# 'Death to America!' or enemy in disguise?

Anti-Americanism in Iran and Saudi Arabia, 2001-2011.





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Master Thesis Global History and International Relations

Erasmus University Rotterdam
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# **Preface**

This thesis is the final research of my Master's study Global History and International Relations at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. In most recent years I became more interested in the interaction and conflicts between the West and the rest of the world, especially between the Western world and the Islamic World. During the Bachelor's program Huntington's 'Clash of Civilizations' theory was already part of the syllabus. I was aware of the complexity and controversy of the topic, that was however also a trigger for me to get more familiar with the topic. I was therefore glad that professor Dick Douwes gave me the opportunity for my Master's thesis to examine this theory and combine this theory with anti-Americanism in the Middle East.

I would therefore in particularly offer my sincere thanks to professor Dick Douwes. Not only did he encourage me to work my way through the theories and materials, he also helped me with the formulation and translations. I could always count on his feedback. I would also like to thank my co-students of the research workshop. They have offered me some useful articles, books and other materials for my research.

# Content

Preface	3
Chapter 1: Introduction	6
1.1 The clash of civilizations debate	6
1.2 Thesis questions and chapters	8
1.3 Concepts	9
1.4 Sources and methods	10
Chapter 2: Literature report	12
Chapter 3: What is anti-Americanism?	23
3.1 Introduction	23
3.2 Definition and debate	24
3.3 Occidentalism and orientalism	27
3.4 Types of anti-Americanism	28
3.5 Middle Eastern anti-Americanism	29
3.6 Conclusion	31
Chapter 4: Relationship US-Saudi Arabia and US-Iran before 2001	33
4.1 introduction	33
4.2 US and Saudi Arabia, a difficult relationship	33
4.3 Iran and the United States	36
4.4 Saudi Arabia and Iran	39
4.5 conclusion	41
Chapter 5: Anti-Americanism in Iran	43
5.1 Introduction	43
5.2 Internal structure and external relationship Iran	44
5.3 typologies of anti-Americanism in Iran	46
5.3.1 Issue oriented	46
5.3.2 Ideological	48
5.3.3 Instrumental	50
5.3.4 Religious	55
5.3.5 Pro-Americanism	56
5.4 Conclusion	57
Chapter 6: Saudi Arabia, an enemy in disguise?	60
6.1 introduction	60
6.2 Saudi Arabia	61

6.2.1 issue oriented	61
6.2.2 Instrumental	63
6.2.3 Religious	65
6.2.4 Pro-Americanism	67
6.3 Conclusion	69
Chapter 7: Clash of Civilizations or conflict of power?	70
7.1 Introduction	70
7.2 Back to Clash of Civilizations	71
7.3 A conflict of power	72
7.4 Conclusion	74
Chapter 8. Conclusion	76
Epilogue: What is there to be done?	81
The recent years, 2011-2016	81
The American side:	83
The Islamic side	84
Bibliography	87
Appendix	98

# **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### 1.1 The clash of civilizations debate

In the recent decades the Western World had more interaction with Middle Eastern countries than before. With the continuous level of globalization, we have established more trade, exchange of thoughts and political co-operation between the Western and the Middle East. However, globalization has not only brought prosperity for both worlds. Especially in the last decade we have witnessed several terrorist attacks of Islamic extremists in the Islamic world, but also within the West, in which the attack on the World Trade Center in 2001 can be seen as the most large-scale attack and also the starting point in the 'war on terrorism'. After this terroristic attack the United States have started several interventions in the Middle East, which led to the Iraq War (2003-present) and the Afghanistan War (2001-2014). From this moment the Western world was aware that the terrorist attacks, committed by Al-Qaeda in 2001, were supported by a far much larger group of Muslims (and not only radical Muslims) than assumed. Quite a number of people in countries like Lebanon, Iran, Egypt and Iraq argued that the attacks in America were legitimate and that Al-Qaeda was doing 'the proper thing'.2 Anti-Americanism was more deeply-rooted in the Middle Eastern societies than scholars or politicians were aware of.

In 1993 political scientist Samuel P. Huntington published an article 'The Clash of Civilizations?' in response to political scientist Francis Fukuyama's book *The End of History and the Last Man* in which Fukuyama argued that with the end of the Cold War, ideological evolution also ended. The universalization of Western democracy would eventually be the final form of human government. Huntington was not so much opposed to this idea, but he believed that the world would eventually be dominated by cultural clashes. He categorized seven distinct cultures: the Western, Orthodox, Latin-American, Islamic, East-Asian, Japanese and Buddhist culture. In 1996 Huntington expanded his thesis in *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World order*. Huntington's thesis was generally not well received. Many scholars

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> '1098-2014 The Middle East and the West. A troubled History', Documentary NPR http://www.npr.org/news/specials/mideast/the west/ (29-02-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Matthew A. Gentzkow and Jesse M. Shapiro, 'Media, Educations and anti-Americanism in the Muslim World', *Journal of Economic perspectives* 18:3 (2004) 122-130.

found his work controversial and did not see the relevance or relevance of his thesis. Although Huntington considered a clash between the Western world and China more likely, after 9/11 followers of Huntington's thesis warned that the clash between the Islamic world and the Western world would eventually be inevitable. However, political scientists Bruce Russet and John O'neal claimed in their article 'Clash of Civilization, or realism and liberalism déjà vu?' that Huntington's thesis was not based on reality. According to them there was absolutely no evidence for a (cultural) conflict between the Western and Islamic world now or in the future.<sup>3</sup> Chiara Bottici and Benoit Challand argued that Huntington's Clash of Civilizations was a form of political myth, perhaps even the most powerful myth in the contemporary world.<sup>4</sup>

After the 9/11 attacks the importance of Huntington's work was attracted renewed attention. But, also today there is still much debate whether it concerns an actual clash of civilization or a conflict between states or a conflict of power. Although Huntington discusses seven civilizations in his thesis, I would like to focus on the Islamic/Middle Eastern and Western civilizations, more particularly the United States, Iran and Saudi Arabia. It is important to realize that Iran and Saudi Arabia are not 'mainstream' countries in the Middle East. Their highly religious state systems are not representative for other Middle Eastern states. Both have a very special relationship with the US and are very influential nations in the Muslim world at large, in particular Saudi Arabia that finances a wide range of Islamist organization all over the Muslim world.

Iran is since the Islamic Revolution of 1979 outspokenly hostile in its relationship with the United States. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini rose to power during the Islamic Revolution and established an Islamic Republic. His main critique on the Shah of Iran (Mohammed Reza Pahlavi) was the way he mistreated his citizens and his pro-American attitude which he believed to be a huge threat to Iran and the Islamic way of life. The successors of Khomeini followed his anti-American attitude, and untill today we can see massive demonstrations in Iran which audiences shout the slogan *Marg bar Âmrikâ* (Death to America). The Saudi Arabian case is more complex. Saudi Arabia and the United States have been allies since the establishment of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932. During the Cold War both

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Philemon Bantimaroudis, 'A mediated assessment of Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations: the cultural framing hypothesis', *international journal of media and cultural politics* 11:1 (march 2015) 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Chiara Bottici, and Benoit Challand, 'Rethinking political myth: The clash of civilizations as a self-fulfilling prophecy', *European Journal of Social Theory* 9: 3 (2006), 316.

countries have been closely cooperated in their bid to fight communism in the Middle East. Although in more recent years the relationship between the US and Saudi Arabia has become somewhat under stress, in actual practice they continue to be close. It is however remarkable in this case that the primary source of funding of Sunni terrorist groups – as Al-Qaeda – was the Saudi (religious) elite.<sup>5</sup>

# 1.2 Thesis questions and chapters

I would like to understand the roots and dynamics of various manifestations of anti-Americanism or anti-American discourse in both countries. For my thesis I have formulated several research questions. The main question is: Which actors and motives were important in the anti-American discourse in Iran and Saudi Arabia between 2001-2011 and to what extent do the anti-American manifestations reflect Huntington's theory of the 'Clash of civilizations'?

The sub-questions are as followed:

- 1. What is anti-Americanism?
- 2. What was the relationship between Iran and The United Stated and Saudi Arabia and the United States before 2001?
- 3. In which ways did the governments of Iran and Saudi Arabia respond to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and to what extent did this reaction reflect public opinion?
- 4. Which typologies of anti-Americanism are largely supported in Iran and Saudi Arabia between 2001-2011?
- 5. To what extent does the anti-American discourse in Iran and Saudi Arabia reflect a 'clash of civilizations' in the sense as Huntington?

The first sub-question is very obvious, but it is important to understand what anti-Americanism is and how we can describe or measure this phenomenon. What is ant-Americanism, what is its origin and how did it develop? The second sub-question is important to give a better understanding to the relationship of the countries before 9/11. The first two sub-questions are mainly introduction questions to the subject. The third and fourth sub-questions are based on my primary sources. The fifth sub-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> David Morgan, 'WikiLeaks: Saudis largest source of terror funds', <a href="http://www.cbsnews.com/news/wikileaks-saudis-largest-source-of-terror-funds/">http://www.cbsnews.com/news/wikileaks-saudis-largest-source-of-terror-funds/</a> (08-02-2016).

question is the conclusion of my thesis. In my thesis I will look especially to the anti-American discourse in the case of Iran and Saudi Arabia. I am particularly interested in the conclusion of this thesis and, eventually whether Huntington's thesis was useful to understand antagonisms between the Islamic and Western world.

2001 will be my starting point because of the large scale terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers in New York and the Pentagon in Washington. From this moment people were aware of the hostile attitude of militant Muslims towards the West. 2011 will be the last year I discuss for my thesis. Within 2001 the Middle East witnessed protests and demonstrations, also known as the Arab Spring. Although the Arab Spring was not as intense in Saudi Arabia and Iran compared to their neighboring Arab countries and failed to reach non-Arab Iran, it would be too complex to add this revolutionary wave of demonstrations and reforms to my thesis. However, in the period 2001-2011 the relations between Iran, Saudi Arabia and the United States underwent considerable changes. Not only the acclamation of the 'war on terrorism' was important during this decade, but also the sanctions imposed on Iran by Western states.

# 1.3 Concepts

I use several concepts for my thesis of which anti-Americanism is the most important. I use the conceptualization of Giacomo Chiozza that he describes in his book *Anti-Americanism and the American world order:* "Anti-Americanism can be defined as an ideational phenomenon, attitude and political believe against American democracy, American citizens, American society, American values or American symbols". It is important to notice that Anti-Americanism is a phenomenon that did not originate in the Middle East. Europe was one of the first continents where anti-Americanism emerged and spread. After the Second World War anti-Americanism was more strengthened in Western-Europe due to the dominant attitude of the United States at the European continent. There are several ways to measure or ascertain anti-Americanism in a society. One is by looking at the way a state's government propagate any form of anti-American feelings or politics in for instance the media. The other is to dig deeper in society and questioning a certain amount of citizens out

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Giacomo Chiozza, *Anti-Americanism and the American world order* (Baltimore 2009) 37.

every layer of society. This has been done by nonpartisan fact tank Pew Research Center and other think tanks concerning the Middle East.

The second important concept is discourse. Sara Mills explains in her book *Discourse* that discourse can be explained in different ways. One way is to look at a verbal communication, unit of text used by linguists or even looking a conversation. Mills follows the explanation Michel Foucault gave to discourse: "A discourse is not a disembodied collection of statements, but groupings of utterances or sentences, statements which are enacted within a social context, which are determined by that social context and which contribute to the way that social context continues its existence". Institutions and social context therefore play a determining role in the development, maintenance and circulation of discourses. They can create a certain discourse in society as a power tool. The third concept is clash of civilizations, a concept I have already explained earlier in this chapter.

### 1.4 Sources and methods

For this thesis I shall use both primary and secondary sources. Books and articles are my main secondary sources. These books and articles are very important to form a clear context of my subject. The secondary sources for my thesis are mostly written sources. For the primary sources I shall use websites of newspapers, think tanks and non-governmental organizations. Also audio and video sources leader's messages from Iran and Saudi Arabia are important. Most of these messages can be found on YouTube or Google Video, but also on the official websites of the leaders. These secondary sources are not hard to find and therefore I do not expect a lot of challenges. Most of the books and scholarly articles are in English. For my primary sources I expect more issues. I will use the English language and, thus translated sources from Iran and Saudi Arabia. I realize that this limits my reach, yet sufficient materials are available for my research in order to come to a fuller understanding of the dynamics of anti-Americanism in the two countries. I will therefore be mostly appointed to English written or translated sources. Thankfully some Arabic news is already translated in English and available on the internet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sara Mills, *Discourse* (London, New York, 1997) 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Mills, *Discourse*, 11.

The second expected challenge will be the tracing of backgrounds. Journalists all have different backgrounds or work for media stations that are not totally impartial. The background of journalists is important. This is also the case for think tanks. The think tank of for instance, the Council of Foreign Relations (CFR), has many articles and sources of anti-Americanism in the Middle East. One of the biggest funders are however still David Rockefeller and other pro-American intellectuals and billionaires and CFR is therefore not an impartial think tank. This is the case with most think tanks. Although they have useful sources, it is always very important to look at the background of the think tanks and the most important players in it.

My method is the comparative research. A comparative research is a way of study in which the scholar compares two or more groups or situations with each other. Obviously my research question must be concerned with the comparisons of – in my case – two countries and its media and government sources. I shall focus mostly on media sources, so my main goal is to find media sources from both countries (both video/ audio and written sources). Eventually my task is to find out if there are some explicit anti-American discourses in these sources and how this is mentioned. In Iran this might be easier to trace and understand than in Saudi Arabia, because Iran is more outspoken in its anti-Americanism. I shall use qualitative methods and shall analyze the primary and secondary sources. I do not only explain anti-Americanism in Iran and Saudi Arabia, but I also compare them with each other. Eventually I would like to found out if there are similarities or differences between both countries and their view on the United States.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 'Vergelijkend onderzoek', <u>http://hulpbijonderzoek.nl/online-woordenboek/vergelijkend-onderzoek/</u> (07-02-2016).

# **Chapter 2: Literature report**

Over the last two decades much has been written about the concept of the Clash of Civilizations and anti-Americanism in the Middle East. However, not all authors have the same opinion on these subjects. For Huntington's Clash of Civilizations topic it is rather easy to find a specific debate between scholars who were either in favor or against this thesis. For the origins and causes of anti-Americanism in the Middle East, the debate is less clear, but I could find enough articles to analyze to what extent the perspectives of scholars differ. I have organized this historiography in two parts. The first part will focus on the Clash of Civilizations debate following Huntington's publication. The second part will concentrate on anti-Americanism in the Middle East. The focus of this historiography will be on historical research and debates concerning anti-Americanism between 1990's and 2000's.

In 1993 Huntington published 'The Clash of Civilizations?' which was a response to Francis Fukuyama's *End of History and the Last Man* in which Fukuyama argued that after the Cold War the ideological evolution also ended. Huntington is not so much opposed to this idea, but argued that Fukuyama forgot to mention the importance of cultural aspects. Huntington's thesis eventually led to *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World order* published in 1996. Before the attacks on the Twin Towers in 2001, most scholars did not see the relevance of Huntington's thesis and find it rather controversial. Several scholars wrote a response to Huntington's publication.

Fouad Ajami is very clear about the thesis of Huntington in his article 'But they said, we will not hearken': Huntington is wrong. According to Ajami, Huntington underestimates the tenacity of modernity and secularism in most (Islamic) places. <sup>10</sup> Huntington finds evidence of the clash between the West and the Islamic world in the Gulf War provoked senses of pride among Muslim audiences because Saddam Hussein stood up to the US and the West, but according to Ajami this sense of pride is no evidence for a clash between the two worlds. Moreover, he argued, clashes will never occur between civilizations, because civilizations do not run states, states control civilizations. <sup>11</sup> Huntington also responds to Ajami by stating that states of

<sup>10</sup> Fouad Ajami, 'But they said, we will not hearken', Foreign Affairs 72:4, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, 'If not civilizations, what? Paradigms of the Post-Cold War World', *Foreign Affairs* (September 1993) 34.

course try to balance power, but if states were only in it for power, Western European countries would have coalesced with the Soviet-Union against the US in the late 1940's. States respond primarily to perceived threats, and the West European states at the time were facing a political and ideological threat from the East. Civilizations are composed of one or more states and nations and will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, according to Huntington.<sup>12</sup>

Another author who is opposed to Hungtington's thesis is a former diplomat, Kishore Mahbubani. A clash of civilizations is not the case according to him. The West is afraid of the rest of the world, because there is a sense of unease about its future. The West is aware that it cannot remain the dominant force in the world in the 21th century the way it was in the past five centuries. 13 The fear of Islam took root in Europe and after the bombing of the Twin Towers, Americans absorbed the European paranoia about Islam, being perceived as a force of darkness hovering over a virtuous Christian civilizations. 14 To Mahbubani it is rather ironic that the West should fear Islam, when daily the Muslims are reminded of their own weakness in society and governments. 15 Huntington states that the Islam has bloody borders, but according to Mahbubani in all conflicts between the West and Muslims, the Muslims are losing and they are losing badly. His main conclusion is that Huntington - like most Westerners - based their anxiety on wrong assumptions. There will not be a clash of civilizations, nor a giant clash of states, but there is a possibility that the Western states cannot retain their dominant positions in the world and that unsettles them.16

Political scientist Jeane J. Kirkpatrick explains in her article 'The Modernizing Imperative' why Huntington is mistaken. According to her the biggest clash will not appear between different civilizations, not even between different states, but within the same world. "The most important and explosive differences involving Muslims are found within the Muslim world between persons, parties and governments who are reasonably moderate, nonexpanionist and nonviolent and those who are anti-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Huntington, 'If not civilizations, what?', 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Kishore Mahbubani, 'The dangers of decadence' in Foreign Affairs, *The Clash of civilizations? the debate* (New York 1996) 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Mahbubani, 'The dangers of decadence' 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Mahbubani, 'The dangers of decadence' 39.

modern, anti-Western, extremely intolerant and violent". <sup>17</sup> According to her the first target of Islamic fundamentalism is not the West or another civilization, but their own governments. <sup>18</sup>

In this debate Huntington does not responds to every author individually. But he makes clear that there must become a better understanding of religious and philosophical assumptions underlying other civilizations and the way other nations see their interests in order to identify what they have in common. Muslims have seen the clash as a providing recognition and in some degree legitimation from the West. According to him, civilizations are meaningful entities in which people understand and experience reality. They can both divide and unite mankind. The forces making for clashes between the different civilizations can be contained only if they are recognized and studied, according to Huntington.<sup>19</sup>

US linguist and historian Noam Chomsky also criticizes the clash of civilizations theory. According to him the perceived clash between Islam and the West is not based on scientific facts. Huntington states that the Islam has bloody borders, but the largest Islamic country in the world – Indonesia – is not the enemy of the West and there is no clash between these worlds. Saudi Arabia is the most conservative Islamic state in the world, but for some reason there is no clash between this state and the West. According to Chomsky the only clashes between the West and the Islamic world will arise when the West is interfering with affairs in other states they should not be interfering with.<sup>20</sup> So, Huntington's clash of civilization is thereby a total farce, according to Chomsky.

Besides much critique on Huntington's thesis, there are also scholars who agree with the idea of clash of civilizations. Bernard Lewis is one of them. In his article 'Rethinking the Middle East' he makes clear that the next confrontation in the world comes from the Islamic world. Muslims are unsatisfied about the current situation they are living in and are fighting for a new world order in which the Islamic world will be the dominant force. In 2002 Lewis published *What went wrong?* Western impact and Middle Eastern response, a book about the Western impact in

<sup>17</sup> Jean J. Kirkpatrick, 'The modernizing imperative', in Foreign Affairs, *The Clash of civilizations? the debate* (New York 1996) 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Kirkpatrick, 'The modernizing imperative', 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Idem, 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Noam Chomsky, 'Propaganda control of the public mind' (1998). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KoNOQ7LMR8c (27-12-2015).

the Islamic world from the moment the relation of these two worlds began until the present. Lewis is one of the few scholars who does not find it impossible to think that the Western world will eventually be defeated by the Islamic world. In several interviews he argued that the Western world will be - by the end of the 21th century - a part of the Islamic Maghreb.<sup>21</sup>

Both Lewis and Huntington are openly pro-Western when formulating their statements about international affairs. Edward Said on the other hand is not. Said's most famous book is Orientalism. Western Conception of the Orient from 1978 in which he explained and criticized the Western prejudices of the Arab world. According to him this always concerns the issues power and dominance of the Western world and the subordinate position of the Middle East. The portrayal of Arabs as irrational savages in contrast to the rational, progressive and democratic Western people underpins the superiority of the Western world. As to be expected, Lewis criticized Said's Orientalism. To him the concept of orientalism was an archaic term that the orientalists themselves abandoned in the 1970's because it no longer described accurately their scholarly concerns. Our contemporary scholarship was too divers and bore little resemblance with its nineteenth-century predecessor. The concept of orientalism is based on nineteenth-century travel accounts, philosophical inquires and to use this term on contemporary works by experts is therefore according to Lewis nothing more than an example of "word pollution". Orientalism is an ideological and illegitimate intrusion of politics into the world of scholarship and can therefore be seen as a political doctrine, according to Lewis.<sup>22</sup> Postcolonial theorist Robert J. C. Young also criticized Said's Orientalism. According to him Said never resolved the original theoretical problem of how a representation bears no relation to its putative object could nevertheless be put in service of the control and domination of the object. Said claims that orientalism is a representation, but how can a fault representation of the Orient have absolutely nothing to do with the Orient and yet shape and exercise power over it?<sup>23</sup>

The opposite of orientalism is called occidentalism. Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit published *Occidentalism. The West in the eyes of its enemies* in 2004 to describe the negative imaging from the Western civilization of the Muslim world.

<sup>21</sup> Islam and the West: a conversation with Bernard Lewis (interview with Luis Lugo at the Hay-Adams hotel in

Washington, 2006).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Prakash, 'Orientalism now', 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Idem. 207.

Muslims do not see the West as rational, democratic and progressive, but as people who are blinded by materialism, greediness and individualism. Although suicide attacks were not common in Islamic religions, we have seen a rise in what Buruma and Margalit call "kamikaze-mentality". Osama bin Laden was a leading person in this death cult. Dying for your religion became a more important subject in radical Islam.<sup>24</sup> When people are humiliated by foreign powers as with their own governments who are also suppressing them, they argue, citizens tend to withdraw within the religious life and that is why in the Middle East more people are (becoming) radical Islamists.<sup>25</sup> The motive of Buruma and Margalit for publishing this book is to make people understand that the dehumanizing picture of the West was not very unique to Islamic radicals from 9/11 onwards. Occidentalism is not just critique on the norms and values of the West, it is a dehumanizing hate against the Western world in which the enemy cannot be seen as people. Besides, this was not a unique idea to non-radicals in the Middle-East. The book of Buruma and Margalit was well received by many scholars. Ajami however had its doubts on the reliability of it. Especially whether occidentalism is really the case in the Middle East. According to Ajami occidentalism derives from ideas, norms and values in the West. It can sometimes be seen as an attack on Western society from the Islamic world which can eventually lead to misunderstanding between the Western and Islamic world.<sup>26</sup>

The second part of this historiography concerns with anti-Americanism in the Middle East. In recent years much has been written about this topic. There are however different opinions on how anti-Americanism emerged in this region and why it emerged. Some scholars even find it difficult to believe that anti-Americanism really exists in the Middle East.

Chiozza published in 2009 Anti-Americanism and the American World Order. This book describes the general idea of anti-Americanism in countries all over the world. He investigates the character, sources and persistence of foreign attitudes towards the United States.<sup>27</sup> Most states cannot deny the strength of the US. This strength frightens them and gives them hope for a better future. Both Immanuel

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Buruma, *Occidentalism*, 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Idem, 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ian Buruma and Fouad Ajami, 'Occidentalism: The West in the eyes of its enemies' (2004) http://www.cfr.org/terrorism/occidentalism-west-eyes-its-enemies/p6987 (06-01-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Chiozza, *Anti-Americanism* and the American world order, 3.

Wallerstein and Huntington argue that all over the world people still dream of the American dream of liberty and equality for all people. But why do most people in the Middle East still hate or despise the United States? Chiozza explains that this arise from military interventions within the Middle East or the supporting of Israel in the last few decades. Within his research it was noteworthy that education within Middle Eastern states had a positive influence on the view of the US and its (foreign) policy. People with college education were less likely to have negative views of the United States, however the effect was rather small.<sup>28</sup> People above 66 years had also a less negative attitude towards the US. Chiozza believes that the perceptions of the United States in the Middle East are caused by the concerns about their own way of life.<sup>29</sup> Although people in Arab countries find the US an example of a vicious city (an idea or story that most people read about in the Qu'ran and Bible) in which individualism, greed and materialism are the most important anchors, they still envy the American way of life.

Matthew Gentzkow and Jesse Shapiro published 'Media, Education and anti-Americanism in the Muslim World' in 2004. They found out that roughly 80 percent of 10.000 respondents in nine Muslim countries did not believe that the Arabs committed the 9/11 attacks.<sup>30</sup> They think the United States and Israel were totally responsible for this. Some media in the Middle-East slightly stimulated this view. Just like Chiozza they came to the conclusion that education was important in the view towards the US. The higher the education level the more people considered that the Arabs committed the attacks at 9/11. To Yahia Zoubir and Louisa Aït-Hamadouche the governments in countries are most likely responsible for the view of their citizens towards Western countries. Their statements and the lack for an open public debate and a clear public opinion explain why most of the Arab countries are hostile towards the Western civilization.<sup>31</sup>

Middle East expert Richard B. Parker believes that anti-Americanism in the Arab world is not an inherent and unavoidable phenomenon. The main reason why people in the Middle East are highly critical and may despise and hate the United Stated is because of the American interventionist policies and the penetration of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Idem, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Idem, 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Gentzkow and Shapiro, 'Media, Educations and anti-Americanism in the Muslim World', 122-130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Yahia H. Zoubir and Louia Aït-Hamadouche, 'Anti-Americanism in North-Africa: could state relations overcome popular resentment?' *The Journal of North African Studies* 11:1 (2006) 35-36.

Western culture in the Middle East. It is interesting to notice that the Middle East was not always skeptical or antagonistic towards the United States and its norms, values and policies. Especially before and a few years after the Second World War the relationship between the US and the Middle East was remarkably good. After 1947, when the first US involvements in the Middle East came with the Truman doctrine and the Palestine resolution in the U.N. security council, the relationship between both worlds worsened.<sup>32</sup>

Ajami had his doubts about this whole idea of an anti-American discourse in the Middle East. Not about its existence, but about the way it is explained to the rest of the world. He argues that pollsters are mostly responsible for this. In recent decades more research has been done to explain and further examine the relationship between the US and the Middle East. Several questions of polls have been so vague that you could easily create a wrong conclusion based upon the answers. Pollsters have also flaunted spreadsheets to legitimize a popular legend: it is not Americans that people abroad hate, but it is the United States.<sup>33</sup> This idea is wrong. Terrorist did not attack the Twin Towers only to hurt the United States and not its citizens. They wanted to hurt both. According to Ajami you cannot profess kindness towards Americans while attributing the darkest of their homeland.<sup>34</sup> Ajami also believes that the state's government is responsible for the way people think and feel about another state.

As we have seen earlier in this historiography occidentalism overlaps with anti-Americanism. According to Shalaleh Zabardast we cannot conceptualize the world without relying upon the notion of the East and the West. One can differentiate between these two worlds because of their different language, politics, religions and history. Said has divided the world into two unequal halves of the Orient and Occident. According to him occidentalism came after orientalism.<sup>35</sup> According to Islamic philosopher, Hasan Hanafi, occidentalism is a discipline formed in Third World countries in order to complete the process of decolonization. It is mostly based on military and economic issues.<sup>36</sup> According to Hafani orientalism is the creation of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Parker, 'Anti-American attitudes in the Arab World', 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Fouad Ajami, 'The falseness of anti-Americanism', Foreign Policy 138 (September 2003) 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Ajami, 'The falseness of anti-Americanism', 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Shalaleh Zabardast, 'Flourishing of occidentalism in Iran after Cultural revolution', (PHD thesis 2013) 216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Zabardast, 'Flourishing of occidentalism in Iran after Cultural revolution', 216.

the centre and occidentalism the creation of the periphery.<sup>37</sup> To W. Ning occidentalism proliferates in Muslim countries showing the rejection to Western hegemonies. According to Ning this is the reason why today's world is under the threat of Islamization. Zabardast demonstrates that the Islam is regarded as a great danger to the Western identity and society. The West is becoming more islamophobic because it is shocked and horrified by the picture of Islam.<sup>38</sup>

Anti-Americanism is different in every Middle Eastern country. In the case of Iran after its revolution in 1979 the anti-American discourse was one of oppression during the Shah regime and liberation with the Islamic Revolution. The revolution meant the end of the close American involvement in Iran. The American tendency was rejected by many Muslim scholars and activists. An Islamic ideology was important to confront the West. These Islamic movements were important in other Arabic countries to show their struggle against the enemies of Islam, by which they mean the West and the US in particular.<sup>39</sup> Just like Parker Zabardast argued that the main motive of anti-Western attitudes in Iran and other Middle Eastern countries is to belittle and underestimate the cultures of Western societies. The power-relationship between the West and non-West are the defining factor for anti-Americanism.<sup>40</sup> Thus, power can be seen as the most important aspect of the anti-American discourse. In contrary to most scholars, Bakhshandeh believes that religion plays the most significant role in shaping occidentalism. The West is perceived as the main enemy of the Arab countries for its support of idolatry and paganism in the Middle East.<sup>41</sup> According to Zabardast, modernism is not the enemy of Iran and other Middle Eastern countries, people are not afraid of modernism because of the competition that comes with it – like in Ajami's opinion – but they in some way fear modernism because they want to preserve the Islamic culture and tradition and are uncertain whether they can if they fully embrace modernism.<sup>42</sup> O'Connor believes that anti-Americanism is based on hatred of the Western culture, politics and ideology. Just like Parker O'Connor thinks that most Middle Eastern countries want the United States to stop interfering with the Islamic world. Political intervention is more likely to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Idem, 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Idem, 217-218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Idem, 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Idem, 222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Idem, 223.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Idem, 224.

generate hostility.<sup>43</sup> According to Zabardast the main focus must be on deconstructing the powerful paradigm of the contrast and conflict between Islam and the Western world. Some alternatives are needed to deal with Muslim's Westphobia and the Western Islamphobia. The media is an important factor in changing the public thoughts and mind and balancing the reconciliation with the West. To Zabardast media have an important role in deciding people's opinion towards other states.<sup>44</sup>

My thesis will focus mainly on anti-Americanism in Iran and Saudi Arabia. Therefore it is also important to understand if and why there is such an anti-American discourse in these countries. Sabri Ciftci states in 'Soft power and anti-Americanism in the Middle East' that both Saudi Arabia and Iran try to achieve influence in their own region in three different ways: military involvement, economic linkages and dissemination of cultural and political norms.<sup>45</sup> According to Ciftci the main reason that both countries are against the US is because they are jealous at the way the United States are the hegemon in the world and they are not. Although both Iran and Saudi Arabia use military means, none of them have enough resources to establish dominance over other states in the region or states outside the Middle East. The United States however, continues to have more significant military presence in the Middle East and would use overwhelming power to prevent any changes opposing its interests. 46 Although they have used this more in the most recent years, both Iran and Saudi Arabia understand that hard power is not their way to expand influence and power. Cultural (religious) and political norms that are totally opposed to those norms in the United States became more important.<sup>47</sup> Josh Pollack describes anti-Americanism in Saudi Arabia. According to him these anti-American sentiments and actions have played an important but episodic role in Saudi politics and foreign relations. Ever since the oil embargo of 1973-1974 this became one of the central features of Saudi political landscape. After the end of the Cold War this anti-American sentiment became even stronger.<sup>48</sup> This was however not always the case.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Idem, 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Sabri Ciftci and Günes M. Tezcür, 'Soft Power, religion and anti-Americanism in the Middle East', *Foreign Policy* (March 2014) 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Ciftci, 'Soft power', 5-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Idem, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Josh Pollack, 'Anti- Americanism in contemporary Saudi Arabia', *Middle East Review of International affairs* 7:4 (December 2003) 30.

Especially before and during the Cold War, Saudi Arabia and the US supported each other in word and deed. Because of American expertise (and funding) Saudi Arabia's substantial and modern industrial and commercial infrastructures have been built up since the 1930's. During the Cold War Saudi Arabia supported most of the pro-American and anti-communist rebels in the Arab world.<sup>49</sup> Political and economic ties are important, but to Pollack the main reason that Saudi Arabia is against the US is because of the Saudi claim to Islamic purity. This is the central ideological support for the Saudi state. From the eighteenth century to the present, the legitimacy of the dynasty of the Saudi's has been linked to its sponsorship of the religious revivalism of Muhammed ibn Abd al-Wahhab. Because of this Islamic purity (and the believe that the United States are inimical to this purity) Saudi Arabia may not support the US by its fullest.50 Norms and values are also important features for Chiozza's statement that people in the Middle East hate the US. He states that foremost Iranians stand out for their intense disapproval of American ideas about freedom and democracy. They do however have a strong admiration for American science and technology, probably because this is not fully opposed to the religious rules of Islam.<sup>51</sup> According to Parker the main reason for Iran's anti-Americanism has been propagated by the ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Socialist movements in Iran and westernization of Iran were important reasons for Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi to be deposed from the throne. This propaganda develops and continues for almost four decades and will not disappear that easily.<sup>52</sup> Ajami makes clear that real anti-Americanism does not exist, especially not in Saudi Arabia. The majority of the Saudi elites was apprehensive that their ties with the US might broke after 9/11. Moreover, most Saudi elites eagerly embrace segments of American society. The US are still the country they look up to and do not want to fight with.<sup>53</sup>

What immediately was clear to me was that much has been published about the clash of civilizations. This is because the thesis of Huntington was published in a period when many people find the topic controversial. The discourse of anti-Americanism in the Middle East was slightly harder to trace and understand. Most scholars in the past years acknowledge the existence of an anti-American discourse

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Pollack, 'Anti- Americanism in contemporary Saudi Arabia', 30-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Idem, 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Chiozza, *Anti-Americanism and the American world order*, 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Parker, 'Anti-American attitudes in the Arab World', 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Ajami, 'The falseness of anti-Americanism', 58.

in the Arab world, but offer insufficient information on how and why it emerged. I agree with Ajami that polls are not always the correct way to gain more information about anti-Americanism in a region. Most scholars based their conclusions on polls which were set up by BBC or other Western media, which make their study sometimes non-credible

For my thesis I think it is noteworthy to make a clear distinction between the different states within the Middle East. This historiography brings in a certain way a new understanding to my topic. Thereby, not many authors used media sources as a contribution to their research, most was based on other scholarly studies and their own publications. I would like to use both media and scientific studies for my thesis. I was not aware that US interventions could have so much impact in the Middle East that this could lead to an anti-American discourse. I am however still curious by whom this anti-Americanism is created and distributed and how it developed over time. Those are the historical gaps I would like to fill within my thesis.

# **Chapter 3: What is anti-Americanism?**

### 3.1 Introduction

In the early 1980's anti-Americanism was closely examined by political scientists Alvin Rubinstein and Donald Smith. They discovered a "growing antipathy and willingness to think the worst of America" in many third world countries.<sup>54</sup> Rubinstein and Smith pointed to the Soviet Union and local communist propaganda for a modest part of this phenomenon. After this research other scholars - such as Sigrid Faath argued that other sources than communism were also responsible for anti-Americanism. Islamic fundamentalists in Iran need no inspiration from Moscow to construct anti-American ideas and feelings, according to Faath.<sup>55</sup> Within the United States studies are focused on the causes and consequences of anti-Americanism in the world. Especially after the 9/11 attacks in 2001 on the Twin Towers, politicians and scholars are more concerned about this phenomenon. In the US, media and politicians often lump anti-American attitude and behavior together as hostility towards the United States. This perception has an impact on the US foreign policy and the way in which they are dealing with states that are assumed to be anti-American or hostile. Anti-Americanism is also broadly used in political debates and elections. Both media and politicians use the term anti-Americanism to stir the fear of violence and also to justify certain political measures. After 2001 the foreign policy of the United States was a reaction to the anti-American conduct of groups and states in the Middle East.<sup>56</sup> Several US interventions in the Middle East has led – according to the first studies – to a rise of anti-Americanism. It seems that the hostile perceptions towards the United States are locked in a vicious circle. In this chapter I shall explain the concept anti-Americanism, its features and manifestations in the Middle East (particularly in Iran and Saudi Arabia). What exactly is anti-Americanism and how can we recognize it?

It is noteworthy to understand that anti-Americanism is not solely an Middle Eastern phenomenon. Anti-American impressions originated in Europe and Latin-America during periods of socialist movements and anti-colonial wars. Later on it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Sigrid Faath, Anti-Americanism in the Islamic World, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Idem. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Idem, 6.

had, however, a growing following in Middle Eastern countries. This is caused by several events which shall be explained in the following.

### 3.2 Definition and debate

To define anti-Americanism is more difficult than one might think. Among scholars there is much debate about its definition, perception and even about its mere existence. For my research the most clear definition about anti-Americanism was formulated by political scientist Giacomo Chiozza in his book *Anti-Americanism and American World Order:* "Anti-Americanism can be defined as a phenomenon, attitude and political believe against American democracy, American citizens, American society, American values and American symbols".<sup>57</sup> Anti-Americanism proves not only difficult to define, but also hard to measure. It implies more than just a critical disposition. Chiozza argues that most anti-American critiques are not fully rational or well founded. Emotion is an important feature in anti-Americanism. According to Buruma and Margalit, anti-Americanism is everything that paints a dehumanizing picture of the US and their allies.<sup>58</sup>

In *Anti-Americanism and American world order* Chiozza investigates the character, sources and persistence of foreign attitude towards the United States.<sup>59</sup> He states that anti-Americanism is not just a prejudice or an integrated view of ideological opposition. Anti-Americanism can be witnessed all over the world. According to Chiozza the perceptions of American ideals and identity are related to the actions of US foreign policies and the way the United States spread their norms and values all around the world.<sup>60</sup> Chiozza together with political scientists such as Kenneth Waltz, Immanuel Wallerstein and Samuel Huntington believe in American 'exceptionalism' – the idea that the United States are exceptional in its achievements and the key point of reference for the rest of the world.<sup>61</sup> Huntington, cited in Chiozza: "critics say that America is a lie because it falls so short of its ideals. They are wrong. America is not a lie, it is a disappointment. But it can be only be a disappointment because it is also hope".<sup>62</sup> Wallerstein adds to this in Chiozza's book: "People all over

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Chiozza, Anti-Americanism and the American world order, 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Buruma and Margalit, *Occidentalism: the West in the eyes of its enemies,* 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>Chiozza, *Anti-Americanism* and the American world order, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Idem, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Idem, 8-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Idem. 11.

the world dream the American Dream: a social critic of America and its capitalistic system it is the dream of human possibility of a society in which all persons may be encouraged to do their best, to achieve their most and to have the reward of a comfortable life. It is the dream that we are a beacon to a world that suffers from not being able to realize such dream". 63 Both Huntington and Wallerstein describe the way most nations in the world see the US and the American Dream in which a bootblack can eventually become a manager at one of the biggest companies in the world. In this dream, your background, family money or titles are irreverent. Meritocracy – your talent for a discipline is most important to get a job – is one of the core values in the American Dream. Especially in nations where nepotism rules - not looking at ones talents, but its lineage – the American Dream is still the goal in life. Kenneth Waltz also believes in the exceptionalism of the US. He is however more concerned about their power in the world, within the publication of Chiozza he stated the following: "I believe that America is better than most nations, I fear that it is not as much better as many Americans believe. In international politics, unbalanced power constitutes a danger even when it is American power that is out of balance".64 He follows Joseph Nye and his soft and hard power theory. Soft power is the ability to attract, persuade and co-opt as opposed to coercion in international relations. It occurs when one country is so powerful that it can get to do with other countries what it wants without using hard power (for instance military interventions or economic sanctions).65 The United States have both soft and hard power and are therefore a strong (or maybe the strongest) leader in the world. This agitates some states, because they feel that they are losing power and will be dominated by the US. In more recent years this perception towards the US emerged or was recognized by more states. In 2004 the Bulgarian political scientist, Ivan Krastev stated in Chiozza's publication on this issue: "What matters most is not that America suddenly has become hugely unpopular, but blaming America for its policies and actions has become politically correct behavior even among America's closest allies".66 This shows that anti-Americanism is not a phenomenon that will only emerge among US enemies. It also raised the question whether more countries in the world experience a higher awareness of anti-American perceptions or whether it is more likely that they

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<sup>63</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Chiozza, Anti-Americanism and the American world order, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Ciftci and Tezcür, 'Soft Power, religion and anti-Americanism in the Middle East', 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Chiozza, *Anti-Americanism and the American world order*,10.

can be more open about it, because the taboo that rested upon it is broken? Chiozza believes that oppositions to American values, symbols and practices within countries that are friends, allies or share the same normative values, institutions and practices as the US become politically salient, anti-Americanism can then be seen as an expression of Sigmund Freud's 'narcissism of small differences', which implies that between people or states with minor differences occurs more hate and combat than those with major differences.<sup>67</sup> I am not sure whether this psychological statement of Chiozza and Freud is reality in the twentieth century. In history there were combats between states and people with minor differences, but this had to my opinion more to do with others factors such as the upcoming nationalism and battle of imperialism, not just 'narcissism of small differences'.

Among scholars there is a debate about the rise and nature of anti-Americanism. There are two 'camps' in the division of scholars about the rise of anti-Americanism. One camp argues that anti-Americanism came to existence because of decades of strong interventions and dominance all of the world by the United States. Leaders and citizens became tired of the continuous domination of the US. Parker, Chiozza and Ajami are in favor of this theory. Huntington, together with Lewis have a different opinion about this subject. They believe that anti-Americanism -especially within the Middle East – is based on wrong assumptions of the nature of American pressure. It is powered by leaders who seek for more power and justice and they are afraid of losing power in their region. Huntington argues that the Islamic civilization and its people are so convinced about their superior culture and are obsessed with the inferiority of their power.<sup>68</sup> In this case anti-Americanism is not the cause of US faults and crimes, but fed by leaders in the region that seek to maintain power. Although these two camps are leading, there is also a group of scholars that does not (totally) acknowledge the existence of anti-Americanism in the world, or more particularly in the Middle East. Ajami argues that this anti-Americanism that in Middle Eastern countries is not based on reality. Several interviews and questions of polls have been vague or wrong interpreted and therefore conclusions about anti-Americanism are false. Ajami does not completely deny the existence of anti-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Idem, 33

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, 'Clash of Civilizations?', Foreign Affairs (Summer 1993) 46-47.

American feelings in most Middle Eastern countries, but he wants to emphasize that the vision we have about their anti-Americanism is wrong.<sup>69</sup>

### 3.3 Occidentalism and orientalism

According to Said the negative imaging of 'the other' was and is a power and dominance tool and has developed for ages.<sup>70</sup> Said claims that orientalism was especially in the nineteenth century a propaganda tool of the US and Europe in their battle of world dominance.<sup>71</sup> It is a strategy of the West which started with the domination of Britain and France, until the Second World War, and after this the US on the Orient.<sup>72</sup> Although Said's *Orientalism* has received a lot of critique, it is still one of the few major studies on the concept of orientalism.

Occidentalism is an example of anti-Americanism. Important is that both anti-Americanism and occidentalism were in their origins a Western phenomenon. Occidentalism was first used in Germany as a resistance of alleged inhuman French rational ideas of Enlightment.<sup>73</sup> It thus started as an European concept. Occidentalism can be considered from two aspects. The first aspect is the criticism, reaction and analysis of Western culture by Third World intellectuals. The second is critique inside the West by Western thinkers and philosophers. Examples of this (European) occidentalism are Friedrich Nietzsche "God is dead". Jacques Derrida "Man is dead" and Roland Barthes "the author is dead". This is to make clear that occidentalists can appear in both Western and non-Western societies. Said and Chomsky have criticized the Western, especially the American, foreign policies and therefore can be classified as occidentalists.<sup>74</sup> The same goes for anti-Americanism. Although anti-American feelings are worldwide, anti-Americanism was first introduced by the British before and during the American Revolutionary War. After this, the anti-American sentiment had deep roots in Latin-America and its independence wars during the nineteenth century.<sup>75</sup> In Europe it widely emerged during the Cold War due to the dominant attitude of the US in Europe. During the nineteenth and twentieth century anti-Americanism and occidentalism were shaped in the Muslim world.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Ajami, 'The falseness of anti-Americanism', 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Prakash, 'Orientalism now', 203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Idem, 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Zabardast, 'Flourishing of occidentalism in Iran after Cultural revolution', 216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Buruma and Margalit, *Occidentalism: the West in the eyes of its enemies* 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Zabardast, 'Flourishing of occidentalism in Iran after Cultural revolution', 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Brendon O'Connor and Martin Griffiths, *The Rise of Anti-Americanism* (Oxfordshire 2006) 51.

Among scholars there is still debate about the direct causes of occidentalism in the Muslim world. It is however by the majority of scholars accepted that occidentalism occurs when people are humiliated or dominated by Western powers during wars or imperialism / colonization. Ning argued that occidentalism in the Middle East glorifies. It is in these countries important to explicitly show their rejection to Western hegemonies. To Hafani, occidentalism is a discipline formed in Third World countries in order to complete the process of (cultural) decolonization and it is mainly based on military and economical issues.<sup>76</sup>

# 3.4 Types of anti-Americanism

Rubinstein and Smith have identified four types of anti-Americanism. These provide the triggering factors for attitudes, rhetoric and actions with an anti-American focus:

- Type 1: Issue-oriented anti-Americanism. Anti-American responses closely tied to American policy measures. These policy measures are the triggering factor for anti-American reactions.
- Type 2: Ideological anti-Americanism. Rationally argued antagonism targeting the American government and its society. It manifests itself as part of a secular or religious belief system. Ideologies that employ anti-American attitudes were in their arguments in the past primarily restricted to antiimperialism, nationalism, socialism and communism. In a large sum of the Islamic states governments, groups and organizations have been holding extremists positions in proclaiming ideologically based anti-Americanism.<sup>77</sup>
- Type 3: Revolutionary anti-Americanism: To Rubinstein and Smith this is the anti-Americanism of opposition groups that want to tilt a pro-American, America-dependent government, while trying to implement a political and social revolution. The Islamic Revolution of 1979 is a good example of this. After the revolution the foreign policy was dominated by anti-American positions and actions.<sup>78</sup>
- Type 4: Instrumental anti-Americanism. this type of anti-Americanism is stimulated specifically by governments to attain domestic policy goals and to legitimize these goals. Some governments have instrumentalized this type of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Zabardast, 'Flourishing of occidentalism in Iran after Cultural revolution', 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Faath, Anti-Americanism in the Islamic World, 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Ibidem.

anti-Americanism to secure mass support, neutralize opposition or shift blame for their own mishaps and failures. Since the 1990's opposition groups – primarily extremists and terrorists – stimulate and channel anti-American emotions in order to draw in and secure supporters and sympathizers. They contribute to the building and maintaining of anti-American organizations.<sup>79</sup>

The four types show certain similarities and overlap. Faath presents the example of a protest demonstration in the wake of US political measures (issue-oriented anti-Americanism) that can gain force through widespread ideological anti-Americanism. This dually moving form of anti-Americanism can be used by the government of a certain group to further specific aims (instrumental anti-Americanism).<sup>80</sup> To examine these causes, forms and bearers of political anti-Americanism (and the way they use rhetoric and action to maintain their goals) enables us to understand and determine more precisely which positions toward the US can be positively influences and which positions are difficult to influence from outside.<sup>81</sup>

### 3.5 Middle Eastern anti-Americanism

Negative perceptions of The United States are widespread in the Islamic world. They are however not universal. Political scientists Lisa Blaydes and Drew A. Linzer argued that the level of Islamic opposition to the United States is associated with a degree of domestic political competition in a given country between secular and religious groups.<sup>82</sup> That is why in some countries perceptions of anti-Westernization and anti-Americanism are more intense than in others. By analyzing the Iranian and Saudi Arabian case of occidentalism and anti-Americanism it is noteworthy to understand that politics, but especially religion plays an important role. With the two most conservative and highly religious countries of the Middle East, Islamism is a religious kind of occidentalism, which according to Zabardast, combines Puritanism and political power.<sup>83</sup> Wahhabism and radical Shiism in Iran are both examples of radical Islamic occidentalism and consider the West as main enemy for its support of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Idem, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Idem, 10-11.

<sup>81</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Lisa Blaydes and Drew A. Linzer, 'Elite competition, religiosity and anti-Americanism in the Islamic world', *American political science review* 106:2 (May 2012) 240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Zabardast, 'Flourishing of occidentalism in Iran after Cultural revolution', 223.

idolatry and paganism in their countries and the rest of the Middle East.84 Occidentalism can both have a top down or bottom up construction, thus it can be imposed by the leading government of a state or it can rise out of the majority of citizens. The same division is made by Iranian expert Ehsan Bakhshandeh of Iranian occidentalism. Bakhshandeh acknowledges the existence of occidentalism in Iran and divides it into state and non state occidentalism. State occidentalism is the image of the West constructed by the state through governmental policies and official statements and speeches, also carried by the media through publishing this domestic news.85 This state occidentalism is associated with the political relations between Iran and the West. Non-state occidentalism is the image of the West portrayed among Iranians through media and intellectuals and has created anti-Westernism and anti-Americanism among a growing number of Iranians.86 Anti-Americanism in Iran takes many forms. During and after the Islamic revolution in 1979 Iranian leaders created several slogans as 'Death to America' (Marg bar Amrika) or 'Great Satan' (Sheitan-e bozorg) and 'Little Satan' (Sheitan-e kutschek) which refer respectively to the US and Israel. In the Iranian politics such language became the mainstay of every speech. Up to today, Iran has a national holiday on the fourth of November on which the government initiated all kinds of events with its supporters in front of the American embassy building (which is still occupied by the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps). The burning of American flags, shouting anti-American slogans and anti-American speeches are features of this day.<sup>87</sup>

The Saudi Arabian case is slightly different. State occidentalism or anti-Americanism is less present at first sight. This is mainly because the United States and Saudi Arabia are in theory allies of each other in international politics and the economic field. Though, both anti-Americanism and a basic anti-Western stance are prevalent. Their critique on the West is directed against US policy in the region, Europe is mostly excluded from such criticism. Ironically, Western material goods and cultural values – especially those of the United States – are fully embraced. Technology, Cars, fast food, Starbucks, America's education system and US

<sup>84</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Buchta, 'Iran', 176.

economic and political position in the world are important examples for the Saudi Arabian ones.<sup>88</sup>

### 3.6 Conclusion

Although anti-Americanism already exists for ages, at the end of the twentieth century more research has been done about the phenomenon of anti-Americanism. It is important to say that still today there is much discussion about the definition, perception and acknowledgment of anti-Americanism. Not only among scholars but also among politicians and in the media. To me the most clear definition of anti-Americanism was given by Chiozza: "Anti-Americanism can be defined as a phenomenon, attitude and political believe against American democracy, American citizens, American society, American values and American symbols". This definition presents its broad phenomenon within a certain culture. It has got much to do with people's emotion. After the 9/11 attacks there was an increase in studies of anti-Americanism and the term was broadly used among the media and politicians in their foreign policy campaigns.

Some scholars believe that the exceptionalism of the US is responsible for both the American Dream in mostly Third World countries, but also for the antagonistic perceptions against United States' dominant position in the world. To Krastev anti-Americanism is more outspoken these days because there exists a tendency, even among their allies, to blame the US for their policies and actions in the world. Which remains are the debates about anti-Americanism that are divided in a side that blames the US and their (foreign) policies for anti-American feelings in the world and a side that blames the leaders for imposing anti-American feelings, based on wrong or false assumptions, in their states. The negative imaging of the West (occidentalism) and the East (orientalism) can both be used as a power tool (anti-Americanism is a variety of occidentalism, concerning only the United States). With imaging the other as stupid, greedy or even as Satan can contribute to the idea of superiority of one state in contrary to the other.

Within Iran and Saudi Arabia there are different types of anti-Americanism. It can be divided in non-state and state occidentalism or anti-Americanism. In Iran the clear distinction between these two forms of anti-Americanism are perhaps more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Guido Steinberg, 'Saudi Arabia', in Sigfrid Faath Anti-Americanism in the Islamic world, 77.

clear than in Saudi Arabia. The Iranian government is an outspoken enemy of the US, while Saudi Arabia is not. That the demonstrations against the US are not national organized by the state – like in Iran – does not mean that anti-Americanism does not exist in Saudi Arabia. It is however more difficult to trace if this is a bottom up or top down construction and how it developed. This will be examined in the following chapters.

# Chapter 4: Relationship US-Saudi Arabia and US-Iran before 2001

### 4.1 introduction

Before I turn to my primary sources and (sub) research questions, it is important to give a historical overview of the past events involving the United States, Iran and Saudi Arabia. The relationship between US-Iran and US-Saudi Arabia is important, but it is also necessary to study the relationship between Iran and Saudi Arabia, in order to understand their differences and similarities. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is rooted in certain movements in Arabia in the eighteenth century, yet the modern state of Saudi Arabia was established in 1928 and recognized by the United States in 1931. Iran has a history of dynasties going back many centuries, yet the Pahlavi dynasty was also a relatively recent origin, having been established in 1925. During the reign of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi from 1941 to 1979, close ties were established between Iran and the United States. After the Second World war and during the Cold War the relationship between the three states is even more important for my research. The emphasis of this historical overview will therefore be on the years after the Second World War until September, 2001.

# 4.2 US and Saudi Arabia, a difficult relationship

The First World War led to the fall of the Ottoman Empire and eventually to the establishment of the state Saudi Arabia. At first, the United States did not acknowledge the existence of an independent Saudi Arabian state. After many other states recognized Saudi Arabia (especially Great-Britain) the US could not fall behind and recognized Saudi Arabia and its monarch Ibn Saud (better known as King Abdulaziz) in May 1931.<sup>89</sup> In the 1930's and 1940's the US educated a substantial part of the administrative and technical elite within the Orient, also in Saudi Arabia. Schools within the Orient taught Western science, medicine and languages, but also American mental attitudes.<sup>90</sup> Is was therefore much easier for the US to communicate with someone graduated from an American school than a graduate from the old-fashioned French schools.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Parker, 'Anti-American attitudes in the Arab World', 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Ibidem.

Within the 1930's and 1940's the American oil exploitation in the Middle East also developed. This led to US investments in promoting various economic schemes and the building of several railways.91 Saudi's modern industrial and commercial infrastructures was built largely on the strength of Saudi natural resources and US expertise. 92 More substantial US involvement came however after the Second World War, to be more precise in 1947. Two developments led to the growing influence of the United States in the Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Middle East. Firstly, the Truman Doctrine (in which the US took over the British role in Turkey and Greece) and secondly, the Palestine partition resolution in the United Nations Security Council and the creation of Israel, leading to an enormous boost of US dominance over much of the Middle East. 93 The establishment and recognition of Israel by the US remains until today a problematic issue in the Middle East and impacts upon the relations between the US and countries like Iran and Saudi Arabia. During the Cold War the United States needed the support of Saudi Arabia in their battle against communism. US president Harry S. Truman and his administration promised protection against communism in Saudi Arabia. the US increased their military presence in the region. Under the mutual defense agreement in 1951, they established a permanent military base in Saudi Arabia and started training the Saudi armed forces in the 1950's. These agreements led to a strong and longstanding relationship between both states. From the late 1950's onwards the relationship between the US and Saudi Arabia somewhat slacked after King Abdulaziz died and his eldest son - king Saud - came to power. King Saud was more concerned about his relationship with the pro-Soviet president of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser, than with his relationship with the United States. Only after the Egyptian attacks on Saudi Arabia from bases in Yemen in 1962, king Saud tried to seek support from the United States. After a conflict with his brother, king Saud abdicated from the throne and his brother king Faisal became the new king.94 In 1973 the first major conflict between the US and Saudi Arabia arose after king Faisal contributed together with other Arab countries in the oil embargo against Europe and the United States to reinforce the Arab position during and after the Yom Kippur War. Saudi Arabia could not possibly stay allies with the United

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Irvine H. Anderson, *Aramco, the United States and Saudi Arabia. A study of the dynamics of foreign oil policy,* 1933-1950 (New Jersey 1981). 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Pollack, 'Anti-Americanism in contemporary Saudi Arabia', 30-31.

<sup>93</sup> Parker, 'Anti-American attitudes in the Arab World', 48-49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Parker T. Hart, *Saudi Arabia and the United States: birth of a security partnership.* (Indiana 1998) 113-115.

States if they kept supporting Israel. The oil embargo led to a decline and stop of the oil supply to the US and caused an energy crisis in the United States. In 1974 the embargo was lifted and Saudi Arabia and the US pursued their relationship once again. The 1970's was also the decade in which the Saudi elites became enriched and started spending on American luxury goods as technology, clothing and cars. The anti-communism agreement between both states was also restored. During the 1980's the Carter-doctrine was proclaimed by the United States to protect the Arab Gulf from communism. Same as with the Eisenhower-doctrine in the 1950's, the Carter-doctrine was meant to protect the House of Saud, and other pro-American states within the Middle East, but also to secure Arab oil revenues. After the death of king Khalid in 1982, king Fahad succeeded his brother on the throne. King Fahad was highly in favor of the West and the United States. During his reign he tried – in collaboration with the US – to weaken the power of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Saudi Arabia increased the oil production in order to lower the price of oil (so that the US could import oil for a lower price). This led to the 1980's oil crisis and the economic crash of several Arab oil producing countries. During the Gulf War in 1990-1991 Saudi Arabia and the US were allies in their battle against Iraq and Saddam Hussein. The American military base in Saudi Arabia expanded to 5000 troops.95 In 1995 king Abdullah succeeded his brother as king of Saudi Arabia after king Fahad was affected by several strokes. King Abdullah followed the policies of his brother Fahad and the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the US barely changed. In 2001 the second major conflict between The United Stated and the House of Saud arose. Several organizations, including the Council on Foreign Relations, published the nationality of the hijackers on the attack of the Twin Towers at September eleven. According to the sources fifteen out of nineteen hijackers of Al Qaeda had the Saudi Arabian nationality, as had the leader of this group, Osama Bin Laden.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Rachel Bronson, *Thicker than oil: America's uneasy partnership with Saudi Arabia* (Oxford 2008) 16-18.

### 4.3 Iran and the United States

The relationship between Iran and the United States developed in a different way compared to that between Saudi Arabia and the US. During the interwar period the relationship between the US and Iran was cordial, but in international affairs negligible. This however changed when Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi came to the throne in 1941. He was in favor of modernizing the economy and followed a pro-Western foreign policy. In similarity with many Arab states, American business leaders invested in modernization and industrialization of Iran. Iran was during this period already known to have extended oil reserves, which was of great interest for most American companies and individuals.96 To keep Iran as an ally of the US was also very important for the American Cold War against communism in the Middle Eastern states, given that Iran bordered the Soviet Union. Economist and political scientist, Patrick Clawson, argued that the first cracks in the US-Iran relationship occurred in 1953, when the prime minister of Iran, Muhammed Mosaddegh, was overthrown by the CIA.<sup>97</sup> US President Dwight D. Eisenhower perceived Mosaddegh to be a threat to international relations and that he would be responsible for support of the Iranian communistic Tudeh party to power. According to Clawson after this intervention the United States found their selves the object of "growing Iranian" criticism". Iranian of all political persuasions increasingly formed a negative image of the US.98 Political scientist Mark Garsiorowski argues that after the overthrow of Mosaddegh, the Shah could only maintain his power in Iran because he had become a mere client of the US, lacking domestic legitimacy. 99 The Shah could count on the support of the United States, especially in monetary assistance. During the first weeks after the overthrow of Mosaddegh the Shah received almost 68 million dollars to support his regime.

During the following years the oil revenues of Iran kept on expanding. This was a positive development for US investors in Iran, but not so much for the US-Iran politics. Because of this growing revenue, Iran became more powerful in the region and more independent from the US than the latter favored. In the early 1970's, during the Carter administration, the US attitude towards Iran was rather passive. Although

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Roger Howard, *Iran oil. The new challenge to America*. (London 2007) 43-46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Patrick Clawson, 'The paradox of anti-Americanism in Iran', *Middle East Review of International Affairs* (March 2004) 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Clawson, 'The paradox of anti-Americanism in Iran', 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Ibidem.

most US politicians were aware of the way the Shah mistreated and maltreated his citizens, there was barely any critique on the reign of the Shah. President Carter was in his speeches even rather positive about the Shah and his regime. 100 At the same time internal opposition to the Shah grew and with it anti-American sentiments. It was in this context that Ruhollah Khomeini (better known as Ayatollah Khomeini) build his campaign against the US. In his speeches he used harsh and clear language which almost sounded like Marxist propaganda: "The Pahlavi government has given all our oil to foreigners, Americans and other. They gave that all to the Americans and what did they get in return? In return they received arms in order to establish military bases for Mr. America. We gave America both oil and military bases". 101 During the 1960's and 1970's several Iranian authors published books about the abandoning of Iranian traditions by Iranian people. Jalal Al-Ahmad used in 1962 the term Gharbzadegi, translated as Westoxification. The Iranian cultural identity would be lost through the adoption of Western models and lifestyles. 102 The resistance did not only took place in books and articles, in the 1970's several functionaries of the Shah regime and numerous US military advisers and business representatives were killed by opposition groups such as the Marxist People's Fedayin and the Islamic Marxist People's Mojahedin. 103 The Marxists and Islamic opposition groups accused the Shah regime of a secularization policy, abolition of the Islamic basis of legitimacy for the state through a pre-Islamic Zoroastrian orientation, and the public depreciation of the clergy and traditional pious lifestyle. 104 According to the Islamists the Shah was influenced by foreign powers, especially by the United States and Israel. The United States used the Iranian government as a tool for their anti-Islamic policy. 105 Between January 1978 and February 1979 the opposition to the Shah (mainly socialist and religious movements) overthrew the Pahlavi dynasty and ayatollah Khomeini became the new national leader. In the aftermath of the Islamic Revolution the US embassy in Tehran was occupied in November 1979, 52 Americans were held hostage, many for no less than 444 days. The hostage-takers were young, militant Khomeini followers.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Cyrus Ghani, Iran and the rise of Reza Shah. From Qajar collapse to Pahlavi power (London, New York 2000) 192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Clawson, 'The paradox of anti-Americanism in Iran', 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Idem, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Wilfried Buchta, 'Iran' in Sigrid Faath, Anti-Americanism in the Islamic world (London 2006) 168.

<sup>104</sup> Buchta, 'Iran' 168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Idem. 169.

They called themselves "Muslim students following the line of the Imam". <sup>106</sup> The occupation of the US embassy was approved by Khomeini, who called it "The Second Revolution of Iran". <sup>107</sup> In 1980 all negotiations between the United States and Iran to free the hostages failed. It was in this year that the US cut off all diplomatic relations with Iran, imposed economic sanctions and weapons embargo, and authorizes a top-secret military campaign to free the hostages. <sup>108</sup> This campaign however failed horribly.

The hostility between the United States and Iran deepened when Iran deployed the first expeditionary corps of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (known as Pasdaran) in Lebanon, 1982. Its goal was to support the pro-Iranian Shia militias in their fight against Israel and the formation of the Lebanese pro-Iranian Shiite militia, Hezbollah. 109 In the following years more Americans were taken hostage in both Iran and Lebanon. During the Iran-Iraq war of 1980, the US supplied both sides with weapons. In return of the release of US hostages in Iran, the US supplied Iran with weapons directly or via Israel. After the Iran-Iraq war in 1988 and the dead of ayatollah Khomeini in 1989, the aggressive foreign policy driven by what Islam expert Wilfried Buchta called an "ideological dogma" ended. 110 His successor was ayatollah Ali Khamenei. The new president of Iran Ali-Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (1989-1997), was known for his pragmatic policies and avoidance of conflict with the West. During the Bill Clinton administration (1993-2001) the doctrine of Dual Containment was introduced, a policy that was aimed at both Iran and Iraq. These states were seen as major enemies of the US.<sup>111</sup> Iran, in particularly, because it supported several terrorist organizations in the region, its pursuit of weapons and mass destructions (especially nuclear weapons) and its rejection of the Middle East peace process. 112 In 1995 the Clinton administration therefore funded the CIA (for 20 million dollar) to support Iranian opposition groups. In the same year more economic sanctions were imposed to weaken Iran's economy. This hit the oil and gas sectors (two areas absolutely pivotal for Iran) tremendously.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> idem, 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> idem, 171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> idem, 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> idem, 173.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> ibidem.

In 1997 the pro-reform cleric Mohammed Khatami became president of Iran. Under his reign, the relaxation of the relation between Iran and the United States was noticeable. In 1998 Khatami even held an interview on CNN to show his goodwill. In this interview he called for a cultural dialogue between Iran and the United States. 113 The president surely demonstrated goodwill, but this was immediately countered by ayatollah Khamenei, who argued that normal bilateral relations with the US would led to the Islamic Republic losing its cultural and political independence. 114 The tensions between hardliners and moderates in Iran continued to impact its relations with the US. Both Clinton and Khatami however showed their willingness to relax US–Iranian relations. After the 9/11 attacks this totally changed. Although the Iranian government showed compassion and solidarity with the United States after the attacks, president George W. Bush and his administration were not convinced about Iran's neutrality in the terroristic attacks and their battle against the Taliban and Al Qaeda network. From this moment the US would fight their war on terrorism in Iran and the rest of the Middle East. 115

#### 4.4 Saudi Arabia and Iran

The first diplomatic relationship between Iran and Saudi Arabia was established in 1929 when the Saudi-Iranian Friendship Treaty was signed by both countries. This however did not mean that the relationship was an dynamic one. Their differences concerning religion, political and economic preferences, made it difficult to get a close relationship. Saudi Arabia's major religion is Sunni Islam. Iran's major religion is also Islam, but the majority of the people is Shiite Muslim. Although both religious branches of Islam follow almost the same laws and legislation, there are disagreements about the religious leadership and the successor of the prophet Muhammed. The history of Islam and its branches is too extensive and not entirely relevant for my thesis, therefore I shall not elaborate further on this in the chapters. It is however important to understand that between Sunni and Shia Muslims there was and still is a conflict concerning with the definition and practices of the 'pure' Islam. Since, the state religion of Saudi Arabia and Iran are totally different and their political

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> idem, 174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Idem, 175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Ibidem, 175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Dick Douwes, *De Islam. Een kleine geschiedenis* (Amsterdam 2016) 13.

and economic preferences differ, it makes it difficult to come closer together. There are however not only differences, but also similarities between both states. Abdel Aziz Bin Baz, the long-time religious leader of Saudi Arabia, argued that Muslims have a religious obligation to hate Jews and Christians. He also called for the rejection of modern science, rock music and Hollywood films and rejected American values. Similar thoughts can also be found in Iran among the religious establishment. For instance, when the clerics consolidated their rule in the early 1980's they banned all singing in public and on the radio by women and only allowed men to sing. 117 The separation of men and women on schools and public Houses was also a statement of Bin Baz and similar policies were introduced in Iran, albeit not as rigid as in Saudi Arabia. This shows that although both states are devoted to another branch in Islam, their highly conservative stances show considerable overlap and make it possible to adopt mutually approved conservative Islamic policies.

In 1966 king Faisal paid a visit to Iran in order to strengthening the relationship. In response the Shah of Iran visited Saudi Arabia not much later and for a moment they had a flourishing relationship. They cooperated in the establishment of several Islamic institutions as the Muslim World League and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Both the Shah and king Faisal were also eager on taking the leading role in the maintaining of peace and security in the Middle East. The Islamic Revolution changed everything, and caused a considerable backlash. Ayatollah Khomeini and the opposition of the Shah accused Saudi Arabia for its ungodly religion and its perceived non-religious character. 118 At first, Saudi Arabia openly congratulated Khomeini with the establishment of his Islamic Republic and stated that the differences in Islam do not have to cause hostility between the two countries. However, during his reign Khomeini continued insulting Saudi Arabia and its Sunni Muslims. He frequently called them "vile and ungodly Wahhabis" and stated that the holy city of Mecca was in the hands of "a band of heretics". 119 The Iran-Iraq war also caused tensions between the two states, when Saudi Arabia gave monetary aid to the Saddam Hussein government of Iraq. King Khalid of Saudi Arabia called Iran a bigger threat to the Middle East than Iraq. He also encouraged neighboring states to support Iraq against Iran in their war. During the following years the relationship only

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Clawson, 'The paradox of anti-Americanism in Iran', 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Jonathan D. Halevi, 'The impending Clash between Iran and Saudi Arabia' on website Jerusalem Center for Public affairs, <a href="http://jcpa.org/impending-clash-iran-saudi-arabia/">http://jcpa.org/impending-clash-iran-saudi-arabia/</a> (01-02-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Halevi, 'The impending Clash between Iran and Saudi Arabia'.

further deteriorated. The first breach in diplomatic relations was in 1987 when Iranian-led demonstrators and Saudi security forces clashed in Mecca during the pilgrimage which claimed the lives of almost 300 Iranian pilgrims. Saudi Arabia banned all Iranian pilgrimages to the holy cities of Medina and Mecca. Tehran responded on this by ransacking the Saudi embassy in Iran and this eventually led to the death of a Saudi official. As a result Saudi Arabia cut its diplomatic relation with Iran. The Gulf War in 1990 led to a considerable thaw in the Iran-Saudi relationship. Both states felt threatened by the Iraqi expansionism in the region.

In 1997 Iran held a meeting of the Organization of the Islamic conference and with several other Arab countries Saudi Arabia also joined this gathering. Because Saudi Arabia's participation, the relationship between both countries was slightly restored. Both leaders of Iran and Saudi Arabia brought a visit to each other's countries and in May 1998 an agreement (the Comprehensive Cooperation Agreement) was signed in which both states agreed to cooperate in economics, culture and sports. As with his attitude to the United States, president Khatami also called for a better relationship with his neighboring countries and visited Saudi Arabia in 1999 for several days. In the following months king Fahd of Saudi Arabia encouraged other Middle Eastern countries to improve their relationship with Iran.

### 4.5 conclusion

The relationship of Saudi Arabia and the US goes back to the 1930's and was primarily based on economic grounds. The mining of oil in Saudi Arabia with US support (in expertise and in financial support), resulted for both countries in economic benefits, especially during the 1960's and 1970's, Saudi Arabia earned a great deal of money from it and the US could purchase oil for a fair price. The relationship expanded into a political and military relationship. During the 1950's and 1960's the US funded military bases in Saudi Arabia and in return Saudi Arabia would become an ally of the United States in their fight against communism. Within the 1970's the first cracks occur in the US-Saudi relationship with the oil embargo in the Arab stance against the Israeli- Arab Yom Kippur War. After the abolition of oil embargo the US-Saudi relationship continued as before. The major struggle came after the 9/11 attacks.

The US-Iran relationship was and still is more adversarial, though this was not always the case. During the 1940's the relationship between Iran and the US was also based on economic investments. During the reign of Shah Reza Pahlavi, Iran followed a pro-Western policy based on modernization and industrialization. The US stance on Iranian domestic policies was pragmatic during the following decades, since it bare little attention to the Shah's violations of human rights. This in combination with a large socialist movement (among other based on communism) and religious opposition groups, paved the way for the expulsion of the Shah and the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979. The occupation of the American embassy during the Islamic Revolution was one of the first major events for the new anti-American Iranian government. After 1980 all diplomatic relations between Iran and the US were cut off and the rivalry between Iran and the United States developed.

The relationship between Iran and Saudi Arabia is complicated due to religious indifferences in Shia and Sunni Islam and their different stance against political and economic developments. During the Shah's reign the relationship between the two states was rather friendly, this changed however after ayatollah Khomeini and his men came to power during the Islamic Revolution. Especially Khomeini was eager on insulting Saudi Arabia on its 'ungodly religion' and in 1987 the Iran-Saudi relationship was cut off and did not improve until the presidency of Khatami.

# **Chapter 5: Anti-Americanism in Iran**

#### 5.1 Introduction

In 1988 Richard B. Parker stated in his article 'Anti-American attitude in the Arab world': "Anti-Americanism in the Arab world today is not an inherent and unavoidable phenomenon of race and religion. It is a reaction to American policies and to the penetration of the Western culture. It will be with us for some time to come for a number of reasons, including US identification with Israel, US involvement in local issues and US over identification with local leaders". To my opinion the statement of Parker describes the most important factors for anti-Americanism in the Middle East, including Iran and Saudi Arabia. In the following two chapters I shall examine my primary sources in order to my hypothesis based on the statement of Parker to the test for the two cases Iran and Saudi Arabia. At the end of these chapters I will answer two sub-questions of my thesis. The first is being: 'In which ways did the governments of Iran and Saudi Arabia respond to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and to what extent did this reaction reflect public opinion?'. The second will be: 'what type of anti-Americanism is largely supported or imposed in Iran and Saudi Arabia between 2001-2011?'. I will focus on the various manifestations on anti-Americanism following the typology provided by Rubenstein and Smith: issue-oriented, ideological, revolutionary and instrumental. 120

My primary sources are media sources such as news websites and video's on YouTube. Most sources are derived from MEMRI (Middle East Media Research Institute). MEMRI is a non-profit organization with its headquarters in Washington D.C. This organization publishes free translations of Persian, Turkish and Arabic sources on its website. According to the website the goal of MEMRI is to bridge a gap between the West and the Middle East. MEMRI is however known to be pro-Israel and in the selection of the texts the focus appears to be on the more outspoken

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Faath, Anti-Americanism in the Islamic World, 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> MEMRI translates (news)articles and columns of several Iranian and Saudi Arabian media sources. For this chapter I have only used the sources that I thought were important and reliable for my research. I sometimes tried to translate random sources from Arabic to English of Persian to English on Google Translate and most of these sources did match the translation on MEMRI. Most of the time I trusted on the translation of the articles made by MEMRI.

<sup>122 &#</sup>x27;About us', http://www.memri.org/about-memri.html (04-05-2016).

voices in the Middle East. As one observer stated: 'MEMRI's intent is to find the worst possible quotes from the Muslim world and disseminate them as widely as possible'. 123 It seems a more mysterious organization, since it does not give the names of any people to contact neither does it have an office address. 124 What is according to most journalists even more vexatious is the selection of sources to translate on their website. According to Brian Whitaker of The Guardian MEMRI either reflects badly on the character of Arabs or it furthers the political agenda of Israel.<sup>125</sup> A quick search on the internet reveals that MEMRI does indeed translate many Arab sources into English, but it can be seen as an Israeli 'propaganda machine'. 126 MEMRI is however one of the few websites that holds articles from 1998 until now, which makes it the most important source for my research, although I have to be careful in selecting the sources and remain critical when analyzing the source. Websites such as Al-Jazeera, Press TV, Al-Monitor, The New Arab, Your Middle-East, Saudi Gazette and Al-Arabiya also translate articles in English, but I was not able to find sources on these websites that dated back to 2011 or earlier. Because of MEMRI's pro-Israel stance, I also used YouTube, the English website of ayatollah Khamenei and other (news)websites in order to come to a balanced conclusion.

### 5.2 Internal structure and external relationship Iran

The overall relationship between Middle Eastern states and the United States deteriorated after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The relationship between Iran and the US remained problematic throughout the decade following the terrorist attacks. In between 2001-2011 Iran was ruled by two presidents: Mohammed Khatami (1997-2005) and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (2005-2013). The religious scholar Khatami was in favor of reforms in Iran. His attitude towards the US can be seen as 'soft' according to his opponents, since he did not reject a relationship with the United States, he even befriended this. The populist Ahmadinejad had a much stronger and more deprecatory opinion on the US and did not openly favor a new dialogue with the United States. Noteworthy about the internal structure of Iran is the political division between reformists and conservatives. Reformists are advocates of more freedom

<sup>123</sup> http://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/aug/12/worlddispatch.brianwhitaker (08-06-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/aug/12/worlddispatch.brianwhitaker (08-07-2016).

https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/aug/12/worlddispatch.brianwhitaker (08-07-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php/Middle East Media Research Institute (08-07-2016).

and democracy. The conservatives, in particular the hardliners, proclaim to be the protectors of the ideological principles of Islam and the Islamic Revolution. 127 President Khatami represented the reformists, while president Ahmadinejad was a radical populist supported by the conservatives. The division between the parties is however more complex than it might seem. Most of the leaders in Iran were ayatollah's (religious leaders of Shiite Islam). Although most of them support the conservative stance of ayatollah Khamenei, presidents such as Khatami and the contemporary president Rohani are ayatollah's, but also supporters of the reformists. However, the 'hardcore' conservative ayatollah's with ayatollah Khamenei as their leader still exercise much power in Iran through media (they control most of the media sources in Iran) and public speeches. The Highest Leader represents the conservatives and has the final say. Although the number of newspapers in Iran is high, the number of printed copies of all newspapers in daily circulation is less than two million. (This number was much higher in the 'reformist era' of Khatami when censorship was comparatively relaxed). 128 Pro-reform outlets have been closed during this decade and their writers imprisoned. Iran is therefore described by media freedom advocates as "one of the five biggest prisons in the world" for journalists. 129 Digital media are however important instruments in the political field to spread the leader's ideas.

During 2001-2011 the nuclear program of Iran was one of the main issues impacting upon the relationship between the US and Iran. The Iranian nuclear program dates back to the 1950's and was used for nuclear power plants and the radiation of cancer. After the Islamic Revolution Iran started to openly announce the destruction of Israel and ever since the nuclear program of Iran was controversial to the West, especially to the US, because of the possibility that Iran aimed at constructing a nuclear bomb. Ahmadinejad stated several times that Israel should be 'wiped off the map'. 130 Both the United Nations and the European Union imposed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> MEMRI: Inquiry & Analysis Series Report N0.77. <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/549.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/549.htm</a> 26-04-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Iran Media Program, 'The political Affiliation of Iranian Newspapers', 1

 $<sup>\</sup>underline{\text{http://www.iranmediaresearch.org/en/research/download/1380}} \ (08-06-2016).$ 

<sup>129</sup> http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14541327.

<sup>130 &#</sup>x27;Israel should be wiped off map, says Iran's president',

https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/oct/27/israel.iran (10-06-2016).

sanctions on Iran on account of its elusive and vague nuclear program.<sup>131</sup> During this period, the US imposed the strictest economic and political sanctions.

## 5.3 typologies of anti-Americanism in Iran

#### **5.3.1** Issue oriented

In 2010 Hamid Mowlana of University of Washington DC and also former advisor to Ahmadinejad said in a speech at the Tehran University that Iran had to resist against hegemony. Since World War II the US had employed several organizations, universities and media outlets to use soft warfare tactics. The US did this to put their policies into practice in the world. They have also tried to infiltrate into Iran by influencing students, professors, journalists and businessmen. MEMRI stated that Mowlana therefore advised Iranian officials to take very clear measures to counter US tactics against the Middle East and especially against Iran. Mowlana is according to MEMRI known for his strong anti-American ideas. In 2008 he was photographed stepping on an US flag during a visit to Tehran. He however stated that many professors at his university share the same objections against UD hegemony in the world. 133 It is however debatable whether Mowlana is in fact criticizing the US policies, like many other scholars do, or whether he is actually anti-American like MEMRI stated.

Imperialism, interventions, domination, hypocrisy are terms commonly in issue-oriented anti-American discourse. According to head of the Doctrinal Center for National Security (part of the Revolutionary Guards), Hassan Abassi, there is no such thing as US democracy. This 'so-called' democracy is in the hands of a few hundred Zionists who "appoint and dismiss people as they please". The United States manifests their selves as the protector and bearer of human rights, but, he argues, this is all a lie.<sup>134</sup> According to Abassi the majority of the US citizens still undergo racism, poverty and injustice on a daily basis.<sup>135</sup>

The invasion in Iraq which started the Iraq War (2003-2011) is during these years an important trigger for anti-Americanism. According to Khamenei and other Iranian leaders this war is one of the important proofs for the 'fact' that the Americans

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Resolution 1737 Security Council, United Nations (2006).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 2874 http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/4056.htm (25-04-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 2874.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> http://www.roozonline.com/08interview/014689.shtml (13-04-2016).

<sup>135</sup> http://www.roozonline.com/08interview/014689.shtml.

are "the biggest violators of human rights [...] they treat lives of numerous people as worthless and do not show any respect to their rights". He continued: "During the Iraq war they used 10-ton bombs, mother of bombs as Americans used to call them, to kill many people, civilians, children and women". Next to the support of Israel's occupation in Palestine, he argues, the Iraq war shows once and for all that the US are the biggest violator of democracy, they did not want to bring democracy to Iraq, they only wanted domination and power in the region, Khamenei argues.<sup>136</sup>

In 2006 Ayatollah Khamenei issued a communiqué in which he showed his compassion for the people who died because of the US intervention in the Israel-Lebanon War (2006) Khamenei stated the following:

"Today more than ever, the Muslim peoples are disgusted and furious with the Americans. The Muslim governments, including those governments whose political statements stem from restrictions that are placed upon them, are disgusted by the insolent and arrogant oppression and are opposed to it. The American regime can expect a resounding slap and a devastating fist-blow from the Muslim nation for its support of the Zionist crimes and criminals, after it has so brazenly violated the rights of the Muslim peoples. [...] America's and Israel's aggressive character and conduct revives the spirit of resistance in the Islamic world, now more than ever, and make the value of jihad clearer than ever". 137

This statement shows Khamenei's discontent of US policies in the region. Defining US policies as the arrogantly oppression and aggressive is typical issue-oriented anti-Americanism. Although president Khatami favored a more friendly relationship with the US, he expected no change in the US-Iranian relations. Only when the US change their policies and methods, Iran would respond, if not Iran will not bow for the United States. During the U.N. Security Council meetings on widening the sanctions against Iran caused by its nuclear program, Revolutionary Guards Commander, Yahya Rahim Safavi, told Al-Alam TV that Iran was independently manufacturing ballistic missiles with a range of 2.000 kilometer. According to commander of the Iranian land forces, Nour Ali Shoushtari, these missiles and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Leader's Speech to Government officials. <a href="http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1354/Leader-s-Speech-to-Government-Officials">http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1354/Leader-s-Speech-to-Government-Officials</a> (26-04-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> MEMRI: Excerpts Fars, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/1770.htm (28-04-2016).

<sup>138</sup> Interview president Khatami, covered by Iranian channel 1, *Al-Arabiya TV* http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/1865.htm (25-04-2016).

unmanned aerial vehicles could carry out suicide operations against US destroyers so that George W. Bush removes his forces from the region. Anything must be done to destroy US dominance in the region, according to Shoushtari in MEMRI.<sup>139</sup>

### 5.3.2 Ideological

According to Ayalet Savyon, the director of the Iranian Media Project<sup>140</sup>, the Iranian interests in 2001 could be strengthened not through confrontation but rather through dialogue with the US. The difference between conservatives and reformists was clear in condemning the 9/11 attacks in New York. According to the article of MEMRI members of the reformists called this attack a terrorist operation and president Khatami expressed "deep sorrow and sympathy for the victims" 141, while the most conservative members called it one of the many other acts of slaughter like in Hiroshima and Iraq. It is not a coincidence to refer to other 'acts of slaughter' and mention attacks in which the US were involved or supposed to be involved. Especially Khamenei legitimated the attacks on the US. Because of all the crimes the US has committed in the world. "it must be a lesson to the US to adopt a new approach"<sup>142</sup>, he stated at the Friday preachers at the University of Tehran in 2001. Both Khamenei and the conservative press dismissed the possibility that Muslims or Bin Laden were responsible for the attacks. Instead they blamed Israel for the attacks, but also seemed to contradict themselves by claiming that it was the United States' support for Israel that led to the 9/11 attacks. 143 According to Khamenei anti-Americanism could be explained by the expansionists policies of the United States in the world. "If this country had abandoned these policies and dealt with its internal affairs, such problems and events would not have taken place". 144 He further stated that there are many indications that Zionists and not Arabs are the designers perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks. It is therefore nothing more than an Israeli plot aimed

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 $<sup>^{139}</sup>$  MEMRI: Inquiry & Analysis Series Report No. 327 <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/1820.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/1820.htm</a> (25-04-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> The Iranian Media project or program is 'a collaborative network designed to enhance the understanding of Iran's media ecology'. Its goal is to strengthen a global network of Iranian media scholars and practitioners and to contribute to Iran's civil society and the wider policy-making community by providing a more nuanced understanding of the role of media and the flow of information in Iran. <a href="http://iranmediaresearch.org/en/about">http://iranmediaresearch.org/en/about</a> (08-06-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 286. <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/531.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/531.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> MEMRI:Special Dispatch No. 286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Ibidem.

to connect terrorism with Islam. These claims were adopted by conservative newspapers as the *Kayhan, Jumhir-ye Eslami* and the *Tehran times*. Noteworthy is that after the condemnations by political leaders and newspapers of the 9/11 attacks students (a group of more than 4000 people according to *the Associated Press*) organized demonstrations in Iran to show their solidarity with the US. Such manifestations had not happen since the Islamic Revolution of 1979. The Iranian police prohibited this demonstration and several people were arrested.

The slogan 'Death to America' is perhaps the best known example of (ideological) anti-Americanism in Iran. During the Islamic Revolution the slogan was popularized by ayatollah Khomeini and was used as a one of its pillars. The slogan was propagandized by various Iranian leaders and became the central slogan used by the state to orchestrate demonstrations. According to the video of MEMRI Iranian pilgrims in Mecca showed images of the collapse of the World Trade Center and the burning of the American flag in 2006. The whole group start shouting 'Death to America!'. 145 The same happened during a speech of president Ahmadinejad, on the third of August in 2006, in which he summoned the United States not to mingle in to the affairs of Iran and its nuclear program. 146 The slogan is - since 1979 - more instrumental and issue oriented and a instrument by Iranian leaders to mobilize their following. Within Iran this slogan was adopted by the Iranian citizens which eventually led to a certain anti-American ideology. Ever since citizens now shout this slogan when they witnessing the collapse of the World Trade Center, an event in which not American politicians or president, but 3000 ordinary Americans died, was accompanied by shouting this slogan of institutionalized hatred.

On June 18<sup>th</sup>, 2010 president Ahmadinejad gave a speech in the city of Shahre-Kord, Iran. According to this MEMRI source Ahmadinejad mobilized the Iranian audience to liberate the US people from dictatorship. According to him all anti-human programs in the world are being carried out under the suspicion of the US government. Ahmadinejad also claimed that in the United States people cannot demonstrate freely. According to him it is the mission of Iran to "deliver the American people from its undemocratic and bullying government".<sup>147</sup> This notion that the US

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> MEMRI: 'Iranian pilgrims in Mecca shout "Death to America, the Great Satan" in an Anti-American Rally', http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/991.htm. (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> MEMRI: 'Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad: The Iranian people is the owner of Nuclear technology', <a href="http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/1216.htm">http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/1216.htm</a>. (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> MEMRI: Social Dispatch No. 3043, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/4386.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/4386.htm</a> (06-04-2016).

are not free and that the Americans should be helped by Iran and not the other way around can be defined as both ideological and instrumental anti-Americanism. Instrumental because Ahmadinejad argued that the US are not the nation of liberty and equality, the picture that the US promotes. He indirectly tells his audience that they should be thankful concerning the Iranian government and that they should pity the US citizens depicted as living in a state of captivity. It is doubtful as to if Iranian audiences were actually influenced by Ahmadinejad's speech, but it became certainly a line of governmental policy motivating and organizing people to take the issue to the streets. The students supported US protestors in the "Occupy Wall Street" (a protest movement against the greed and influence of Wall Street and other financial companies in the United States), because the Americans were to believed to be oppressed by their own government. According to MEMRI members of the Iranian students find it alarming that protestors in the US are beaten up by the police and are not allowed to protest against the 'symbol of evil and the root of all troubles in the US'.148

### **5.3.3 Instrumental**

Reformist newspapers in 2002 promote that a dialogue with the US is not a crime, but 'the proper thing' for the time. Columnist Hussein Bastani ridiculed the conservative columnists who banned the discussion on relation between the US and Iran. However, according to MEMRI the conservative *Daily Kayhan International* criticized in 2002 the apathy of Muslim nations and called upon them to unite against the US. This column calls all Muslims to unite and overcome the unwarranted fear of the United States. Because the US has harmed so many people in Palestine, Afghanistan and other regions of the Middle East, it is time to strike back. At the same moment, members of the Iranian students' movement called for more freedom of speech in Iran and condemned that at every opportunity Iranians cry 'Leave Palestine alone, think about us' and by the labeling of the US as the Great Satan and Israel as 'the occupier of Muslim lands' Iran made its own enemies, according to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> MEMRI: Social Dispatch No. 4242, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/5766.htm (06-04-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> MEMRI: Inquiry & Analysis Series Report No. 103, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/699.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/699.htm</a> (25-04-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> MEMRI: Social Dispatch No. 379, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/663.htm (13-04-2016).

student members. These student movements aimed at establishing peaceful relations with the US and promoted the idea that both Israel and Palestine have the right to exist.<sup>151</sup> Am I not sure whether this was actually a quote from the members of Iranian students or just a propaganda tool of MEMRI to show the Iranian students support for Israel. If this statement is however true, it can be an important (liberal) message from the student movement. The conservatives tried to muffle such voices. Every year ayatollah Khamenei gives a speech at the Students Day in November. In 2002 he emphasized the embodiment of arrogance of the United States. According to MEMRI, Khamenei argued that the United States show little or no respect for other nations. Although the US repeatedly claim that they advocate human rights in the world, they interfere with other nations in an inhuman way. He continued to state that the US have turned the embassy in Tehran into a center of sabotage, espionage and bribery and that they would the same in the future. Although Khamenei's anti-Americanism may seem to be issue oriented or ideological, to my opinion it is more instrumental. By blaming the US for all the corrupt and evil matters in the world, he seems to distract his own people from what is actually going on in Iran, most certainly when people are rioting against the Iranian government. Khamenei claimed to lead them to 'the right path', the path of Khomeini. By summoning his citizens to stay strong and united, he argues, the US will not succeed in implementing their hostile plans. "Despite all this, US officials know very well themselves that their plots and hostilities against our country against our nation are not likely to yield any results. Indeed, as long as we remain vigilant and as long as we face up to our responsibilities, all of the enemies plots are doomed to fail", stated Khamenei. 152 In a similar vein he admonished officials of the Ministry of Education on July 2002. Khamenei reminded them that the most significant task is to properly educate Iranian children. After this he instantly referred to the US hostilities against the Islamic Republic and therefore the duty of Iran is to belief in Allah and to refuse to bow for the hegemony of a world power such as the United States. According to Khamenei US officials are selling democracy all over the world, but in fact the US do not believe in this principle and their politicians lie to their own people. 153 At first, one might think

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> MEMRI: Social Dispatch No. 451, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/781.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/81.htm</a> (14-04-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> 'Leader's Speech on Students Day', <a href="http://english.khamenei.ir/news/152/Leader-s-Speech-on-Students-Day">http://english.khamenei.ir/news/152/Leader-s-Speech-on-Students-Day</a> (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> 'Leader's Address to Education Ministry officials', <a href="http://english.khamenei.ir/news/159/Leader-s-Address-to-Education-Ministry-Officials">http://english.khamenei.ir/news/159/Leader-s-Address-to-Education-Ministry-Officials</a> (02-05-2016).

that Khamenei is criticizing the US for their deeds, but knowing that these speeches were giving after pro-American demonstrations, it seems obvious that these speeches are instrumental, because Khamenei is countering voices that are more open to the US and promote more liberal values who are thus contesting the dominance of conservatives in Iran.

According to MEMRI in response to the liberal protests in Iran, the conservative newspaper *daily Jomhuri-ye Eslami* (often seen as the mouthpiece of ayatollah Khamenei) lashed out strongly against those Iranians who were calling for democracy, liberty and human rights. Editors of the newspaper accused them of being 'the enemy of Iran and the Islamic Revolution'. Moreover, people who support or pursue the US principles are the same as George W. Bush and Ariel Sharon. This is once again an instrumental use of anti-Americanism by the conservative leaders who are withholding Iranians more freedom or democracy, also in the view of protecting their power. There is a difference between Iranians living in the city and those who live at the countryside or in the slums. The latter will mostly follow the conservatives. Iranians who live in the city are more liberal minded and will therefore be a greater threat to the conservatives and more in favor of the reformists.

The idea that the Middle East and Iran are dominated by the US is nourished by the statements of ayatollah Khamenei. According to Khamenei, the US are trying to overturn the governments in order to install their own type of government in the region. The US have plans for the whole region, to bring democracy in disguise. All they eventually bring is trouble and dominance. Most of the (conservative) leaders have similar opinions. After the election of president Ahmadinejad there were two matters not negotiable for change: Iran's hostility towards the US would remain the same and Iran would never acknowledge the legitimate existence of Israel. This showed the firmness of Iranian leaders in their anti-American attitude. Ayatollah Meshkini argued that "America and England are two cancerous growths which will destroy any country whose body they enter", according to the MEMRI source. This country created Zionism, supported it and is now dominated by it. According to Khamenei the primary enemy of Iran are the US and their Zionist regime, because it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No.463, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/801.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/801.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> MEMRI: Special Report No. 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> 'Iranian Leader Ali Khamenei: Iran has shown it is not afraid of the US', <a href="http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/1243.htm">http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/1243.htm</a>. (02-05-2016).

is opposed to the interests of the Iranian nation. Although members of the Iranian leaders, and especially ayatollah Khamenei, use propaganda in their speeches to withhold their people to sympathize with the US, Khamenei accused the US of using propaganda and psychological warfare of Zionist media. The US accuses Iran for making atomic bombs, which was, according to Khamenei, not true.<sup>157</sup> The responsibility of the Iranians must be clear: returning to their identity and gain power together. "The Iranian people should not let themselves get bullied by the Americans. The only way we can win against this 'hand of global arrogance' is to stand strong", according to Khamanei's speech.<sup>158</sup>

Although some supported negotiations with the US concerning the nuclear facilities, ayatollah Khamenei immediately spoke strongly against this idea. He stated that "the hatred felt by the Iranian people for the US was profound". 159 Although this does not necessarily seems instrumental anti-Americanism, it makes clear that Khamenei put an end to the public discussion of negotiations with the US. The Iranian leaders are apprehensive about a dialogue with the United States, since, according to MEMRI, this would put an end to 'the reason of state': hostility towards the US.<sup>160</sup> Although the election of president Obama might change the relationship between the US-Iran, ayatollah and Khatami stated in the Friday sermon on may sixth, 2009 that nothing had changed during the 100 days of the Obama presidency, even though Obama came to power with the slogan of "change". Khatami added to this: "If America was a human being, we would talk to it. But it is not, and this is still the same nation as it was 30 years ago. Therefore: 'Death to America!". 161 I doubt whether Iran was really willing to improve relations with the US, even if Obama had stick to his policy of change. At the end of his speech Khatami reveals that this would probably never happen because the US would always support Israel. "Americans always consider themselves committed to supporting Israel. That is the dark stain in U.S. diplomacy. They do not learn that Israel is the occupier and aggressor", stated Khatami. 162

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> 'Leader's Speech to Basijis', <a href="http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1728/Leader-s-Speech-to-Basijis">http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1728/Leader-s-Speech-to-Basijis</a> (02-05-2016).

<sup>158</sup> 'Leader's speech to Basijis'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> MEMRI: Inquiry & Analysis Series Report No. 477, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/3081.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/3081.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> MEMRI: Inquiry & Analysis Series Report No. 477.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 2342, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/3276.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/3276.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 2342.

During the months in which the Arab Spring got hold of the Middle Eastern countries, Khamenei conducted more public speeches and emphasized that the US are the cause of these revolts and source of evil to all nations. Dictators in North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula who were relying on the US were overthrown. He warned his people to not trust the United States in his speech of 2011. The countries in North-Africa will either manage to delineate the right (Islamic) path for their people or follow a leader who will bring them democracy and freedom but who is actually a dictator in disguise set up by the US.<sup>163</sup> Khamenei and most of the other leaders in the region, were afraid that their citizens would also riot against the ruling government and its leaders. In order to prevent this, he argued not to follow the US and learn from the foolish mistakes other countries made. It is clever of Khamenei to blame the US for everything that happened in the Islamic countries, since Khamenei knows rather well that most of the problems in the region were not (solely) created by the US and their interventions. His people should continue to follow the ruling Iranian leaders and not the ideology of the Arab Spring. In his speech to the participants of international Islamic Unity conference on the twentieth of February, the 22<sup>nd</sup> demise anniversary of Imam Khomeini on the forth of June 164165 and to the government officials on June 30<sup>th166</sup> and many other events he kept repeating the same ideas about the US and that Iran should not be tricked by their propaganda of freedom and democracy, like it tricked many other countries in this region. He called upon his people to notice that they had one position against popular movements in the world: "Wherever there is a movement that is Islamic, popular and anti-American, we will support it. But if we notice that a movement has been instigated by the Americans and Zionists we will not support that movement!". 167 The presence of the US and other arrogant powers has weakened Muslim nations, shed their blood and undermined their determination. Their presence is more important than all other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> 'Leader's Speech to members of Assembly of Experts', <a href="http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1521/Leader-s-Speech-to-Members-of-Assembly-of-Experts">http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1521/Leader-s-Speech-to-Members-of-Assembly-of-Experts</a> (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> 'Leader's Speech on the occasion of Imam Khomeini's 22<sup>nd</sup> demise',

http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1467/Leader-s-Speech-on-the-Occasion-of-Imam-Khomeini-s-22nd-Demise (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> 'Leader's address to participants of international Islamic unity',

http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1426/Leader-s-Address-to-Participants-of-International-Islamic-Unity (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> 'Leader's Speech to Government officials on Mab'ath', <a href="http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1483/Leader-s-">http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1483/Leader-s-</a> Speech-to-Government-Officials-on-Mab-ath (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> 'Leader's Speech on the occasion of Imam Khomeini's 22<sup>nd</sup> demise'.

problems of the world of Islam and this problem should be solved. Push the US out of the arena and weaken it, according to Khamenei. 168

During this study it is of interest to do a brief statistic research of the frequencies of anti-American slogans of Khamenei in his speeches between 2001-2011 in order to find a certain pattern or relation between US events in the Middle East and the rest of the world and the way in which Khamenei anticipates on these events in his speeches. On his website www.khamenei.ir all of Khamenei's (public) speeches were published and also translated in English. For this research I trusted the accuracy and verity of the translations made by his translators. A research on the website revealed that the frequency of public speeches between 2004-2011 were rather consistent. Between 2001-2003 the given speeches were remarkable lower. This could either mean that Khamenei held less speeches in public, or that not all of his speeches were published on his website. Considering that I could only find five public speeches in 2001 on his website, I assume the latter is the case. The results are published in graphic 1 in the appendix. Out of the results I could see that in 2001 60 percent, in 2002 8 percent and in 2003 25 percent of his speeches contained anti-American slogans or information. From 2004 the number of published speeches on his website were more consistent. The graphic shows that between 2004-2011 the year 2004 had a low percentage of references, while the years 2007, 2009, 2010 and 2011 with respectively 27.4, 29.8, 32.7 and even 55.2 percent had a rather high percentage in references. I can therefore conclude that years in which Iran was under pressure – either by demands of his people for negotiations with the US for instance on the nuclear program or by the upcoming Arab Spring – anti-Americanism in his speeches were remarkably higher than in periods of tranquility.

#### **5.3.4 Religious**

Several ayatollah's, presidents and other leaders are trying to refer to Khomeini in almost every speech, statement or letter. In May 2006, president Ahmadinejad called upon president Bush to accept Islam. The letter he wrote to the US president was a replica of the 1989 letter written by ayatollah Khomeini. The scope of the letter of 1989 and 2006 was the same: The problem of the US is not economics, ownership or freedom. The main problem is "the lack of true belief in God". Ahmadinejad signed

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> 'Leader's address to participants of international Islamic unity'.

his letter with the same Qu'ran verse prophet Mohammed signed his epistle to the king of Ethiopia. According to MEMRI Ahmadinejad and ayatollah Jannati cannot accept the US and the West because of their lack of (true) religion. 170

Within his speeches ayatollah Khamenei is constantly referring to the US as the symbol of arrogance.<sup>171</sup> Within Islam arrogance or 'kibr' is not permissible. A twelfth century religious scholar, Ibn Qudamah, once said that kibr may hide within people, but also comes to the surface when one is interacting with others.<sup>172</sup> In the sixteenth sura (chapter) of the Qur'an, Allah warns He is not found of proud and arrogant people. Those who act proud or arrogant will not end in paradise with Allah, but in hell.<sup>173</sup> By referring to the US as an arrogant nation, is indirectly referring to a sinful and immoral nation, the opposite of what a nation should be like, according to Khamenei.

#### 5.3.5 Pro-Americanism

Besides anti-Americanism, Iran also has a substantial pro-American or at least not anti-American group. Iran is known for its clear anti-American attitude, the road to more democracy and power is however widely supported by especially Iranians in the cities. One of Khomeini's grandsons, Hussein Khomeini, stated that the Iranian regime is the world's worst dictatorship. He is a supporter of the reformists, intellectuals, and writers opposed to the regime. He is not opposed to the US. "Freedom is more important than bread, If Americans will provide it let them come", he stated according to MEMRI. <sup>174</sup> Perhaps the following message is not pro-American, but by all means not anti-American. The Iranian ayatollah Mousavi-Tebrizi called in 2006 for Iran to negotiate and renew relations with the United States. This message, published in the reformist Iranian online newspaper *Rooz Hossein*, is important because the majority of the ayatollah's is firmly anti-American. This ayatollah is not. To him new negotiations are not the problem, because negotiating

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> MEMRI: Inquiry & Analysis Series Report No. 276, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/1692.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/1692.htm</a> (03-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> MEMRI: Inquiry & Analysis Series Report No. 276.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Ayatollah Khamenei refers to 'the symbol of arrogance' in almost all of his speeches. One of them can be found on: 'The leader's view of global arrogance', <a href="http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1179/The-Leader-s-View-of-Global-Arrogance">http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1179/The-Leader-s-View-of-Global-Arrogance</a> (25-04-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Leor Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave. Death rites and the making of Islamic society.* (New York 2007) 307.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Qur'an, An- Nahl: 23-29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 548, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/922.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/922.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

does not mean dependency. This, according to Mousavi-Tebrizi, is something the Iranians must always be aware of.<sup>175</sup> The same intention was brought up by senior Iranian officials in 2007 when they made statements in favor of negotiating with the US. According to the Iranian Expediency Council Chairman, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, it would in the future be effective for Iran to negotiate with the US, but they must at the same time always preserve the honor of Iran.<sup>176</sup> Whether with 'the honor of Iran' Rafsanjani and the senior officials mean the path of Khomeini, and the norms and values of the Islamic Iranian Republic, is unclear.

In 2008, during the US presidential election campaign, supporters of president Ahmadinjad in Iran, advocated talks with the US to settle the nuclear crisis. These supporters saw the benefits of negotiations with the US for Iran. Their perception was clear: if there was willingness to negotiate with the 'Great Satan', the US would recognize Iran as a fellow nuclear superpower.<sup>177</sup> Although using the term 'Great Satan' does not look like a friendly intermezzo in the US-Iran relationship, it is important to understand that the support for negotiations with the US, is already an achievement. Iran's representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency, Ali Soltaniyeh, stated that Iran would welcome a renewed dialogue with America in order to reduce the tensions between both countries.<sup>178</sup> The old Guard conservatives and other supporters of ayatollah Khamenei did however stressed out that there was no room in Iran for conciliation or dialogue with the US <sup>179</sup>

### **5.4 Conclusion**

In Iran the most important typologies of anti-Americanism are issue-oriented and instrumental. The crimes committed by the US in history and most recent events, such as the Iraq War, Afghanistan War and the support of Israel are for most Iranian leaders source of hatred against the US. Especially the US policies and their government –ruled by Zionists- and null chance that this will ever change, is the reason for Iranian leaders to not improve relationships with the US. Important for Iran is the division between conservatives and reformist and their role in Iranian media.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 1117, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/01639.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/01639.htm</a> (15-04-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> MEMRI: Inquiry & Analysis Series Report No. 237, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/1820.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/1820.htm</a> (15-04-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> MEMRI: Inquiry & Analysis Series Report No. 477, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/3081.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/3081.htm</a> (02-04-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> MEMRI: Inquiry & Analysis Series Report No. 477.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Ibidem.

This division is however sometimes hard to describe, since most leaders are perhaps representatives for the reformist or conservative camp, they foremost serve their own interests, unregarded whether this interest is typical reformist or conservative. Most of the newspapers are controlled and censored by conservatives, who spread anti-American propaganda on a large scale in newspapers, social media and public speeches of the (religious) leaders. Although president Khatami is seen as a reformist president who tried to reach a understanding between the US and Iran, this did not arise out of the MEMRI sources and speeches that were published on the English website of Khamenei. Khatami still used anti-American propaganda in his speeches. This could either mean that MEMRI did not allow pro-American slogans from a Iranian president on its website, or pro-American slogans by an Iranian president were not allowed by most of the conservative leaders in Iran. To my opinion the latter is more the case, since the conservatives do everything in order to maintain the anti-American Iranian society.

I can conclude that anti-Americanism in Iran is foremost imposed and maintained by the conservative (religious) leaders. They impose anti-American slogans, demonstrations and national holidays in order to control and maintain their own power. They use issue-oriented anti-Americanism as an instrument to legitimize their own goals - 'Iran can hate the US because of all the horrible US deeds in the past and present' - but also because anti-American voices appear to be used to reconfirmed and consolidate their rule. In the recent years more pro-American demonstrations were held by the student members and youth, either to demand more liberal rights in Iran or to show condolence for what happened to the US on 9/11. This in combination with a growing group of (pro-American) reformists, make clear that most of the common people in the cities of Iran have little objection against the US or are even in favor of more US influences. US influence is however by the conservative leaders seen as domination and interference and should never be allowed because this could eventually lead to the reduction of their power. Anti-Americanism is in Iran imposed by the conservative leaders (ayatollah Khamenei and president Ahmadinejad as two of the important during this decade and it is therefore a top down movement.

The government of Iran, especially the conservative leader, responded cheerful to the 9/11 attacks in 2001. According to MEMRI sources they felt that the attacks on the Twin Towers were legitimate, since the US have done much harm to

other countries in the world. Although 'Death to America' was still used by Iranians after 9/11 to show their hate against the US, there were also student movement that showed their deep condolences after the attacks. Especially students and youngsters of the cities were highly in favor of more liberal and democratic (American) rights. During the years in which Iran experiences political, social or economic crises, the anti-American discourse will develop more strongly in leader's speeches and other propaganda tools. Within the years 2009, 2010 and 2011 the speeches of ayatollah Khamenei contained more anti-Americanism than in other years. This had likely to do with the social and political unrest in the Islamic world and the leaders' fear that Iran would also be overwhelmed by an Arab Spring.

## Chapter 6: Saudi Arabia, an enemy in disguise?

#### 6.1 introduction

In 2008 Rachel Bronson<sup>180</sup> published *Thicker than oil: America's Uneasy Partnership* with Saudi Arabia. The title reflects the core of the book, but also the core of the relationship between the US and Saudi Arabia. After the establishment of Saudi Arabia, the relationship of both countries was based on economic foundations: the US would help to mine oil out of the rural fields of Saudi Arabia and together with US investors establish a modern infrastructure. 181 In return, the United States could purchase large sums of oil for a reasonable (even inexpensive) price. 182 In the following decades the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the US expanded to a political and military alliance. Within the 1950's the US founded a permanent military base in Saudi Arabia and trained the Saudi forces. Although the alliance was not free of conflicts – one of the major conflicts was in 1973 when among other states Saudi Arabia contributed with the oil embargo against Europe and the US – the relationship was rather stable considering two countries that especially in the cultural sense differ largely from each other. The indifferences in the Israel-Palestine conflict, on regime, religion and - during the 2000's - the 'war on terror' were overshadowed by the economic benefits.

The internal situation in Saudi Arabia is not less complicated. The House of Saud, the royal family, has thousands of members. All princes and princesses have their own occupations in business, non-governmental organizations and journalism. It is therefore that the House of Saud still has a great deal of influence in the state. Ever since the establishment of Saudi Arabia, the royal family had to relinquish some power to the teachers and leaders of the highly conservative religious branch of Islam: Wahhabism. The Wahhabist leaders supervise the religious expressions in the state and make sure everything goes according to the Islamic rules of Wahhabism. After the 2000's the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been confronted with a great

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Rachel Bronson is Vice president, Programs and studies at The Chicago Council on Global Affairs. Branson is also a guest contributor for The Middle East Institute.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Bronson, Thicker than oil: America's uneasy partnership with Saudi Arabia, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Idem, 24-25.

challenge: achieving modernity without surrendering its heritage, faith or culture. Reforms on economic, political and social issues were according to the state's leaders important in order to not fall behind on other countries. Moreover, Saudi Arabia has struggled in the last decade with terrorist organizations that were largely funded by members of religious Saudi elites. What do media websites such as MEMRI and Saudi Arabian gazettes tell u about the types of anti-Americanism in Saudi Arabia? Within this chapter I shall research the typologies of anti-Americanism present in Saudi Arabia and also how the government and their citizens responded on the 9/11 attacks?

#### 6.2 Saudi Arabia

#### 6.2.1 issue oriented

In 2011 *the Saudi Government press* criticized the US media that long has been characterized by tyranny. To this article, most Saudi Arabians are still willing for a dialogue with the United States. However, for decennia the attack on Islam and portraying the Arabs as "barbarians riled by their sexual and material impulses" and their support for Israel gave rise to anti-Americanism and eventually the 9/11 event. The columnist of this article blames the actions US exploitation and tyranny in the world that led eventually to an anti-American sentiment. In a interview on Al-Jazeera in 2006, Islamic cleric Sheikh Dr. Nasser Al-'Omar called the Americans hypocrite and violent. He attacked the way in which the Saudi's should abolish the 'clash between civilizations', while Americans violently attack Muslims all over the world. According to Al-'Omar many of the Saudi's were dazzled by the US, considering it to be the country of democracy, justice and liberty. "We were all fooled. Where is their liberty and democracy? What liberty are we talking about when Americans act violently in Iraq and other corners of the world?", states Al-'Omar on a Frontline interview. 186

According to MEMRI most of the Saudi's believed in 2003 that terrorism was more an US product than a Saudi one. According to Dr. Wayman Habid terrorism

<sup>183</sup> https://www.saudiembassy.net/issues/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-implosion-of-the-House-of-saud/5520314.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 327, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/583.htm (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Frontline, 'interview Sheikh Nasser Al-Omar, Dec. 17, 2004',

http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saud/interviews/alomar.html (02-05-2016).

was first committed by the Americans. They do not spare countries, people or institutions. This is why many people in the world, including Arabs, hate the United States. The support of Israel's occupation of Arab lands is in this Arab-America conflict the straw that breaks the camel. 187 Prince Muhammed al-Faysal, the general agent of Saudi government's Islamic insurance company, determines the beginning of the failure of US international policy. The ruling elite in the US- especially Zionist lobby - are exploiting the citizens of the United States. The people in Saudi Arabia must not accept this. 188 Princess Reem al Faisal stated in the Arab News daily on October 3, 2003 that the Americans are responsible for one of the most thorough and extreme genocides in the world, that of the Native Americans. This genocide has never stopped, they are doing the same in Iraq as I speak, Reem Al Faisal stated. According to her, anti-Americanism is therefore legitimate as long as the US keep on killing people. 189

Columnist for the Saudi Gazette Dr. Mohammed T. Al Rasheed and Saudi sheikh Mohsin Al-'Awaji condemn the way the US acted in history and recent events. Al-Rasheed blamed president George W. Bush and his administration for the fact that "A billion of Muslims are turned into raging volcanoes by disrespect of America to Muslims". 190 He predicted the fall of the US in the near future. "The US will vanish, but we will remain". 191 Sheikh Al-'Awaji and Safar al-Hawali called the United States a military non-democratic empire since World War II. It is ruled by pressure groups that are extremely dangerous for the human race and the United States will always seek for an enemy, according to the sheikhs. This is the reason why Saudi Arabians should stand behind Bin Laden and the jihad against the US. Since 9/11 the US have been interfering in Saudi Arabian affairs. The sheikhs stressed out that they do not so much hate the US citizens, but the government and its policy, because it is constantly interfering with other countries and support the Jews in the battle against Palestine, according to the sheikhs in a MEMRI article. 192

According to Maysar Al-Shamari, columnist for the Al-Hayat daily the US ambassadors in Saudi Arabia are politically reckless or are even involved in political

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 513, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/875.htm (14-04-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 544, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/918.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/918.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 585, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/966.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/966.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 400, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/700.htm (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 400.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Ibidem.

blackmail. They have no respect for other countries and try to defy the sovereignty of countries where they serve.<sup>193</sup> In 2011 Saudi prince Khaled Bin Talal called the Americans the only terrorists in the world in a interview on *Al-Resalah TV*. "America has no friends, it only cares about its own interests".<sup>194</sup> The only difference is that when the US kill 24 people in Palestine this is called self-defense, not terrorism. When a Palestine does the same it is called terrorism. They have double-standards and have committed more terrorist attacks in the world than Al-Qaeda ever did, Bin Talal stated.<sup>195</sup>

#### 6.2.2 Instrumental

The US-Saudi situation slightly changed in 2002. After the 9/11 attacks more scholars and members of elite families were outspoken about Osama Bin Laden and his ideology. On the Al-Jazeera talk show "The opposite direction" Bin Matruk Al-Haddad, a Saudi preacher, called the demands of Bin Laden the demands of the his nation, this is because the US do not want to have any competitors. This has caused the rise of the Islamic Jihad and the great nation who gave rise to Bin Laden, this is the nation of the future. 196 Men like Bin Laden will not allow the Islamic world to bow for the infidel enemies and for the tyranny of the US. In similarity with Khamenei in 2001, more Saudi Arabian royals or scholars start to point fingers at the Zionists in the matter of 9/11. "Zionist in America and Israel want to get rid of Islam [...] I don't believe that the attack on America was perpetrated by Bin Laden or the Muslims. I believe it was a scheme. It is a continuation of the Jewish deception and the Jewish Zionists wickedness which infiltrates the U.S.", according to Al-Haddad. 197 Al-Haddad however seems to contradict himself by first showing mercy for Bin Laden - because the US do not want competitors in the world and this led to Bin Laden and his ideology - and after this blaming the Zionists for the 9/11 attacks. The Saudi minister of interior and crown-prince of Saudi Arabia, Nayef Ibn Abd-Al-Aziz, also blamed the Zionist-controlled media for manipulating the events of September 11. This turned the US public opinion against Arabs and Islam. 198 Abdul Aziz further stated that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No.3151, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/4510.htm (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No.4347, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/5898.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/05898.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No.4347.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 343, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/606.htm (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 343.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No.446, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/772.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/772.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

hostile attitude of the US towards Palestine and other Arab nations led to a anti-American discourse of Arab countries.<sup>199</sup> Abd-Al-Aziz is however a conservative man, highly in favor of the wahhabi-Salafi doctrine. He once declared this doctrine the source of success and progress of the Kingdom.<sup>200201</sup> It is comprehensible that the liberal progress and success of the US is a threat to his beloved Wahhabism and he would therefore never be completely in favor of the United States and their policies.

One of the most notable anti-American groups in the Arab countries is Al Qaeda. Al Qaeda was funded by members of several large (religious) Saudi elites. An Al Qaeda fighter stated on their website that

"the governments and regimes of the ruling Muslims countries today are nothing more than examples of clear and over collaboration with the enemies of the religion of Allah [...] see the Americans and other polytheists going about the land of the two holy places as if it were one of their states. See their bases everywhere, their tanks, their air defenses. Expel the polytheists from the Arabian peninsula. Oh Americans, wait for us. We have brought slaughter upon you".<sup>202</sup>

Although Al Qaeda does not represent the majority of the Saudi people, it however shows the intention of some Saudi elites in Saudi Arabia that support and fund Al Qaeda. Some elite families in Saudi Arabia believe that they will gain more power in the world or region if they defeat the Americans.<sup>203</sup> Al Qaeda can therefore be seen as an instrument of elite families in order to expand their power. The occupation of Arab lands by the US is already kicking against the sore leg, but to occupy the holy cities of Islam is most crucial for their fight against the United States. According to Al Qaeda the only solution for the US is to accept Islam and to expel all Christians and Jews out of their nations. But the most important, according to the fighter, is to stop killing Muslims all over the world.<sup>204</sup> This is rather hypocrite, since most people that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No.446.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> 'Saudi crown prince Nayef, next in line to throne, dies', <a href="http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/saudi-crown-prince-nayef-next-in-line-to-throne-dies-1.436744">http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/saudi-crown-prince-nayef-next-in-line-to-throne-dies-1.436744</a> (09-08-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Haaretz is a Israeli newspaper, some critics say a 'quality newspaper'. It is however in all probability that this newspaper shall not be in favor of Saudi Arabia and shall therefore highlight most of the negative sides of royal members or leaders of the state.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No.597, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/980.htm (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No.597.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Ibidem.

were killed by Al Qaeda were Muslims, they were however not the 'proper' Muslims according to the terrorist organization.<sup>205</sup>

In 2005 the Arab League ambassador, Ali Muhsen Hamid, emphasized in the online Saudi royal family magazine *Ain Al-Yageen*, the cultural affinities between the Arab world and the Western world. According to him there is only one major factor pushing these two world from each other and that is Israel. Israel claimed that Arabs were terrorists and the West quickly followed this opinion. When Israel calls for democracy in the Middle East, the US are the first country to follow this idea. After 9/11 Saudi Arabia condemned this sort of terrorism, but the US did not acknowledged Saudi's help. After the terrorist attacks a poll was conducted by *Newsweek magazine*, asking Americans what they thought was the cause of terrorism, 58 percent of the pollsters said this was the Israeli-Palestine conflict. The Zionist are very good in persuading the West and letting them do what they want, according to Hamid in the MEMRI article.<sup>206</sup>

#### 6.2.3 Religious

The London Arabic-language daily published a letter from the Saudi Arabic Dr. Sahr Muhammed Hatem of Riyadh. She states that the Saudi Arabic culture and its demagogy has "engendered bin laden, al-Zawahiri (successor Bin-Laden) and Their Ilk". Her letter was published three months after the 9/11 attacks. In contradiction to other Saudi Arabian speeches or sources in 2001 she criticizes the Saudi Arabians, not the US citizens. According to her the mentality of Saudi Arabians was programmed upon entering school as a child and to believe that Islam is everything and Muslims have the right because they represents the truth and the others represent falsehood. Saudi Arabia has become a society completely subjugated to those who speak in the name of religion. Opposition groups of this thought are not allowed. They are – if their lucky – separated from their spouse or killed.<sup>207</sup> According to her the Saudi Arabian religious society – and especially the groups that take advantage of this– are responsible for anti-American thoughts and also the 9/11 attacks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Yassin Musharbash, 'Al-Qaida kills eight times more Muslims than non-Muslims', http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/surprising-study-on-terrorism-al-qaida-kills-eight-times-more-muslims-than-non-muslims-a-660619.html (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 893, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/1358.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/1358.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 331, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/588.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/588.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

According to Khaled Al-Mushawwah - from the Saudi Ministry of Islamic Affairs - religious leaders in Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Middle East are the problem in the case of terrorism against the US and the West. People with religious knowledge, like imams, preachers and some sheikhs have a great deal of influence on the way of thinking of most citizens. If they preach the extremists views, the majority of the people shall follow this view, according to Al-Mushawwah.<sup>208</sup> This idea is shared by many columnists. These Saudi columnists mostly live abroad and can speak freely about the wrongs in Saudi Arabia. According to MEMRI columnist Sa'ud Al-Balawi stated in 2008 that the religious discourse in Saudi Arabia was rooted in the past heritage and was not the spirit of the modern age. This religious discourse insists on choosing the past as a starting point. It dominated the mind and feelings of the Saudi people. This discourse makes it impossible for people to think for themselves.<sup>209</sup> If Wahhabi Islamic leaders impose to their people that they should hate the US, the majority of the Saudi people will not doubt this. In 2008 – assumedly because of the US presidential election and the continuous wars in Afghanistan and Iraq - more Saudi clerics made anti-American statements on national television. One of them was Abd Al-Aziz Fawzan Al-Fawzan, who at that time was also a professor of Islamic law at the Imam Muhammed University in Saudi Arabia. According to him the US are collapsing and for this the Saudi Arabians should thank Allah, because the US have started to adopt principles of Islamic economy. When he speaks of Americans he calls them "these criminals", who want to take over the world, spreading fear and destruction". To the cleric, 9/11 was set up by the US so they could act like victims and kill millions of people in the following of this event.<sup>210</sup> This anti-American religious ideology has gone so far that pro- Al Qaeda members in 2008 had plans to assassinate George W. Bush during one of his visits to the Middle East. I am aware that Al Qaeda does not represent the mainstream Islamic religion in Saudi Arabia, but according to MEMRI the following message was published on the Islamic website www.alhesbah.net by an Saudi Arabian who called himself Abu Osama Al-Hazin: "This Saturday Bush will be in Riyadh; Lions of the Peninsula, get ready to cut off his head" was, does make it religious in a certain way. It called for all

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> MEMRI: Inquiry & Analysis Series Report No. 400, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/2428.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/2428.htm</a> (02-05-2016)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> 'Saudi Cleric Abd Al-Aziz Fawzan Al Fawzan: Allah be praised, America is collapsing', <a href="http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/1888.htm">http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/1888.htm</a>. (02-05-2016).

jihadi's to hate 'the Crusade dog, the foolish leader of the worldwide heresy and evil' in reward Allah shall promote them to the highest spheres of paradise.<sup>211</sup> It is uncertain whether this message is factual, since the website has been taken offline, but muslim-fundamentalists such as Al Qaeda are popular among the young population in Saudi Arabia and beyond its borders and can spread antagonistic views and hatred on a large scale.

#### 6.2.4 Pro-Americanism

Like anti-Americanism there is also a substantial group of Saudi Arabians that is proAmerica and admit that the US have brought not only trouble and wars, but also
freedom and welfare. In 2005 a Saudi columnist, Muhammed Al-Sheikh, wrote in the
Saudi daily *Al-Jazirah* that Saudi Arabia has benefited from the relationship with the
US. In contrary to Arab nationalism that only brought the Arabs a destructive
ideology.<sup>212</sup> Without the United States Saudi Arabia would never have gained their
expertise on oil and the modern state that Saudi Arabia is today would not have
existed. Al-Sheikh praises king Abdul Aziz for choosing capitalism after the Second
World War instead of communism. According to the columnist the US were "the
cornerstone for our development and progress". Not the US, but the Arabs have
brought trouble in their world and have conspired against them, attacked them and
used all the means to derail their plans for a unity.<sup>213</sup>

In an interview published April 13<sup>th</sup>, 2009 in Saudi daily 'Okaz, one of the reformist thinkers Ibrahim Al-Buleihi expressed his admiration for the Western civilization. To him the US and the West have brought wonderful and amazing things to their world. The Arabs should admit their shortcomings and acknowledge the accomplishments of the West that we are now benefitting from.<sup>214</sup> The same has been said by Saudi liberal Ali Sa'd Al-Moussa in the Saudi daily *Al-Watan*. According to him the US is the standard-bearer of scientific and technical progress in the world. Without the United states we would regress by 100 years:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 1925, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/2692.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/2692.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No.927, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/1403.htm (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No.927.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No.2332, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/03264.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/03264.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

"The math is simple: Assume that all technological and scientific progress attained by man in the past century stands before you like a tall building. Now remove ever American brick from this building that represents a research, experiment, invention or a product. You will see that not only you have removed American bricks, but also half of every brick that the rest of the nations provided".<sup>215</sup>

A former Saudi navy commodore and US Liaison officer, Abdulateef Al-Mulhim, was also aware of the amazing things the US have accomplished. According to him the US are the most tolerant country in the world, regarding building an Islamic center or mosque. Al-Mulhim stated that Americans, especially before 9/11 had much respect for the Islamic religion. This does not counts for Saudi Arabia where people are not allowed to show respect for or practice another religion than Islam. The plans to built a mosque on the place of Ground Zero (where once the Twin Towers stood) is according to him disrespectful for the Americans. Although most Americans did not object to this, he calls for the Islamic community in the US to carefully consider the place where the mosque will be built. American citizens have showed respect to us for many years and we should do the same now, stated Al-Mulhim in the MEMRI article.<sup>216</sup>

Saudi prince Turki Al-Faisal, former ambassador to the US and head of the Saudi intelligence, justified the war in Afghanistan in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. In an interview aired on *Al-Arabiya TV* he called the world a safer place after Bin-Laden got arrested by the United States. When the US forced to ousting the Taliban in Afghanistan after 9/11 this was totally justified, because the attacks on New York not only come from Afghanistan, but was "orchestrated by someone who had found refuge in Afghanistan", according to Al-Faisal in MEMRI.<sup>217</sup> The interviewer asked him if he ever doubt the narrative about Bin-Laden's involvement in 9/11. The prince never doubted this. According to him there is just too much evidence to back it up. Bin Laden did this and nobody else, stated the prince.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No.3258, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/4632.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/4632.htm</a> (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 3303, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/4680.htm (02-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 4147, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/05657.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/05657.htm</a> (15-04-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> MEMRI: Special Dispatch No. 4147.

## **6.3 Conclusion**

Similar as in Iran, Saudi Arabia also deals with a division in pro-American and anti-American followers. The complexity in Saudi Arabia is however that the liberal royal family wants to reform the state in a political, economic and social way, while the conservative Wahhabist leaders do not. The latter only seem to care about the doctrine that allows no freedom of religion or freedom of speech. This is highly convenient for the leaders, since they do not have to fear a subversive majority of the crowd that want to limit their power. US influence in Saudi Arabia can however lead to more freedom and openness (in a social, economic, political and religious way) and that is why anti-American propaganda is spread by Wahhabist leaders. Most of the royal members are indecisive whether they should follow the conservative Wahhabist doctrine, or chose the progressive reformist side. That is why in my research most of the royal members did not had a clear opinion about the United States. Pragmatism is perhaps more important to them and therefore they like to benefit from both the Wahhabist conservatism and the economic and political ties with the US. Choosing for the United States will lead to economic benefits and less (political) power in the Saudi state, while with abandoning the US they maintain their power, but lose one of the largest economic allies of Saudi Arabia. According to the sources I researched for this study, anti-Americanism in Saudi Arabia was issueoriented, instrumental and religious. Similar as in Iran leaders target specific US goals and events. After 9/11 this was turned into instrumental anti-Americanism. To purify the Saudi state and to protect the elites that funded Al Qaeda, anti-American propaganda was used on a larger scale and Saudi Arabia came up with the conspiracy theory that Israel and America were behind 9/11. According to Saudi's that left Saudi Arabia and now live in the West, I could conclude that especially Wahhabist leaders and their religious doctrine are responsible for most of the anti-American propaganda, spread through social media, schools and public speeches. The way in which this is done is however not as openly as in for instance the speeches of religious leaders of Iran. After Saudi Arabia was attacked by the United States in 2001 for being responsible for the funding of Al Qaeda and committing 9/11, more anti-American propaganda was spread throughout Saudi Arabia and the Islamic World.

# **Chapter 7: Clash of Civilizations or conflict of power?**

#### 7.1 Introduction

Within the lasts chapters it was clear that anti-Americanism in both Iran and Saudi Arabia was used as a tool for domestic leaders in order to maintain power within their state. Especially in the case of Saudi Arabia, terroristic (anti-American) groups were supported by members of elite families. This was probably done to restore or increase their power. Terrorism has been an important topic since the attacks on the Twin Towers in 2001. Combine this event with Huntington's Clash of Civilization received mixed responses in both the academic and political field. According to Bernard Lewis – who acknowledges the idea of clash of civilizations – terrorism was indeed a feature of the clash of civilizations. On the 9/11 attacks he stated that the attacks were a historic reaction of an ancient rival against our Judeo-Christian heritage, our secular present and the worldwide expansion of both.<sup>219</sup> Joseph Nye stated the total opposite. According to him the current struggle between and against Islamist terrorism is simply not a clash of civilizations in the sense of Huntington's thesis.<sup>220</sup> George W. Bush even stated that the struggle between the West and Islamic world is not a clash of civilizations, but a struggle for civilization.<sup>221</sup> Scholars nor politicians seem to agree on whether the clash of civilizations is a valid approach, let alone the question if terrorism is a feature of it. In this concluding chapter I bring together and compare the manifestations of anti-American features as they existed in Iran and Saudi Arabia. The issue-oriented, ideological, instrumental, religious anti-American statements and also the terrorist groups are being discussed and compared. Also I analyze whether upon these features against the background of the discussions on the concept of the clash of civilizations, Huntington's thesis was useful for my thesis. As I stated before, Saudi Arabia and Iran are only two and perhaps not mainstream countries within the Islamic world. They however are influential, most certainly Saudi Arabia as financer of an international missionary network, within the region exerting both monetary or military but also religious power

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> Eric Neumayer and Thomas Plümper, 'International terrorism and the clash of civilizations', *British journal of political science* 39:4 (2009) 711.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> Neumayer and Plümper, 'International terrorism and the clash of civilizations', 711.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Ibidem.

since both countries are model states for various Sunni or Shiite groups and organizations. In this chapter I do however want to find answer to the sub-question of this chapter: To what extent does the anti-American discourse in Iran and Saudi Arabia reflect a 'clash of civilizations' in the sense as Huntington?

#### 7.2 Back to Clash of Civilizations

Within his article and book Huntington does not offer a clear definition of either clash or civilizations. His hypothesis is however that the fundamental source of conflict in the post-Cold War era will not be ideological or economic, but cultural. In contrast to state centric realist theories or system dominated neo-realism, the focus of Huntington lies on cultural factors embedded in civilizations.<sup>222</sup> According to him after the Cold War conflicts between groups within different civilization will become more frequent, more sustained and more violent than conflicts between groups in the same civilization.<sup>223</sup> However, anno 2016 it is obvious that this hypothesis is not entirely valid, since clashes and violent conflicts have occurred much more within the Islamic world between different Islamic groups than it did between the Western and Islamic groups. It is true that terrorist attacks sowed fear and unrest within the West but has caused not the same amount of deaths and victims here, as it did in the Islamic world. The same counts for number of conflicts between the US and the the Middle East.<sup>224</sup> Huntington also argued that although groups from all religions are engaged in violence and terrorism, Muslims have been involved in more of these activities than groups of other religions, therefore 'the Islam has bloody borders', according to Huntington.<sup>225</sup> From the Islamic Revolution in 1979, the war between the West and Islam started has not yet ended. It is true that more terrorist attacks occur in the Islamic world than elsewhere. Huntington explains that the main cause of this is the existence of a large group of young unemployed people between 15-30 years in this region, who are susceptible for violent action and more easily recruited by terrorist organizations. This argument seems to be problematic since in many

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Engin I. Erdem, 'The 'Clash of Civilizations?': Revisited after September 11', *Turkish Journal of International Relations* 1:2 (Summer 2002) 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Erdem, 'The 'Clash of Civilizations?", 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Charles Kenny, 'Clash of civilizations? There's no such thing', march 12, 2005: http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-03-12/clash-of-civilizations-there-s-no-such-thing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> Huntington, 'Clash of Civilizations?' 37.

developing countries all over the globe the same demographic problems occur, yet way less people are attracted to violence or terrorism. According to Huntington the problem for the West is not Islamic fundamentalism, but Islam itself. Within this religion or civilization, people are convinced of the superiority of their culture and obsessed with of the fact that they exert way less power compared to the West and found themselves in a position of dependency, if not inferiority.<sup>226</sup> Islam is a religion and like all religions it is shaped and maintained by people. Religion is used for their own good (or sometimes the common good). But it can also been highly politicized as in the case of Iran and Saudi Arabia. Leaders use and misuse Islam to create a story of superiority of their religion, culture and therefore its people and power of nation. Religion is in most states part of culture and it remains true that culture can be a major factor in conflict. However, the reason that the West (the US) and the Islamic world (Iran and Saudi Arabia) sometimes clash is to my opinion not a cultural clash, but a political clash.

## 7.3 A conflict of power

Issue-oriented anti-Americanism was used in Iran and Saudi Arabia to emphasize the flaws of US (foreign) policies in past and recent events. Instrumental anti-Americanism was used by political leaders in both countries to subvert American power in their state and to increase or maintain their power. Just like most Islamic countries Iran and Saudi Arabia are apprehensive of the US domination by interventions and political interference. The hatred against the United States is nourished by American support to Israel – in the eyes of both regimes a source of pure evil - and military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan after 2001. American support of dictators in Islamic countries was seen by many as a clear sign that the US was only driven by power and aimed to expand that power in the Islamic world.<sup>227</sup>

Huntington further states that the clash of civilizations occurs because civilizations have different values on the relation between God and man, citizen and state, husband and wife as well on rights of liberty, authority, hierarchy and equality.<sup>228</sup> No doubt exists that there are differences between the US and Iran and Saudi Arabia on the above these values, but also Iran and Saudi Arabia have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> idem, 37-38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> Blaydes and Linzer, 'Elite competition, religiosity and anti-Americanism in the Islamic world', 212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Erdem, 'The 'Clash of Civilizations?", 85.

different opinions about these values, these differences are perhaps not as divergent, but they do exist.

Professor of Muslim-Christian Understanding at the Georgetown University, Shireen Tahmaaseb Hunter – who was born in Iran, argues that the issues between the West and the Middle East do not rooted in civilizational differences but in structural-political differences. Also the economic inequalities between the two worlds of 'have' (the West) and 'have nots' (the Islamic World), results into jealousy and eventually hatred towards the West.<sup>229</sup> According to Hunter, most countries in the Islamic world are less secularized than the West because their social and economic development is less advanced. They stay more religious minded and tend to lean on religious Islamic leaders.<sup>230</sup> In the case of Iran the poverty rate in 2008 was nearly 14 percent, the unemployment rate of young people between 15-24 year 23 percent.<sup>231</sup> For Saudi Arabia unemployment was 28 percent, poverty rate was not available.<sup>232</sup> For both countries the percentage of unemployment seems rather high, however women are part of the statistics and especially in Saudi Arabia it is not common for women to work. The average GDP per capita of Iran is with 13.600 dollars in 2011<sup>233</sup> lower than the average GDP of Saudi Arabia (30.000 dollar per capita)<sup>234</sup>. However, the average of Iran is much higher than the average GDP of most Islamic countries. Economic development is thus not the most important reason for Iran and Saudi Arabia to lean on religious Islamic leaders and a contention between the US on the one hand and Iran or Saudi Arabia on the other will not occur especially on economic causes.

Ajami argued that Huntington overestimates cultural differences between civilizations while he underestimates the Western influences and interferences in the Islamic world that are the causes of conflicts or clashes.<sup>235</sup> In my opinion, Ajami is right. Growing anti-American sentiments and therefore clashes between the US and Iran and Saudi Arabia are not caused by cultural differences or civilization values, but are caused by opposition in Iran and Saudi Arabia against American hegemony and

<sup>229</sup> Shireen Hunter, *The future of Islam and the West. Clash of civilizations or peaceful coexistence?* (Connecticut, London 1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> Hunter, The future of Islam and the West. Clash of civilizations or peaceful coexistence? 166-167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> http://www.indexmundi.com/iran/ (08-06-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> http://www.indexmundi.com/saudi arabia/ (08-06-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> http://www.indexmundi.com/iran/gdp\_per\_capita\_(ppp).html (08-06-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> http://www.indexmundi.com/saudi arabia/gdp per capita (ppp).html (08-06-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> Erdem, 'The 'Clash of Civilizations?", 88.

domination in the world and in their region as well. Most of the Iranian and Saudi Arabian leaders do not oppose or condemn the United States because of their people or (predominantly Christian) religion, but mostly because they are vehemently opposed to US policies. Subsequently, the anti-American expressions that occurs in both Iran and Saudi Arabia do not reflect a clash of civilizations, but mainly a misbalance and a conflict of power, in particular in the broader Middle Eastern region. Terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda, were not supported by members of the Saudi (religious) elites because they hated Western or American culture and its people, but because they are convinced that they will benefit from terrorist organizations and their attacks. Moreover, Osama Bin Laden aspired to overthrow the Saudi monarchy and aimed to cut the close ties between Saudi Arabia and the US.<sup>236</sup> From other Saudi elites it is said that they saw economic benefits in supporting Al Qaeda, this is however never been confirmed.

#### 7.4 Conclusion

Huntington made with his Clash of civilizations theory a defiant thesis in the field of political and international relations. With this thesis he stated that after the Cold War a whole different era emerged. The division or conflict among mankind would no longer be solely between states, but between civilizations. The source of conflict between civilization will not be ideological or economic, but cultural. Huntington's thesis was concerned with large cultural entities, called civilizations, not so much with individual states like my thesis is. The United States may be seen as the leading state of the Western civilization in the twentieth and twenty-first century. Iran and Saudi Arabia are perhaps not the mainstream states of the Islamic civilization, but they do influence other Islamic states, in particular in the Middle Eastern region, to a great extent and are considered the model states for certain Shiite or Sunni Muslims groups elsewhere. Huntington wrote his thesis in the mid-1990's, twenty years later I was able to locate gaps or faults in his theory, but this does not mean that Huntington's thesis was totally useless. His prediction that the Islam would have bloody borders, seems to be valid anno 2016, however, most of the violence is directed against fellow Muslims and albeit that some, like the Islamic State, seek to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Anthony H. Corden and Nawaf Obaid, *National security in Saudi Arabia: Threats, responses and challenges* (London 2005) 112.

provoke apocalyptic clash, it seems to me that the current state of violence in the Middle East concern primarily internal clashed and not between the Western and Islamic world.

The conflict between the US and Iran and Saudi Arabia is not cultural – as Huntington stated – but political and ideological. Both Iran and Saudi Arabia use anti-Americanism because they are apprehensive of American hegemony and domination in their state and region. American support of Israel and several military interventions in the Middle East during the 2000's confirm their anxiety about American policies. In general, people in Iran and Saudi Arabia have little objections against American people or US cultural values. If distrust for American domination grows, the anti-American sloganism or policies in Iran and Saudi Arabia proliferate as well. Terrorist organizations feed on anti-American sentiments. Saudi (religious) elites seek to maintain power in their region and try to undermine American or Western influence by critiquing and insulting the Western nations, in particular the US. The conflicts between the US and Iran and the US and Saudi Arabia are therefore not based on cultures. It is thus not different from the time before or during the Cold War, but just a continuation of international conflict and contention that is based on politics and states.

## **Chapter 8. Conclusion**

Anti-Americanism is a phenomenon, attitude and political believe against American democracy, American citizens, American society, American values and American symbols. Noteworthy is that anti-Americanism did not originated in the Middle East, but in Europe and Latin-America in the nineteenth and twentieth century during the anti-colonial wars and upswing of socialist movements. After this, the phenomenon got a growing following in the Arab countries. Within the academic field there is debate about its existence, its measurement and its causes. Political scientists Rubinstein and Smith introduced in the 1980's four typologies of anti-Americanism: Issue-oriented, Ideological, revolutionary and instrumental. The first is based on specific American policies, the second on American government and its society, the third when opposition groups aim to tilt a pro-American government, the fourth when anti-Americanism is used by governments to attain domestic policy goals and to legitimize these goals.

Both the US-Iran relationship and the US-Saudi relationship started during the first half of the twentieth century and are still rather complicated. In both cases the relationship was initially based on economic ties, that eventually expanded to a political and military alliance. Although the differences (especially in culture) between the US and Saudi Arabia are substantial, the alliance is sometimes uneasy, but prolonged. Not until the most recent years, the decade of the war on terror, the first major cracks in the relationship were visible. The first issues between Iran and the United States already occurred during the 1960's and 1970's. During the 1960's modern Iranian writers expressed their concerns about the US-Iran alliance that according to them caused the loss of the Iranian cultures and traditions. The US supported the Shah of Iran until his death, but could not prevent his defeat during the Islamic Revolution of 1979, where anti-American socialist and religious movements seized power and established the Islamic Republic of Iran. Iran was among others now in hands of religious conservatives with ayatollah Khomeini as its leader. After the occupation of the American embassy in 1979 the US-Iran diplomatic relation was completely cut off and anti-Americanism experienced rampant during the following years in Iran.

After carefully reading and examination of the most important media websites and sources on the internet about anti-Americanism in Iran and Saudi Arabia between 2001-2011, I was able to give an answer to the third and fourth subquestion of my research. To start with Iran, out of the research we could find that issue oriented anti-Americanism is present in Iran. Out of the sources hypocrisy in terms of democracy and freedom and the bearer and protector of human rights are anti-American criticism in Iran. This is stated by both ayatollah Khamenei and people who are part of the Revolutionary Guard Corps (allegiance to Khamenei). The crimes committed by the arrogant Americans, the continuous domination in the region and null chance that Americans will see and change their actions is president Khatami the reason that the relationship between Iran and the US will never improve. When Ahmadinejad followed Khatami as president of Iran in 2005 the anti-American issue-oriented idea did not change. The Iraq-War was also an important trigger for issue oriented anti-Americanism. In most of the speeches of Khamenei and Ahmadinejad is referred to the Iraq War and US domination and intervention. Within violation within this Saudi-Arabia issue-oriented anti-Americanism hypocrisy, violation and domination are also keywords in the argumentation. American exploitation and domination are opposite of American democracy and freedom that the US try to sell to the world. The interference with other countries and their policy remains an important anti-American issue between 2001-2011.

the analyzed media sources contained instrumental anti-Most of Americanism. Especially ayatollah Khamenei propagandizes instrumental anti-Americanism. His yearly speech for students at the Tehran University is an example of this type of anti-Americanism. Since the 9/11 attacks more students showed their condolences and respect for the US, Khamenei's stressed out to his audience that the United States are arrogant and disrespectful and Iran should never trust them. He also emphasized the way the US fooled other countries by selling democracy and freedom while the US does not experienced these freedoms at all. He does this to distract his people from the ideas that are arisen in Iran and to lead his people to the right path, that of Khomeini. By telling his people to stay strong and cohere against the embodiment of arrogance and evilness (the US) Khamenei makes no room for American sympathy or respect. By referring to the grace of Allah and Khomeini he morally legitimizes his ideas for the Iranian people. These ideas are followed and spread by the most dominant newspapers in Iran, that of the conservatives controlled by Khamenei and other conservative leaders. During the negotiations of the nuclear program, Iran did not favor a new dialogue with the US about this matter. The reason of state (hostility against the US) remains more important to them. All people in favor of negotiations with the US were gagged. In the upcoming months of 2010, with the enduring revolts in most north-African and Middle Eastern countries, the amount of anti-American public speeches by Khamenei sometimes doubled in comparison to other years. There was a direct link between the time of political and social unrest in Iran or neighboring countries and the amount of anti-Americanism speeches to warn Khamenei's audience from American influences. According to him, the Iranian people should never trust this 'dictator in disguise'. The situation of Saudi Arabia changed after 9/11 and more elites spoke more directly to their people to follow the jihad of Bin Laden. What both Iran and Saudi Arabia have in common is their hatred against Israel and Zionists. Within Iran this is more an issue oriented or ideological type, while in Saudi Arabia, especially after the 9/11 attacks it is besides ideological also an instrument to purify the name of Saudi Arabia. This anti-Zionist phenomenon in both Iran and Saudi Arabia is so integrated within these societies that is can be seen as a special typology of anti-Americanism. Typical ideological anti-Americanism in Iran is the 'Death to America' slogan. The slogan and connotation behind this is probably so commonly accepted by a majority of the Iranian people that it became a type of anti-American ideology not only against the American government but by some degree also against its people. Liberate the American people from their American dictatorship is an ideology that was promoted by Ahmadinejad in 2010. This is besides an ideology also an instrument to show the Iranian people that US are not the country of promises that some Iranian people believe it is.

In Saudi Arabia religion is appears to be used to maintain power by Saudi elites and leaders. By looking into interviews and columns of former Saudi Arabians who now live in the West I noticed that within Saudi Arabia Islam was always used as a tool to show that Muslims are right and pure and non-Muslims are heretics. Opposition-groups are not allowed in Saudi Arabia. People with religious knowledge have a great deal of influence on the Saudi people. The Wahhabist leaders are very important. This religious group spread anti-American propaganda through media sources, speeches and social media. Jihad against the Americans and other non-Muslims is carried out and supported by Muslim-fundamentalists such

as Al Qaeda, who seem to gather more influence under the young population during this period.

Besides anti-Americanism both countries also experience support for a pro-American or by all means no supporters of anti-Americanism. Although it is hard to make a clear division between the political parties, within Iran most reformists are pro-American because they desire American liberal rights such as freedom and democracy. Some leader favor a dialogue with the US because of its political, sociological and economic benefits. Within Saudi Arabia the most pro-americanists are the Saudi columnists or scholars that live in the West or outside Saudi Arabia. They emphasize that without the US Saudi Arabia would never been successful. The oil business and American luxuries are important for the royal family to stay on good terms with the US.

Especially within the most recent years Iran has experienced more demonstrations of students who want to get rid of the ruling government and gain more freedom. The regimes in Iran that were mostly against the US between 2001-2011 were therefore the conservatives or supporters / players for the conservatives.. The fear of losing their power appears to be the most important trigger behind anti-Americanism during this period for leaders. I can also conclude out of these sources that especially in Iran anti-Americanism is imposed by the leading government and therefore a top-down movement. In Saudi Arabia this is less clear, because there is no freedom of speech and therefore no 'public opinion'. I can however state that anti-Americanism is maintained by ruling leaders of Wahhabism. Anti-Americanism is therefore also in Saudi Arabia a top-down movement, especially imposed by religious leaders.

After the 9/11 attacks the development of anti-Americanism was more noticeable in Saudi Arabia. After the US disclosed that most of the 9/11 hijackers were from Saudi descent and supported by members of large Saudi elites, the idea was spread that not Saudi Arabia, but American Zionists were behind the 9/11 attacks. They set this up to create hate against and chaos within Islamic countries. Al Qaeda, according to most sources, was funded by members of large Saudi religious families in order to gain more power by defeating sowing unrest within the region and the Western world. Anti-Americanism was already an instrument of Iran before 9/11. The response of Iranian leader on the attacks on the Twin Towers was either justly (this mostly by conservatives) or by most of the reformists mourning. There were

however large demonstrations and actions launched by the Iranian leaders for the Iranian citizens to demonstrate against the US and to shows their respect for Bin Laden and his followers.

So, to what extent is the anti-American discourse in Iran and Saudi Arabia a reflection of the clash of civilizations theory? Huntington stated in his thesis that after the Cold War clashes would not emerge between states but between civilizations and the nature of this clash would be cultural, not political, ideological or economic. His thesis is based on civilizations, not states but Iran and especially Saudi Arabia are very influential states for the Muslim world at large and the US for the Western world. The conflict between both US-Iran and US-Saudi Arabia are however based on political and ideological matters. Islamic countries are anxious for American hegemony and American domination in their state or region. American support for Israel and several American interventions in the Middle East during 2001-2011 are to them a confirmation for this anxiety. The leaders are not opposed to American citizens or cultural values, solely to American policies, interference and hegemony. The clash or conflict is not cultural, but political or based on power. The anti-American typologies of Iran and Saudi Arabia is therefore not a clash of civilizations, but a conflict of politics or a conflict of power.

# **Epilogue: What is there to be done?**

# **The recent years, 2011-2016.**

After 2011 the conflicts between the Western and Islamic world or within the Islamic world did not decrease. On the contrary. After the Arab Spring the Islamic world is confronted with several civil wars, revolts and wars of independence. The latter is mostly waged by Sunni's from Iraq and Syria who demand a caliphate and Islamic State. This Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (also known as 'ISIS', 'ISIL', 'Daish', and 'Islamic state group') has as its main goal the establishment of a Islamic caliphate, but also the jihad against the US and all states and people that work(ed) together with the United States. The group is led by Sunni Arabs, which make Shiite Muslims also one of their main enemies and goals of destruction. In the most recent years ISIS directed several terrorist attacks in Western cities such as Brussels and Belgium. There were however more attacks committed by people who were influenced or inspired by ISIS. In 2015 was revealed that once again financial flows from Saudi Arabia were one of the most important sources of finance for ISIS.<sup>237</sup> The relationship between the US and Saudi Arabia deteriorated already after the revelation of Saudi money flows to Al Qaeda, but in the last years president Barack Obama criticized Saudi Arabia's 'soft attitude' towards terrorist organizations. He called Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Gulf states 'free riders and profiteers'.<sup>238</sup> The political ties between both countries were perhaps uneasy in the recent years, this did not had its impact on the economic ties. Between 2009 and 2014 the export from the United Stated to Saudi Arabia rose with 76 percent.<sup>239</sup>

After the election of Hassan Rouhani in 2013 as president of Iran, further moves towards a better understanding among both countries was made. In 2013 Rouhani held a phone call with president Obama (the first official conversation between the United States and the leaders of Iran in 30 years). Rouhani used his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> 'Is Saudi Arabia to blame for Islamic State?' <a href="http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-35101612">http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-35101612</a> (27-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Emile Kossen, 'Bondgenoten Amerika en Saudi Arabië kunnen elkaar even niet uitstaan, *Elsevier Online*18 april 2016, <a href="http://www.elsevier.nl/buitenland/achtergrond/2016/04/bondgenoten-amerika-en-saudi-arabie-bestoken-elkaar-met-kritiek-296143/">http://www.elsevier.nl/buitenland/achtergrond/2016/04/bondgenoten-amerika-en-saudi-arabie-bestoken-elkaar-met-kritiek-296143/</a> (27-05-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> Fact Sheet: United States-Saudi Arabia Bilateral Relationship. <a href="https://www.whiteHouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/03/28/fact-sheet-united-states-saudi-arabia-bilateral-relationship">https://www.whiteHouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/03/28/fact-sheet-united-states-saudi-arabia-bilateral-relationship</a> (27-05-2016).

twitter account to break the news and called it a 'historic conversation'.240 According to Obama they had expressed their determination to solve problems between the US and Iran, especially the long-running dispute over Iran's nuclear program.<sup>241</sup> In 2014 Iran and the United States discussed their plan to support Iraq's Shia-led government, since Sunni insurgents captured key cities in Iraq and threatened the attack on Baghdad. In the most recent events, concerning the attacks of ISIS in the Islamic and Western world, the United States and Iran have both confirmed to conduct military operations in Iraq. Although both the US and Iran fight their common enemy, the conservative Revolutionary Guards called this attack on ISIS 'far from a collaboration between Iran and America'. 242 The Sunni led ISIS is however for both the US and Shiite Iran an enemy and everything must be done to destroy this group. The disagreement over Iran's nuclear program is perhaps still one of the main problems in the establishment of an official US-Iran relationship. In 2016 the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) declared that that Iran is capable to abide to the agreements made in the United Nations in 2014. Director General of IAEA, Yukiya Amano, called this "an important day in the international community".<sup>243</sup> With a common enemy, a president that seeks ways to talk to the US, an agreement about the nuclear program and a large group of young people that want more freedom and US influence, the conflict and enmity between the US and Iran seems history. This is however not the case. Still most of the ayatollah's and conservative leaders in Iran do everything in their power to maintain or restore the right 'path of ayatollah Khomeini'. There is no room for Americanism in Iran. Most of the newspapers in Iran are still managed by conservatives and anti-American national holidays and anti-American speeches are still honored.<sup>244</sup>

So, what is there to be done to prevent or reduce the conflicts between America and both Iran and Saudi Arabia? It is hard to answer this question, because the issues both within the Islamic world and between the Western and Islamic world

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> 'US-Iran relations: a brief guide', <a href="http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-24316661">http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-24316661</a> (04-06-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> 'US-Iran relations: a brief guide', BBC news online.

Tim Arango and Thomas Erdbrink, 'U.S. and Iran both attack ISIS, but try not to look like allies', December 3, 2004 to <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/04/world/middleeast/iran-airstrikes-hit-islamic-state-in-iraq.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/04/world/middleeast/iran-airstrikes-hit-islamic-state-in-iraq.html</a> (04-06-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> 'Iran komt afspraken na over nucleair programma', january 16, 2016,

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{\text{http://www.ad.nl/ad/nl/1013/Buitenland/article/detail/4225962/2016/01/16/Iran-komt-afspraken-na-over-nucleair-programma.dhtml}{\text{(04-06-2016)}}.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Thomas Ardbrink, 'Ayatollah Khamenei warns Iran's government against U.S. 'deceptions', January 19, 2016, <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/20/world/middleeast/ayatollah-ali-khamenei-iran.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/20/world/middleeast/ayatollah-ali-khamenei-iran.html</a> (04-06-2016).

are complex. Noteworthy is that most of the conflicts within and between both worlds are caused by radical (Muslim) groups. Most of these radical groups were however created after decades of unwanted Western interventions in the Middle East. It is therefore a good example of 'what goes around comes around'. Think tanks and international policy makers have made some efforts to reduce these conflicts in the upcoming years. Here is an overview of the policies that I believe are efficacious in these conflicts.

#### The American side:

Reduce US presence in the region. According to my research the main source of hatred against the US in Saudi Arabia and Iran is the US presence and interference in the Middle East. The most recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan was for both a signal of American expansion and domination in the region. Although the US propagandizes this wars as 'bringing democracy' in Iraq and Afghanistan, the overall conclusion of most countries in both the Western and Islamic world was that the US was not the altruistic nation it commercialized, but was in it for their own political and economic benefits.<sup>245</sup> The image of the a greedy and dominant hegemon, what the US are to most Islamic countries, is rather hard to destroy in a limited amount of time. It can however slightly improve by good deeds. The American generous response to the tsunami in the Indian Ocean of 2004 that killed nearly 100.000 people, had a (sharply) positive effect on public opinion in that region.<sup>246</sup> The first step is that the US have to reduce its military intervention in the Middle East. There is a possibility that common people will eventually suffer from American absence in at short notice. Those who suffer will recognize the benefits the US brought them, those who do not suffer will eventually in the long-term reduce their hatred against the United States. When the US are no longer a threat of domination to leaders in the region, leaders will in the long-range see no need to propagandize anti-American slogans, speeches or sources.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Stated in previous chapters in this thesis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Council on foreign relations: Steven Simon, 'Is there a clash of civilizations?', http://www.cfr.org/democratization/there-clash-civilizations-islam-democracy-us-middle-east-policy/p11425 (04-06-2016).

Be less involved in the Israel-Palestine conflict. According to Steven Simon, former executive director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies Middle East, the United States can reduce anti-Americanism in the region by engaging less in the Israeli-Palestine crisis. One of the key elements according to Simon is the greater public acknowledgement of Palestine grievances. This is possible without weakening its historic commitment to Israel.<sup>247</sup> The hate against the US is largely nourished by their support to the enemy in the region, Israel. The idea that the US are supporting Israel in seeking dominance in the Middle East, kill Arabs and destroy Islam is spread by Islamic leaders. The truth is however that the US have for most of the time since Israel's existence, refused to supply arms or other aid to Israel in its war.<sup>248</sup> To be less politically involved in the war will not instantly disable the Muslim jihad against the US, but it will eventually reduce the idea that by US support to Israel, the US was opposed to the Muslim world.

#### The Islamic side

Active anti-ruling government statement of citizens. The main source of anti-Americanism in the Iran and Saudi Arabia are the (religious) leaders. They control the media, public opinion and political perspectives. It is therefore hardly surprising that many people in Iran and Saudi Arabia (but also other countries within the Middle East) are fed with antagonistic views and have grown hostile to the US.<sup>249</sup> However, in Iran many of the youngsters and students have no founded hate against the United States, they are even willing to experience more freedom and democracy, the keystones of American society. Almost 40 years have passed since the pro-American government ruled Iran and these people have not personally witnessed the period before, during or shortly after the Islamic Revolution. Most of them only see the benefits of the American freedom, democracy and luxury. This generation must fight for and provide its own freedom and tilt the conservative government and leaders of Iran. Support for the reformist side will perhaps lead them to the freer state and democracy that they desire. In the case of Saudi Arabia this is perhaps more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Council on foreign relations: Simon, 'is there a clash of civilizations?'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Council on foreign relations: 'The real roots of Arab-anti-Americanism': <a href="http://www.cfr.org/polls-and-opinion-analysis/real-roots-arab-anti-americanism/p5260">http://www.cfr.org/polls-and-opinion-analysis/real-roots-arab-anti-americanism/p5260</a> (04-06-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Council on foreign relations: 'The real roots of Arab anti-Americanism'.

complicated, since demonstrations against the state and the Saudi government and leaders can eventually lead to death(penalties).<sup>250</sup>

Need for criticizing the religious discourse. Bandar Bin Khalid, Saudi businessman and member of House of Saud, called in his reformist newspaper Al Watan for a critical view on the religious discourse in Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia has made several attempts in the recent years to social, political and economic reforms. According to David E. Long, member of the Middle East policy council, the contemporary reforms made in Saudi Arabia are impressive. It took the Western world almost six centuries to reach the level of its current modernization, whereas Saudi Arabia did this in less than a few decades, thus Long.<sup>251</sup> The religious reforms are however insignificant. According to Bin Khalid and other reformist columnists, Saudi Arabians should criticize the Islamic religious discourse, in order to detect all of its shortcomings. They will see that religions were motivated by noble aims, but come to be exploited for specific human interests. These interests were given a religious mandate and served a particular group to the exclusion of others.<sup>252</sup> They call upon the Saudi people to examine and emphasize the enlightened reasoning that promote human values. "This will help raise the level of Islamic societies, which are immersed in cultural crisis, blaming everything on the external enemy". 253 Not only the Saudi Arabian citizens must take action, also the Saudi royals are responsible for anti-American slogans produced by influential Wahhabist leaders. The critique on this benighted branch of Islam must not come from the Western world, but from Saudi Arabian (royal) leaders. They should emphasize that Wahhabism will only lead to the destruction of the Saudi nation, since it does not accept religious and social reforms. After the establishment of Saudi Arabia in 1932, the House of Saud had two goals: become the largest oil exporting state of the world and spread the conservative form of Islam for Islamization politics.<sup>254</sup> For the latter they needed the support of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> 'Questions over death of protestor in Saudi Arabia's Eastern province': <a href="http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2013/01/peaceful-protestor-killed-in-saudi-arabia.html">http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2013/01/peaceful-protestor-killed-in-saudi-arabia.html</a> (04-06-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Middle East Policy Council: 'Legal and political reforms in Saudi Arabia',

http://www.mepc.org/journal/middle-east-policy-archives/legal-and-political-reforms-saudi-arabia (04-06-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> MEMRI: Inquiry & Analysis series report no. 400, <a href="http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/2428.htm">http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/0/2428.htm</a> (04-06-2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> MEMRI: Inquiry & Analysis series report no. 400.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Peter Blasic, 'Hoe Saoedische oliedollars de deur voor terreur openden', November 24, 2015. http://www.hpdetijd.nl/2015-11-24/hoe-saoedische-oliedollars-de-deur-voor-terreur-openden/ (04-06-2016).

Wahhabism.<sup>255</sup> Times haves changed and although the House of Saud have in the past centuries benefited from the ties with Wahhabist leaders, now it seems that this alliance will cause the House of Saud and Saudi Arabia only harm.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> The Wahhabist leaders made a covenant Muhammed bin Saud (the founder of the House of Saud) in the eighteenth century to gain besides religious also political stability in the region that is now called Saudi Arabia. After this covenant, the House of Saud has always supported Wahhabism.

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'Leader's Speech to members of Assembly of Experts', <a href="http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1521/Leader-s-Speech-to-Members-of-Assembly-of-Experts">http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1521/Leader-s-Speech-to-Members-of-Assembly-of-Experts</a>

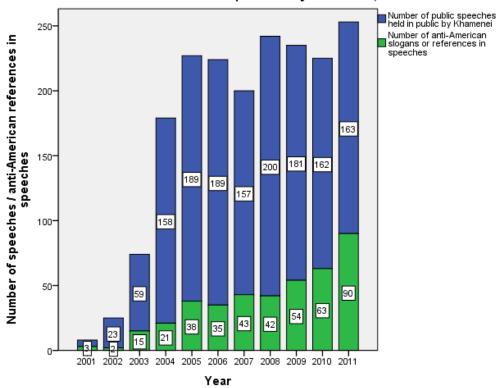
'Leader's address to participants of international Islamic unity', <a href="http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1426/Leader-s-Address-to-Participants-of-International-Islamic-Unity">http://english.khamenei.ir/news/1426/Leader-s-Address-to-Participants-of-International-Islamic-Unity</a>

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# **Appendix**

# Appendix I:





source: own research of published speeches on www.khamenei.ir (2015).