furthermore, the assignment of highly connotatively negative attribute "Fascist" (like other attributes such as "political," "militant,"…) to the word "Islam," casts a shadow of suspicion on the latter and shifts the issue from a political and social realm to a civilizational and cosmic one.

The close and intended association of the words "Islam" and "Fascism" and/or "Nazism" is not new and does not originally comes from neoconservative discourse

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[98] George W. Bush, Statement. Green Bay Airport. Wisconsin (August 10, 2006). Reported by CNN. http://edition.cnn.com/2006/POLITICS/08/10/washington.terror.plot/

[99] Reda Aslan, *Beyond Fundamentalism: Confronting Religious Extremism in the Age of Globalization* (New York, Random House, 2010), 180.

[100] Daniel Benjamin as quoted in Richard Allen Greene, "Bush's Language Angers Muslims," BBC News (August 12, 2006). Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4785065.stm.

but can be traced back to pro-Israeli rhetoric. The term went through three different uses. It was created by British writer Malise Ruthven. With such term, Ruthven wanted to designate Arab secular authoritarian regimes and what he viewed as despots' instrumental use of religion to gain popular recognition, and thus to stay in power.[101] The term was then recaptured by Christopher Hitchens to label 9/11 attacks on the USA as "Fascism with an Islamic face."[102] Hitchens' use of the term lies much in his subjective atheistic and anti-religious creed and its ignorance of the Muslim faith.

Finally, the term has since then been extensively used by the neoconservatives. They have been doing this through an inter-textual process of collective self-cite in their wish to associate Islamism (and Islam for activist neoconservatives) with Fascism, their endeavor to promote their obsessional vision of colliding civilizations, and their need to defend Israeli interests. Indeed, neoconservatives usually cite each other while making their case. For example, neoconservative William Bennet asserted in 2002 that Americans "haven't been taught about the evils of the world, the evils of tyranny most relevantly represented by Islamo-fascism."[103] Another example is that of Morris Amitay, the powerful lobbyist, former president of AIPAC, Vice-Chairman of JINSA, and member of CSP and CPD III. Amitay holds that "the struggle against the

[101] William Safire, "Islamofascism," *The New York Times* (October 1, 2006), par.14. William Safire, *Safire's Political Dictionary*, updated ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 358-59.

[102] Ibid. Christopher Hitchens, "Defending the Term 'Islamofascism,'" *Slate* online (October 22, 2007). Retrieved from http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/fighting_words/2007/10/defending_islamofascism.html. Hitchens, who was, in the 1980s and 1990s, a Marxist with close connections to Leftist intellectuals such as Edward Said, Tariq Ali, or Gore Vidal, broke with the Left after 9/11 to come closer to neoconservatives' postures and the Bush administration's interventionist foreign policy. He for example enthusiastically supported the 2003 War on Iraq. However, his views on the Palestinian issue can be described as anti-Zionist with an opposition towards Palestinian Islamist movements.

[103] Safire, *Safire's Political Dictionary*, 358.

Islamofacist terrorists and their enablers must be our nation's number one priority." To him, "America's other challenges pale by comparison."[104]

This term (like others such as "World War IV," "dhimmitude", or "Eurabia") are thus used and recycled in the different statements and writings they produce. Daniel Pipes is another neoconservative who promotes the term and usually cites other writers of his owned *Middle East Quarterly* while writing in that same journal.

Neoconservative Daniel Pipes makes use of the term to refer not only to terrorism but also to any Islamic based political or social trend, what he calls "Militant Islam."[105] He asserts that "Islamism is Fascism," and that the Council of American Islamic Relations (CAIR), the most important organization of American Muslims in the US, is an example of disguised fascist movement since the organization wants – according to him – to establish an Islamic state in the USA.[106] Pipes usually disclaims that he targets Islam. He contends that he wants to warn policymakers and the public opinion against what he views as the dangers of political or militant Islam.[107]

However, a look at Pipes' affiliations with the hard line pro-Israeli groups mentioned above, together with a glance at the website of his organization (MEF), helps understand the magnitude of his pro-Israeli neo-orientalism. His writings, the network he belongs to, and his public postures reveal his true ideas. These latter are clear when he explicitly considers Islam as the source of terror. He slams US policy

[104] Morris Amitay as cited in Committee on the Present Danger website. http://www.committeeonthepresentdanger.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1744&Itemid=89

[105] Daniel Pipes, "Who Is the Enemy?" *Commentary* 113:1 (January 2002), 21-28.

[106] Daniel Pipes, "Islamism is Fascism," Interview by Eric Boehlert, *Salon.com* (November 9, 2001). Retrieved from Middle East Forum website (June 02, 2014). http://www.danielpipes.org/81/islamism-is-fascism

[107] Pipes, "Who Is the Enemy?"

and opinion makers for not being alert enough regarding what his obsessional concern views as the existential threat posed by Islam to the West. To him,

> common safety and the survival of Western civilization both require those in positions of authority candidly to inform the public about the nature of Muslim-on-non-Muslim violence, and then the press to report on it.[108]

Pipes even goes farther in claiming that no less than 500 million Muslims hate the United States and the Western world.[109] Pipes' language aims essentially at arousing revulsion in Western minds. For instance, he assigns to Islam some "*distinctly* …forms of violence" (emphasis added) that consist of "suicide operations, beheading, honor killing, and disfiguring of women's face;"[110] as if these exceptional and shocking forms of violence did not exist in other non-Muslim societies, or were the norm in Arab and/or Muslim countries, or were prescribed by Islamic scriptures.

Pipes' endeavor to label Islam and Muslims as distinctive initiators of terror, and his claim that suicide bombing is the feature of specific religious creed is incorrect. As IR scholar Robert Pape puts it, people who commit suicide bombings do so not on religious bases but to express political revenge or to compel a foreign invader withdraw from an occupied land or a territory they claim. When religion is invoked, it is mainly instrumental for religious discourse aims at mobilizing potential sympathizers such as people who consider themselves victims of oppression, occupation, or aggression. Furthermore, Pape's scholarship demonstrates that the

[108] Daniel Pipes, "Denying Islam's Role in Terror: Explaining the Denial," *Middle East Quarterly* (Spring 2013).

[109] Pipes, "Who is the Enemy?" 23-24.

[110] Ibid.

group that uses suicide bombing most are not Muslims but the quite secular Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Sri Lanka).[111]

Additionally, a multitude of works such as those of Noam Chomsky, and rigorous scholarships such as those of Anthropologist Talal Asad, and others in the new field of Critical Terrorism Studies, challenge the conventional and often state-sponsored scholarship about the concept of terrorism. They demonstrate that terrorism and suicide bombing cannot be reduced to religious motivations and the least to alleged religious hatred.[112] On the contrary, they should be studied in the wider and more complex context of political violence; be this violence state- or non-state based.[113] Furthermore, the question of killing and/or dying to fulfil political agenda is not the sole characteristic of terrorism or of totalitarian regimes; it is also a feature of modern liberal democratic states.[114] In the case of the Arab and Muslim World for example, terrorism cannot be detached from questions others than religious motivations. Indeed, twentieth century global conflicts (and precisely the Cold War confrontation in Afghanistan for instance), Western (and especially US) interests and interventions in the Arab and Muslim worlds, or the nature of some authoritarian

[111] Robert Pape, "It's the Occupation, Stupid," *Foreign Policy* (October 18, 2010); "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97:3 (August, 2003), 343 and 346. See also Pape's book based on his exhaustive research on suicide bombing: *Dying to Win: the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005). Robert Pape and James K. Feldman, *Cutting the Fuse: the Explosion of Suicide Terrorism and How to Stop It* (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 2010), 20 and 118-49.

[112] Pape, "Suicide Terrorism," 345, 350, Pape and Feldman, *Cutting the Fuse*, 19-83.

[113] Noam Chomsky, *The Culture of Terrorism* (London: Pluto Press, 1989); *Power and Terror: Conflict, Hegemony, and the Rule of Force* (London: Pluto Press, 2011); *Pirates and Emperors: Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2002), Pts 2, 4, and 5. Talal Asad, *On Suicide Bombing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007). Suman Gupta, *The Replication of Violence: Thoughts on International Terrorism after September 11th 2001* (London: Pluto Press, 2002). Katerina Dalacoura, "Middle East Area Studies and Terrorism Studies: Establishing Links via a Critical Approach," Richard Jackson, Marie Breen Smith, and Jeroen Gunning, eds, *Critical Terrorism Studies: a New Research Agenda* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 125-37.

[114] Asad, *On Suicide Bombing*.

political regimes there, all are elements to be taken into consideration while attempting to identify and understand the inception, rise, and behavior of non-state violent political actors. All those elements proved to be catalysts that created fertile grounds for the rise and expansion of religious extremism and terrorism in the Arab and Muslim worlds.[115] The question of beheading is also wrongly assigned to religious creed and commandments while in fact it is not. Rather it aims, like suicide bombing, at instilling panic and awe amidst people viewed as the enemy. Rigorous analysis often shows that the religious dimension is secondary and sometimes off concern.

Furthermore, neoconservatives and other political actors and pundits who use the term "Islamofascism" show ignorance or disregard of the nature and realities of Arab and Muslim countries, their history and cultures. Promoters of the term seem to refuse the fact that there exist a wide array of active political parties that are labelled "Islamist" but are more similar to the conservative parties of the West and especially the United States. These socially conservative parties with a religiously inspired creed cannot, like their progressive and liberal counterparts, be ignored since large segments of the people, for better or for worse, find an appeal in them, and adhere to their creed. Numerous examples in culturally varied Muslim countries have demonstrated that those religious-based trends can be regarded as rational actors and can integrate the political processes of their respective countries.[116]

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[115] Mahmood Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror* (New York: Doubleday/ Three Leaves Press, 2005).

[116] Mohammed Ayoob, *The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2011). Michaelle L. Browers, *Political Ideology in the Arab World: Accommodation and Transformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 48-76. Quinn Mecham and Julie Chernov Hwang, eds, *Islamist Parties and Political Normalization in the Muslim World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

Furthermore, it is misleading to link the violence of some extremist Muslims to their religion. As Richard Bonner puts it, "the more the language has turned towards Islamic or Islamist terrorism, the more the religion of Islam itself appears to be implicated in the definition of the enemy."[117]

Podhoretz is the one who uses the word "Islamofascism" extensively. He uses it in the title of his book about what he calls "World War IV against Islamofascism."[118] Here also, the neologism "World War IV" is another wish to globalize an alleged cosmic conflict between the forces of Good and the forces of Evil. As the title indicates it, conflations and essentialism are the main and dominant characteristics of Podhoretz' line of reasoning. He holds that "Islamofascism" is a "monster with two heads," one religious and the other secular. This identification enables him not confine terrorism to violent extremist groups but integrate all the Arab and Muslim World. He identifies this "Islamofascism" as constituting the threat in his "World War IV." Furthermore, to Podhoretz, there is no difference between the Muslim faith, Islamism, totalitarianism, and terror. Though he does not explicitly target Islam, he implicitly singles it out when he asserts that "totalitarian regime" is coming "from a religious force that was born in the seventh century."[119] Moreover, he explicitly numbers what he calls "Islamofascists" to 125 to 200 million Muslim people who threaten to destroy "the freedoms we cherish and for which America stands"[120] and "our civilization."[121]

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[117] Richard Bonney, *False Prophets: the 'Clash of Civilizations' and the Global War on Terror* (Witney, Oxford: Peter Lang Ltd, 2008), 4.

[118] Norman Podhoretz, *World War IV: the Long Struggle Against Islamofascism* (New York: Vintage, 2008).

[119] Ibid, 13.

[120] Ibid, 14.

[121] Ibid, 15.

Neo-Orientalist rhetoric is mainly inter-textual in the sense that neoconservatives rely on each other's' works and publications to make their case. They then recapture neologisms and catchy concepts from each other's. Podhoretz is no exception to this. His "World War IV" thesis is in fact a neologism put forward by Eliot Cohen.[122] Additionally, Podhoretz refers to and relies on the ideas of his fellow neoconservative and pro-Israeli pundits and pro-Shah Amir Taheri and Catholic neoconservative George Weigel (member of the FDD and FII). He contends that many commentators and politicians (among them even President Bush) use euphemism because they are afraid of calling "the enemy" what it is, and thus they fail to grasp the dimension of a conflict, he deems cosmic (the parallel with Pipes' rhetoric aforementioned is patent). To Podhoretz, it is "a global war from Indonesia to Algeria, passing through Afghanistan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and the Palestinian territories."[123] Moreover, Podhoretz does not only divert the central issue and the root causes of terrorism, but hides them. Indeed, in opposition to the majority of scholarship on the history of US foreign policy and interventionism in the Near and Middle East, Podhoretz argues that "American passivity and inaction opened the door to 9/11."[124] He thus ignores the successive US interventionist policies in Lebanon (1980s), in the Iraq-Iran War, and in Iraq (1993 and 2003-), with the latest that destroyed the state and its infrastructures, disintegrated its society, and triggered the resurgence of tribalism and religious sectarianism.

Restating ideas of his September 2004 *Commentary* essay, Podhoretz views the United States' War on Terror as a fight for the survival of the West. He views the

[122] Eliot Cohen, "World War IV*:* Let's Call This Conflict What It Is," *The Wall Street Journal* (November 20, 2001).

[123] Podhoretz, *World War IV*, 12

[124] Ibid. 25

fight as a continuation of the conflicting relationship between the USA and what he calls terror organizations in the Middle East. Podhoretz argues that the War on Terror did not start in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks but goes back to the 1970s. He claims that all the political events that shook the Arab Muslim World, and especially the Near East, for thirty years were all to be assembled and recognized as symptoms of terrorism. He thus confuses all the events, movements, and conflicts that shook the Middle East, and claims that the USA remained passive, did not react to the many assaults.[125]

Podhoretz hence integrates different and often opposing trends such as the Iranian Islamic Revolution (1979), Arab nationalism, secular and religious Palestinian resistance movements, and liberal and leftist and Third World militantism. He implies a quasi-concerted alliance of those trends against the West and the United States. It is then easy to understand that this deliberate conflation seeks to put Israel as alleged victim of terrorism and thus targets and endeavors to disqualify Arabs and especially Palestinians who struggle to free their lands from occupation. Almost all adherents of the neoconservative school of thought deploy a culturalist and essentialist portrayal of the Arab and/or Muslim World, and evoke the worldwide Manichean clash between the forces of Good (the United States, Israel, the West) and the forces of Evil (what they view as terror in the name of Islam, or "Islamofascism").

Well-known opinion maker Bret Stephens is another neoconservative who also regularly provides a culturalist portrayal of the Muslim World and how Muslim states behave. Stephens is a regular contributor to *Commentary*; he is the former Editor of the *Jerusalem Post* and a member of the editorial board of the *Wall Street Journal*

[125] Ibid., 27-41. For the recurrent discourse put forward by Podhoretz, see Podhoretz, "How to Win World War IV;" and Podhoretz, "World War IV: How It Started, What It Means, and Why We Have to Win."

(WSJ). He is also a regular contributor to Fox News. In his writings, Stephens associates, for example, Iran's alleged nuclear ambitions with its Islamic cultural identity which he defines as a "martyrdom-obsessed, non-Western culture with global ambitions" having a "posture of unyielding hostility to the West."[126] It is worth noting that Stephens does not target the Iranian regime or its policy makers but talks about a "non-Western culture" and then encompasses an entire nation, its people, culture, and traditions.

Moreover, Stephens contends that the threat posed by a nuclear Iran is more dangerous than the former Soviet Union in the sense that "Iran cannot be contained" since Shiism, the second current of Islam, "has been decisively shaped by a cult of suffering and martyrdom."[127] He also asserts that Iran is characterized by the absence of any universal standard of "pragmatism" or "rationality."[128] Stephens is a columnist specialized in political affairs. But his description lies more in a wish to remove from Iran all the characteristics of a modern nation state, and thus to disqualify its political interests, than to undertake a rigorous and objective analysis of Iran, the Iranian regime, or the stakes in the Near and Middle East. Furthermore, the essentialist language he uses endeavors to deny its people the characteristics of rational human beings.

Additionally, Stephens' odd interpretations do not only focus on Iran and Shiism. Like his fellow neoconservatives, Stephens espouses the simplistic "Clash of Civilizations" thesis and the Huntingtonian construct that "Islam has bloody

[126] Bret Stephens. "Iran Cannot Be Contained." *Commentary* (July/August 2010), 64. (61-70)

[127] Ibid, 65.

[128] Ibid, 64.

borders,"[129] but he does not tackle the foreign geopolitical factors that created those "bloody borders." Additionally, without any nuance, Stephens asserts that Muslim reactions to the attacks of September 11, 2001 were "euphoric."[130] Recapturing seminal phrases such as Bernard Lewis' "Muslim rage," Stephens contends Muslim "savagery" is a threat not only to the United States but the entire Western World.[131]

It should be noted that Stephens espouses the anti-Palestinian Zionist narrative and concurs with his neoconservative fellows to hold an extremely, quasi-obsessive affection with – and unconditional support of – Israel.[132] His WSJ articles are often relayed by the ZOA.[133] The emphasis on the alleged irrationality of the Muslim people and the conflations with terrorism is probably an attempt to disqualify the Arab and or Muslim position regarding the Palestinian question. It is also an attempt to divert the issue from a political one to a cultural and civilizational one. Finally, Stephens is not a second-rank journalist but a highly regarded columnist and a Pulitzer Prize winner. He is regularly invited in CNN and Fox News talk shows. That makes him an influential opinion maker in the US public scene.

5.6. Other Neo-Orientalist Themes

The question of an Islamic ontological and existential threat to the West is not the sole subjective construct promoted by neoconservatives and other pro-Israel actors. Other paralleling neo-Orientalist themes are generated and propagated in the Western

[129] Bret Stephens. "How to Manage Savagery." *Commentary* (September 2008), 19. (19-26)

[130] Ibid, 20.

[131] Ibid., 19 and 20-21.

[132] For example, Bret Stephens, "Israel Alone," *Wall Street Journal* (April 20, 2015). Bret Stephens, "Palestinian State of Denial," *Wall Street Journal* (November 9, 2015). Bret Stephens, "Israel and the Democrats," *Wall Street Journal* (March 2, 2015). Bret Stephens, "Chuck Hagel's Jewish Problem," *Wall Street Journal* (December 167, 2012).

[133] "WSJ's Bret Stephens on Palestinians," Zionist Organization of America website. http://zoa.org/2015/11/10303069-wsjs-bret-stephens-on-palestinians/

public setting. These themes address issues that pose a threat to the dominant pro-Israel narrative in the United States. The idea that American academia and Middle Eastern Studies are filled with islamophiles (what neoconservative and other pro-Israel circles call "Islamo-leftists"[134]); the idea that the Muslim people nurture an inherent hatred towards the West and its alleged values; or stereotypes such as the divergence between democratic principles and the Islamic faith, or such as Muslim anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism, are common and persistent elements of neo-Orientalist and neoconservative rhetoric.

There has always been a neoconservatives' recurrent strident critique of academics and scholars who are believed to hold radical views towards US foreign policy in the Middle East. In addition, academics, intellectuals, and activists belonging to the radical left who show some concern over the fate of the Palestinian people are regularly accused of being the allies of what neoconservatives identify as terrorism. Liberals and radicals who challenge the neoconservative and pro-Israel narrative of the Near and Middle East and the Arab and Muslim worlds are also subjected to vehement criticism and even accused of being too complacent towards Islam, Islamism, and thus from the neoconservative viewpoint towards terrorism. The most virulent neoconservative opponents of those liberals are Daniel Pipes, David Horowitz, and other pro-Israel actors.[135] Here too, neoconservative inconsistency is manifest. Indeed, it is for example odd that neoconservatives and other neo-

[134] "Islamo-Leftism" is another neologism created and employed by French pro-Israel pundits such as Pierre André Taguieff, Alain Finkelkraut, Elisabeth Badinter, Bernard Henry Levy, and Pascal Bruckner, and recaptured by their US neoconservatives and pro-Israel like-minded allies. Pierre André Taguieff, *La Judéophobie des modernes : des lumières au jihad mondial* (Paris : Odile Jacob, 2008), 41, 420-23., Sonya Faure and Frantz Durupt, "Islamo-gauchisme: aux origines d'une expression médiatique," *Liberation* (April 16, 2016). "Bruckner, *The Tyranny of Guilt*, 25-26.

[135] Daniel Pipes, "The Islamist-Leftist Allied Menace," *The National Review* (July 14, 2008). David Horowitz, "Unholy Alliance: How the Left Supports the Terrorists at Home," *FrontPageMagazine.com* (September 24, 2004). http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=11263. David Horowitz, *Unholy Alliance: Radical Islam and the American Left* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2004).

Orientalist actors create and use two semantically opposing concepts – "Islamofascism" and "Islamo-leftism" (right-wing fascism and leftism are two ideologically and politically antagonistic concepts) – to construct the threatening Other.

Through his Freedom Center, David Horowitz is perhaps the most virulent foe of what he considers a leftist takeover of academia and campuses. He systematically attacks scholars who hold liberal left-wing ideas and who criticize US foreign policy in the Near East and Israeli policy towards the Palestinian people, or who simply provide nuanced or balanced scholarships regarding the state of Arab-Muslim societies. The list of academics under Horowitz's ideological assault includes a wide array of famous scholars such as Howard Zinn, Juan Cole, Noam Chomsky, Hatem Bazian, Mark LeVine, Amiri Baraka, Richard Falk, John Esposito, and Joseph Massad.[136] Even the prestigious Middle East Studies Association (MESA) is not spared by his critique. Indeed, Horowitz sees MESA as a "political rather than an academic organization" whose annual conferences "can appear to be more like a rally of Marxists and Muslims than a symposium of academic specialists."[137]

Horowitz intertwines neo-Orientalist rhetoric with a hardline pro-Israeli discourse. He conflates on the one side Islam, Muslims, Palestinians, and terrorism; and on the other side, Americanism, the West, Israel, and Judeo-Christian values. Horowitz does not hide his obsessive anti-Muslim and anti-Palestinian stance. He goes even further in describing Palestinians as "Nazis," "morally sick," and "Jews

[136] David Horowitz, *The Professors: the 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2006).

[137] Ibid., 165.

haters."[138] To him, "Israel is under attack by the same enemy that has attacked the United States. Israel is the point of origin for the culture of the West."[139] To him and his fellow neoconservatives, the question of Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories and the permanent oppression of the people who live there is not a subject of concern.

It is worth noting that neoconservative and neo-Orientalist actors are often committed to undermine MESA, postcolonial studies, or any research that may challenge the Zionist narrative and vision of the Near and Middle East. Anthropologist Stanley Kurtz (a member of EPPC, of the Hudson Institute, and a regular contributor to *Commentary* and the *Weekly Standard*) in his 2003 testimony before the House Subcommittee on Select Education, even made the link between postcolonial studies, MESA, Edward Said, and the War on Terror. Before a panel of Congressmen and policymakers, Kurtz went to the point of contending that Said's post-colonial critique had left American Middle East Studies scholars impotent to contribute to President Bush's "War on Terror."[140] Other neoconservatives such as Pipes and Kramer also regularly attack the association. However, it is quite strange that these two pundits blame MESA members of being too politicized[141] while they

[138] David Horowitz, Speech, Brooklyn College (March 10, 2011). The video of the speech is available online at http://mondoweiss.net/2011/03/peter-king-hearings-come-to-flatbush-david-horowitz-stokes-anti-muslim-sentiment-at-brooklyn-college/

[139] David Horowitz, "American Conservatism: An Argument with the Racial Right," *FrontPageMagazine.com* (August 27, 2002), par. 32. http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=23072

[140] Stanley Kurtz, Statement. Testimony before the Subcommittee on Select Education, Committee on Education and the Workforce U.S. House of Representatives (Washington, DC, June 19, 2003). http://archives.republicans.edlabor.house.gov/archive/hearings/108th/sed/titlevi61903/kurtz.htm. For an in-depth analysis of Kurtz' testimony and role, see Gaurav Desai, "The Scholar and the State," *The Global South* 1:01-02 (2007), 98-108

[141] Norvell B. De Atkine and Daniel Pipes, "Middle Eastern Studies: What Went Wrong?" *Academic Questions* (winter 1995-1996). Accessible online at MEF website: http://www.danielpipes.org/392/middle-eastern-studies-what-went-wrong. Martin Kramer, *Ivory*

themselves display a strong pro-Israel stance in their respective writings.[142] The reason behind neoconservative assault on MESA and the majority of Middle East studies scholars is political and ideological. The academic and rigorous scholarship on the Arab and Muslim World produced by some MESA members constitute a threat to the Zionist and pro-Israeli narrative about the Near and Middle East.

In addition to the alleged politicization of Middle East Studies and postcolonial scholarship, another constituting theme of neo-Orientalism is the claim that Islam and Arab-Muslim cultures are antithetical to the alleged values of individual freedoms and are incompatible with democracy. Neoconservatives recurrently produce a pro-democracy discourse but also often evoke the above mentioned theme in there writings and online posts.[143] In this case too, hard-core activist neoconservatives are the most virulent. They couple the claim of Israel as the only democracy in the Middle East and inability for Arab-Muslim countries to adhere to democratic principles. Though the Wars on Iraq and on Terror are allegedly aimed at removing tyrants and instilling democracy and freedom, some neoconservatives often display the true principles of neo-Orientalist neoconservatives.

For example, Martin Kramer contends that political pluralism should not be implemented in the Arab-Muslim World for – according to him – it leads to terrorism. To him, a US pro-democracy policy could create failed states. Kramer acknowledges that Israel prefers living alongside

> a dictator, a monarch, or a president-for-life. To live alongside a freer Arab society has so far meant to live alongside suicide bombers. We

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Towers of Sand. For a critique of Horowitz, Pipes, and Kramer, see Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East,* 266-73.

[142] See their respective websites: http://www.danielpipes.org and http://www.martinkramer.org/. See also an analysis of Kramer's ideas in Chapter 2, pages 66-73.

[143] Here too, see Daniel Pipes' MEF website.

> owe it to ourselves, if not to the Arab world, to be frank with them and with ourselves: the Arab world doesn't yet have the basic building blocks of democracy.[144]

5.7. Conclusion

The twenty-first century has witnessed the emergence of a network of influential neoconservative and neo-Orientalist actors. Contemporary negative portrayals of Islam, Muslims, and the Arab-Muslim world are not only the result of religious fanaticism and/ or violence committed by terrorist groups such as Al Qaida or Daesh. It is also the result of essentialist discourses that originate from a myriad of neoconservative individual and collective actors. These neoconservatives form an influential network of self-supporting individuals and organizations that promote the alleged incompatibility between the West and its alleged values, and Islam, the Muslim people, and the Arab-Muslim world. They base their constructions on the ongoing violent extremism that holds a distorted interpretation of Islamic scriptures. Relying on deeds committed by the terrorist groups in the Arab-Muslim world, these neo-Orientalist neoconservatives publicize the vision of an unavoidable clash between cultures and values. It is a neo-Orientalist rhetoric that is inter-textual and that couples the construction of a backward and threatening Arab-Muslim Other with the alleged need to support the Israeli agenda in the Western fight against terrorism.

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[144] Martin Kramer, "Can America Promote a Liberal, Democratic Middle East?" in *Bush Administration Middle East Policy: A Mid-Term Assessment,* 2002 Weinberg Founders Conference, October 4-6, 2002 (Washington, D.C.: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2003), 72-75.

Conclusion

Summary of Argument

The question of American Neoconservatism, its creed, and its agenda have generally been associated with the presidency of George W. Bush and its wars on Afghanistan (2001), Iraq (2003), and Terror (2001-). However, it appears that the neoconservative creed encompasses much more than a concern for US interventionism and hegemony in world affairs. Indeed, as showed in this dissertation, the origins of Neoconservatism, its development and the different political and ideological postures of its adherents demonstrate that this school of thought gives great importance to identity questions. Identity is the driving force behind the political behavior of neoconservatives. Identity generates an ideology and representations of otherness that fit its concerns and interests. A close analysis of neoconservative writings since the inception of Neoconservatism reveals that the adherents of this school of thought are fully committed to the promotion of the Zionist narrative and the unconditional support of the Israeli worldview and agenda. It is the core principle of neoconservative identity and ideology.

Neoconservatives' self-identification with the Zionist cause and its wrong identification and conflation with Jewishness are the main driving forces behind their ideological commitments towards – and their construction of – otherness and the perceived threat from otherness. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, these commitments have taken shape in a constant effort to impose a new foreign policy, international, and intercultural relations paradigm that owes much to Bernard Lewis and Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations thesis. Neoconservatives' concern for what they regard as the ontological security of the West and Israel from foreign

threats is the most dominant element of their discourse. The wish to assimilate Israel with the Western World, and violent fanaticism and human regression with Islam, in a conflational, Manichean, and irrepressible conflict, is the most important characteristic of what can be called a twenty-first century neo-Orientalism.

As argued in this dissertation, this neo-Orientalism is the prism through which some intellectual circles – mainly neoconservatives – produce and disseminate new distorted knowledge about Islam and the Muslim World. Though religious fanaticism and terrorism in the Arab-Muslim world provide the Western public opinion with distorted images of Islam and the Muslim people, neo-Orientalist discourse and knowledge constitute a sounding box that exacerbates the problem and feeds the social phenomenon of Islamophobia within the West and towards the Muslim World. The influential and pervasive nature of twentieth-century neoconservative networks provide negative pictures which are conveyed via the media, the para-academic world (think tanks and research institutes) and even recaptured for demagogic exploitation by some populist American (and European) policy makers.

It should be noted that interest- and identity-based constructions of the Other have always been part of the Western historical dynamics in its relations with the peoples of the Muslim World. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century however, contemporary neo-Orientalism originates from the neoconservative school of thought and other right-wing pro-Israeli circles. This suggests that neo-Orientalist discourse deliberately wishes to impose some kind of distorted, ever hegemonic, and intersubjective constructs of Islam and the Muslim World. It is also mainly instrumental for it espouses Israeli interests and the Zionist worldview.

Future Research and Implications

The present study has tackled the questions of Neoconservatism as a source of neo-Orientalist constructions of the Other from historical, political, and intellectual viewpoints. This modest study is far from addressing the numerous facets of present-day relationship between the West, and Islam and the Arab-Muslim World. Though a great deal of scholarship is presently tackling the question, research regarding twenty-first century islamophobia, international and intercultural (and even interreligious) relations and the construction of the Muslim Other as an existential threat to non-Muslims is still in its infancy.

Much research hence remains to be undertaken on the above mentioned subject. Three lines of inquiry could for example be followed on the basis of the present dissertation. The first would be a critical analysis of the ideological and discursive similarities between religious fanaticisms in the Muslim world and neoconservative and pro-Israeli Orientalism in the West. Indeed, both deploy the same discourse, and construct the world from an identity-based perspective and a Manichean (Us versus Them) ideology. Each side self-identifies as personifying absolute Good and views the Other as incarnating Evil.

Another interesting research track would tackle the role of wealthy US foundations in the funding of neoconservative and neo-Orientalist advocacy groups. The power of money is an essential element in politics and public opinion making.

Finally, the third interesting avenue for research would be the textual analysis of neoconservative and neo-Orientalist rhetoric. Discursive elements used by neo-Orientalist circles can be examined by the use Discourse Analysis or in the new field of Critical Discourse Studies. The rhetoric of neoconservative neo-Orientalism would thus be debunked through in-depth textual analyses. Counter-knowledge could thus be

developed to confront neo-Orientalist flawed logic and to dissipate western suspicions about the Islamic faith and peoples. The above mentioned lines of inquiry might shed more light on the dangerous trend that is on the move and that is undermining the inter-civilizational and intercultural relations between the Arab and Muslim Worlds and the West.

A few implications can also be drawn from the present study. First, neo-Orientalist discourse about Islam and the Muslim World create an intersubjective feeling of insecurity that is widely and increasingly shared in the Western collective psyche. This collective feeling of ontological insecurity is even exploited by politicians for populist aims. A worrisome indication of the powerful magnitude of neo-Orientalist discourse and knowledge in the American public space are the recent declarations regarding Islam and Muslims made by US presidential candidates such as Donald Trump, Ben Carson, and Ted Cruz. Moreover, the European political setting is not spared by such anti-Muslim populism. The concept of national identity, the alleged threat of Muslim immigration, and Muslims' values and behaviors have become recurrent issues in contemporary European political debates. They have become core concerns of European public opinions. British Nigel Farage, Dutch Geert Wilders, the German movement Pegidas, former French President Nicolas Sarkozy, former French Prime Minister Manuel Valls, and many other European policymakers and political figures are full participants in the exploitation of those constructed issues.

Regarding foreign policy, international and intercultural relations, neoconservative promoters of a neo-Orientalist and culturalist conception of the Muslim world couple it with a strong and unconditional defense of Israeli policy and agenda in the Near and Middle East. *The same neoconservative ideology that points out the ontological threat Islam and Muslims constitute to the "West" also imposes*

an intersubjective construct that assimilates the West and Israel in one identity. It then advocates a strong and unreserved support to Israel, and works hard to silence any criticism of Israeli behavior under the pretext of the war on terror and the fight for what it regards as Western ideals. This confines the United States policy makers in a schema of thinking that generates a no-option foreign policy with regard to the most crucial issue of the Middle East, namely the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian question. Indeed, no option other than the Zionist dominating narrative is portrayed by the mainstream media, and no option other than the Israeli-favored policies is espoused by the successive American administrations.

The continuous and extensive work of the neo-Orientalist neoconservative ideology in the American public scene monopolizes the political and pseudo-academic fields and the media. It also locks up any possible debate over the United States foreign policy vis-à-vis the countries of Arab-Muslim World, the undermining role of the United States in the Arab-Israeli conflict, or the colonial policy of the successive Israeli administrations in Palestine.

From a more global perspective, neoconservative neo-Orientalism generates an "Us versus Them" schema that brings the differentiation – and even confrontation – between identities, religions, and civilizations to the fore of any intercultural thinking. Neo-Orientalist discourse and knowledge and their entailing conflations, essentialization, and Manichean constructions hence aggravate the divide between the West and Islam in the sense that they fail to deliver nuanced and objective understanding of the Muslim faith and peoples. This renewed Orientalist knowledge hides the reality of the existing diverse scholarly Islamic debates within the Muslim world. It also hinders the efforts to fight extremist-based terrorism since it diverts the attention from thinking about terrorism to the issue of mainstream Islam and Muslim

peoples. It thus prevents the Western public setting from addressing actual issues such as the Palestinian question, interest-based foreign (mainly US) interventions in the Near and Middle East, and the political and social roots of religious fanaticism and violence in the Arab and Muslim worlds. Finally, it forecloses any lucid interreligious and inter-civilizational understanding.

Indeed, unfortunately neo-Orientalist discourse and knowledge are winning the hearts and minds of the Western public opinion. Additionally, the bitter present condition of many Arab and Muslim countries, of the Arab and Muslim peoples, of their intellectuals, academics, and policymakers is one of great worry and deep uncertainty. Their inability to understand the stakes and implications of a changing world paradigm in which they – willingly or unwillingly, consciously or unconsciously – constitute the central element stirs growing concern. The decaying political and intellectual situation of the Arab-Muslim world makes it urgent that its peoples (among whom intellectuals, researchers, and political practitioners) – regardless of their ideological commitments, religious beliefs, cultures, and ethnicity – address issues in relation with how their images are used, misused, and distorted to fuel foreign political and ideological debates, and to fit foreign agendas.

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CSP's Radio Freedom. http://www.securefreedomradio.org/about/

Daniel Pipes' website. http://www.danielpipes.org

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Emergency Committee for Israel. http://www.committeeforisrael.com

Endowment for Middle East Truth. http://emetonline.org/about-emet/

Foundation for the Defense of Democracies. http://www.defenddemocracy.org

Friends of Israel Initiative. http://www.friendsofisraelinitiative.org

Frontpage Magazine. http://www.frontpagemag.com

Henry Jackson Society. http://henryjacksonsociety.org

Horowitz Freedom Center. http://www.horowitzfreedomcenter.org/

Hudson Institute. http://www.hudson.org/

Human Rights Voices. http://www.humanrightsvoices.org/site/about

Institute for Policy Studies. http://www.ips-dc.org

Jerusalem Summit. http://www.jerusalemsummit.org/eng/index_js1.php

Jewish Institute of National Security Affairs. http://www.jinsa.org

Jewish Voice for Peace. http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/content/jvp-mission-statement

Justin Raimondo Website. http://antiwar.com/

Martin Kramer Website: http://www.martinkramer.org/

Martin Kramer's website. http://www.martinkramer.org/

Middle East Forum. http://www.meforum.org/

Middle East Institute. http://www.mei.edu/board

Middle East Media Reporting Initiative. http://www.memri.org

Neiture Karta. http://www.nkusa.org/aboutus/index.cfm

Notable Names Data Base. http://www.nndb.com/

Pamela. Geller Website. http://pamelageller.com/about

Right Web Profiles. http://rightweb.irc-online.org/

Shalem, College. http://shalem.ac.il/en/about/executive-leadership/

Tikkun Magazine. http://www.tikkun.org/nextgen/about

Washington Institute of Near East Policy. http://www.washingtoninstitute.org

Zionist Organization of America. http://www.zoa.org/

Glossary

Affirmative Action: the practice of improving the educational and job opportunities of members of groups that have not been treated fairly in the past because of their race, sex, etc.

Agency: It is the socially constituted capacity to act.[1] It is the capacity of an entity (a person or a human grouping) to act in any given environment. One's agency is one's independent capability or ability to act on one's will. This ability is usually affected by the cognitive belief structure.

Arabism: devotion/ commitment to Arab interests, culture, aspirations, or ideals.

Arms control: attempts through treaties, proclamations, convention, and tacit agreement to limit the destructiveness of war by controlling the production, acquisition and use of weapons and military technology.

Conservatism: A political and social ideology that includes respect for and defense of traditions. In the United States of America, it refers to the right of the political spectrum. It opposes any strong role of the central government. American Conservatism supports values it considers as Judeo-Christian, sometimes only Christian. Other characteristics of American conservatism are anti-Communism, strong advocacy of American exceptionalism, and a defense of their view of Western civilization from perceived threats posed by progressive movements and ideologies such as feminism, cultural Marxism, moral relativism, and multiculturalism.

Discourse: It is language "in use" or "in action."[2] According to Foucault, discourse is the "practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak."[3]

Dispensationalism: It is an approach to Biblical interpretation that appeared in the 19th century. Dispensationalists undertake a literal interpretation of the Bible.

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[1] Chris Barker, *The Sage Dictionary of Cultural Studies* (London: Sage, 2004), 4.

[2] Brown and Yule cited in Paul Baker, *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis* (London: Continuum, 2006), 2-3.

[3] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 49.

The founder and promoter of Dispensationalism, John Nelson Darby (1800-1882), holds that Israel, in a future dispensational division of history, would enjoy earthly blessings and would once again be at the center of God's plan. God would fulfill His unconditional promises with Israel.

Frames (media): frames are basic cognitive structures that guide the perception and representation of reality. Frames are not consciously manufactured but are unconsciously adopted in the course of communicative processes.[4] The mass media and other opinion makers play an active role in shaping the nature and extent of citizen's exposure to rhetoric and reality.[5]

Foreign Policy: a consistent course of actions followed by one nation to deal with another nation or region, or international issue. A country's foreign policy may reflect broad national objectives or be a very specific response to a particular situation.

Idealism (in international relations): it is the strong belief in the affective power of ideas. Idealists hold that it is possible to base a political system primarily on morality. Idealists believe international law and morality are key influences on international events, rather than power alone.

Ideology: it is a shared belief system that may serve at once to motivate and to justify. Ideology is represented in symbols and beliefs held by a community. It generally asserts normative values and includes causative beliefs. How do things happen? What does it all mean? An ideology offers a way in which to order the world, defining enemies and allies, dangers and opportunities, us and them.[6]

Interventionism: an approach that gives primacy of intervening in the political affairs of other countries.

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[4] http://www.ccsr.ac.uk/methods/publications/frameanalysis/index.html

[5] Matthew Baum. "The Media and US Foreign Policy," lecture attended by the author (University of Florida at Gainesville, July 13, 2011).

[6] Jennifer W. See, "Ideology," in Alexander DeConde, Richard Dean Burns, and Frederik Logevall, eds, *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy* Vol. 2, 2nd ed (New York: Charles Scribner/Gale-Thomson, 2002), 187-88.

Isolationism: foreign policy approach that favors the avoidance of political and military commitments to or alliances with foreign powers, and non-intervention in affairs of foreign countries. It is usually opposed to Interventionism.

Jewishness: ethnic and/or cultural Jewish identity, as distinct from "Judaism" (religion).

Kulturkampf (Culture War): any serious societal conflict over values, beliefs, etc. between sizable factions within a nation, community, or other group. In American usage, the term culture war may imply a societal conflict between those values considered traditionalist or conservative and those considered progressive or liberal.

Liberalism (political liberalism): As opposed to Conservatism, Liberalism in the USA is a Left-center Left political ideology that traces to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal program. Liberalism stresses the belief that individuals are the basis of law and society, and that society and its institutions exist to further the ends of individuals, without showing favor to those of higher social rank. Political liberalism stresses the social contract, under which citizens make the laws and agree to abide by those laws. liberalism seeks a secular society characterized by freedom of thought for individuals, limitations on the power of government, of wealth, or of religion. It stresses the rule of law, the free exchange of ideas, a market economy that supports private enterprise, and a transparent system of government in which the rights of minorities are guaranteed.

Multiculturalism: It refers to the phenomenon of multiple groups of cultures existing within one society, largely due to the arrival of immigrant communities, or the acceptance and promotion of this phenomenon. Supporters of multiculturalism claim that different traditions and cultures can enrich society; however, the concept also has its critics (usually from conservative or far right segments of the society).

Multipolarity: in international politics, it describes a distribution of power in which three or more states each control at least 5 % of the strategic

resources, but no single state possesses as much as 50%, and no two states have as much as 25 % apiece. In theory, the powers involved in the system would be constantly playing off against each other and each would challenge the other two for global influence. However, the balance of power often changes during the period of multipolarity, as powers align against the others in order to check or contain their influence.

Nihilism: the belief in nothing – rejects all form of religion or moral authority. Its opponents define it as an advocacy of the resort to violence whereas its proponents see it as a necessary phase to reform any form of institution.

Paradigm: To Thomas S. Kuhn, it is an "entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on, shared by the members of a given community."[7] It thus consists of a framework of thinking encompassing theoretical ideas and technical procedures that a community of scholars and practitioners adopt and which are rooted in a particular worldview with its own language and terminology.

Political Philosophy & Political Theory: Political philosophy is taken to mean what philosophers said about politics. This is sometimes called classical political theory. However, Political theory focuses on intellectual and cultural backgrounds and attaches importance to the history of concepts like the State. Modern political theory has been more a theory of politics than a philosophy of politics.

Pressure group: group of people that actively tries to influence public opinion and government action.

Realism: in international relations theory, it is the belief that nations act only out of self-interest and that their major goal is to advance their own positions of power in the world. Realists argue that the leaders of nations must use their power to advance the interests of their own nations with little regard for morality or friendship.

[7] Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 175.

Security Dilemma: the security dilemma occurs and dramatically develops when states create insecurity in one another as they seek to gain security. The defense policies they pursue, consisting in developing and accumulating arsenals paradoxically have the opposite effects to that intended. Each one fearing the growing capabilities of the other; and rather than generating security, they fuel their own insecurity.[8]

Social Object: from a social constructivist and communication theory viewpoints, it is anything that people can talk about. People attach some sort of meaning to it and are therefore able to talk about it. Social objects can thus be physical objects, people, concepts, or anything else, whether completely abstract or concrete.

Third-Worldism: left wing ideology that was intellectually and politically very active in the 1960s and 1970s. It emphasized the promotion and preservation of the interests of Third World countries and national liberation movements against the interference of Western nations.

Unilateralism: any doctrine or agenda followed by one nation that supports one-sided action. Such action may be in disregard for other nations' interests.

Vital Center: concept coined in the late 1940 by US scholar and policy maker Arthur Schlesinger Jr to reject the notions of Left and Right in the US political spectrum. To Schlesinger, the Vital Center is the political segment of the society that might embrace both non-Communist leftist principles and/or anti-Fascist rightist tenets, but more importantly holds the American society together in its fight against those extremist ideologies.[9] The promoters of the concept asked for a wide Cold War political consensus to face Communism without falling into rightist extremism.

Weltanschauung: a comprehensive conception or apprehension of the world from a specific viewpoint.

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[8] Alan Collins, *The Security Dilemma and the End of the Cold War* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 1.

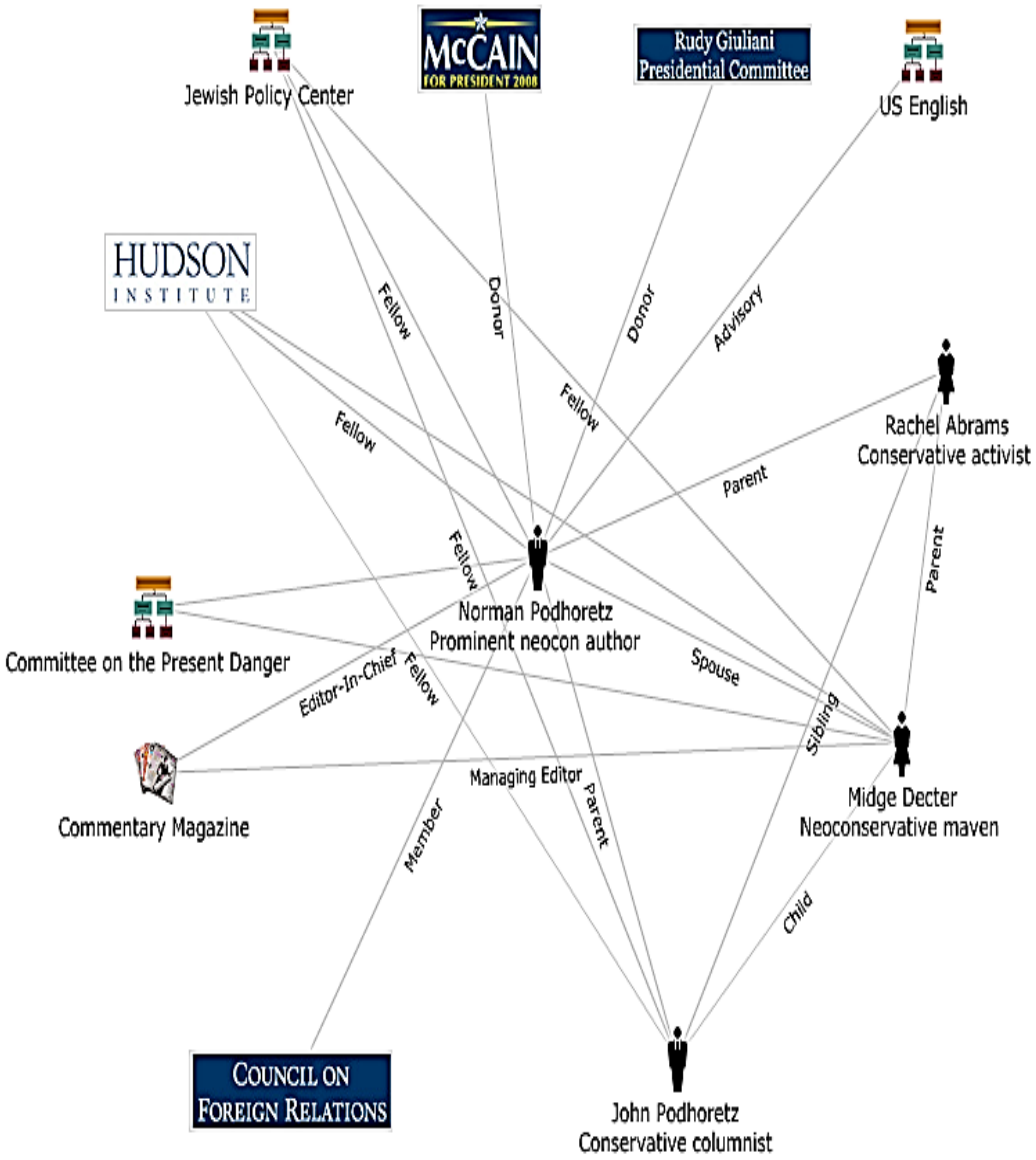
[9] Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr, "Not Left, Not Right, but a Vital Center," *The New York Times* (April 4, 1948).

Zionism: Its general definition refers to the political and ideological movement for the settlement of the Jewish people in Palestine, and the wish to impose Jewish sovereignty on that land.

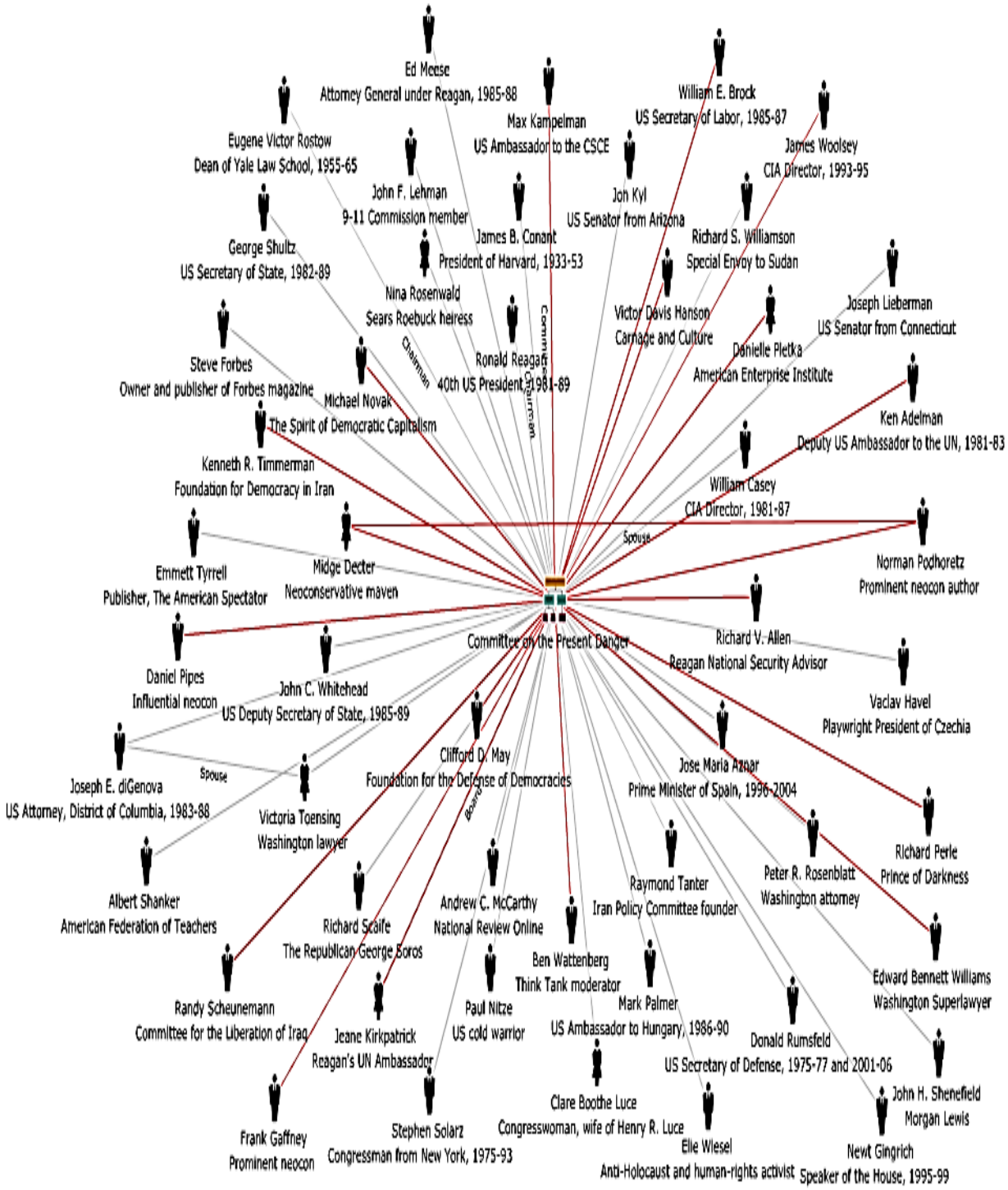
Appendices

Here are two lists of selected appendices. The first list (appendices 1 to 15) consists of connections maps that display neoconservative networks. These maps have been processed through the Notable Names Data Base (NNDB) mapper. For more information, see http://www.nndb.com/. The second list (appendices 16 to 20) consists of screenshots of some neoconservative neo-Orientalist websites discussed in the dissertation.

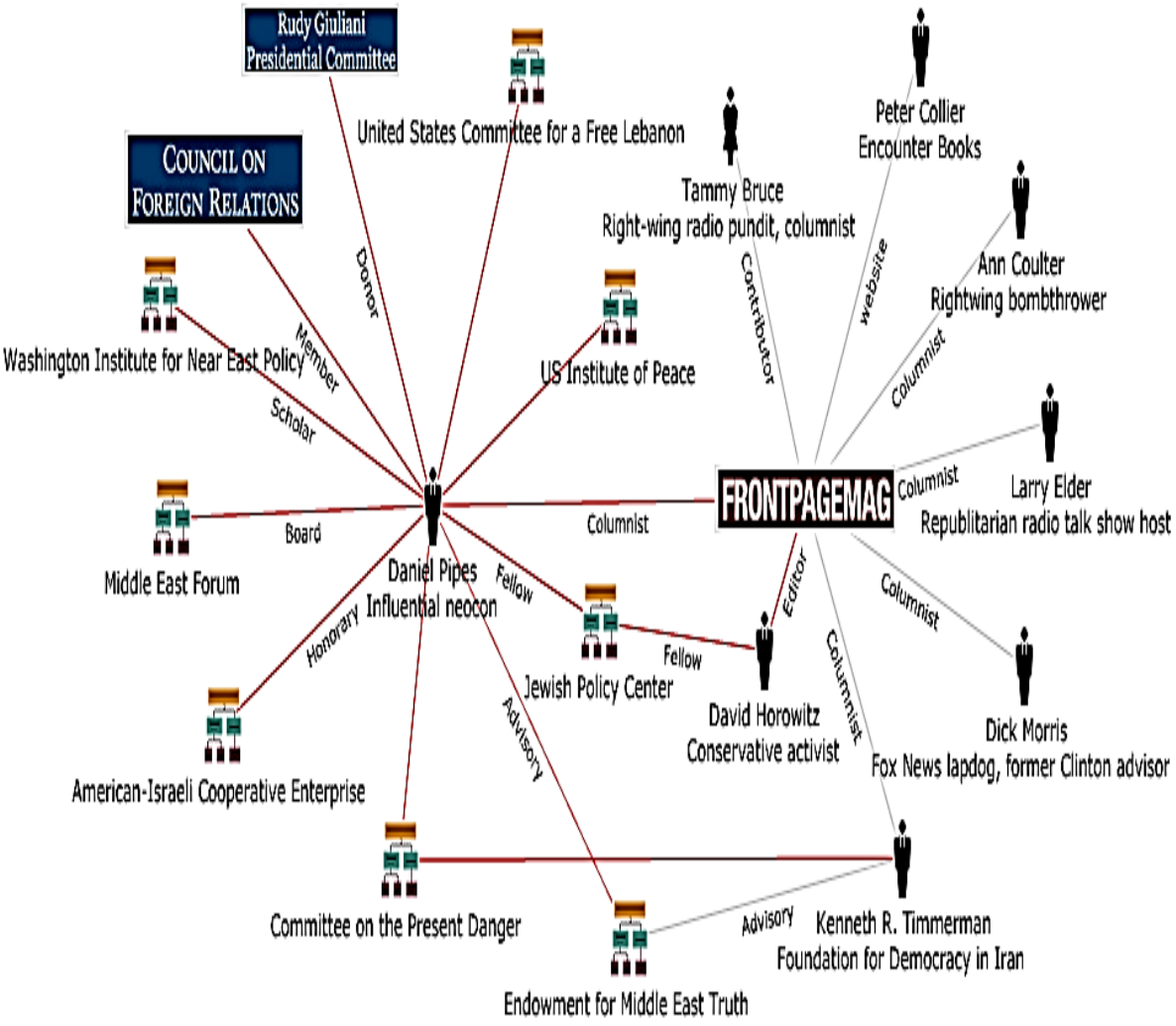
Appendix 1: Norman Podhoretz Connexions Map



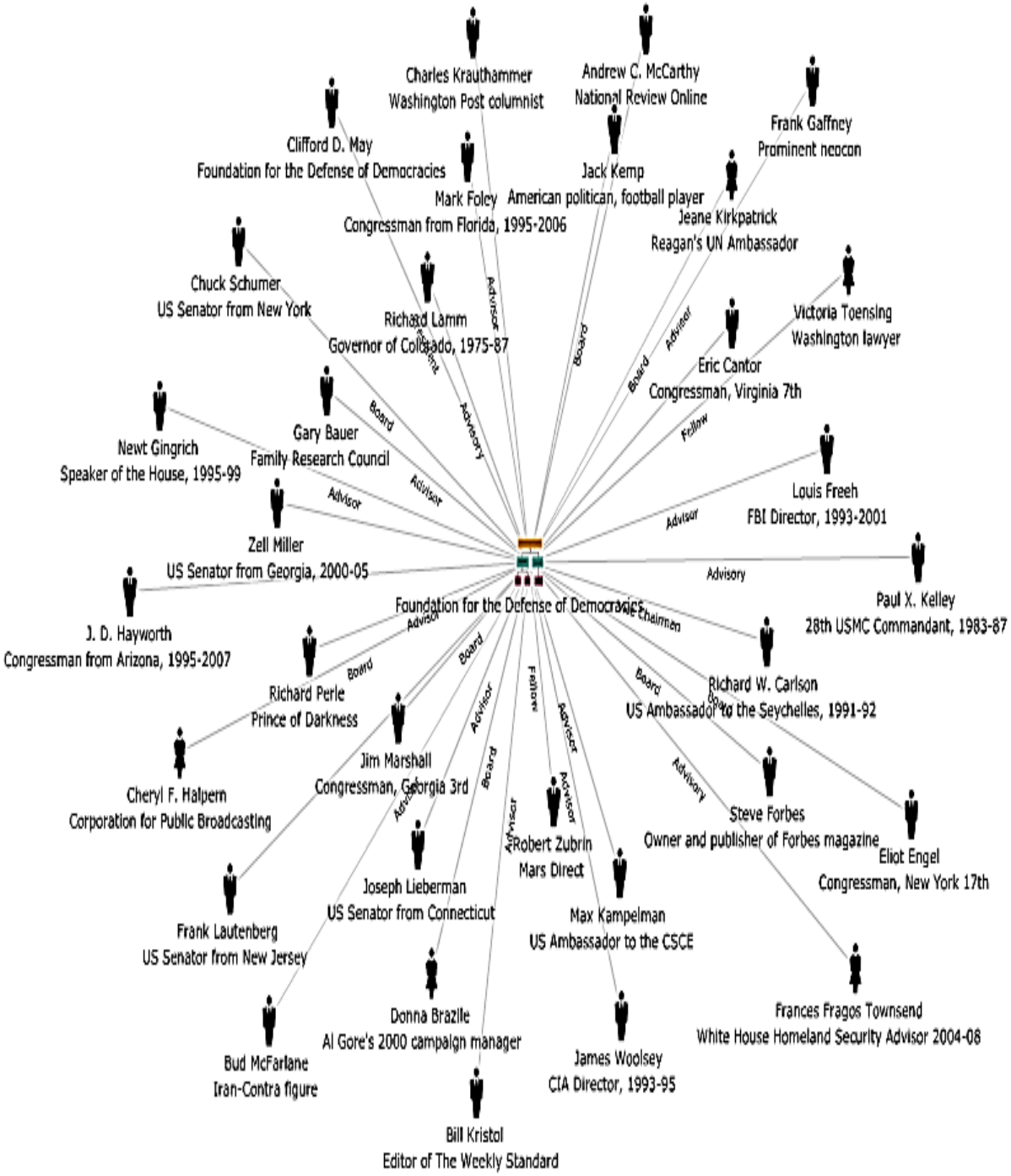
Appendix 2: CPD Connections Map



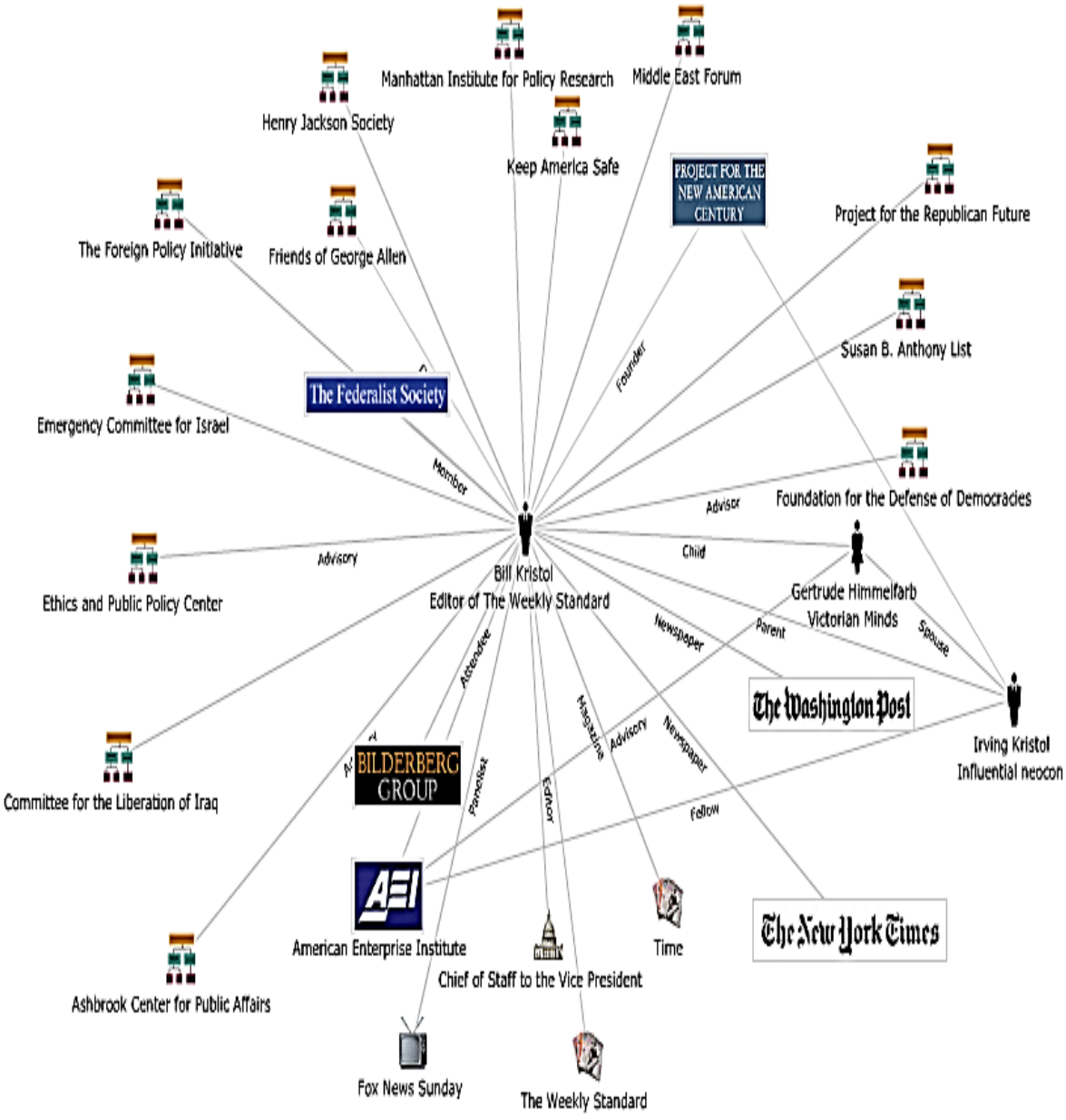
Appendix 3: Daniel Pipes Connections Map



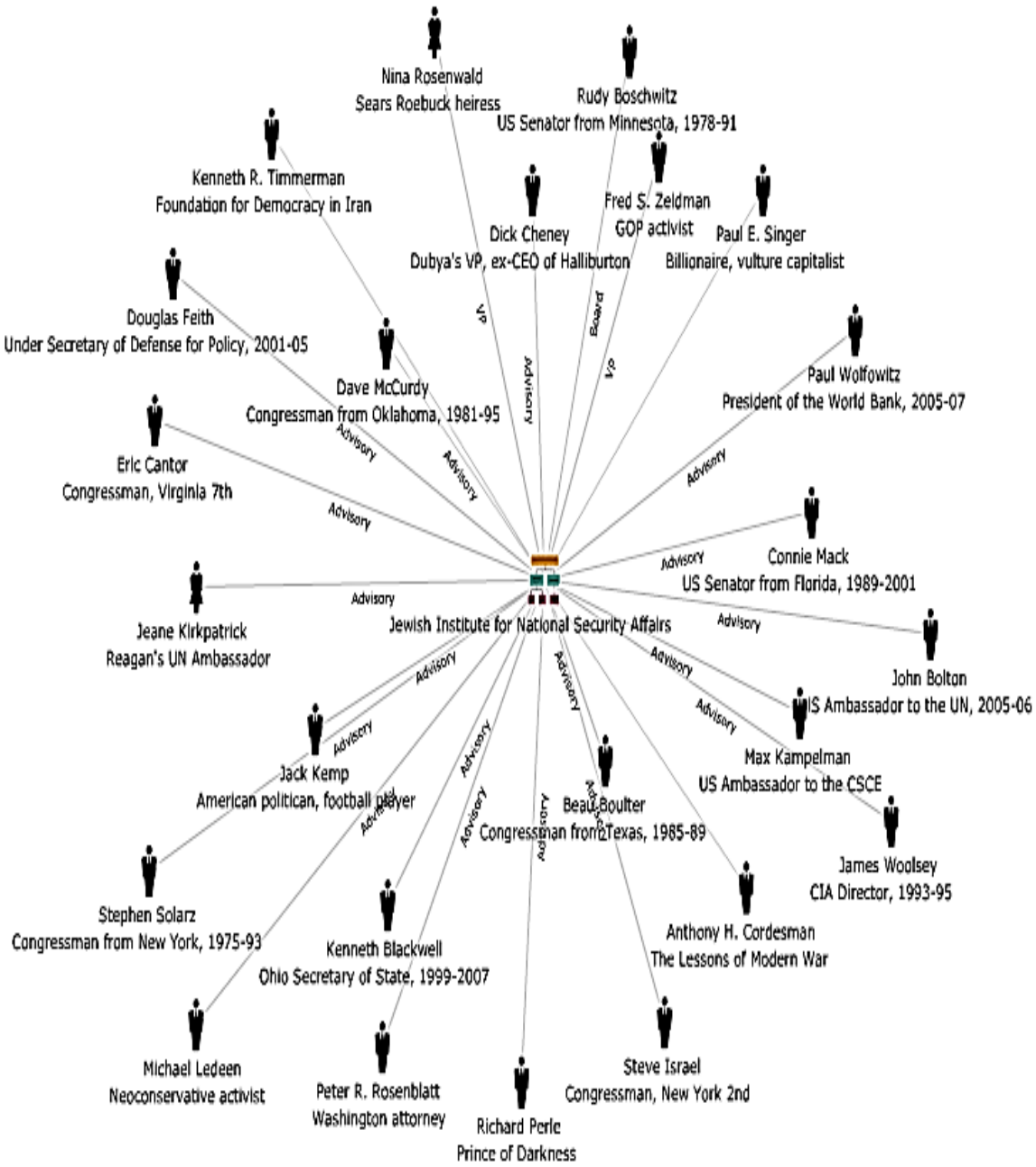
Appendix 4: FDD Connections Map



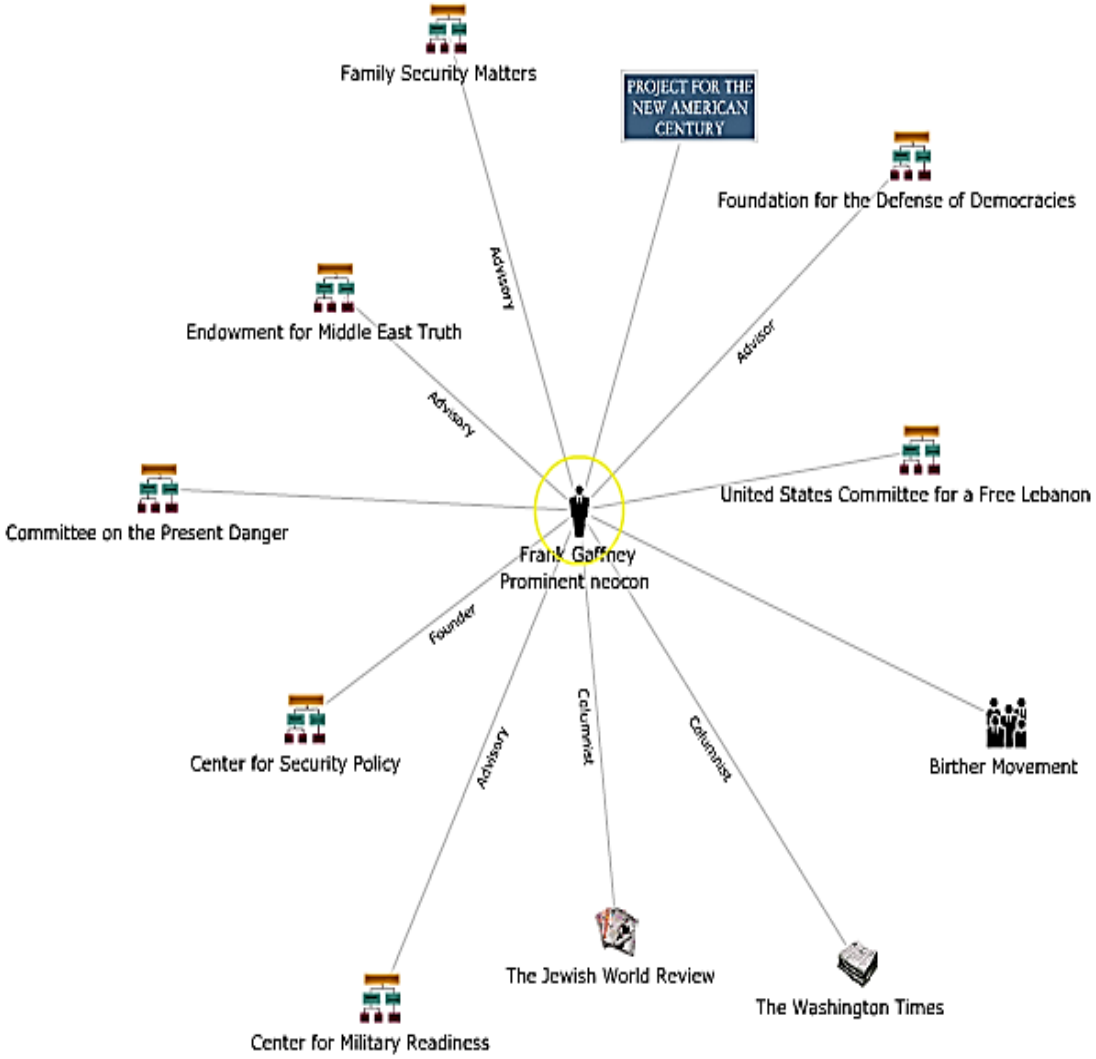
Appendix 5: Bill Kristol Connections Map



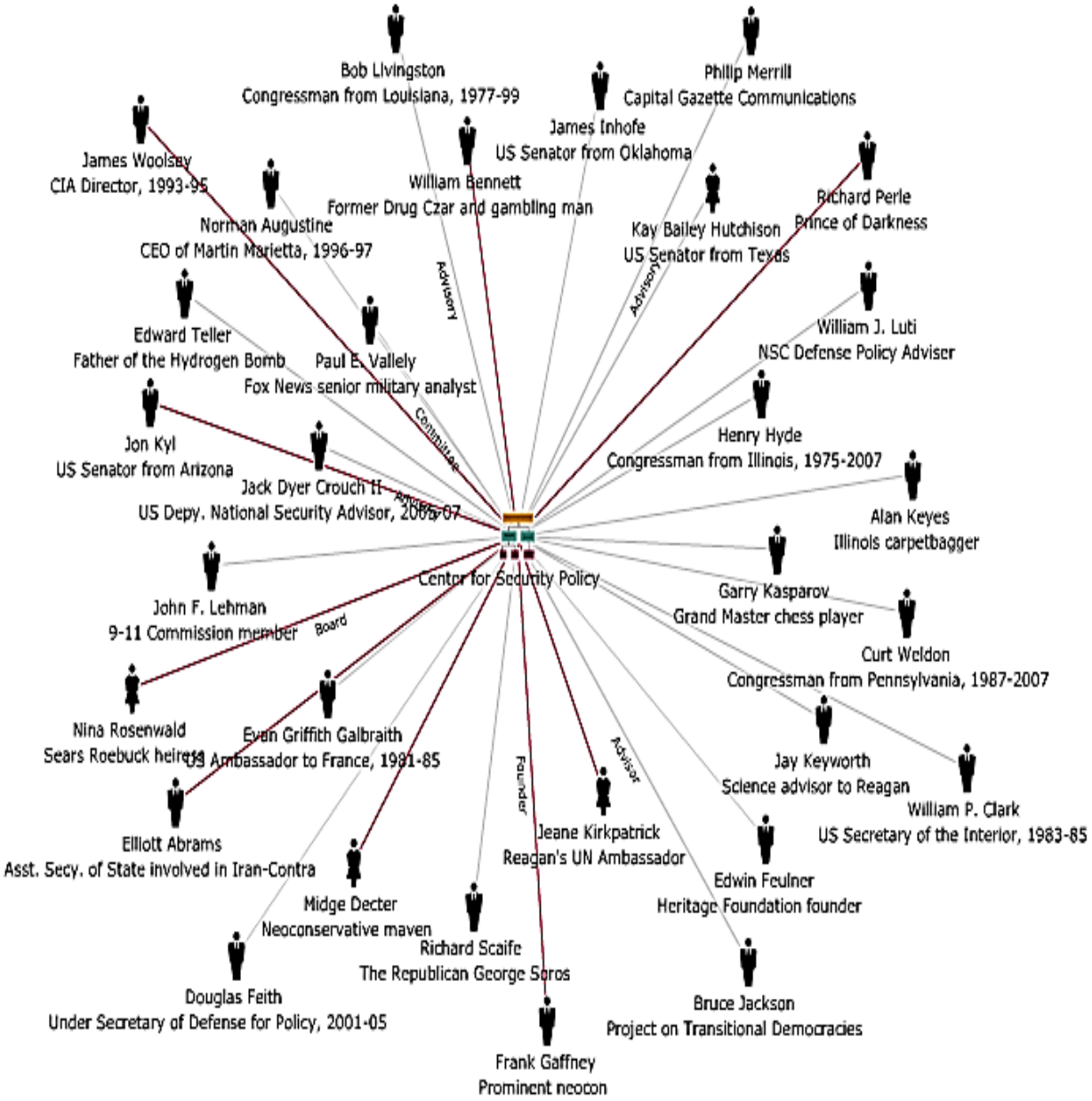
Appendix 5: JINSA Connections Map



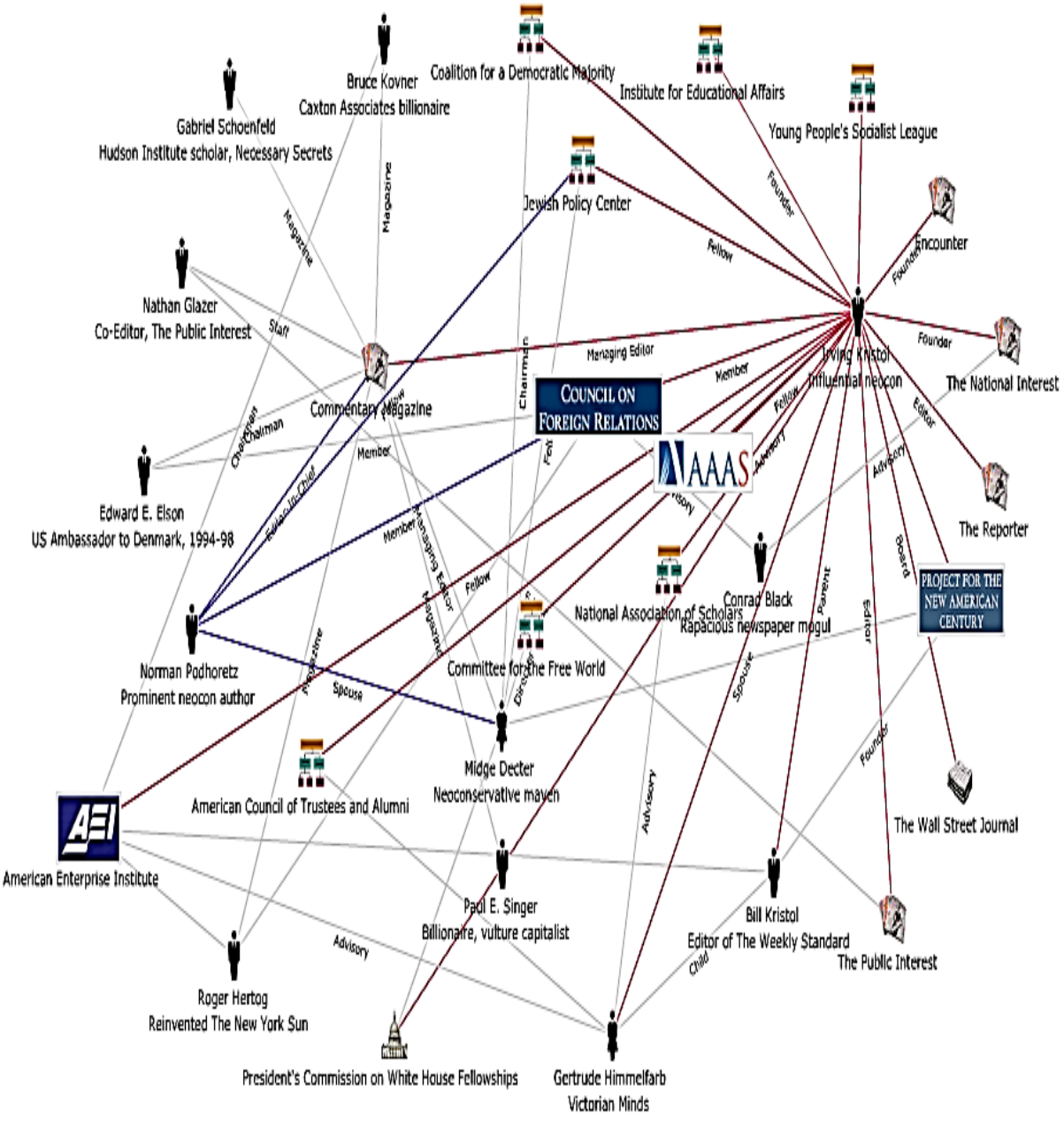
Appendix 6: Frank Gaffney Connections Map



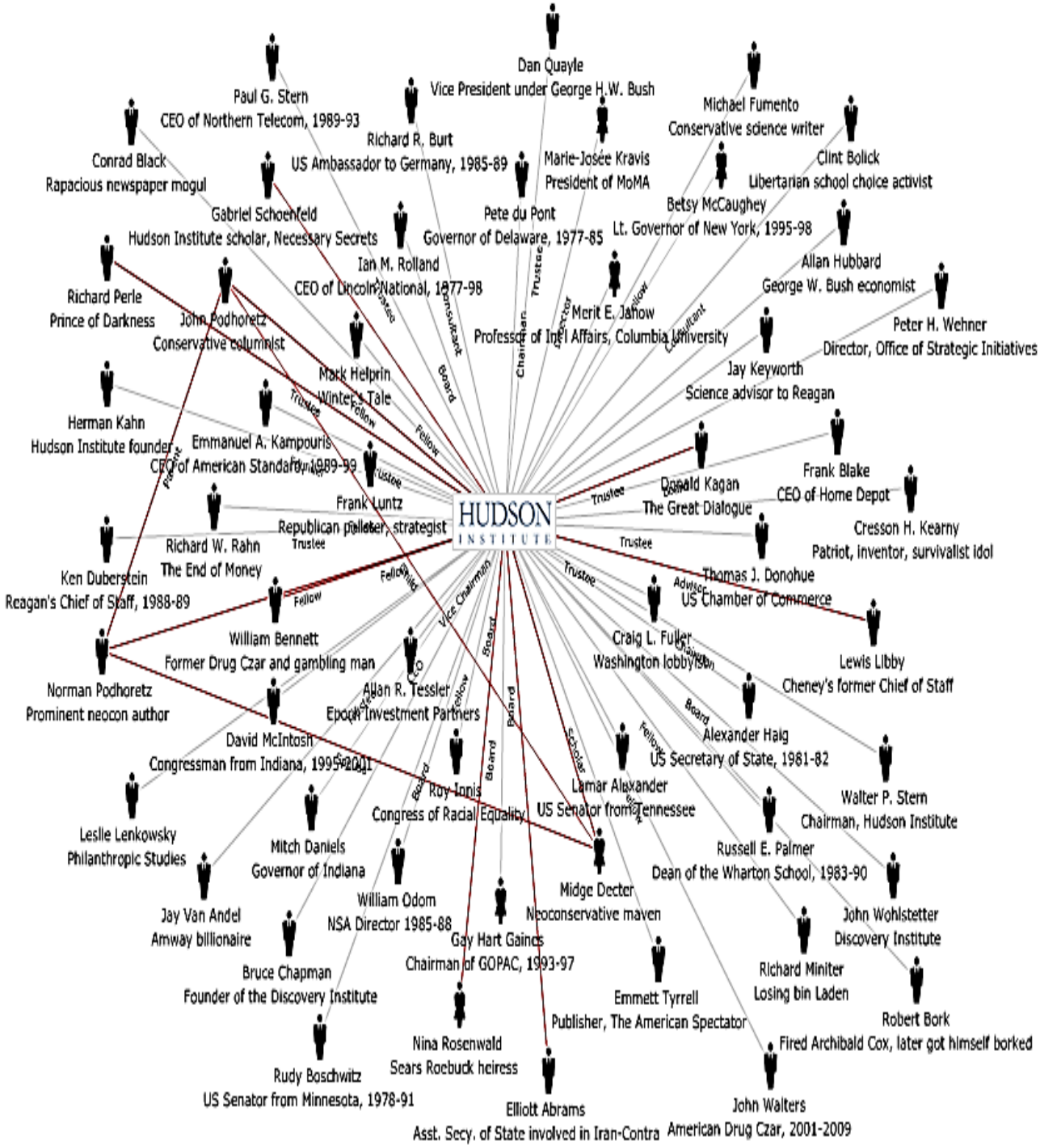
Appendix 7: CSP Connections Map



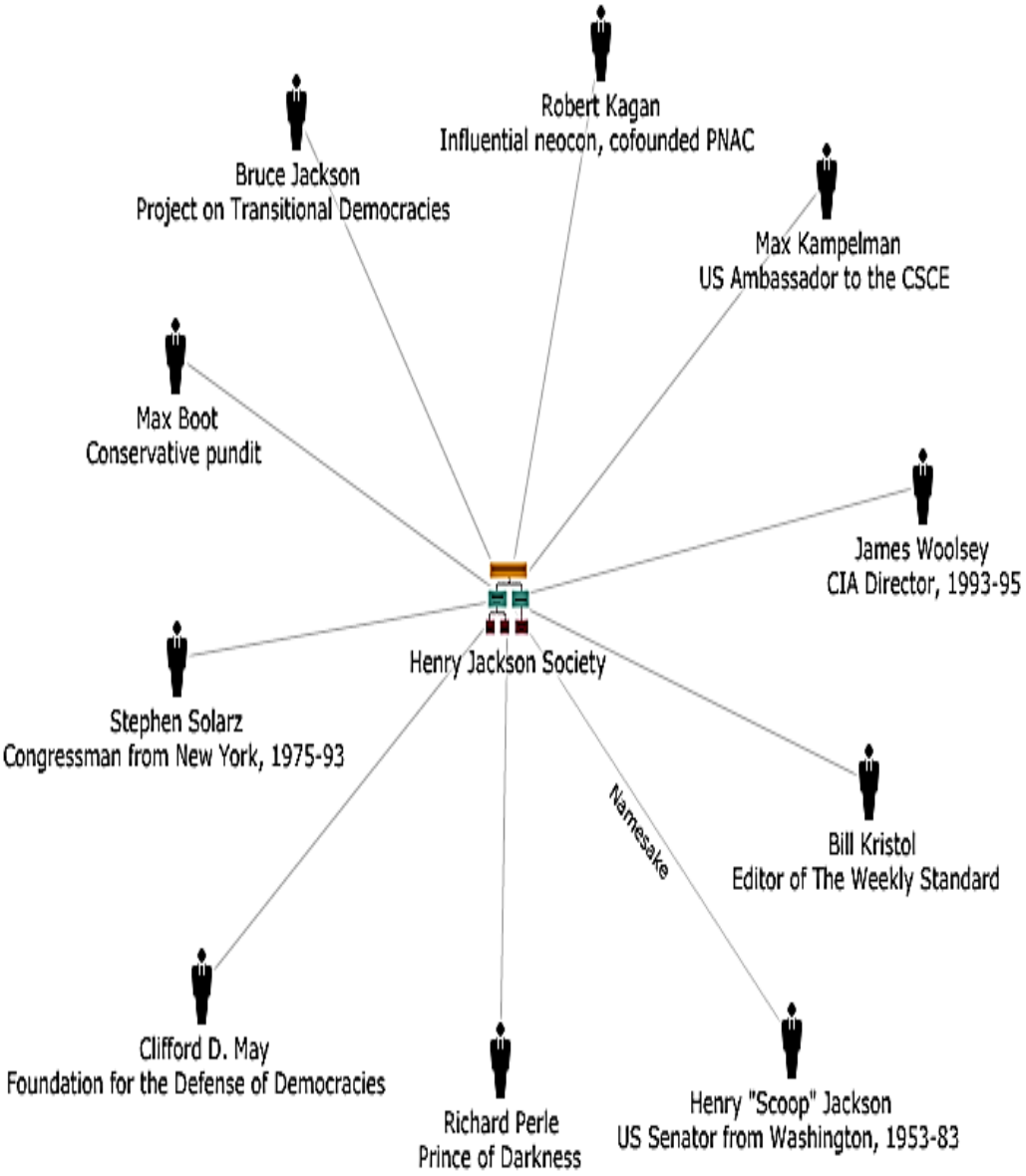
Appendix 8: Irving Kristol Connections Map



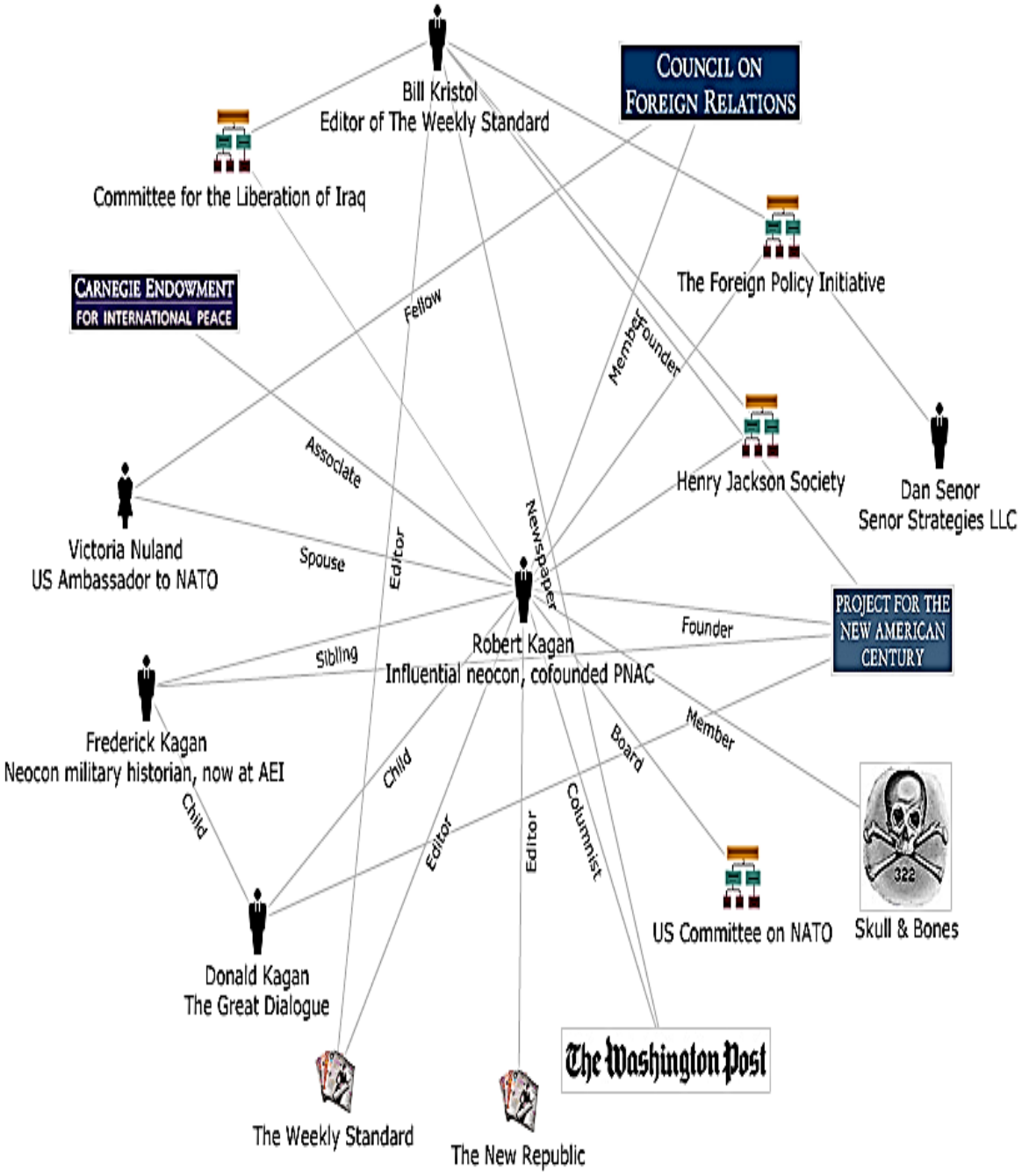
Appendix 9: Hudson Institute Connections Map



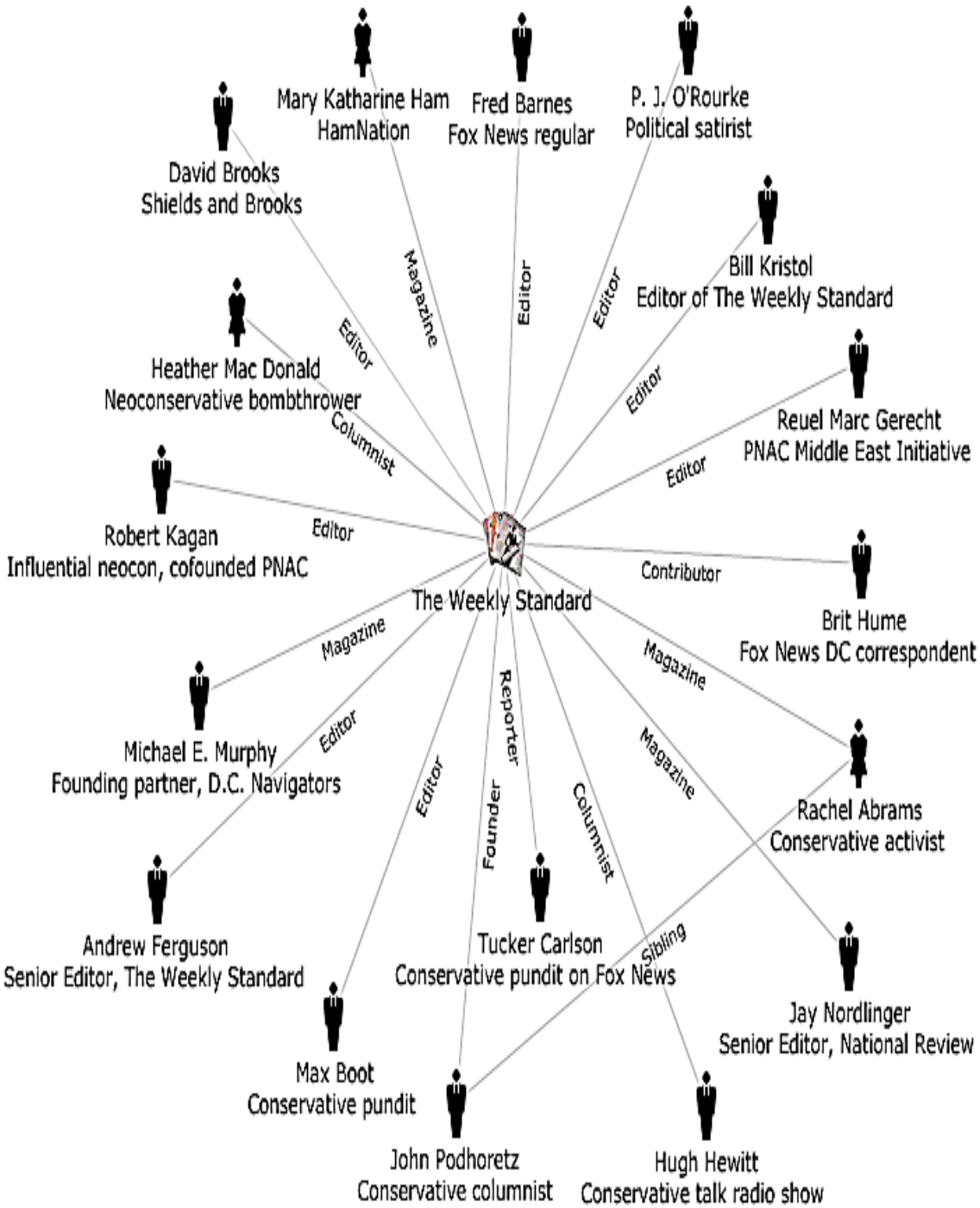
Appendix 10: HJS Connections Map



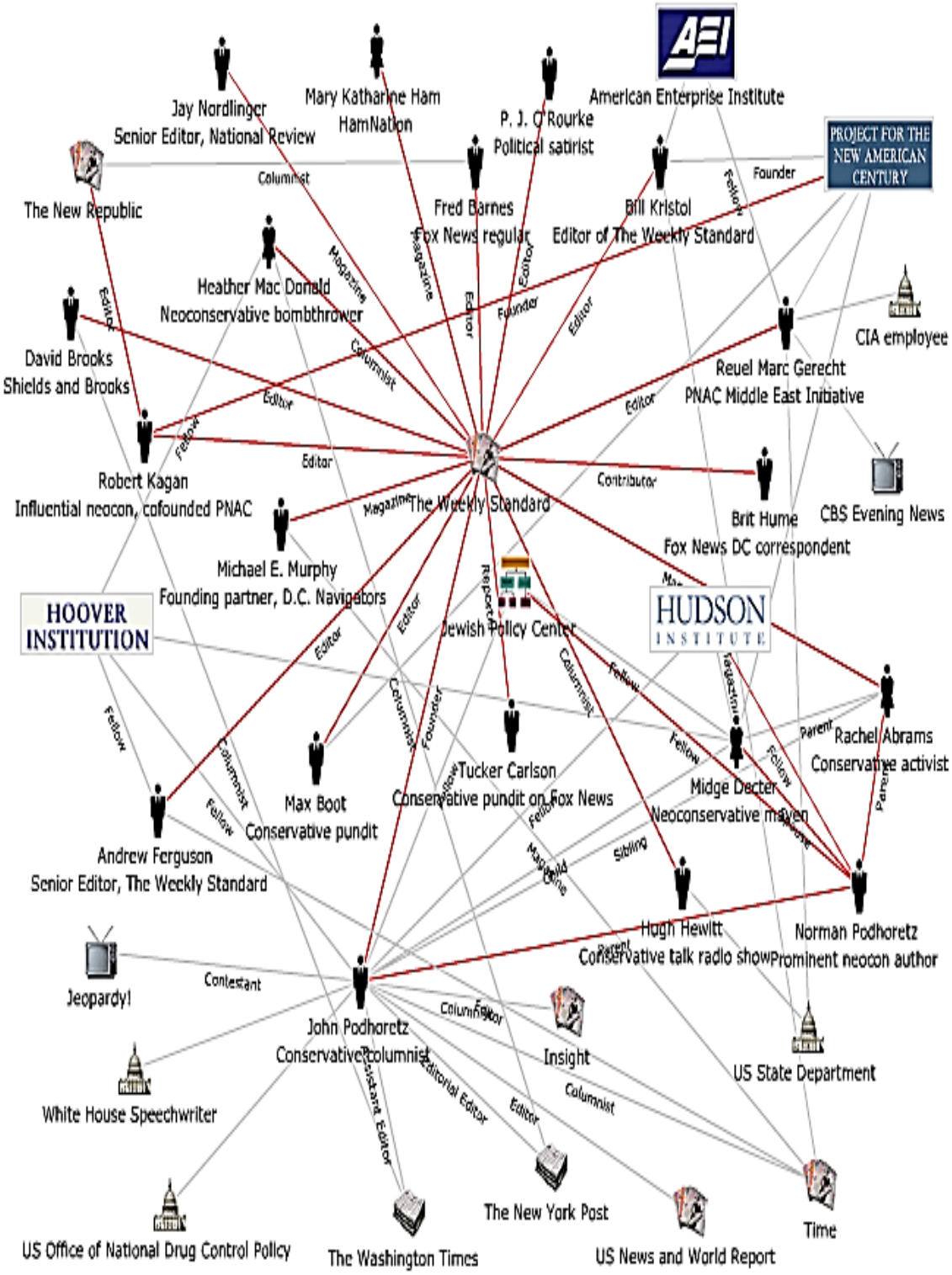
Appendix 11: Robert Kagan Connections Map



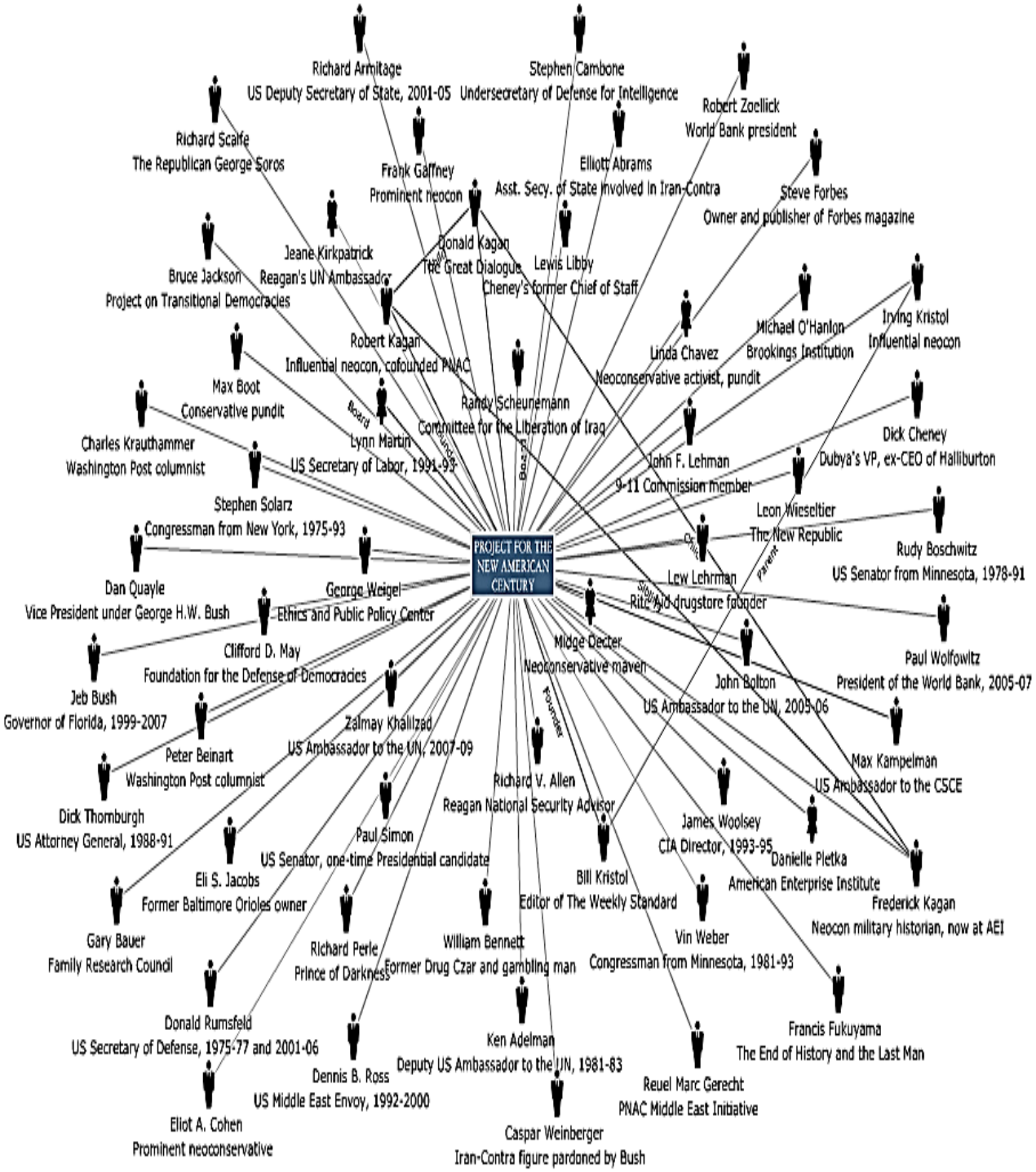
Appendix 12: *The Weekly Standard* Connections Map (individuals)



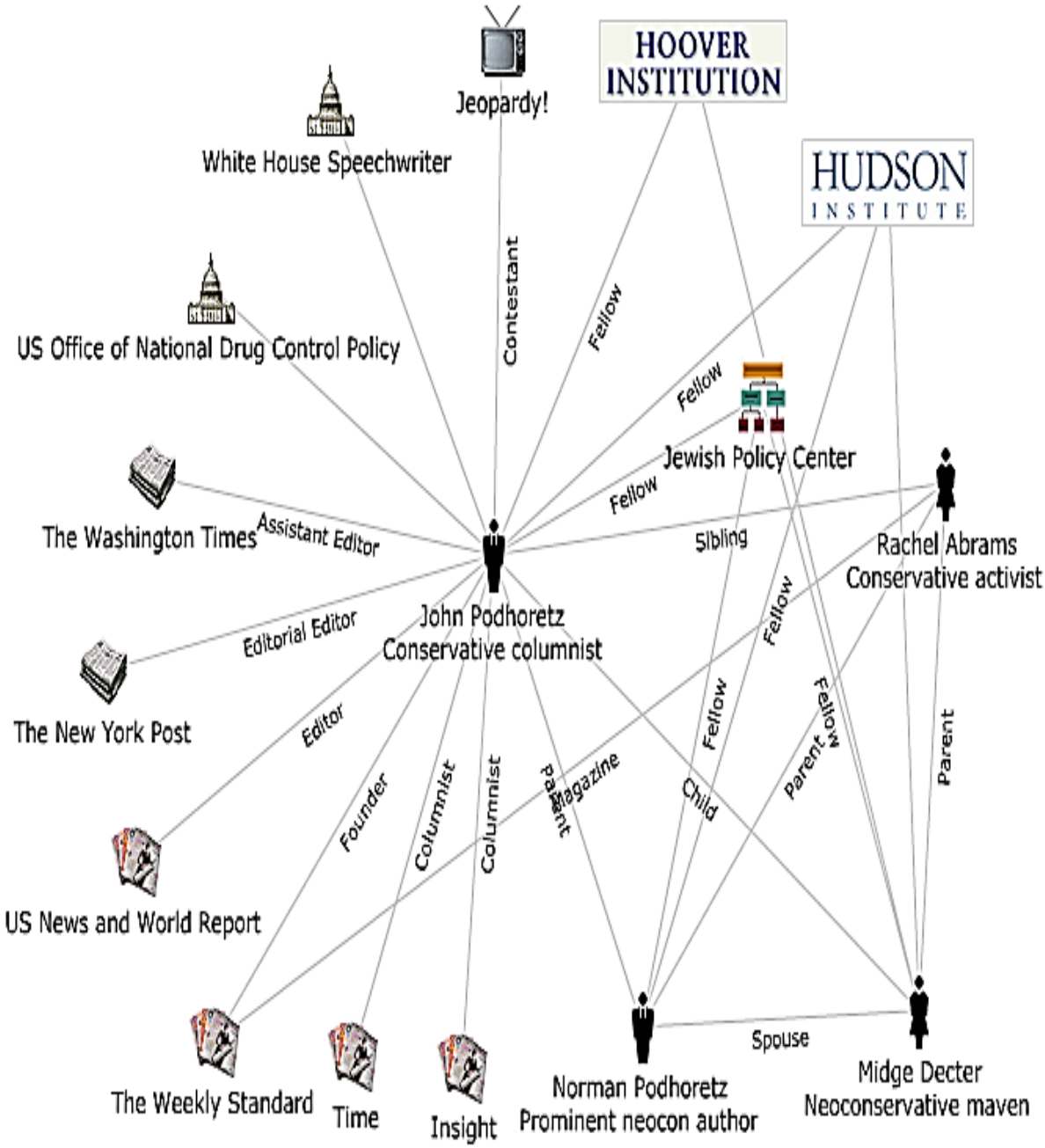
Appendix 13: *The Weekly Standard* Connections Map (expanded)



Appendix 14: PNAC Connections Map



Appendix 15: John Podhoretz Connections Map



Appendix 16: Frontpage.com Website Screenshot

MUSLIM WOMAN WHO BEHEADED CHILD: ALLAH MADE ME DO IT

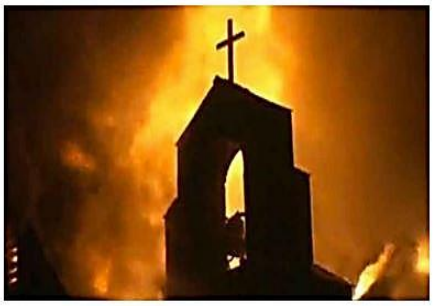
And he did.

March 3, 2016 Robert Spencer 48

BERNIE SANDERS AND HIS LEFT-WING ANTI-SEMITES

Palling around with Jew-haters for the radical cause.

March 3, 2016 Daniel Greenfield 90



THE WOMEN-HUNT IN GERMANY

Muslim migrants openly follow, film and sexually harass teenaged girls in shopping mall.

March 3, 2016 Stephen Brown 156

BOMBED, BURNED, AND URINATED ON: CHURCHES UNDER ISLAM

Horror for Christians in the Islamic world.

March 3, 2016 Raymond Ibrahim 25

Appendix 17: Daniel Pipes' MEF Website Screenshot

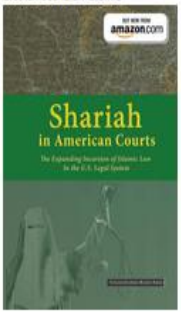
Appendix 18: CPD Website Screenshot

Appendix 19: CSP Website Screenshot

http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/civilization-jihad-reader-series/

Worse yet, the total number of such cases is surely far larger in light of the fact that the proceedings of the vast majority of them are not published.

As the new monograph establishes, moreover, there is reason to believe that the surge in such cases is the result of the activism of Muslim Brotherhood-tied groups like the Association of Muslim Jurists of America (AMJA). The Brotherhood is an Islamic supremacist organization whose mission according to its secret plan (*The Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal of the Group in North America*), is to "destroy Western Civilization from within."



The good news is that, at least at the appellate level, judges appear increasingly to be rejecting the use of shariah in their courtrooms. A contributing factor to these rulings may be the rising awareness in the judiciary of what is afoot, thanks to the adoption in numerous states of legislation drawing upon a model statute known as "American Laws for American Courts" (ALAC).

While the average citizen of this country would assume it to be the case that only laws derived from or consistent with our Constitution would be applied in U.S. courts at both the federal and state level, the evidence that foreign laws – including, but not limited to, shariah – are encroaching has moved legislatures across the country to act. Tennessee, Louisiana, Arizona, Kansas, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Washington and Alabama have adopted ALAC's prohibitions against the use of such foreign laws in their respective state courts if they are at odds with constitutional rights or state public policy. (Florida also enacted in 2014 a version of this legislation).

In unveiling the release of the Center for Security Press' newest publication, the Center's President Frank J. Gaffney, Jr., observed:

> The Center is delighted to be putting a spotlight on the Muslim Brotherhood's stealthy, pre-violent jihad in America. It behooves each of us to become knowledgeable about the presence in our judicial system – and, for that matter, in other civil society and governing institutions – of forces seeking the destruction of our Republic.

The *Civilization Jihad Reader* Series is intended not only to provide factual evidence of the extent to which this attempt to destroy us from within is advancing, but what patriots can do to prevent it. We recommend as a step towards countering the subversion of our legal system the adoption by every state in the Union of "American Laws for American Courts."

Additional monographs in the *Civilization Jihad Reader* Series will be published in coming months. For more information on the Center for Security Policy, the offerings of its Press and the necessity of countering the Muslim Brotherhood and its efforts to impose shariah in America, visit www.SecureFreedom.org.

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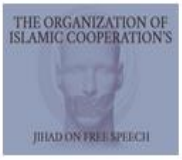
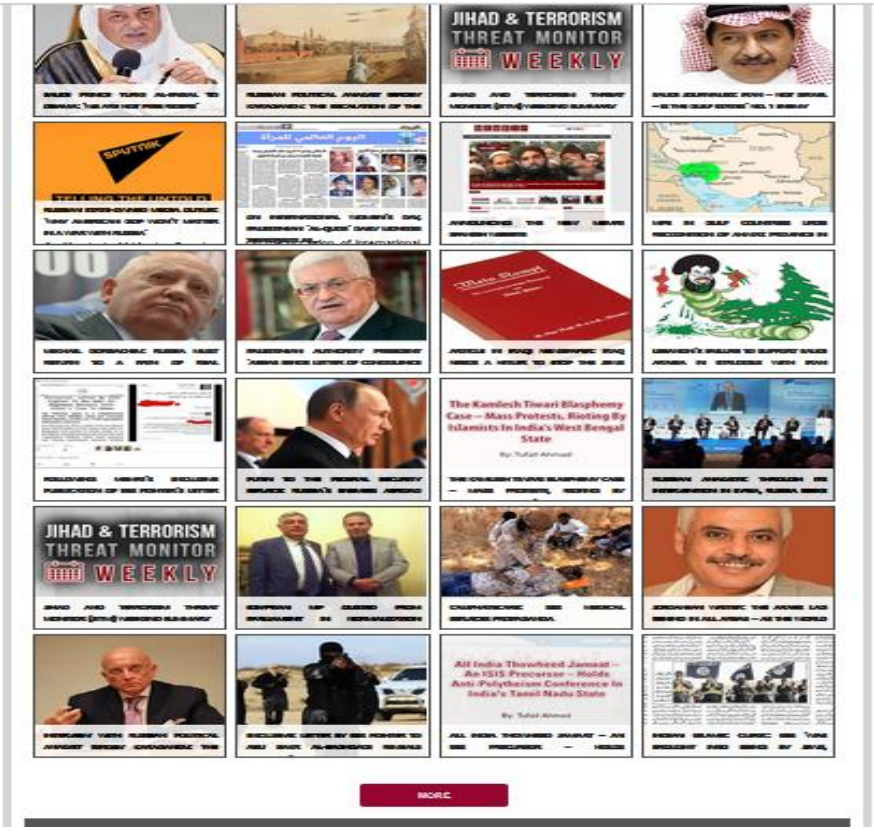
Buy *Shariah in American Courts* at Amazon

A PDF of the monograph is embedded below:



Appendix 20: MEMRI Website Screenshots



Author's Short Biodata

Salim KERBOUA was born in Algeria. He got a BA in Anglophone Studies from Mentouri University (Constantine) in 1992. He taught English as a foreign language to High School students from 1992 to 2007. In 2007, he earned a Magister in American Studies (US History and Politics) from Mentouri University. Since then, he has been teaching American and British Civilizations, as well as Methodology of Research Writing to undergraduate and Master students of Anglophone Studies, at Mohamed Khider University of Biskra, Algeria. His research has been published in *The Journal of History and Diplomatic Studies* and *Intellectual Discourse*.