

THESIS

DRIFTING SANDS; SHIFTING IDENTITIES: RECLAIMING AN IDENTITY THROUGH  
THE LOOKING GLASS

Submitted by

Mehzad Haghghi

Department of Ethnic Studies

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Master's Committee:

Advisor: Eric Ishiwata

Courtenay Daum  
Caridad Souza

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## ABSTRACT

### DRIFTING SANDS; SHIFTING IDENTITIES: RECLAIMING AN IDENTITY THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS

The aim of this research is to introduce a different narrative, and thus the ways in which a new understanding of Middle East can emerge. Worldwide, corruption is endemic. In *developing* countries, the circulating capital surplus dividend *subsequent to autonomy* has not been widely shared. Services—protection, prosperity, health, and housing—are fundamental support pillars for the *Social Contract* between sovereign and citizen. Contrary to their anointed leader, populaces in developing countries are no longer willing to be complicit with sustaining Matured Democracies' nationalistic interests.

This research, then, is a reasonable attempt to outline these multifaceted trends by disentangling history, economic, and politics of the region. The culturally specific logic to these localities, the forces of globalization, and the governmentality of the nation-state, has led to flawed ethnography of the Middle East as a delimited land and romanticized nomadism. In the Middle East, the Sykes Picot Agreement disrupted tribal composition, alliances, and politics in the region. The analysis will conclude with suggestions of how to avoid a verbal high-wire act, with fresh impetus on nationalism and patriotism encouraging identity as *a continuum and not just a spectrum*. Thus, we must begin by introducing different narratives, invert the scripts, alter the discourses, and directly engage and educate the *Joe Six-Packs*' of Matured Democracies.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To begin I would like to thank my committee Courtenay Daum, Caridad Souza, and especially Eric Ishiwata; *always demanding more from my surname*. Also, the many Ethnic Studies faculty and staff who reluctantly left their doors open and have supported me along this long and winding road and this project. Thank you.

## DEDICATION

“I am an Oriental writing back at the Orientalists who for so long have thrived upon our silence.

I am also writing to them, as it were, by dismantling the structure of their discipline.”

To all children: teach them well and they will lead to us to redemption.

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## *Chapter 1- Introduction*

“She had nothing to say. She probably, maybe she wasn’t *allowed* to have anything to say. You tell me.”<sup>1</sup>

“Have you no sense of decency, Sir?”<sup>2</sup>

During McCarthy’s *manufactured* Red Scare crisis, the *Reign of Terror*, the monochrome images on television sets, were not capable of fully transmitting the range of emotions. It was nevertheless the primary medium for influencing public opinion. The monopoly on information and news was controlled, by just a handful of companies. The unhealthy co-dependency, pales into insignificance compared to the *alternative* news and the ubiquitous nature of modern-day *news sources*. With *democratization* and *depreciation* of information, influential platforms now play a pivotal role in socialization of the credulous public: the return of *Joe Six-Pack*.<sup>3</sup> However, the diffused nature of the information, its lack of transparency, verification, and source, disseminated through social media, has elevated its role into a powerful and attractive medium. The role of alternate electronic communications, in Matured Democracies in general and in *American Exceptionalism* in particular, are now considered indispensable to a political campaign. The existential menace of *Communism* is now supplanted with unregulated migration particularly that of “Muslims.”

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<sup>1</sup> Yuhas, Alan. “Trump attacks Muslim father’s Democratic convention speech.” *The Guardian*. 31, July 2016. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/30/donald-trump-muslim-father-khizr-khan-democratic-convention-speech> Emphasis added. Ghazala Khan later said in a TV interview that she did not speak because she was still in too much pain over losing her son.

<sup>2</sup> Special Counsel for the Army Joseph N. Welch response to Anticommunist crusader Senator Joseph R. McCarthy on 9, February 1950. NA. United States Senate. Available at: [https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/Have\\_you\\_no\\_sense\\_of\\_decency.htm](https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/Have_you_no_sense_of_decency.htm)

<sup>3</sup> Cohn, Jonathan. “Is Joe The Plumber The Same As Joe Six-pack?” *The New Republic*. 15, October 2008. Available at: <https://newrepublic.com/article/45211/joe-the-plumber-the-same-joe-six-pack>

Humanity, however, is more complicated and nuanced. Thus, with every *tweet*, another chapter in *American Exceptionalism* is being inscribed. With a range of 140 to 280 characters, the most common length being thirty-three, many, certainly politicians, entertain, explain, and lubricate all manner of complexity.

*Captain Humayun Khan*, an American Muslim soldier, died, in yet another *perpetual nation building war*, in Iraq, to protect his unit.<sup>4</sup> An ambassador for Muslim patriots, he most likely also believed that by *integration* into different military branches, aspiring émigré can then expeditiously *assimilate* into the American society. A noble gesture, problematic in and of it itself. The hope most likely would have been not only to dissipate the *foreignness* for himself, but for his émigré parents as well.<sup>5</sup> The quintessential patriotic American takes up voluntary military conscription, in the hope of becoming a venerated American.

Aspiring émigrés have, and continue to devote enormous amounts of attention, energy, and resources to challenge consequential misinterpretation and judgments that are depressingly simplistic. The limitation of socioeconomic possibilities and demands for radical sociopolitical reforms often encourages the *First Generation*—terminology that is not precise and often ambiguous—to check multiple boxes on their identity listings.<sup>1</sup> For some, their earned stripes may enable them to be judged on an elevated status.

There are politicians, pundits, and native-born who emphasize that émigrés have a lot to be grateful for. They crusade against alleged conducts of an obliged émigré. The decision to emigrate requires tremendous amount of mental gymnastics. Yet in Matured Democracies this émigré’s reckoning is heavily pathologized as if further explanation in surviving in a prejudiced

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<sup>4</sup> Yuhas.

<sup>5</sup> Armor, David & Gilroy, Curtis. “Changing Minority Representation in the U.S. Military.” *Armed Forces & Society*, 2010. 36. 223-246. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X09339900>

global capitalist system is required. Gratitude is complex and for many their story begins with deconstructing some of the stereotypes—the psyche of needing salvation rather than needing friends—ways in which nationalism has represented and codified racist attitudes.

Therefore, an aspiring émigré is encouraged to embrace the narrative of assimilation—and not integration—and do it the *right way*—*deemphasizing their émigré parentage*—they will then be embarking on a consciousness transition favored by Nativist populace. An émigré engages in this self-seeking endeavor perhaps with the belief that xenophobia has intruded in their life. The entire Nativist’s model of *Great* is predicated on the expectation that security can be achieved by making others insecure: privileging of “citizens’ rights” over “human rights.” Once again, at the times of economic anxieties, there is nostalgia *for* and romanticizing *of* the days when America was *Great*. This march toward greatness of a nation alone is

“established in relation to a series of differences that have become socially recognized. These differences are essential to its being. If they did not coexist as differences, it would not exist in distinctness and solidity. Entrenched in this indispensable relation is a second set of tendencies...to congeal established identities into fixed forms, thoughts and lives as if their structure expressed the true order of things...identity requires difference in order to be, and it converts difference into otherness in order to secure its own self-certainty.”<sup>6</sup>

Where does this indifference for Otherness—insurmountable obstacles to integration—stem from? The insidiousness of colonialism is its lack of empathy for the colonized: their intellectual or emotional acumen. All along, *the latest manufactured crisis*—uncontrolled migration from the Middle East that has increased exponentially—can be traced to the beginning of 2003. The natural unfolding of the Neoconservative and Neoliberal worldview, the Matured

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<sup>6</sup>Connolly, William E. *Identity\Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox*, Expanded Edition. 2002. University of Minnesota Press P 64

Democracies' hubris behind this worldview, and the roads that lead back to the chaotic days following the horrific events of *September Eleventh*. The apparition, however, is not a singular aberration and on the contrary, connected to *centuries* of ideas that have governed *erstwhile* democracies as they *matured*. Matured Democracies modulated their soft power with strong men, an authoritarian who held the lid on the caldron, before the eventual and perpetual return of colonizers as liberators, unleashing aspirations that they were so unable to contain.

If *Joe Six-Pack* does not grasp the history of Matured Democracies' involvement in the region, then Matured Democracies will voyeuristically look at this region and fall into the trap of thinking that somehow the faith that has befallen on this region is deserving for its inhabitants. Cultural, genetic, or biological traits and perceived inferiority, rather than the repeated—at times well-intentioned—longitudinal interventions buoyed this misinterpretation. The rhetoric of some of the Matured Democracy's leaders then, emboldens the nationalist, the populist, and the White supremacist. Being far more explicit, the lack of empathy does not begin, nor does it end with such leaders. Although migration policies in Matured Democracies have and continue to institute policies that are imbued with systematic and *structural Othering*, they have now been brought forth saturating the discourse.

*Captain Khan's* parents were not impervious to but not swayed by racist pomposity as they struggle with the loss of their son. As patriot American Muslims, they have tried to fit in, which in turn, has the connotation and possibility of giving something up. For Khans this meant parting with their son while confronting the stark reality of xenophobic undertones of the President of the United States. As the Khans grieved, Nativist Americans, following the Commander in Chief's precedent, amplified their censures.<sup>7</sup> As a dog-whistle for an exclusive

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<sup>7</sup> Yuhas.

Anglo-Saxon and Whiter past became loud and clear, the anxieties in marginalized communities heightened. Amplified, since it is one's, *bios* facing confounding political strategies and is then urged to bridle its passions and instincts.<sup>8</sup>

“The fact of the matter is that nationalism thinks in terms of historical destinies, while racism dreams of eternal contaminations, transmitted from the origins of time through an endless sequence of loathsome copulations: outside history...The dreams of racism actually have their origin in ideologies of class, rather than in those of nation: above all in claims to divinity among rulers and to ‘blue’ or ‘white’ blood and ‘breeding’ among aristocracies.”<sup>9</sup>

Americans are asking “Why do they hate us?”<sup>10</sup>  
*President Bush Address to the Nation 20, Sept. 2001*

There are two camps in the Matured Democracies. There are those that even when presented with facts, demonstrating effects of how colonialism has shaped the region, will not alter their assessment, and instead push back at such actualities as *revisionist history*. The second, are individuals who genuinely do not know since they have never been thought. Sadly, it was the horrible events of *September Eleventh*, that the region began to have a semblance of a worthy adversary. Since the Enlightenment, and arguably since the many Crusades, it was fundamentally sanctioned to dehumanize, disenfranchise, and delegitimize this region: The Cradle of Civilization. The Matured Democracies somehow have—morally and intellectually disingenuously—convinced themselves that this history was a long time ago. For many in this

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<sup>8</sup> Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. 1998. Stanford University Press.

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 1991. Verso., P. 149.

<sup>10</sup> Text: President Bush Addresses the Nation. 20, Sept. 2001.

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress\\_092001.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress_092001.html)

Americans are asking “Why do they hate us?” They hate what they see right here in this chamber: a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

region the memories of colonialism are vividly alive and part and parcel of their lineage.

Through discourse, in Matured Democracies, we have convinced ourselves that the colonialism happened in a faded horizon. Cultural mythology then only is extenuated and perpetrated with further simplistic discourses.

“It seems to me that it is better to leave veils and vocations of saving others behind. Instead, we should be training our sights on ways to make the world a more just place. The reason that respect for difference should not be confused with cultural relativism is because it does not preclude asking how we, living in this privileged and powerful part of the world, might examine our own responsibilities for the situations in which others in distant places find themselves.”<sup>11</sup>

By reducing Ghazala Khan to the status of a victim, the tendency is then, to dehumanize her—reduce her to a kind of animalistic status—where she needs a *savior* from male predation and her perceived female vulnerability.<sup>12</sup>The President’s attempt was, to dignify *himself* by giving Mrs. Khan language: *and not just voice*. Language is what as Aristotle claims, enables the individual to define what is just and unjust and thus enter the political sphere—*Bios Politico*.<sup>13</sup>Once again the Matured Democracies in general and *American Exceptionalism* in particular, are *representing* themselves to the victimized Muslim, perceived devoid of agency—and, in the guise of democracy is to reiterate who exactly is a subject of power and who is the object of the power.<sup>14</sup> An individual has the rights only in so far as she is allowed to have them but they can be withdrawn from her at a moment’s notice.<sup>15</sup>The bare naked life—not politically represented but only in the domestic sphere—requires a certain persona if one is challenging the

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<sup>11</sup> Abu-Lughod, Lila. *Do Muslim Women (Still) Need Saving?* 2015. Harvard University Press; Reprint. P 49

<sup>12</sup> Agamben. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*.

<sup>13</sup> Modrak, Deborah K. W. *Aristotle’s Theory of Language and Meaning*. 2009. University of Rochester, New York.

<sup>14</sup> Agamben.

<sup>15</sup> Agamben.

sovereign by engaging in these political maneuverings. We respect your difference: the more you are like us, the more akin to us, further still we respect your differences. The callous comments can only be seen in reducing Ghazala Khan's mother ontological status.

“He may be a son of a bitch, but he's our son of a bitch.”<sup>16</sup>  
*An apocryphal statement attributed to F. D. Roosevelt*

In 2010, Mohamed Bouazizi, with his graduate degree markedly diminished, started selling vegetables.<sup>17</sup> When Tunisian police seized his cart, the twenty-seven years old set fire to himself and later died.<sup>18</sup> Leaked publication, amplified unemployment rate of youth, *stoked the ambers*.<sup>19</sup> The United States' criticism of the regime was the oxidizing agent. <sup>ii</sup> *The world* became transfixed while the *Arab world* paralyzed. Outside of the region, the political breezes were propelling in different direction. As the Arab rivulet brooked, so did the budding of *rokirovka*.<sup>iii</sup> Fetishization of certain kind of *muscular authoritarian leader* making some *disenfranchised citizens* to consider capitulation desirable. Despot, reassures *prosperity and normality*, declares a *state of exception*, and articulates a longing for the nation's *pedigree* stretching back to when America was Great! A tyrant, who, manifestly introduces granular simplistic language for complex issues: *misanthropy against the aspiring Other*. The paralysis gripping aspiring émigrés, anxious and precarious, invigorates a discord devoid of agency and

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<sup>16</sup> Crawley, Andrew. *Somoza and Roosevelt: Good Neighbour Diplomacy in Nicaragua, 1933-1945*. 2007. Oxford University Press. P 153.

<sup>17</sup> Sengupta Kim. “*Tunisia: ‘I have lost my son, but I am proud of what he did’.*” *The Independent*. 20 January 2011. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/tunisia-i-have-lost-my-son-but-i-am-proud-of-what-he-did-2190331.html#gallery>

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>19</sup> Borger Julian. “*Tunisian president vows to punish rioters after worst unrest in a decade.*” *The Guardian*. 29 December 2010. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/dec/29/tunisian-president-vows-punish-rioters>. A 2008 cable from the US embassy in Tunis released by WikiLeaks described the Ben Ali family as a “quasi mafia.”

control. Fraudulent, misleading, or reckless information is deliberately disseminated, augmenting polarization. In Matured Democracies, *disenfranchisement* strengthens susceptible individual's prejudices. In previous colonial outposts, some will seek *The Golden Ticket*; the promise of eternal salvation will seduce some; many simply seek an *alternative* dignified existence in their ancestral ambit.

Race, together with class and gender has always been “at the very center of America’s social and political history,” cognizant that at issue is the fact that the concept of race “has varied enormously over time without ever leaving the center stage of U.S. history.”<sup>20</sup> Thus, Trump’s comment cannot be seen as an aberration, rather, another colorful thread to imbricate Matured Democracies’ epistemological cocoon. The transformation of lives “worthy of living” into “bare lives”—just as with *American Exceptionalism*—has been years in the making.<sup>21</sup> The “sovereignty gaps,” which allow the development of violence outside or beyond the rule of law, has been the integral fabric of Colonial and Imperial power modules that are predecessors to Matured Democracies. In their respective colonies, the *Bios Politico* management was often outsourced to the hands of anointed *Son of a Bitch*.<sup>22</sup> The anomalous nature of the Colonial or Imperial law and the anomalous nature of those territories then crafted the *exception* to be embedded in Matured Democracies’ modern theory of the statecraft. This working paradigm, with the sovereign having a monopoly on violence, dialectical relationships between violence and the rule of law, further enables savvy politicians to enhance their targeted *State of Exception*.<sup>23</sup> The devolution of the *Fighting Words Doctrine*, degenerated into words that by

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<sup>20</sup> Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States*. 1994. Routledge.

<sup>21</sup> Agamben. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*.

<sup>22</sup> Crawley, Andrew. *Somoza and Roosevelt: Good Neighbour Diplomacy in Nicaragua*.

<sup>23</sup> Benjamin, Walter. “*Critique of Violence*.” *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*. Ed, Peter Demetz. Schocken. 1986. Pgs 277-301; *Towards the Critique of Violence: Walter Benjamin and Giorgio Agamben*. Moran, Brendan Carlo Salzani Editors. 2015. Bloomsbury Publishing.

their very utterance inflict injury, is but an evolution of *Bios Politico*.<sup>24</sup> Thus maturation of the *exception* pivots on how legal systems suspend itself in time of political threats, in order to preserve its power of jurisdiction.<sup>25</sup>

Ironically, this latest chapter of American unilateralism could not have come to fruition if Benjamin Franklin's thoughts on the horrors of the United States being overrun by German immigrants were not soundly rejected.<sup>26</sup> This metamorphosis throughout American history is striking but its main benefactors have been White Europeans.<sup>27</sup>

There is an insistence that this resurgence of far-right nationalism, is like something we have never seen before: *we will survive this!* The message is one of mitigation and diminution. "The truth is that we're captives, not captains, of this strategy. We think the contrast of a burnished past allows us to see the burning present, but all it does is keep the fire going, and growing."<sup>28</sup> There are much more to the Arab and Middle Eastern identity than to its troubled recent past. Neoconservative worldviews exasperate Matured Democracies in general and *American Exceptionalism* in particular, with wars that are so much more diffuse, unleashing forces that they are so unable to contain. The nation building in Afghanistan and Iraq is claimed to have agitated the already bitter Shia-Sunni relations. The religious infighting was more a product of Matured Democracies' propaganda and wartime instability than it was of historical tension; nevertheless, it exaggerated this sectarian schism. Matured Democracies shadow wars in

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<sup>24</sup> Modrak, Deborah K. W. *Aristotle's Theory of Language and Meaning*. 2009. University of Rochester, New York; Agamben, NA. "Fighting Words." Cornell Law School. Available at:

[https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/fighting\\_words](https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/fighting_words)

<sup>25</sup> Schmitt, Carl. "*The Problem of Sovereignty as the Problem of Legal Form and of the Decision*." *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*. 1985. University of Chicago Press. Pgs 16-36.

<sup>26</sup> Yglesias Matthew. "Swarthy Germans." *The Atlantic Magazine*. 4, February 2008. Available at:

<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2008/02/swarthy-germans/48324/>

<sup>27</sup> Ignatiev, Noel. *How The Irish Became White*. 1995. Routledge.

<sup>28</sup> Robin, Corey. "*Forget About It*." *Harper's Magazine*. April 2018. Available at:

<https://harpers.org/archive/2018/04/forget-about-it/>

Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Pakistan, Somalia, Syria, Yemen...continue to affect and reduce the region's population to a geo-political chess-game pieces. It is simply the natural unfolding of the Neoliberal policies which only limits the narrative by asking the question *are they better with or without their authoritarian rulers?*

“They get bitter, they cling to guns or religion or antipathy to people who aren't like them or anti-immigrant sentiment or anti-trade sentiment as a way to explain their frustrations.”<sup>29</sup>

*Democratic candidate Barack Obama*

This project began nearly fifteen years ago in frustration to, then and arguably continuing to the present, the prevailing narratives concerning Muslim's integration and what is perceived as the Middle East's chronic failures. After nearly thirty years of absence from academia, I felt the discourses being propagated lacked the street-savvy required to facilitate meaningful dialogue beyond rhetoric, nativism, and thinly veiled patriotism. After all, I am Kurdish-Zoroastrian-Iranian American and all the spaces between those dashes were not being amplified. Among the litany of my concerns was, and continues to be, the failure of multiculturalism, and problematic identity politics. As I tried to establish the perimeters for what *may be* considered a Middle Eastern identity interrogating integration, it further became clear that I was nearing the proverbial *rabbit hole*. Although there are voluminous books, articles, and videos that have been produced, there was a glaring absence—at least for me—of a *semi* comprehensive yet introductory roadmap to navigate nearly *five* millennia of shifting sands.

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<sup>29</sup> Pilkington, Ed. “Obama angers midwest voters with guns and religion remark.” *The Guardian*, 14, April 2008. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/apr/14/barackobama.uselections2008> (Referring to working-class voters in old industrial towns decimated by job losses.)

Thus, began the ambitious—one can argue hubris—attempt to at least provide a few lampposts to illuminate this *Long and Winding Road*. My apprehensive hyphenated *American applecart* became further upset with the dreadful events of *September Eleventh*. I needed and lacked the lucidity of a language that would contest how dramatically the narrowing of human possibilities was churning toward. Among the dread it brought on me, was the reliving of those memories I had long censored. The cries on the other end of the conversation lines, once were mine

Competition for finite resources, and its consequential relationship with violence, has and will continue to skew the moral compass of humanity. Long ago, my identity was forged in the crucible of revolutions and displacements. Now, I am committed to dedicate my aspirations to advocate for and prevent further suffering of all those wanting to claim their humanity before their *God*: function, flourish, and not exasperate or compromise their dignity. Upon returning to academic circles, it quickly became manifest that there was tension between book learning and practical experience. These consequential judgments, in my opinion, were inhibiting the credibility given to life experiences and engagement in *performative politics* in public spaces. For a *perpetual first-generation émigré*, to survive and compete in Matured Democracies, we are socialized to obscure our ability to engage in a complex set of mental operations to the point of being alleged to having an intellectual deficiency. The school certification eclipses the wisdom gained through living. Academic credibility and training thus are reserved for our successive generations.

I was and continue to be uncomfortable with binaries and with simple dichotomies. Nevertheless, if I too was going to make any contributions to the discourse of Middle East, I needed to be in the venerated halls of academia, amongst the learned and recognized scholars.

With an amplified sense of the cognitive and civic aspect, I too needed to season myself with Platonic and Aristotelian logic and the vestiges of Western philosophies. The empirical and sophisticated knowledge, along with street savvy judgment and intelligence, has provided me with instinct that has been honed by practices. Now I needed the academic credentials to highlight and underscore the richness of my life journey in technocratic ways.

After all, these recognized and valued institutions have been the catalyst for forging the mettle of many politicians setting and rising on the political horizon. The issues of economic justice and addressing the vestiges of historical amnesia has been percolating for decades—arguably for centuries—and now it has come to a crescendo. Policymakers are at the fulcrum, where toxic relationships and domestic incongruities, have the potential to disrupt the paradigm.<sup>iv</sup> Politicians get elected by a somewhat narrow constituency. Their *performative* political logic differs from intellectual logic in that they espouse of policies that rewards a tiny but politically vocal and active minority. These are individuals who are constantly campaigning and wearily eyeing the next election. The economists, on the other hand, are more concerned about the *transition costs*. That is, to buttress Neoliberal policies, their canon believes there ought to be a limited government, preparation for labor-market rather than promoting social justice, and a curtailed and conservative social safety-net.

The ubiquitous nature of the media dissemination, however, ought not to accommodate immoral or intellectual disingenuousness. The emergence of the videos and still-photos saturating the landscape increases the probability, validity, and legitimacy of the regions' stories of subjugation and maltreatment. The question however remains the fine balance between increasing empathy and the risk of becoming desensitized. The tension and recognition of such extrapolated values are couched in the emerging dialogue of illuminating the harsh realities of

this region and not desensitizing the Matured Democracies who, are already besieged with the cyclical nature of existence under Capitalism.

In Matured Democracies, these two strands—economists and politicians—provide the logic for tabling and shaping policies with far reaching implications: at home and abroad. The two threads, however, are infrequently in harmony with one-another. For an economist, the *transition costs* are longitudinal in years or perhaps in decades; for the politician the *cost* is dictated by the next looming *reelection* and the promises of *performative politics*. The flawed crafted policies will ultimately result in disempowerment turned to disenfranchisement of many in this region—especially where the institutions, including the judiciary and prosecutors, are fragile or nonexistent. In many countries with a rich history of endemic corruption, such institutions have all but eviscerated the body politics and, the illusion that a grand bargain with entrenched politicians and technocrats may be reached, has degenerated into perpetual ails. The many forms of discontentment will ensue some resulting in violence: physiologically an integral part of humanity.

With well-crafted publications, increasingly aggressive outside independent media, ubiquitously available forms of communication in the region, and an anemic but growing middle class who are more educated, this region too has the human potential to mature and transition from suffering and premature termination of their promising lives. Wrongly, for Matured Democracies, the region is observed as if looking from the wrong end of a reflecting optical telescope of humanity, diminishing and dimming their contributions to humanity. The discourses ramifying in fits and starts for the preceding century did not near exhausting the assault on their autonomy, the assault on their personhood, the assault on their dignity or guaranteeing any consensus about them.

The definition of a nation assumes some level of “contrasting” with an “Other.”<sup>30</sup> It is impossible—an impossibility—with the limitation due to the constraint of pages to present research that is completely émigré affirming. I have amassed tens of books; witnessed printed pages come to resemble the contours of the many trees they have been fabricated from; my reading glasses progressively thicken as the ants continued their march across the pages and screens; and my committee chair’s eyes glazing over at *yet another draft*. To the latter, *I shall forever be indebted to*. Oftentimes my identity became a barrier for people to explore the spaces between my dashes. The Middleasterner’s ethnicities, since we are from a *diverse* region, is not worn on our sleeves. Nevertheless, we are not just trying to make a cursory recognition but to claim space. And, to unpack the hubris behind esoteric, codified racist attitudes and academic ideologies that have and will shape Matured Democracies’ policies, affecting this region.

When the leader of the most powerful nation in the world indulges in slithery xenophobic discourse that plays well only with certain audiences, the homily becomes components of powerful and consequential racist reactions that, only, tests the durability of democracy; a fatal blow to humanity resulting in socially malicious interactions amplified with the knotty narratives of nativist tribalism. These incited reactions make a very strong case for philosophies and policies, that is a way in which immigration policies—the Muslim Ban—have represented and codified racist attitudes. The poisonous mixture of anger, mistrust, and recrimination is tangentially providing a growing appetite for *nationalist leaders across the globe*. The simplicity, clarity, and nevertheless incitement nativist messages has enlarged the trust gulf, marching humanity toward delegitimizing difference and individual’s innate pivot on migration.

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<sup>30</sup> Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 1991. Verso.

For politicians and economists, there are too many moving parts, not only in their representative constituents but in the integrated global apparatus as well. This in turn results in performing gymnastics that only creates insurmountable expectation for integration not only for *Joe Six-Pack* but for an unsuspecting émigré as well. By reducing the individual's ontology, one is only hastening their insecurities—*privileging citizens' rights over human rights*. The troubling *Identity Politics*, then amplify and augments the importance of individual's needs and fears to be validated. In milieus where the émigré faces the complicatedness and toxicity of marginalization, along with trepidations of intersectionality and nuanced economic aspirations, survival and not the spirit of human resilience becomes all too loud of a siren for resistance. The fabric of a nation is composed from many natural fibers. The besieged émigré, in its own enveloped cocoon, falls on this fabric only momentarily fully expecting to contribute to its strength. The spinning of this potential certainly presents a challenge. The uncultivated silks are less uniform since its fibers are torn into shorter lengths. If however, the cocoon is cultivated correctly, and is allowed to unravel gradually, as one continuous thread, it will permit a much stronger cloth to be woven from its silk.

“I, Too, Sing America  
I, Too, Am America.”<sup>31</sup>  
*Langston Hughes*

This research then, is a tiny step toward thinning the provocation that flawed Middle East policies has had on many lives, including mine. The lofty goal is to invert the script and directly engage with misconceptions that are impacting their lives; facilitate innovative positions, and to allow a space for revealing fresh nuances while not neglecting antiquated views or—denying

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<sup>31</sup> Hughes, Langston, Collier, Bryan (Illustrator). 2012. Simon & Schuster.

obvious realities. For Matured Democracies, the Middle East ought to be a manifestation that they are trying to manage rather than cure. In academia, many of the information that will be presented in this research is taken for granted; while for the layperson, these tumultuous stories and histories are not so central to the triumph of Matured Democracies. For the regions' inhabitants, a myriad of different ways that colonialism has decimated the region continues to be amorphous.

As often has been the case, the *limited* intervention to protect civilians had drifted into an opportunistic policy for regime change. The “castling” of *our son of a bitch*—to stand shoulder to shoulder with the averse colonial powers—continues to skew prudence. Having allies, almost invariably means having and begetting enemies who *hate us*. Intervention in Libya, epitomizing the invasion of Iraq, was a policy *not* underpinned by a strategy to support and shape the post-Gaddafi Libya.<sup>32</sup> The result was political and economic collapse, inter-militia, inter-tribal warfare, humanitarian migrant crises, and widespread human rights violations. Moreover, spread of the regime's weapons across the region fueling, growth of *Daesh* in North Africa.<sup>v</sup> Two British parliamentary reports bookended the summer of 2016. The reports were damning verdicts on the coalition's *Realpolitik* slant toward the Arab World. The report convincingly reasoned that through his decision-making in the National Security Council, former British Prime Minister, Cameron was *ultimately responsible* for the failure to develop a coherent strategy.<sup>33</sup>

Stable government is the *sine qua non* toward the resolution of the Middle East's many ongoing economic, humanitarian, and security crises. The West, however, continues a symbiotic relationship with favored regional actors. The *modus operandi* is to boost military intervention

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<sup>32</sup> UK parliamentary report criticised the intervention by Britain and France in Libya. Available at: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmfaff/119/11902.htm>.

<sup>33</sup> UK parliamentary.

and remain ambivalent to suspension of civil liberties that ultimately *caps the springs*. The narratives about democracy and democratization have not been a part of deliberations for many in Middle East. That is not to say that democracy, and democratization is not a priority. The willful blindness of former colonial powers overshadows the *banality of evil*.<sup>vi</sup>The danger is that *arbitrarily drawn states* in the Middle East have a greater potential to descend into a full-scale civil war. Alternatively, in lieu of controlling the territory and its extractive resources, the desperate despot will try to cling to power by invoking an existential threat to Islam. *They get bitter, they cling to guns or religion*. The militant extremist groups will also attempt to benefit from rebellions and amplified governance vacuum.

The query remains whether the United Nations is the appropriate body to orchestrate policies and steady the stabilization and reconstruction in a post-conflict environment. As more conflicts flare-up, alternate organisms that could be more effective to co-ordinate *doctrines* is non-existent. In the Middle East, some *quasi-nation-states* continue to weaken their own limited institutional capacity by paying competing militias to provide security. In Libya, the growth of state-funded militias with *local rather than national loyalties* were a key destabilizing factor after 2011.<sup>34</sup>The West has come to recognize that the debacle of intervention in Iraq engendered an understandable reluctance to impose *solutions* in Libya, Syria, and Yemen. Incoherent nation-building interventions has, inadvertently exacerbated migrants and refugee crisis.<sup>35</sup>

The world is changing rapidly—not just technological but political as well—and is creating a sense of bewilderment in which the traditional rules of behavior—how things ought to be—has broken down without many having no sense of what will fill the void. One answer lies in educating affluent citizens of the West that, in a long run the refugees will not somehow exploit

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<sup>34</sup> UK parliamentary report.

<sup>35</sup> UK parliamentary.

the system. The birthright lottery has left some *Prisoners of Geography*, awaiting an extension of a humanitarian hand.<sup>36</sup>The West has a *particular responsibility* to reciprocate by extending a sense of decency toward people on whom the sky has fallen. Real reciprocity that in turn has the potential to shift the political calculation by state leaders.

When considering the rapid technological change, the economics and politics of the conventional nation-states are progressively irrelevant. The West has traded a complicated historically contextual violence for one that which they can name: ‘The, so called, Islamic State’ *Daesh*. Violence is one element that heightens fears. Fear mongering ramps up nationalist sentiments. The relation between *Economic Freedom* and *Political Freedom*—the push and pull factors—is exasperating the growing urban-rural divide necessitating the movement of people: locally and globally. This research does not claim ability to provide a comprehensive analysis of the multifaceted ideologies that motivate grand narratives of fervent nationalism, blatant chauvinism, or marginalization.

And that is *not* what I am trying to do. What the aim of this research is to introduce a different narrative, and thus the ways in which a new understanding of Middle East can emerge. My approach is to conceptualize the spirit of resilience by amplifying my personal experiences of *performative politics*. Moving forward, and as future projects will develop and with those that are in the works, I will further engage, with detailed historical engagement, addressing issues of class, gender, and sexuality. Worldwide, corruption is endemic. In *developing* countries, the circulating capital surplus dividend *subsequent to autonomy* has not been widely shared. Services—protection, prosperity, health, and housing—are fundamental support pillars for the

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<sup>36</sup> Marshall, Tim. *Prisoners of Geography: Ten Maps That Tell You Everything You Need to Know About Global Politics*. 2015. Elliott & Thompson.

*Social Contract* between sovereign and citizen. Contrary to their anointed leader, populaces in developing countries are no longer willing to be complicit with sustaining Matured Democracies' nationalistic interests. The law of *our son of a bitch* finds it easy to circumvent the rule of law.

This research, then, is a reasonable attempt to outline these multifaceted trends by disentangling history, economic, and politics of the region. The limited scope of this research circumvents exhaustive discussion of Pre and Postcolonial composition. The culturally specific logic to these localities, the forces of globalization, and the governmentality of the nation-state, has led to flawed ethnography of the Middle East as a delimited land and romanticized nomadism. In the Middle East, the Sykes Picot Agreement disrupted tribal composition, alliances, and politics in the region. The analysis will conclude with suggestions of how to avoid a verbal high-wire act, with fresh impetus on nationalism and patriotism encouraging identity as *a continuum and not just a spectrum*.

Will this research slightly shift, in transformative, ways in which Matured Democracies interact with all émigrés, including those from this region? We must begin by introducing different narratives, invert the scripts, alter the discourses, and directly engage and educate the *Joe Six-Packs*.

## Chapter 2- Methodology

“This program is presented as originally created. It may contain *outdated cultural depictions*.”<sup>37vii</sup>

“For, while the tale of how we suffer, and how we are delighted, and how we may triumph is never new, it always must be heard. There isn’t any other tale to tell, it’s the only light we’ve got in all this darkness.”<sup>38</sup>

A discourse is a “a language or system of representation that has developed socially in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings about an important topic area.”<sup>39</sup> “The limits of acceptable speech” or what may possibly be considered as *truth*, however, also ought to be seen as an institutionalized way of thinking with demarcated boundaries.<sup>40</sup> There is no escaping from discourse. Discourses not only provide the style needed to transmit information, but also expressions and lexis.<sup>41</sup> A discourse is an institutionalized way of thinking, a social boundary that “may contain outdated cultural depictions.”<sup>42</sup> Discourses function not only in the production and reading of texts, but also in making sense of social experiences.<sup>43</sup>

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), is this researcher’s methodology to navigate and recognize the Matured Democracies’ past cultural interactions with the Middle East, in a way

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<sup>37</sup> Robey, Tim. “From Dumbo’s crows to The Song of the South: the Disney characters too racist to return.” *The Telegraph*. 31, March 2019. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/films/0/dumbos-crows-song-south-disney-characters-racist-return/>; Pulver, Andrew. “Disney+ attaches warnings of ‘outdated cultural depictions’ to classic films.” *The Guardian*. 14, Nov 2019. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2019/nov/14/disney-attaches-warnings-of-outdated-cultural-depictions-to-classic-films> Emphasis added.

<sup>38</sup> Baldwin, James. “*Sonny’s Blues*,” in Feinstein, Sascha. *The Jazz Fiction Anthology*. David Rife (Editor) 2009. Indiana University Press. Pp17-49: 47.

<sup>39</sup> Fiske, John. *The John Fiske Collection: Television Culture*. [1987, (2010)]. Routledge. Pp 14-15.

<sup>40</sup> Butler, Judith. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. 1997. Routledge.

<sup>41</sup> Butler.

<sup>42</sup> Pulver.

<sup>43</sup> Fiske.

that challenges its depictions. CDA then, turns to language not just to be descriptive but also to show how our social world, including policies, are constructed. The tradition to promote or oppose the dominant ideology began with the writings of Ludwig Wittgenstein, a ‘discursive practice’ of thought, language, and the nature of representation.<sup>44</sup> Words do not just describe the world, but they have meanings beyond the conversation analysis. John Austin furthered the inquiry into language, extrapolating that semantics are not only the central essence of human activity but also an important milieu in the pursuit of philosophical discussions.<sup>45</sup> The trifecta was then completed with Harvey Sacks. Although Sacks circulated relatively few printed materials in his lifetime, he remains a major influence in sociology, sociolinguistics, the development of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis.<sup>46</sup>

It was in this light, promotion of and opposition to ideologies, that the many Civil Rights Movements of the 1960s, began to employ ‘discursive practice’ to further enrich semiotics as a new approach to present the discourse to cut across all platforms with the ambition to diffuse different interpretations.<sup>47</sup> This research *is not* a research by a native of this region for the people of the Middle East; the stories from the Middle East, *have shaped us all*: it is the quintessential human story.

CDA then, is interested in the impact of identity, meaning, and discourse on world politics that gained traction in a variety of disciplines through the works of poststructuralist intellectuals and researchers. Through their publications, contestations of post-positivist epistemology, historicity and contingency, and privation of agency began to further enhance

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<sup>44</sup> Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. [1913, (2007)] Cosimo Classics.

<sup>45</sup> Austin, John. L. *How to Do Things with Words*. [1960, (1975)]. J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa; Editors. Harvard University Press.

<sup>46</sup> Silverman, David. *Harvey Sacks: Social Science and Conversation Analysis*. 1998. Oxford University Press.

<sup>47</sup> Saussure, Ferdinand. *Course in General Linguistics*. [1916, (1998)]. Roy Harris (Author). Open Court Classics.

Post-Colonial studies.<sup>48</sup>By the early 1960s, the law of *diminishing return*, amplified the voices of groups historically shut out of the political arena in the Matured Democracies and in newly independent former colonies. The closure of Frankfurt School by the Nazis dispersed its many ideological forbearers, critical of modernity and capitalist society, first to Europe and eventually to Columbia University in New York City. Their influences into methodological approaches ushered the analytic traditions contesting the authenticity of any sharp boundaries.<sup>49</sup>

The Matured Democracies' *exceptional* prosperity following the Second World War, carefully crafted with their *visible hands* and, geopolitical tension wrought by the Cold War, transformed many of the Matured Democracies, including the United States. Beginning with mercantilism, capitalism has morphed many times since its inception from its ideals and ideologies. Keynesian economics became the latest casualty of this adaptation. The prevailing economic model which, through government intervention, aimed to promote growth and economic stability faced the growing concerns of full employment.<sup>50</sup> The headwinds of the fundamental right to self-determination—decolonization of biopolitical and terrapolitical—floated contrapuntal textures and readings to the metropolises that not only challenged colonial power but, colonial knowledge as well. What also plummeted were the profits that had previously been stimulated by the accumulation of profitable balances with former colonies.

Nevertheless, *consumerism* began to cement and extend the blessings of Matured Democracies' affluences, to certain segments of its populations. The excluded citizens amplified their disenfranchisement with violent political protests and confrontations. Discursive Analyses (DA) aspired to articulate consensual and consensus-generating aspects of discourse—

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<sup>48</sup> Silverman.

<sup>49</sup> Geuss, Raymond. *The Idea of a Critical Theory: Habermas & the Frankfurt School*. 1981. New York: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>50</sup> Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. 2007. Oxford University Press. Pp15, 42.

pontificating on what and who constitutes as subjects, how to ascribes identities, “the limits of acceptable speech,” and the blurring demarcation of legitimate and prohibited actions and the contestation of the boundaries of rational *vis-à-vis* irrational.<sup>51</sup>

These binaries then, boundary-drawing, not only extrapolate and conceptualized the public sphere and civil society but also justified *obedience to the State*. Through constituting and constructing identities, the Matured Democracies also fortified their domestic as well as foreign policies as transactional, *first*, strategies initiated by various sociopolitical and economic circumstances, often engendering moral disengagement.<sup>52</sup>

The Oil Crises of the 1970s, the Arab–Israeli conflict that resulted in a failed embargo, swelled the influence of Middle East, once again as a global economic factor, to the consternation of the Matured Democracies in general and the United States in particular.<sup>53</sup> Oil and geopolitics irrevocably altered the world, economically and politically, and patterned struggles for ideological supremacy and provided a political voice for movements to create social change for those otherwise marginalized or all together excluded.<sup>54</sup> Counterculture movements, grassroots organizations, antiwar protests, political assassinations, and anarchist collectives dawned the various “power” movements with strategies that eventually and colloquially became known as *identity politics*: including the rise of American and eventually other Matured

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<sup>51</sup> Habermas, Jürgen. *Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*. [1967, (1984)]. Volume 1; Thomas McCarthy: trans. Boston: Beacon Press; Habermas, Jürgen. *The Theory of Communicative Action, Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*. [1981, (1985)]. Volume 2; Thomas McCarthy: trans. Boston: Beacon Press; Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. [1962, (1991)]. The MIT Press; Butler, Judith. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. 1997. Routledge.

<sup>52</sup> Campbell, David. *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. [1992, (1998)]. University of Minnesota Press; Robert, Walker, B. J. *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*. 1993. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>53</sup> Kissinger, Henry. *Years of Upheaval*. 1982. Little Brown & Co.

<sup>54</sup> Painter, David S. “*Oil and Geopolitics: The Oil Crises of the 1970s and the Cold War*.” 2014. [Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung](https://www.jstor.org/stable/24145533). Vol. 39, No. 4 (150), Special Issue: The Energy Crises of the 1970s: Anticipations and Reactions in the Industrialized World. Pp. 186-208. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24145533>

Democracies' *conservatism*.

Economic elites and their political allies, a newly emerged middle class, hostile to high taxes and to many of the social programs these taxes financed, became increasingly weary of the specter of *dictatorship of the proletariat*. The threats of urban riots and social unrest, student protests, compelled the disenchanted privileged to gravitate toward conservative candidates who promised to restore law and order. As the disillusionment with the federal government in many of the Matured Democracies grew, *Silent Majority* were led to believe that government no longer served their interests.<sup>55</sup> By then, Milton Freedman and private enterprise were well positioned to wrest back control.

The group holds that these developments have been fostered by the growth of a view of history which denies all absolute moral standards and by the growth of theories which question the desirability of the rule of law. It holds further that they have been fostered by a decline of belief in private property and the competitive market; for without the diffused power and initiative associated with these institutions it is difficult to imagine a society in which freedom may be effectively preserved.<sup>56</sup>

*Society became a market*. Economic motivation honed-in on taxation and trickle-down economics, deregulation, privatization of state-owned enterprises, and removing trade barriers resulting in increased wealth for selected few and income inequalities for many.<sup>57</sup> A very specific *restoration of class power* dawned: a specific adaptation of capitalism reflexively opposed and resistant to an inhibiting and well-established bureaucratic state. The *perceived* dynamism, strength, and efficiency of *Neoliberalism* are results of its deterministic model.<sup>58</sup> Its growth has fashioned displacement for many around the world, rise of ethnic nationalism, and emergence of

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<sup>55</sup> Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. 2007. Oxford University Press. Pp15, 42.

<sup>56</sup> N.A. "Statement of Aims." The Mont Pelerin Society. Available at: <https://www.montpelerin.org/statement-of-aims/>

<sup>57</sup> Harvey.

<sup>58</sup> Klein, Naomi. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. 2008. Picador.

toxic, *but for now necessary*, reactionary identity politics. Contrary to the needs of Neoliberalism for its survival, statelessness: distinction without difference, the expressed needs for a common ethnic ancestry, a common faith, and a common language, continues the march on humanity with the anarchic breakup of international institutions—although imperfect—but because of Neoliberalism, the only *current* hope for humanity’s survival.

The stage was set for historical material problems and circumstances with different political responses. Discourses began to be fervently utilized rhetorical device to persuade or evoke emotion but certainly convey a *specific meaning*. The practices to maintain this latest iteration of capitalism, *necessitated* linguistic practices that constructs the world in a *particular* way. Discourses are historically and culturally situated; they requisite action orientations that *regulates* who or what is presented with opportunities or obstacles from a particular subject position, and the kind of actions made possible or prohibited for such subject positions.<sup>59</sup>

Frankfurt School philosophers began to pull back the curtain on discourse to *reveal the Wizard* and chart a path for the use of discourse analysis forwarded by poststructuralist theorist. Interest in the impact of identity, meaning, and discourse on world politics, underpinned the conceptual and epistemological undertaking of DA. Post-positivist epistemology and its assumptions regarding absence of agency, historicity and contingency of discourse amplified how discourses support institutions and reproduce power relations.<sup>60</sup> Poststructuralist, began to “use the term argumentation for that type of speech in which participants thematize contested validity claims and attempt to vindicate or criticize them through argumentation.”<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. 1995. Alan Sheridan (Translator). Vintage Books; Foucault, Michel. *History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*. 1990. Vintage; Foucault, Michel. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. 1988. Vintage.

<sup>60</sup> Foucault.

<sup>61</sup> Habermas. P 18.

Contemporary discourses acquire and maintain their hegemonic status through establishing artificial continuities with the past. Historicizing contemporary hegemonic discourses serves to reveal the specific socio-political contexts in which these discourses emerged and exposes their contingent evolution through challenges from and suppression of various alternatives. Thereby, the *genealogical* method of CDA, serves to deconstruct the historical continuities that contemporary discourses rely on to maintain their hegemonic status.<sup>62</sup> The social world that is constituted through discourses, conjectured structures of meaning that do not describe an independently existing state of global politics but serve to constitute it as such.

A specific interpretation constructed the subject thru legal, medical, and moral discourses.<sup>63</sup> The positioned subject, *freedom-fighter vis-à-vis terrorist*, then became to be illegal and immoral only to be punished. Through the discourse subject was defined, allowed, and limited; through CDA subject was presented as not monolithic and how one may adopt the subject positions that embraces one's identity or sense of oneself. Through discursive practices, knowledge was employed and served to regulate and control the subject. This was not solely to constrain power, but also power that help to shape and produce reality, domain of objects, and rituals of truth.<sup>64</sup>

CDA presented the breakout and not breakthrough moment with the potential to become an inflection point. For this researcher, the fact that the whole notion of discourse rests upon this idea that we are trying to use language to achieve certain kinds of effects in certain kinds of ways, so we are using it intentionally remains problematic. Once one is assigned a subject position within a discourse, there seems this will inhibit the choice to escape it. Nevertheless,

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<sup>62</sup> Foucault.

<sup>63</sup> Foucault.

<sup>64</sup> Foucault.

discourses are challenged, and individuals do adopt different discourses. These points explore the alternative possibilities by engaging in a genealogy, a history, to challenge the privileged versions of these social realities that in succession have legitimized existing power relations and social structures.

CDA further investigates the role of the institutional practices that administer, regulate, and organize not only social life but foreign policies as well.<sup>65</sup> Orientalism, positioned the Middle East in a philosophical and racist discourse, thusly allowing it to become an object of legitimate interest for Matured Democracies' forbearers.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, Matured Democracies continue pilfering of the region's resources, cataloging its inhabitants, insistence to scrutinize, patronize, and pathologize their cultures, and continued obsession with all manners of Middle East has been essentialized as a part of their policy malpractices.<sup>67</sup>

For many indigenous populations, their perceived lack of agency has erroneously privileged the Matured Democracies with versions of social reality that has justified prevailing power relations and entrenched social structures that had become 'common sense.' To challenge such sensibleness, exculpatory evidence, *genealogy*, as part of an interpretive epistemology is needed.<sup>68</sup>

The interpretive epistemology, if unimpeded, will question the subject's ontology using language, that is not a passive reflection of the external world—it is a site for projecting reality rather than describing it. A group of statements which provides a language for talking about—a way of representing the knowledge about—a particular topic at a particular historical moment. The discourse then, has potential for emotional oscillations, the mental penetration and the

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<sup>65</sup> Foucault

<sup>66</sup> Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. 1993. Vintage Books.

<sup>67</sup> Said.

<sup>68</sup> Foucault.

memories that continue being triggered.

“One important point about this notion of discourse is that it is not based on the conventional distinction between thought and action, language and practice. Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But it is itself produced by a practice: ‘discursive practice’ the practice of producing meaning. Since all social practices entail meaning, all practices have a discursive aspect. So discourse enters into and influences all social practices. Foucault would argue that the discourse of the West about the Rest was deeply implicated in practice -i.e. in how the West behaved towards the Rest.”<sup>69</sup>

The interpretative repertoire available to CDA includes but is not limited to phrases, terms, and metaphors that are available in any given cultures. For differing cultures, these interpretative repertoires can certainly be contradictory.<sup>70</sup> All social practices are therefore ought to be understood as a manifestation of discursive construction that constructs, allows, and limits the events, objects, or subjects. In its strictest manifestation these discourses become the *cultural taboos*.<sup>71</sup> Discourses shape, influence, but also constitute our interactions and structures of shared meaning.

CDA, then is matured and sophisticated iteration of Socratic debate. A form of cooperative argumentative dialogue between individuals, based on asking and answering questions to stimulate critical thinking and to draw out ideas and underlying presuppositions.<sup>72</sup> Whereas the Socratic method, advanced the circulation of statements, prioritizing and foregrounding certain statements, CDA challenges the power knowledge nexus that for the most part can marginalize or further still suppress certain other opposing statements. From its

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<sup>69</sup> Hall, Stuart. “The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power.” In: The Formations of Modernity: Understanding Modern Societies: an Introduction. 1993. Bram Gieben and Stuart Hall (Editors). Polity. P: 291.

<sup>70</sup> Potter, J. Representing Reality: Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction. 1996. London: Sage. Chapters 5-6

<sup>71</sup> Said, Edward W. Culture and Imperialism. 1993. Vintage Books.

<sup>72</sup> Jarratt, Susan C. Rereading the Sophists: Classical Rhetoric Refigured. 1991. Southern Illinois University Press. P 83.

inception, CDA has brought researchers empowerment and polarization, resentment, and liberation—but it has certainly become a permanent part of our political and cultural lives.<sup>73</sup>

This research then attempts to explore icons, public speeches, and adverts that, can also be included in discourse.<sup>74</sup>The purpose is then to reveal the manifest and latent function and relations of power. Discourses that are backed by Matured Democracies' military, and economic domination, enjoy the *institutional* backing that is therefore gives elevated status to such discourses. The purpose of a CDA research then, is ought to be investigating who is exercising the power, that is, whose discourses are being presented in order to present the ideal subject and the “the limits of acceptable speech.”<sup>75</sup> Within the former colonies, and certainly in Middle East, there are cadre of individuals anointed with status as *representatives* of a subjugated population. These ordained cliques helped with reification of discourse from the powerful that gets circulated as true knowledge. Throughout centuries, certainly in the many recent decades, colonial authorities systematically destroyed all native institutions of learning by abolishing native institutions.<sup>76</sup>

The discourse of Orientalism was generated, circulated, and ratified by the colonial institutions as the discourses which gains acceptance as the truth. The military and economic domination of the Orient was tied up with the discourse about the Orient. Through these discourses, the Orient was seen simultaneously foreign, loathsome, and yet excitingly exotic.<sup>77</sup> These reifications occurred when specifically, human creations are misconceived as facts of

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<sup>73</sup> Hall.

<sup>74</sup> Parker, Ian. *Discourse Dynamics: Critical Analysis for Social and Individual Psychology*. [1992, (2014)]. London: Routledge.

<sup>75</sup> Butler.

<sup>76</sup> Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. 1993. Vintage Books.

<sup>77</sup> Said.

nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestations of divine will.<sup>78</sup>The relations between power, cognition, and memory are temporally and geographically located. Individuals, who produce and are produce by the language, establish notions of authority and the notion of larger social practices. The discourse then is not just the language of individual but the larger system of thoughts constructing what is possible for the individuals to think and to say. The intention of this research is not to reveal this connection but to disrupt it; to point out and critique the myths and prejudices that underline them.

The relevant literature can be categorized into two tropes. One, a school of thoughts that fails to account for colonial legacies and cultural projections of Matured Democracies. Venerated authors such as Donner, Lapidus, Levtzion, Esposito, were influential in shaping political and cultural traditions of Middle East. The second school, emblematic of Lewis, Nasr, Mansfield, were influential Orientalist and social theories with sentimentality that ignores historical misrepresentation that produced an ideology of racist supremacy by the Matured Democracies.

These two categories of scholarship narratives continue to fashion a one-dimensional Middle East/Muslim caricature. It has been hard to have our stories told. The canonical scholarship continues to ignore the matrix of decisions, that daily, must be made. As the Matured Democracies grapple with their inner struggles that is wholly wedded to capitalism, certain leader's discourses are continuously creating a mechanism for creating a *moment* of closure, through *Juxtaposition*. By increasing the likelihood of exposure to diverse views, these moments of juxtaposition that *limits* humanity, ought to be exposed for is unspecified wrongdoing or the silencing it intents.

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<sup>78</sup> György Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness; studies in Marxist Dialectic*. Rodney Livingstone, Trans. [1923, (1972)]. The MIT Press.

That then determines, if alternative wording of such speeches and iterations will result in different discourses being privileged. The orator and authors intentions having been exposed, will result in the citizens to query What else one does not know and challenge the reader to further investigate. But however, a society may choose to demarcate terrorism from freedom-fighter the basic concept of terror remains present in all society. The choice of venue and images and the repetition that exist will elevate a group of statements which will be kept out of the pale of discourse because of its association with terrorism. The counter narrative then, would not be admitted as part of a meaningful discourse because it will not be ratified by institutions and some political leaders which regulate knowledge production and knowledge dissemination in today's world.

As a homage to my forebear and a solemn responsibility to humanity, it is this researcher's ambition to provide a continuous ramp and path with the aspiration of engaging the reader to further explore the narrative and the sweep. It is the researcher's belief that it is crucially important to read where it all began. And began to grasp the complexity—not in a linear fashion—but to understand some of the region's struggles so we all can improve our humanities.

### *Chapter 3- Strategic Location*

#### *Introduction:*

*The right to migrate is a human right:* intrinsic to all humans. The border wall is metaphorical just as it is literal. Its erection and fortification only masks Matured Democracies' anxieties: the domestic economy, foreign policy, security, and terrorism. A wall must be *strategically* located. Streams of émigré from different regions—the Northern Triangle, the Middle East, ...—continues to illuminate the long-sufferings resulting from chronic violence, corruption, and a lack of economic opportunity due to sustained periods of civil wars and political instability. This by no means has been of their own making.

The purpose of this chapter is to amplify how disquieting it is, for the Matured Democracies, to disregard geostrategic constants that have shaped the Middle East for millennia. With a confused vision, the Matured Democracies have only looked to the Middle East as *buffer zones, spheres of influence* or *extractive resource* sites. The many historical interventions have been an imprudent pivot on inflow and outflow of trade and *new markets*. The many composite countries of this region have held historical aptitude in and around the peripheries of the Levant, Mediterranean, and Mesopotamia. This has given the region a significant strategic advantage on the many routes between Europe and Asia. The depopulation of region, especially of the highly educated disenfranchised youth, poses new economic, social, and political difficulties for affected areas *for generations to come*. This in turn is in sharp contrast to Matured Democracies' internal redistribution of educated professionals.

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce three outline and backgrounds:

1. *The Silk Road established and contributed to a complex system of not only trade but intellectual and cultural collaboration.*
2. This region is inhabited by a large, heterogeneous, and diverse collection of ethnicities. The current prosaic explanation not only erases their contribution but also disenfranchises many and their contributions.
3. The *trickle-down* effects of colonial expansion amplified with Matured Democracies' implicit scorns for the region's desires for liberation and justice, dispenses the region in the light of meek and submissive docile. Since post Second World War and Cold War, the region has further been looked down upon as civilization's orphan.

### ***Historical Interventions***

“One Ring to rule them all, One Ring to find them,  
One Ring to bring them all and in the darkness bind them.  
In the Land of Mordor where the Shadows lie.”<sup>79</sup>

“You are very amiable, no doubt, but you would be  
charming if you would only depart.”<sup>80</sup>

Matured Democracies, certainly the Trump Administration, continue legislating highly controversial policies designed to stop émigrés and asylum seekers.<sup>81</sup> These policies provide the cover and veneer that émigrés have access to the Matured Democracies' judicial system without *giving them admission to the inner recesses*. These policies are intended to string out émigré's

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<sup>79</sup> Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Lord of the Rings* [1954] Allen & Unwin; Mariner Books; Anniversary edition, 2012. Book one, Chapter 2, the shadow of the past 42-65.

<sup>80</sup> Dumas, Alexandre. *The Three Musketeers*. Lowell Bair (Translator) [1898] Little, Brown, and Company, Bantam Classic. 1984. Chapter 35; All Cats are Gray in the Dark, P. 310.

<sup>81</sup> Cheatham, Amelia: “*Central America's Turbulent Northern Triangle*.” *The Council on Foreign Relations*. 1, October 2019. Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/background/central-americas-turbulent-northern-triangle>

asylum claims and adjudication of many *legitimate claims*. Such policies—the Migrant Protection Protocols, known colloquially as “Remain in Mexico,”—ought to be seen as a punitive measure and mechanism to detour or even thwart émigrés and asylum seekers’ attempt and pursuit by conscripting a “safe *third country* agreement.”<sup>82</sup> Matured Democracies hardline policies are *yet* another scheme, assuaging the nativist portion of their populations. Vulnerable émigrés and those who have a *legitimate claim to asylum*, undertake the long and perilous journey only to be kept far away from the metropolises.

The nation-states neighboring the Mediterranean, island nations in South Pacific, and certainly some of the Central American countries, are providing further utility for the Matured Democracies’ intended policies that are premised on extortion of highly exposed subjects. These *third country* surrogates are then not able to resist the enormous pressure or the huge stick that the Matured Democracies carry. Instead, the many susceptible individuals are exposed to the criminal groups that can exploit them with utter impunity. They provide a preliminary line of defense in advance of the Matured Democracies’ *exhibitions* of moats: short circuiting émigrés’ legitimate petition.<sup>83</sup> These deputized nations, lack even the most basic institutional infrastructure to receive so many rejected asylum seekers. “Nothing is changing about the circumstances forcing people to flee or their desperation. But things are changing to make the outcomes worse.”<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> The United States Department of Homeland Security. “Migrant Protection Protocols.” Release Date: 24, January 2019. Available at: <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2019/01/24/migrant-protection-protocols>

<sup>83</sup> Arslan, Defne “*EU-Turkey relations and the migration conundrum: where does the EU-Turkey Statement stand after three years?*” Atlantic Council In Turkey. 15, May 2019. Available at: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/commentary/event-recap/eu-turkey-relations-and-the-migration-conundrum-where-does-the-eu-turkey-statement-stand-after-three-years/>

<sup>84</sup> Phillips, Tom and Jo Tuckman. “Trump’s plan for those seeking safe haven: a ticket to the violent heart of Central America.” *The Guardian*. 27 Sep 2019. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/sep/27/honduras-central-america-asylum-seekers-us-guatemala-el-salvador>

The dialogues of colonialism and postcolonialism, with *Joe Six-Packs* or in academia, hinges on many *second-hand* narratives: contrary to my personal visceral experiences and its repercussions. To make this research accessible, discourses on power relations, colonial, postcolonial, and imperialism must be constrained. Nevertheless, both implications and justifications require historical antecedents. The latter, I will visit in the succeeding chapter. With the Age of Discovery, *new routes rather than new lands*, propelled the maturing European nation-states, to establish political control over the newly discovered territories. The *Atlantic Slave Trade* further established and made more powerful, the European nations intersected in slavery and colonialism. Many private enterprises expedited opening of *new markets* that in return facilitated the Industrial Revolution which in consort expanded the reaches of the empires.

The law of Historical Development—the conflict between the exploiters and the exploited—argues that individuals do not shape history nor, is history determined by chance; rather it is subject to the laws of economics.<sup>85</sup> First there is a stage of lawlessness, followed by along stage of autocratic rule and strict hierarchy, and finally the dialectical transition from ‘civil society’ to the *Rechtsstaat*—constitutional state, *Republik*, or democracy—where citizens powers are strictly limited by the rule of law.<sup>86</sup> Yet this semi-smooth transition abandons fundamentals of historical materialism.<sup>87</sup> Just as scientific laws affect humanities historical development, the laws of economics dictate the realities for political leaders. “A spectre is haunting” Matured Democracies. “The spectre of” political representations demanding

<sup>85</sup> Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *The philosophy of history*. [(1824) 1956], Dover Publications New York; pdf.

<sup>86</sup> Hayek, Friedrich. *The Constitution of Liberty*. “Liberalism and Administration: the *Rechtsstaat*.” [(1960), 1978]. The University of Chicago Press; pp. 193–205; Schmitt, Carl. *Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy*; “The Principles of Parliamentarism.” 1988. *Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought*. MIT Press; pp 33-51.

<sup>87</sup> Marx, Karl, and Frederick Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. 1848. PDF. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Manifesto.pdf>

redemption for past transgressions, that has only provided trivial solace for subordinates frayed beyond recognition.<sup>88</sup>

As the expansion of empires continued, so did the many *scrambles*.<sup>89</sup> In this chapter then, the strategic location for implementing ideologies of colonialism and imperialism is the focus. In the colonial, and its eventual successor imperial practices, metropolises' bourgeois conventionalities, sanctioned, legitimated, and valorized actions taken in the name of and for benefit of their *citizens*. This economic exploitation and partial political control produced a cast of *subjects* in the principalities the colonizers occupied. The violence on the subjects, first couched in religious mission and context of Natural Law, became the civilizing of the subjects when, after Enlightenment, *reason* replaced *God* as the ultimate moral citation. The earlier conquering enterprises to indenture *savages*, now became a civilizing mission and *A White Man's Burden*.<sup>90</sup>

These stages develop out of each other through the logical development of societies underlying concepts; material progress not just infrequently but always at the cost of personal freedom and human values. Such contradictions are the engines of history: they are what push history forward. Knowing about the logic of history will provide the *possibility* to predict the future. The synthesis is better than the thesis and the antithesis since it contains the good elements of both. Yet we will never arrive at a perfect synthesis.<sup>91</sup> Researchers can only

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<sup>88</sup> Marx.

<sup>89</sup> Pakenham, Thomas. *The Scramble for Africa: The White Man's Conquest of the Dark Continent from 1876 to 1912*. 1992. Avon Books; Nasr, S.V.R. "European Colonialism and the Emergence of Modern Muslim States." In, *The Oxford History of Islam*. Ed: John L. Esposito. 1999. Oxford University Press, Pg 549-601.

<sup>90</sup> Brantlinger, Patrick. "Kipling's 'The White Man's Burden' and Its Afterlives." *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, Volume 50, Number 2, 2007, pp. 172-191. Access 2 Oct 2019, Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1353/elt.2007.0017>

<sup>91</sup> Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *The philosophy of history*. [(1824) 1956], Dover Publications New York; pdf.

recognize the problems with the underlying ideas of a society and the logical development that will lead to the next stage: historical understanding is always retrospective.

The light of civilization meant a period of political control until such a time that indigenous entities may become capable of self-government.<sup>92</sup> “The real difficulty was the improvidence of the people; their inability to think for the future, and the necessity accordingly of the most unremitting and minute superintendence on the part of their instructors.”<sup>93</sup> The punitive inner voice of the colonized then amplified not only the invisible line between, not only two different ideologies, not only arbitrary drawn borders, but two ways of life. The shifting sands continues to cover the region’s layers of history and the layers of life and death that has been beguiled by it.

Nevertheless, there are power dynamics that ought to be acknowledged. In the European era of expansionism and technical superiority, the *Orient* developed a common identity in response to the *Occident’s actions and attitudes*.<sup>94</sup> As we shall see in the next chapter, *Pan-Arabism also extrapolated the overthrow of European colonial and imperialism*. To some extent, Matured Democracies’ cultural predominance, inhibited the many postcolonial *pan-isms*, to fully achieve their political and economic ambitions. Nevertheless, this region’s struggles do not invalidate the notion any more than Europe’s political divisions and incessant wars have killed the notion of Europe. “So it’s a really significant part of our shared history, and a sad one, so it felt really important to acknowledge that pain of those first encounters. Acknowledge that the pain doesn’t diminish over time, and if you do that, if you look back to address the wrongs of the

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<sup>92</sup> Hegel.

<sup>93</sup> Mills, J. S. *Principles of Political Economy: With Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*. [(1885), 2004]. Stephen Nathanson (Editor). Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.; Abridged Edition: Book V: On the Influence of Government P:204; Book I, Law of the Increase of Capital P:69.

<sup>94</sup> Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. 1979. Vintage Books.

past, it equips you better I think to look to the future and build a partnership.”<sup>95</sup>In the region, all that remains now, is the *World Heritage Sites*: tiny remnants of once flourishing civilizations since the Classical Antiquity. For now, Matured Democracies will always be defined by what they are, while those on the periphery are given *Other* identities since they are not.

Just as with Matured Democracies, in the Middle East, the way we think, the way we are, is shaped by our geography, our history, and our culture. History never repeats itself; every stage of history is new and unique.<sup>96</sup> As history progresses, many concepts will be discarded and replaced by a contemporary value; predominantly based on other characteristics in which Orient and Occident, East and West, may no longer remain relevant. The Matured Democracies’ decisions on geographical concepts, metastasizing to the point where today, this region’s politics are interlocked and interlinked with the vested interest of many players and actors; deeply traumatizing its inhabitants by her sheer scale of suffering and losses. The West, then attributes its maturing to Christianity, which originated from the Semitic world and borrowed heavily from two Eastern religions, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism.<sup>97</sup> Islam had similar Semitic origins, but 1,000 years of religious warfare between Christianity and Islam helped solidify the identity of Europe in a way not seen since Persian/Greek rivalry.<sup>98</sup> For thousands of years, the sands in this region have been idyllic terrain for culture and civilizations to spread sometimes by conquest but for many years by trade.

As a part of state building, the number of borders, the aspirations for independence in this region has been increasing in the last century. One connection made; others are broken. A

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<sup>95</sup>Graham-McLay, Charlotte. “UK expresses ‘regret’ over Māori killings after Cook’s arrival in New Zealand.” *The Guardian*. 1, Oct 2019. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/02/britain-expresses-regret-over-maori-killings-after-captain-cooks-arrival-in-new-zealand>

<sup>96</sup>Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *The philosophy of history*. [(1824) 1956], Dover Publications New York; pdf.

<sup>97</sup>Lewis, Bernard. *The Arabs in History*. 2002. Oxford University Press; 6th edition.

<sup>98</sup>Lewis.

constant interplay of politics and lives around the shifting sands. As the borders change, discoveries are made of its ancient and modern secrets and the reminders of the many empire's advances and retreats. The region continues to be the ideological battlefield where ambitions of many will be tested while it remains the crossroads for Matured Democracies' seemingly intractable position for outsourcing their morality. The region then, will challenge Matured Democracies to confront their own biases and their own one-dimensional perceptions of what the Middle East is, and who these individuals are and what they are capable of. Reality for many in the region then, is detached from the language that is being used.

The modern nation building, changing of the political atmosphere, is encouraging many to rebel against the anachronistic morality of Matured Democracies' prognosis of the region: the warehouse of lost souls, suspended in time with no resolution in sight. The undercurrent of its history, the shifting sands, continues to connect inhabitants in an unexpected way, defying the easy definition of identity. What many, particularly the educated youth seek, is ways for *authenticity* to make political interpretations; reappraisals of their works, focusing on their representations. The emerging history of the region thus is as unpredictable of the constantly moving dunes as the shifting sands propel the grains. You return again and again, and you are again and again delighted with a completely different landscape that you may conjure.

In May 2017, Matured democracies were engaging in a victory dance: touting the blow they, *theoretically*, had dealt to Islamic extremist groups, including *Daesh*. The Mosul battle, the largest campaign in Iraq's recent history, was by all accounts bloody and intensive.<sup>99</sup> The Great Mosque of *al-Nuri* in Mosul, from which *Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi* gave his ascension speech as "*caliph*", was recaptured after his fighters blew it up to deny the Iraqi government the possibility

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<sup>99</sup>Hassan, Hassan. "*Isis may be on its knees but it will rise again if we don't break the cycle.*" *The Guardian*. 15, Jul 2017. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/15/isis-rise-again-defeat-mosul-islamic-state>

of adding insult to injury by announcing the liberation of the mosque.<sup>100</sup>The “*caliphate*” was falling apart and its second pillar, *Raqqa* in Syria, was soon to be lost as well. But *Daesh* had gained a transnational organization with branches and cells across the region and beyond.<sup>101</sup>

With this as a background, the Trump administration announced the itinerary for the President’s *first* foreign trip since taking office.<sup>102</sup> The nine-day trip peddled understandings of cultural and political issues, reaffirming strategic commitment, and edifying strong sensitive religious themes. On Saturday, the initial day of his trip, President Trump signed a \$110 billion arms deal with Saudi Arabia, calling it “a tremendous day.”<sup>103</sup> The day, then, was an immense endorsement of the United States of America’s *military–industrial complex* and a dire and appalling distorted role of Saudi Arabia in the bloody civil war in Yemen. The military intervention of the Kingdom in the affairs of her neighbor to the south has added to the instability of the region that, by many accounts constitutes war crimes.<sup>104viii</sup>

The following day, in *Riyadh*, Saudi Arabia, during Trump’s visit to the newly inaugurated Global Center for Combating Extremist Ideology, another incalculable parody was disseminated for world media consumption. During the consecration spectacles, Presidents Trump and *al-Sissi* of Egypt along with King Salman, tilting at the *glowing orb*, posture as if stabbing at phantoms of global terrorism’s windmills.<sup>105</sup>The symbolism of that image downplays

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<sup>100</sup> Hassan.

<sup>101</sup> Hassan.

<sup>102</sup> NA. BBC. “Trump’s first foreign trip: What’s on the agenda?” 21, May 2017. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-39995387>

<sup>103</sup> Phelps, Jordyn, Ryan Struyk “*Trump signs \$110 billion arms deal with Saudi Arabia on 'a tremendous day'*.” ABC. 20, May 2017. Available at: <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/trump-signs-110-billion-arms-deal-saudi-arabia/story?id=47531180>

<sup>104</sup> Craig, Iona. “*Bombed into famine: how Saudi air campaign targets Yemen’s food supplies.*” *The Guardian*. 12, Dec 2017. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/12/bombed-into-famine-how-saudi-air-campaign-targets-yemens-food-supplies>

<sup>105</sup> Dwyer, Colin. “*Here’s The Deal With That Glowing Orb — And Plenty Of Notes On What It Isn’t.*” NPR. 22, May 2017. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/05/22/529482915/heres-the-deal-with-that-glowing-orb-and-plenty-of-notes-on-what-it-isnt>

its effectuated theatrical affects. Trump's warm embrace of Saudi autocrats and support for his *favorite dictator*, were in sharp contrast with his awkward interaction with the democratically elected European leaders.<sup>106ix</sup>

The existing literature, guiding Matured Democracies' foreign policies, scripts a linear progress toward democracy. The European nations and eventually the United States' maturing was legitimated, by waging war on indigenous peoples, at first simply since they were not Christians and eventually, because they were breaking Natural Laws.<sup>107</sup> Thus, living in the regions coveted for colonization, the inhabitants presented themselves in contravention of Natural Laws. These conquering enterprises was then not to take control of extraterritorial jurisdiction. Rather to indenture and impoverish indigenous people, enrich metropolises from material gains, and to civilize the *Others*: not *The Clash of Civilization but the crash of territorial cultures*: terrapolitical.<sup>108</sup>

For millennia, the pages of history have been preoccupied with monarchs, nations, and ideologies. Matured Democracies seem to have navigated these chapters. Only in their histories' footnotes, is the mentions of colonialism and imperialism. In the Nineteenth Century, the Descent of Man, theories of evolution, were being perniciously applied to human society in a developmental view of history which argued that all human societies were on the same trajectory. The "Age of Discovery," began with identifying new trade routes and possible trade benefits. Soon, implications and justifications for colonialism, the economic advantages and potential, cajoled the Maturing Democracies to either send their citizens to settle in foreign

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<sup>106</sup> Stephens, Bret. "Rethinking Trump's Favorite Dictator; Egypt's strongman repeats Hosni Mubarak's errors, to everyone's peril." *The New York Times*. 27, Sept. 2019. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/27/opinion/egypt-protests-el-sisi.html>

<sup>107</sup> Pakenham.

<sup>108</sup> Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. 1996. Simon & Schuster.

territories or to establish political *extraterritorial jurisdictions*. Economic exploiters and the armies soon followed.

China's Belt and Road initiative, "debt diplomacy," is the latest manifestation of such expansionist policies.<sup>109</sup> The effort to build "a community with a shared future for mankind together with countries around the globe," is cloaked in yet another trapping of "geostrategic concept" and not being blinded to *the light of civilization*.<sup>110</sup> China it seems, has become astute to the distinction between *Realpolitik's* two kinds of power: repressive and normalizing.

After the Second World War and especially by the end of the Cold War, world politics moved into a new phase. Former protectorate and non-Western civilizations were no longer willing participants in the exploitation from or recipients of Western civilization. They were now demanding a seat at the table to shape and move world history.

*On the last day of his stay in the Kingdom, Trump spoke at the Arab-Islamic-American summit. Saudi Foreign Minister, Jubeir, then used some familiar rhetoric from Trump's playbook. "If we can change the conversation in the U.S. and in the West from enmity toward the Islamic world to one of partnership we will have truly changed our world,"* emphasizing that "we will have truly drowned the voices of extremism and we will have drained the swamp from which extremism and terrorism emanates."<sup>111</sup> Paradoxically, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) argued, Trump's rhetoric has fueled a spike in Islamophobic attacks in the United States severely testing "our son of a bitch's" ability to manage a perpetually vexed relationship.<sup>112</sup> The

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<sup>109</sup> Vaswani, Karishma. "China v the US: Not just a trade war." The BBC. 22 October 2018. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-45937741>

<sup>110</sup> Wu, Huiyong. "A Confucian Holistic World Order and China's Vision of a Shared Future." Purdue University; CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture. 2018; 20.2. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.3232>

<sup>111</sup> Porter, Tom. "Trump's Islam Speech in Saudi Arabia Follows a Long History of Verbal Attacks and Policies Targeting Muslims in America and Abroad." *The Newsweek*. 21, May 2017. Available at: <http://www.newsweek.com/donald-trump-saudi-arabia-trump-islam-612995>

<sup>112</sup> Porter.

conversation then has to move, away from them and the region's behavior, and toward intellectual debates. The strategic location of this land bridge, indispensable in the establishment of Silk Road, is now switching between the frustratingly reductive *Clash of Civilization* or a *caricature reinforcing the cultural stereotypes that current discourses evoke*. Glaringly absent is the background radiation of Matured Democracies' myth about themselves and what has been the pitfalls. When you marshal facts in a certain way, there will be no space for intellectual curiosity.

### ***Silk Road***

“They get bitter, they cling to guns or religion or antipathy to people who aren't like them or anti-immigrant sentiment or anti-trade sentiment as a way to explain their frustrations.”<sup>113</sup>

*Democratic candidate Obama*

China's president Xi Jinping's “One Belt, One Road,” a plan to improve China's trade links and revive the ancient Silk Road route, is yet another rumination of a global power expanding its political manipulation, whilst secure the natural resources requisite for her growth.<sup>114</sup> Xi may want to articulate such an endeavor as *diversifying political alliances*. What passes for truth is actually no more than power. Memory is a responsibility; the battle of perception the battle for narrative has been ferocious and consequential. The continued volatility

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<sup>113</sup> Pilkington, Ed. “Obama angers midwest voters with guns and religion remark.” *The Guardian*. 14, April 2008. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/apr/14/barackobama.uselections2008> (Referring to working-class voters in old industrial towns decimated by job losses.)

<sup>114</sup> Joffe, Josef. “The right is rising and social democracy is dying across Europe – but why?” 29 September 2017. *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/29/right-social-democracy-dying-europe-afd-far-right-germany> The common denominator is resentment and protest. So think Marine Le Pen and her Front National, Geert Wilders and his Freedom party (PVV), Ukip, Donald Trump, and of course Hungary and Poland where authoritarian populists are running the governments.

in the region, *clinging to guns or religion*, is an attempt to subvert the labels in order to live a more authentic life. They do have voices, they do have narratives to tell as well, only if they are given a platform.

In 2010, the Tunisian Mohamed Bouazizi's ultimate sacrifice, his life, was, but an inflection point. A manifestation of variances of commitments to colonial mandates in the region. A theme I shall return to further in this chapter. Colonial and regional territorial demarcation became endemic and inherent in state formation in the region. In Egypt, Alexandria was "the first city of the civilized world in size, elegance, riches, and luxuries."<sup>115</sup> There, Antony and Cleopatra, took their own lives to elude being paraded as a spoil of a military encounter with the Roman Empire. Emperor Octavian then turned Egypt into a Roman province, took Cleopatra's vast royal treasure, and coined the apocryphal quote: Egypt the breadbasket of Rome.<sup>116</sup>

Upon conquest of neighboring territories, metropolises claimed sovereignty over the conquered. The economics, governmentality, and social structure of the colony became an unequal relationship. The 'mother city' applied paternalistic appropriating of the 'child's' royal treasures, indigenous biota cornucopia, flora and fauna: with impunity and enjoyed indemnity—but not without imbedded and simmering enmity. The *Seven Deadly Sins* massaged the empires' shortcomings and ambitions. The Silk Road became the vessel for expansionist motivations and aspirations. This lattice, which made possible long-distance exchange that in fact, was never a single road, rather network of routes, and it was not simply silk which was traded along the way,

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<sup>115</sup> Wood, Michael. *Legacy: The Origins of Civilization*. [1991] 2010. Season 1, Ep. 4 Egypt: The Habit of Civilization. [London: Carlton Television], Central Independent Television.

<sup>116</sup> Wood.

but the goods and the produce throughout the region.<sup>117</sup> Exotic spices reached distant lands and extensive cultural exchange, trade, and tolerance became intertwined from China to Rome. Refugees fleeing wars and conflicts, found hospitable rulers of small oasis kingdoms granting them acquiescence to continue their own cultural rituals and vernaculars.<sup>118</sup> The technology for manufacturing paper, invented in China before Julius Caesar was born, was transported to the Middle East and then Europe. The Islamic Caliphate reciprocated this favor by exporting expertise for making glass to China.<sup>119</sup>

The Roman, Persian, and Chinese Empires regulated the cultural and economic collaborations. Different sorts of trade at different times not only expatiated commodity trading, spice, metal, minerals, silk, horses, music, and paper, but also slaves. Economic theories were established. Paper currency exchange was linked with the quality and quantity of fiat currency and not just a bureaucratic action. Silk became ubiquitous in the Middle East with a thriving market in Palmyra. Hemp paper for wrapping, including the dead and eventually writing material, ultimately lost its significance as a coveted import. Glass imported as a luxury item continued to the Orient. The steppes in Middle East were the best breeding grounds for horses. Markets which peddled horses, also staged slave auctions.<sup>120</sup> Horses were coveted for transporting people and staging military campaigns and of course, the game of Polo. Impoverished maritime and land prisoners of war, including their children, were sold for domestic duties, including sexual favors, agriculture and industry labor intensive, and armies—including the Arab armies.

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<sup>117</sup> Hansen, Valerie. *The Silk Road*. 2012. Oxford University Press, OUP USA.

<sup>118</sup> Hansen.

<sup>119</sup> Hansen.

<sup>120</sup> Whitfield, Susan. *Life Along the Silk Road*. 2001. University of California Press.

The ancient *One-belt-one-road* served as an oasis for nomads and travelers at their own peril. The Silk Road propelled the economic forces of the Metropolis's riches; nevertheless, an immensely simple term to encapsulate the forebear to globalization. Perhaps most significant of all was the road's transmission of ideas, technologies, and artistic motifs. Along the Silk Road, merchants, envoys, pilgrims, and travelers mingled in burgeoning cosmopolitan communities. Alliances were forged and conflicts averted. A Chinese princess was sent as part of a diplomatic convoy who then married a Turkish *kaghan*.<sup>121x</sup> Some, were there to entertain the elite with such indigenous instrument as the oud/lute— grandfather of guitar. Others dreamed and skimmed not only with trade and exchanges of goods, but also ideas and religion. Some sought converts among the desert settlers; others were storytellers, musicians, courtesans, diviners, peddlers, and miracle-workers who offered their wares in the marketplaces and at temple fairs.<sup>122</sup>

The specter that hunts the region now, is indeed far removed from the legacies of this historic network. Many of the *old* outposts are now ruined and sand-covered desert towns and their inhabitants, prosperous merchants, now reduced to poverty and forced to resort to divinity and charity to survive. The constellation of facts of this once tolerant world is now only *The Spectre of Comparisons*.<sup>123</sup> Many in the region then, need symbiotic associations with Matured Democracies for the unleashing of their human potential. Even though, by many accounts the Arab Spring has been silenced, the highly educated and disenfranchised youth took unprecedented steps to mitigate the deleterious performances of their governments: the corruption. The world saw democracy movements emerge that were seeking freedom from what increasingly looks like a new normal. Those revolts in turn have been horribly and brutally

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<sup>121</sup> Whitfield.

<sup>122</sup> Whitfield.

<sup>123</sup> Anderson, Benedict. *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World*. 1998. Verso.

suppressed, worsening the economic prosperities. The strategic location for world events for millennia, now became the center of a different world: marginalized societies starkly organized around sectarianism.

### *The many hues of Arabs*

Americans are asking “Why do they hate us?”<sup>124xi</sup>  
*President Bush Address to the Nation 20, Sept. 2001*

In general, the Arabs are referred to as the ethnic group perpetually dwelling in the nation states of North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and central Arabian Peninsula. In the chapter, *Clan Rivalry*, I will examine this arc more extensively. Nevertheless, there continues to be an oversimplification of ethnic groups inhabiting the Arab world. Many features their own nation or culture which gives it cultural unity.<sup>xii</sup> Before the many incursions and occupations by outside powers, they were pragmatic, austere, for whom *religion was never the family canon and doctrine*. Rather culture, philosophy, and law were paramount. Although the quest for harmony proved as elusive as the shifting sands, the cultural emphasis remained on the inter-relationship between the spiritual and the material.

“There are today more than fifty Muslim states, extending from the Atlas Mountains in the West to the Malay Archipelago in the East, and from Sub-Saharan Africa to the steppes of Central Asia.”<sup>125</sup> The overlap between Muslim and Arab identity, however, continues erecting intellectual barricades when addressing these communities. Many have learned Arabic, since it is

<sup>124</sup> Text: President Bush Addresses the Nation. 20, Sept. 2001.

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress\\_092001.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress_092001.html)

<sup>125</sup> Nasr, S.V.R. “European Colonialism and the Emergence of Modern Muslim States.” In, *The Oxford History of Islam*. Ed: John L. Esposito. 1999. Oxford University Press, Pg. 549-601.

the language of Islam, and not necessarily their mother-tongue. The *equivocating of Muslims with Arab*, “the ambiguity of a dual identity—at once ‘Arab,’ which implied separateness, and ‘Muslim,’ which implied unity with the indigenous population,” is then sweeping statement of a complicated patchwork.<sup>126</sup> “An Arab was therefore a nomad inhabitant of the central and northern Arabian Peninsula. But Herodotus and later Greek and Roman authors began to extend the terms ‘Arabia’ and ‘Arab’ to cover the whole peninsula and its inhabitants, including the Yemenis of the south-west.”<sup>127</sup> The Middle East supports 80-100 million people—well less than ten percent of global population. “As of 2010, Christianity was by far the world’s largest religion, with an estimated 2.2 billion adherents, nearly a third (31 percent) of all 6.9 billion people on Earth,” the Pew report says. “Islam was second, with 1.6 billion adherents, or 23 percent of the global population.”<sup>128</sup> Therefore, there are many shades and gradations of Muslims who refuse to subcontract their self-esteem to Middle East.

These nuances began, when some habitants of “Arabia adopted a sedentary way of life, the nomadic tribes, who held a strong military advantage over the settlements.”<sup>129</sup> Others in the region however, remained convinced of the superiority of their own style of living. The freedom of the deserts and steppes, tantalizing, beckoned many to adopt nomadic values and abandoned their settlements. The clans began to solidify since survival depended on the solidarity and self-protection of the tribe. Clans were held responsible for the acts of any one of them which in turn helped to create such security as there was.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Mobini-Kesheh, Natalie. *The Hadrami Awakening: Community and Identity in the Netherlands East Indies, 1900–1942*. 1999. Southeast Asia Program Publications.

<sup>127</sup> Mansfield, Peter. *The Arabs*. [1976] 1992. Penguin Books; 3rd edition.

<sup>128</sup> Chappell, Bill. “World’s Muslim Population Will Surpass Christians This Century, Pew Says.” NPR. 2, April 2015. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/04/02/397042004/muslim-population-will-surpass-christians-this-century-pew-says>

<sup>129</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>130</sup> Mansfield.

If the disputes ensued, an arbiter wise on tribal customs would then attempt to settle the conflicts. Nevertheless these were “the excuse for a *ghazu*, or raid, aimed chiefly at driving off your opponents’ camels, which for many centuries could be regarded as the national sport of the Arabs.”<sup>131</sup> For a reasonable fee or future negotiations, temporary reprieves were granted to the *clients* of the clan chief, for the caravans passing through or the herders pasturing their flocks.<sup>132</sup> The contemporary civilized world then, with Arabia on its fringes, continued to bear witness to the struggle between the Byzantine and Persian Empires. Engulfed in their bitter rivalries, they relegated the Arabs as “licentious and violent nomads living on the edge of starvation, who worshipped idols, stones, trees and heaps of sand.”<sup>133</sup>

Muhammad, on his trading expeditions experienced hubristic tendencies of the Christians and Jews whom they regarded Arabs as infidels. Upon being elevated to a Prophet status, Muhammad realized that “these proud and self-willed nomads would not accept Allah in the form in which he was passed on by others.”<sup>134</sup> The gradual and increasingly urbanized environment began to erode the authority of various tribal customs and laws. This only then, speaks to the shrewdness of the prophet being able to amalgamate scattered bands of idolatrous tribesmen, “into a single dynamic nation worshipping one all-powerful but compassionate deity.”<sup>135</sup> A lesson that seems Chinese president Xi must have paid much astute consideration. The prophet’s feat would not have been accomplished solely with tyrannical force, least of all on the fiercely independent people of this region.

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<sup>131</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>132</sup> Lewis, Bernard. *The Arabs in History*. 2002. Oxford University Press; 6th edition.

<sup>133</sup> Lewis.

<sup>134</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>135</sup> Mansfield.

The burgeoning of the infant Arab Caliphate began with a series of probing raids into Mesopotamia; not with the onus on exclusion or discrimination but rather *economic expansionism*.<sup>136</sup> “But, as resistance was weak, and as they were joined by the tribesmen of the border areas, their ambitions grew.”<sup>137</sup> The Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, astonished at the sudden emergence of this new threatening power from remote Arabia attempted to countervail the menace: Heraclius was decisively defeated.<sup>138</sup> It seems then, since the foundation of the Roman Empire and her rivalry with Persians, the Middle East, has and continues to be a major hub and a main arteries for various transactional and social evolution between Europe and Southern and Eastern Asia. The Cape of Good Hope route discovery briefly abridged the importance of the area to commerce only to be reinstated with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.<sup>139</sup> The regions’ commercial significance was further enhanced with the discovery of oil. “Constant efforts have been made by countries both within and without the Middle East to control and thereby to profit by, or to prevent others from profiting by, the commerce which passes through the area.”<sup>140</sup> This artery of complicated vanes, “the Middle East consists, in fact, of considerable expanses of virtually unpopulated land, interspersed with a few areas of relatively dense population.”<sup>141</sup>

The finding of immense reserves of petroleum has had a trickling effect on the region’s standard of living; certainly, elevated the region to a rabid prominent strategic local in world interest. The region’s inhabitants breathlessly, view the vortex of *disinformation* and profiling—hoping to find their balance and proving their mettle with an acumen of accuracy.

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<sup>136</sup> Lewis.

<sup>137</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>138</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>139</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>140</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>141</sup> Mansfield.

## *Colonial expansion Pre-post-Cold War*

“He may be a son of a bitch, but he’s our son of a bitch.”<sup>142</sup>  
*An apocryphal statement attributed to F. D. Roosevelt*

“Ultimately, it is up to the people of Afghanistan ... We are not nation building again. We are killing terrorists.”<sup>143</sup>

*In July 2016*, The Chilcot inquiry questioned the lack of explicit ideological decision-making by former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, to commit troops to the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. Chilcot’s report rejects Blair’s claim that the coalition *could not have predicted* subsequent chaos and sectarian conflict.<sup>144</sup> *In September of 2016*, the second parliamentary report, excoriates the intervention by Britain and France in Libya.<sup>145</sup> Once more, *misinformed* policies reproduced narratives that were not conversant by accurate intelligence.<sup>146</sup> Once over, futile, by overstating and *miss* identifying the threat to civilians. Counterintuitive narrative reasoned that Libyan rebels included a significant Islamist elements. The parliamentary report however, reasons that since the United Kingdom along with France led the military intervention, it had *a particular responsibility to support Libyan economic and political reconstruction*.<sup>147</sup>

Sense of outrage in the West, cannot ameliorate the reality of life inside these warzones. Despite Matured Democracies’ profound revulsion, the diabolical cunning of *our son of a bitch*,

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<sup>142</sup> Crawley, Andrew. *Somoza and Roosevelt: Good Neighbour Diplomacy in Nicaragua, 1933-1945*. 2007. Oxford University Press. P 153.

<sup>143</sup> NA. Donald J. Trump remarks on America’s military involvement in Afghanistan at the Fort Myer military base in Arlington, Virginia. 21, August 2017. Full Text And Analysis: Trump’s Address On Afghanistan, Plans For U.S. Engagement. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/2017/08/21/545038935/watch-live-trump-s-address-on-afghanistan-next-steps-for-u-s-engagement>

<sup>144</sup> UK Parliamentary Report.

<sup>145</sup> UK Parliamentary Report criticized the intervention by Britain and France in Libya. Available at: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmfaff/119/11902.htm>

<sup>146</sup> UK Parliamentary Report.

<sup>147</sup> UK Parliamentary Report.

nevertheless has long been eclipsed by the Western way of life. The West then has rebranded the greatest humanitarian and refugee crisis—since the Second World War—as a migrant crisis. Through the prism of such narrative, the connotation, once again, is to wash the Matured Democracies' hand from all its gory details. There is no arguing that regional actors have destabilized the region and are fueling internal conflict. The region has become a bloody playground. In contravention of the United Nations arms embargo, *weapons and ammunition are never in scarcity*. The economic engine of the West requires the lubrication provided by manufacturing, supplying, and outright sale of armaments: *at times to both sides of these conflicts*.<sup>148</sup>

Survival of Matured Democracies is, in large part, contingent on embracing tenets of capitalism: oscillating between euphoria and nihilism. The enduring of capitalism, this far, has been its procurement, requiring, maintenance, and creation of global markets that undermine both local and national barriers to its own expansion.<sup>149</sup> To thwart economic collapse, finding new markets to absorb excess consumer goods is highly encouraged.<sup>150</sup> In this framework, transformation to or maintenance of an economic powerhouse, some form of imperialism is inevitable.<sup>151</sup> By employing Soft-power and or exporting residents to resource rich neighboring or foreign territories, capitalism continues to create markets for the metropole's industrial goods and establishing spheres of influence for reliable source of natural resource extractions. Thus, for

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<sup>148</sup> Haass, Richard N., D. E. Jeremiah, R. Kerr, B. Scowcroft, P. D. Wolfowitz, and Rick Atkinson. Panel Discussion. “*The Gulf War: Twenty Years Later*.” Council on Foreign Relations.” 15, February 2011. Sound recording. Available at: <http://www.cfr.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/gulf-war-twenty-years-later/p34935>;

<sup>149</sup> Lefebvre, Henri. *The survival of capitalism: Reproduction of the relations of production*. 1976. St. Martin's Press.

<sup>150</sup> Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. 1848. PDF. Available at:

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Manifesto.pdf>

<sup>151</sup> Marx.

Matured Democracies in general, and capitalism in particular, some form of imperialism is inevitable.<sup>152</sup>

Natural Law doctrine followed by canons that bewitched the Age of Discovery had facilitated the dawning of the Enlightenment. At first it might seem relatively obvious that Enlightenment thinkers would develop a critique of colonialism: a system which involved some combination of slavery, quasi-feudal forced labor, or expropriation of property. All, antithetical to the basic Enlightenment principle: individuals are capable of reason and self-government. Before the Enlightenment thinkers could articulate a compelling critique of colonialism, they had to recognize the importance of culture and the possibility of cultural pluralism.<sup>153</sup> The claim that all individuals are equally worthy of dignity and respect was a necessary but not sufficient basis for anti-imperialist thought. They also had to recognize that the tendency to develop diverse institutions, narratives, and aesthetic practices was an essential human capacity.<sup>154</sup>

Colonialism has a clear and persistent legacy. By 1900, however, old colonial masters and the newly emerging United States, had control of over 75% of the rest of the world.<sup>155</sup> In the majority of these locales, they maintained political sovereignty despite geographical dispersion, dominion that benefited Matured Democracies culturally, economically, and strategically. Thus, “ideas, cultures, and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power, also being studied.”<sup>156</sup> Matured Democracies then, essentially took away the colonies ability to *represent or define* itself and that, instead “Oriental despotism” inhibited the indigenous development of economic modernization, Matured

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<sup>152</sup> Marx.

<sup>153</sup> Lefebvre.

<sup>154</sup> Kant, Immanuel. Critique of Pure Reason. [1781, (1999)]. Paul Guyer and Allen W. Wood (Editor, Translator). The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant; Cambridge University Press.

<sup>155</sup> Lefebvre.

<sup>156</sup> Said, Edward W. Orientalism. 1978. Vintage Books; P12.

Democracies domination became the agent of economic modernization.<sup>157</sup> “The imaginative examination of things oriental was based more or less exclusively upon a sovereign Western consciousness out of whose unchallenged centrality an oriental world emerged.”<sup>158</sup> The Middle-East was defined by the Matured Democracies in a manner that was useful for its own terms.

*The strategic location of the region* necessitated this complete fabrication, this false binary, “as much an idea as a fact of geography,” points to the specific manner in which this false binary has been used.<sup>159</sup> Matured Democracies are then largely defined as being central and normal whereas cultures from other continents largely defined as being strange and *Other*. The Matured Democracies then, postponed their inevitable domestic revolutionary crisis, globalization and the decline of the manufacturing sector, by exporting their own economic burdens onto weaker states.<sup>160</sup> Since late capitalism was organized around national monopolies, the competition for markets took the form of military competition between states over territories that could be dominated for their exclusive economic benefit.<sup>161</sup> Capitalism has never been agnostic to cannibalizing Matured Democracies’ established colonies.

In the next chapter, *Particular Histories*, I shall further explore the emergence of nationalism in the Islamic world. These movements employed salvageable parts of their glorious past to contest an inequitable amount of power that had been dispensed in the region. I will also consider how language might be supporting or contesting that colonial legacy. The mixing-up of cultures, the tortured struggle—that of the colonizer and that of the indigenous inhabitants—and a creation of mixed identity that many people who lived in colonized nations had, what the

<sup>157</sup> Said.

<sup>158</sup> Said, P 14.

<sup>159</sup> Hall, Stuart. 2019. *Essential Essays, Volume 2: Identity and Diaspora; Selected Writings*, Book 2 David Morley (editor). *The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power*. Duke University Press Books. Pp: 141-184.

<sup>160</sup> Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism: A Popular Outline*. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/#f1>

<sup>161</sup> Lenin.

effects of that might be upon both individual identity and communal identity.<sup>162</sup> These independent movements were not wholly innocuous since they also had an adverse effect on the conditions of minorities in the region. The use of minorities by great powers, particularly Russia but Matured Democracies as well, as an instrument of policy, and the corresponding tendency of such minorities to seek outside assistance against oppression or their communal enemies at home caused the atrocities which have aroused world opinion from time to time. The victims of these persecutions sometimes achieved national independence themselves. In other cases, they found themselves in one of the new nation-states, no longer persecuted perhaps, but precariously situated, and deprived of the communal autonomy and immunities.<sup>163</sup>

The purpose of this chapter was to emphasize the strategic location of the region. The scope of this chapter has two important limitations: the limited number of pages cannot avail the ability to provide a comprehensive analysis of the multifaceted ideologies that motivate grand narratives of fervent nationalism, blatant chauvinism, or marginalization. Worldwide, corruption is endemic but in *developing* countries *autonomy* dividend has not been widely shared. Services, protection, prosperity, health, and housing are fundamental support pillars for the social contract between sovereign and citizen. Contrary to their anointed leader, populaces in developing countries are no longer willing to be complicit with sustaining Matured Democracies' nationalistic interests. The law of *our son of a bitch* finds it easy to circumvent the rule of law.

In the next two chapters, I will make a reasonable attempt to outline these multifaceted trends by disentangling history, economic, and politics of the region. The culturally specific logic to these localities, the forces of globalization, and the governmentality of the nation-state, has led to flawed ethnography of the Middle East as a delimited land and romanticized nomadism. In the

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<sup>162</sup> Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge Classics.

<sup>163</sup> Mansfield.

Middle East, the Sykes Picot Agreement disrupted tribal composition, alliances, and politics in the region. So many different factions in each locale are engaging in proxy wars. The strategic interest for outside power brokers continues to reverberate inside these territories. These tremors are affecting the lives of many, bringing humanitarian disasters to many, who are themselves wholly innocent of any responsibility inflicting lives that is being lived at the margins.

This region is inhabited by a large, heterogeneous, and diverse collection of ethnicities. The current prosaic explanation not only erases their contribution but also disenfranchises many. If the discourse in Matured Democracies only amplifies the internal monologue and not voices of reason based on historical facts, contributions of this region are drowned-out and flaws are magnified. Taken together, the discourse continues to perpetuate crisis, which infantilizes the region and sustains unwanted and ordained hierarchies.

In Matured Democracies, without any introspection of the region's failures, the commentators, many inapt and with superficial knowledge and analysis, solely emphasize on a rived region. This is not an accurate description of the region. Unremitting attempts to build secular and democratic societies suffers from wrestling with the long obedience, the constant reintroduction of captive despots, and military (re)interferences, *and not* from lack of strategy and vision. Strong leadership is needed to bring stability, intellectual rigor, and strategic direction back to this region. Competing interests then attempt to complicate the divisions as it is imbricated with religion: a competitive advantage for secular Matured Democracy and a handy crutch for former colonies. In many circumstances, the key underlying factor, has very little to do with religion and a great deal with particular political and economic agendas.

No matter how hurtful the legacy of past interventions has been, the region must build on such ruminations that are useful in their aspirational nation building and interruption of divisive

discourses. These narratives—lacking the sophistication and critical understanding —only continues to fan the flames of resentments. Words, lies, and incitements to violence have consequences, a charitable interpretation of Matured Democracies tactlessness in finding the right puzzle-pieces beneficial to sharing, preserving, and flourishing the humanity.

The *Silk Road* has undergone many iterations. Navigating its potholes, its detours, its minefields, its historically marginalized communities, and its collateral economies lacks but requires threading the needle of aspirational and collaborative intents with clearer parameters. The residues of centuries of interventions continues to linger. Each succeeding generation, lacking hope and optimism, only swears to avenge their wronged parents. Matured Democracies' policies toward the region, lacking inclusivity and collaboration, continues reinforcing, normalizing, and extending the predispositions of their implicit prejudices. The highly educated youth in the region are rebelling against the anachronistic morality and inherent contradictions of such predispositions yearning to be imaginative and being their own curator. Matured Democracies ought to assist these aspirations with actual policy intervention that involves the stakeholders. The reality of the *Human Condition* is that we develop policies base on who we are, how we see the world, how we structure such world, and then attempt to normalize it.<sup>164</sup> The *active* life—with its three components labor, work, and action—not only requires innovative ideas and political deliberation but also the courage to engage in meaningful decision making and thus truly becoming political.<sup>165</sup>

Perpetually, Matured Democracies without deeply understanding the social realities and diversities of the Middle East, have thusly only social engineered policies with spectacular failures.

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<sup>164</sup> Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*. [1958(1998)]. University of Chicago Press.

<sup>165</sup> Arendt.

## *Chapter 4- Particular Histories*

### *Introduction:*

On March 17, 2003, eighteen months after the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, President George W. Bush delivered a final ultimatum to Saddam Hussein: “leave Iraq within 48 hours or there will be war.”<sup>166</sup>The affront—to yet another sovereign nation in this beleaguered region—was delivered in a televised address to the American people. The speech followed the *withdrawal* of a new United Nations resolution, co-sponsored by the United States, Britain and Spain. Bush, who once again linked the Iraqi regime to terrorism, added: “The security of the world requires disarming Saddam Hussein now.”<sup>167</sup>While some Americans considered the ultimatum convenient and practical, *we go there with an idea*, a segment of the population viewed this act of political expediency, possibly being improper or immoral.<sup>168</sup> Psychological motivation for the Matured Democracies, *yet another*-Iraq invasion may never be known. In the region however, many were befuddled with surreal indignities for the eventual and perhaps unintended fruits of *yet another* bunkum and balderdash policy. Without much of a strategy and *yet another* circumnavigation of international laws, this policy too clearly has resulted in *yet another* insurgency against the anachronistic morality of the “overlapping territories,” and “intertwined histories.”<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Borger, Julian. “*Bush gives Saddam and his sons 48 hours to leave Iraq.*” The Guardian. 17, March 2003. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/mar/18/iraq.usa1> emphasis added..

<sup>167</sup> Borger.

<sup>168</sup> Conrad. Emphasis added.

<sup>169</sup> Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. 1993. Vintage Books. P.61.

With this Matured Democracies' preoccupation as a background, in China, Xi was marking his ascension to the national stage as a full member of the 16<sup>th</sup> Central Committee.<sup>170</sup> Well-aware of the moral hazards of military occupation, fostering not a parochial and obsolescent expansionist policy, and cognizant of the *graveyard of empires*, Xi began to assemble the remnants of *Belt and Road* infrastructure intended to project China's *soft-power*.<sup>171</sup> While the Matured Democracies, certainly the United States of America, continues to be mired in the *perpetual war* and ideological domination, China without too much strain has not digressed away from her original *benevolent* domineering mission.<sup>172</sup>

The purpose of this chapter is to untangle three treads of the region's fiber of intertwined histories:

1. Islam's influence in the governmentality of the region—*Islamization* and *Arabization*
2. The fall of Ottoman Empire, the consequences for its successors, and particularly the *Sykes-Picot* Agreement Legacy
3. The Twentieth century events in the region which continue to have copious affects in psychological motivation of the actors in the region

Once these treads are unraveled, the ambition of this chapter will be to provide selected challenges facing Matured Democracies: extending their understanding of this region. By questioning the logic of these diplomatic malpractices, I attempt to interrogate the rigid and

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<sup>170</sup> Li, Cheng. "China's new Politburo and Politburo Standing Committee." The John L. Thornton China Center. Brookings. Available at: [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/china\\_20171013\\_19thpartycongress\\_profiles.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/china_20171013_19thpartycongress_profiles.pdf)

<sup>171</sup> Manuel, Anja. "China Is Quietly Reshaping the World; The staggering scope of the country's infrastructure initiative—and what it means for the international order." *The Atlantic*. 17, October 2017. Available at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/10/china-belt-and-road/542667/>

<sup>172</sup> Joyner, James. "How Perpetual War Became U.S. Ideology." *The Atlantic*. 11, May 2011. Available at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/05/how-perpetual-war-became-us-ideology/238600/>; Steinhauer, Jennifer. "Trump's Opposition to 'Endless Wars' Appeals to Those Who Fought Them." *The New York Times*. 1, Nov. 2019. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/01/us/politics/veterans-trump-iraq-afghanistan.html>

hardline ideologies that has all but created an *epistemological cocoon*. The Matured Democracies' treatment of the region ought to move from a character to a narrative. The Matured Democracies' old and antiquated discourses prohibitively reduces many in the region to an amalgamated characterization, a toxicity that continues to develop viral resistance to its predisposing rhetoric. The idea that politicians are self-serving and lying are older than Machiavelli and Aristotle.

### *Islam's influence: Islamization and Arabization*

“... are maintained at a distant/inferior position to be psychically milked, much the same way ants maintain colonies of aphids to provide a life-giving substance for their masters.”<sup>173</sup>

Change does not roll in on the wheels of inevitability but comes through continuous struggle. And so we must straighten our backs and work for our freedom. A man can't ride you unless your back is bent.<sup>174</sup>

As the second decade of the Twenty-First century closed, there are “more than fifty Muslim states, extending from the Atlas Mountains in the West to the Malay Archipelago in the East, and from Sub-Saharan Africa to the steppes of Central Asia.”<sup>175</sup> The spectrum of their governmentality is comparable to that which has been long established in the Global North for centuries. Some of these territories are ethnically uniform; “others include sizable ethnic, linguistic, or religious minorities. Nearly the entire spectrum of social, economic, ideological,

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<sup>173</sup> Lorde, Audre. “Use of The Erotic.” *Sister Outsider; Essays and Speeches*. [1984, (2007)]. Crossing Press; Reprint edition P 54.

<sup>174</sup> <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/king-delivers-death-evil-upon-seashore-new-yorks-cathedral-st-john-divine>

<sup>175</sup> Nasr, S.V.R. “European Colonialism and the Emergence of Modern Muslim States.” *The Oxford History of Islam*. Ed. John L. Esposito. P 549-600.

institutional, and political expressions is represented in these states.”<sup>176</sup> There are those who aspire to the canons of Western style democracy. Turkey is a secular republic. Syria, now in its eighth year of civil war, was once a far outpost of once mighty empire. Indonesia, the world’s largest island country, Islamic Republic of Iran, a theocracy headed by a Supreme Leader, and certainly the many monarchies in the Arab world. “Muslim states include great diversity in politics and the workings of governments.”<sup>177</sup>

Islam as a religion, also benefits from the infusion of such diversities. *Individuals’* interpretation of Islam, from scholars to venerated Sultans, throughout centuries, have expanded the canon to a vast and broad spectrum. The momentous and horrendous events have created characters, and not caricatures, who continue to motivate, enthuse, and arouse inspiring Muslims.<sup>178</sup> Dismissing their gravity is to the Matured Democracies detriment.

Prophet Mohammad’s savvy ideology to unify the fractured Arabian Peninsula, had much of its genesis in the flourishing commercial trade. The burgeoning hub, Mecca, located strategically in the west central coast of present-day Saudi Arabia, provided the venue to claim the throttling political authority over the newly forged Muslim community.<sup>179</sup> Their intertwined religion and civilization’s rallying cry, *Muslims First*, encouraged the diversity of principalities to unite and act to propel the domination of two great empires of the era. Prior to the entry of Islam onto the world stage, “[t]he Near East in the Sixth Century was divided between two great empires: the Byzantine, Later Roman Empire, in the west and the Sasanian Empire in the

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<sup>176</sup> Nasr.

<sup>177</sup> Nasr.

<sup>178</sup> Nasr.

<sup>179</sup> Mansfield, Peter. *The Arabs*. [1976] 1992. Penguin Books; 3rd edition.

east.”<sup>180</sup>For more than five centuries, Persia and Rome rivalries had laid to ruins lives of its inhabitants. The booty, including the captured slaves, were then transferred to their metropolises.

This cultural background shaped the early development of Islam as a religious tradition and civilization of worldwide importance.<sup>181</sup> “The two empires not only raised competing claims to world domination, they also represented different cultural traditions: the Byzantines espoused Hellenistic culture, while the Sasanians looked to ancient Iranian and Semitic cultural traditions and rejected Hellenism as alien.”<sup>182</sup>The cultural antagonism was then laced with religious rivalry which in turn exacerbated the manipulation of many region’s inhabitants by echoing their concern. The reality nevertheless was, governments that existed, more apparent than real, imbued an idea that promised divine salvations.

The eventual emancipation of the slaves meant the diffusion of their culture into the host societies. In the two rival empires, eventually, the servants became the masters amplifying their declarations of their respective official religions. “The Byzantine emperors had declared themselves champions of Christianity, which itself had been heavily imbued with Hellenistic culture, whereas the Sasanian Great Kings espoused the Iranian faith known as Zoroastrianism (Magianism) as their official religion.”<sup>183</sup> Religious identities had thus acquired acutely political overtones.<sup>184</sup>

One such religious identity imbricated with acutely political overtones was the Kingdom of Judah: a client state of the Assyrian empire. In 588 BCE, King Nebuchadnezzar after laying siege and the eventual fall of Jerusalem, took Daniel and other Hebrew youths into captivity to

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<sup>180</sup>Donner, Fred M. “Muhammad and the Caliphate.” *The Oxford History of Islam*. Ed. John L. Esposito. P 1-61.

<sup>181</sup> Donner.

<sup>182</sup> Donner.

<sup>183</sup> Donner.

<sup>184</sup> Donner.

Babylonia.<sup>185</sup> With wrecking of the King Solomon's temple in Jerusalem, Jews began the period in Jewish history known as the Babylonian exile.<sup>186</sup> After the fall of Babylon to the Persian king Cyrus the Great in 539 BCE, exiled Judeans were permitted to return to Judah. Many however acquired favor in the Persian Achaemenid Empire and, remained in exile rather than go back to a war-torn Jerusalem.<sup>187</sup> When religious identity and political overtones began to cause consternation in the host empire, it was Esther who compelled Xerxes I to see through the manufactured crisis of harmonious cohabitation in the metropolises.<sup>188</sup> To this day, Persian Jews are called Esther's Children.

Throughout the region there were no accord for a religiously homogeneous population and large populations of Jews were scattered throughout.<sup>189</sup> In addition to the scriptural religions—Christianity, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism—Arabia also was home to a host of local animist cults.<sup>190</sup> The infinitely varied mix of mercantile and traders, ventured in and out of region. While there, fresh relays of camels expedited their transactions. They also took the time to pray, worship, and venerate their diverse gods and divinities; Angels and *Jinns* competed for and contributed to tribal feuds and grudges.<sup>191</sup> The nomadic tribes were often outside the privy of any established authority. The kinship-based entities were endowed with strong martial traditions and a “culturally based attitude of superiority toward non pastoralists or lowlanders.”<sup>192</sup> For millennia, the intrusion to the more settled richer lands had shaped the history of the region. With

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<sup>185</sup>Stökl, Jonathan and Caroline Waerzegger. *Exile and Return: The Babylonian Context*. 2015. Berlin/Boston. de Gruyter. Pp. 7–11, 30, 226.

<sup>186</sup>Stökl.

<sup>187</sup>Stökl.

<sup>188</sup> Littman, Robert J. “The Religious Policy of Xerxes and the ‘Book of Esther’.” *The Jewish Quarterly Review*. 1975. pp. 145-155. University of Pennsylvania Press. DOI: 10.2307/1454354 Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1454354.pdf>

<sup>189</sup> Donner.

<sup>190</sup> Donner.

<sup>191</sup> Donner.

<sup>192</sup> Donner.

each excursion and in the absence of effective resistance, the victors supplanted their rulers with a member of their own clan.

“The process of Arabization, however, had preceded Islam. From the second century B.C. Arab tribes had moved out of Arabia into Syria and Iraq where they settled and became absorbed.”<sup>193</sup> Arguably, coveted spices and coffee were the original business model for a *start-up*. In the newly outposts, the Arab merchants proceeded with limited stimulus of their culture and language.<sup>194</sup> This pattern of logistical outposts, an entrenched theme in the area’s history, was well suited for Prophet Mohammad’s strategy. The new and dynamic faith had awakened and emboldened the region’s nomadic pedigree. The amalgamation of kingdoms and principalities presented a formidable challenge for Mohammad and his clairvoyant *revelation* messages.<sup>xiii</sup> The infusion of the conquering clan’s cultural tenets soon permeated the captured lands. With savvy, they also incorporated *their* morally acceptable traditions on their subjects with aptitude.<sup>195</sup> Mohammad united the tribes under the constitution of Medina in December 629.<sup>196</sup>

Facing smoldering rivalries, Mohammad expanded the general guidelines for a righteous existence. With affirmation and refinement of certain trends, Mohammad called on scripturalist religions and tribal society, who highly revered ancestors, for solidarity in curtailing the two domineering empires. The Arabia was united into a single Muslim polity.<sup>197</sup> The Quran formed the basis of Islamic religious belief and his teachings and practices— Five Pillars of Islam—took advantage of the vacuum.<sup>xiv</sup> Therefore although today, the main unifying characteristic among

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<sup>193</sup> Mansfield, Peter. *The Ottoman Empire and Its Successors*. 1973. Palgrave-Macmillan. New York.

<sup>194</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>195</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>196</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>197</sup> Morgan, Diane. *Essential Islam: A Comprehensive Guide to Belief and Practice*. 2010. ABC-CLIO; Praeger Publishers.

Arabs is Arabic language, Arab identity is defined independently of religious identity. Other indigenous assemblages—e.g., *Alawites*, *Azeris*, Berbers, Copts, Kurds, Palestinians, Persians, Turks, and *Yezidis*—live within what is considered the Middle East with varying proportion adherents to Islam.

In a relative short period, Mohammad—with force or negotiation —brought recalcitrant groups under Medina’s sway. Soon, his position as the most powerful political leader in western Arabia had become apparent to all, and delegations began to arrive to tender their submission.<sup>198</sup> The consequences of the conquests were momentous. With commitment to a new religious ideology, a large new empire sought the demise of the old ruling classes and the rise of new ones, consisting at first largely of people of Arabian origin.<sup>199</sup> Political savvy provide the framework to integrate the captured, as clients, thus facilitating a quick transformation. If the captives were already monotheists, they were only required to pay tribute and not necessarily convert.<sup>200</sup> Soon, the most coveted provinces were wrested from the domineering empires of the time. To monitor and avoid unwanted assimilation, Arab trader’s preexisting garrisons operated as an insulator as well; they lived apart from the vast conquered populations. Later, as cities, these garrisons would be among the most important centers in which early Islamic culture was elaborated.<sup>201</sup>

“Arabization had two elements: linguistic as the conquered peoples acquired the Arabic language, and racial whereby the Arab invaders mixed their blood with the indigenous population.”<sup>202</sup>As a consequence the very term ‘Arab’ came to change its meaning.<sup>203</sup>What

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<sup>198</sup> Donner.

<sup>199</sup> Donner.

<sup>200</sup> Donner.

<sup>201</sup> Donner.

<sup>202</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>203</sup> Carmichael, Joel. *The Shaping of the Arabs: A Study in Ethnic Identity*. [1967] 2016. Taylor & Francis Group, New York.

began with administrative vision and produced knowledge by Greeks, the nomadic tribesmen (Bedouin) of Arabia, now was being interchanged to all the Arabized people; “gradually the wider meaning of Arab predominated until today it generally refers to anyone who speaks Arabic.”<sup>204</sup>The spectrum of racial Arabization then depended on the prior and strong incidences of Arabs.<sup>xv</sup> The Arab vanguard devotees of Islam were now strategic enough a player on the global stage with breadth and depth.

What became the blueprint for Matured Democracies normalizing power, is but a page from Islam’s hymn sheets. Celestial or terrestrial, individuals are cajoled, coerced, to do as they are administered. To believe in the hierarchy, or perhaps intending to climb its rungs, unlike the repressive powers that are often focused in very specific institutions and individuals, normalizing power is ubiquitous: everybody is subjected to power.<sup>205</sup> Institutions, canonical or apocryphal, continue to produce knowledge: scientific or incongruous. Nevertheless, these produced knowledges are themselves sources of normalizing power and normalization.<sup>206</sup> The *bent back* provides less resistance for the *ants* to create their social structures. Those structures are continuously exerting their normalizing power on ants and aphids alike so constituent.

### *The fall of Ottoman Empire, Sykes Picot Legacy*

“This act will not stand; we will find those who did it; *we will smoke them out of their holes,...*”<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Carmichael.

<sup>205</sup> Foucault, Michel. Truth and Power. In *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. 1980. C. Gordon, editor. London: Harvester.

<sup>206</sup> Foucault.

<sup>207</sup> Vulliamy, Ed. “*Get ready for war, Bush tells America*. The battle will be long, warns President; Terrified Afghans flee target zone; Blair urges restraint as allies grow nervous.” *The Guardian*. 16, September 2001. Vulliamy, Ed, Peter Beaumont, Kamal Ahmed, and Luke Harding. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/16/terrorism.september11> emphasis added.

“Saddam Hussein and his sons must leave Iraq within 48 hours. Their refusal to do so will result in military conflict commenced *at a time of our choosing*,”<sup>208</sup>

Only days after the catastrophic suicide attacks of September 2001, by suspected supporters of the Islamic fundamentalist Osama bin Laden—the biggest attack on the American mainland since the American Civil War—President George W. Bush said: “[t]his act will not stand.”<sup>209</sup> Reverberating his father’s trope— in early days of August, 1990, shortly after Iraq had invaded Kuwait—Bush 43, explained how the United States of America, free and democratic at home could act wantonly abroad: *if necessary unilaterally*. Bush 43 vowed there would be *vengeance* for the worst terrorist attack on America. The retribution, Operation *Enduring Freedom*, in 2019, will enter its *eighteenth* year. In 1990, for Bush 41, Iraq’s *latest provocation* in the region, unlike the eight-year Iran-Iraq war that ended in a stalemate, repeated use of poison gas—particularly on the Kurdish population of *Halabjah*, had *crossed a red line*. Iraq had long resisted to the *British imposed separation* and claimed Kuwait as its renegade province.<sup>210</sup> In the Middle East, colonial legacies continue to have intrinsic meanings with cognitive appraisal that are fastidiously averse to historical amnesia of Matured Democracies.

Just as his predecessor, President Trump also emphasized he would step away from “nation building.”<sup>211</sup> Barack Obama’s Wilsonian embrace of the Arab Springs, *A New Beginning*, between the United States and Muslims around the world, also ought to be seen as taking

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<sup>208</sup> Julian, Borger. “*Bush gives Saddam and his sons 48 hours to leave Iraq.*” *The Guardian*. 17, March 2003. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/mar/18/iraq.usa1> emphasis added.

<sup>209</sup> Vulliamy.

<sup>210</sup> NA. Saddam’s Iraq: Key Events. BBC. Available at:

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle\\_east/02/iraq\\_events/html/kuwait\\_invasion.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/02/iraq_events/html/kuwait_invasion.stm)

<sup>211</sup> Vitkovskaya, Julie. “*4 things to know about America’s war in Afghanistan.*” *The Washington Post*. 24, August 2017. Available at: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2017/08/24/what-you-need-to-know-about-the-longest-conflict-in-u-s-history-the-war-in-afghanistan/?utm\\_term=.4a90703fdaa9](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2017/08/24/what-you-need-to-know-about-the-longest-conflict-in-u-s-history-the-war-in-afghanistan/?utm_term=.4a90703fdaa9)

advantage of the vacuum: the lack of engagement of the Bush 41 and 43 Administrations' meaningful engagement with the region. This void was in sharp contrast to the continuum of policies that had aligned Matured Democracies in general and the United States in particular, firmly with dictators and autocrats. Since the height of the Cold War, the Matured Democracies pursue well-choreographed policies that simultaneously preserved "Western access to Middle East energy supplies and containing Soviet expansionism; 're-establish a stable status-quo' and contain Islamic extremism."<sup>212</sup> The planned *detour* to the most populous Arab nation, was a part of a trip that included visits to Germany and France to commemorate the 65<sup>th</sup> anniversary of D-Day.<sup>213</sup>

The Trump administration also plans to put more pressure on Pakistan to eradicate safe havens for terrorists, *and*, to elevate India's role—Pakistan's arch-rival—by enticing India to assist in economic and developmental support of Afghanistan.<sup>214</sup> The Afghan war for some time has been described by numerous analysts as a stalemate with the Taliban continuing to grow stronger.<sup>215</sup> This, while *rampant corruption* continues to plague the Afghan government. *Daesh*, and the Taliban continue to launch major terrorist attacks, and American soldiers continued to be deployed to the region—and *continue to sustain casualties*. "More than \$700 billion has been spent to fund reconstruction and war efforts in Afghanistan, and the troop increase will likely add billions of dollars more to the cost of the conflict," and *supposedly*, include spending on the treatment of veterans' medical and disability needs.<sup>216</sup>

<sup>212</sup> Walt, Stephen M. "Making the Middle East Worse, Trump-Style: American presidents have generally been pretty good at botching things in the Middle East, but this one is winning at it." *The Foreign Policy*. 9, June 2017. Available at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/06/09/making-the-middle-east-worse-trump-style-saudi-arabia-qatar-iran-israel/>

<sup>213</sup>Walt, Stephen M.

<sup>214</sup> Vitkovskaya.

<sup>215</sup> Vitkovskaya.

<sup>216</sup> Vitkovskaya.

After the prophet's death, the search for a *caliph*— successor— to navigate the political-religious state— *Caliphate*— became an urgent matter.<sup>217</sup> The Prophet's father-in-law, *Abu Bakr*, became the first of four *caliphs* before the Muslim polity started to diverge. *Umar I*, *Uthman*, and Ali, followed what is constituted as a golden age of pure Islam.<sup>218 xvi</sup>

The assassination of *Uthman* and the ineffectual caliphate of Ali that followed sparked the first sectarian split in the Muslim community.<sup>219</sup> Shia, a major dissident party, held the belief that the Caliphate belonged by right to the descendants of Ali.<sup>220</sup> The *Abbasid* caliphate disappointed the expectations of the Shia by taking the Caliphate for themselves, inevitably left the Shia to evolve into a sect, permanently hostile to the orthodox Sunni majority.<sup>221xvii</sup> Eventually, and for the most of their Caliphate, the *Abbasid* made Baghdad their capital facilitating the city's rise to prominence.<sup>222</sup>The *Abbasid* Caliphate, although ushered Islamic culture's zenith, differed from others in that it did not have the same borders and extent as the Islamic culture. The strategic location of the Muslim world, its geographical location, facilitated collaboration among the scholars in endeavors including the translations of Greek philosophy and Chinese sciences.<sup>223</sup>

The private army of Turkic nomads from the Eurasian steps began to tip the balance of power in the *Abbasid* Empire. Yet, the symbiotic relationship between the mercenaries needing the *caliph*, and the emperor needing the mercenaries more than the mercenaries needing the

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<sup>217</sup> Kadi, Wadad, Aram A., Shahin. "Caliph, caliphate." The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought. Bowering, Gerhard, Patricia Crone et al, Editors. 2013. Pp 80-124 specially: 81–86.

<sup>218</sup> Kadi.

<sup>219</sup> Kadi.

<sup>220</sup> Kadi.

<sup>221</sup> Bell, James. "The World's Muslims: Unity and Diversity." Pew Research Center: Religion & Public Life. 9, August 2012. Available at: <http://www.pewforum.org/2012/08/09/the-worlds-muslims-unity-and-diversity-executive-summary/> ; <http://www.pewforum.org/2012/08/09/the-worlds-muslims-unity-and-diversity-infographic/>

<sup>222</sup> Pew.

<sup>223</sup> Mansfield.

emperor, is a tale as old as time. The cancer of Turkic nomads had taken over the empire and local dynasties began to gnaw at its territories. Nevertheless, the caliph ran the religion, and the soldiers ran the Empire in a mutually beneficial enterprise. To the north, The Byzantine empire could not resist the emerging Turks and Byzantine Emperor Alexios called on the Catholic Church to help curb the Muslim expansion.<sup>224</sup> In 1095 Pope Urban in the Council of Clermont declared a crusade. The war against Muslims was to reclaim the Holy Land, with a cry of “*Deus vult!*” or “God wills it!”<sup>225</sup>

In the Ninth Century, the *Abbasid* created an army loyal only to their Caliphate, composed of non-Arab origin people, known as *Mamluks*—slave soldier. The *Mamluks* eventually came to power in *Misr*, Egypt. The inner-empire rivalries soon began to take its toll since the many Sultans began to resent the interference of caliph in matters of the state. Particularly in the western flanks of the Empire, multiple smaller caliphates, although coexisted in relative peace, began to challenge the Caliphate.<sup>226</sup> The Mongols under *Hulagu* Khan sack Baghdad in 1206.<sup>227xviii</sup> In 1261, following the devastation of Baghdad by the Mongols, the *Mamluk* rulers of Egypt re-established the *Abbasid* caliphate in Cairo.<sup>228</sup> By then, the political division had morphed into a Shia Sunni tension fueled by the rise of the fundamentalist in Egypt and North Africa.

Converts to Islam, Turkish mercenaries were frequently provincial governors with strong bureaucratic framework. In the turmoil that was *Abbasid's* demise, the patchwork and ethnic solidarity, soon “the foundations of the Ottoman Empire had been laid,” by “Othman, a Turkish

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<sup>224</sup> Hindley, Geoffrey. A Brief History of the Crusades: Islam and Christianity in the Struggle for World Supremacy. 2004. Robinson Publishing. P 20-21.

<sup>225</sup>Hindley.

<sup>226</sup>Jenkins, Everett. The Muslim Diaspora: 570-1500 A Comprehensive Reference to the Spread of Islam in Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas. Volume 1. 1999. University of Michigan.

<sup>227</sup> Saunders.

<sup>228</sup>Jenkins.

mercenary recently converted to Islam. He and his successors gradually extended their rule throughout Asia Minor and their influence into the Balkans.”<sup>229</sup> The newly Islamic power that emerged in Anatolia—Asia Minor— further consolidated a patchwork of independent Turkish principalities and the dawning of the Ottomans. The Ottomans captured Constantinople in 1453 CE, renaming it Istanbul and putting an end to the Byzantine Empire.<sup>230</sup> The empire reached its peak under *Suleiman* the Magnificent and continued into the Twentieth Century.<sup>231</sup>

Though lacking in political power, the *Abbasid* caliphate continued to claim authority in religious matters until after the Ottoman conquest of Syria in 1516 and Egypt in 1517. From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth century, much of the Maghreb was under Ottoman rule. By the 1880’s, Islam had taken root in one third of the African continent.<sup>232</sup>

Meanwhile, continental Europe saw the dawn of colonial and imperial powers and their scrambles for territories. Their spheres of influence meant to organize and administer the globe for new exporting markets and maximum economic exploitation. As these economic and diplomatic rivalries began in earnest, structural inequalities subsequently *shaped* the world history. *Civilizing* missions—the new spirit of adventure and curiosity—was inked when Spain and Portugal, in 1494, signed the Treaty of *Tordesillas*. They agreed to honor the Line of Demarcation—*spheres of influence* and the European hegemony.<sup>233</sup> By early Seventeenth Century, the English and Dutch began to challenge Portugal’s dominance over the Indian Ocean

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<sup>229</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>230</sup> Stone, Norman. “Turkey in the Russian Mirror.” *Russia War, Peace And Diplomacy: Essays in Honour of John Erickson*. Ed: Mark Erickson, Ljubica Erickson. 2005. Weidenfeld & Nicolson. Pp 86-100, p. 94.

<sup>231</sup> Parry, V.J. “*The Reign of Suleiman the Magnificent 1520–1566*.” *A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730*. 1976. Ed: M.A. Cook. Cambridge University Press. Pp 94-101.

<sup>232</sup> Levtzion.

<sup>233</sup> HARRISSE, Henry. *The Diplomatic History of America: Its first chapter 1452—1493—1494*. [1897], 2008. *BiblioLife* pp. 70-74.

trade. The European era of exploration and colonization, with assistance from *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, had begun in earnest.<sup>234</sup>

The gradual military supremacy and the opening of new trade routes ushered the establishment of British, Dutch, and Portuguese's colonies and powers *encircling and bypassing* the Ottoman's sphere of influence. The European foreign commerce deprived and disrupted the Ottoman's "of the greater part of her foreign commerce and left her, together with the countries over which she ruled, in a stagnant backwater through which the life-giving stream of world trade no longer flowed."<sup>235</sup> The *New World* also helped to facilitate the Ottomans' nausea and the demise of soon to be *the Sick Man of Europe*.<sup>236</sup> The glut of cheap silver imported into Europe "caused a violent inflation, and disastrous devaluation of the currency of the Ottoman Empire."<sup>237</sup>

While the newly emerging European colonial powers were flourishing, the Ottoman Empire actually declined. "The consequent economic distress was compounded by the government's increasing demands for revenues from the already overtaxed peasantry for the swelling bureaucracy and armed forces."<sup>238</sup> The tantalizing promise of riches in the burgeoning cities, resulted in enormous flight from the agricultural countryside. Yet, the absence of any independent entrepreneurial class, deprived the Caliphate from any meaningful contribution to the ongoing Industrial Revolution taking place in Europe. As technology became stagnant, the Ottoman rulers witnessed emptying of the cities: abandoned and blighted as many traveled to Europe. The European and non-Muslim traders were also granted special privileges,

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<sup>234</sup> Diamond, Jared. *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*. 1998. W. W. Norton & Company.

<sup>235</sup> Lewis, Bernard. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. [1968] 2001. Oxford University Press. New York.

<sup>236</sup> EMPIRES: People and Passions That Changed the World. Grubin David, director. PBS, 2000. Available at: [http://www.pbs.org/empires/romans/special/timeline\\_05.html](http://www.pbs.org/empires/romans/special/timeline_05.html); <http://www.pbs.org/empires/thegreeks/htmlver/>

<sup>237</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>238</sup> Mansfield.

*Capitulations*, insulating them from excessive bureaucracy and taxes.<sup>xix</sup> “As Ottoman power declined the privileges were reinforced. By the Nineteenth Century there were flourishing European business communities in many parts of the Empire which were virtually above the law.”<sup>239</sup>

As the Caliphate decayed, the military defeats began to tear its fabric. Meanwhile, principalities bordering the Mediterranean, began to witness a fervent period of cultural, artistic, political, and economic “rebirth” following the Middle Ages. The Renaissance and the Scientific Revolution that followed, were critical stages in developing of Europe. The foundation of Renaissance, however, were incubated in Toledo: the “Imperial City.”<sup>240</sup> There, in the tradition of the Great Library of Alexandria and Grand Library of Baghdad, the *Museum*, the Royal Library of Toledo became the capital of knowledge and learning.<sup>241</sup>

A city-state in the *Islamic Spain*, Toledo was known for her cultural influences of Christians, Muslims and Jews that is abundantly reflected in its history. The Siege of Toledo, 1085, was a key moment in the struggle between the Christians and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. Upon the peaceful transition of the city, the conquering Christians however, did not look favorably upon the *centuries* of collaboration between the three Abrahamic monotheistic faiths.<sup>242</sup>

With the successive and periodic victories against the Muslims, the character of Europe was being constructed. The rise of sovereign states and prominence of some, became the magnets for scientists and philosophers *of all faiths* fleeing strife. With them, volumes of books

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<sup>239</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>240</sup> Collins, Roger, *Arab Conquest of Spain*. 1995. Wiley-Blackwell; Reilly, Bernard F. *Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain 1031–1157*. 1996. Wiley-Blackwell.

<sup>241</sup> Murray, Stuart A.P. *The library: An illustrated history*. 2012. Skyhorse Publishing, New York.

<sup>242</sup> Collins; Reilly.

and written knowledge, were passed to and confiscated by the newly emerging city-states. Internal Muslim rebellions in the Iberian Peninsula, 1144 and 1145, further spoiled Islamic unity.<sup>243</sup>

Granada was conquered; the Muslims were expelled from the Peninsula; the people of Jewish faith faced banishment from Spain and, Europe's "discovery" of the *New World*, propelled 1492 into Western consciousness.<sup>244</sup> The Ottomans twice reaching the gates of Vienna and in 1683 were defeated by the forces of King Sobieski, of Poland: the tide had clearly turned. The Ottomans called Sobieski the "Lion of Lechistan," and the Pope Innocent XI hailed him as *the savior of Christendom*.<sup>245</sup> For the second time, in a relatively short time, Christianity had triumphed over Islam.

With the Portuguese and Spaniards firmly in control of Central and South Americas, and with the British losing their North American colonies, the European turned their attentions wholeheartedly to Africa and Asia. The United States of America, shortly after it had become an independent dominion, also bloomed on global stage in North Africa. The first overseas military engagement was to protect American merchantmen that began "From the Halls of Montezuma," blossomed in the "Shores of Tripoli."<sup>246</sup> There, traders began to reflect and manage trading with the Barbary and the Levant—Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis—satellites of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>247</sup> Broad foreign policy themes and the United States' grand strategy in the Middle East,

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<sup>243</sup> Collins; Reilly.

<sup>244</sup> Collins; Reilly.

<sup>245</sup> Reading, Mario. *The Complete Prophecies of Nostradamus*. [1999] 2009. Watkins, London. P 382.

<sup>246</sup> NA. "MARINES' HYMN" RECALLED.; "From the Halls of Montezuma to the Shores of Tripoli," It Begins. *The New York Times*. 24, April 1914 Full text is unavailable for this digitized archive article. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1914/04/24/archives/marines-hymn-recalled-from-the-halls-of-montezuma-to-the-shores-of.html>

<sup>247</sup> Tinniswood, Adrian. *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests and Captivity in the Seventeenth Century Mediterranean*. 2011. Riverhead Books.

focused on establishing and managing a security system, amidst the disintegrating stability throughout the region—advance American interests, and to contain and deter outside threats.<sup>248</sup>

The French Revolution with their overtones of egalitarian ideas and atheism soon followed the American Revolution. In retrospect, although Napoleon's excursion into Egypt, in 1798, was a military failure, the colonial and imperial dissolution and dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire had begun in earnest.<sup>249</sup> The botched military enterprise nevertheless facilitated a new European scheme: the cadre of scholars and scientists transformed the vast subjugated *terra* into an object of interrogation and inquest: a field for systematic knowledge.<sup>250</sup>

Four years prior, another Imperial power of this epoch, Russia's Catherine the Great had wrested the right of protector for all Orthodox Christian subjects of the Ottomans throughout the Balkans.<sup>251</sup> Well before the Declaration of Independence in the British territories had been inked, a series of Russo-Turkish Wars began in 1768 persisting until 1878. Eventually, In the ensuing decades, Russia continued to advance its frontiers against the exasperated Ottoman empire. Soon, the Ottoman losses involved territorial concessions: Black Sea, Ukraine, and the Balkans were liberated from the Ottomans. Alarmed by the Russian gains, the European Imperial powers, compelled Russia to accept the Treaty of Berlin, July 1878, whereby Russia's military-political gains from the war were severely restricted.<sup>252</sup> The main occupation of the Ottomans: the troops better preserved to protect Egypt.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>248</sup>Tinniswood.

<sup>249</sup>Mansfield.

<sup>250</sup>Said, Edward W. Said, Edward W. Culture, and Imperialism. 1993. Vintage Books; Culture and Imperialism. 1993. Vintage Books.

<sup>251</sup>Sicker, Martin, The Islamic World in Decline; From the Treaty of Karlowitz to the Disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. 2000. Praeger; Provence, Michael. The Last Ottoman Generation and the Making of the Modern Middle East. 2017. Cambridge University Press; Shaw, Stanford Jay History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. 1976. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>252</sup>Sicker.

<sup>253</sup>Mansfield.

The nineteenth-century Ottoman reforms did not prevent the disintegration of the Empire. The combined Egyptian and Turkish navies was no match for the superior British and Russian fleets. Their defeat at Navarino, in 1827, within a few years, secured the Greek's independence.<sup>254</sup> Nearly a decade later, the 1839 London Conference, all but curtailed and inhibited any grand vision of Islamic eminence.<sup>255</sup> The greater province of Syria was wrested away and the Imperial powers, had fully incorporated their influence and impact in the regions.<sup>256</sup>

In Europe, national and liberal ideals of the French Revolution eventually fostered a climate of hope and the rise of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and, eventually the German Confederation and its venerated leader Otto von Bismarck. Britain, anxious to secure her trade with the Ottoman, access to India, and to forestall any attempt by Russia, came to the rescue and maintenance of the Ottoman regime in the Crimean War.<sup>257</sup> Defeat of Russia in the war, 1853-54, famed for the *Charge of the Light Brigade*, fundamentally altered the balance of power in Europe and set the stage for World War One.<sup>258</sup> The hope of the alliance was to build a permanent peace by suppressing revolutionary republics and upholding stable, orderly monarchies, and maintaining the Ottomans *as a firewall* to Russian ambitions and prosperity through exporting markets.<sup>259</sup>

The competition for finite resources meant not only expanding the war on the Ottoman principalities, but also, foment unrest inside the Russian Empire, and permanently reduce the

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<sup>254</sup> Hurewitz, Jacob Coleman and D. Van Nostrand. *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East. V2: A Documentary Record, 1914-1956* [1956] 2011. Literary Licensing, LLC, Whitefish, MT.

<sup>255</sup> Hurewitz.

<sup>256</sup> Hurewitz.

<sup>257</sup> Lambert, Andrew. BBC. *The Crimean War*. Available at: [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/victorians/crimea\\_01.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/victorians/crimea_01.shtml)

<sup>258</sup> Lambert.

<sup>259</sup> Lambert, Andrew. *The Crimean War: British Grand Strategy Against Russia, 1853–56*. 2011. Routledge. Ashgate. pp. 90- 97; Rich, Norman. *Why the Crimean War? A Cautionary Tale*. 1990. McGraw-Hill.

Russian threat to Europe. Britain was following a geopolitical strategy in aiming to destroy the fledgling Russian Navy, which might challenge the Royal Navy for control of the seas, and that the war was also a joint European response to a century of Russian expansion not just southwards but also into Eastern Europe.<sup>260</sup> Nevertheless, these wars then wrecked the Concert of Europe, which had long kept the peace. “Afghanistan was created *as a buffer* state between the British Indian and Czarist Russian empires, both of which sought to control Central Asia’s access to the Indian Ocean in the south.”<sup>261</sup> Building, the control of Suez Canal, and the eventual occupation of Egypt became the hallmark of British foreign policy in the Mid-Nineteenth century.<sup>262</sup>

“In 1861, following a brief but savage civil war between Christians, Muslims and Druze in Syria, the French had landed troops in Beirut and the Powers imposed a settlement providing for autonomy within the Empire for the predominantly Christian inhabitants of Mount Lebanon.”<sup>263</sup> Contemporaneously in the Arabian Peninsula, a fanatically puritanical Islamic revival movement of the Wahhabis, began in earnest contesting the Ottoman’s duplicity of authority over the Islam’s Holy Places and the religion’s narratives.<sup>264</sup> As the American patriots in the Thirteen Colonies began to challenge their colonial government, which represented the British crown, 1765, the British Empire had become the principle European colonial and imperial influence in the Gulf region where the Dutch had abandoned their last outpost.<sup>265</sup> Three years before the Continental Congress voted to adopt the Declaration of Independence, 1773, the Al Saud tribesmen, with accord and blessing of Al Wahhabi leaders, entered, occupied Riyadh

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<sup>260</sup> Lambert; Rich.

<sup>261</sup> Nasr, S.V.R. Emphasis added.

<sup>262</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>263</sup> Hurewitz.

<sup>264</sup> Smith, Martin and Lowell Bergman Producers. Frontline: PBS Analysis Wahhabism- Saudi Time Bomb? PBS, 2001. Available at: <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saudi/>

<sup>265</sup> Hurewitz.

and began the long lineage that in modern days continue to affect the politics of the Middle-East.<sup>266</sup> Two indomitable geopolitical powers influential in world affairs dawned on world stage.

By then, Britain also established herself on the southern and eastern shores of the Arabian Peninsula where Ottoman authority had never fully extended. The Persian Gulf was prized as a trade route and as a line of defense for India and British communications with the East.<sup>267</sup> From 1820 Britain concluded a series of treaties with other Arab rulers in the Gulf which placed them under British protection and provided for the exclusion of other Powers. Most of these treaties survived up to the 1970s.<sup>268</sup>

The cocoon had unraveled, and the paternalistic patterns had created a marginal and fundamental binary which structured the West as the masculine Self to the East's feminized Other.<sup>269</sup> "The interplay between local and central interests is intricate, but by no means indiscriminate," and through historical circumstances "the disparity was gradual but progressive."<sup>270</sup> It was in the light of this, *truncated*, history that *Sykes-Picot* partook in a counterfactual parlor-game of drawing the arbitrary lines of *another sphere of influence*: now in this region.<sup>271</sup> Historical *obligations*, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, in culminating days of the First World War, resulted in a suggestive map of a redrawn Middle-East.<sup>272</sup> For a well over a century, the name continues to echo around the region. The French were to be the

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<sup>266</sup> Hurewitz.

<sup>267</sup> Hurewitz.

<sup>268</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>269</sup> Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. 1979. Vintage Books. P. 45.

<sup>270</sup> Said; Lewis, Bernard. *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response*. 2002. Oxford University Press. **P. 125.**

<sup>271</sup> Barr, James. *A Line in the Sand: The Anglo-French Struggle for the Middle East, 1914-1948*. 2013. W. W. Norton & Company. New York.

<sup>272</sup> Barr.

viceroy in the north of demarcation, *almost a straight line*, and the Britain to be represented in the south and to continue their colonial ambitions.<sup>273</sup>

The colonial carving of the region, a key factor but not the complete story, is *a symptom* of the region's failure but not *the cause*. The expanse, according to some antiquarians and scholars, was hermetically sealed and ceased to develop.<sup>274</sup> With such assertions, there were no encouragement and fostering the region's intellectual and human capital. There are those who argue that, for generations many had deliberately made the collective cultural decision to eschew Western scientific modernism and thus "missed" the Enlightenment at a crucial moment.<sup>275</sup>

Nevertheless, experience itself is constituted through proper representation. Thus, negating the problem of representation does not eviscerate the quandary rather makes it harder to recognize. The representation has not withered away.<sup>276</sup> Nor has the Rus. For centuries then, Russia, in its many different iterations continues to cobble an affective collection of interests in this region. Its continuity and proximity is *better the devil you know than the devil you don't*.

### *The Twentieth Century events in the region*

"The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose.  
An evil soul producing holy witness  
Is like a villain with a smiling cheek,  
A goodly apple rotten at the heart.  
O, what a goodly outside falsehood hath!"<sup>277</sup>

"The white liberals are more dangerous than  
the conservatives; they lure the Negro, and  
as the Negro runs from the growling wolf,

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<sup>273</sup> Barr.

<sup>274</sup> Lewis.

<sup>275</sup> Lewis.

<sup>276</sup> Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. 2010. Rosalind Morris: editor. Columbia University Press.

<sup>277</sup> Shakespeare, William. *The Merchant of Venice*. [1623(1995)]. Dover Thrift Editions. Act I, Scene iii. P 15.

he flees into the open jaws of the ‘smiling’ fox.”<sup>278</sup>

Alexander the Great, Napoleon, the British Empire, ..., continued the ambitions of many wanting to span the globe. Brilliant leaders with their many manifestations of greatness, through economic and technological efficiency, military prowess, brutal forcible suppression of insurrections, genocides, continue to create an image and forward discourses that were overwhelmingly invented by the victors. The grave consequences of their brutality only perpetuated misunderstanding and misrepresentation of many enduring civilizations. These discourses in turn, not only justified the ensuing acts of violence on the indigenous population, but also justified furthering conquest and colonization of its inhabitants. These were locales with elaborate public institutions, public services, public servants: an indigenous system of government.

For a period, *the sun never set on the British Union jack*. The sunset however is mostly delayed and if history is any guidance; an eclipse is also a part of the cosmic rhythm. There are many former colonies and regions, remnants of Matured Democracies’ forbearers interventions, where today, the population continues to suffer with no apparent “apology” in sight.<sup>279</sup> Current policy inconsistencies that are reoccurring *repeatedly*, are but an algorithmic bias. Analysis of the ripple effects and cascading problems requires in-depth approaches addressing the intersection of Indigenous and Matured Democracies’ political worlds—far beyond the allotted pages of this research. Throughout these limited pages, my attempt has been to provide a

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<sup>278</sup>X, Malcolm. “*Malcolm X speech; Digital History ID 3619.*” University of Houston Digital History. Mintz, Steven. And McNeil, Sara. [1963 (2018)]. Available at: [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp\\_textbook.cfm?smtid=3&psid=3619](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=3&psid=3619) Retrieved 14, November 2019.

<sup>279</sup>Minder, Raphael and Elisabeth Malkin. “*Mexican Call for Conquest Apology Ruffles Feathers in Spain. And Mexico.*” The New York Times. 27, March 2019. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/27/world/americas/mexico-spain-apology.html>

heuristic device for delineating the colonized and colonizer's political ontologies—*biopolitical* as well as *terrapolitical*—and consideration of their interactions.<sup>280</sup>

In the region, proud indigenous cultural values persist, countervailing Matured Democracies' biopolitical dominance. For many, there is cognitive dissonance of witnessing the sheer scale of suffering from antagonistic and unequal domineering *liaisons* and the resources better distributed for cohesion and productive exchanges that can lessen humanity's greatest existential threat of a disruptive future.<sup>281</sup>

The jockeying for eminence was not restricted to this region. Europe's complex political geography were beginning to be comprised mainly along linguistic and ethnic boundaries. Just as with the Ottomans, ego, influence, and access to material and resources could define if a power was a *power*. The principalities and kingdoms, with their inadequacy of available resources and with their unmatched thirst for achievement or distinction ushered a world where borders, real and metaphorical, were fast collapsing. These appetites continue to reverberate until the modern epoch. The race to establish empires, with satellites under full occupation or with a great deal of influence on its governmentality became vogue. Britain at times with full militarization and at others *coercive diplomacy* continued the traditions of 1492.

Traditional nation-states espouse their sovereignty and territorial integrity as sacred principles on the international stage. Looking back at the demise of the once mighty Ottoman Empire, it will be easy to overlook that although modern day nation-states present themselves as inviolable and eternal matters, few have been around for more than a century.

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<sup>280</sup>Agamben, Giorgio. *Agamben and Colonialism*. 2012. Editors: Svirsky, Marcelo and Simone Bignall. Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>281</sup>Beard, Simon and Lauren Holt. "What are the biggest threats to humanity?" *The BBC*. Centre for the Study of Existential Risk. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-47030233>

In their pursuit, the emerging European empires competed and then choreographed production of discourse analysis pertaining to their satellites. Assumptions and discursive practices were then used to produce, interpret, and evaluate knowledge about the *Others* that reflected and reinforced the imperialist project thus perpetuating the relationship between power and knowledge.<sup>282</sup> What emerged as a series of binary opposition, in Europe as well, challenged the ideological assumptions of value-free knowledge. *Knowing the Other* became a preoccupation of the emerging empires and part and parcel of their domination. These discourses then, became a form of knowledge that continues to be used instrumentally not in service of power, but rather is itself a form of power.<sup>283</sup>

The burgeoning of Islam out of the Arabian Peninsula, west to Morocco, north to the doorsteps of France, south to the heartlands of Africa, and east as far as Indonesia combined cultural and religious vigor with commercial acumen. By the Mid-Twentieth Century, the importance of oil, once more thrust the region, its inhabitants and its ideology into the limelight. The old caravan routes were now being blacktopped and the staggering windfall of the newly discovered extractive resources, promised modernization. Mud-brick structures abreast with new shiny gleaming high-rise buildings; old customs wrestle alongside the new in the land of enduring and enigmatic populace saddle with constant contrasts. Many, struggle with being encircled with modernization bereft of its promises. The anointed leaders of the region continue with willful blindness and as it has become abundantly clear: at their own peril with devastating consequences. The blurring-lines between tactics and spirituality, analysis from opinion will continue to plague the *cradle of civilization*.

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<sup>282</sup>Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. 1993. Vintage Books.

<sup>283</sup>Foucault, Michel. *Truth and Power*. In *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. 1980. C. Gordon, editor. London: Harvester.

On 16, May 2016, exactly one hundred years hence the signing of the Sykes–Picot Agreement, *Daesh* released a propaganda video.<sup>284</sup> “A *Daesh* fighter provided a video tour, in clear English, of the border crossing that Iraqi soldiers had abandoned. The ‘so-called border,’ according to the *Daesh* fighter, was established by Arab leaders and Western imperialists.”<sup>285</sup> The overrun of the historical border post between Iraq-Syria, “so-called border,” was an outpost on the famous *line in the sand*, “which ran almost directly from the Persian border in the north-east, down between Mosul and Kirkuk and across the desert towards the Mediterranean, veering northwards to loop around the top end of Palestine.”<sup>286</sup> The resulting order inherited by the Middle East of the day sees a variety of states whose borders were generally drawn with little regard for *ethnic, tribal, religious or linguistic* considerations.<sup>287</sup>

In the Twentieth Century, diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, was one of blood-sport and competing colonial and imperial interests. The clan rivalries, a theme which I will address in the next and final chapter, were being formulated to maintain the rival metropolis’ interests and individuals on a lofted trajectory as the Ottomans were facing their demise and legitimacy. On the eve of the First World War, 1914, the Ottomans in a last-ditch effort, embarked on reforms to strengthen and modernize their failing military. Under the ambitions of Kaiser Wilhelm II, on August 2, 1914, the remnants of the Ottoman Empire and Germany entered into a secret treaty, meant to go into effect in the event of war between Germany and Russia.<sup>288</sup> Germany was also

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<sup>284</sup> Miller, James. Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty. “Why Islamic State Militants Care So Much About Sykes-Picot.” 16, May 2016. Available at: <https://www.rferl.org/a/why-islamic-state-cares-so-much-about-sykes-picot/27738467.html>

<sup>285</sup> Miller.

<sup>286</sup> Muir, Jim. BBC. “*Sykes-Picot: The map that spawned a century of resentment.*” 16 May 2016. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-36300224>

<sup>287</sup> Muir.

<sup>288</sup> Weber, Frank G. *Eagles on the Crescent: Germany, Austria, and the diplomacy of the Turkish alliance, 1914-1918.* 1970. Cornell University Press.

seeking a safe passage into neighboring British colonies in the Near and Middle East.<sup>289</sup> On November 3, 1914, Russia declared war on Turkey and by November 5, 1914, Great Britain and France, Allies, also declared war against Turkey.<sup>290</sup> The support for the aspiration of Arab independence was well dovetailed, *coerced*, into the Allies' pledge to their many movements in the periphery of the Ottoman Empire.

Many leaders of the Arab nationalist movements placed “considerable trust in Britain to defend the interests of the Arabs when the war was over. He was no doubt aware that Britain, with its military base in Egypt, was certain to emerge from the war as a stronger power than France in the area and he had confidence in British integrity.”<sup>291</sup> As the Arab Revolt could begin, a large Turco-German force was about to arrive in the Hejaz on its way to Yemen. The immediate effect of the Revolt in the Arabian Peninsula was considerable.<sup>292</sup> Although the calls for independence were not emanating from a homogeneous group, they were nevertheless able to mobilize some 30,000 fervent foot-soldiers.<sup>293</sup> The Turco-German troops on their way to Medina from Amman were to link-up with the Turkish garrison in Yemen thusly facilitated the contacts of the larger contingent of German troops in East Africa and deny the Allied shipping in the Red Sea.<sup>294</sup> Armed tribesmen, under the guise of the British Expeditionary Force, with encouragement from *expert Orientalist*— T. E. Lawrence—carried out excursions into Ottoman territories. The Arabs made an important contribution to the defeat of the Turks, but there was little they could do on their own.<sup>295</sup> Only decades later it came to light that Britain had already

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<sup>289</sup> Weber.

<sup>290</sup> Weber.

<sup>291</sup> Mansfield, Peter. *The Making of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century; The Ottoman Empire and its Successors*. [1973] 1994. Penguin Books; 3rd edition.

<sup>292</sup> Zeine, Zeine N. *Struggle for Arab Independence: Western Diplomacy and the Rise and Fall of Faisal's Kingdom in Syria*. [1960] 1977. 2nd Edition Caravan Books. Beirut.

<sup>293</sup> Zeine.

<sup>294</sup> Antonius, George. *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement*. [1962] 2015. Allegro.

<sup>295</sup> Antonius.

entered into a secret agreement with France and Russia on the partition of the Ottoman Empire, in which Britain was less than frank with its other two partners about the pledges made to the Arabs during 1915.<sup>296</sup>

As the *Lawrence of Arabia*, rode off into the sunset, for many Arabs in the region, it became evident that the Sykes-Picot agreement conflicted directly with pledges of freedom given by the British to the Arabs in exchange for their support against the collapsing Ottomans. It also collided with the vision of the United States' President Woodrow Wilson, who preached self-determination for the peoples subjugated by the Ottoman Empire.<sup>297</sup> “What happened became synonymous among the Arabs with Western perfidy; the anger and hatred sown continue to this day, as do the conflicts caused by the deal.”<sup>298</sup>

It was ultimately the San Remo Conference, 1920, that decided the future of the former territories of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>299</sup> All rights over Arab Asia and North Africa were absconded, while the treaty provided provisions for an independent Armenia, and an autonomous Kurdistan.<sup>300</sup> Ottoman's province of Transjordan—not a single administrative entity, rather a collection of Vilayets and Sanjuks—was now under the dominion of British rule.<sup>301</sup> The old Ottoman province of Syria was carved out into two parts: the northern half (Syria and Lebanon) was mandated to France, the southern half (Palestine) along with the province of Mesopotamia (Iraq) was mandated to Great Britain; ethnic groups were riven and fragmented across these

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<sup>296</sup> Zeine,

<sup>297</sup> Muir

<sup>298</sup> Sengupta, Kim. “How Britain and France laid the groundwork for Isis's reign of terror in the Middle East.” *The Independent*, 17, December 2015. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/how-britain-and-france-laid-the-groundwork-for-isis-s-reign-of-terror-in-the-middle-east-a6777576.html>

<sup>299</sup> Quigley, John. *The Statehood of Palestine: International Law in the Middle East Conflict*. 2010. Cambridge University Press; Wilson, Mary Christina. *King Abdullah, Britain and the Making of Jordan*. 1990. Cambridge University Press; Wasserstein, Bernard. *Israel and Palestine: Why They Fight and Can They Stop?* 2004. Yale University Press.

<sup>300</sup> Quigley.

<sup>301</sup> Quigley.

arbitrary borders.<sup>302</sup> Borders that were not transformational, rather, perimeters of continued imperial influences. In 1933, a year after the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is proclaimed, King Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud granted an American oil company, the right to extract her oil. The petroleum soon made Saudi Arabia and the neighboring sheikhdoms riches. The fastest-changing societies in the modern world and brought them to eminence in international affairs. Western imperialism played a key role, but only in so much as they were reacting to political realities on the ground, and with each passing generation they become more firmly established.<sup>303</sup>

The arbitrary nature of life and circumstances continues to infuse the intergenerational conversation for remembering history and reverence of it. Most exchanges, however, do not end in ululating howl, rather lamenting wails of missed opportunities, obstructions, and interferences. The Maturing Democracies presented the region with the array of axes: *Al-Qaeda* and its successor *Daesh* have provided the grinders.

Memories of imperial, colonial times, and the Cold War continues its resonance. The region then, is not suspect to popular uprising and interrupted presidencies. Within the larger context of the Middle East, disenfranchisement and discontent continue to fervently percolate beneath the surface but the Matured Democracies' support or overthrow of *Our Son of Bitch* is crucial. Changing the nature of the politics in the region, autocratic temptations of the annotated leaders, requires ontology evolution by derivation of changes. Neoliberal macro processes continue to be the invisible hand who controls the resources and thus controls the narrative. Corresponding pre and post conditions and indigenous cosmology facilitates democratic breakdowns. Policies of inclusion then take a backseat to celestial salvation and religion once

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<sup>302</sup> Quigley.

<sup>303</sup> Miller, James.

again creeps back into the discourses. In this atmosphere of despondency and backlash, the many hues of conservatives, question the legitimacy of the rulers and the democratization process. The lack of trust continues to perpetuate deviations that leave parasitic relationships invariant.

The purpose of this chapter was to unravel few threads of the fabric cloaking the region and to provide a partial view into the lives of many in the region who, daily, attempt to metamorphose from the Matured Democracies' epistemological cocoon. The region that was originally coveted for its exotic herbs and spices, is now beset with leaders whom their sell-by-date has long expired and continue to marinate and stew in an amalgam of conflicts. The outsider's treatment, however, is evocative of roving infantile nomads destined to be preserved in formaldehyde. This is a palpable narrative, spun, just as the many other indigenous groups, as a catalyst to conceptualize sovereigns that must be subdued.

## Chapter 5- Clan Rivalry

“I am a big fan of Hindu, and I am a big fan of India.”<sup>304</sup>

“We took Jerusalem off the table,”<sup>305</sup>

“We won’t accept his project; his deal of the century is the slap of the century, and we will respond.”<sup>306</sup>

In August 2014, Donald Trump contemplating on a presidential run himself, heaped lavish praises on Narendra Modi, a *far-right* Hindu nationalist, elected to the position of the Prime Minister of the *world’s largest democracy*, India.<sup>307</sup> In 2005, Modi, a Hindu nationalist, was *denied a visa* to enter the United States on religious-freedom grounds.<sup>308</sup> “Trump’s views meshed nicely with those held by the nativist, Muslim-baiting Modi,” emerging from a “global political isolation after the mob killing of hundreds of Muslims in 2002 in Gujarat while he was the state’s chief minister.”<sup>309</sup> Islam practitioners around the world took notice. In India, nearly a quarter of its population with other religious affinities, also reflected on what will be inevitability for a violent relationship between religious ideology and national identity.<sup>xx</sup> The predictability of

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<sup>304</sup> Kamat, Anjali. “Political Corruption and the Art of the Deal.” *The New Republic*. 21, March 2018. Available at: <https://newrepublic.com/article/147351/political-corruption-art-deal>

<sup>305</sup> Gearan, Anne. “Trump threatens to take away more U.S. aid from Palestinians if they don’t negotiate with Israel.” *The Washington Post*. 25, January 2018. Available at: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-threatens-to-take-away-more-us-aid-from-palestinians-if-they-dont-negotiate-with-israel/2018/01/25/a927e02a-01e3-11e8-8acf-ad2991367d9d\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.87cad8792df2](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-threatens-to-take-away-more-us-aid-from-palestinians-if-they-dont-negotiate-with-israel/2018/01/25/a927e02a-01e3-11e8-8acf-ad2991367d9d_story.html?utm_term=.87cad8792df2)

<sup>306</sup> Morris, Loveday. “Palestinian leader attacks Trump, calling his peace deal the ‘slap of the century’.” *The Washington Post*. 14, January 2018. Available at: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/palestinian-leader-attacks-trump-calling-his-peace-deal-the-slap-of-the-century/2018/01/14/dbb044a4-f95c-11e7-9b5d-bbf0da31214d\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.967d049d7554](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/palestinian-leader-attacks-trump-calling-his-peace-deal-the-slap-of-the-century/2018/01/14/dbb044a4-f95c-11e7-9b5d-bbf0da31214d_story.html?utm_term=.967d049d7554)

<sup>307</sup> Kamat.

<sup>308</sup> Gowen, Annie. “Once banned from the U.S., India’s Modi set for historic address to Congress.” *The Washington Post*. 6, June 2016. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/06/06/from-pariah-to-capitol-hill-narendra-modis-extraordinary-rise/>

<sup>309</sup> Kamat.

brutal antagonism resulting from long inheritances of and fusion by economics, politics, religion, and vested interest of hierarchies dominated the prevailing discourses.<sup>310</sup>

As the 2016 presidential election advanced, many in the Middle-East, *with bated breath and whispering humbleness*, were riveted to their informational devices.<sup>xxi</sup> For many in the region, President Obama had struggled to balance his idealism and his realism for the region, ultimately disappointing many in the region.<sup>311</sup> In a region, where conspiracy theories and symbolism—the imaginary Sykes–Picot border crossing—are omnipresent, bashing the American presidents is a favorite hobby. The war fatigued region was especially sensitive to Trump’s muscular nativist rhetoric, his son-in-law and business partner Jared Kushner, and his campaign pledge to bar Muslims from entering America.<sup>312</sup> Although for many, comparing the symmetry was insulting, Trump’s unexpected win in the presidential election in the United States, the date, represents a kind of deliverance.<sup>xxii</sup>

“The myth persists, [in the absence] of free speech [and] poverty of information but [also] for an absence of motivation to ask the questions that challenges the core of scripted narrative of the [region at the behest of Imperial discourses].”<sup>313</sup> The verity endures, division of *spheres of influence*, are the points at which Imperial power carved up the region and promoted the *modern* oppressive systems of governmentality in the region. Their *outsourced* colonialism—by their proxies—perpetuates lack of transparency, government collusion, and destruction of indigenous practices: hallmarks of Matured Democracies’ benign Neoliberalism strategies. But

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<sup>310</sup> Kamat.

<sup>311</sup> Toosi, Nahal. “How the World Fell Out of Love with Obama.” *The Politico.com*. 09, July 2016. Available at: <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/07/barack-obama-world-popularity-cuba-egypt-ukraine-bbc-documentary-214032>

<sup>312</sup> Audience, Nicola Oakley. “11/9 is the new 9/11”: Americans liken Trump’s win to most devastating day in country’s history.” *The Mirror*. 9, November 2016. Available at: <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/119-new-911-americans-liken-9224036>

<sup>313</sup> Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne. *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States*. 2014. Beacon Press.

there are plenty of *internal* blames to go around as well. Imposition of and compliance to sectoral interest of political and economic privileges subverted the local control and amplifies the ethnic divisions that were already exploited by and established favoring the Imperial powers.

The toxic combination of lack of access to basic resources and perceived power imbalances, has reified individual behaviors into structural differences. In the region, the ever-ominous prospects for violence, continues to stretch the fault-lines along the vanishing specter of centuries of political experiences in pluralism. Notwithstanding decades, if not centuries, of inter-religious mixed marriage, the now *built-in normality* of sectarian lines, continues to change the flavors of local economy, and entrenching erroneous patterns of authority and lengthening autocratic rulers reign long after their *sell-by-date*. These *rough equivalencies*—politics, economic, and theology—are creating moral confusions and personal tragedies for many in the region.

By espousing of a dualistic character, formulating and re-evaluating the value *good*, some religious leaders, perpetuate and are responsible for marginalization of their followers, *whilst the* instinctive necessity of *eagle prey on* religious disposition of *the lamb*.

A quantum of power is just such a quantum of drive, will, effect- more precisely it is nothing other than this very driving, willing, effecting, and only through the seduction of language (and the basic errors of reason petrified therein), which understands and misunderstands all effecting as conditioned by an effecting something by a 'subject', can it appear otherwise. <sup>314</sup>

The weaponized religion then becomes incompetent to respond amply to economic, political, ethical, and social crises. Some, once again, become wistful for the authoritarian rulers. *Better the devil you know than the devil you do not.*

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<sup>314</sup>Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm. On the Genealogy of Morality. 1998. *First Treatise: "Good and Evil," "Good and Bad."* Maudemarie Clark and Alan J. Swensen Translators. Hackett Publishing. P 25.

Many in this region, irrespective of differences they may have had harbored, championed the Ottoman Empire as a bulwark against European Imperialism and were loath letting it go.<sup>315</sup> The shattered population of this once mighty empire, also had heard the promise of “*Never Again*” and “*Lest We Forget*” valorizing *only* the sacrifices of Allies’ brave soldiers and resources.<sup>316</sup> *There was oil in them sands*. A thinly disguised new form of colonialism outlined the *routes* toward eventual self-rule, toward eventual independence. Although they paid lip-service to the narrative of Arab strength, Arab aspiration, and Arab struggles, they fully intended to influence these carved out territories for the indefinite future.<sup>317</sup> Independence was integral to defend Arab territory against a resurgent Soviet Union. Arab nationalism, which was born in the waning days of World War I, has now sunk in the swamp of despair and setbacks. But the region will preserve for the time when their aspiration becomes politically feasible.

What also emerged in the region, alongside of its many hues of authoritarianism—dictatorship, monarchy, and theocracy—was the birth of Islamic movements. The Salafi Movement, Muslim Brotherhood, continued the Wahhabis’ puritanical approach to the religion. Decades since, these slants continue to have a profound influence on contemporary events in the Middle East and provide *some of* the ideological foundation for extremist Islamic groups: *Taliban, al-Qaeda, and Daesh*.<sup>318</sup> In this and last final chapter, I will examine three strands in deciphering a general discursive shift in which region’s aspiration ought to be increasingly discussed in the *terms of a people rather than Islam and ideological conflicts*.

## 1. Sunni-Shia: Islam Divided

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<sup>315</sup> Barr, James. *A Line in the Sand: The Anglo-French Struggle for the Middle East, 1914-1948*. 2013. W. W. Norton & Company. New York.

<sup>316</sup> Barr.

<sup>317</sup> Barr.

<sup>318</sup> Lockman, Zachary. *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. 2009. Cambridge University Press; 2 Edition.

2. The Sunni struggle to define Islam’s narrative: Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Egypt
3. Yet another elbow-patched academic *mischaracterization*: Clan Rivalries

Taken together then, the hope of this chapter is to articulate that the Matured Democracies’ interests are better served not to regard the *Arab Spring* as an aberration but as a beckoning to acknowledge that *all forms of terrorism* are but *an ideologically motivated violence that is meant to intimidate*. The path to Enlightenment, the “overlapping territories,” and “intertwined histories,” of *Oxidants Capitalism* and *Orient’s mysticism* can “only be seen from the perspective of the whole of secular human history.”<sup>319</sup>

***Sunni-Shia: Islam Divided***

“Look up here, I’m in heaven  
 I’ve got scars that can’t be seen  
 I’ve got drama, can’t be stolen  
 Everybody knows me now...”<sup>320</sup>

“What happens to a dream deferred?  
 Does it dry up  
 like a raisin in the sun?”<sup>321</sup>

Photographs, especially when used in the context of news reporting, can become tipping points in changing public’s widespread attitudes and awareness.<sup>322</sup> On June 8, 1972, AP photographer Nick Ut took an aesthetic experience of 9-year-old Phan Thị Kim Phúc OOnt, the *Napalm girl*, as she ran from an aerial napalm attack near her village. The iconic photo provided

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<sup>319</sup> Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. 1993. Vintage Books. P.61.

<sup>320</sup> Bowie, David. “*Lazarus*.” *Blackstar*. Columbia. Produced by Tony Visconti and David Bowie. 2016.

<sup>321</sup> Hughes, Langston. “*Harlem*.” *The Collected Works of Langston Hughes*. 1995. Vintage Classics. P 426.

<sup>322</sup> Fahey, Jamie. “*The Guardian’s decision to publish shocking photos of Aylan Kurdi*; Thankfully, it is only rarely that our coverage requires a questionable image to be run in order to truly reflect the gravity of a story. This was one such case.” *The Guardian*. 7, September 2015. Last modified on Wed 29 Nov 2017. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/07/guardian-decision-to-publish-shocking-photos-of-aylan-kurdi>

an embodied transcription of fragmentation, betrayal, and trauma wrought by Vietnam War. A *re-presentation* of the reality of war would have otherwise been known only to soldiers and sufferers.<sup>323</sup> “Technical reproduction can put the copy of the original into situations which would be out of reach for the original itself. Above all, it enables the original to meet the beholder halfway, be it in the form of a photograph or a phonograph record.”<sup>324</sup>

In early September 2015, *another* iconic photo, depicting *another* profoundly upsetting tragedy re-presented Matured Democracies with *another* reminder of their collateral damages. While the casualties in the region became an *abstraction of round numbers*, the nativist in many metropolises relentlessly pursuit their habituated way of life whilst asking: “why do they hate us? They hate our freedom.”<sup>325</sup>

The static three-year old, hoped to join his aunt in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, who had filed for refugee sponsorship of his family.<sup>326</sup> Matured Democracies were once again forced to *confront their responsibility regarding refugees*. Not long after, the picture went “viral and become the top-trending picture on Twitter with the hashtag #KiyiyaVuranInsanlik (*humanity washed ashore*).”<sup>327</sup> Mature Democracies moved on. *Another* dead-child porn elicited a brief but self-satisfied feeling of sadness in the continuum of Matured Democracies *exceptionalism*. The sympathy, *and not empathy*, first spiked and then, it too *died on the vine*.

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<sup>323</sup> Martin, Rachel. “‘Napalm Girl’: An Iconic Image Of War Turns 40.” NPR. 3, June 2012. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/2012/06/03/154234617/napalm-girl-an-iconic-image-of-war-turns-40>

<sup>324</sup> Benjamin, Walter. Illuminations. “*The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*.” [1935(1968)]. Harry Zohn, trans. New York: Schocken Books. Pp. 220-221

<sup>325</sup> Text: President Bush Addresses the Nation. 20, Sept. 2001.

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress\\_092001.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress_092001.html)

Americans are asking “Why do they hate us?” They hate what they see right here in this chamber: a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

<sup>326</sup> Fahey.

<sup>327</sup> Fahey.

The northern Syrian town of Kobani, where the Kurdi Family hailed, became the target of *Daesh* to cleanse their imaginary Caliphate from infidels.<sup>328</sup> The family, *although Shia Muslims*, were considered a splinter sect and their ethnicity, *Kurds*, made the family markedly relevant for extrajudicial punishment.<sup>329xxiii</sup> The picture only depicted the lifeless body of the three-year-old *Aylan*.<sup>330</sup> Attempting to reach the Greek island of Kos, his five-year-old brother, *Galip*, and their mother, *Rehan*, also perished.<sup>331</sup> In the absence of the *Golden Ticket*, the boy in the picture became yet *another* reproduction, emblematic of the desperation that partly encapsulates the extraordinary risks refugees, in an age of increasing globalization, continue to take: endlessly re-contextualizing the *Fortress Europe* and providing a steady income from the lucrative smuggling trade.<sup>332</sup>

Saddam's 1990 excursion into Kuwait—citing historical justification for reclaiming Kuwait as the 19<sup>th</sup> province of Iraq—resulted in the Operation Desert Storm.<sup>xxiv</sup> The West's latest crusade: a campaign thwarting Saddam's foray. The Iraqi Shia and the Kurdish population were recruited as junior partners in the "coalition of the willing."<sup>333</sup> Washington provided a tacit encouragement for internal rebellion usurping Saddam's regime. With Operation Desert Sabre, coalition forces encircled and defeated the invading Iraqi forces, the United Nations declared an end to the war on April 11, 1991: Kuwait was liberated. The same could not be said for the *encouraged insurgencies*. The "coalition of willing" failed to support the uprisings, afraid that

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<sup>328</sup> Smith, Helena. "Shocking images of drowned Syrian boy show tragic plight of refugees." *The Guardian*, 2, September 2015. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/02/shocking-image-of-drowned-syrian-boy-shows-tragic-plight-of-refugees>

<sup>329</sup> Smith.

<sup>330</sup> Fahey.

<sup>331</sup> Fahey.

<sup>332</sup> Carr, Matthew. *Fortress Europe: Dispatches from a Gated Continent*. 2012. The New Press.

<sup>333</sup> Schifferes, Steve. "US names 'coalition of the willing.'" The BBC. 18 March 2003. Available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/2862343.stm>

the Iraqi state would be dissolved if they succeeded.<sup>334</sup>The dissenters were massacred by Saddam's military, and the United States, again, reneged on its pledge to support *another* uprising.<sup>335</sup>

*Daesh* certainly did not forget the Shia and the Kurd's perceived betrayal. Although the region in general and Syria in particular, continues to be the contested grounds for outsiders' interferences, in psyche of the outside world, Kurds are nevertheless *Arab* in genealogy and *Muslim* in practicing faith. A double jeopardy that does not raise the choruses or recall the pledges following the World War I and the 1990s atrocities in the Balkans and Rwanda: *Never Again*. "In Syria, 'Never Again' Has Become 'Never Mind;'" now, "Never Again" has turned into "Ever Again."<sup>336</sup> The UNHCR calculates that some 205,000 Europe-bound refugees have entered Greece, mostly via its outlying Aegean isles, in 2015 alone. The vast majority (69%) are Syrians, Afghans (18 %), along with Iraqis and Somalis fleeing conflict in their countries.<sup>337</sup>

It is oversimplification to view religion sectarianism as *Islamcentric*. In Twelfth Century France, the rift between the two *interpreters* of Christianity—to disseminate their propaganda—introduced the faithful to the Inquisition. A group of institutions within the government system of the Catholic Church was established to combat religious dissent and heresy. Generally, the Inquisition was concerned only with the heretical behavior of Catholic adherents and

<sup>334</sup> Taylor, Alan. "Operation Desert Storm: 25 Years Since the First Gulf War." *The Atlantic*. 14, January 2016. Available at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2016/01/operation-desert-storm-25-years-since-the-first-gulf-war/424191/>; Johns, Dave. Saddam's Road to Hell. "The Crimes of Saddam Hussein." *PBS Frontline*. 24, January 2006. Available at: [https://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/iraq501/events\\_index.html](https://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/iraq501/events_index.html); David H. Finnie, *Shifting Lines in the Sand: Kuwait's Elusive Frontier with Iraq*. 1992. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

<sup>335</sup> Cockburn, Patrick. "Revealed: how the West set Saddam on the bloody road to power." *The Independent*. 28 June 1997. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/revealed-how-the-west-set-saddam-on-the-bloody-road-to-power-1258618.html>

<sup>336</sup> Gutman, Roy. "In Syria, 'Never Again' Has Become 'Never Mind.'" *The Daily Beast*. 2, March 2018. Available at: <https://www.thedailybeast.com/in-syria-never-again-has-become-never-mind>

<sup>337</sup> Smith.

converts.<sup>338</sup>*Religions have and continued to be manipulated to modulate internal and external anxieties of their practitioners.*

Rights associated with personal liberties and redistribution of power emboldened Martin Luther to call for the Protestant Reformation. Skillfully, using the *newly* power of the printed press to spread his ideas, reformation encouraged the principal of resistance against the rulers and which are acting against the will of God.<sup>339</sup> John Calvin continued the Restructuring and ultimately, commercial, territorial, and dynastic rivalries were all cloaked in a religious garb culminating in the Thirty Years' War with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.<sup>340</sup> The teaching of Martin Luther and John Calvin provided the ink for hymn-sheets of the religion's playlist: *faithful must obey God rather than man.* The *Sunni-Shia* divide is just the latest rehearsing from printed hymn-sheets of the religion's playlist.

By many accounts, scriptural religions inculcate spiritual impetus and disciplined duty. The *fundamental* teachings, the purpose of Hermeneutics, continues a dualistic disposition, politics and theology, where each side defines their stances as a manifesto for good contesting the evident evil. Many perished in the dogged pursuit of and impetus for religious martyrdom as well as national identity. Sectarianism then becomes imbricated with aspiration for reaffirmation of regional or local political autonomy and of cultural and religious identity. As I have written elsewhere in this research, after the Prophet Mohammad's death, the search for a *caliph*,

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<sup>338</sup> Given, James Buchanan. *Inquisition and Medieval Society; Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*. 2001. Cornell University Press.

<sup>339</sup> Cameron, Euan. *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps, 1480–1580*. 1984. Clarendon Press.

<sup>340</sup> Cameron.

successor to navigate the political-religious state— *Caliphate*— became an urgent matter.<sup>341</sup>The Shia evolved into a sect, permanently hostile to the orthodox Sunni majority.<sup>342xxv</sup>

What had complicated the line of succession, were the fact that the Prophet, after death of his first wife, *Khadijah*, diplomatically married additional nine further spouses: none resulted in birth of a son, an indisputable heir, complicating the succession. These plutonic marriages were common practice for its time and a prevailing tradition of an advantageous marriage.<sup>343</sup> The consequences of divergent lineage, is also questions of legitimacy. The Twentieth Century and the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> conflicts raging in the region— Iraq, Syria and Yemen— laced with a sectarian dimension trace its genesis to the aftermath of the Prophets death.<sup>344</sup>

As Islam spread across the region and the continents, the dramatic events of the Seventh Century in its birthplace, requires attention for the power struggles that ensued. The two sects who emerged after the death of the Prophet, claimed their rightful legatee to the role of Islam. The lineage of his immediate family become the Shia and his closest multitude and cohort, the Sunni and the irrevocable split.<sup>345</sup>The patina of the Golden Age began to be tarnished. After Ali's death, *Muawiyah*, a relative of *Uthman*, and governor of the province of Syria became the fifth Caliph. Under *Muawiyah*, and for the first time, the pattern of hereditary Islamic dynasty,

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<sup>341</sup> Kadi, Wadad, Aram A., Shahin. "Caliph, caliphate." The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought. Bowering, Gerhard, Patricia Crone et al, Editors. 2013. Pp 80-124 specially: 81–86.

<sup>342</sup> Bell, James. "The World's Muslims: Unity and Diversity." Pew Research Center: Religion & Public Life. 9, August 2012. Available at: <http://www.pewforum.org/2012/08/09/the-worlds-muslims-unity-and-diversity-executive-summary/> ; <http://www.pewforum.org/2012/08/09/the-worlds-muslims-unity-and-diversity-infographic/>

<sup>343</sup> Kennedy, Hugh. The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century. 2004. Routledge; 2 Edition.

<sup>344</sup> Aslan, Reza. No God but God: The Origins, Evolution, and Future of Islam. 2005. Random House.

<sup>345</sup> Aslan.

*Umayyad* dynasty, emerged.<sup>346</sup> Convergences and inter-sect marriages became taboo and those accustomed to live side by side began to be torn apart and disperse throughout the region.<sup>347</sup>

As Muslim armies began their growth extensions, in Europe the emerging dynastic kingdom's populations grew as well. Regional tensions and an expansionist foreign policy began to transform Europe on the eastern peripheries of the Islamic Empire. Enthusiasm for territorial expansion—the opening of new markets—fueled by economic and national security interests, claims of racial and cultural superiority increased ideological conflicts. As conflicting ambitions grinded against one another, the specter of *Manifest Destiny* altered power relationships and increased antagonism. The Muslim enlargement, therefore, had brought the next major incidence of *intertwined histories* and *crash of cultures* with the West. As external pressures began to challenge the seemingly divided empire, the internal division provided another challenge for governmentality of the empire.<sup>348</sup> In areas which were previously under Persian or Byzantine rule, the Caliphs lowered taxes, provided greater local autonomy, greater religious freedom for Jews, indigenous Christians, and brought peace to peoples that were demoralized and disaffected by the casualties and heavy taxation that resulted from the years of Byzantine-Persian warfare.<sup>349</sup>

These privileges were patronizing for many of the original tribes of the Arabian Peninsula. First and foremost, merchants themselves, taxation was a revenue enhancer to the coffers for expansionist policies. These benefits, along with the internal dynamics of division—affiliation with Shia—presented a political turmoil for the Caliphate as well.<sup>350</sup> In the Peninsula, the original Caliphate earned its stripes by association with and pledging alliance to the

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<sup>346</sup> Moojan Momen. *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism*. 1985. Yale University Press.

<sup>347</sup> Moojan.

<sup>348</sup> Donner, Fred. *The Early Islamic Conquests*. 1981. Princeton University Press.

<sup>349</sup> Donner.

<sup>350</sup> Donner.

Prophet—an Arab himself. This Arab tribalism became frayed in 680. When *Muawiyah* died in 680, the Prophet's grandson Husayin refused to pledge allegiance to *Yazid*, who had just been appointed as *Umayyad* caliph.<sup>351</sup> On 10 October 680, in the *Battle of Karbala*, in present-day Iraq, Husayin was killed and beheaded.<sup>352</sup> The massacre of Husayin, his male family, and supporters ultimately undermined the *Umayyad* caliphate's legitimacy.<sup>353</sup> In the Muslim calendar, irrespective of internal division, the Battle of *Karbala* is commemorated by the Day of *Ashura*.<sup>354</sup> In Shia societies, the day is commemorated as a strong source of inspiration for revolutionary movements and martyrdom.<sup>355</sup> That day also saw the irrevocable split between the Shia and the Sunni.<sup>356</sup>

As the Inner-Peninsula rivalries were intensifying, distant principalities were also amplifying their calls and aspirations to reject rules emanating from Mecca. The situational necessities of the principalities required flexibilities that the *establishment* Peninsula Islam was not willing to entertain.<sup>357</sup> Just as with the struggles of early Christianity, Islam's narratives also became divergent on themes of justice contrasted with injustice, loyalty set against treachery, and idealism versus pragmatism. Fourteen centuries hence, the Sunni-Shia divide has become entrenched in epic intergenerational stories. *Both sects are equal partners in having blood of other Muslims on their hand.*

For centuries however, the Sunni and Shia population, lived in same city quarters, intermarried, and worshiped at each other's mosques.<sup>358</sup> Sectarianism today is being used by

<sup>351</sup> Hazleton, Lesley. *After the Prophet: The Epic Story of the Shia-Sunni Split in Islam*. 2009. Doubleday.

<sup>352</sup> Hazleton.

<sup>353</sup> Hazleton.

<sup>354</sup> Moojan Momen. *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism*. 1985. Yale University Press.

<sup>355</sup> Moojan.

<sup>356</sup> Moojan.

<sup>357</sup> Kennedy.

<sup>358</sup> Hazleton.

powerful regional players to achieve their own geo-strategic and political goals as both Muslim sects are witnessing how *religious identities* are changing their *political struggles*. For some in the region, the embracing of Shia Islam was, and has been then a savvy political as well as identity move. By adopting and preserving the Shia Islam, Iran, the inheritors of the Persian Empire continue to contest the puritanical approach of Peninsula Islam. In Iran, Zoroastrian, Jewish, and Christian traditions are practiced alongside the austere traditions of Shia Islam.<sup>359</sup>

***The Sunni struggle to define Islam’s narrative: Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Egypt***

Alcatraz is not an island; it is an idea.<sup>360xxvii</sup>

Muslims saw, and continue to believe, their faith in continuity with Jews and Christians.<sup>361</sup> For Muslims, Muhammad, was to be the last prophet of an ordained monotheistic religion all worshipping the God of Abraham. As the Islam’s territorial expansion rippled, Muslims rejected Greek’s Hellenistic Polytheism religion but embraced its colloquial knowledge.<sup>362</sup> Seeking respite from Byzantine administration, Christians and Jews welcomed and cooperated with their new Muslim Caliphate.<sup>363</sup> Eventually however, Muslims’ political, social and economic privileges began to present fissures “resulting in the crystallization of Islam

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<sup>359</sup> NA. The World Factbook. The Central Intelligence Agency. Available at : <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ir.html>

<sup>360</sup> Deetz, Nanette Bradley. “Record Crowd of 5,000 Attend Annual Indigenous Peoples’ Sunrise Gathering on Alcatraz Island.” *Native News Online*. 24, Nov 2017. Available at: <https://nativenewsonline.net/currents/record-crowd-5000-attend-annual-indigenous-peoples-sunrise-gathering-alcatraz-island/>

<sup>361</sup> Jane Smith. *Historical, Cultural, and Religious Interaction from the Seventh to the Fifteenth Centuries*. The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World. Ed, John L. Esposito. 2009. Oxford University Press.

<sup>362</sup> Saliba, George. *Islamic Science and the Making of Renaissance*. Europe. Library of Congress Webcast. 27, April 2006. Available at: [https://www.loc.gov/today/cyberlc/feature\\_wdesc.php?rec=3883](https://www.loc.gov/today/cyberlc/feature_wdesc.php?rec=3883) ; Saliba, George. *Islamic Science and the Making of Renaissance*. Europe. 2011. The MIT Press.

<sup>363</sup> Jane Smith.

into its own separate religion and identity.”<sup>364</sup>These theological divergences “have continued throughout history to present major challenges to interfaith relationships.”<sup>365</sup> In the Second Millennium of the Common Era, the Christian *dogma* would become even more infamous and antagonistic toward the other two participants of the Abrahamic Covenant.

The Latin Church, plunged in power struggles for supremacy over the Patriarchs of the Eastern Empire, responded favorably to the Byzantine Empire’s request to ward off the advancing Turks.<sup>366</sup> By then, 1066, William of Normandy’s invasion of England, had resulted in the Norman church that had flourished under his reign. Although the newly reformed Church of England remained on good terms with Roman Popes, it certainly adapted its structures to English traditions.<sup>367</sup> In response to Pope Urban II’s plea, Council of Clermont in 1095—to war against Muslims— thousands mostly poor Christians, began traversing Europe in the People’s Crusade.<sup>368</sup>

Disputed accounts place Peter the Hermit, at the helm of the first, *soon to be a cottage industry*, Crusades. The right to monopolize the *religious propaganda* was just as critical as advocating a *Just War* to reclaim Palestine from the Muslims. Peter claimed he had a letter fallen from heaven instructing Christians, in anticipation of the apocalypse, to seize Jerusalem.<sup>369</sup> Participation in such a war was seen as a form of penance that could counterbalance any sins.<sup>370</sup>

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<sup>364</sup> Jane Smith.

<sup>365</sup> Jane Smith.

<sup>366</sup> Lock, Peter. *Companion to the Crusades*. 2006. Routledge; Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The Crusades: A Short History*. 2005. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Yale University Press; Slack, Corliss K. *Historical Dictionary of the Crusades*. 2003. Scarecrow Press. Press 179-180.

<sup>367</sup> Hindley, Geoffrey. *A Brief History of the Crusades: Islam and Christianity in the Struggle for World Supremacy*. 2004. Robinson Publishing. P 20-21.

<sup>368</sup> Hindley.

<sup>369</sup> Hindley. P 228-230.

<sup>370</sup> Mayer, Hans Eberhard. *The Crusades*. 1988. Oxford University Press.

The emergence of *Western* Europe shepherded a significant and contesting power to the well-established Byzantine, Islamic, and Roman Empires to the east. With each Crusade, the rallying call was an acclamation for a spiritual war to further cleanse Christian soul; *thou shall not kill*, transmuted into the violence that *God wanted*. The clash between the *Crescent* and the *Cross* promised the mercenary troop a ticket directly to heaven.<sup>371</sup> On their crusade toward Jerusalem, Peter's crusaders also partook in the first major outbreak of European anti-Semitism—the Rhineland massacres.<sup>372</sup> Although other ethnic identities, including Arabs, are also Semites, it was not until 1879 that the German agitator Wilhelm Marr coined Anti-Semitism giving the ideology a wider currency and a precise focus *solely on Jews*.<sup>373</sup>

The First Crusade achieved its goal with the capture of the Holy Land, Jerusalem, in 1099.<sup>374</sup> The *campaign*, however, by many accounts went on for another *few hundred years*.<sup>375</sup> Its genesis began with principles of *Just War* originated by the writings of Christian theologians likes of Saint Augustine and through-lined with Saint Thomas Aquinas in constant dialogue with classical Greek and Roman philosophers likes of Plato and Cicero.<sup>376</sup> The religious rivalry initially was theological; it soon also became political.

The infusion of Hellenistic Polytheism into the Roman Empire meant continued social segregation of Jews for their refusal to acknowledge the gods and to worship emperors as god.<sup>377</sup> Judaism, beginning with Julius Caesar and followed through Augustus, was officially recognized

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<sup>371</sup> Asbridge, Thomas. *The Crusades: The Authoritative History of the War for the Holy Land*. 2010. Ecco.

<sup>372</sup> Slack, Corliss K. *Historical Dictionary of the Crusades*. 2013. Scarecrow Press. pp. 108–09; Chazan, Robert. *European Jewry and the First Crusade*. 1996. U. of California Press. pp. 55–58.

<sup>373</sup> Chanes, Jerome A. “Historical Narrative and Chronology.” *Antisemitism: A Reference*. 2004. ABC-CLIO; Pp 25-55, 78.

<sup>374</sup> Lock.

<sup>375</sup> Asbridge.

<sup>376</sup> Hindley; Asbridge.

<sup>377</sup> Meier; Tabor.

as a legal religion, and were generally accepted into the Roman Empire.<sup>378</sup> With the rise of Christianity, however, non-insurgent believers faced increased restrictions. With the crucifixion of Jesus, the two religions were soon embroiled in rivalries. The Jewish–Roman wars and revolts eventually caused the irrevocable rift with the Romans, capping in destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem in the year 70, CE, and the subsequent exile of Jews. The demoralizing defeat, a sign of divine punishment, deflected and replaced Roman responsibility with Jewish culpability in the death of Jesus.<sup>379</sup>

The refusal of the Jewish majority to fully embrace the proselytization of Jesus, culminated in the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. The First Jewish–Roman War, *Christian self-understanding became predicated* on a formulaic statement, “His blood be on us and on our children,” that cried out for vengeance and punishment and not reconciliation.<sup>380</sup> Explicitly and implicitly, Jews were depicted as killers of the Son of God, and within a millennium, this depiction and sign of disloyalty emerged in medieval Europe as the “*blood libel*.”<sup>381</sup> Christianity was intent on replacing Judaism by making its own particular message *universal*. The seeds of puritanical approach to the religion were planted in the soils of Europe and, eventually, the self-definition of the Christian triumphalism germinated into its national and political cultures.

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<sup>378</sup> Meier, John P. *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, Vol I. 1991. Doubleday. Pp. 57-88; Tabor, James. *The Jewish Roman World of Jesus*. “*The Jewish World of Jesus: An Overview*.” *The University of North Carolina at Charlotte*. Available at: <https://pages.uncc.edu/james-tabor/the-jewish-world-of-jesus-an-overview/>; “*Hellenistic / Roman Religion & Philosophy; Divine Men, Heroes, & Gods*.” Available at: <https://pages.uncc.edu/james-tabor/hellenistic-roman-religion-philosophy/>; “*Ancient Judaism; Josephus on 1st Century Roman Palestine*.” Available at: <https://pages.uncc.edu/james-tabor/ancient-judaism/>

<sup>379</sup> Meier; Tabor.

<sup>380</sup> NA. “*Matthew 27:24-25; Pilate Hands Jesus over to Be Crucified*.” Revised Standard Version (RSV) *Bible Gateway*. Available at: <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Matthew%2027:24%E2%80%9325&version=rsv>

<sup>381</sup> Chanes, Jerome A. “*Historical Narrative and Chronology*.” *Antisemitism: A Reference*. 2004. ABC-CLIO; Pp 25- 55, 78; (Matthew 27:25) ;

“The Holy Roman Empire is neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire.”<sup>382</sup> Byzantine Emperors were seated in Constantinople; Constantinople emperors consider themselves *not the Byzantine Empire* but the inheritor to the Roman Empire.<sup>383</sup> Western Europe was composed of eclectic Germanic kingdoms. In the Byzantine time, there was only the Bishop of Rome. For Rome however, the church in Rome, according to tradition, was founded by Peter, first amongst the apostles. The Bishop of Rome therefore, for the practitioners, was the Pope of Rome and leader of all of Christianity.<sup>384</sup> Nevertheless, the continued Muslim incursions, presented the Byzantine Empire and the Byzantine emperor as significantly weaker to Rome.<sup>385</sup>

What followed were centuries of increasing divisions to encapsulate and construct a Christian dogma, not only to contest Islamic teaching and advancement but a pentarchy, five centers of Christianity, to collectively lead Christendom.<sup>386</sup> Primacy over Christendom continued to divide Europe into East and West yet all along placed reason and faith at the center of man’s quest for truth. That truth was God and God’s will.<sup>387</sup>

The struggle against the Muslims, to limit their advances to the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa, further served to strengthen Christian minority egotism. Nevertheless, the relationship between faith and reason further became strained as *Europe* came to their own with the fall of the Western Roman Empire, in Fifth Century CE.<sup>388</sup> Accepting scriptural revelation as true, dominated the philosophical and theological discourses for nearly next eight hundred years and cemented with the emergence of the continent after the Renaissance.<sup>389</sup> The Medieval

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<sup>382</sup> Voltaire. Available at: [https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/voltaire\\_140970](https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/voltaire_140970)

<sup>383</sup> Mayer; Asbridge; Slack.

<sup>384</sup> Mayer; Asbridge; Slack.

<sup>385</sup> Mayer; Asbridge; Slack.

<sup>386</sup> Mayer; Asbridge; Slack.

<sup>387</sup> Mayer; Asbridge; Slack.

<sup>388</sup> Mayer; Asbridge; Slack.

<sup>389</sup> Mayer; Asbridge; Slack.

European literature is reflective of these turbulent time and profound Christian vision of humankind's temporal and eternal destiny. A brief respite occurred when Pope Leo III, reciprocating Charlemagne, King of the Franks' protection, crowning him the Holy Roman Emperor of the West. A decision that was not approved in Constantinople.<sup>390</sup>

Nearly three centuries later, the tenuous Christianity's *sectarian* peace was to be erased with the Great Schism of 1054.<sup>391</sup> By then, the non-insurgent believers had only hastened the discussions of rhetoric to moral philosophy and Christian philosophers revived and reinforced the dialogue with the classical tradition: an innate desire that prompts the soul's desire to return to God.<sup>392</sup> The many Crusades were not only about defeating the occupying Muslims and Muslim controlled territories, but also to establish Crusader Kingdoms and principalities. Many of the conquered territories were never returned to the Byzantine Empire.<sup>393</sup> The sacking of Byzantines' capital, Constantinople, by the Crusaders in 1204 cemented the Christian sectarian divide.<sup>394</sup>

Augustinian themes, a Saint and a follower of Manicheism, a dualistic religion with Persian origins, was revived by Saint Thomas Aquinas.<sup>395</sup> The relation between faith and reason, theologian discourses in scriptural religions, continues to be the hermeneutical suspicion of secular and pivot on the truths that are authoritatively conveyed by *revelation* as revealed by God.<sup>396</sup> Thomas Aquinas's starting points, Augustinian principles that are held to be true based on faith, was the Trojan Horse that Dante employed in his lyrical works.

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<sup>390</sup> Mayer; Asbridge; Slack.

<sup>391</sup> Mayer; Asbridge; Slack.

<sup>392</sup> Mayer; Asbridge; Slack.

<sup>393</sup> Mayer; Asbridge; Slack.

<sup>394</sup> Mayer; Asbridge; Slack.

<sup>395</sup> Lock; Slack.

<sup>396</sup> Lock; Slack.

For nearly a millennium, the church—priest and monks seldom nuns— not only ascertained the purpose of literature but safeguarded representors, scribes, or readers of religious books.<sup>397</sup> The church not only established the purpose of literature but preserved it. Theological works were the dominant genre exulting the church or chivalric feudalism.<sup>398</sup> There is a glaring absence of women’s voice: “[s]he had nothing to say. She probably, maybe she wasn’t *allowed* to have anything to say. You tell me.”<sup>399</sup> Literature and science have always been used for social and political purposes, agendas, and ideologies; it continues, historically, not to be blameless. It was not until the early centuries of Second Millennium, CE, that scholars have witnessed “solid evidence of individual European laywomen of the upper classes who read and owned books.”<sup>400</sup>

“Lightning and thunder require time; the light of the stars requires time, deeds though done, still require time to be seen and heard.”<sup>401</sup> It was in the writings of Dante that relation between faith and reason became strictly theological rather than a philosophical discourse.<sup>402</sup> In Hell, we come across gluttons, thieves, murderers likes of Brutus and Judas.<sup>403</sup> We meet the wise and nobles, likes of Homer, Socrates, and Plato sentenced for the simple reason that they were pagans.<sup>404</sup> We also are reintroduced to Mohammad and Ali, the high-priests of a *soi-disant* religion: Islam.<sup>405</sup> We also once again, witness the glaring absence of women.

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<sup>397</sup> Green, Dennis Howard. *Women Readers in the Middle Ages*. 2008. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature; 1st Edition. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>398</sup> Green.

<sup>399</sup> Yuhas, Alan. “*Trump attacks Muslim father's Democratic convention speech.*” *The Guardian*. 31, July 2016. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/30/donald-trump-muslim-father-khizr-khan-democratic-convention-speech> Emphasis added. Ghazala Khan later said in a TV interview that she did not speak because she was still in too much pain over losing her son.

<sup>400</sup> Bell Groag, Susan. “Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture.” *Signs*. Vol. 7, No. 4 (Summer, 1982), Pp. 742-768. The University of Chicago Press. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3173638> Accessed: 20-01-2020

<sup>401</sup> Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Gay Science*. 1974. Walter Kaufmann trans. Vintage Books. New York. #125, P 120.

<sup>402</sup> Ziolkowski.

<sup>403</sup> Alighieri, Dante. *The Divine Comedy (The Inferno, The Purgatorio, and The Paradiso)*. 2003. Translator: John Ciardi. Berkley; 1<sup>st</sup> edition.

<sup>404</sup> Dante.

<sup>405</sup> Dante.

All who are *condemned to hell*, have no chance of finding themselves on the path to Purgatory where any one sentenced to Hell and inferno, is purged of sin before he, if he is lucky, makes the ascent to Paradise.<sup>406</sup> They all must remain behind because *without faith in Christ*, they cannot achieve purity; it is Jesus that is rising above his fallen world and his true believers.<sup>407</sup> For those who accepted Scriptural revelation as true, *Divina Commedia*, presented a theological argument of Christian triumphalism, cloaked in a philosophical discourse that for so long, has been used as a cudgel against Muslims.

In a region, where conspiracy theories and symbolism—the imaginary Sykes–Picot border crossing—are omnipresent, Dante’s indictment of the prophet continues to resonate with the younger generation of the self-proclaimed Jihadist. “It would require almost unimaginable contortions to view the portrayal of Muhammad and Ali as anything other than a categorical denunciation of Islam, not even as a legitimate faith in its own right but as a degradation of a bona fide religion.” The sacking of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453, ended the reign of Byzantine Empire and the dawning of the Ottomans. For the Europeans, the *Age of Exploration* was in its earnest.

Commander of Muslim forces during the third phase of the Crusades, *Salah al-Din*, became a legend for his strategic and diplomatic successes; establishing the *Ayyubid* Dynasty, unifying Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia into a single Caliphate.<sup>408</sup> In today’s Islamic literature and certainly in jihadist propaganda, “the bloody story of the crusaders sacking Antioch and Jerusalem and slaughtering all its inhabitants is increasingly depicted” with vehemence “as one of Western warriors consumed with Christian hatred, bent on eradicating Muslims and usurping

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<sup>406</sup> Dante.

<sup>407</sup> Dante.

<sup>408</sup> Lock.

their land.”<sup>409</sup>For individuals bent on “sanctioning violence as a means of restoring truth,” the many Crusades “provides an image of a West not so much interested in guiding Muslims away from their errant ways or debating the efficacy or truth of their beliefs as much as eradicating them.”<sup>410</sup>

Certain periods saw, reciprocal and harmonious interactions among the three Abrahamic faiths. But it was “soon supplanted by the tensions, prejudices, and ill treatment of minorities by both Muslims and Christians that more often have characterized relationships between the communities.”<sup>411</sup> Nevertheless, until the present day, “it has been politics that has dominated thinking on both sides, and a legacy of confrontation, distrust, and misunderstanding has prevailed.”<sup>412</sup> The continued vitriolic narratives in *Matured Democracies*, expresses *Islamophobia* “by ignorant and uninformed Christians aghast at the rise of Islam and by their descendants who suffered defeat by Muslims in the Crusades and beyond.”<sup>413</sup>

Following the Fall of Constantinople, northern Italian city-states with its social and civic peculiarities—the Medici and Borgia—encouraged the migration of Greek scholars and texts.<sup>414</sup> Although the European Renaissance tables a complex historiography, the cultural revival became a major influence in the transmission of civilization that sparked a historical delineation.<sup>415</sup> The revitalization was further enhanced with the exodus of the scholars from the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>416</sup>

Queen Isabella’s marriage to Ferdinand of Aragon united the many dominions of Spain and her ascension to a dominant world power. Europe’s demographic, cultural, and economic

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<sup>409</sup> Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck. *The Globalization of Islam: The Return Of Muslims To The West*. The Oxford History of Islam. Ed. John L. Esposito. 1999. Oxford University Press. P 601-641

<sup>410</sup> Haddad.

<sup>411</sup> Jane Smith.

<sup>412</sup> Jane Smith.

<sup>413</sup> Jane Smith.

<sup>414</sup> Norwich, John Julius. *A Short History of Byzantium*. 1998. Vintage; Reprint edition.

<sup>415</sup> Norwich

<sup>416</sup> Norwich.

degradation—the Dark Ages—were now fully in rear-view mirror as the wind in the sails provided propulsive force to encourage vigorous European colonial activity throughout the globe. The stage was set for Europe’s *linear progress*; the golden era of Europe’s global dominance and the emergence of Atlantic nations and Western Civilization; a period of great prosperity and imperial supremacy for *Christian Europe*.<sup>417</sup>

The *Conquistadors*, the Atlantic Slave Trade, along with other Europe’s colonial enterprises, introduced many corners of the globe to the European settlers. Often, in direct opposition to *their* Metropoles, settlers tried to impose social structures organized along racial lines upon the indigenous population. In this way, they ensured their political, social, and economic privileges. Following the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, another component to these newly imposed structures was introduced. *Limpieza de sangre*—purity of blood wrought a *particular* form of pre-modern racism.<sup>418</sup>

Some Spanish Jews however—after a severe persecution in the late Fourteenth and early Fifteenth centuries— partly because of their occupations and partly because they agreed to conversion to Christianity, avoided expulsion from Spain in the 1490s. Many *conversos* achieved wealth, honor and position because the Spanish bureaucracy was corruptible.<sup>419</sup> Muslims, however, were not given such option of conversion. Final expulsion of Muslims from Andalusia caused the Muslim community to take an inward turn to self-reflection and narrowing “interpretations of the Qur’an and Islamic law, resulting in growing intolerance.”<sup>420</sup>

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<sup>417</sup> Tremlett, Giles. *Isabella of Castile: Europe’s First Great Queen*. 2017. Bloomsbury USA.

<sup>418</sup> Fredrickson, George M. “*The Rise of Modern racism(s)*.” *Racism: A Short History*. 2002. Princeton University press. Pp 32-54

<sup>419</sup> Martínez María Elena. “*The Emergence of the Spanish Statutes of Limpieza de Sangre*.” *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*. 2008. Stanford University Press. Pp 25-41.

<sup>420</sup> Jane Smith.

It was around this time that the works of Greek Philosophers, the likes of Aristotle and Plato, made their way *from the Islamic world back to Europe*.<sup>421</sup> Translated from Arabic into Latin, the recovery of Aristotle, alongside the teachings of Islamic philosophers, the likes of Al Farabi enriched the Renaissance: it also helped to galvanize supremacy of the Holy See.<sup>422</sup> The reconciliation of Islam's teaching with philosophies of ancient Greek thought would come to have a big influence on Thomas Aquinas.<sup>423</sup>

The Venetian sojourner, Marco Polo, radically altered the Medieval Europe's ideas of the world. Traversing the *Silk Road*, provided Polo and eventually Europeans, not only new vistas but also encouraged Western European merchants, with possibilities for contesting epoch's age-old Arab trading monopoly. It was during the Age of Discovery that Polo's array and diversity of new geographic information were widely employed of the late Fifteenth and the Sixteenth centuries. For the Europeans, the windfalls of their *discoveries*, facilitated innovations that eventually ushered the Industrial Revolution.<sup>424</sup> With their *soft power* all but diminished as well, Arab and Muslim identities, along with Islam were relegated to wander in the deserts of the civilization. For nearly four centuries, the region then, became just another stop on the eventual *Orient Express* along the *Silk Road* with *Orientalism* as its final destination. It was not until the early decades of the Twentieth Century that the Arabs and the Middle East, once again began to flex its muscles.

For the triumphant Christian Europeans, the Enlightenment was the next terminus for their *maturing train*—on both side of the Atlantic Pond. From the late Seventeenth thru the Eighteenth century, this intellectual movement emphasizing reason, individualism, and

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<sup>421</sup> Fakhry, Majid. *A History of Islamic Philosophy*. 2004. Third edition. Columbia University Press.

<sup>422</sup> Fakhry.

<sup>423</sup> Fakhry.

<sup>424</sup> Zafirovski, Milan. *The Enlightenment and Its Effects on Modern Society*. 2010. Springer.

skepticism became all the vogue.<sup>425</sup> The European philosophers commenced a departure away from feudalism and absolute monarchies and towards societies based on liberty and equality.<sup>426</sup> This cerebral *crusade* and undertaking firmly, presented a challenge to traditional religious views, espousing constitutional government, and clear separation of church and state: the philosophical basis of the American Revolution.<sup>427</sup> Well nested in the Enlightenment's *misinformation virus*, was the idea of a "great chain," —*lex continui*— that centuries ago was expressed by Aristotle.<sup>428</sup>

For the *Father of Western Philosophy*, the ambition was to organize celestial and terrestrial into "great chain of being" beginning with inanimate objects and ending with humans and the heavenly beings at the highest rank.<sup>429</sup> Eventually however, the hierarchical "great chain of being" paved the way for new theories of race. What also hatched from Enlightenment were moral and political rules of behavior.<sup>430</sup> The French Revolution in 1789, and the subsequent Reign of Terror, reluctantly questioned some of the premises of Enlightenment's *social contract* but left intact, for now, the ability of the individual to live morally by one's own choice and not because a divine requirement.<sup>431</sup>

*Practitioners of Enlightenment* saw themselves as bringers of civilization, cudgeling erudition to poor benighted *Other*. Responding to the preceding centuries', if not a millennium, of religious conflicts, particularly in the crucible of Europe, the movement sought to curtail the

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<sup>425</sup> Zafirovski, Milan. *The Enlightenment and Its Effects on Modern Society*. 2010. Springer.

<sup>426</sup> Zafirovski

<sup>427</sup> Zafirovski; Robert A. Ferguson, *The American Enlightenment, 1750–1820*. 1994. Harvard University Press.

<sup>428</sup> Wilkins, John S. "Species and the Birth of Modern Science." *Species: A History of the Idea*. 2011. University of California Press.

<sup>429</sup> Wilkins. P 51.

<sup>430</sup> Zafirovski.

<sup>431</sup> Zafirovski.

political power of organized religion and instead a cerebral crusade based in instinctive morals: truisms only emanating from full embracement.<sup>432</sup>

Repeaters of the cliché: “[r]eligious suffering is, at one and the same time, the *expression* of real suffering and a *protest* against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people,” *ignore* “[t]he abolition of religion as the *illusory* happiness of the people is the demand for their *real* happiness. To call on them to give up their illusions about their condition is to call on them to *give up a condition that requires illusions*. The criticism of religion is, therefore, *in embryo, the criticism of that vale of tears* of which religion is the *halo*,” at their own peril.<sup>433</sup> “Religion is only the illusory Sun which revolves around man as long as he does not revolve around himself.”<sup>434</sup>

The faith of the Ottoman Empire was sealed with the ending of World War I, British and French Empires asserted their power in the Arab world: carving up the regions.<sup>435</sup> The United States’ President, Woodrow Wilson, also amplified the calls of self-determination for the peoples subjugated by the Ottoman Empire.<sup>436</sup> Although the edges of the Arabian Peninsula had been nibbled by the colonial power, the Arabian Peninsula was never colonized *per se*. In 1902, *Abdel Aziz Ibn Saud*, began his quest to, once more, unify the population.<sup>437</sup> Within thirty years, a state *bearing his name* dawned on the global stage with oil production lubricating and enriching its

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<sup>432</sup> Israel, Jonathan I. *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy*. 2010. Princeton.

<sup>433</sup> Marx, Karl. *Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy Of Right.'* 1970. Joseph O'Malley (Editor, Translator), Annette Jolin (Translator). *Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics*. Oxford University Press; *Works of Karl Marx 1843*: Available at:

[https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx\\_Critique\\_of\\_Hegels\\_Philosophy\\_of\\_Right.pdf](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx_Critique_of_Hegels_Philosophy_of_Right.pdf)

<sup>434</sup> Marx.

<sup>435</sup> Lockman.

<sup>436</sup> Muir BBC.

<sup>437</sup> Mansfield, Peter. *The Arabs*. [1976] 1992. Penguin Books; 3rd edition.

ambitions. The current king, King Salman, is the end of the line of sons of the founder of the Kingdom. Britain, however, continued its influence on the region. The heartland of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey, “[n]arrowly avoided its own dismemberment—largely through the indomitable leadership of one man,” Kemal Atatürk. A secular Sunni field marshal, securing the victory at the Battle of Gallipoli, during World War I, began forging the modern state of Turkey.<sup>438</sup>

In 1942, the Casablanca conference witnessed the independence of Morocco.<sup>439</sup> The following year The Cairo Conference, mapped out the future postwar Middle East. By selecting Egypt, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill placed emphasis on and recognition for the Egyptian revolution of 1919 and her prominence in the Arab world.<sup>440</sup> Although Britain recognized Egypt’s self-rule in 1922, she refused to concede full sovereignty of the Suez Canal Zone or Sudan, leading to another Egyptian revolution in 1952 and the rise of *Gamal Abdel Nasser* and *Nasserism*.<sup>441</sup>

By then however, Arab Nationalism and Arab Islamism had taken strong roots in the region. The foundation of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928, by a young teacher called *Hasan al-Banna*—an Arab Islamist, was followed by the development of *Ba’athism*, 1947.<sup>442</sup> The political movement, its formation by *Michel Aflaq*, a Syrian philosopher and Arab nationalist crowded the scène for the issues of economic justice and the struggles to win the *hearts and minds* of the Arab polities.<sup>443</sup> As *Aflaq* was outlying *Ba’ath’s* ambitions and cannon, *Sayyid-al-Qutb*, in a short

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<sup>438</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>439</sup> Rogan, Eugene. *The Arabs: A History*. 2011. Basic Books; Reprint edition.

<sup>440</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>441</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>442</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>443</sup> Mansfield.

stint in Greeley Colorado, studying at now Northern Colorado University, wrote a critical evaluation of America and a warning to the Egyptian society.<sup>444</sup>

Many of the Nationalist and Islamist leaders, spent significant amount of time living or studying in the Western world. The dreaded experiences of the *Cold War* were leaving the region in a *cold freeze* of political malaise, cultural and developmental subjectification.<sup>445xxviii</sup> The new horizon emerging in the region revealed a terrain comprised of collective consciousness that were overtaken by its discontinuities: *the religion and nationalism were now weaponized*. With the rise of Arab nationalism and Arab Islamism, many in the region sought heroes and martyrs to fill the vacuum of dignity and self-worth they perceived as being absconded. Likes of *Nasser, Aflaq, and al-Qutb* underscored a litany of Arab's unmet needs, unmet expectation, *broken promises* of Imperial powers, and for some of modernity.

What was played out in the Europe during her self-discovery and triumphalism of Christendom—the Dark Ages—is now playing out in the Middle East with Sunni Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt and Shia Iran Juxtaposed with Matured Democracies neo-conservative and *over-inflated Norman Rockwell* sense of self-worth. The dysfunctional triangulation in the Middle East, continues with the Matured Democracies' narcissism and the Sunni-Shia divide. There is a combustible element in nationalism; Shia Islam theology augments this component with martyrdom. The creed that is better to sacrifices one's life in pursuit of justice rather than living with injustice.

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<sup>444</sup> Siegel, Robert. NPR. "Sayyid Qutb's America: Al Qaeda Inspiration Denounced U.S. Greed, Sexuality." 6, May 2003. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1253796>

<sup>445</sup> Foucault, Michel. "What is Critique?" *The Politics of Truth*, 2007, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. ed. Lotringer, Sylvère and Lysa Hochroth. Semiotext(e), New York. Pg 41-82; Butler, Judith P. "An Account of Oneself." *Giving an Account of Oneself*, 2005. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. Fordham University Press. Pg 3-41.

Ideologies and emotional responses have and continue to fan many sectarian flames. Religions have and continue to be manipulated to modulate internal and external anxieties of their practitioners, particularly those deeply disenchanted with disillusionment. These kinetic responses, however, are not bound by geography or time and its generalization in Mature Democracies, is often stripped from their particularity. There is widespread caricature and stereotyping particularly of neighbors' religious beliefs or practices; some of this is a continuation of an atheistic technique of blaming or ridiculing religion, but some of it is a deliberate tactic of building *enemy images* and thereby whipping up judgmental attitudes or even group hatred.

***Clan Revelries: The Drifting Identities***

“You can’t rob a bank on charm and personality; I rob banks because that’s where the money is.”<sup>446</sup>

“I am an invisible man... When they approach me, they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination—indeed, everything and anything except me.”<sup>447</sup>

Queen Isabella was resolute in homogenizing her kingdom: pure Catholic—culturally and religiously.<sup>448</sup> Arguably then, under Isabella’s reign, the first *Clash of Civilization* occurred. The conquistadors drove the Moors and Jews out of Spain; the Inquisition set up the boundary between Catholic and Christian Europe: the *Them* and the *Other*.<sup>449</sup> The *Reconquista* ended just

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<sup>446</sup> Willie Sutton was an accomplished bank robber. This quote was published in The Saturday Evening Post in January 1951. NA. [Quote Investigator](https://quoteinvestigator.com/2013/02/10/where-money-is/). Available at: <https://quoteinvestigator.com/2013/02/10/where-money-is/>

<sup>447</sup> Ellison, Ralph. *The Invisible Man*. [1952, (1995)]. Vintage Books; 2nd edition. P 3.

<sup>448</sup> Tremlett.

<sup>449</sup> Tremlett.

before the European *discovery* of the Americas—the “New World”—which ushered in the era of the Portuguese and Spanish colonial empires. Columbus’s journey started the shift in global power toward the Atlantic Nations—building empires and Western Civilization.<sup>450</sup> “The history of all hitherto existing society [became] the history of” and continues to be ideological struggles.<sup>xxix</sup>

These competing rivalries ought to be seen through the lens of influence and power that now, describes one’s nationality and the extent it matters. Such framing, will only, pulsate and venerate the spiral toward a terrifying inevitable crescendo “*The Clash of Civilizations,*” and “*The End of History and the Last Man.*”<sup>451</sup> The adherence to objectivity and balance cannot privilege rivalries and opposition at the expense of thousands of years of cooperation and exchange. *Ignoring this off-ramp,* is problematic because it frames the region in oversimplified histories and identities; ignoring that they have always been fluid and overlapping.<sup>452</sup>

The *misinformation virus* intersects with the wars of religion coincided with an age of expansion, as European explorers conquered *discovered* territories, they reshaped the political and economic map of the world. The expansion of the new plantation settlement initiated by a militantly Protestant and Catholic *discoverers* continues the long legacy of enmity imbricated and stewed for centuries in the caldron of economics, politics, and indigenous origin stories and religion. The latter, however, continues to *exaggerate* the religious dimension of conflict rather

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<sup>450</sup> Tremlett.

<sup>451</sup> Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. 1996. Simon & Schuster; Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*. 1992. Free Press.

<sup>452</sup> Berman, Paul. *Terror and Liberalism*. 2004. W. W. Norton & Company; Garton Ash, Timothy. *History of the Present*. 2000. Penguin. p 388-389; Said, Edward. “The Clash of Ignorance; Labels like “Islam” and “the West” serve only to confuse us about a disorderly reality.” *The Nation*. 4, October 2001. Available at: <https://www.thenation.com/article/clash-ignorance/>

Said, Edward, W. *From Oslo to Iraq and the Road Map*. 2004. Pantheon. New York.

than the political and economic elements. The *heritage* and *baggage* of former empires and memories of Holy Wars are constant themes in political and social discourse in the region.

There is another *inflating* trend that is percolating in intellectual endeavor of frontiers. Resurgence and revival of a cottage industry of Middle East *experts*, elbow-patched academics lockstep with the anachronistic moralities, ideologies, and inconsistencies of the Cold War Era. This self-serving petri dish is culturing *misinformation virus* with their desired ingredients of dichotomies and binaries. *Tribes* and *Clans* without an acute understanding of group's disillusionment and lack of access to different socioeconomic and political representation just oversimplifies and amplifies *Social Predestination*.<sup>453</sup> *The Clash of Civilizations*, the *Sectarian Divide*, and now *Tribes* and *Clan* is but a metastasizing of the *Linear Progress* hypothesis. A postulation that supposedly leads aspirants to capitalism and liberal democracy.<sup>454</sup> The problematic reductionist natures of these binaries are that development is certainly manifestations of intelligence or intellectual deficiency. These binaries are technocratic ways in which policy makers and economists can, with precision, measure human possibilities.

After the Second World War, whereas the United States, with direct financial aid, began assisting *Christian* European economic recovery, those in the Middle East, suffering from the *collateral damages of precision guided munitions and military operations*, were mostly left to fend for themselves.<sup>455</sup> In January 1947, President Truman appointed George Marshall, to coordinate, with the newly formed United Nations, humanitarian assistance and strategies “to

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<sup>453</sup> The 20th-century American philosopher and educator John Dewey, rumination that: “Is the principal aim of education to provide a padded yoke for the state’s preexisting workforce? Or is it, all things considered, to improve our lives?”

Fesmire, Steven. “Education isn’t a commodity for labor.” *The Conversation*. 31, August 2017. Available at: <http://theconversation.com/education-isnt-a-commodity-for-labor-79606>

<sup>454</sup> Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*. 2006. Reissue Edition. Free Press.

<sup>455</sup> Mansfield; Rogan.

rebuild the economies and spirits of western Europe.”<sup>456</sup> The belief was that “the key to restoration of political stability lay in the revitalization of national economies,” and by doing so, blunt “the advances of communism in that region.”<sup>457</sup> The region was the White-Christian Europe. Administrative and technical assistance provided nearly \$13 billion in aid, resulting in investment in industrial capacity in Europe. Marshall Plan funding ended in 1951.<sup>458</sup> Nevertheless, it was greatly instrumental in the European economic recovery. Within a decade after the Second World War, European economies grew at an unprecedented rate. Trade relations led to the formation of the North Atlantic alliance, the embryonic North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the prosperity witnessed by coal and steel industries ushered the eventual emergence of the European Union (EU).<sup>459</sup>

In the Middle East, the ancestor’s scars and historical traumas, presented insurmountable obstacles for the marginally integrated and newly decolonized nation-state into the international political economy. The beneficiaries of colonial recognition became preoccupied with the protection of their class interests: *irrespective of sect*.<sup>460</sup> This in turn meant that any impetus toward shifting the marginal position of the newly independent states in the international politico-economic system was just as elusive as the shifting sands of the desert. The combination of embryonic state institutional capacity and stability, and the debilitating consequences, lack of, economic development therefore meant the elite exploited state power to compensate and reward their associates.<sup>461</sup> The Cold War superpower’s politics meant buttressing the militaries and military strongmen. Supporting *Their Sons of Bitches* meant, supporting these rulers *irrespective*

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<sup>456</sup> NA. The George C. Marshall Foundation. Available at: <http://marshallfoundation.org/marshall/the-marshall-plan/>

<sup>457</sup> Marshall Foundation.

<sup>458</sup> Marshall Foundation.

<sup>459</sup> Marshall Foundation.

<sup>460</sup> Rogan, Eugene. *The Arabs: A History*. 2011. Basic Books

<sup>461</sup> Rogan.

*of their governance qualities.* The only means by which the aspiring population could envision upward-mobility was to join the military or be a member of the bureaucratic apparatus: “*because that’s where the money [was].*” The pursuit of economic development was therefore basically sidelined. For many of these newly formed states, the lack of a material resource meant that their indigenous industries and economies *continued to be manipulated* by firms from their former colonial rulers.<sup>462</sup>

The belief in a liberal and westward looking period in the Arab world began to lose credibility and steam. Once again, many in the region who had been influenced by Matured Democracies ideals, were increasingly becoming hostile to their power. As many ordinary people remained impoverished, modernization only meant caving or capitulating to the newly emerged *Brave New World* order.<sup>463</sup> Nasser led the 1952 coup d’état that overthrow of the monarchy but also institutionalized the role of military in the Arab countries. The introduction of far-reaching land reforms could not ameliorate the astonishing defeat of the army in the 1948 Arab–Israeli War. The war, for many in the region was viewed at fulfilling the unmet promises of the Balfour Declaration for Palestinian independence, resulting in their subsequent *Al-Nakba*—the catastrophe.<sup>464</sup> The Palestinian refugees were the result of incompetent Arab leaders who, in the eyes of many in the region, failed to redeem themselves: and so now, new, harder-edged ideals and ideologies began to emerge.<sup>465</sup>

The 1956 Nationalization of the Suez Canal, by many accounts was a blow to British interest and emergence of *secular* Arab demagogues.<sup>466</sup> Although many continued to chafe

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<sup>462</sup> Chalcraft, John. *Popular Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. 2016. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>463</sup> Chalcraft.

<sup>464</sup> Chalcraft.

<sup>465</sup> Chalcraft.

<sup>466</sup> Chalcraft.

against colonial power, it seemed that with the emergence of an *Arab Messiah*, *Nasser*, the revenge had been exacted. The embodiment of Arab Nationalism, ideology and culture, distribution of power inspired a flotilla of movements in the region.<sup>467</sup> For a brief period, there were murmurs of Arab unity and Pan-Arabism.<sup>468</sup> “It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair,” the Arabs had everything before them.<sup>469</sup>

The union of Egypt and Syria ushered in the era of Pan-Arab nationalism; with Iraq, Jordan, and Lebanon soon to enter the constellation.<sup>470</sup> There were talks of eradicating inequality and the erasure and disposal of old social classes. There was political maneuvering—socialism, Marxism, and Communism fervors that promised redistribution of wealth and attempts toward modernization and industrialization.<sup>471</sup> The many land reforms, throughout the region, were seen by the well-educated Western vanguards as the panacea for redistribution of power.<sup>472</sup> These grand ambitions, however, soon were derailed by the economic realities. Centuries of *civilizing missions* and *colonial expansionist policies* had only amplified the machination of power-seeking leaders.

The triumph of Allies after the Second World War, the Cold War that ensued, and the cementing of Matured Democracies, also wrought the decolonization process. Throughout the globe, the newly emerged colonies on the *Yellow Brick Road*—the path of the soul from egoism

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<sup>467</sup> Zubaida, Sami. *Islam, the People and the State: Political Ideas and Movements in the Middle East*. 2009. I.B.Tauris; Revised edition; Zubaida, Sami. *Beyond Islam: A New Understanding of the Middle East*. 2011. I.B.Tauris.

<sup>468</sup> Zubaida.

<sup>469</sup> Dickens, Charles. *A Tale of Two Cities*. 1998. Dover Thrift Editions.

<sup>470</sup> Osman, Tarek. *Islamism: A History of Political Islam from the Fall of the Ottoman Empire to the Rise of ISIS*. 2017. Yale University Press.

<sup>471</sup> Osman.

<sup>472</sup> Osman.

to *Enlightenment*—soon realized the Pavlovian conditioning: Matured Democracies’ policies that stratified many locals in the Middle East, into predetermined castes and ideologies. In the Middle East, newly emerged privileged Mustapha Mond(s) began to lay out the region’s *Brave New World* and *the philosophies upon which, the region will be based* for decades to come.<sup>473</sup> The theoretical descriptions of metropole and periphery, nevertheless, identifies the essential qualities of developmental differential and correlation between an *Imperial power* and the *imperialized subject*. These marginalized victims were now, not only bounded to nation-states but also to emerging globe-striding, transnational corporations and of certain international organizations.<sup>474</sup>

As the Matured Democracies’ policies and their *Manifest Destinies* became more ideological, *government in a box*, institutionalization of an ethno-sectarian quota system became all the vogue and panacea. In many newly decolonized territories, some achieving independence only after protracted revolutions, at the behest of Matured Democracies many *unresponsive* nationalists were replaced with a dysfunctional and corrupt semi-state. Ethnic and sectarian tensions that had already existed and had been percolating beneath the veneer of independence, with their translation into political currency became toxic; irrevocably changing some territories’ demography.<sup>475</sup> For some, this interplay ultimately resulted in disempowerment turned to disenfranchisement—especially where the institutions, including the judiciary and prosecutors, were fragile or nonexistent. In this political vacuum, Islamism and political Islam began to compete with leaders copying themselves after *Nasser* and a persona of nationalist strong men.<sup>476</sup>

<sup>473</sup> Huxley, Aldous. *Brave New World*. ([1932] 2006). Harper Perennial.

<sup>474</sup> Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. 2007. Oxford University Press; Brown, Wendy. *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism’s Stealth Revolution*. 2015. The MIT Press.

<sup>475</sup> Osman.

<sup>476</sup> Osman.

What had eluded many nation-*states* in the region was in sharp contrast with the happenings in the Arabian Peninsula and to a certain extent, in Iran. The *tremendous* amount of wealth being generated in that region caused their monarchs to become harshly averse to callings for republican socialism.<sup>477</sup> In the Peninsula, the *Black Gold*, primed the pumps of religious influence and autocratic monarchs—legitimizing executive, legislative and judicial power—riled against nationalism and questioning of the undivided sovereignty. Under Islam and Islamic values for public, the space was provided for a more authentic Muslim to emerge.<sup>478</sup> The return to Islamic practices was the blood that traveled through their veins and the new windfalls ensured there would have been no interruption for the foreseeable future.<sup>479</sup>

As Globalization and Neoliberalism’s—open-door—policies began to suffocate the Arab peripheries, petrodollars solidified the importance of Gulf States. For some the lure of money, for others restoring the prominence of Islam resulted not only in *brain drain*, but also labor migration from poorer Arab countries to the Gulf principalities.<sup>480</sup> The reliance on and influence of Gulf money soon revealed its unintended consequences as well.

The symbiotic and mutualism interactions in the Gulf, with the many hues of Arabs, soon became predicated on segmentation of the *labor* market on the grounds of their nationalities.<sup>481</sup> With their remittances and their eventual return, the workforce began to expose the many fissures of their native countries’ crony capitalism.<sup>482</sup> Many states had withdrawn from providing

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<sup>477</sup> Osman.

<sup>478</sup> Osman.

<sup>479</sup> Osman.

<sup>480</sup> Osman.

<sup>481</sup> Errichiello, Gennaro. “Foreign Workforce in the Arab Gulf States (1930—1950): Migration Patterns and Nationality Clause.” Summer 2012. *The International Migration Review*. Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 389-413. Available at: [https://www.jstor.org/stable/23279471?seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/23279471?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents); Birks, J. S. et al. “Labour Migration in the Arab Gulf States: Patterns, Trends and Prospects.” 1988. *International Migration*. Volume 26, Issue 3. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.1988.tb00649.x>

<sup>482</sup> Osman.

safety nets for its citizens. Along with earning meager wages, these Arab migrants were also exposed, indoctrinated, with puritanical Islamic principles.<sup>483</sup> Before long, the region once again saw the rise of radical charities the likes of Muslim Brotherhood providing social infrastructure for an Islamic civil society providing civil duties and provisions that were in direct competition with state, *arguably displacing the state*.<sup>484</sup>

### *Shifting Sand, Drifting Identities*

“I wonder if I’ve been changed in the night. Let me think. Was I the same when I got up this morning? I almost think I can remember feeling a little different. But if I’m not the same, the next question is ‘Who in the world am I?’ Ah, that’s the great puzzle!”

“A map is not the territory it represents, but, if correct, it has a similar structure to the territory, which accounts for its usefulness.”<sup>485</sup> The 1973 Arab oil boycott and embargo only exasperated the Matured Democracies animus toward the region.<sup>486</sup> By the end of the decade, The Iranian *Islamic* Revolution, the signing of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty and the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan had all but mythologized religious influence to counter and shield many in the region against frustration and aspiration of nationalism and perceived Arab impotency.<sup>487</sup> It seemed that the various routes to freedom and progress, two century of the *modern* Arab

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<sup>483</sup> Osman.

<sup>484</sup> Chalcraft.

<sup>485</sup> Korzybski, Alfred. “*Chapter IV on Structure*.” *Science and Sanity: An Introduction to Non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics*. 1933. International Non-Aristotelian Library Publishing Company. Digitized by the University of California. Available at: <http://esgs.free.fr/uk/art/sands-ch04.pdf>. P 58.

<sup>486</sup> Chalcraft.

<sup>487</sup> Osman.

world, the Arab liberals had failed to address the socioeconomic ails of the region. Arab nationalism, it seemed, was just a dream.

A return to a golden era of a Caliphate, a functioning religious and political institution, albeit now a multi-ethnic and trans-national *ummah*—Muslim community—at least in the Levant, and Mesopotamia once again became the perennial narrative. For the highly educated, disenfranchised, and disillusioned youth in the region, and arguably some in the Metropoles, the hermeneutical injustice, too, became a catalyst through which the semantic habits and structural implications, once again embodied the call for jihad.<sup>488</sup> Through the selective and oft taken out of context verses of Quran, their resentments, pathogens that remain dormant only furnished “the mental lives of listeners with semantic habits that fostered thought patterns and behaviors that stuck as internal residue.”<sup>489</sup> Return to puritanical Islamic principles was foregrounded and idealized as the right approach for being an Arab.<sup>490</sup>

The lessons from the 1991 Algerian election, in which the popular enthusiasm for political Islam was expressed, shocked the Arab monarch régimes in the Gulf and exacted a heavy toll on the Algerians.<sup>491</sup> The pursuit of a democratic path to power was thwarted.<sup>492</sup> After nearly two centuries of colonial and imperial control, for some in the region then, adherences to strict Islamic canon were the only viable option to express what it meant to be an Arab. The victory of the Muslims in Afghanistan, baptism by blood of the Soviets, provided the much needed and depleted oxygen to fanning flames of Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>488</sup> Cook Susan L. and Karen Krupar. “Defining the Twentieth Century and Impacting the Twenty-First: Semantic Habits Created Through Radio and Song.” 2010. *ETC: A Review of General Semantics, Institute of General Semantics*. Vol. 67, No. 4; Pp. 412-434. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/42579071.pdf>

<sup>489</sup> Cook; Fricker, Miranda. *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing*. 2007. Oxford University Press.

<sup>490</sup> Khalili, Laleh. *Time in the Shadows: Confinement in Counterinsurgencies*. 2012. Stanford University Press. Palo Alto.

<sup>491</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>492</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>493</sup> Mansfield.

The *Jihad* in Afghanistan provided the respite for the Gulf's monarchies. At the time, many in Matured Democracies and certainly in the United States of America, considered the occupation

“a callous violation of international law and the United Nations Charter. It is a deliberate effort of a powerful atheistic government to subjugate an independent Islamic people. We must recognize the strategic importance of Afghanistan to stability and peace. A Soviet-occupied Afghanistan threatens both Iran and Pakistan and is a steppingstone to possible control over much of the world's oil supplies.”<sup>494</sup>

The Matured Democracies, along with many Gulf state monarchies, applauded and encouraged the *rag-tag* fighters to hold the line against the *Evil Empire*.<sup>495</sup> Many of the fighters returned to their native sands, battle hardened. By then many of the Gulf state leaders were firmly in the Matured Democracies and certainly, in the American fold.<sup>496</sup>

By 1989, the last Soviet troops, *not dangling from military helicopters*, were ushered out of Afghanistan.<sup>497</sup> The celebratory victory dance soon reverted back to the mounting discontent as social inequality, rampant corruption, and political repression once again became the daily realities for many in the region. It was not until the dreadful events of September 2001 that any of the regions ails began to rise on the international agenda.

By the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, as the inequality further grew, the dynastic rulers became further entrenched. Not a single Arab country had become an Islamic state. Rather, Syria became

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<sup>494</sup> US President Jimmy Carter - Speech on Afghanistan. Available at: <https://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/quotes/jimmy-carter-on-the-soviet-invasion-of-afghanistan-in-1980-state-of-the-union-address>

<sup>495</sup> US President Ronald Reagan, “*Evil Empire Speech*” (8 March 1983). <http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/reagan-evil-empire-speech-text/>

<sup>496</sup> Mansfield.

<sup>497</sup> Mansfield; PBS. “Last Days in Vietnam; Who goes? And who gets left behind?” *American Experience: Vietnam War*. 2015. Available at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/lastdays/>

the first Arab nation to have a son succeed father.<sup>498</sup>The coronation of *Bashar al-Assad* in 2000, by many intellectual and oppositional elite's account, was the low point in modern Arab history.<sup>499</sup>State remained the main dispenser of the violence and with the rise of radical groups, many were incarcerated resulting in further radicalization of the individuals.<sup>500</sup> The 2003, invasion of Iraq, further exasperated the imprisoned population and further radicalized vast swaths of disenfranchised individuals.<sup>501</sup> There was no way to control religious fervor in the region.<sup>502</sup>

For the exhausted and anemic middle-class, lack of opportunities, marriage, family, and upward mobility became as elusive as the desert mirages distracting the refracted light of democracy from illuminating their humanities. Huge wealth was being amassed by a tiny elite. The brain drains hastened. For those less affluent and unable to finance a European migration, embarking on and trudging across an unforgiving and seemingly never-ending expanse of Mediterranean, became the last resort. With the triumphant Wahhabi rhetoric and failures of democratically consonance paths to power in the region, the religious pathway became the live option for resistance. For some, the *fatwa* was to *change the target to taking on the superpowers who supported the régimes*.<sup>503</sup>

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<sup>498</sup> Denison, Benjamin. "The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same: The Failure of Regime-Change Operations." *Cato Institute*. 2020. Policy Analysis No. 883. Available at: <https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/more-things-change-more-they-stay-same>

<sup>499</sup> Sicherman, Harvey. *Hafez Al-Asad: The Man Who Waited Too Long* 1, July 2000. Foreign Policy Research Institute. Available at: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2000/07/hafez-al-asad-the-man-who-waited-too-long/>

<sup>500</sup> Leverett, Flynt. *Inheriting Syria: Bashar's Trial by Fire*. 2005. Brookings Institution Press.

<sup>501</sup> Tharoor, Ishaan. "Iraq's crisis: Don't forget the 2003 U.S. invasion." *The Washington Post*. 16, June 2014. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/06/16/iraqs-crisis-dont-forget-the-2003-u-s-invasion/>

<sup>502</sup> Tharoor.

<sup>503</sup> Kifner, John. "Aftereffects: Karbala; Iraqi Shiites Show Their Fervor in City They Hold Holy." 23, April 2003. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/23/world/aftereffects-karbala-iraqi-shiites-show-their-fervor-in-city-they-hold-holy.html>

The combination of the events, in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, certainly merits its own exhaustive research. *Bouazizi's* ultimate personal sacrifice, on 17 December 2010, became not only *the shot that was heard across the world*, but also the torch to shine the light on the paths of resistance throughout the region.<sup>504</sup> The act was not only symbolic but rather significant to embolden the thwarted ambitions of the youth and to some measurable degree, regain the dignity against the state terror. By January of the following year, 2011, the Tunisian Revolution had ousted its longtime dictator—Ben Ali.<sup>505</sup> As the dominoes in Egypt, Libya, and Syria began to tip, it became evident that embracing of Shia Islam for some was and has been then a political and identity savvy move. For others in the region, for *self-aggrandizement*, the religion and nationalism are now weaponized and transition cost is fulfilled by recruiting martyrs to fill the vacuum of dignity and self-worth they perceived as being absconded. Police and military brutality and corruption continue to plague the region.

*The Clash of Civilizations*, the *Sectarian Divide*, and now *Tribes and Clans* is but a metastasizing of the *Linear Progress* hypothesis, presents a region inefficient and incapable of addressing the problems. Images of the region's many military leaders decked out with shiny medals and *Ray Ban* sunglasses, presents a distorted and, an ultimate arbiter in each country and the reminder and remainder of the dictatorship and colonial eras. The *digitally savvy* and *hyper-connected* educated youth segment of population, sharing tips across the region to annoy the authorities, are eager to fuse the political and economic demands and present their case with some degree of accuracy and particularity. The anemic middle-class and especially the young

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<sup>504</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson's "Concord Hymn." (1837) and refers to the first **shot** of the American Revolution.

<sup>505</sup> Borger Julian. "Tunisian president vows to punish rioters after worst unrest in a decade." *The Guardian*. 29 December 2010. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/dec/29/tunisian-president-vows-punish-rioters>. A 2008 cable from the US embassy in Tunis released by WikiLeaks described the Ben Ali family as a "quasi mafia."

population in the region, continue to look to Matured Democracies *to help managing ails which they will ultimately fix.*

## Chapter 6- Conclusion

“Every house has got a Bible and a loaded gun  
We got preachers and politicians  
Round here it’s kinda hard to tell which one  
Is gonna do more talkin’ with a crooked tongue.”<sup>506</sup>

“Until the lion learns how to write, every story will glorify  
the hunter.”<sup>507</sup>

“‘Who in the world am I?’ Ah, that’s the great puzzle!  
Why, sometimes I’ve believed as many as six impossible  
things before breakfast.  
It’s no use going back to yesterday, because I was a  
different person then.”<sup>508</sup>

At the end of the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, hopes are quickly fading as to the ability of the international community and intergovernmental organizations, UN, to stop wars, avert *another* refugee crisis, or disarm *Our Son of a Bitch* and protect civilians. By all accounts, United Nations’ success have been limited and its legitimacy has lost its currency. The gradations of suffering likes of Libya, Syria, Yemen, Central American *would-be asylum seekers and refugees* at the southern border of the United States, and their brethren stranded in the Greek islands, suggests a resounding *no* and pushing humanity further adrift. The shifting of the Matured Democracies borders only mitigate death in the desolate tracts or at sea reverberating memories of imperial, colonial times, and the Cold War.

The continued unrest across the Middle East, the imminent American withdrawal from

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<sup>506</sup> Tyminski, Dan. “Southern Gothic.” *Southern Gothic*. Mercury Nashville Records. 2017. Track 1. Retrieved from; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K3RjWJMouSQ>

<sup>507</sup> Maraire, J. Nozipo. Retrieved from: <https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/8058892-until-the-lion-learns-how-to-write-every-story-will>

<sup>508</sup> Carroll, Lewis. “Chapter II. *The Pool of Tears.*” *Alice Adventures in Wonderland & Through the Looking-Glass*; P 10. Also Available at: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/11/11-h/11-h.htm>

Afghanistan, the perilous nature of Muslim Uighurs in China, the peculiar predicament of Muslim Rohingya refugees, the protest sweeping South American countries, and the fascination with absolute power that is impossible for a leader in a *democracy*—at least for now—cannot provide any measure of solace to humanize faceless émigrés. For Islam practitioners, particularly those in the war torn and fatigued Middle East, it seems that Islam is the latest boogeyman to bind an otherwise fractious global community together. The net results for the region, have been protracted and prolonged sufferings. The metric of success—difficult to measure but far more important is that the path is never thru a military victory. Without *genuine reconciliation, concessions, and rehabilitation*, the pathogens of resentments remain dormant as—residues that will only seek redemption and vengeance. Nevertheless, for now, the *Marvelous Blue Orb*, is all that humanity has found to be habitable.

The wheel is always turning. Arguably, Matured Democracies are entering a period of fatigue. A resurgent China is making its present felt in every corner of the world. Its rhizomes are germinating in fertile soils where disenchantment with Western liberal-democratic orders that has underpinned international relations and international systems, are well past their *sell-by-date*. China's economic and political warfare and welfare operations, juxtaposed with those of Matured Democracies, once again warns the Mature Democracies from isolationism.<sup>509</sup>In the new World Order ushered by Neoliberalism, interest trumps values and diplomacy is transactional.

The *Silk Road* has undergone many iterations. Navigating its potholes, its detours, its minefields, its historically marginalized communities, and its collateral economies lacks but requires threading the needle of aspirational and collaborative intents with clearer parameters.

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<sup>509</sup> Muni S. D. and Tan Tai Yong; Editors. *A Resurgent China: South Asian Perspectives*.2012. Routledge India.

Matured Democracies are changed and challenged by the spectacular growth of the once mighty empire—China. With increasingly isolationist policies, Matured Democracies view China, with a combination of admiration, envy, and even anger. Nevertheless, once China’s influence has been instituted, for Matured Democracies it will be almost impossible to lasso their influence back: *especially since that lasso was most probably made in China*. The only *trick roping* that remains is reminding the world to the *unfulfilled* promises of the Enlightenment and China’s disavowal of liberal citizenship with parochial surveilled nationalism, and China’s succumbing to the mystique of the primordial.

The rhetoric and the politics of White nationalism sweeping Matured Democracies, is becoming a nefarious blueprint in countries where nationalism is the bitter antagonist to uninhibited institutions. There is, ought to be, a distinction between a *patriot* and an *ethnic nationalist*. The former will flourish into an *exceptionalism* that it is ultimately self-correcting; the latter falsely believes and is bound up with a particular ethnic, racial, or religious identity: preferencing for Norwegian immigrants over those from “shithole” countries.<sup>510</sup> Unscrupulous outside actors can and will exploit and divide polarized Matured Democracies, whom their head of state, and their brand of nationalism facilitates polarization.

The *Reign of Terror* and Napoleonic imperialism burgeoned an expression of new-born French nationalism.<sup>511</sup> When *Toussaint L'Ouverture*, challenged France’s the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the Haitian war of independence became a defining moment in the history of the Atlantic World and a major blow to France and its colonial ambitions.<sup>512</sup> The two Revolutions

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<sup>510</sup> Kirby, Jen. “Trump wants fewer immigrants from “shithole countries” and more from places like Norway.” *Vox*, 11, Jan 2018. Available at: <https://www.vox.com/2018/1/11/16880750/trump-immigrants-shithole-countries-norway>

<sup>511</sup> Bell David A. *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800*. 2003. Harvard University Press.

<sup>512</sup> Blackburn, Robin. *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery: 1776-1848*. 2011. Verso; Geggus David P. Editor. *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*. 2002. University of South Carolina Press.

succeeded in spreading Enlightenment ideals to *colonizer and the colonized*; even though it did not result in bringing democracy in either location. In France however, the real legacy of the *Revolution* cannot be surmised as to the enhancement of liberty, but rather the sovereign's power.<sup>513</sup>The *two Revolutions* however, tabled new questions concerning the nature of subject's rights and the derivation of those rights. Questions and answering that has, will, and continues to shape Social Contracts. Do our rights derive from nature or from God or from neither? And what are those rights? Must government be of the people to be for the people?

A revolution is but a moment in time. Following years, following decades, and following centuries is what establishes its *maturity*. The uniqueness of these *two Revolutions*, however, is that there are more available—researched—archival materials, augmented with that of the American revolution enumerating ways in which political class speaks a different language that can turn populace toward to or away from xenophobia. Nationalism is not the same thing as national identity. It is not the same thing as respect for national sovereignty. It is the censorship of *representation* and ideological gatekeeping. The voices of marginalized individuals seldom get showered with resources for amplification. The societal ramifications are but structural *Othering*.

It is in this light that I believe our stories need to be told whilst continuing to question and examine my position in this research: not in the terms of *Box-checking* rather long denied dignity for my forbearers. No one society has the patent on the tropes of human achievement or human suffering. Not fully realized human beings will only stifle creativity. One of the most often ignored promises of the Enlightenment has been that, sovereign grounds its legitimacy and its sovereignty in democratic governance over a nation imbued with belief in themselves as a good and free people.

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<sup>513</sup> Bell.

The tale of *Othering* is a tale as old as time: at least *the recorded time*. The bloom that blossomed in the Enlightenment, *was some six millennium in the making*. The land(meso) between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers(potomoi), became what is colloquially known as the Fertile Crescent: from the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, extending to the Nile Valley, and arching across the northern part of the Syrian Desert.<sup>514</sup>The fertile land elevated the status of farmers as they provided unvarying stipends with their crops: mainly grains and principally wheat. Not all picked the pitchfork and, herding domesticated livestock, principally goats, continued to be a desirable occupation for many reverencing the nomadic lifestyle.<sup>xxx</sup> Arguably, Mesopotamia introduced the first form of socialism and social order contingent on collection of taxes.<sup>515</sup> Another emerging phenomenon: dissimulating class conflict, enmity, and animosity cloaked in *rural-urban conflicts*.<sup>516</sup> Cities, burgeoned around the temples where priests communicated, directly with the gods. In the countryside, slave labor was needed for irrigation resorting landowners to military excursions of adjacent territories. Priests then, became useful to directly communicate with temperamental Mesopotamian gods. With the dawning of the recorded world's first empire, Assyrian, maintaining social order shifted from gods to people and mainly to priests.<sup>517</sup>

Mesopotamia wrought the world's first territorial kingdom, writing—*cuneiform*, mainly to record transactions self-glorifying stories hence forging and amplifying class distinction — dawning of private ventures, taxes, trade, military excursions, and a shifted authority *from God*

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<sup>514</sup> Oppenheim, A. Leo and Erica Reiner. *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*. 1977. University of Chicago Press.

<sup>515</sup> Meek, Theophile J. "*The Code of Hammurabi*." Chapter V, legal Text: Collection of Laws from Mesopotamia. In James B. Pritchard, Daniel E. Fleming: *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*. 2010. Princeton University Press; Pp 155-178.

<sup>516</sup>Oppenheim.

<sup>517</sup>Oppenheim.

to *Man*. With the invention of writing, history began to be recorded.<sup>518</sup>

The Code of Hammurabi created a quasi-durable form of political organization and control amongst tribal chiefs: by erecting new forts and monumental architecture to inspire awe, by consolidating sovereign's rule outside of the cities and maintain the social order in a diverse and *multi-ethnic* empire, and by insistence on paying taxes, and providing labor and legionnaires. Captured slaves and deported nomads, separate from their history and their families, aspired to positions in the Empire's meritocratic army, for an eventual revenge by joining Assyrians, Babylonians, and Sumerians as they too began to fashion their own Empires.<sup>519</sup>

On the other tip of the Crescent, Egypt dawned as the most influential of the river valley civilizations. Under the watchful *Eye of Horus*, the pyramids continue to be the last man standing among the *Seven Ancient Wonders of the World*—climate change notwithstanding.<sup>520</sup> The Crescent valley is bookended by the enduring legacies of its inhabitants. Contrary to the erratic Tigris and Euphrates rivers, the meandering Nile, benign and navigable, flooded each summer depositing nutrient-rich silt for effortless agricultural undertaking. Thus, the population was mainly concentrated with proximity to the river. Devoid of labor-intensive irrigation, much time was devoted to building impressive projects and sarcophaguses venerating the living gods—the Pharaohs and providing them with just as amiable afterlife.<sup>521</sup> The Pharaohs, god or contiguity with a god, instituted a remarkable degree of political and social control. Many of the pyramids were built between 2575 and 2465 BCE and, *not by Moses and the Jews*, rather by other slaves

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<sup>518</sup> Oppenheim.

<sup>519</sup> Ascalone, Enrico and Simona Schultz. *Mesopotamia: Assyrians, Sumerians, Babylonians*. 2007. University of California Press.

<sup>520</sup> Béatrix, Midant-Reynes. *The Prehistory of Egypt: From the First Egyptians to the First Kings*. 2000. John Wiley & Sons; Shaw, Ian, ed. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. 2004. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Teeter, Emily, ed. *Before the Pyramids: The Origins of Egyptian Civilization*. 2011. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; University of Chicago Press.

<sup>521</sup> Béatrix.

and peasants who were obliged by law to compulsory work when agricultural undertaking was not a preoccupation.<sup>522</sup>

Old Kingdom Egypt were also versed in inscription with hieroglyphics for sacred writing and demotic script— preceding Coptic—for bureaucratic purposes.<sup>523</sup> Magic, animal deities—cat headed *Mafdet*—amulets, and prophecies entertain and protected Pharaoh’s palace and its eventual mausoleums. These practices continue to be an important aspect of the Shaman religion, practiced in many parts of the region.<sup>524</sup> The lion-headed deity *Sekhmet* was considered a daughter of *Ra*—deity of the sun.

It was in the Egypt’s Middle Kingdom, that *sectarian* rivalries began to tear at the empire. The ubiquity of the *hidden* god, *Ammun*, was further entrenched as its omnipresent was eventually merged with *Ra*, *Ammun-Ra*, demanding full submission of all other Middle Kingdom pharaohs.<sup>525</sup> With their hegemony well established, Egyptians relentlessly pursued their habituated way of life. The newly opulent lifestyle opened the door for the Semitic conquerors from Levant whilst Egyptian asking: “why do they hate us? They hate our freedom.”<sup>526</sup> Eventually, Egypt’s New Kingdom emerged from under the yoke of its occupiers, rebuffing its predecessors’ geographically imposed isolationism. Egypt soon began a wave of military expansions. Through trade, business acumen, and acquisitions—and not solely conflicts and military expansionist policies— *Hatshepsut*, female pharaoh, ruled and expanded Egypt’s reach

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<sup>522</sup> Béatrix.

<sup>523</sup> Béatrix.

<sup>524</sup> Waida, Manabu. “Problems of Central Asian and Siberian Shamanism.” *Numen*.1983. Vol. 30, Fasc. Pp. 215-239. Published by: Brill. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3270064> Accessed: 29-01-2020

<sup>525</sup> Béatrix.

<sup>526</sup> Text: President Bush Addresses the Nation. 20, Sept. 2001.

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress\\_092001.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress_092001.html)

Americans are asking “Why do they hate us?” They hate what they see right here in this chamber: a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

for nearly two decades.<sup>527xxx</sup>

Egypt then, has lasted *more than a millennial* that Christianity has been around. Nearly as long, Mesopotamia provided the blueprint for China's expansionist *Belt and Road initiative*, "debt diplomacy," thus *nearly three millenniums* longer than Western Civilization has existed<sup>528</sup> Before "the West" was even born, history was written with discourses of philosophy, and veneration of military leaders and not through the lens of traditionally neglected populations.

The fact that I am able to undertake this research and to challenge and disrupt abiding misunderstandings is poetic justice.<sup>xxxii</sup> I too have been inflicted with Cassandra's curse.<sup>xxxiii</sup> But this research is not about me. A confluence of luck, innate ability to hustle, and my ingrained psychological resilience, has obligated me to amplify *Others* dignity of difference. I have learned the arts of resistance and survival, taking advantage of the benefits that Matured Democracies in general, and the United States in particular has, at times reluctantly, to offer me. Even though I am well aware of precarious and perilous plight of many more deserving individuals, who produce and are produce by the language. Discourses that establish notions of authority and the notion of larger social practices.

"[D]eeds though done, still require time to be seen and heard," and so the persistence for certain archival mysticism that is both romantic and analytical.<sup>529</sup> The unsettle questions of *rights*, what they are, and are they derived from God, from nature, or from neither, certainly has and will continue to demand a *reevaluation* of the Postcolonial position of research universities in Matured Democracies and burgeoning universities in former colonies. The invention of the computer and the availability of archival research, now many digitized, ought to avail the

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<sup>527</sup> Béatrix.

<sup>528</sup> Vaswani, Karishma. "China v the US: Not just a trade war." The BBC. 22 October 2018. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-45937741>

<sup>529</sup> Nietzsche, Friedrich. The Gay Science. 1974. Walter Kaufmann trans. Vintage Books. New York. #125, P 120.

researchers who seek an alternative to *Masters of War*, a space to interrogate the hunter's retellings.<sup>530</sup> The access can further *democratize* historical research and change how history's elegies are written. It is imperative for research universities to provide those with peripheral vision, an incubator to scrutinize yet inculcate aspirants how to better express and meaningfully reengage what lies outside the frame of prevailing arguments circulating in Matured Democracies' echo chambers, political ecology, and information bias.

Reinterpretation of the historical record ought not to be equivocated with *historical negationism*: when there continues to be vagrancies captured in documentary evidence. The assumption cannot be overestimating the prevailing knowledge emanating from exhaustive knowledge captured from selective documentary evidence. If the goal is to flourish a dignified human race, impartial scholars are forced to engage with and value indigenously produced illuminations of *Joe Six Packs*, with peripheral vision that is not unconsciously indoctrinated. This collaboration in return, has the promise of facilitating innovative positions and introducing fresh nuances that contests antiquated views without denying obvious realities. "The past is never dead. It's not even past."<sup>531</sup>

"Once human beings are defined as the problem in the public consciousness, their elimination through deportation, incarceration or even genocide becomes nearly inevitable."<sup>532</sup> The Matured Democracies' *epistemological cocoon* continues objectifying, fetishization, and pathologizing their many former colonies and territories. Meanwhile, Neoliberalism has voraciously proceeded with the flattening of geography. "Earth may be a planet of shrinking

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<sup>530</sup> Dylan, Bob. "Masters of War." Album: The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan. 1963. Columbia Records. Side one; Track 3.

<sup>531</sup> NA. "The Past Isn't Dead. It Isn't Even Past." "The Atlantic; Daily Dish." 18, March 2008. Available at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/daily-dish/archive/2008/03/-the-past-isnt-dead-it-isnt-even-past/218789/>

<sup>532</sup> Alexander, Michelle. "From mass incarceration to mass deportation, our nation remains in deep denial." The New York Times. 17, Jan. 2020. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/17/opinion/sunday/michelle-alexander-new-jim-crow.html>

functional distances, but it remains a world of staggering situational differences.”<sup>533</sup> Global core and global periphery are now becoming more pronounced and the lottery of birth and imprisonment of geography, essentially rendering moot notions of a flat world.

With the birth of the internet, everyone with an internet connection, unhindered by arbitrary territorial boundaries, was promised a new voice in the marketplace of ideas. Expressions from individuals that had continually been denied access to the knowledge crucial to influence or realize a democratic society. For some, the information superhighway has been narrowed down to alleyways terminating into *culs-de-sac* of impasse. The *lucrative marketplace* or *misguided religious duty* persuade and seduce the credulous thus stifling freedom and personal interactions manipulating their deepest unsubstantiated fears. The aim clearly was to sow social disorder. The contracting universe of media corporations, only concerned with *transactional* ledgers beholden to Capitalism for some and *deliverance* for religious fundamentalist others, has wrought dystopian disadvantages. Protecting lucrative marketplace or recruiting Jihadists has limited the marketplace of ideas to establishment voices, cottage industry of diplomats, and self-perpetuating negotiators ceding the dissemination to *alternatives* who have no journalistic or civic mission.<sup>534</sup>

These misinformation viruses are pathologically designed with algorithms that only pushes individuals deeper in the distorted *Rabbit Hole*. Trade of information and lowering the aggregated barriers and creating opportunities has been silenced by the loud volumes that this viral disinformation amplifies. Geography’s incarceration only *reformats* systems of racial and

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<sup>533</sup> De Blij Harm. “The Power of Place: Geography, Destiny, and Globalization’s Rough Landscape” Oxford University Press. 2010. P 3.

<sup>534</sup>Worth, Robert F. “*The reluctant jihadi: how one recruit lost faith in Isis.*” The Guardian. 12, April 2016. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/apr/12/reluctant-jihadi-recruit-lost-faith-in-isis> ; Holt, Graham. *Reluctant Jihadist*. 2018. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

social control. For the Middle East, “[t]here have ... been few other cases in the history of civilized peoples where human suffering has been viewed with such peculiar indifference.”<sup>535</sup>*The injustice of this moment is not an aberration* that has presented the region with the array of axes: *Al-Qaeda* and its successor *Daesh* have provided the grinders. The cauldron of animus, however, continues to be brimmed with alphabet monograms: ISIS, AQAP, AQIM...while in the Metropoles, for some, vaccination continues against shame and embarrassment. In the region, the highly educated youth are exhausted from the discourses of fight with existential Imperialism—enough of these slogans. They crave a renewed Social Contract. Sectarianism is about socio-cultural claims by actors in their everyday lives.

Identity entrepreneurs might think that they can turn the hatred on and off as it suits their interests, but at some point, these identities become self-sustaining and internalized. For now, there is a little meaning to the international community without the United States, but Matured Democracies do not have a monopoly on solutions and interventionism. The insidiousness of colonialism is its lack of empathy for the colonized: their intellectual or emotional acumen. If we do not grasp the history of Matured Democracies’ involvement in the region, then the West voyeuristically looks at this region and falls into the trap of thinking that somehow the fate that has befallen of this region is deserving of its inhabitants. Cultural, genetic, or biological traits and inferiority rather than the repeated, *even well-intentioned*, longitudinal interventions becomes the analytically dishonest discourses.

There are two camps in the Matured Democracies. There are those that even when presented with all the facts demonstrating effects of how colonialism has shaped the region, will not have a bearing on this segment. The second, are individuals who genuinely do not know

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<sup>535</sup>Du Bois, W.E. B. *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*. ([1899], 2014). Ed; Henry Louis Gates, Intro; Lawrence Bobo.1 edition. Oxford University Press. P 116.

since they have never been thought. Sadly, it was the horrible events of September Eleventh, that the region began to have a semblance of a worthy adversary. Since the Enlightenment, and arguably since the many Crusades, it was fundamentally sanctioned to dehumanize, disenfranchise, and delegitimize this region.

Taken together, the *truncated chapters* in this research have pained to demonstrate that future research ought to move away from gradational binaries of *Clan Rivalries* and sectarianism, away from abstraction and theoretical to pragmatic and emancipatory interruptions. *The Strategic Location of the cradle of civilization* with its *Particular Histories* has offered humanity more than just extractive resources and *Rentier* and *Failed States*. The Matured Democracies somehow have—morally— and with intellectual disingenuousness convinced themselves that this history was a long time ago. The question however remains the fine balance between increasing empathy and the risk of becoming desensitized. The tension and recognition of the emerging dialogue lies in illuminating the harsh realities and not desensitizing the Matured Democracies besieged with the cyclical nature of existence under Capitalism.

There is an unspoken serenity in a good-night's sleep particularly when one “has [been] awakened many from their [Othering] slumber and spurred collective action to oppose the Muslim ban and the border wall,” fighting for justice and *equality* for all marginalized groups whilst forging one's dignity of difference. There is a false equivalency that through the optic of media has been amplified as the anecdotal similarity. Oversimplification or ignorance of *authenticity* that lacks the nuance, is a grain lodged in the elusive and shifting sand dunes perpetually altered with prevailing wind pattern. An *identity* that, nevertheless, for some is all the vogue. For any émigré, gratitude is complex and for many their story begins with deconstructing some of the stereotypes—the *psyche of needing salvation rather than needing friends*—ways in

which nationalism has represented and codified racist attitudes. Optimism in humanity means fully embracing “Never Again,” preventing diabolical actions that result from social structures and social inequalities.

The remainder of my life, and my future research, will be dedicated to cultivating my “drum-major instincts,” the likes of those who *not* “desire to be out front, to lead the parade.” “Yes, if you want to say that I [*will be*] a drum major, say that I [*will be*] a drum major for justice. Say that I [*will be*] a drum major for peace. I [*will be*] a drum major for righteousness. And all of the other shallow things will not matter;”<sup>536</sup> *Achieving Our Country* and humanity.<sup>xxxiv</sup>

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<sup>536</sup> King, Martin Luther, Jr. “*The Drum Major Instinct*.” Sermon Delivered at Ebenezer Baptist Church Atlanta, Ga. 4, February 1968. Stanford University Martin Luther King, Jr Research and Education Institute. Available at: <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/drum-major-instinct-sermon-delivered-ebenezer-baptist-church>

## END NOTES

<sup>i</sup> legal rights and responsibilities as enumerated by the U.S. Customs and Immigration Services (USCIS) agency. the terminology is not precise and often ambiguous because according to the United States Census Bureau, the first generation is the first family member to gain citizenship in the country or permanent residency. Available at: The United States Citizenship and Immigration Services <https://www.uscis.gov/>

<sup>ii</sup> The unemployment rate picture of youth—especially steep for highly educated has not improved since the Arab Spring began in 2010. NA. “*Investing in Youth: Tunisia*.” Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/els/investing-in-youth-tunisia-9789264226470-en.htm>

<sup>iii</sup> In chess, *rokirovka* is a Russian term for castling. In 2011 Medvedev opted for Prime Minister and backed Putin for Russian Presidency. Belton, Catherine; Clover, Charles. “*I will transmit this to Vladimir*.” *Financial Times* (5 May 2012). Available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/4fc908b6-94ba-11e1-bb0d-00144feab49a> P. 26. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/13E941231210D508?p=AWNB>

The above two seemingly separate phenomena — The Arab Spring and *rokirovka*—I would like to forward, are least in part, results from a series of conscious decisions and should not be seen in isolation. Since discussing at great length, the rise of populism and nationalism are too sweeping in the limited scope of this research, I shall focus on contributing factors considered symptomatic to the region. The tensions between nationalization and globalization, cultural capital and economic capital, provided a deep anxiety about being sidelined in the game of global capitalism or trivialized in the metanarrative of globalization. The West began to disassociate itself from dictators, no longer in their interests to continue supporting, and support democratic movements. In Arab world, although not monolithic, citizens, and not the anointed, spouse believes that their governments continue complying with West’s imperialist projects. Their misery then will find religious expression. The power vacuum created by the crushing of the left contributed to the eventual rise of Islamic fundamentalist groups e.g. *Daesh*. In the semi-advance economies, and certainly in the West, the tensions between nationalization and globalization resulted in paradoxical mixture of romanticized business speculation, quest of enhanced personal lives, unadulterated citizenships, conflicting nation-building projects, and a somewhat nostalgic projection of identity. The *castling* of Putin, India’s Modi, Philippines Duterte, Egypt’s El-Sisi, Brazil Lula Da Silva and Temer, Argentina’s Macri, Israel’s Netanyahu, and certainly Trump, I reason, are at times prophylactic and other times polemic when discussing the politics and economics of the *traditional* nation-state. Nevertheless, the West, with its strategic partners of long-standing, are cognizant that traditional nation-state is increasingly irrelevant amid rapid technological change. The governmentality of *established* nation-state, inability of disentangling the forces of globalization and global capitalism is intersecting with each other behind the scenes. Too many narratives about inequality are never about the broader ramifications of the decisions institutionally or individually.

<sup>iv</sup> My argument here is one presented in Thomas Kuhn seminal work. Since, it seems to me, Matured Democracies’ policies in the region continue to face headwinds and significant anomalies, these courses of action are indeed have been thrown into a state of crisis. “Extraordinary research,” then is needed to push the boundaries of normal strategies. By sidestepping the dominant paradigm, research then ought to engage and produce new theories, thought experiments, and experiments to explain the persistent anomalies: “the proliferation of competing articulations, the willingness to try anything, the expression of explicit discontent, the recourse to philosophy and to debate over fundamentals.”

Kuhn, Thomas. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. [1962, (1996)]. University of Chicago Press: Chicago. Pg 87, 91.

Kant, Immanuel. *Critique of Pure Reason; The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant*. 1999. Immanuel Kant (Author), Paul Guyer (Editor, Translator), Allen W. Wood (Editor, Translator) Cambridge University Press.

<sup>v</sup> Throughout this publication, I shall refrain from using ‘ISIS’, ‘ISIL’ or so called ‘The Islamic State.’ *Daesh* is an acronym for the Arabic phrase al-Dawla al-Islamiya al-Iraq al-Sham (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant). In the Arab regions *Daesh* is frequently used to describe the pan-Islamist terrorist group since it is similar to the Arabic words ‘*Daes*’—one who crushes something underfoot’ and ‘*Dahes*’, translated as ‘one who sows discord.’

Oakley Nicola, and Suchandrika Chakrabarti, “*What does Daesh mean? ISIS ‘threatens to cut out the tongues’ of anyone using this word.*” 26 Jul 2016. The Daily Mirror. Available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/what-daesh-mean-isis-threatens-6841468>

<sup>vi</sup> In accordance with Arendt’s dictum, *banality of evil* occurs when one believes what one is doing is not evil or that they have become desensitized. Through this prism, the hereditary nature of rulers in the Arab World, totalitarian, is a necessary behavior and that is, or has been, characterized/normalized by the society in which they reside. Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. 1963; Viking Press. Penguin Classics. 2006.

<sup>vii</sup> The new streaming service has added the disclaimer to some of its best-known movies, including *Dumbo*, *Peter Pan*, and *Lady and the Tramp*. “*Song Of The South*.” “*Dumbo*” has the stereotyped jive-talking crow quintet, “*Lady and the Tramp*” has the Siamese cats, “*Peter Pan*,” of course, has the “*What Makes the Red Man Red*” song. Ironically, Disney’s Middle East entry, *Aladdin*, has yet to have a *warning*.

<sup>viii</sup> Saudi Arabia has cobbled together a coalition of Sunni-majority Arab states: Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Qatar, Sudan, and the UAE. It also considers Yemen a front in its contest with Iran for regional dominance, and losing Sana’a would only add to what it perceives as an ascendant Iran that has allies in power in Baghdad, Beirut, and Damascus. Saudi Arabia air campaign to roll back the Houthis and reinstate Hadi’s government, is by many accounts constitutes war crimes.

Laub, Zachary. “*Yemen in Crisis*.” Council on Foreign Relations. 19, April 2016. Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/yemen-crisis> and,

Craig, Iona. “*Bombed into famine: how Saudi air campaign targets Yemen’s food supplies*.” The Guardian. 12, Dec 2017. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/12/bombed-into-famine-how-saudi-air-campaign-targets-yemens-food-supplies>

<sup>ix</sup> Here my argument is that it has been a long tradition, especially in the first term, the United States president’s first foreign trips are to America’s immediate neighbors Mexico or Canada. If it is across the Atlantic, is to engage with close allies like Britain or Germany. Or perhaps, with the mantra of *Pivot Toward Asia*, and the North Korean Menace, meeting with similarly close partners like Australia and Japan and to counterbalance the rise of China, a trip to India. “In any case, the purpose is to cement the relationships that are our greatest source of international strength.” Saudi Arabia was also the home of roughly three-quarters of the 9/11 terrorists, and the source (from private funding) of terrorist financing, and far worse, of the teaching of Wahhabi doctrines inimical to the moderate forms of Islam that once prevailed around the world. Saudi and Gulf-funded religious schools, preachers, textbooks, and travel are a critical part of the story of the last several decades of violent jihad. The kingdom represses non-Muslim faiths and women, and it tolerates the barbarous treatment of foreign nationals. The latter is emulated by many of the principalities—nations—in the Arabian Peninsula.

With the Libyan failed-state, unwilling or unable to stem the flow of migrants heading to Europe, emanating from her shores, Egypt is seen as the gatekeeper and political control in Muslim North Africa, “to bring peace and stability in the region,” but “Sissi’s brutal repression has made Egypt a mass-production facility for violent extremism.” Europe simply cannot simply risk the Egypt becoming a failed state.

Meanwhile Trump’s arrival in Israel coincided with the celebration of Israel’s 50th anniversary of their 1967 victory; the fact that did not go unnoticed in the psyche of many on the streets. Arguably then, Trump “made it clear ... that his administration relegates issues of human rights and decent governance to the rank of tertiary concerns. This, in turn, is anything but realistic, because without necessary reforms those Arab authoritarian regimes will blow up sooner or later. Meanwhile, walking away from American values in the Middle East and Europe also diminishes what the United States is, has been, and should be.”

Kagan, Robert, Michele Dunne. “*It’s time to take a hard look at the U.S. relationship with Egypt*.” The Washington Post. 2, April 2017. Available at: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/its-time-to-take-a-hard-look-at-the-us-relationship-with-egypt/2017/04/02/a1ceaf1a-154f-11e7-833c-503e1f6394c9\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.484487c65aa6&wpisrc=nl\\_opinions&wpm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/its-time-to-take-a-hard-look-at-the-us-relationship-with-egypt/2017/04/02/a1ceaf1a-154f-11e7-833c-503e1f6394c9_story.html?utm_term=.484487c65aa6&wpisrc=nl_opinions&wpm=1)

Eliot A. Cohen 28, May 2017 “*What Did Trump Accomplish on His First Foreign Trip? Some firm handshakes, forced smiles, and awkward sword dances. In short, nothing.*” *The Atlantic*. Available at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/05/did-trumps-first-trip-abroad-accomplish-anything/528042/>

<sup>x</sup> Whitfield, Susan. *Life Along the Silk Road*. 2001. University of California Press; An Old Turkic title, kaghan, or emperor, later bore the title of khan. Franke, Herbert, Denis C. Twitchett (Editors). *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907-1368. 1994. Cambridge University Press. P. 367.

<sup>xi</sup> Americans are asking “Why do they hate us?” They hate what they see right here in this chamber: a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

<sup>xii</sup> One of the largest markets for Arab and Asian job seekers has been that of the Gulf States: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman: members of the 1981-established the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). The population dilemmas of the GCC states as well as the economic and political determinants of the labor policies, will have a significant impact on many facets. Labor migration will remain politically a very sensitive issue, as it will cause further tensions between the profit-driven concerns of the private sector, the indigenization efforts of the states and the national security considerations. Moreover, a large number of foreigners residing in these countries will bring new social and cultural challenges of consequences difficult to estimate, especially as the naturalization of many foreigners will take place. Asians will continue to dominate the foreign workforce at the expense of the non-Gulf Arab labor.

Kapiszewski, Andrzej. “Arab versus Asian Migrant Workers in the GCC Countries.” United Nations Expert Group Meeting On International Migration and Development in the Arab Region. 15-17 May 2006. Available at: [http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/EGM\\_Ittmig\\_Arab/P02\\_Kapiszewski.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/EGM_Ittmig_Arab/P02_Kapiszewski.pdf)

<sup>xiii</sup> Donner. The revelations, coming to Muhammad as sonorous utterances, were eventually collected to form the Quran..., which is sacred scripture for Muslims.

<sup>xiv</sup> The Five Pillars consist of: *Shahadah*: sincerely reciting the Muslim profession of faith; *Salat*: performing ritual prayers in the proper way five times each day; *Zakat*: paying an alms (or charity) tax to benefit the poor and the needy; *Sawm*: fasting during the month of Ramadan; and *Hajj*: pilgrimage to Mecca. BBC. Five Pillars of Islam. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/practices/fivepillars.shtml> Last updated 08, August 2009.

<sup>xv</sup> Mansfield. It was more intense in Syria where it preceded Islam than in Egypt where it did not, and a substantial Christian majority—the Copts—adopted the Arabic language while remaining racially separate. There were also large minority communities in the Arab world—such as the Berbers in North Africa and the Kurds of northern Iraq—who resisted both the linguistic and, to a large extent, the racial elements of Arabisation. Islam spread far beyond the Arab world into Persia, Turkey, East, Central and West Africa, China, India and South-East Asia. Yet the link between Islam and Arabism remained. Because of the lack of racial barriers in Islam there was considerable racial intermingling—especially in Persia, Turkey and parts of black Africa. The Turkish and Persian languages (especially Persian) contain many Arabic loan-words, and Persian is still written in the Arabic script. Moreover, the Koran is written in Arabic, and the twin holy cities of Islam—Mecca and Medina—are in Arabia. It is one of the duties of a Muslim believer to make the pilgrimage (*hajj*) to them at least once in his lifetime.

<sup>xvi</sup> Abu Bakr directly succeeded Muhammad as leader. The following cycle of caliphs, Umar I, Uthman, and Ali, were affably chosen by the Muslim community. The process transpired through *shura*: a process of community consultation that some consider being an early form of Islamic democracy. Before the advent of Islam, Arabian monarchs traditionally used the title *malik* (King, ruler). Please see Kadi.

<sup>xvii</sup> Sunni Muslims believe that *Abu Bakr* was chosen by the community and that this was the proper procedure. Sunnis further argue that a *caliph* should ideally be chosen through *shura*. The Shia believe that Ali—a contraction of “*shiaat Ali*”—the son-in-law and cousin of Muhammad, was chosen by Muhammad as his spiritual and temporal successor. The schism was rigidified when Ali’s son Hussein was killed in 680, in Karbala, by the ruling Sunni caliph’s troops. As time went on the religious beliefs of the two groups started to diverge. Sunni rulers continued to monopolize political power, while the Shia lived in the shadow of the state, looking instead to their Imams, the first twelve of whom were descended directly from Ali, for guidance. For Shia, the twelfth Imam, Mahdi, an ultimate savior of humankind and the final Imam is believed to be in occultation. This therefore has left a significant gap in leadership of Shia believers. The rift consequently pits Iran’s Shia government with those of the Gulf States, which have Sunni governments.

Karbala is one hundred kilometer, ~60 miles, southwest of Baghdad, Iraq and Najaf, 160 km, ~ 100 miles, to the south of Baghdad. The significance of the burial of the first two Shia Imams have made southern Iraq, a must pilgrimage for the Shia—particularly for those who could not afford the Hajj to Mecca. Please see: Pew “*The World’s Muslims: Unity and Diversity*.”

<sup>xviii</sup> “Beheadings and mass slaughter are the hallmark of IS – whole villages massacred; women cast into slavery. But this butchery is not random. It is callous and calculated, as former British intelligence officer Alastair Crooke points out: ‘They in fact in some ways copy Genghis Khan and the Mongol approach to military conquest. You create an absolute fear deliberately in your enemies, and the first time you come to a village you kill everyone, the dogs, the cats, everything. Destroy it down to the ground... it is used deliberately and intentionally with intentionality.’” Taylor, Peter. BBC. *The Documentary*. “*The World’s Richest Terror Army*.” 27, May 2015. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p02rhxgr> 9:09—9:52.

<sup>xix</sup> Mansfield. There were similar Capitulations in Persia, China, Japan and many parts of Asia.

<sup>xx</sup> The latest number available are at the census 2001, out of 1028 million population, little over 827 million (80.5%) have returned themselves as followers of Hindu religion, 138 million (13.4%) as Muslims or the followers of Islam, 24 million (2.3%) as Christians, 19 million (1.9%) as Sikh, 8 million (0.80%) as Buddhists and 4 million (0.4%) are Jain. In addition, over 6 million have reported professing other religions and faiths including tribal religions, different from six main religions; numbered more than the United States of America’s population. NA. Government of India. Ministry of Home Affairs, Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. Available at: [http://censusindia.gov.in/Census\\_And\\_You/religion.aspx](http://censusindia.gov.in/Census_And_You/religion.aspx)

<sup>xxi</sup> Here the message was the echoes of Shakespeare’s writing:

Shylock: Go to then, you come to me, and you say, “Shylock, we would have moneys,” you say so... Shall I bend low and in a bondman’s key, With *bated breath and whisp’ring humbleness*, Say this: “Fair sir, you spet on me Wednesday last, You spurn’d me such a day, another time You call’d me dog; and for these courtesies I’ll lend you thus much moneys?”

The Merchant Of Venice Act 1, scene 3, 115–116, 123–129

The Venetian merchant Antonio and his friends take a dim view of Shylock, the Jewish usurer, and his practice of charging interest on loans. For his “un-Christian” behavior, the Christians spit on Shylock, call him a cur, and kick him around the streets of Venice. In this speech—delivered when, as was inevitable, Antonio calls on Shylock for a loan—the usurer turns Antonio’s words and actions against him.

Shylock asks whether, after the treatment he’s received, he should now servilely bow, whisper like a “bondman” (slave), and put himself at Antonio’s disposal. He mocks the idea that he ought to respond “with bated breath”—a much misunderstood phrase. “To bate,” like “to abate,” means to diminish, reduce, or blunt. “With bated breath,” therefore, means “in a hushed voice,” with reduced “breath” (force of speech). We’ve adopted the phrase to mean, most often, “with one’s breath held.” Available at: <https://www.enotes.com/shakespeare-quotes/bated-breath>

<sup>xxii</sup> My argument here is that, just with many other populations facing totalitarian régimes, subversion and code-switching, is part and parcel of the narratives of laymen. Another example was when on December 14, 2008, Iraqi journalist Muntadhar al-Zaidi threw both of his shoes at United States President George W. Bush during an Iraqi press conference. Following the incident, The New York Times reported that Al-Zaidi was embraced around the Arab world. Zaidi is said to have shouted “Mr. President, do you want a goodbye kiss from the Iraqi people, you dog?” The dirt at the bottom of one’s shoes represents the lowest regard for individual in Arab culture trivializing the recipient. President Bush ducked, avoiding being hit by either of the shoes. Zaidi however, was tortured and received other ill-treatment.

Williams, Timothy; Sharon Otterman. “*Shoe-Hurling Iraqi Becomes a Folk Hero*; In Iraqi’s Shoe-Hurling Protest, Arabs Find a Hero. (It’s Not Bush.)” The New York Times. December 15, 2008. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/16/world/middleeast/16shoe.html?em>

<sup>xxiii</sup> Majority of the Kurds, practice *Shafi’i* school of Sunni Islam, but significant numbers practice Shia Islam and Alevisism, while some are adherents of Yarsanism, Yazidism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity, and Judaism. In establishing their *imaginary* Caliphate, *Daesh*, attempted to cleanse the territory by advocating a return to the traditions of the *salaf*, “the pious predecessors” the first three generations of Muslims, which they preached and advocated for an unadulterated, pure form of Islam. This has roots in the 18th-century *Wahhabi* movement that originated in the *Najd* region of modern-day Saudi Arabia. The movement was further cemented within Sunni Islam as it developed in Egypt in the latter decades of 19<sup>th</sup> century as a direct response to Western European colonial and neocolonialism.

Jwaideh, Wadie. *The Kurdish National Movement: Its Origins and Development*. 2006. Syracuse University Press; Esposito, John. *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*. 2004. Oxford University Press.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Historical facts, however, dispute this claim since Kuwait, created by Britain under a League of Nations mandate after World War I, was recognized as a separate entity *before* Iraq. Kuwait’s strategic location was crucial to British foreign policy and commerce in the Persian Gulf, and British viceroy of India. David H. Finnie, *Shifting Lines in the Sand: Kuwait’s Elusive Frontier with Iraq*. 1992. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp 7, 30-39; Busch, Briton Cooper. *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1894-1914*. 1967. Berkeley: University of California Press. Pp 308, and 318-340.

<sup>xxv</sup> Sunni Muslims believe that *Abu Bakr* was chosen by the community and that this was the proper procedure. Sunnis further argue that a *caliph* should ideally be chosen through *shura*. The Shia believe that Ali—a contraction of “*shiaat Ali*”—the son-in-law and cousin of Muhammad, was chosen by Muhammad as his spiritual and temporal successor. The schism was rigidified when Ali’s son Hussein was killed in 680, in Karbala, by the ruling Sunni caliph’s troops. As time went on the religious beliefs of the two groups started to diverge. Sunni rulers continued to monopolize political power, while the Shia lived in the shadow of the state, looking instead to their Imams, the first twelve of whom were descended directly from Ali, for guidance. For Shia, the twelfth Imam, Mahdi, an ultimate savior of humankind and the final Imam is believed to be in occultation. This therefore has left a significant gap in leadership of Shia believers. The rift consequently pits Iran’s Shia government with those of the Gulf States, which have Sunni governments.

Karbala is one hundred kilometer, ~60 miles, southwest of Baghdad, Iraq and Najaf, 160 km, ~ 100 miles, to the south of Baghdad. The significance of the burial of the first two Shia Imams have made southern Iraq, a must pilgrimage for the Shia—particularly for those who could not afford the Hajj to Mecca. Please see: Pew “*The World’s Muslims: Unity and Diversity*.”

<sup>xxvi</sup> Also, Husain, Hussain, and Hussein.

<sup>xxvii</sup> An apocryphal statement attributed to Richard Oakes. Oakes was a [Mohawk Native American activist](#), Red Power, and along with LaNada Means of the Bannock Nation, and others participated in the 1969 occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay. International Indian Treaty Council organized the annual Indigenous Peoples’ Sunrise Gathering on Alcatraz Island on Thursday, November 23, 2017. Oakes’ words were once again opened the ceremony.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Foucault, Michel. “What is Critique?” *The Politics of Truth*. 2007, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. ed. Lotringer, Sylvère and Lysa Hochroth. Semiotext(e), New York. Pg 41-82; Butler, Judith P. “An Account of Oneself.” *Giving an Account of Oneself*. 2005. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. Fordham University Press. Pg 3-41.

“We must try to proceed with the analysis of ourselves as beings who are historically determined, to a certain extent, by the Enlightenment. Such an analysis implies a series of historical inquiries that are as precise as possible; and these inquiries will not be oriented retrospectively toward the ‘essential kernel of rationality’ that can be found in the Enlightenment [...]; they will be oriented toward the ‘contemporary limits of the necessary,’ that is, toward what is not or is no longer indispensable for the constitution of ourselves as autonomous subjects.”

<sup>xxix</sup> Here I argue there are similarities with religion fundamentalism and Marxian philosophy with *ideological* taking precedent over that of *class* in—devout religious affiliation with rather than class consciousness. The deductive reasoning, in my argument, then is religion supersedes class in establishing and perpetuating fundamentalist propaganda/reasoning. It is therefore subscribing to the *right* religion which will provide the eternal salvation in the eyes of those who economic prosperity is but a specter. “To touch their congregations, they always show them how favorable religious opinions are to freedom and public tranquility; and it is often difficult to ascertain from their discourse whether the principal object of religion is to procure eternal felicity in the other world or prosperity in this.” The “revolutionary reconstitution of society at large,” is then attributed to triumphant of the *right religion* dogma, since for the Salafist jihadist puritanical approaches negates class antagonism.

Capaldi Nicholas, Gordon Lloyd. “Part Two: The Arrival of Political Economy: Liberty, Property, and Equality; Alexis de Tocqueville *Democracy in America*.” *The Two Narratives of Political Economy*. 2011. John Wiley & Sons. Pp 179-208. P 192.

“The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, that each time ended, either in the revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.”

Marx, Karl, Friedrich Engels. “*Chapter I. Bourgeois and Proletarians*.” *The Communist Manifesto*. 2002. Penguin Classics. P 5.

<sup>xxx</sup> The two most often mention *commodities* in the Code of Hammurabi are goats and wheat.

Meek, Theophile J. “*The Code of Hammurabi*.” *Chapter V, legal Text: Collection of Laws from Mesopotamia*. In James B. Pritchard, Daniel E. Fleming: *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*. 2010. Princeton University Press; Pp 155-178.

<sup>xxxi</sup> She was the second historically confirmed female pharaoh, the first being *Sobekneferu*. There is a long lineage of female Pharaohs beginning with *Merneith*, or at least dating back to the beginning of Egypt’s written history, culminating with Cleopatra, who married Mark Anthony.

Fletcher, Joann. “*Egypt’s Lost Queens and Ancient Egypt: Life and Death in the Valley of the Kings*.” *The BBC*. 2013. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=U0QXR7Ky59o>

Beyoncé, ordained queen of pop, continued elevating these queens with batch of merchandises all bearing *her* image as *Queen Nefertiti*. This came in the heels of Beyoncé garbing a goddess-like ensemble, Cleopatra, for her Grammys performance.

Muller, Marissa G. “*Beyoncé Is Taking Her Title as Queen Bey Literally With Nefertiti-Inspired Merch*.”

30, March 2018. *Women Magazine*. Available at: <https://www.wmagazine.com/story/beyonce-releases-queen-nefertiti-inspired-merch/>

While many in the Matured Democracies continue to contemplate “if a woman can be elected president,” the history of the region, clearly delineates Queens and Pharaohs for millennia. The *imposed religions* on the region, altered the equilibrium of gender egalitarianism; *colonialism* in the region, disproportionately cemented these discrepancies into a three-letter pronoun.

<sup>xxxii</sup> 1979 became the year that changed many things with its affects still reverberating.

Shah is forced to leave; *Khomeini* is returned to Iran; American Embassy is commandeered with hostages taken; oil prices spike, another US Embassy, in Islamabad, is destroyed; later that year, Prime Minister *Bhutto* is executed, *Saddam Hussein* reign begins, *Wahabis*, seize the Grand Mosque in Mecca, *Sadat* and *Begin* sign the first Arab-Israeli peace treaty, Soviets invades Afghanistan, UK's first female Prime Minister Thatcher begins the sows the seeds of Neoliberalism, Sandinista overthrow US backed Nicaraguan government, Zimbabwe begins the first Postcolonial transition from Rhodesia; *Idi Amin* is deposed in Uganda, The USSR and the US sign the SALT II Treaty, China institutes the One Child Policy; the *Chairman* post is abolished, Pope John Paul II visits his native Poland, a Communist country, Three Mile island Nuclear Accident preoccupies Americans, Voyager 1 made its closest approach to Jupiter, YMCA sues the Village People for appropriation, Pink Floyd release *The Wall*, the passing of Sid Vicious and John Wayne, Duke, devastates Punk Rock fans and White Nationalist respectively. I escaped the region for what eventually became a self-imposed exile in the United States.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> For nearly a decade, in numerous occasions and side conversation with my Chair, I have predicted an events or chain of events with well-above average accuracy. In many occasions, my extrapolation has been much more accurate than the established prognosticators. Psychoanalyst Melanie Klein, described such modicum of accuracy as *Cassandra complex* resulting from “the destructive influences of the cruel super-ego,” Apollo, whilst she attempt to reawaken the human moral conscience by issuing admonition that “a refusal to believe what at the same time they know to be true, and expresses the universal tendency toward denial, [with] denial being a potent defense against persecutory anxiety and guilt.”

Klein, Melanie. “*Some Reflections on The Oresteia*.” *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946–1963*. ([1975], 2002) The Free Press. 2nd ed. P. 293.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Here, I am engaging with Rorty's tantalizing *possibilities*: how can contradictions be true? It cannot be true if Matured Democracies do not outgrow their parochialism by dismissing *Others'* contributions as but just mysticism: oversimplification, which now has morphed into Islamophobia. *Maturations* emanating from paradoxical victory, of democratic intellectual labor, of patriotism whilst stymied by endorsement of atrocities, of wars, of slavery, of slaughter of indigenous people, and of the pilferage of extractive resources. The Military Industrial Complex that is Matured Democracies whilst declaring war on cancer and other malignancies that, only they have the necessary resources to *combat*. The ignorance that continues to be perpetuates in some segments of Matured Democracies, sidelines many in their former colonies, fighting for temporal and spatial justice. Meanwhile, fabric of humanity is suffering from the greatest proportional deficits of life and limb. If, *Achieving Our Country* and humanity to be more than just a platitude, the civic engagement and inspiration of a *vibrant, active Left*, ought to counterbalance Matured Democracies' Nationalists, who have come to dominate the public sphere. *Humanity cannot be the breath that had died in our collective throats*, and *The Fire Next Time*.

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