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**A Socio-Political and Literary Study of Post-9/11 America
in the Vision of Some Native and Arab-American
Playwrights**

A PhD Dissertation

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Abstract

September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center (WTC) and the building of the Pentagon, and its excessive reverberations inside the United States and overseas, incite questions and lots of exclamation marks concerning the US official outline and Bush administration internal and foreign policies. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to highlight 9/11 episodes and its consequences in light of liberalism, politics, conspiracy theories, and drama in order that we might be able to fill the gap between many allegations and claims to reach real facts about the destruction of the WTC buildings, the declaration of war on terror, and the stigmatization of Islam and Muslims.

Keywords: civil liberties, conspiracy theories, liberal-democratic principles, 9/11 events, war on terrorism, xenophobia.

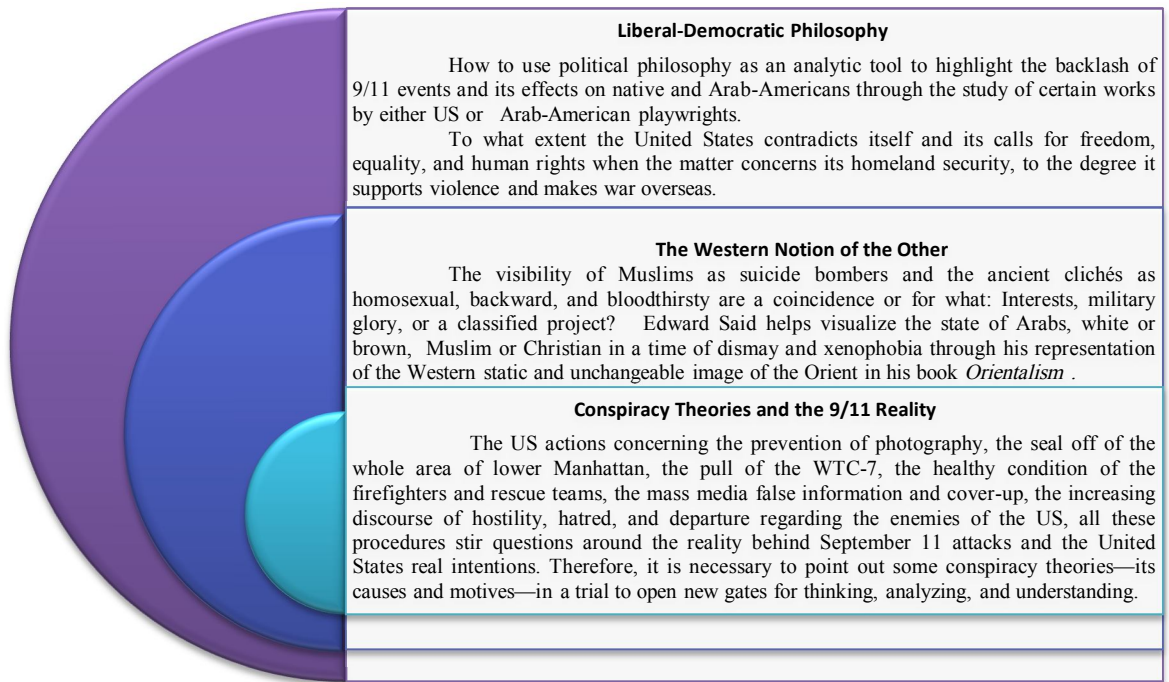
INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Immediately after the attacks on the World Trade Center, Bush administration has declared that the WTC destruction is a consequence of the crash of four Boeing 757 and 767 planes, hijacked by 19 terrorists from the Middle East. The accusation of al Qaeda and the US inauguration of an international War on Terror inside and outside the borders of the United States incite questions around the American real intentions. If these calamities are organized by a terrorist organization headed by Osama bin Laden, why would war, and not diplomatic solutions, be the choice? For what reasons is the detention of large numbers of Arab and Middle Eastern Americans? On whatever ground are calls for public service? First and foremost, is the US account true or not? Moreover, the discourse of homeland security increases amidst a set of laws that curbs civil liberties and intensifies immigration legislation. Also, Rodriguez in his article, “(Dis)unity and Diversity in Post-9/11 America,” points out that the portrayal and representation of Arab immigrants as murderers and US first enemy drive hostility, paranoia, racial profiling, hate speech, and bias-motivated violence against these ethnic groups (383).

Hence, the purpose of this study is to fill the gap between all these allegations to reach real facts about the destruction of the WTC buildings, the declaration of war, and the stigmatization of Islam and Muslims. Are these intensive procedures fair in light of the US liberal and democratic Constitution?

To answer this question and clarify the reasons behind the US government handling of the events, and its passage of new legislations, the dissertation depends on three methodological directions: the liberal-democratic philosophy, the Western notion of the “other”, and the conspiracy theories and 9/11 reality.



Therefore, it is necessary to point out this critical approach and what it implies. According to Terry Eagleton, in his *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, critical insights imply sort of policy (170). So, political criticism covers under its umbrella many critical approaches. But all of them investigate how literary works uncover “grievances” (Gillespie 140) in an attempt to improve the social and political conditions of societies, and achieve a sort of justice. The benefit of this trend lies in its critically questioning the problems of our time and place, and of our making in order that we might be able to face such challenges and gain consciousness. Political critics look at a literary work, whether a novel, a play, or a poem, with a close eye to reflect the way it can be a resource for “analysis, resistance, and transformation of society” (146).

Contemporary political criticism encloses different trends of political inquiry which have its specific set of information. Among these critical methods are feminist criticism, multicultural criticism, racial and ethnic criticisms, postcolonial criticism, Marxist criticism, lesbian, gay, and queer criticisms, and eco criticism. However, the research gives special consideration to racial and ethnic criticism, next to some of the political ideologies. The

United States and its way of dealing with the 9/11 attacks bring into view a new racial formation. And the idea of the “other”, as illustrated in Edward Said’s *Orientalism*, appears on the surface (Rodriguez 387).

Therefore, the dissertation discusses some of American political ideologies, especially American liberalism. It questions if US calls for freedom, equality, liberty, and the government noninterference with people’s lives as possible, will last even in a time of disaster. Also, the 9/11 events pave the way for actual nationalism. It is a strong belief that one’s nation is great and better than others as usual. It is a popular movement that works best in a democratic country. It has the potential ability to gather all citizens around an insistent national inquiry. Hence, the question of what does it mean to be an American brings to light.

Accordingly, this study attempts to trace the core principles of liberalism and the political background of the American President George W. Bush to assess his handling of 9/11. To what extent is the US War on Terror an expression of its tolerant, neutral, indifferent, and open regime considering the slaughter of millions of innocent civilians in Afghanistan and Iraq? Next, this visibility of Muslims as terrorists, backward, aggressive, and anti- liberalism and freedom is for the benefit of whom?

Thus, politics is “intersubjectivity, communication, and the commitment to some form of community” (Morgan 4). It bears the responsibility of the effects of one’s new actions, as well as it rejects forms of “determinism” (4)—a doctrine that everything is reasonable and inevitable. Therefore, art has a place in politics because it motivates the imagination of what is new. It works as a source of inspiration, an object of reflection, and a means of exchanging ideas. Like art, theatre is an eye on the life and conditions of a certain period with an illusion to its culture and value systems in a trial to understand its ideologies and both human nature and condition. The only difference is the dialogue, an interaction between and among human beings. Theatre “dramatizes the power of human misunderstandings and conflicts, the

problematic nature of morality, and the ways in which unintended consequences can play havoc with human plans, lives, and relationships” (5).

In the nineteenth century, theatre came to be among the devices by which France, England, and the United States set up themselves as nations. It helped create the identity of people. In the twentieth century, it had a genuine function which is to spread state ideologies and to introduce official stories of history (6).

The turning point and the deep impact of 9/11 have affected America as a whole socially and officially. Political theatre has a secondary role in the American theatrical life and in the formation of the American notions of freedom and identity. After 9/11, according to many political and cultural critics, playhouses dealt with either the foreign and domestic threats cautiously, resulting from the reactions of the US administration toward these threats. Islamic fundamentalism, the coverage of 9/11 event, the conflict between America and the Middle East, patriotism, social injustices, national security, hysteria, sexuality, faith in God, American anxiety and feelings of defensiveness, are the most themes discussed in political theatre from either foreign or native eyes (Havis 6 – 10).

The Middle East is at the front of the news. The four areas forming the region have a prevailing religion, Islam, and a great deal of history, next to common cultural backgrounds. However, after 9/11, these four areas are treated as one entity, regardless the national character, and cultural and political connections and differences of each. This negative perspective or feeling causes categorizing as a stereotype the inhabitants of the region as religious fanatics and intolerant. Though this attitude does not promote to international dialogue and understanding, it demands too much from immigrants whose image in their news homelands has been dirtied by association (Amin x).

Moreover, the catastrophe of September 11 shut up the artists of Middle-Eastern American theatre, but voices of protest against damnation, suspicion, and disapproval have

risen. Among these voices are Betty Shamieh, Heather Raffo, Nathalie Handal, Samir Younis, Torange Yeghiazarian, and Yussef El Guindi (Hill xxviii – xxxiii). The works of these “hybrid” (Amin xi) writers are like a “diplomatic mission” (xi).

Therefore, the research tries to visualize the situation post-9/11 through the study of four dramatic works of two native versus two Arab American playwrights, which investigate the world after these terroristic attacks. These plays exemplify in Ann Nelson’s *The Guys* (2001), Allan Havis’s *Three Nights in Prague* (2003), Yussef El Guindi’s *Back of the Throat* (2006), and Samir Younis’s *Browntown* (2006). The two Middle-Eastern American dramatists represent a group of artists whose presence becomes visible, for positive and negative reasons, because of their ethnicity. They oppose stereotyping, searching for their identity. They refuse the categorization of the “other”. They are US citizens too (Amin ix – xii).

Anne Nelson—growing up in Stillwater—attended Jefferson and Will Rogers elementary Schools, and graduated from C. E. Donart High School in 1972. She was one of the first women from Oklahoma to graduate from Yale University. She majored in the area of international media development. She was a war correspondent in Latin America and has written extensively on media, conflict, and human rights. Nelson has taught at the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University since 1995. She is a member of the Council of Foreign Relations, and the recipient of a 2005 Guggenheim Fellowship for work on media and Nazi Germany (Columbia University 1).

Nelson is a widely produced playwright and screenwriter. Her play *The Guys* deals with the post-9/11 experience and has been produced throughout the United States and in fourteen countries. It gives a detailed account of either the conditions of both the Americans and the landscape of New York City in 2001, or the shock these events cause, and how they change the world forever.

The Guys was set, written, and performed in the cultural moment before the shift of narrative from mourning to “retribution” (Cherry 160) and the larger war on terrorism. It was written in a time of great anxiety and fear, a time before the 9/11 attacks “became rhetorically entangled with” (160) the United States adventurism overseas. Based on Nelson’s own experiences in the days after the attacks, *The Guys* is a simple one-act play with two characters—two unlikely persons thrown together by a chance event. Joan (the stand-in for Nelson), a trade writer, helps Nick, a Brooklyn fire captain, write the eulogies for the firemen and friends he lost in these catastrophic attacks. The main action of the play is in the difficulty of how to find the language that expresses such a trauma, and articulates Nick’s feelings as well as helps heal the families’ great sorrow. In the end, the stories that Nick tells Joan about his men reveal how we use words to struggle with our sense of loss. Thus, *The Guys* is about the ability of language and performance to associate people mentally or emotionally in a time of distress. It is a “thought-provoking insight into how individuals reacted to the terrorist attacks, yet maintaining a lighthearted air to offset the horrors of the past” (Ballard 2).

Allan Havis is a professor of theater and provost of Thurgood Marshall College at the University of California, San Diego. He is the writer of full-length published plays, which have been produced at many of the country’s leading playhouses (Schanke 15). His 2003 play, *Three Nights in Prague* points out to view the character of one of the lead hijackers in 9/11 attacks, Muhammad Atta, and raises issues around religious ideology, martyrdom, political strategy as well as the mysterious connection between Al Qaeda and Baghdad through Atta-al Ani, Iraqi consulate official, meeting five months before 9/11 in Prague. It tries to “speculate” (California Institute 1) what might have occurred politically and personally during Atta’s short-term visit.

Three Nights in Prague is a call for thinking about how a young man voluntarily chooses to become a suicide terrorist and what his mind looks like. Havis's accomplishment in this play is his portrayal of a mind that becomes thoroughly imbued with an "impenetrable" (Colleran 110) religious/political point of view. Accordingly, the play concentrates on the ideological background of Muhammad Atta, his education, and his relation with bin Laden, next to the realm of "mytho-terrorism"¹ (Colleran 111), asking questions about what kind of a child grows up to be Atta, and why Westerners—Americans in particular—are willing to "give credence" (111) to such an alliance between Al Qaeda and Iraq.

Yussef El Guindi is an Egyptian-American playwright who has lived in the United States since 1983 and has been a citizen since 1996. He graduated from the American University in Cairo in 1982. He then came to the US and got a Master of Fine Arts at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh. He is among a small group of Arab-American dramatists who achieved a higher representation since the 9/11 terrorist events. Their work is partly planned to face stereotypes about Arabs and Muslims, and to unite a varied group of immigrants and second-and third- generation Arabs, Muslims, and Christians as well (Smith 1 - 3).

Back of the Throat designates the protagonist's—an Arab-American writer named Khaled—effort to make the police officers able to utter the first syllable of his name. The identification of oneself becomes usual for Arab-Americans who come to be a subject of "curiosity and fear" (1) since 9/11. It is an "uncomfortable, up close confrontation with what it is like to be on the other end of post-9/11 hysterics" (Snyder 1). It begins in the writer's apartment, a confined New York flat crowded with books and clothes. He is subjected to an "enigmatic" (Berson 1) investigation in which every word he utters will be unfairly used

¹ According to Michael Bhatia, in *Terrorism and the Politics of Naming*, mytho-terrorism—to create in the mind a state of an unreal collectivity—undermines a political order through a symmetrical violence but is unable to generate public legitimacy for an earthly alternative. It depends on an eternal struggle, a jihad, or holy war (27).

against him. As the interrogation continues, the US federal agents become grim and ungentle. A behavior shows an end of privacy. They tend to “peruse” (1) Khaled’s laptop computer, which is full of “personal” (1) material according to his reference. There are no legal rights. His insistent requests for a lawyer are rejected. Thus, while the play points out recent events—of fears for US national security, of harsh treatment of detainees at Guantanamo Bay—it raises philosophical and political questions as well.

Actor-writer Samir Younis is a first generation Lebanese-American from Houston, TX. His father, a Syrian born in Senegal, met Sam’s Lebanese Christian mother in medical school, and they moved to Houston a few years before Younis was born. He majored in Spanish and Sociology at Vanderbilt and minored in theatre. He studied an MFA in acting at Columbia. During his study Sam said:

I didn’t experience my ethnicity as a boundary. I played a lot of Shakespeare and landed an understudy role in Broadway in *The Tale of the Allergist’s Wife*. When the run ended in September of 2002, I went out on auditions and found that I was consistently up for Middle Eastern terrorist roles. I felt a kind of defensive at this point and turned down some auditions on principle, but I wanted to work. I met a lot of Arab American friends at these casting calls and it got kind of comic—‘who’s going to get this one?’ and a small community grew (Alliance for Inclusion in the Arts 1).

An experience compels him to write his play *Browntown*. It investigates the issue of cultural stereotyping and racism from the perspective of three brown actors at an audition for an original TV- movie, *The Color of Terror*. Their experience at the audition enlightens the ways in which the three actors are both “victims and perpetrators of cultural mudslinging” (Tang 24). In addition, *Browntown* raises questions, such as should brown actors take that

terrorist role for money or reject it on principle? What will Omar, Malek, and Vijay act when put to the test?

Consequently, the massive-murder and destruction of 9/11 swiftly incurs a change of the political discourse and governmental practices. Politicians and analysts urge the need to “exceptional measures” (Neal 1) on times of remarkable danger and threat. As a result, irregular procedures have been enforced: “detention without trial, rendition, derogations from human rights law, sanction or connivance in torture” (1). In addition, an aggressive war against international law and civil liberties comes to be clear. The term exceptional denotes the authorization and mobilization of unlawful, outrageous, and intolerant practices, which are rivalry to notions of liberty and liberal societies. A question here poses itself. Is any extensive assault a reason or a justification to disbelieve rights, freedoms, respect, and justice?

Thus, emergency requires exceptionalism not only in discourse, but in state policies and social relations as well. Liberalism, liberty, individual rights of privacy and freedom, and civil liberties come to be into question in light of new legislation—Patriotic Acts—and foreign affairs policies.

This background of the United States as inequitable and racist is not the only one. Gargi Bhattacharyya assures, in *Dangerous Brown Men*, that post-9/11 is not against terrorism. It is a clash of civilization. The battle is between “us” and “them” (2), and in particular the way we live—our culture. The War on Terror is only a means to change centers of power and relations between countries in an attempt to re-create notions of belonging, legality, and otherness. It is a “global project of cultural and political reconstruction” (9). Hence, racial profiling and demonization of the other exceed fears and anxieties against “enemies within” (75) that have to be defeated and tamed by a militarization and legislation

of state racism. The USA revives ancient stereotypes of the other to repress and socially exclude these ethnicities.

Also, Peter Morey and Amina Yaqin introduce, in *Framing Muslims: Stereotyping and Representation After 9/11*, the Western clichés regarding the character of Muslims and Arabs and their depiction in media, cartoons, and politicians' speeches. Their existence in the West is troublesome and a source of disturbance due to their commitment to their culture. Muslims are always visualized as homosexual, independent, passive, and "zombie-like body"² (2). Therefore, the target of this work is to shed light upon the gap between delineation and reality of Muslim characterization since 9/11. It is a one-way pattern of unchanging worldview of the other. "The bearded Muslim fanatic, the oppressed, veiled woman, the duplicitous terrorist . . . the better to bring about our destruction" (2), images gain acceptance and emphasis, especially after the attacks of September 11, 2001. The Western harsh animosity and aggression exceeds in intensity as an outcome to their incapability of reasoning the expansion of Islam despite their long-term distortion and disfigurement (3).

Furthermore, refuting the US claims concerning 9/11 events is a target for truth seekers and academics. Among them are Webster Tarpley, Michael Ruppert, Peter Dale Scott, and David Macgregor, who point to secret organisms of the US government which might be able to inform and account for the "mass-murder" (DAVIDsson 8) of September 11. They emphasize the existence of a powerful and hidden entity in parallel to the US official system that aspires for supremacy and control.

9/11 events are an act of terror that the US exploits to arouse anger and hatred against Arab ethnic groups to give reasons behind the US and NATO states violence and their wars of counterterrorism in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya. Elias DAVIDsson declares that "no real hijacking took place" (11). And as a consequence, there are no 19 hijackers with devil

² "Zombie," as defined in Collins English Dictionary, is a person who appears to be lifeless, apathetic, or totally lacking in independent judgment.

schemes. He raises three questions: Does the US have evidences that the four planes were hijacked by 19 Muslims on 9/11? For what reasons is the analysis of the phone calls of the flights full of holes and contradictions? At last, did the four flights hit the Twin Towers and the Pentagon, if not, what happened to them? (10)

To conclude, this study is divided into four chapters, an introduction, and a conclusion. Chapter I, entitled “Democracy under Attack,” gives a detailed account on liberal-democratic principles, the notion of the other in the perspective of Edward Said, and how these criteria enable us to portray the state of Arabs, white or brown, Muslim or Christian in a time of dismay and xenophobia. It also clarifies the US incitation for national and patriotic actions. The homeland is under threat.

Chapter II, entitled “9/11: the Black Box,” is an attempt to seek truth around the US claims concerning the attacks and its motivations. It also points to some conspiracy theories that merely prevent truth seekers from reaching accurate evidences. These theories sometimes may be deviations from reality or introduce semi-facts. Also, this section throws light upon Khalzov’s book, *9/11Thology*, which conceals the US account and clarifies that the ruin of the WTC Buildings is a result of a nuclear controlled demolition process. It also inquires who the beneficial is.

Chapter III, “Between Shock and War: The Big Lie,” highlights the drama of Native Americans and how they view 9/11 catastrophe. It also gives shades on the ideas of nationalism, patriotism, and the relation between religion and terror, and Western thinking of martyrdom. *The Guys* and *Three Nights in Prague* portray a state of shock, pain and calls for union, in parallel to the US demonization of the other and its announcement of an international war against terrorism whose root is in the Middle East. A methodical campaign against Muslims and Islam is adopted by eminent officials and media. The US administration succeeds in spreading fear and paranoia among citizens. Americans are certain that they have

to be side by side with the government and its stands. The USA faces coward international terror which has to be combated with police measures and military forces. Homeland security has the priority. In times of danger overreaction is needed (Posner 25).

Chapter IV, titled “The Arab-American: A Citizen or an Insider,” deals with El Guindi’s *Back of the Throat* and Younis’s *Browntown*, shedding light upon racism, ethnicity, and xenophobia. It also raises questions about America as the land of democracy, equality, personal liberty, human rights, and diversity amidst calls for the curtailment of civil liberties. The existence of immigrants on US soil is an American grant. They have no right. Therefore, any opposing orientation, that urges the necessity to stick to constitutional principles and treating individual privacy and the rights of suspects as inviolable and holy, is some sort of trouble-making (26). Hence, El Guindi and Younis notarize the aggressive face of the US and the Western taboos concerning Arabs and Muslims.

In brief, this study attempts to think about the US policies post-9/11, and in particular in the Middle East, and its systematic stigmatization of Muslims and Middle Easterners. Are these billion dollars spent on the Wars against Terror for liberating nations according to the US statement? Great slogans always cover dirty and sinister projects.

CHAPTER I

DEMOCRACY UNDER ATTACK

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DEMOCRACY UNDER ATTACK

The US as a Liberal-Democratic

The Core of a Liberal-Democratic Philosophy

Liberalism and Its Canons

Conservatism

9/11 and Its Social and Political Reverberations

The Patriot Act

The Racial Discrimination and Ideological Exclusion of Arabs and Muslims

The Idea of Otherness as Being Represented by Edward Said

The US Foreign Policy and the War on Terrorism

Introduction

Bush's Political Tackling of 9/11

Bush and Religion

The US War on Terror

Chapter I

DEMOCRACY UNDER ATTACK

The US as a Liberal-Democratic

This chapter puts two and two together in an attempt to assess the US handling of September 11 attacks, and understand in times of danger the state gives priority to what? Principles or interests? Liberty or security? Diplomacy or violence? Therefore, it throws light upon liberal-political philosophy in its purest form, the revival of old racial stereotypes of Muslims, and the political background of Bush administration, to present a logic interpretation of 9/11 and its outcomes.

The Core of a Liberal-Democratic Philosophy

Political philosophy brings into focus individuals in social surroundings, and especially those rules and laws that direct the lives of persons in a society. Hence, its focal point is people, individuals or groups, “but people as they live within rule-governed social institutions” (Christman 3). Amongst these institutions is the state, which is the highly important because of its legal, political, and economic actions. Generally, political philosophy is concerned with “the study of *power*¹, of institutional centers of social power that shape and constrain the lives of people living together” (3).

Political philosophy is also known as “the liberal democratic model,” “philosophical liberalism,” “political liberalism,” and simply “liberalism” (7). Broadly, liberalism justifies political authority, an authority which guarantees the rights and choices of individuals whose “rational autonomy and freedom to choose for themselves is respected by such authority” (7). Specifically, liberalism sees that the state is responsible for achieving justice for citizens, but not for enhancing their good or their virtue. The first task of political institutions is to protect

¹ The word ‘power’ is originally italicized.

their rights and regulate social relations among them, not to ensure persons live prosperous lives (7).

Therefore, liberty of individuals is essential, liberty to find out what is being good life. This secures religious freedom, freedom of association, speech, and privacy. As a consequence, the concept of 'person' or 'citizen' in liberal theory is viewed as "an independent rational agent" (7), one who is able to think and modify one's choices, and to make contracts with others'—traditions, religions, families, or nations. Also, two basic characteristics have to be existed in a liberal state: neutrality and tolerance. The state has to be neutral regarding its citizens' search for good life. This means it upholds respect, equality, and tolerance. Each person is free in pursuit of a value system, provided that his quest for such a system does not restrain others own search (7).

Liberalism and Its Canons

A liberal society is meant to be an open society, a free and tolerant setting where a wide variety of pursuits is allowed, within equal opportunities for everyone. Laws are made and society is built upon the principles of tolerance and equality, where neutrality characterizes state actions towards its members and the various forms of life. However, the state sometimes confines choices if it is a pre-requisite to guarantee the equal position of all citizens (Christman 94 - 95).

Historically, liberalism implies diverse meanings, and there are no definite criteria. Nevertheless, there is a basic orientation in the tradition formed by liberal political philosophy which supplied means of support for constitutional democracies put against hierarchical monarchies in medieval and Renaissance Europe. Popular sovereignty gains its legitimacy only when political authority is taken from people governed by it, not from "divine mandate or the natural order of the universe" (95).

In opposing an abstract ordered system of values, liberalism brings into notice the notion of pluralism, that there is a multiplicity of valid conceptions of the good. It means that there is no sole substance or principle and no rigid system of values can be fixed or itemized to be objective for all agents. “Different pursuits, such as increasing one’s own happiness, promoting world peace, expressing praise and devotion to a religious leader, celebrating aesthetic beauty . . . might be determined to be valid for some person or group; but such a determination cannot be set out independently of the judgment of the people in those groups themselves—the universe . . . is not ordered with its values in place for all to simply discover and live by” (95). Thus, liberalism supposes that values come to be legitimate partially through people’s approval. That is considered its “constructivism” (95).

The fundamental constituent of liberalism is the respect of the equal status of all persons in pursuing in a rational and independent manner what is valuable among things. Justice ensures the right that is, people are able to conceive, accept, refuse, or alter notions of value in accordance with their own choices. However, for liberalism social justice lies mainly in the real estimation of individuals and their freedom to choose whatever they value for themselves (96).

In relation to this context is the individualism of liberal philosophy. Liberalism insists on the protection of interests at the base level, the individuals’ desire to live autonomously. This does not mean that it encourages the separateness of individuals from associations, traditions, history, but it enhances their choices to be or not to be members in such communities (96).

Moreover, according to liberalism, justice equals the protection of people’s capabilities of leading self-governing lives. To get hold of the rules of justice, the right, is more basic than aiding any idea of what is worthwhile for people, the good. Unless persons’ seeking to achieve their good independently is protected by the rules of justice, the state can

never be of interest to the support of people's good. Hence, the good—what is valuable, virtuous, fulfilling, and worthwhile in human life—is achieved as long as the principles of justice that direct social interactions are secured (96 - 97).

Thus, the liberal state is neither paternalistic nor perfectionist. "It is anti-paternalistic in that it does not interfere with a rational autonomous person's pursuit of what she thinks good (for her) even if such interference is thought to promote the person's good for a more objective point of view. Its anti-perfectionism is . . . that the liberal state does not promote the good overall for its citizens in any way that violates respect for the autonomous lives of those citizens" (97). The state is out of the individual's life and choices.

Consequently, the conception of neutrality comes to view. The liberal state does not either represent a specific religious or political orientation, or determine what is valuable for citizens. Individuals themselves are the only concerned. This tendency to neutrality requires a liberal state to differentiate between private and public life. For an open society, activities that may have a passive effect on just social relations and interactions are of proper concern to political control, the public, while others which imply an individual's or a group's search for what is thought to be worthwhile or good, are out of public control, they are private. This perception of what is public and private is an application of the liberal assurance of the priority of the right over the good. Hence, the neutrality of the state is a mere extension of this position. The state has to be neutral towards people's varied beliefs of good life (98).

Moreover, neutrality comes to be a base to the liberal principle of toleration, where an allowance of the exercise of unlike lifestyles, value systems, and different personal outlooks is ensured. However, neutrality and toleration are of different characteristics, and represent opposing stances toward policy if embodied in state activities. Neutrality equals no position towards neither of the choices regarding the issue in question, while toleration allows some

forms of life or behavioral attitudes despite one's disagreement. As a consequence, toleration implies a negative estimation of the values being tolerated to some degree (98).

Diversity is between neutrality and toleration. There is no opposition to either allow different attitudes and lifestyles or be neutral towards them, and at the same time value their importance. Diversity stands at the positive side, neutrality in the middle, and toleration at the opposite end in the system of value estimation (99).

However, what kind of neutrality seems to be supported by liberal theorists—neutrality of aim or neutrality of outcome. Political liberalism would rather neutrality of aim than that of outcome, because the latter suggests that all the results of a state action are of equal position. Neutrality of aim, on the other hand, concerns the reasons given for the principles affecting state policies. The state and its representatives (designers of its constitution, legislators, and those in political office) have not to propose policies advocating certain set of values or aims that may be rejected by most citizens (99).

Therefore, liberalism is that approach of political philosophy focalizing individual autonomy. Hence, justice is considered to be that number of principles accepted as legitimate by rational and independent persons. In addition, such principles have to be prior to the encouragement of what is good, lest personal autonomy in resolving what is worthwhile is neglected. Thus, it is apparent that equality of moral status—the equal position of individuals—is basic to liberalism (125).

Conservatism

Liberalism stands as a general approach to justice in the modern era, a theoretical view that forms the foundation of constitutional democracy and popular sovereignty, and not a definite political agenda or specific policies. It contrasts with political fundamentalism, fascism, and despotism, but this does not mean that it is in total opposition to what comes under the label of conservative in the political discussions of the current day (126).

Conservative is unlike the liberal model; it represents usual policies, such as strict penal system, a strong military, family values, and traditional religious practices. Thus, conservatism aims to preserve or restore what is established or traditional and to limit change, since such changes might destroy established practices in favor of new ones. So, conservatives are traditionalists (126 - 127).

Also, conservatism is considered perfectionist in the sense that it sees state power as equivalent as the promotion of the good for its people. The political institutions design not only to establish but to protect the conditions requisite for citizens to lead thriving lives as well. Just social relations are among other elements of such a life, as public health, shelter, companionship, and self-respect. Social circumstances like freedom, equality, justice, toleration, a healthy environment, and peace, are required for these goods. Accordingly, most people can lead booming lives even if there are some persons facing a sort of injustice to a degree. This is a sharp contrast between conservatism and liberalism: liberals view that justice accompanied with equality and autonomy a pre-requisite to achieve flourishing lives for individuals and a primary virtue in a “decent” society (127).

Furthermore, conservatives think about autonomy as one part of a good life, but one turned away from entirely in localities where adhesion is given to obedience and authority than personal independence. If autonomy is considered as the possibility to make free choices based on unlimited opportunities which people see proper for them, then the liberal claim that autonomy is a basic constituent of a good life is controversial. Because some lives are enclosed in traditions and authoritarian regimes which restrict freedoms. So if these lives are worthwhile, individualized autonomy is not a precondition for adequate life (127 - 128)

As a consequence, conservatives conceive that the elements of a good life have to be built on traditions and experienced practices to achieve goodness for the whole society. They regard the past as a primary reference to answer all the questions about the future, and are

aware of the danger of destroying what is good about society than correcting what is bad. Conservatism prefers social stability against internal and external threats than achieves some social reformations for some of the population (128).

9/11 and Its Social and Political Reverberations

In America before 9/11, civil rights and public safety were discussed in a way that proved the importance of liberty to the extent that any suggestion made in the name of enhancing public safety, including antiterrorism measures raised on the country by a 1996 commission on national security, was considered an invasion of American freedoms. Libertarians viewed the government, not terror, the main threat to individual rights, because it represented the American Civil Liberties Union and its likes as anti-social order and weakens the moral structure of the society as well as invites terrorism (Etzioni ix).

Immediately after September 11, the Americans, despite their differences and orientations, worked in harmony. Either the government or civil institutions competed to do the best for the country. Congress—working with the White House—ensured the importance of public safety, keeping supporting American rights and the principles of respect (ix-x). They have supported the direction of fighting terrorism and savagery wherever it is.

The Patriot Act:

The woeful events of September 11, 2001 form a basic turning point in American history. It discloses “an era of crisis, upheaval and militarization of American society” (Chossudovsky 2). A deep and broad reformation of US military principles was initiated as a result of 9/11. Unbounded terror and wars of aggression were launched under the covering of “counter-terrorism” (2). September 11 speeded the US movements towards “the relentless repeal of civil liberties, the militarization of law enforcement and the inauguration of “Police State USA” ” (2).

The USA adoption of the Patriot Act was the first legislative consequence post September 11. This legislation aimed at “Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism” (Atkins 290). Its purpose was to fill the gaps in domestic intelligence agency supposed to be previously more advanced. This new law produced controversy because it depressed many safeguards concerning Americans’ privacy rights against governmental involvement in their activities and concerns (290).

This Patriot Act increased the scope of the power of the government institutions as well as the range of crimes these agencies could follow using electronic surveillance. Federal authorities were allowed to use “roving wiretaps” (290) on any phone that a suspicious terrorist might use. Law enforcement officers were able to back track suspects without notifications till later times, a method known afterward as a “sneak-and-peak” operation (290). Also, FBI agents could acquire secret court orders to trace personal records like business, medical, library and other files without reasonable grounds for using threats or violence. Terrorism became a federal case and criminal penalties were increased for a list of offences, including conspiracy, terrorism, and interference with a flight crew. The Attorney General had the right to detain foreign suspected terrorists for a full week without clarifying the cause, or beginning an official investigation (290).

Hence, this new law extended the area of accusation of aliens the authorities thought of posing a risk to USA national security. It also made easier information sharing and communication between the United States and other governments (Etzioni 21). In addition, it succeeded in creating a state of wartime. The Americans were desirous to serve their nation at home and overseas. Calls for public service were raised. “Public Service is a virtue” (McCain 136). This was the right time to perform the responsibilities of a real and active citizenship (136).

The Racial Discrimination and Ideological Exclusion of Arabs and Muslims

In a disastrous time, unusual actions are necessary. Discussing immigration proceedings in a trial to comply with the emergence of homeland security is not an exploitation to achieve political ends under the coverage of war on terrorism. All nineteen hijackers and other detainees—due to these terroristic attacks—are foreigners. Overreactions might be unfair at times, but “their presence here is a privilege we grant, not a right they have exercised, and we may withdraw that privilege for any reason” (Krikorian 34).

The Patriot Act brings back ideological exclusion, excluding people for their ideas, beliefs, and associations. It prevents foreigners from entry for “pure speech” (Cole 41). It excludes aliens who are representatives of groups supporting terroristic activities, sponsors of terrorist organizations, or accepters of such acts in ways that weaken US endeavors to fight terrorism in a similar way (41).

Moreover, racial profiling becomes obvious among Americans since September 11 attacks. On September 20, three Arab men were driven away from a Northwest Airlines Flight because their appearance causes anxiety in the midst of passengers (Derbyshire 57). In an unstable state of affairs, a decisive change is impending. Picking out Arabs at airport security check-ins may have victims, but avoiding another 9/11 deserves the “imposition” (Kinsley 55). These crucial times catalyze hysteria. Racial profiling is hysteric, however as long as authorities respect people and apologize to the innocent these measures are practical and useful to prevent subsequent terroristic acts (Derbyshire 60).

Furthermore, post-9/11 United States presents a new pattern of rising xenophobia against Arabs and Muslims. A strong public reaction against persons thought of as being Arab or Muslim or both becomes a natural result of “the construction of the “Arab and Muslim” as the other in the dominant “American” imaginary” (Abdulhadi xx), pointing to the intensification of racial exclusion in times of crisis and war. This prevailing discourse mixes

up the categories Arab and Muslim and supposes that all Arabs are Muslim and vice versa. In addition, all Muslim Arabs have the same characteristics. The increasing fear and hatred against foreigners, and the fact that most of Arabs and Muslims come from countries the United States is at war with, fears play a significant part in the naturalizing of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim violence to a great degree (xxiii).

Thus, the events of 9/11 came out with complicated problems to American society and its citizens. These intricate difficulties were highly touched in Arab American groups that turned up to be in a unique position. Like natives, Arab Americans were shocked and horrified by the large losses of souls as a consequence of the airplanes crash of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, for their embodiment of the American economic and military power. At the same time, they were against the categorization of Arabs as “outsiders and insiders in U.S. society” (Hatem 10).

Cultural hostility against Arab culture and American foreign policy in the Middle East, in particular American uphold of Arab dictatorships and Israeli fierce fighting against the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, were a major source of bitterness and anger. Regarded as outsiders and insiders in the American society made Arab American hypercritical of domestic and international US policies, setting them apart from other Americans who integrated to get revenge from the perpetrators and their associations (11).

The fact that the terrorists behind September 11 events were Arab Muslims from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Lebanon, and the United Arab Emirates, contributed to the suspicion of either Arabs or Arab Muslim Americans as having complicity in such acts. Consequently, members of such a community bore the burden of such horror in front of the angry American public. The very important institutions of Arab American groups like schools, charitable organizations, and mosques were attacked by either American authorities or the masses for being a shoring of terrorism and terrorists. Also, Arab Americans rights of citizenship and

their civil merits were violated. The passage of the Patriot Act and the arrest of a large number of Arab Americans and Muslim Americans, and their brutalization in captivity were evidences on the transgression of their civil rights (11 - 12).

The issues of racism and social exclusion raised following the events of 9/11 form a great challenge to the liberal democratic model and the concept of individualism in particular, as a basic constituent of modern societies. The principles and ideals of political theory are set to be applicable to all social situations, regardless the injustices existed in the real world. However, ignoring such oppression “not only artificially truncates the normative scope of those principles, but also distorts their meaning when they are put into practice” (Christman 153).

As a result, why are the principles of justice, freedom, and equality violated when the society in question is experiencing pervasive discrimination at the social, political, and personal levels? Do we perceive such a society as just when public laws against discrimination are obeyed, and certain classes of people are treated with disdain, ridicule, and hatred at the social level? Hence, ongoing practices of injustice, discrimination, and inequalities raise methodological questions about the extent to which political theory has to remain a purely normative enterprise (157).

Racism and ethnic prejudice is a common aspect of the modern world. Continuing discrimination, social exclusion, and inequality of opportunity characterize everyday social interactions. Racism is a “set of beliefs, dispositions, and behavioral tendencies that express or are motivated by negative attitudes toward the members of certain groups, called races, who are ‘marked’ (physically) as different” (158). Thus, races are those classifications of human beings into groups according to specific bodily characteristics such as the lightness and darkness of skin, the texture and curliness of hair, facial features and the like. Such groups include white, black, Arabs, Muslims, Asian, and African (158).

Liberalism views individual autonomous person as of ultimate value, whereas justice guarantees such autonomy through a set of rules applied to public political institutions. The autonomy protected by liberalism is not varied in accordance with race, gender, or sexual orientation of an individual. This implies that autonomy has to be respected regardless the race of the people involved (159).

Racism represents differently; it may be an overt hostility or a violation of basic rights as denying a person a job because of race. However, there are other measures outside of the limits of the legal rules. Therefore, racism reflects the general attitude of a society, how specific standards of beauty or talent reflect a narrow cultural view, how the ways of social life for all groups are supported by other members of the community and mirrored in public organizations. Hence, “liberal theory seems inadequate to the task of capturing not only what is wrong with racism, but what must be done about it” (161 - 162).

The Idea of Otherness as Being Represented by Edward Said

Orientalism is a way of thinking about the distinction between the Orient and the Occident. This difference is the nucleus of detailed theories, social descriptions, and political reports concerning the Orient, its people, traditions, and mind. Such studies conclude that the relation between the West and the East is a “relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony” (Said 12).

Orientalism is not only a political topic thrown light upon by culture, scholarship, or institutions, nor is it a group of texts about the Orient, nor is it a model of an imperialist plot to achieve the Western interests in the East. It is rather a geopolitical data to be spread in all directions—aesthetics, economy, sociology, history, and philology. It is especially a discourse in co-relation with varied forms of power such as political, intellectual, cultural, and moral. Besides, orientalism is a political statement of the contrast between the

“familiar”—Europe, the West, and “us”— and the “strange”—the Orient, the East, and “them” (40).

Who is the Oriental?

The Western image of the Orient and its representatives is unchangeable. To Westerners, in general, Arabs are uncivil, psychopath, and illogical. Said's *Orientalism*, published in 1978, instills in the mind the Western static viewpoint about the East and its inhabitants. The West looks at the Eastern queerness as innate and natural:

Oriental or Arabs are . . . to be gullible, “devoid of energy and “initiative,” much given to “fulsome flattery,” intrigue, cunning, and unkindness to animals. . . . Orientals are inveterate liars, they are “lethargic and suspicious,” and in everything oppose the clarity, directness, and nobility of the Anglo-Saxon race. . . . The Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, “different”; thus the [Westerner] is rational, virtuous, mature, “normal”.
(Said 36 - 38)

Besides, Edward Said explains that according to Harold W. Glidden in his essay “The Arab World,” there are Westerners who are reasonable, open, dialectic, and trustful, and Arab-Orientals who are representatives of strife, solidarity, conformity, violence, and enmity. Moreover, Islam is considered to be a false version of Christianity. It is a symbol of terror, destruction, demon, and barbarism. Islam is an everlasting trauma. Alike, Muhammad is seen as the messenger of a false religion and the caller for lust, vice, pederasty, and an example of falseness due to the imposture of his doctrine (53 - 55).

The Easterners and Muslims are always introduced to the Western world as aliens who have a particular work to do in the West. The goal behind Western Orientalism is to demean the Orient and Arab-Muslims in specific. They are viewed as an object of study framed by a characteristic of otherness and queerness. They are seen as unusual, different,

non-active, non-autonomous, passive, and a subject. The Orientals have to be described as others. Features clarify the political vision of a master-slave relation (82).

In addition, the contemporary Orientalist thoughts of the Orient and Arabs fill completely the Western mind. Arabs are thought of as camel-riding, terroristic, lechers “whose undeserved wealth is an affront to real civilization” (90). On the other hand, the Orient is fixed and does not open to change. The West is the doer and creator, while the East is the contrast, always timeserver and non-actor, no individuality and personal characteristics or experiences. William Muir points out that jihad, Koran, and Muslims are the enemies of civilization and liberty (123).

However, Orientalism reflects the viewpoints of the official institutions concerning the Orient. Hence, these organizations put forth its power on the Orient, the Orientalist, and the Westerners themselves. The East is penalized for violating the limits of the Western world. And as a result, it is Orientalized in accordance to the Orientalist rules and scheme, and is represented to the Westerners as the “true Orient” (59). Truth here points to the Orientalist judgments and knowledge, regardless the material itself. Therefore, Orientalism is basically a political discipline offered nothing but imperialism whatever its form is, racism, and supremacy of the West over other cultures. The Orient is a place either to be feared or to be controlled whenever possible (237). Thus, colonization or modern imperialism is defined as the knowledge of the other and the creation of interests which can be commercial, communicational, religious, military, or cultural. A new form of global power veils its real intentions towards the East and its resources, and introduces itself not as an empire but, as a guardian or a protecting power within an “ideology of ‘doing good’ ” (Abu El-Haj 544).

The US Foreign Policy and the War on Terrorism

Introduction

At eleven o'clock on the morning of 9/11, the White House declared that the planner of these horrific attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon is Osama bin-Laden and his Al-Qaeda. This affirmation has to be prior to serious police investigations. CIA Director George Tenet asserted that preceding warning is not necessary for bin-Laden and pointed out his ability to execute such terroristic acts, on the same morning. Also, Secretary of State Colin Powell described such attacks as an "act of war" (Chossudovsky 3). Alike, Bush, in an evening address, clarified his intentions to punish both terrorists and their patrons whether organizations or countries. Moreover, Former National Security Advisor, Lawrence Eagleburger, showed that USA is powerful in states of reward as well as punishment. That same evening at 9:30 pm, an emergency meeting was called upon at the White House in the presence of definite numbers of top intelligence and military advisors. At 11:00 pm, this war cabinet announced the US is determined to stop terror, and the war on terrorism was officially begun. Such announcements revealed the existence of a previous scheme and it is the suitable moment to be carried out (3).

Bush's Political Tackling of 9/11

As the President of USA and the political leader at this terrible time, George W. Bush played a core role in determining the US policies abroad in such a time of crisis. To polarize the American people all together to the war on terrorism and the image of US as a super power, Bush handled a political and religious approach. Earlier after the attacks, a group of protective measures was passed, like establishing the Office of Homeland Security, raising security levels and improving air travel in the US, and rallying North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) members, and also other countries, to the defense of American interests (Rockmore 4).

Under the effect of such traumatic events, politicians were unable to give accurate interpretations and answers to complicated questions and stick to slogans. Like other

politicians, Bush's statements about Muslim extremists and the accusation of their responsibility for the diabolical events of September 11, were built upon generalities and dualism which altered in some particular situation or occasion. Immediately after the attacks, as a national leader, he gave emphasis on the country. At Barksdale Air Force Base on 9/11, he stated that freedom and the US as the patron of freedom and liberty were attacked by a "faceless coward" (5). He delineated implicitly the United States as a brave fighter who had to face "axis of evils" (5). Similarly, in his Address in the State of the Union on January 1, 2001, he represented Americans as "good" people who are victims of "bad" people, of those who are "evil," technically as in a morality play. Furthermore, as an instance of floating generality in a speech on 20 September 2001, he made a linkage between Muslim terrorists and Fascism (actual exercise of a strong autocratic control and a tendency towards dictatorship and suppression of opposition), Nazism (the political and economic government policies set by the Nazis in Germany from 1933 to 1945 which gave priority and supremacy to Germanic race in specific), and totalitarianism (the political principle that the citizen should be in a total manner subject to an absolute authority or regime) in that they are ready to sacrifice oneself for a goal or a cause, forgetting that he implored the Armed Forces to make the same sacrifice in his war on terrorism (6).

Bush and Religion

Bush's remarks and statements considering the happenings of 9/11 relied on two basic elements: religion and political neo-conservatism. The first is a result of his life experience and the second is an outcome of his belief in some thoughts of Ronald Reagan politics.

Religion plays a key role in American political life, especially in showing how Americans are exceptional race chosen by God. American officials abuse this religious background to provide reason for certain political practices, and to represent a leader as a diviner in a time of crisis: "Going into this period, I [Bush] was praying for strength to do the

Lord's will. . . . I'm surely not going to justify the war based upon God. Understand that. Nevertheless, in my case, I pray to be as good a messenger of his will as possible" (10). Bush claimed that attacking those opposing the US was not only a consequence of a defense of a nation favored by God, but also an execution of His own mission. There is a strong faith that, on religious base, all other countries are dependent on the US. Reagan alleged that America is "the last best hope of mankind" (7).

Bush's political usage of religion was a result of his own personal religious faith, the rising intimacy of religious teachings of evangelical Protestantism in the wake of 9/11 in the US, and the varied beliefs of his political advisors. His administration professionally used religion for political ends. There was a "messianic" (9) aspect in Bush's relation to religion. He declared repeatedly that he was chosen by God to lead the nation in such a disastrous period. The presidency institution exploited not only the religious nationalism urged by the protestant evangelical, but also in issues of abortion and gay marriage it resorted to Catholics just as in its support to Israel it called upon Jews.

In addition, Bush's commitment to neo-conservatism was clear in his calling back Americans to do action whenever the nation is threatened. According to American neo-conservatives, at the end of the Cold War, the world became dangerous, antagonistic, and not safer. So, at the slightest hint of danger, a decisive action is morally coercive to the extent of a "preemptive" (18) war if necessary. The events of 9/11 heightened such fears and a series of wars became possible.

The US War on Terror

Since September 11 the world witnessed a series of terroristic acts. Thus, one has to know what is meant by terrorism. Assassination and features of deep fear, or terror, are considered examples of terrorism. Virginia Held defines it either as a political violence which causes fear inside those under attack, or as a resemblance of "small-scale war" (2). War and

terrorism are two facets of fear. In this respect, Trotsky explains in his defense of the “red terror,” that “war . . . is founded upon intimidation . . . [It] destroys only an insignificant part of the conquered army, intimidating the remainder and breaking their will” (2). After the collapse and the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1980, most politicians thought of the US capability of posing its own policies and good wherever in the world. However, the 9/11 attacks put the US in line with other countries despite its economic and military supremacy. The US, like other developed countries, may be unable to protect itself against the anxiety of possible terrorism even if amidst strict security procedures continuously revised by the Department of Homeland Security and other official organizations (4).

However, on the one hand, acts of terrorism and massive violence raise critical questions concerning the possibility of politics, the possibility of finding out a peaceful and dutiful normative framework to solve broad conflicts in a respectful and responsible manner. Are there some differences that are so deep that no talks, no reasonable actions, negotiations, mutual debates could create such a frame? The US as a nation-state and global power has the upper hand in determining the directions or ways of handling world problems, why it chooses war? (Christman 2) On the other hand, it appears that the September 11 may be a way the developing world has to find in order to be contained. The task is to “construct an international order before a crisis imposes it as a necessity” (Said 43).

Without an external enemy, the war on terrorism was impossible. The US national security agenda would lose its excuses. After 9/11, the campaign of media disinformation resulted in the swindle of truth and concealed historical evidences on the fabrication of Al-Qaeda as “Enemy Number One” (Chossudovsky 4). Al-Qaeda is the creation of the CIA during the period of the Soviet-Afghan war. This was a fact documented in official sources such as the US Congress. The intelligence agency stated that they supported Osama bin-Laden, but he became hostile to us and changed in the wake of the Cold War (3). Osama bin-

Laden and Al-Qaeda were described as a powerful international organization which have hubs surrounding the world. Al-Qaeda appeared in the image of a “holding company, a Ford Foundation for terror, Terror, Inc., and Osama and Company” (Scott 582).

The war on terrorism, according to George Bush, would spread the teachings of Christianity all over the Middle East, and put an end to evil where it may be. American exceptionalism and being a singular super power compel the US to spread freedom all over the world as if it is a manifest destiny. Therefore, the American mission in Iraq was to establish a free nation. Hence, the liberation of both Iraq and Afghanistan was a turning point in the fight of freedom (Rockmore 10).

In September 2000, a detailed document entitled “Rebuilding America’s Defenses: Strategy, Forces, and Resources for a New Century: A Report of the Project for the New American Century,” sought to understand all of the facts of a “so-called pax Americana” (14), especially after the world had been controlled by a single super power. The US targeted a general stability in international affairs under the influence of dominant military power. Such military dominance could be achieved through four objectives: defending the US; fighting and winning several wars at the same time; stationing troops and spreading military bases around the world; and modernizing and updating the Armed Forces (14).

Thus, September 11 is a priceless opportunity from which the Bush administration excellently benefited to achieve its military goals and programs in accordance with the US interests. Therefore, the war in Afghanistan did two main tasks. First, it responded to the need to react in a rapid and decisive manner. Second, it increased the American authority in the region, and spread military troops and bases in surrounding countries (15).

Moreover, to give an accurate account of 9/11 conclusions, one has to refer to other theories. These perspectives might conceal, refute, or contradict the US claims.

CHAPTER II

9/11: THE BLACK BOX

CHAPTER II**9/11: THE BLACK BOX**

The attacks of September 11, 2001 have had other facets. The US Government has traced these atrocities back to Osama bin Laden and his allies. As a result, it has launched its war against terror. However, the matter is not as simple as it appears. The alleged perpetrators have denied their responsibilities for such an action, on the one hand. Technicalities concerning the collapse of the Twin Towers and some sort of a so-called nuclear demolition—causes— incite to open the black box of 9/11 events, on the other hand.

Reading such a prohibition: “Immediately after the attacks on the World Trade Center, the entire area in lower Manhattan was sealed off to the public and to the news media. All cameras were prohibited inside the secured perimeter and any “unauthorized” cameras were immediately confiscated” (Khalezov 91)—a testimony introduced by stubborn official FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Agency) photographer Kurt Sonnenfed—raises a question. If this attack was planned by Osama bin Laden, why did this warning exist? Presumably, it is an excellent chance to prove the violence and antagonism of such entities, and to attract attention to its devilish and terroristic deeds and let the world see more photographs and images of the site under attack to visualize to what extent Al Qaeda is a patron for international terrorism, and to put an end to such terror either indoors or outdoors is a sacred duty. The entire world must have a role in this war.

Thus, media false information, and covertly spread, is necessary to affect public opinion and obscure the truth in a trial to have a “leg to stand on” (Chossudovsky 4) in their alleged war on terrorism. Al Qaeda has to be portrayed not even as “Outside Enemy” but as “Enemy Number One” (4). Without such an enemy, the nation security plans in the Middle East would fall like “a

deck of cards” (4). Hence, this chapter revolves around varied conspiracy theories, its causes and motives, in an attempt to open a new gate for understanding, questioning, and thinking. It shows different and sometimes contradicting viewpoints, and the reader is free to choose which direction, he believes, may be possible. It is a trial to see what is going on in the world around us, not to pose a certain point of view or to compel the reader toward a definite perspective. It is a call for searching and analyzing to find out the truth and where we (Arabs) are.

The 9/11 Truth Movement is one of the most known organizations that have accepted that the United States government itself was behind the attacks of September 11, 2001. The members have not trusted the official story that the collapse of the Twin Towers was a result of the crash of two hijacked airplanes. They have asserted that the fall and crumbling of the Towers was some sort of a “controlled demolition” (Mole 30), due to its appearance and speed. Moreover, the collapse was upright like a free fall without any resistance to the elements of gravity. They have clarified that if this breakdown resulted from the crash of the planes, there had to be some resistance to the weight of the floors above and the buildings had to swing to one side. In addition, the fire arising from the burning of the jet fuel was not enough to melt steel. Its fusion needs 2800° Fahrenheit and the temperature resultant from the burning of the fuel, which is just refined kerosene, does not exceed 1500° (31).

Consequently, the members of this coalition have supposed that there must be squibs or explosive devices to reduce the construction of the buildings of the World Trade Centers. The smash of the planes causes the squibs to flame and produce heat which brings about the fraction as well as the expansion of the steel and its trusses. These changes weaken the influence of gravity and prompt the collapse of the buildings 1 and 2 (33).

Furthermore, the 9/11 Truth Movement has supported the controlled demolition scheme due to the announcement of Larry Silverstein—the tenant of the WTC—that he gave orders to “pull” (35) Building 7 because of their inability to control the fire. However, according to Phil Mole, this conspiracy theory is full of holes. Firstly, if the US government stands behind this destruction, why it cleared people out of the WTC Buildings whilst it caused the killing of nearly 3,000 people at the twin towers? Secondly, if Larry Silverstein was responsible for the fall of Building 7, why did he state that on *PBS (Special Called America Rebuilds)* in particular? Thirdly, if the US concocted the attacks in an attempt to oppress and terrorize the Americans, who would Larry Silverstein be? And what kind of relationship did link him with the US authority according to the conspiracy theorists? Why did the US administration and the leaseholder of the WTC declare the Building 7 controlled demolition and did not back it to the hijackers? At last, the controlled demolition process needs time to put explosives in the structure of the buildings, how did this happen while these skyscrapers were occupied till 9/11? The writer shows the overstatement of such a scenario (36 - 37).

Also, this organization questions the official story concerning the Pentagon. The members have believed that it was not struck by the alleged Flight 77. The government “staged the damage” (37) through the use of a bomb or a fired missile. This claim was supported by either the French author Thierry Meysson or the *CNN* correspondent Jamie McIntyre. The French writer, in his book *Pentagate*, has clarified that the ruin done to the Pentagon was too limited to be resultant from the crash of Boeing 757. In addition, the documentary *Loose Change* has pointed out that the hole “was a single hole, no more than 16 feet in diameter,” (37) and no remains were traced, in reference to the report of the *CNN* correspondent which has asserted that “there’s no evidence of a plane having crashed anywhere near the Pentagon” (37).

Alike, Phil Mole has criticized the conspiracy theorists regarding the hole in the Pentagon. He has stated that finding a tangible hole in a concrete building is a sort of delusion due to the speed of Boeing 757, in contrast to the glassy fronts of the WTC. And he has denied the claim that there were no remains for Flight 77, pointing to the account of Allyn E. Kilsheimer—the first structural engineer to arrive at the Pentagon after the crash of the airplane. Kilsheimer said:

I saw the marks of the plane wing on the face of the building. I picked up parts of the plane with the airline markings on them. I held in my hand the tail section of the plane, and I found the black box (37).

Mole has added that 9/11 Truth Movement has shown evidences that served their own outcomes. He has continued asking the *CNN* correspondent why did he not report that a plane struck the Pentagon, and was sufficient to tell people that no debris was seen surrounding the United States Department of Defense (37).

Mole has spared no effort to illuminate the deviation of conspiracy theory and its believers. He has attacked the creators of *Loose Change* who attended the opening of the film *United 93* about the hijacked airplane that hit the World Trade Center on 9/11. Their attendance was to clear up the lies about this alleged flight and to “have this flight 93 movie backfire on them” (38). On the contrary, Mole has shown that lots of Americans see the passengers on *United 93* heroes because they fought the terrorists and were behind the falling of the plane before it struck its targets. However, the 9/11 Truth Movement has introduced different viewpoints, depending on the conspiracy theories one inquires. They have claimed that either Flight 93 actually landed safely, or that a US military jet targeted the plane out of the sky. Mole has opposed stating that they confused the *AP* (*Associated Press*) reports about Flight 93 and

Flight 1989; the latter touched down securely at Cleveland's Hopkins Airport on 9/11. The newspaper realized the mistakes and corrected the news; the matter the conspiracy theorists did not follow. Their second claim was built upon information asserting that the engine and big parts of the plane were found miles away from the site of the crash. The thing Mole has turned down, emphasizing that the engine was found 300 yards from the scene. Besides, the black box recorded the flight onboard before the plane was damaged.

Also, the 9/11 Truth Movement has alleged that the NORAD (North American Aerospace Defense Command) was able to stop the plane before it reached its targets. Reaching their purpose indicated the US government subversion. They have permitted the occurrence of such terrific attacks. The coalition has affirmed that NORAD has the power to intercept the planes, and as a consequence neutralizes its mission. As it appears, the claim did not mention the length of time or the possibility of interception near major cities or over great distance of ocean. Mole has quoted *the Popular Mechanics* article showing:

In the decade before 9/11, NORAD intercepted only one civilian plane . . . golfer Payne Stewart's Learjet, in October 1999. With passengers and crew unconscious from cabin decompression, the plane lost radio contact, but remained in transponder contact until it crashed. Even so, it took an F-16 1 hour and 22 minutes to reach the stricken jet. Rules in effect back then, and on 9/11, prohibited supersonic flight on intercepts (39).

The situation on 9/11 was different because the hijackers deactivated the on board radar transponders. Without radar signals the work of NORAD was hard, resulting from their inability to specify the planes' location and the impossibility to track. And even if NORAD decided to

intercept the hijacked jet, it would require a considerable amount of time, not obtainable on 9/11 (39).

In addition, Mole has assumed that the 9/11 Truth Movement did not seek truth and put all possibilities into consideration. The organization has neglected totally al Qaeda, radical Islam, the history of Modern Middle East and the probability to be behind 9/11 events. However, one cannot be able to understand the threat of terrorism without arguing the causes of the fall of Ottoman Empire, the division of the Middle East post the World War II, the creation of Israel and the Arabs' reaction, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, and blind American support for Israel and its effect on such terroristic groups, as al Qaeda, and their intention to harm most of American interests. He has listed a number of attacks targeting the US buildings in Lebanon, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Kenya, Tanzania, and inside the US itself. Bin Laden and the like urged Muslims to kill Americans wherever they are and declare jihad against the United States. Mole has done his best to frame the events of September 11, 2001 as the latest mission of radical Islamic organization because of the US devilish foreign policy in the Middle East and the inability of Americans to imagine "the seriousness of the threat" (40).

However, this cordial defense and the likes do not stop conspiracy theorists and anti-government activists from either the far right or the far left. Some theories have thrown light upon the US intentions to launch war in the Middle East for economic ends. Others have claimed that the US administration foreknew about the 9/11 attacks and authorized their happening to be able to control civil liberties. Among these theories is one that has put the blame on Israel and Jews and has enlightened their responsibility for the "worst terrorist attacks in history" (Tobias 5). It has focused on two conspiratorial views. The first believed that Ariel Sharon made plans for the September 11 events supported by the Mossad and the CIA:

Ariel Sharon was in trouble. The World Court was about to charge him with war crimes. . . . the United States was about to recognize a separate Palestinian state . . . Renegade forces in the CIA and the Mossad . . . would attack the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and blame it on Al Qaeda and the Taliban, its backer. The plotters decided to help Sharon out by letting him in on their plan since he would be of use to them later. . . . The planes were operated via remote control by CIA and the Mossad operatives who caused the planes to crash into the Twin Towers and the Pentagon. Sharon, the CIA, the Mossad . . . were able to blame Al Qaeda for the attacks—the excuse to invade Afghanistan and control its Opium and oil trade. Israel also benefited because the West now saw the Palestinians as part of the terrorist camp for carrying out suicide attacks (5).

The second turned the attacks to a “Zionist conspiracy,” (5) a small group of elite Jews aspiring to dominate the world:

In the summer of 2001, the Palestinian uprising raged . . . World opinion condemned Israel’s brutality . . . The Zionist leaders . . . to turn the world focus . . . devised a plan to bomb the World Trade Center . . . and the Pentagon . . . and to blame Muslims for the act (6).

For conspiracists, the official version of the attacks was unbelievable. They thought the real interpretation is still hidden. Viewing Jews as masters of evil, anti-Semitic conspiracy theorists thought that Israeli intelligence agents orchestrated the events of 9/11. They referred to the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, pointing out the Jewish ability to utilize the world events to achieve their interest. The Jews are able to trap people or nations to the degree they create war as long as it serves their plans. They planned the attacks to manifest their power and to direct the

“fury” (7) of the United States toward their foe—Muslims. Former Klan leader and neo-Nazi David Duke explained that the war on terror triggered only to “strike devastating blows at Israel’s enemies” (9). Yet, he asserted the more the United States upholds such schemes, the more it loses lives and civil liberties (9).

Anti-Semitic conspiracy theories have centered on the animosity of the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency. They have shown the agency intention to carry out such horrible attacks like 9/11. The Mossad desired not only to weaken the relation between Muslims and Arabs, but also to put Islam against Christianity to destroy each other so that Jews/Israelis master the whole world. According to David Duke, the Israeli intelligence agency is “the most ruthless terrorist organization in the entire world” (11). It is ready to do whatever actions as long as they profit the state of Israel and its future benefits. Moreover, the agency ever boasts its ability to “infiltrate” the Palestinian and Arab systems, and as a result it might penetrate Al Qaeda network and had knowledge of the 9/11 attacks in advance—Duke added. He also referred to a study done by the Army School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS) and published in *the Washington Times* the day before the attacks, which gave emphasis to the ability of such agency to target US power in a way that looks like a Palestinian/Arab act. The article appeared to be a forewarning of the September 11 events and a statement of the participation of the Mossad in such terror. Besides, Michael Collins Piper wrote in *the American Free Press* an article asserting that “these hijackers could well have been Israeli-sponsored fundamentalist Jewish fanatics (posing as ‘bin Laden Arabs’) hoping to instigate an all-out U.S. war against the Arab world” (12).

However, other conspiracy theorists have brought into focus the US government acceptance of the occurrence of the attacks in order that it could go into battle against its enemies

in the Middle East, common enemies with Israel. On the other hand, an article in an anti-government *Militia of Montana* newsletter, “Taking Aim,” pointed out that the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were necessary to convince the American people to accept US military invasion in the Middle East, incorporated with Israel. It is a must (13).

Likewise, other conspiracy theories have argued that Israel, or its intelligence organization, was not the perpetrator, but the “bystander” (14) of the horror of September 11. In December 2001, Carl Cameron of *Fox News* told about 100 Israelis who had been seized in the US before and after 9/11. They asserted being students from an art school in Jerusalem. He referred that the students could be spies gathering information about 9/11, but they did not inform the US government. Cameron speedily alluded that there was no evidence of Israel’s involvement. He also assured that Federal agents with whom he spoke banned any information about the spy ring, in preparation for cover-up spreading (14).

Also, in March 2002 an internet-based French publication, *Intelligence Online*, exclusively published information concerning an Israeli spy ring capable of infiltrating the US Justice and Defense Departments. The website stated that Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) had reported about those Israeli art students who appeared to spy of Federal agency and keep an eye on, even at Federal agents’ homes. The DEA report noted that most of the detained students “acknowledged having served in military intelligence, electronic signals interception or explosive ordnance units in the Israeli military” (15).

Moreover, an article in *Criminal Politics* cleared that the Israeli spy ring worked in corporation with the CIA. The editor of the magazine wrote that the CIA coordinated the ring’s actions and the target of their mission. A part of it was to inform the CIA where the hijackers, and with whom they were dealing (16).

This art student spy ring has unveiled another conspiracy theory that disclosed the spying of Israeli high-tech companies on the US government and the probability of their involvement in the 9/11 events. Christopher Bollyn wrote an article in *the American Free Press*, throwing light upon the worry of the American intelligence agencies about the control of the Israeli companies in sensitive area of telecommunications. He said that there were two firms, Comverse Infosys which supplies law enforcement agencies with computer devices for wiretapping, and Amdocs which records every call throughout the 25 largest telephone companies, according to reports. He also referred not only to the relation between these companies and the Israeli art students, but to a well-organized Israeli spying operation in the US. Alike, other conspiracy theorists have pointed to Israeli continuous trials to infiltrate the most important institutions in the US, such as federal law enforcement agencies, military bases, and judicial system (17 - 18).

Furthermore, an Israeli corporation, ICTS, was responsible for safety at the airports where the hijacked planes moved on 9/11. Ingrid Rimland, who administers *the Zundelsite*—a site on the internet denying the Holocaust—provided her followers with information about an Israeli company that “had automatic access to all of the airports from which the hijacked planes departed on 9/11” (18). As a consequence, in one of his *American Dissident Voices* broadcasts, William Pierce explicated that Israel not only knew in anticipation about the 9/11 attacks, but it put obstacles in front of any American inquiry seeking the truth of these attacks as well. It is afraid Americans realized that they were betrayed by Israel (18).

The World Trade Center was owned by Israeli businessmen like, Silverstein and Lowy, the owners of the WTC 7 and the shopping concourse. They signed an insurance contract against terrorist attacks for 99-years. They were key supporters of Israel and hold high rank positions in the largest Israel Fundraising institution in the US. Christopher Bollyn has emphasized the

devilish plans of both men, and the prospect of their mix in the attacks to achieve financial gains for themselves, and political interests for Israel (19).

The Israeli embroilment in the September 11 attacks became clear. Another conspiracy theory has found out that the Israeli intelligence agency notified 4,000 Israelis, who lived in the US, not to go to work on 9/11. This approach was supported widely from Saudi Arabia to Pakistan, and in the United States itself. Conspiracy theories have illuminated that such a warning was a strong indication of Israel foreknowledge of 9/11 events. It is evident that Muslims were used by the Zionist press to put the blame on Arabs and wage war in the Middle East (20).

The 4,000 Israelis' story was also told by Yorgos Karatzaferis, the leader of the far-right Popular Rally Party and the owner of a Greek TV station. He sent a letter to the Greek Parliament questioning if the foreign minister was informed that the Jewish employees at the Twin Towers were apprised of the attacks and warned not to go work on 9/11, according to the Israeli press. Besides, far-right conspiracy theorist, Michael Collins Piper supported the Israeli involvement, accounting that the Israeli agents of Odigo, American software Design Company with offices in Israel, had got warning mails two hours before the hijacked airplanes ran into the World Trade Center (22).

9/11 is serious enough to do a study on. It is a landmark in history. Therefore, Khalezov named his book *9/11Thology*—an inquiry about the actual doer, its cover-up, and the course of events from the US-initiated war in Iraq and Afghanistan to the global war on terrorism. Some questions will not be answered at all, while others will have answers far from satisfaction. The writer has stated that no conspiracy theory could offer any logical explanation, except a “mini-nukes conspiracy theory” and a “clandestine nuclear reactors conspiracy theory” (12). They tried

to interpret technicalities around the free-fall speed of the collapse of the Twin Towers and the cause behind the name “ground zero” given to the demolition of the WTC grounds (12).

According to Khalezov, observers were aware that a supranational top aspires to establish a “global concentration camp” (10) in this world. All its actions, political, military, economical, ecological, educational, social, or cultural, are motivated by a desire to enslave everyone on this planet. In the near future, people will be under its influence and domination even the free internet will be cancelled. This cream plans to command this global camp known as the “New World Order”—the ruler of the “New Age” (10). They will not only overpower nations, but repress the freedom of information as well. The internet is the first prey of this New Age.

Khalezov did not think that 9/11 was projected to put hands on the Iraqi oil either by “neo-cons” or by “evil Bush-Cheney clique” (10). Neither was it schemed by the Zionists nor the Mossad in spite of their participation. The Mossad had a big role in 9/11 operation, but the project itself was designed by those behind the curtains—the superior group who wishes to establish police states out of “remnants of the former democracies” (10), whose members will be the kernel of the global concentration camp. Hence, September 11 events resulted in the creation of a universal supranational police force under the cloak of the war on terror. This might be the answer to the reason behind such act. The Iraqi oil cause is a cover. They do not need to wage war for oil, they can buy it. However, they want something their green papers could not buy, people’s human rights and freedom. They meant them to be slaves forever in the New World Order which masters the New Age (11).

The author has highlighted certain logic questions concerning 9/11 in a trial to find answers. Why did the US high level officials, whether pro or against Bush administration, agree to the report of the 9/11 commission regarding the collapse of the Twin Towers? Why was there

no opposition to the kerosene theory? Why did all their counterparts in foreign countries, even those against US policies, have the same position? Why did insurance companies not take court actions against the owners of the WTC, particularly the tenant of the WTC-7, because its breakdown was resultant from a controlled demolition procedure? Why did a clear missile target the Pentagon? It was apparent that the Pentagon strike was nothing but a deception. The horrible attacks against the World Trade Center were enough to achieve the desired goals—public sympathy and a hot hatred and violence against Muslims. So why was the Pentagon attacked? Which kind of missiles was used? Why was the US incapable of announcing publicly that the Defense Department Building was struck by a missile, not a Boeing 757? While the real story of the Pentagon attack was known either by US or foreign high-ranking politicians. It was an evidence of their approval of the US military interference in the Middle East (13).

Besides, why were F-15 and F-16 Jet Fighters, rushed in reaction to the Pentagon attack, ordered to follow the “passenger planes” over the Atlantic Ocean? Why were other jet fighters directed over the Atlantic Ocean before the occurrence of the Pentagon strike? Why did the WTC buildings, 1, 2, and 7, break down with nearly free-fall speed? If they were damaged by simple explosives, or by mixture of explosives and thermite, or by thermite alone, or by Nano-thermite, they would need 55 seconds to reach the ground due to resistance. Why did the tops of the towers fall as if only air was under? Why did the thermite used in the collapse turn the steel into “fluffy microscopic dust” (14), that was volatile rather than liquid? Why was this dust microscopic? How could ordinary C4 explosive charges or TNT reduce steel—concrete floors, thick steel perimeter, and core columns—into fine dust without any remnants? (14)

Likewise, why did the US law enforcement agencies have no action against the Pakistanis as a consequence of the discovery that Muhammad Atta, the main perpetrator of 9/11 operation,

was an agent of the Pakistani ISI? Why, when most of the hijackers were found alive two weeks after the attacks, there were not any US or foreign officials opposed the FBI conspiracy theory and its truthfulness? Why was the destruction of the grounds of the WTC called “ground zero” (14) and how did this nuclear name not cause any inquiry amongst high positioned officials about the 9/11 commission report and its “Kerosene/Pancake-Collapse” theory? Were they not educated enough to know that it refers to a place of a “nuclear or thermo-nuclear explosion” (14)? Why did high temperatures as well as underground fires continue till the end of December 2001, although either thermite or kerosene cools down between 10 and 15 minutes? Why did nearly all of ground zero responders suffer from leukemia or other types of cancer? (14)

Why was the North Tower—crashed first and collapsed second in contrast to logic—destroyed by 9/11 perpetrators before the South Tower? Why did the Sears Tower in Chicago, not the Empire State Building in New York, get orders to be empty minutes after the fall of the South Tower? Why was Controlled Demolition Inc.—the highest and most expensive demolition company—specified to clear Ground Zero from rubble? Why did Building-7 have to be demolished despite the negative effect of such a process? How was the WTC-7 reasoned demolition explained to either high-ranking officials or judicial institutions that decided insurance compensation? Why did either judges or insurance companies not use Larry Silverstein’s announcements that he ordered WTC-7 controlled demolition? (14 - 15)

Why did the US wage war against Iraq allegedly in search of weapons of mass destruction in spite of the report of the official 9/11 commission that condemned al-Qaeda and its leader? Why did both US and foreign politicians support Iraq invasion without apparent reasons of its role in 9/11 events? Why was Saddam Hussein whose regime was used to oppress Islam more than other governments connected to the religious organization of al-Qaeda and consequently to the

perpetrators of 9/11? Why did the war on Iraq go on regardless of the failure of the claims? How was the US government able to gather all such liars who positioned high-ranking jobs in the Senate, Congress, Justice system, Police, Military, the FBI, the CIA, and engineering science, and helped hide the truth of 9/11 events? (15 - 16)

The WTC demolition had no benefits under any circumstances to the US government and raised suspicions against its cover-up of the events. Why was the WTC demolished? And finally, if it was not the US government that planned the attacks and was not the actual perpetrator, who would the doer be? Considering that Osama bin Laden had no human minds or financial abilities to do such “miracles” (16) of 9/11 as the same as to compel the US to demolish the WTC and “desperately”(16) Cover-up post-9/11?

The book *9/11Thology* was able to answer all these questions without any exception, and this was what differentiated it from ordinary conspiracy theories. It was a science dealing with exact and concrete facts and information. But first who is Dimitri A. Khalezov? He is a former Soviet citizen who was a former officer of “military unit 46179,” known as the Soviet Nuclear Intelligence or the Special Control Service. It was a secret military unit taking charge of uncovering nuclear explosions of the enemies of the former USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) as well as controlling of observance of different international arrangements concerning nuclear testing and peaceful nuclear explosion. Khalezov did a wide research in 9/11 events and gave reasons that the WTC Buildings 1, 2, and 7 were demolished by three underground thermo-nuclear explosions—the so-called ground zero. He witnessed that when he still serviced in the Soviet Special Control Service in the 80s, he had knowledge of the “in-built so-called emergency nuclear demolition scheme of the twin towers” (3).

Above all, Khalezov paid attention to the word “Jihad”. It is a Koranic concept, inciting “Holy war against unbelievers who suppress Muslims” (21). So, it is unbelievable that Muslims could call any organization “Islamic Jihad,” because Jihad is nothing, but Islamic. Thus, the notion of “Islamic Jihad” was invented by non-Muslims. And as a result, the name of “Islamic Jihad” always connected with nuclear bombings. Therefore, it was not a surprise that the “Islamic Jihad” organization claimed responsibility of the September 11 attacks about noon time of the same day as reported by lots of TV channels (21).

To understand the target of this book, Khalezov has borrowed some statements from Detective John Walcott’s article “Death by Dust”. Walcott was a Ground Zero responder who spent time enough to suffer from “acute myelogenous leukemia in its terminal form” (23):

Walcott knew everything in the towers had fallen - desks, lights, computers. But apart from the occasional steel beam, the detritus . . . consisted of tiny grains of dust, no furniture pieces, no light fixtures, not even a computer mouse.

At times, the detectives would take shelter in wooden sheds . . . away from . . . “all that freaking bad air.” One day, [Walcott] was sitting in the shed with his colleagues . . . when some FBI agents entered. **They were dressed in full hazmat suits, complete with head masks, which they had sealed shut with duct tape to ward off the fumes.**¹ As [he] took in the scene, contrasting the well-protected FBI agents with the New York cops wearing respirator masks, one thought entered his mind: what is wrong with this picture? (23)

First, what is meant by Ground Zero? It is “the point on the ground vertically beneath or above the point of detonation of an atomic or thermonuclear bomb” (23). Therefore, when FBI agents visited the site, they were highly protected to secure themselves from radiation. They

¹ The lines are originally highlighted by the author.

wanted neither to suffer from cancer nor to breathe or take in radioactive dust (24). Hence, for Khalezov, it is important to illuminate the meaning of the term “ground zero” before September 11, 2001. Here are some definitions as exact as they are in distinct dictionaries. *Collins Dictionary* illustrates “ground zero n. a point on the surface of land or water at or directly above or below the center of a nuclear explosion” (*Collins English Dictionary*, Major New Edition, 3rd. ed. 1991). *Collins Thesaurus* defines it as “n. a point on the ground directly below the center of a nuclear explosion” (*Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus*, 21 Century Edition, 2nd. ed. 2000). *The American Heritage* clarifies the term as the “place on the earth’s surface directly at, below, or above the explosion of a nuclear bomb” (*The American Heritage Desk Dictionary*, 1981). *Webster’s Encyclopedia* adds that “ground□ ze□ro—the point on the surface of the earth or water directly below, directly above, or at which an atomic or hydrogen bomb explodes” (*Webster’s Encyclopedia unabridged Dictionary of the English Language*, 1989). In a parallel manner, *the New International Webster’s* explains that “ground zero—the point on the ground vertically beneath or above the point of detonation of an atomic or thermonuclear bomb” (*the New international Webster’s Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language*, 1999). Similarly, *Penguin Student Dictionary* (2001) states “ground zero n. the point on the surface of the earth at or directly below or above the center of a nuclear explosion,” whereas *Dictionary of Military Terms* (1999) points that “ground zero = point in the ground directly under the explosion of a nuclear weapon”. Also, *the Random House College Dictionary* says “ground ze□ro—the point in the surface of the earth or water directly below, directly above, or at which an atomic or hydrogen bomb explodes”. *Longman Advanced American Dictionary* (2000) adds that “ground ze-ro /, . ’. / n [U] the place where a NUCLEAR bomb explodes, where the most severe damage happens”.² At last, *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*—a post- 9/11 edition—

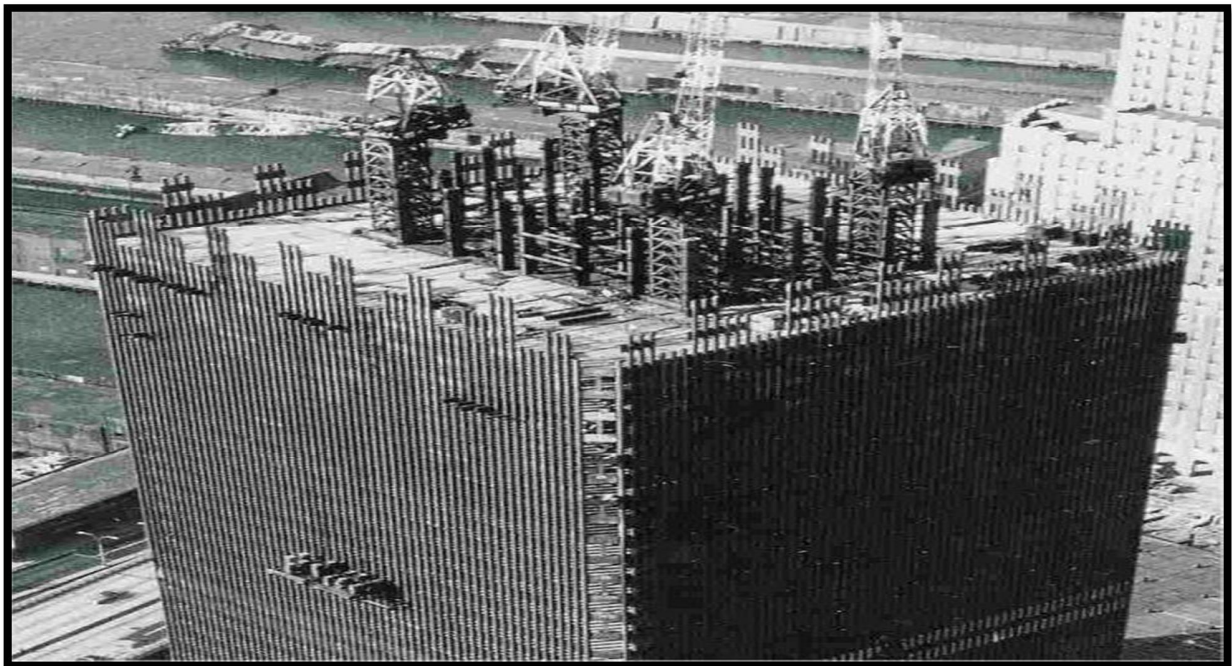
² The word nuclear is originally capitalized.

introduces a full meaning. “[G]round zero noun 1 [C usually singular] the exact place where a nuclear bomb explodes: the blast was felt as far as 30 miles from ground zero. 2 [U] the site of the former World Trade Center in New York City, which was destroyed in an attack on September 11, 2001.” This true content of ground zero is found only in old dictionaries printed before 9/11, and have been removed from book shelves and replaced by newer ones that mention only its connection with the site of the WTC (25).

Moreover, Khalezov has traced the etymology of the word “ground zero”. He found a term in Military, named “zeroing in,” meaning “the aiming of a weapon onto some target” (26). However, with the comings of aviation bombs, missiles, and other projectiles, the term changed into “ground zero,” meaning “the exact spot on the earth’s surface that is aimed by such a projectile” (26). It had no job with the explosion or destruction itself. With the appearance of atomic weapons, the term developed to denote “the exact hypocenter of an atomic [or hydrogen] explosion” (26). And as nuclear bombs would explode above the ground, not on its surface, the term signified not only “the exact spot on the earth hit by a projectile before a nuclear explosion followed,” but also the “projection on to the earth’s surface of a hypocenter of such a nuclear explosion” (26), whether it would be above the ground, below the ground, or even under water. Hence, the first meaning of the term as “the target of a projectile” became inactive, and people used the second meaning since an atomic bomb was first tested—“the spot on the ground of –, or a projection to the ground of an exact hypocenter of a nuclear or a thermo-nuclear explosion” (26). Yet, after 9/11, most new printed dictionaries defined “ground zero” as “great devastation,” “great disorder,” “busy activities,” “basic level,” and “starting point” (26). Some even referred to the first meaning, completely out of use for 50 years. Others, like a new *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, introduced “ground zero” as a “place where a bomb explodes,” without

any hint that this bomb has to be only a nuclear, or thermonuclear one (26). Of course, FBI agents, who concocted the unmatched cover-up of 9/11, would not leave any opening about the true meaning of “ground zero” (30).

Furthermore, Khalezov was certain that decidedly there were no planes hit the WTC, due to the densely thick steel construction, either its core columns or external perimeters. No aluminum-made planes could penetrate such a building. He referred to what Leslie Robertson, one of the two original structural engineers for the WTC, said. She stated that the Twin Towers were designed to bear clashes of such big planes as Boeing 707 and 767. Hence, no airliner could down the Twin Towers in one way or another. Also, Francis (Frank) Albert De Martini, on-site construction manager for the WTC, assured that “the building . . . could sustain multiple impacts of jetliners because this structure is like the mosquito netting on your screen door—this intense grid—and the jet planes is just a pencil puncturing that screen netting. It really does nothing to the screen netting” (36).



Steel perimeter columns of the World Trade Center during its construction (37).

Before dealing with conspiracy theories and how they go awry, the author has highlighted George W. Bush's discourse in front of the UN General Assembly, on November 10, 2001. The President states: "We must speak the truth about terror. Let us never tolerate outrageous conspiracy theories concerning the attacks of September the 11th ; malicious lies that attempt to shift the blame away from the terrorists, themselves, away from guilty" (39). Khalezov has enhanced the President's urge to seek the truth. And one had not to let on conspiracy theories as well as the US Governmental Report of the 9/11 Commission. He was sure that all conspiracy theorists did not know what exactly happened with the WTC; all their opinions were supposable, not built upon a real study or estimation of the 9/11 affair. Thinking of the US government as the organizer of 9/11 was probable due to the "ensuing" (39) cover-up of the events and its immediate call for war against terror. The US was innocent in regard to the actual design of 9/11 attacks and the WTC nuclear demolition. However, the situation was different with conspiracy theories because they obstruct any steps towards the truth or reality of 9/11. Conspiracy theorists were "shills" employed by FBI (39).

The author has explained that the fall of the WTC could not be as a result of a traditional controlled demolition because of its free-fall speed; their strong steel structure was as if it did not exist in fact (42). The thermite theory came into existence as a way of understanding the unconceivable destruction of the Twin Towers and the high temperatures lasting for weeks afterwards to the extent it melted the boots of firefighters worked on the site, although the utmost time thermite needs to cool down, does not exceed half an hour (44).

Another conspiracy theory is named a "laser-beams theory," or "directed energy weapons theory," presented by Dr. Judy Wood and Prof. Morgan Reynold. They pointed out that laser or maser beams had to be used in the WTC pulverization, because these tools only could lead to the

“dustification” (47) of the World Trade Center buildings despite its thick steel construction. This theory was believable by most simpletons because its supporters litigated US officials in the court of law. However, this theory widened the gap in front of the truth seekers. It furthered the deception that the collapse of the Twin Towers was not a resultant of the crash of two Boeings 767, but instead of the strike of the US military’s secret laser-like weaponry. The corroborators, next to Mr. Edward Haas, cleared these directed energy weapons’ capacity or functionality on land, at sea, or in the atmosphere. Its usage ranges from the fall of the WTC Buildings 1 and 2 in less than 10 minutes each, to the “imposition of a disabling stun on human beings for Crowd Control and/or other . . . [psychological operations] purposes” (47).

Mini-nukes conspiracy theory was the most serious and had to be accurately speculated. It proposed that the US Government, Osama bin Laden’s so-called “Warriors of Islam,” or Saddam Hussein’s secret couriers “deployed some low-caliber nuclear charges—Special Atomic Demolition Munitions (SADMs)—commonly known as “mini-nukes—to demolish the Twin Towers by exploding these kind of devices in the basement floors” (48). This theory was the most popular and as a result the US administration introduced it as the most reliable fact of 9/11 events.

Although it appeared more reasonable than other conspiracy theories, it was away from real truth. Its patrons asserted its verity for some reasons. First, there were two seismic movements recorded by the Columbia University’s Lamont-Doherty Earth Observatory in Palisades, New York, 21 miles north of the WTC. The supporters explained that such earthquakes are an apparent proof that mini-nukes explosives were under the Twin Towers. However, they recorded nothing, but two underground nuclear detonations down the site of the WTC at 9:59:04 and at 10:28:31—the time differences, some seconds, between the start of the

Twin Towers collapse and the seismograph's recordings were due to the time required for seismic waves to travel from Manhattan to Palisades. This is clear in the following table (48 - 50).

<i>Here is a summary of seismic observations of the two impacts and the three collapses:</i>						
Date	Origin Time (UTC)	Magnitude (Richter scale)	Time (EDT)	Dominant Period	Signal Duration	Remark
09/11/2001	12:46:26±1	0.9	08:46:26	0.8 sec	12 seconds	first impact
09/11/2001	13:02:54±2	0.7	09:02:54	0.6 sec	6 seconds	second impact
09/11/2001	13:59:04±1	2.1	09:59:04	0.8 sec	10 seconds	first collapse
09/11/2001	14:28:31±1	2.3	10:28:31	0.9 sec	8 seconds	second collapse
09/11/2001	21:20:33±2	0.6	17:20:33	0.7 sec	18 seconds	Building 7 collapse
Location of the World Trade Center is 40.71°N and 74.01°W.						

Moreover, the cheaters went so far when they said there were “some planes’ impacts,” (51) in a trial to clear that aluminum projectiles could not only break through steel, but cause seismic effects as well. In addition, the spikes—appeared in the seismograms of 2.1 and 2.3 in magnitudes—reflected that the mini-nukes under the WTC buildings were of 1 kiloton in TNT, but the empty spaces of the WTC basement separated the seismic signals.

If the Twin Towers were broken down by bin-Laden's, or Saddam's, mini-nukes, who would Larry Silverstein be to order the WTC-7 to be demolished? Silverstein said that he got a call from the commander of firefighters, assuring their inability to control the fire and the need to demolish Building 7. To consider this claim, one had to take into account that there were no firefighters spread on the site of the WTC-7 in the late afternoon September 11, 2001. Second,

Mr. Larry Silverstein did not talk to any commander at the Fire Department. Third, if this skyscraper had to be demolished, it was not the job of firefighters, but that of construction engineers majoring in controlled demolition operations. Fourth, if the WTC-7 destruction was due to a sudden order, how the mission was done instantly although such a procedure would need at least few weeks. Also, how the engineers made calculations necessary to spread such a big number of charges of conventional explosives into a burning building. Of course, it would be impossible. However, such a sudden controlled demolition of the WTC-7 would be done only if a controlled demolition scheme could be a built-in feature of the structure. This scheme could not be based on conventional explosives because of its capability of being damaged by fire in this case. The built-in demolition design was a nuclear one due to its safety and its inability to explode even under the influence of fire or haphazard explosions alongside. One could conclude that the US Government was not an accomplice in the controlled demolition plan as well as unaware of the upcoming events of September 11, 2001. There remained two queries about the other perpetrators. Yet, both bin Laden and Saddam denied their responsibilities, it was evident that it was Larry Silverstein who gave orders to pull the WTC-7, as he already confessed (59 - 61).

Besides, Mr. William Tahil's book—*Ground Zero: The Nuclear Demolition of the WTC*—introduced a nearby true story of the destruction of the World Trade Center. This conspiracy theory—nuclear madness—stated that “some alleged “clandestine nuclear reactors” under the WTC Towers went out of control, overheated, and ended up in a “nuclear explosion”—sending alleged “shock-waves” which have allegedly “reduced the entire WTC Towers to fine dust,” and . . . have themselves also melted (without a trace) in a process of the so-called “China Syndrome” (63), in an attempt to cover its former existence. However, there

were two designed flaws that could be corrected with ease. Once the reader found the word “nuclear reactor,” he had to replace it by “underground thermonuclear charge,” and similarly the word “digit 2” had to be changed into “digit 3,” denoting two nukes for the Twin Towers, and another for the WTC-7, and henceforth the truth about the nuclear demolition of the WTC within accurate technical details has become apparent (64).

Mr. Khalezov has shown up that a clear hard evidence was some sort of impossibility because the organizers, of both such a delicate operation and the most highly cheating cover-up which involved unusual expenses exceeding billions or trillions of dollars, worked in all secret services in the US and abroad and would let no evidence available for truth seekers. Next, the 9/11 affair and its reality would remain “classified” (91); its testimony was unreachable and could not be demanded through legal means. The perpetrator had the power to “force any potential eye-witness to sign non-disclosure contracts” (92). The only hard evidence available is to compare pre- and post- 9/11 definitions of ground zero as presented in varied dictionaries. In addition, analysts have to depend on common sense, any come by classified information, whether in the form of rumors or slips of tongues of officials, and be aware of not being a part of disinformation game (92).

Another evidence of the WTC nuclear explosion was the statement of Mr. Mark Loizeaux that his workers at “Ground Zero” found “some strangely molten pieces of steel” (93). Mr. Loizeaux was the head of the top-ranking demolition company, named Controlled Demolition Inc. Why was this company, in specific, on the site, which was known for its highly-paid and experienced workers? First, it might be responsible for the removal of the WTC debris in case of its collapse, according to a long-term contract assigned at the time of its construction. Second, the Controlled Demolition Inc. might be the company that actually designed the nuclear

demolition project for the WTC skyscrapers. And as a consequence of its “crazy engineering ideas” (94) and its disastrous outcomes, the US government forced the company to do its business. One reason or both might be probable.

Also, the WTC-1, -2, and -7 were undergone a nuclear demolition scheme—three-well calculated and continual explosions beneath the ground of the WTC due to built-in nuclear charges—not as a result of any terrorist mini-nukes. The journalist Pet Hamil witnessed that the fall of the South Tower was like an “avalanche” (101), there were cracking sounds and pops. Thus, an underground nuclear was not remarkable, because there were no fireballs, air blast waves, sound, radiation, or even electromagnetic pulse. The only noticeable reaction was an earthquake reliable on the degree of the power of an explosion (103).

Further eye-witnesses were exemplified in Alison Geyh, Ron Burger, and a member of New York Air National Guard’s 109th Air Wing whose testimonies were published in an article in *John Hopkins Public Health Magazine*, titled “Mobilizing Public Health—Turning Terror’s Tide with Science.” Mr. Geyh—the president of a team of scientists who has examined the 9/11 possible effects on health—stated that the fires were in flames; smoke was heavy; and molten steel was discovered. While Ron Burger, a public health advisor arrived at ground zero on 12 September 2001, described the atmosphere on the site of Ground Zero as a “volcano” (107), continuous heat and molten steel remnants. And the member of the 109th Air Wing, worked at the site from September 22 to October 6, emphasized, according to the attestation of a firefighter, that molten steel was still at the core of the Towers’ shambles, and heat was too strong and powerful to melt down the boots of the firemen (107).

Accordingly, Ground Zero was a highly dangerous point because of radiation. Its responders, depending on the time they spent and the measurements of Roentgens they exposed,

would suffer from harmful side effects. Firefighters and rescue workers, due to the hours and days they spent searching for survivors and dead bodies under the rubble, piled doses of radiation enough to suffer from varied degrees of radiation sickness. Therefore, FDNY workers were more liable to higher doses of ionizing rays and sought emergency medical treatment despite having radiation monitoring equipment that presented personal radiation dosimeter readings in an attempt to calculate each worker's total dose to avoid types of cancer and as a precautionary measure, but in vain. Most firefighters felt sick and managed medicine in accord with the sickness degree. However, the most cases were intractable (118 - 120).

Though the US was not complicit with the schematization of the horror of 9/11 events, it got benefit of its terror to serve its economic and political targets through its initiation of war in the Middle East. Such a tactic is innate in the foreign policies in the past or the present. The US comes to prove that American advantages have the priority, even during such a tragic time. It sometimes launches war against innocent people or nations in order that it might prorate resources, obtain below par raw materials, and open more profitable new markets. This viewpoint comes in agreement with what Dr. Jalal Amin approaches in his book, *The Age of Stigmatized Arabs and Muslims: We and the World post September 11, 2001*.³ He has cleared that one of the most ideologies that had been using in the Old as well as the New World Order, was the predominance of economic interests to the extent that it formed international policies and relations (8).

However, these materialistic profits had to be concealed under illusive slogans concerning justice, democracy, human rights, freedom, and respect for minorities, supremacy of law, combating terrorism, and removal of nuclear weapon production sources. Moreover, any attempt to unveil the true goals and motives behind these military operations was described as a

³ Amin's book is translated by the researcher.

conspiracy theory. Such a description was nothing, but a part of deception and silvering to scare anyone trying to point out the real intentions behind world actions and to present logic interpretations for certain events in accordance with history and international foreign policies (8 - 9).

This New World Order posed changes not only in economy and politics, but also there was a parallel change in discourse used to beautify hideous and offensive ends as if they were the noblest, grandest, and most worth. Consequently, it was not fanciful that some governments fabricated events to add up legitimacy to some ways and means that collective conscience could not accept easily. Further, creating a mutual enemy as well as stirring emotions of fear and hate towards such foe that had unusual capabilities of doing evils and dispossessed all human attributes, enabled states to not only unite varied categories within different views and motivations, make easy publicity, obstruct criticism and query about the reality of such happenings, but also did guarantee obedience and loyalty (14).

The need for petroleum and the state of Israel demand a rearrangement of the Middle East and the division of the Arab World in particular. And Zionism is eager to help the global power on condition the division fits the Israeli interests in the region. Hence, terrorism, specifically the Islamic and Arab terror, is the best alarm, for being mysterious and unclear. Dr. Jalal defines the terrorist as an “indistinguishable person of no definite location, whose profile is always vague. His/her identity is assigned only after the accident took place not vice versa. His/her location can be any spot around the world from New York, to Indonesia or Australia. However, combating terror is an impossible task as the terror’s sources or roots stay unknown. The arrest of a terrorist might take two days to two years. Daily there is a rumor about altering

his/her hiding place to another one” (17 - 18). Therefore, the war against terror is an endless mission.

As a result, Muslims and Arabs face aggressive campaign of stigmatization worldwide. This campaign appears not only in mass media, but in politicians’ speeches as well as various means of propaganda, as for example Radio, TV, journals, books, even the Nobel Prize for literature awarded to the author eagerly persevering Muslims’ insult and defamation. To conclude, evidences, and time, prove that the US has ambitious designs in the Middle East, and especially the Arab World. Thus, September 11 events helped the US administration carry out its projects. Yet, the US initiation of war on terror and a global support cannot be fulfilled without a conspicuous enemy. Since Islam is in the heart of all the regions in which the US has political and economic schemes, it is the base. Adding it is the most suitable cloak, due to the ability to correlate between some radical Islamic concepts and violence. On the other hand, Palestinians, and Arabs, are against Israel and its Zionist project. And most of them are Muslims. So why the US does not kill all these birds by one stone that is the slander and stigmatization of both Islam and Muslims (72 - 73).

Pro-, or anti-, US allegations of the reasons and motives behind 9/11 terror are cleared. A clarification paves the way to reflect the events in the vision of both American and Arab immigrant playwrights.

CHAPTER III

BETWEEN TRAUMA AND WAR:

THE BIG LIE

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This chapter, “Between Trauma and War: the Big Lie,” highlights the drama of two Native American playwrights, Anne Nelson and Allan Havis. The dramatist’s handling of events, and episodes, impressively manipulates the minds of audiences in one way or another. According to Alexis De Tocqueville, the attendant of a dramatic performance is influenced by the impression the work presents. He is not ready to use his senses, check it out, or even compare notes. He passively submits to its effects. Therefore, “literature is an industry” (846). Hence, both *the Guys* (2001) and *Three Nights in Prague* (2003) have specific agendas, summarizing in packing people (Westerners whether Americans or Europeans) against terrorism and its supporters emotionally, in order that the US mission in the Middle East would be easier and be boosted internationally. These plays come to adopt the US official story concerning the collapse of the Twin Towers and the hijackers of the two planes crushed the WTC buildings 1, and 2, and their relation to Middle Eastern organizations.

The guys is written to touch the hearts and point out the horrible and terrifying effects of such acts of terrorism on people despite their maybe genetic and ideological differences. The deaths of innocent people, who harm no one and do nothing but their duties towards their country and nation, are a crime against humanity. This human and emotional exposition of the events shows the monstrous and disastrous consequences of terror in an implicit attempt to motivate hate and antagonism against the doers and their nations from one hand. And how does the United States stand for the enemy of these countries, because of its democratic regime, human rights, diversity, neutrality, and tolerance, on the other hand. Therefore, *the Guys* throws light upon the humanitarian side of the lives of firefighters, and in particular eight firemen, dead in the attacks throughout the eulogies of their captain. How they were

pure characters who desired life, had wishes for future, and dealt with each other as members of one family.

Nelson starts *the Guys* with an opening monologue where the heroine, Joan, addresses the audience directly as if she wants to deliver a certain message, raising patriotic and national emotions. What is New York City for American people? And how do they see it? Its rhythm and style of life is a fantasy for non-Yorkers. Then she gives an account of her vita as a war reporter in Latin America, writing about “dirty wars,” “refugees,” and “dodged bombs” (Nelson 18). Afterwards, she settled down and led a normal life with her husband and children. She becomes an editor and a playwright. She shifts pointing to the September 11 events, questioning “Where were you September 11th?” (18). She traces the US official story regarding the collapse of the World Trade Center:

JOAN. (*Changes demeanor to talking-to-father mode.*) “A plane crashed into the World Trade Center. Musta been one of those little planes, pilot had a heart attack.”

“Dad,” I said. “Maybe it’s terrorism.”

He thought about it. “Why would someone do that?” (Nelson 19)

In spite of being a war reporter, Joan, or Nelson herself, comes to be convinced that the fall of the WTC is a result of a suicidal attack. Do you think the crash of Boeing 757 planes—made of aluminum—enough to destroy such thick steel buildings of the WTC? No plane is able to cause such harm because such skyscrapers are designed to endure several impacts of such airliners according to Leslie Robertson, one of the original engineers of the World Trade Center. Another evidence could be recalled when American major battle ships and aircraft-carriers were hit by Japanese Kamikaze-planes, similar to Boeing 757 ones, the planes were broken apart and fell down without penetrating the board of the ship, except a steel motor of a plane, but never any other part like wings, tail, frame or body (Khalezov 32).

Thus, the claim that big airliners caused damage to densely thick steel constructions is nonsense. In addition, the name of Ground Zero appears to be a reference to a spot on the ground directly below the center of a nuclear explosion. This interprets the free-fall of the WTC and why all of ground zero responders suffer from leukemia or other types of cancer.

Furthermore, Joan announces that such a historic moment makes conspicuous the end of the Postmodern Period. A statement incites questions like, is it a reference to the US aggrandizement and sense of exceptionalism? According to Coral Gilligan and David A. J. Richards in *the Deepening Darkness*, the 9/11 attacks show the heavy tension between patriarchy and democracy in the US laws and policies. The causes the US claimed for this war were not logical, and pointed out the profound psychological problem of the United States. Its sense of humiliation as a result of these attacks required a “level of military violence” (255), to regain its arrogance as a superpower. This terror defies the US concept of manhood. Therefore, the choice of war and military power, despite its opposition to international nonviolent resistance movements, was an obligation. Such violation and non-respect for these world nonviolent agreements give some organizations a pretext for their terroristic actions (256).

Of course, any kind of violence or terror is criminal, not only in the US, but all over the world as well. The US government has to deny Israeli excessive use of power targeting Palestinians whose defensive actions are described as terror. Are the choice of war and the invasion of nations, for being suspected to support and finance terror networks, easier than peaceful political talks and economic penalties if serious investigations prove their involvement? Or is it an indication of a different turn or stage of the US foreign policies concerning the Middle East, in an attempt to achieve a classified scheme? Problems the present time gives clues to solve. Such clues exemplify in the re-division of the Middle East and the change of its doctrine and convictions. The US seeks to be such a global power and

carries out the project of the New World Order which guarantees the interests of both the US and its ally—Israel—as well as the stigmatization of Arabs and Muslims. From a conspiracy perspective, the way the US administration dealt with the affair and its fast decision to fight terror wherever it is, was evidence that there are unreached schematizations and the targets are far. Especially, all the allegations were proven to be false in the course of time. Yet, the US does not end terrorism, achieve peace in the Middle East Region, or change the Iraqi regime into democratic.

Joan ends the monologue clearing the occasion behind writing the play:

JOAN. This friend was giving emergency massages to rescue workers.

“Look,” she said. “I’ve been working on this guy. Bad shape. He’s a fire captain, and he just lost most of his men. He’s got to give the eulogies. . . . He—can’t write them. He needs a writer.” (Nelson 19)

This quote throws light upon the negative psychological effects of such terror on Americans, and the firefighters of the NY Department—the post-traumatic stress disorder which is characterized by anxiety, deep sorrow, and a sense of withdrawal. It also hints at Joan-Nick acquaintance. He needs an experienced writer to articulate in words his inexpressible feelings towards his lost men.

Joan-Nick first meeting is in a “modest living room” (20), at her sister’s apartment in Park Slope, in the early afternoon. A worried and disturbed man in his late forties “holds a folder of files in his hand” (20). Nick longs for Joan’s help to say farewell to his eight firefighters in their funerals. He aspires his words may heal their families broken hearts and soothe their pains. Nelson resorts the death of firemen to their usual duties. They fought the fire at the risk of their lives. This compels us to ask questions. Why were the deaths hundreds (8 or 350) and not thousands? Why was the entire area in lower Manhattan sealed off to the public and to the news media? Why did high temperatures as well as underground fires

continued till the end of December 2001? And why the FBI agents were dressed in full hazmat suits, complete with head masks and duct tape?

NICK. . . . but the thing is, we're talking about 350 men—you got to understand, over a bad year we might lose maybe six. This was in one day, One hour. (21)

A nuclear explosion is the answer. Thus, Ground Zero is the most dangerous point because of radiation. So, the US authorities closed the area because the levels of radiation are the highest during the first three days. Firefighters and rescue workers were the most harmed groups due to the hours and days they spent searching for survivors and dead bodies from the first time of the disaster. **“In the first 24 hours after the attacks, 240 FDNY personnel sought emergency medical treatment.** Of these, 28 were hospitalized and 50 received treatment for acute respiratory symptoms caused by inhalation of airborne smoke and dust” (Khalezov 118).¹ Accordingly, these symptoms were the resultant of the radiation doses and the measurements of Roentgens the firefighters exposed. Therefore, if we replace “radiation sickness” (118) instead of “respiratory symptoms” (118), the matter will be clear. The more doses the responders exposed, the severer effect would be on their health. Moreover, civilians who were enclosed nearby Ground Zero during the attack and spent some time before they were able to run away, also exposed to doses of ionizing radiation that might exceed 50-100 Roentgens. They felt sick and were treated, but in separate hospitals, and no one was concerned to number them, unlike the Fire Department of New York (FDNY) that had a centralized approach when monitoring its staff health conditions (118). The death of firefighters is a consequence of radiation, not of their usual works because the WTC buildings were turned into microscopic fine dust.

¹ The quote is partly highlighted by the original author.

The dramatist not only incites the audience's sympathy, but also urges the Americans to be shoulder to shoulder to face their enemy. It is the time to put aside differences and to be pro the US government, and to support its policies and decisions. Patriotism and fear of the country are emotions the US administration could not motivate without such horror everywhere. Patriotic tendencies have to be in its highest levels; America is in real danger. De Tocqueville defines patriotism generally as a "love of country that has its source principally in the unthinking, disinterested and indefinable sentiment that binds the heart of the man to the places where [He] was born. . . . It is itself a kind of religion; it does not reason, it believes; it feels; it acts" (384-385). The case in the United States is that Americans look at the development and welfare of their nation as their work. Public prosperity is part of their progress. So they work for the good of the state, and defend any criticism harshly because, they consider any attack on their country an attack on them (388). Consequently, public service—in times of risk—becomes a "virtue" (McCain 133). Americans have to practice the responsibilities of "active citizenship" (136) as they enjoy its rewards. The terroristic attacks on the land of the US are a challenge for law enforcement. Americans have to face such atrocities to take an action and pursue terrorists. It is a duty to prevent first, and then judicial procedures take its course (Ashcroft 4).

JOAN. Human beings have been giving eulogies for thousands of years. . . . It won't be about what happened that day. We'll talk about who they were, make it about them. That's what you can give the families.
(Nelson 22)

Hence, sentimentalism is one of the targets of this play. The playwright's insistence on the emotional picture of September 11 events and its links becomes clear throughout Joan-Nick relation, and the characterization of the firefighters: Bill Dougherty, Jimmy Hughes, Patrick O'Neil, and Bernhardt Keppel (known for Barney). Those firefighters sacrificed

themselves to save others' lives. They were dependable and protected their city from the dangers of terrorism:

NICK. "We've been hearing a lot about heroes, and Bill was one of them. . . .

What did Bill love? He loved his family, and he loved this city. On September 11, he was the senior man." (25)

Bill worked as a fireman for sixteen years. He dealt with his colleagues as an older brother. To them, he was the leader. They followed his steps. He spent most of his spare time with them in the kitchen. And if Bill was not a firefighter, he could be a food critic. His life was for his family and work. So the least thing was to thank him and ask God to bless him and be kind with his family.

The emotional touch exceeds in intensity. The writer, in her second monologue, shows powerfully that all over the United States no one is "OK" (26). Americans are restless because each one has at least a person missing or dead in the attacks. This person may be a relative, a friend, or an acquaintance. Therefore, American people kept asking each other the rest of September "Are you OK?" (26). Shock, pain, and fear were feelings shared by all of them. And they repeated "God bless America" (26).

In accord with the theme of the play, Nelson sheds light on the nature of the work of a fire department. Nick, the fire captain, points that the fire department is composed of two complementary companies: engine and ladder (or truck). "The mission of the engine is to put water on the fire. They got the hoses, they work like a team to get it where it has to go. Ladder—we do ventilation, entry, and search" (27). Moreover, as a captain, he welcomes all new firemen. They shake hands, informing that it is "the best job in the world" (28).

9/11 events gain power over the scene again. As a consequence, Joan's, as other Americans', feelings of anxiety, agony, and suffering are clear. The attacks resemble a "body blow" (30), one is not able to take breathe for a while:

JOAN. "Cortisol is released in response to stress. Cortisol is sometimes called a 'stress hormone.' A variety of psychological stressors can cause cell death in the nerves affected by the cortisol system . . ." (30)

The heroine comes to grasp that pain has its own price, and only Americans carry its scars: a sense of "passivity," and "cries of distress" (31). Only the United States bears the burden of such terror. The nation and the whole world have to be pro the US administration whatever action is done. The loss is great. Among the lost souls is Jimmy, the newer fireman. He was under probation, but he was a hard worker and a fervent learner. He was quiet, cooperator, and beloved by all:

NICK. "On that morning in September, Jimmy was going out on his first big fire. . . . They were ready for this day. It was the work they had chosen, work that was risking everything—risking your life—in order to save others." (31)

The twenty-six year old young man and bicycle racer said farewell to his company in his first mission. However, he saved thousands. He had to be proud. His job was the highly important at such moments of crisis.

Moreover, the captain has to deliver a eulogy in honor of his long life friend, Patrick O'Neil whom he still denies his death. He was a man of a full life, work, family, and church. He was an example or a model; all firemen imitated him.

NICK. (*Mournfully.*) Nobody's having any fun anymore.

JOAN. We're all walking under the cloud. (34)

Anne Nelson tries to describe the state of people after 9/11, and how these events take any sense of enjoyment out of life. Yet, the suffering and the losses the firefighters endured to save the city, was the American only source of pride. She—Joan— likens their work at the

WTC to a tango dance, where each move happens at the same time and speed. This urges her to use the imagination and meditate how Patrick and his men acted in her third monologue:

JOAN. (*Addressing the audience quietly.*) . . . I could imagine him moving quickly and usefully across a landscape of flame and broken glass. I could see him at a dance class, swinging his partner, smiling as their feet snapped, synchronized, into place. (36)

The attacks on the WTC and its backlashes are grievous and dismal, and lack all sorts of life. But such events deepen our thinking either towards ourselves or other selves, and correspondingly change our perspectives regarding people:

JOAN. I knew then that every time I saw a person on the street, I saw only his public shadow. The rest, the most important part, lives in layer after layer beyond our view.

We have no idea what wonders lie hidden in the people around us. (36)

These attacks reflect how firemen are great, and how they risk their life to save all Americans' lives. While most people followed the affair on TV, they were at the heart of the event downtown. And she queries why USA faced such terrorism. There was no reason.

Moreover, she enhances again patriotic motivations inside the American citizens. They have to spare no effort to help their country in such times of need. Everyone, whatever his job is, has a role to play:

JOAN. This is my city, too. I can't just watch it on TV. I want to do something. But this is all I know how to do. Words. I can't think of anything else.

NICK. (*Wonderingly.*) That's OK. They're your tools. (40)

Nelson, here, incites Americans to do whatever they can; the nation needs every one of them. Each has a duty. Writers, doctors, painters, engineers, soldiers, even children can heal the nation in a time of disaster. Voices have to be loud for the US safety and against terror.

The US horror attracts the attention worldly. One is supporter, and the other is querulous. This situation rouses Joan's anger which appeared clearly in her fourth monologue:

JOAN. Everybody, all over the world, was talking about it. Writing about it.

And they all—they all—thought it was about them! But it's not. It's about us!

Isn't it? (41)

The collapse of the Twin Towers motivates the whole world to think of, analyze, and investigate in a trial to reach the truth. Lots of questions are raised. Is it a terroristic attack? Is a plane crash enough to demolish the Twin Towers? Is it really because of the American democracy and human rights as the US administration claimed? Why did the US government confiscate publishing? Is this normal? All these unanswerable questions are denied by Anne Nelson, and accordingly Joan. She sees that this affair belongs only to the USA and its people. Why do people want to look at pictures of dead bodies? They are already dead. Why are people "glad" (40)? She refers that some countries were "glad" watching the fall of the WTC Buildings due to the US imperialist policies, and its stands towards the crises of other countries.

Furthermore, she fiercely denies some Argentine writers' comment that "The United States is living under total military censorship" (40). Information block is a necessity for Americans, and in specific those families that lost their sons or patrons. The attack was terrible. And Americans, only them, felt the disaster and its outcomes. So, the US government has to do whatever action as long as the nation is threatened. Here, she paves the

way in front of new legislative laws, like the Patriot Act. The American society, the government and the civil institutions, have to support the direction of fighting terrorism and savagery wherever it is. Americans must be ready to serve their nation at home and overseas. The total atmosphere succeeds in creating a state of wartime.

The last scheduled service is Barney's. He was an inventor. He welded metal and made useful tools for the work of the firehouse. His parents were German. He was known for his precision and talent:

NICK. As a fireman? I thought he was real good. He was a man who worked with his hands, respected his tools. Asked questions. He knew what was going on . . . analytical. He was interested in everything, he took his talent and used it for the company. (43)

Also, Barney liked adventures. He, and his best friend Dave, went out drinking in an attempt to meet his partner in life, but in vain. He was not handsome, but had a higher sense of humor. He was a "tall guy. Light hair. Kinda beefy" (43) in his mid-thirties. His girl of dreams was a woman welder. But despite their friendship, Barney and Dave had different characters. The former was eager to precision and order, while the latter was messy.

The play ends with two scenes. Nick is in Barney's funeral reading the eulogy, while Joan raises a question: "Will we go to normal?" (44). The US loss was priceless. Dead bodies have to return back to life:

JOAN. (*Desperate, methodical.*) . . . Let's just play the tape backwards. Start with the shot of the rubble. The dust and the steel rise and untwist and form back up into the buildings. The flames are sucked back into Tower 2, then Tower 1. The planes fly backwards across the river, take a curve, and land backwards in Boston.

Everybody gets out of the plane and drives backwards home.

.....

The guys from the ladder truck run backwards. . . . That's it. That's the deal. (45 - 46)

She wishes the attacks targeted the WTC buildings did not happen and New Yorkers enjoy their lively and peaceful city. However, the scene ended with Joan and Nick looking at each other as being rounding the bend. They console the whole nation.

Thus, *the Guys* comes to follow the footprints of the US mobilized mass polity. Nelson adopted the US perspective and its analysis of the events, and the WTC destruction. The target of the play is to show the ugly face of terrorism, and how it causes the death of innocent civilians who harm no one, do their duties and lead normal lives. The humanistic side is the highly important to touch the hearts and take things as they are represented. Therefore, it is widely produced to back up the international world against terror and its patrons. "The play drew more than twelve thousand people to the seventy-four-seat theater and has subsequently been produced in forty-eight states and at least twelve foreign countries" (Havis 17).

Allan Havis's *Three Nights in Prague* comes to complement the work of Anne Nelson. It throws light upon one of the hijackers, Muhammad Atta, and an Iraqi consulate official, Al Ani, to correlate Iraq with such terroristic attacks, with reference to the unproven meeting of Muhammad Atta and a real Iraqi official named Ahmad al Ani in April, five months before the attacks (Colleran 110). The US government claimed that Saddam Hussein provided bin Laden and Co. with some portable nuclear weapons, "Soviet-made Suit-case nukes" (Khazov 9), that led to the destruction of the WTC buildings 1, and 2. This play gives reasons for the US invasion of Iraq. War has a bad effect on the fate of people. To launch a war is a complicated matter in a democratic country because no one can be in isolation from what happens. So, if war is probable, its pillars have to be "vast" (Tocqueville

1179). Thus, those who want to fight “have no other resources than to seize unexpectedly the already functioning machine of the government, which can be carried out by a surprise attack rather than by a war; for from the moment when the war is official, the party which represents the State is always sure to win” (1185). Therefore, Bush’s administration has not to leave any chance to convince the international world and, in particular, the American people that the invasion of Iraq—and Afghanistan—is a necessity due to the disaster of its regime and its violent schemes against the US and the whole world. And the September 11 events are the cloak. The Americans themselves have felt the horror of terrorism. They have to sacrifice to save their nation, even if war is the price.

Consequently, literature is directed. Havis’s point of view comes in agreement with what Attorney General, John D. Ashcroft, points in his essay, “A Clear and Present Danger.” Both Havis and Ashcroft clarify that the 9/11 attacks were a proof that terror is “the activity of expertly organized, highly coordinated, and well-financed organizations and networks” (4). These organisms have no borders, and are protected and harbored by governments that have the same ideological platform. Terrorists voluntarily sacrifice their souls to end the lives of innocent citizens of a free nation, like the United States. *Three Nights in Prague* is a representation of this perspective. It takes place in the city of Prague in April 2001. It features in 10 scenes—chronologically not ordered—and a prologue.

The prologue shows up the will of Muhammad Atta, and what he wants in case of his death. First, he states that the prophet Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, and that he believes in the afterlife and the resurrection of dead bodies. He advises his family and anyone who reads his testament to fear Allah and pursue His doctrine as well as His prophets, wishing all people follow the advice of prophet Ibrahim and die as Muslim. He also desires no women attend his funeral, an issue which is controversial in Islam between support and opposition. And the opinion here is the aversion. However, the dramatist intentionally

portrays it as a form of misogyny. Islam insults the woman and deals with her as a second sex, not a human being or a partner in life. The taboo, the inferiority of women, the West always exports to the world and, to the women in the Middle East in particular:

ATTA. Then get rid of her. She's a cunt. This woman lies to you. She is your burden.

PAVEL. I wear an expensive wedding ring.

ATTA. Sell the shitty ring.

PAVEL. But how? I love her still.

ATTA. You put on your shoes and hat, then go through the fucking door.

(196)

The play lights all the Western taboos regarding the character of a Muslim whoever he is—Muhammad Atta or another. It shows the other as delineated in Said's *Orientalism*. For the West, Islam is viewed as a false version of Christianity. It was a "lasting trauma" (53); it was a symbol of terror, hate, destruction, and the "demonic" (53). As a result, Prophet Muhammad, being the messenger of false revelation, was introduced as the caller of lust, vice, pederasty, and an example of falseness because of the imposture of his doctrine. Such barbarism and savagery—"the sword of Muhammed and the Koran" (123)—are the enemies of civilization and liberty, and its atrocity will affect the whole universe. In addition, Muslims and Arabs are always portrayed as aliens that have a particular mission in the West. They are characterized by otherness and queerness. The Westerners have to deal with these unusual, passive, non-autonomous creatures as subjects, depending on a master-slave policy (82). Accordingly, Havis is concerned with the leader of the operation, Muhammad Atta, and what do his relations with Al Ani, Dolni, and Pavel reveal?

To portray such a character, Havis has taken into consideration some official reports about the perpetrators of September 11 attacks. Some of them were published in Stephen E.

Atkins' *the 9/11 Encyclopedia*. This encyclopedia gives personal information about Muhammad Atta, his upbringing, education, and personal traits. Atta had a rigid upbringing. He was born on September 1, 1968, in the village of Kafr-el-Sheikh in the Egyptian delta. His father was a middle-class lawyer with links to the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood. His family moved to the Abdin District of Cairo in 1978. His father had an authoritative personality and prevented his children from playing. Studying was their only task. Therefore, Atta had few friends. After attending a local high school, he joined the Cairo University in 1986. He studied architecture in the Faculty of Engineering. After graduation, he traveled to Hamburg, Germany, to study town planning, in obedience to his father's orders. During his class work, his mates noted his inclination to loneliness and his "strong religious orientation" (Atkins 23). However, in 1995, he became busy with Muslim extremist politics. After a pilgrimage to Mecca, he contacted with al Qaeda recruiters, for whom Atta was the kind of person they requested, because of his intelligence and dedication. After his return to Germany, he went to the Mosque of al- Quds, where he was convinced to join al Qaeda. He became the leader of Hamburg cell of radical Islamists. In 1998, he received military training at the al Qaeda training camp in Afghanistan. He "ranked high in all the attributes of an al-Qaeda operative—intelligence, religious devotion, patience, and willing to sacrifice" (23). As a result, he was chosen for a future suicidal mission, the September 11 operation. He—and his cell—were ideal because of their ability to speak English fluently, and to conform to Western society without being suspected. They submitted to specialized training for the mission, focusing on hijacking commercial airliners and pilot training (173).

Thus, Atta headed the al-Qaeda team that hijacked four American commercial aircrafts (Boeing 757, and 767s), and directed them to attack the Twin Towers:

ATTA. Not yet.

.....

(After a silence.) How is the airport security?

.....

And for those travelers who look Middle Eastern?

PAVEL. Iraq enjoys special circumstances in Prague. Oil benefits everyone here. And Prague is Europe's emporium for black-market gun sales.

.....

One day the world will run out of oil. And then what? Who's fucking who? (Havis 192 - 193)

From his first arrival, Atta has worked hard on his schematization, and tried to know details about the airport, its security, its workers, and if he would be suspected because of his Middle Eastern features, with a reference to Iraqis, the most well-known Arabs in Prague due to oil market. And how will shortage of oil lead the world into ruin one day? Then, through his dialogue, Atta comes to be an Egyptian, from Cairo. Iraq, Egypt, and an implicit hint to Saudi Arabia are shown as places where terrorism is, and who the US should make war against. Why? The US sense of empire helps it to shoulder non-democratic regimes and deals with them as allies, as in Egypt and Saudi Arabia. This support of these governments intensifies "the patriarchal legacy of the former colonial powers" in these nations and enables dictators to enslave people and suppress their rights and freedoms. Besides, the US advocacy to Israel fuels Arab hate against America. Hence, the perpetrators of 9/11 terrifying events were from the Middle East Region. They thought of the United States and its allies as a blatant embodiment of imperialism and the source of enmity towards Islam and Muslims. They—Osama bin Laden and warriors—call them "Zionist-Crusaders" (Gilligan 252 - 253).

Consequently, Havis pays attention to the mind-set of Muhammad Atta and tries to clear why he chooses to be a jihadist or warrior. He is a complicated character, suspicious, mysterious, "serious" (195), and psychologically suffered. He has bizarre views regarding

women and sexual intercourse thinking they are “polluting” (Atkins 24), although he has a normal relationship with his mother and sisters:

ATTA. I want a young Virgin.

.....

Dark eyes. Long legs. Hairless body. No Disease. Clean. Very clean.

I shall have a woman tonight. I am allowed to have one. (Havis 197)

In light of Atta’s views of women, do you think it is a real request? Is it a reference to a real relation in this world or in the afterlife? In spite of his demand of a woman, Pavel sends his homosexual son because of his acknowledgement of Atta’s deep hatred of women. A situation projects his as well as Arabs’ queerness and gay tendencies. Arabs’ homosexuality is innate due to their sense of deprivation and lust. Havis intends to make such a habit obvious in his depiction of the characters of Atta, Al-Ani, Jabir Salem, the officials in the Iraqi Consulate, and Saddam Hussein.

Atta’s scene with Dolni—a strange teenage boy who has cocaine habit—shows most of his personal secrets and attitudes. Dolni and his father appear to know well who Atta is. And what is behind? Dolni is able to know the nature of his mission in the US, which is to get revenge from Americans. The Jews hate is usual and ordinary, but the mission is exceptional:

DOLNI. I can see who you want to fight.

ATTA. And who is that?

DOLNI. Rich Americans.

ATTA. Pavel told you.

DOLNI. He told me the Jews. Isn’t it always the Jews? (190)

Also, Dolni can penetrate into his repressed desires and shows his vain and girlish inclinations. Atta is proud of his appearance and achievements as an architect and engineer. Moreover, Dolni asks Atta to think of him as a “clean soul” (191) that may be his son and his

daughter in an attempt to satisfy his individual sexual morality and his sense of cleanliness as well. However, when Atta hands about his sexual favors as a sort of freedom in a sarcastic manner, and in reference to the US as the land of freedom, Dolni affirmatively clarifies it is a business—a way for more money. Dolni suffers from heart valve and needs an expensive surgery; that is why he steals and works as a prostitute. But he does not lose his virginity because of his feminine attitude and a deep wish to be a girl. Pavel assures Dolni is one of Atta's celestial virgins:

PAVEL. Atta is with a “young woman” who is not “a woman” so he can still feel clean. To his God-Allah- there is no woman in that hotel room. And Allah is happy. Everyone is happy. (213)

Havis introduces a false version of Islam as being a call for eroticism, terror, and evil, and not a religion that seeks the virtues of both humanity and nation, and is a mercy to the universe. And the afterlife and paradise virgins are facts whether he accepts them or not. To him, Atta is abnormal and needs psychological treatment. Dolni performs the role of the psychiatrist that finds out Atta's complex—the cause behind his pain and torment—and feminine behavior, and his father's ill-treatment and provocation. He prompts Atta to cancel his mission, and make him his new target and forget his pain; but all is for nothing:

DOLNI. He can't make his life better. So he will make strangers feel his pain. Maybe that's the scar inside the Arab mind. (219)

Atta's inability to stop the operation and reconcile with himself is natural. According to Said, to the West the oriental is not applicable to change. He is always an impersonator and has the same, constant, and queer self. He plans to dominate the whole world despite his incapability of escaping the fences of the West (Said 140).

Atta falls in love with Dolni and wants to be together in the future life. However, Pavel proves his paternal love to Dolni and his desire to see him well and safe to the extent he sacrifices himself:

ATTA. Then prove yourself.

PAVEL. What, are you going to kill me in front of all these people?

.....

ATTA. I want you to tell Dolni that he has to go with me.

.....

PAVEL. (*To phone.*) Dolni, it's me. I'm with the Egyptian. He says good-bye to you.

(*Pavel hangs up.*)

That is the best I can do, Mr. Atta, because my flesh and blood is everything. (Havis 221)

In spite of his faults towards Dolni at first, Pavel's true love for his son is significant. Death is his choice. Pavel disappeared, and Dolni looks for his absent father, doubting that Muhammad Atta killed him as he will be behind the loss of million people:

DOLNI. He's going to kill a million infidels.

AL-ANI. . . . Will the world really miss a million infidels?

DOLNI. As much as I will miss my father. (224 - 225)

On the other hand, the main target of Atta's visit to Prague is to convince an eminent Iraqi official to have a role in their sacred mission either by financing the hijackers, or by providing them with biochemical weapons and transponder:

ATTA. If Saddam can fund \$ 25,000 to each Palestinian family who offers a suicide bomber, then it is equally reasonable for Iraq to bond with us.

AL-ANI. Unfortunately my president does not see it like that.

ATTA. Why?

AL-ANI. When Arafat dies, power will go to a man in a three-piece suit. (202)

Atta and Al-Ani's only scene shows their ideological differences and religious orientation, next to the reason behind Atta's existence in Prague, to ask help from the Iraqi authorities. For Al-Ani, Saddam and the international society, bin Laden and his organization are against the law and have no representative state. In addition, bin Laden is not a friend to Iraq, and as a result it is better for Iraq to be away from such deals and missions. Even the Iraqi stand regarding the Jews is dissimilar. Iraq has no problem with them. Yet, Al-Ani offers a chance to have confidence in each other, but in vain:

AL-ANI. . . . We have to find how to trust each other, Atta.

ATTA. If you trust the Saudi contact, then you can trust me.

AL-ANI. Do you trust yourself, Atta?

ATTA. I trust Allah first. (203)

Al-Ani and Atta are in parallel contrast. The first is not religious, while the latter is, and calls him and his colleagues "Devout men of Islam" (204). Al-Ani denies their sacrifice of their souls under the concept of martyrdom. He arouses Atta's anger, pointing he may be an agent either for an Israeli secret service or for Iran, although he knows well this is fake. Otherwise, Atta insists on his help because their share will make the situation better. The Iraqi official contravenes, accounting that their power was ten years ago before the Gulf War and the US penalties. In attempt to practice pressure over Al-Ani, Atta reveals his intention to announce secret information about Iraqi acceptance of "antiaircraft-missiles and guidance systems from the Czechs" (208). Yet, Al-Ani expresses his inability to help him despite having the means, because of his cooperation with foreign intelligence services, the Czech authorities. If such matter discloses, it results in his diplomatic misrepresentation and corruption while he is about to retire. The scene ends. Atta describes him as a "coward" (209), but gives him time

till his departure. Through this interaction, Havis pays attention to the difference between an official consulate—a representative of a state—and a member of an organization of terror. Al-Ani is a representation of the international society that has its laws which control the world and coordinate the relations between countries, while Atta is a representation of barbarism and savagery.

The play ends with the horrified Dolni, resorting to the Czech police headquarters and reports about his absent father as well as Atta and his catastrophic scheme. He tells about the relation between Al-Ani and Atta, and swears they work together: “Atta is the monster, but Al-Ani is the manipulator” (226). Dolni is anxious about his father, wondering if the police will allow Atta carry out his devilish operation:

DOLNI. . . . Atta can pilot a plane. Atta’s anger is real. There is a devil inside his eyes. What will you do to stop him? I know your secret police has been tailing him! . . . And you will do nothing about it.

(Pause.)

This awful monster from Cairo . . . killed my dear father. (226)

Havis documents the US doubts about the Iraqi involvement. Al Qaeda and Iraq’s ideological orientations, and Arab culture in general, are not different. To the Westerners, as it appears in *Orientalism*, Muslims know nothing about liberty and decency. And power and greatness is their God. Orientals need Western conquest to liberate them. “When they go for long periods without seeing conquerors who do heavenly justice, they have the air of soldiers without a leader, citizens without legislators, and a family without a father” (Said 140). For this reason, the Americans’ taking of Iraq is for its sake, democracy, and liberation. Nonetheless, the fatwa, issued by Yusuf al-Qaradawi and the leading moderates, has condemned the 9/11 attacks which are in contrast with Islam and its tolerant instructions (Colleran 112).

Havis comes to reason the Iraqi role behind such horror, providing Atta with cash and destructive weapons despite Baghdad's denial of any sort of link with al Qaeda and its negation of responsibility. However, the fall of the WTC could not be a result of airplane crash, or a plan of an organization like al Qaeda, due to its thick steel construction and its free-fall speed. Adding to that some of the perpetrators were found alive weeks after the attacks, how? Also, such a work requires coordination with the US authorities to plant explosives in the skyscrapers, regardless of the testament of Larry Silverstein, the owner of the WTC-7 pulled down after his orders. At last, does bin Laden have an upper hand on the US media cover-up of the events? If this is real, why did the US follow and kill him?

The attacks on the Twin Towers incite enquiries in the Americans' mind. How suicide is used as a weapon? How the 19 hijackers did not care about either their own safety, or others in what-so-called a martyrdom mission? First, we have to differentiate between suicide and jihad in accordance with the teachings of the Koran and the sayings of the prophet Muhammad in the hadiths. Personal suicide is banned in Islam, and as a consequence the rate of personal suicide is low in Islamic societies. While jihad implies two meanings: one denotes Muslim's struggle to behave as a true Muslim, regarding the instructions of his religion. The second refers to a holy war against the enemies of Islam. This war may be either for the prevalence of Islam, or for a defense against outsiders. And it is a duty of "every able-bodied Muslim" (172) to take part in land liberation. Therefore, Islamist groups, like al-Qaeda, consider the presence of both Israel and the United States in the Middle East an invasion. And to wage war against their existence is a continuation of the earlier wars between the West and the Islamic World that dated back to the Crusades in the Middle Age (172).

However, is jihadist violence an output of either "religious ideology," or "geopolitical grievance" (Marvasti ix)? Many Muslims believe that Islam is under attack by the West, and

in front the United States. Hence, bin Laden and his warriors think that their missions are a mere submission to Allah's orders and a defense for Islam against Western allegations and antagonism. Muhammad Atta points that the US not only is the center of "world Jewry" (ix), but also helps the Jews accomplish their plans to dominate the world, and especially the Middle East region. Moreover, bin Laden, also, in his "letter to the American people" of November 2002, paid attention that the Jews control the American media, economy, and policies. They fulfill their goals at the expense of Americans (ix).

ATTA. Fuck the Jews.

PAVEL. Are these games, Mr. Atta?

(Pause.)

You terrorize people, don't you?

ATTA. No.

PAVEL. Do you hurt people?

ATTA. No. Look, Pavel . . . I'm a businessman. Import, export.

(Pause.)

Clean. Beautiful. As pure as snow.

(Pause.)

No more mistruths. (Havis 198)

Atta's hate of the Jews is clear and their destruction is innate in his character. He makes deals with Allah to win His paradise and the black-eyed virgins. He dedicates himself to be a warrior and to have a role in the holy war against Israel and its ally because of their invasion of Arab lands and their terror against Palestinians, next to their Zionist schemes regarding the Middle East. To him, paradise is eternality and the land of peace where there is no lie, falseness, hypocrisy, animosity, transgression, and the like.

Hence, hostility against the United States and the West, in general, is a product of their policies concerning the Arab World and the region as a whole. According to a former US Air Force Lieutenant colonel, who executed bombing operation in Vietnam before turning to a priest, “We are not hated because we practice democracy, value freedom, or uphold human rights. We are hated because our government denies these things to people in Third World countries whose resources are coveted by our multinational corporations” (Marvasti xiv). This comes in agreement with what Susan Sontag writes:

Where is the acknowledgment that this was not a “cowardly” attack on “civilization” or “liberty” or “humanity” or “the free world” but an attack on the world’s self-proclaimed superpower, undertaken as a consequence of specific American alliances and actions? . . . And if the word “cowardly” is to be used, it might be more aptly applied to those who kill from beyond the range of retaliation, high in the sky, than to those willing to die themselves in order to kill others. In the matter of courage (a moral neutral virtue): whatever maybe said of the perpetrators of Tuesday’s slaughter, they were not cowards. (Colleran 2)

So, what is terrorism? The term is derived from the Latin verb *terrere*, meaning to frighten. It is a “strategy of using political violence, social threats or coordinated attacks closely associated with unconventional warfare in manner of conduct and operation” (Marvasti 4). The National Research Council refers to terrorism as an unlawful use of power by some groups, motivated by certain political and ideological tendencies, to force governments into some actions by terrorizing their nations. For this reason, terrorism is vague. A political shift of interest may turn today’s terrorist into tomorrow’s hero and vice versa. The United States considered bin Laden a freedom fighter when his missions were against the (pro-Soviet Union) Afghanistan authorities, but later he was described as a terrorist, when his enmity directed towards the US and its interests. Also, Western governments practice terrorism, but

they call it counterterrorism due to their control of media. The US bombings in Afghanistan and its financial and military support for Israel are nothing, but forms of terrorism (4 - 6).

To end terrorism, we have to understand its roots and motives. What incites a suicide bomber? What elements do participate in the existence of such calamities? What is the cause behind these atrocities? Is terrorism a means of communication? According to the Psychiatrist Jerrold Post, suicide bombers end their lives in a trial to be understood. Violence is their way to communicate, and to allude to the necessity of changing policies. The main target in common is to coerce democracies to withdraw their forces from their—the terrorists'—homeland (31).

To conclude, both *the Guys* and *Three Nights in Prague* visualize the immense and deep influence of the September 11 disaster on the United States and its handling afterwards. They date a new period in history, the division of the US history into “before” and “after” (Colleran 1) the 9/11, and record the speed movement from grief to “atavism,” from defenselessness to violence, according to Bush administration desire of revenge. Therefore, terrorism and antiterrorism is a reality until we find new gates for our cries of grief other than that of war, implying “incalculable costs, limitless expansion, and no political objective except to exterminate the other” (3). For Americans and others, Atta's face is a representation of evil, while those of the victims of the WTC are of grief and sorrow, as well as those of firefighters are portrayals of prowess and bravery.

CHAPTER IV

THE ARAB AMERICAN: A CITIZEN OR AN INSIDER

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The 9/11 events, the accusation of bin Laden and Al Qaeda, the probability of the involvement of Arab countries, the Arab nationalities of the hijackers themselves, and the demonization of Islam motivate the hostility against Arabs and Muslims whether on the societal level or political and institutional level. This apparent antagonism and militarization of law enforcement raises questions like, is September 11 terror enough to put aside the liberal democratic principles of the USA Constitution? Is it enough to pass laws such as the Patriot Act 1 and 2? If Al Qaeda organization planned these terroristic attacks, why FBI generally traced American Middle Easterners who lived on US soil? Are they not citizens according to Constitution and legislation? Yussef El Guindi's *Back of the Throat* and Sam Younis' *Browntown* document these black times and its influence on American Middle Easterners—Arabs, Egyptians, Lebanese, Turkish, Indians—who became under suspicion because of their origin and religion even if some of them are second or third generation who do not speak Arabic or never visit their homeland. Both plays show the persecution and difficulties the Middle Easterners suffered from post September 11, 2001.

In a state of fear and paranoia, Yussef El Guindi writes *Back of the Throat* as a result of the detainment of a large number of American Middle Easterners after the attacks. He imagines what he can do if he faces such investigations. He tries to tackle the backlash of post September 11 from political and philosophical viewpoints. And the creation of the character of Khaled, as an Arab-American writer, is the answer. The play takes place in the hero's studio in New York City, sometime after the 9/11 episode. It has no intermission like a prolonged interrogation. It opens with two federal agents, Bartlett and Carl, rummage Khaled's apartment and inspect everything in a systematic way:

BARTLETT. We appreciate this.

KHALED. Whatever you need, please.

BARTLETT. This is informal, so—

KHALED. I understand.

BARTLETT. Casual. As casual as a visit like this can be.

KHALED. Either way. Make it formal if you want. I want to help. I've been looking for a way to help. (El Guindi 137)

This state of suspicion, doubt, and wonder post- 9/11 enhances the institutional neglect of legal procedures and constitutional individual rights under the claims that the nation is the most important. Also, it promotes ideological exclusion and division of the American society. Security anxiety urges the necessity to correlate between religious communities and government least such institutions patronize activities that may be dangerous, unlawful, and away from the observation of the state as a consequence of the rights of individual privacy and the religious free exercise. Hence, secrecy of religion comes to be harmful. Such communities have to be subjected to surveillance to prove its credit. And any trial to insist on freedom from observation is an implicit indication of guilt because, “what is unobserved is, virtually by definition, deemed to be dangerous” (Barkun 294). Thus, American Middle Easterners are a threat to the security and the interests of the US, regardless of their belonging to that nation and their feelings of pain and grief as the same as natives towards such ruin and loss. Khaled here is willing to help and cooperate if he can. He has a duty towards his country. He is not aware of being a suspect. Principles of liberalism, neutrality, pluralism, diversity, and above all equality are gone away. Discrimination and racial profiling characterize the scene.

(BARTLETT picks up a picture frame from a table.)

KHALED. A present from my mother. . . . It says, er, “God.”

BARTLETT. “God”?

.....

BARTLETT. No television?

KHALED. No. Too addictive. It's easier to remove the temptation.

BARTLETT. (*Picking up a book.*) You didn't see the images?

KHALED. Oh yes. God, yes. How could I not. I wish I hadn't.

.....

CARL. "Oklahoma"?

KHALED. I've never been able to identify the tune. (El Guindi 138)

The Western stereotypes of the Orient as being representative of violence and enmity and believers of a false religion that stands for terror, destruction, demon, and barbarism aggravate substantially after 9/11. The federal agents see Arabs as aliens who have a certain mission on the US soil. To them, Koran, jihad, and Islam are the enemies of civilization and liberty. They see Koran as a threat to US public security due to its hideous status. And any sort of cooperation between religious bodies is viewed in light of evil and conspiracy (Barkun 279). Subsequently, Khaled is an Egyptian Muslim whose apartment contents—the picture, no television, Koran, a music box with a special tune—gradually exceed the tension and caution against him and his probable involvement in 9/11 terror. The tune of the music box, Oklahoma, is a reference to a terroristic action which took place in Oklahoma—a state in the US—and it was the most destructive in the American history. It resulted in the death of 168 human beings, including 19 children when Timothy McVeigh set off a large explosive device outside the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building on April 19, 1995. The Federal government executed him on June 11, 2001 ("Oklahoma" 55 - 56).

BARTLETT. "Kaled."

KHALED. That's good.

BARTLETT. But not exactly.

KHALED. It doesn't matter.

CARL. Khaled.

KHALED. That's it.

BARTLETT. It's that back of the throat thing. (139)

The title of the play, *Back of the Throat*, implies two meanings. The first is Bartlett's inability to pronounce that sound from back of the throat /kh/, and the hero's trials to help him say it. This difficulty of pronunciation indicates that Arab ethnic groups are not part of that place in spite of their long existence. They are immigrants and their names still seem odd. It hints that they are aliens despite their successes and progress in the United States. Their being is only an American guarantee. The second connotes the crisis of Muslims, Islam, and Middle Easterners as it grows bitter and becomes like a lump in the throat. It may be the back of El Guindi's mind that murmurs, complains, and protests against post- 9/11 wages (Austin 1).

The state of Arab-American ethnicities changed after September 11 from the invisible and unrealizable to the visible and outstanding whether this notable appearance was accepted or not. This was due to the American avid inquisitiveness—from usual individuals to eminent politicians—to know about Arab communities and their background because of the danger that upset the American society and divided the American history into before and after 9/11. However, this visibility was feared by Arab Americans because they were introduced as racial and ridiculous, and as a consequence, had to be sent away and punished. They had to redefine themselves daily amidst waves of either hostility or kindness. The American administration and politicians urged the citizens to control themselves and spread safety among Arab groups. But the repetition of statements like, “They're American too,” “they're American just like you,” and “They also love this country” (Salaita 151 - 152) arouses

suspicion on account of the contrary state actions and the brutal Patriot Act that broadly curb civil liberties and inaugurate Police State USA.

The Patriot Act sets aside Americans' privacy rights against governmental interference in their activities and concerns as well as increases the power of governmental institutions. Federal authorities were permitted to use roving wiretaps on any phone that a suspicious terrorist might use. Law enforcement officers were able to back track suspects without notifications. Also, FBI agents could acquire secret court orders to trace personal records like, business, medical, library, and other files without reasonable grounds. Terrorism becomes a federal case and criminal penalties were increased for a list of offences including conspiracy, terrorism, and interference with a flight crew. Moreover, the Domestic Security Enhancement Act [DSEA], known as Patriot Act II, enables federal agents and intelligence officials to interfere individual affairs and private belongings, even his email, and detain people for periods without official investigations and lawful procedures. The American nation is wholly under inspection, aliens, visitors, or residents. Also, the DSEA gives the Attorney General the right to either detain foreign suspected terrorists for a full week without clarifying the cause or beginning an official investigation, or deport whoever as long as these non citizens form a threat to the US interests. An increasing fear and hatred against foreigners, and in front Arabs and Muslims, become apparent. These hostile attitudes put Arab American groups in a critical situation. They experience growing feelings of dismissal—once from the Middle East and again from the US—and deep bitterness. Like natives, they were shocked and horrified by the large losses of souls resultant from the WTC destruction, but at the same time they were against the categorization of Arabs as “outsiders and insiders in U.S. society” (Hatem 10). In addition, they have to bear the burden of such horror and face the public American anger, hate, and aggression. Generally, Arab American rights of citizenship and their civil merits were violated:

BARTLETT. How do you spend your free time?

KHALED. Really? —That’s relevant?

(BARTLETT stares at him.)

Er, sure, okay. I read mostly.

.....

BARTLETT. *(Pointing the computer.)* Can we look at that, by the way?

KHALED. It’s a kind of private.

(Slight beat.)

It’s—kind of private.

.....

I understand. I just don’t have that exciting a life. Did I mention I’m a citizen, by the way. I can show you my —

(CARL holds up KHALED’s passport.)

Right. Just so you know. (El Guindi 140 - 141)

The attitude of the FBI agents and their ransacking of every item in Khaled’s apartment compel him to ask what the matter is. To them, every bit is a “red flag” (Mikulan 1). He becomes sure of his entrapment—the atmosphere does not look like a casual question. So, he is curious to know the cause behind such a visit, and if there is anything in particular they search for? And who squealed him and gave them his name?

KHALED. *(Continuing.)* Because then maybe I could address the concerns head on; so you don’t waste your time. I imagine you’re getting a lot of calls. People with scores to settle. Or skittish neighbors. Was it George? He seems a little too curious about where I’m from. He doesn’t seem to understand my connections with my country of birth are long gone. Was it—Beth? We had a falling out. It’s very strange

not being able to address whatever accusations have been made against me. It's like battling ghosts. (El Guindi 141)

He never gets an answer. Therefore, his defense of being innocent comes to be his “mantra” (Mikulan 2) afterwards. But, lately he discovers that his ex-girlfriend is behind such a gossip and his maybe embroilment in 9/11 events. As a consequence of the increasing racial discourse and stereotypical images of Muslims as backwards and anti US liberalism, Beth revalued her former relation with Khaled in a sinister manner. She thought he might have a role in such a terror. He believes in Islam and what it stands for.

Contrary to liberalism and its concern with the freedom of individuals and respect for their choices, Khaled's personal orientations become a source of accusation:

BARTLETT. (*Flipping through magazine.*) Not a huge one, anyway.

KHALED. It's legal.

BARTLETT. It's porn. Not good. But it's still okay.

KHALED. They haven't outlawed it yet.

BARTLETT. No, but that doesn't make it all right.

KHALED. It's—it's a debate, but sure.

.....

About—you know—the place of erotica in society. (El Guind 142 - 143)

Porn magazines, books on Arabic, guns, assassins, Islam, all these items intensify the agents' doubt. In a defensive manner, Khaled assures he is a writer and every theme may be used in future works. These things have to be seen in context (Bacalzo 1).

The events of September 11 come to be the focus of Bartlett-Khaled conversation and how its hellish disaster affected Khaled to the extent he is unable to write and seems to have “writer’s block” (El Guindi 146), due to his loss of concentration and enthusiasm:

BARTLETT. Something going to make you lose focus?

KHALED. Apart from the world going to hell?

BARTLETT. That inspires some people.

KHALED. Not me.

BARTLETT. It inspires *me* to do the best I can.

KHALED. Well good. (146)

The dialogue reaches its utmost and Bartlett’s real intentions towards Khaled take a shape. Khaled’s interest in politics, sex, and civil rights is thought of as abnormal and being accused of acts of terrorism is the coming step:

KHALED. To be an active, informed citizen? And to have a healthy interest in, in—sex; that’s not normal?

BARTLETT. . . . To be honest, you are shaping up to be a very unnormale individual. I am frankly amazed at just how abnormal everything is in your apartment. I have actually been growing quite alarmed by what we’ve been finding. More: I’m getting that uncomfortable feeling that there’s more to you than meets the eye and not in a good way. I wouldn’t be surprised if we were turn on that computer and find plans for tunneling under the White House. Or if Carl was to walk out that door having found something very incriminating indeed. (147)

The ugly face of the federal agents as well as Khaled’s knowledge of his own difficulties and the danger surround amidst his astonishment is apparent. He tries to practice his rights as a citizen and calls a lawyer.

KHALED. Yuh. Okay. I think I'd like to speak to a lawyer if you don't mind.

BARTLETT. I do mind.

KHALED. I have the right.

BARTLETT. Not necessarily.

KHALED. Yes, I believe do.

BARTLETT. I'd have to disagree.

KHALED. I know my rights. (147)

A clear transgression of civil liberties and denial of individuality and privacy are unveiled. Khaled's request for a lawyer exceeds the suspicion of the FBI agents. To them, such a demand implies guilt. But, Khaled insists on his rights and informs them to leave the place, and if there is anything against him, he will be ready to submit to an official investigation in the presence of a lawyer. A strict refusal and a list of charges are the answer:

BARTLETT. So then it must be something to do with, what? dicey politics?
military info? blueprints? communiqués with the wrong people?

KHALED. (*Overlapping.*) No. What are you—? None of that. No; that's—

BARTLETT. I mean we've already established you're a left-leaning
subversive with Maoist tendencies who has a thing for bestiality and
militant Islam. Throw in your research on guns and assassins, and I
could have you inside a jail cell reading about yourself on the front
page of every newspaper before the week is out.

KHALED. Is this—? What—? Are you trying to intimidate me? (148)

Queerness, terrorism, devastation, military and revolutionary ideology, and other taboos are related to Islam and Orientals. There is a dangerous mission behind one's existence in the West. Arabs and Muslims are thirsty to blood and destruction. Khaled questions the philosophical principles of the liberal-democratic country. The Constitution

secures his rights and freedoms as a citizen. The more they search, the more items they find to accuse Khaled of involvement in 9/11 horror:

BARTLETT. Oh; wow.

CARL. Look at the date.

(BARTLETT looks.)

Same date.

BARTLETT. Wow.

CARL. Proof positive.

BARTLETT. Looks like it.

CARL. He's our man. (150)

The mood of the play is tense. And the way the agents deal with Khaled will be harsher to reach the concrete truth and his admission of guilt. They resort to aggressiveness—verbal or physical—to cause harm to him regardless of human rights and civil liberties:

BARTLETT. As we shift a little here *(BARTLETT takes off his jacket)*, I want to assure you of a few things: we will not overstep certain lines. We will not violate you or your boundaries in any way. Though we might appear pissed off, you are not to take it personally or feel this is directed at you per se. And though we may resort to slurs and swear words, the aggression is not focused on you so much as it is an attempt to create an atmosphere where you might feel more willing to offer up information. (150)

They want a confession whatever it is, true or false. Their harshness grows bitter. Khaled suffers his being a Muslim and an Arab at the same time. Disdain, hatred, racial tendencies, desire for revenge are dominated the scene. He is the scapegoat; he is blamed for the ruins of 9/11 and the Western views on Islam and Muslims:

BARTLETT. One more thing: at no time should you think this is an ethnic thing. Your ethnicity has nothing to do with it other than the fact that your background happens to be the place where most of this crap is coming from. So naturally the focus is going to be on you. It's not profiling, it's deduction. You're a Muslim and an Arab. Those are the bad asses currently making life a living hell, and so we'll gravitate towards you and your ilk until other bad asses from other races make a nuisance of themselves. Right? Yesterday the Irish and the Poles, today it's you. Tomorrow it might be the Dutch. (151)

The paranoia and irrationality of the behavior of the agents urges Khaled's suspicion and mistrust towards Bartlett and Carl and if they are really representatives of government. Their outrageous violation of individual and human rights, next to legislative procedures contradicts the liberal-democratic nation the US ever proclaims:

BARTLETT. I understand your getting nervous. I don't care for this part myself. We're switching from being civil and congenial to being hard-nosed and focused. It will have the effect of taking away from your humanity, and it doesn't do much for ours. Plus we're trying new approaches. It's all new territory for us. Which is why we're handing out these forms. (152)

The effect of the September 11 horror and the division of the American history into pre- and post- 9/11 change even the doctrine and dogma of such a free nation like, America. The US feelings of exception, glorification, and overstatement disclose its paternalism as a super power. Its state of superiority causes its inability to imagine the occurrence of such terroristic acts on American lands regardless its attitudes towards the whole world—in particular the

Middle East—and its power politics and protectionism. Therefore, calls for public service and priority of homeland security over rights circulate the US after the attacks on the WTC.

Moreover, politicians' discourses revolve around imperative patriotism and the good and safety of the country. Imperative patriotism depends on terrorism as a mold to gain legitimacy. It targets anybody (now Arab ethnicities) who opposes the United States policies internally or internationally. Features of terrorism equate the East and Orientals due to their inferiority in both culture and mind, and passivity in comparison to the American intellect. 9/11 does not create such pretensions and pretexts, but it provides advocates of imperative patriotism to gain societal approval of anti-Arab racism and xenophobia. These stereotypes are innate in the Western and American culture, and have come across media, television and film (Salaita 160).

An evaluation form to be filled by detainees about their impressions and estimation of the agents' manner and performance during the investigation is a kind of self-deception. The US governmental delegates try to assure their commitment to liberalism, using such forms of assessment despite their maybe disregard of the core of the liberal-democratic principles:

(CARL hands form to KHALED.)

BARTLETT. You don't like something, write it down. Even if we haul you into permanent lockup, we're still going to pay attention to your feedback. We might get things wrong in the short term, overdo things, with the interrogation, et cetera, but our image, honestly, how we come across, that can't be our main priority right now. (El Guindi 152)

The action increases more uncomfortable. Khaled is accused of terror. To the FBI agents, he forms a threat to the homeland security, breaks the law, and deals with the enemies of the US. He is a deceiver and mercenary:

KHALED. I'm not going to tell you anything until I have a lawyer present!

This is still America, and I will not be treated this way!

(*BARLETT quickly walks over to KHALED, grabs him by the arm, and drags him into a corner of the room—away from the door, which CARL shuts. BARTLETT pushes KHALED into a corner and stands inches from him. While being dragged to the corner, KHALED says:*)

What—? What are you doing? Let go of me. Let go of me.

BARTLETT. First thing: Shut up.

KHALED. No, I—

BARTLETT. (*Interrupting.*) Second thing, shut up.

KHALED. No, I won't, I—

BARTLETT. (*Interrupting.*) If I have to tell you what the third thing is, I will shut you up myself. (153)

The officer denies Khaled's trials to defend himself and practice his rights as a citizen emphasizing immigrants, especially Middle Easterners who know nothing about diversity, democracy, and freedom and do evil, have no right. They are backward from "shit countries" (154). Bartlett's hatred and personal viewpoints against Khaled are clear:

BARTLETT. It's *galling*. —Sticks in my craw. To hear these people who got here two hours ago quote back to me Thomas Jefferson and the founding fathers. They're not his fucking fathers. . . . (*Sing-song:*)
 "You can't touch me, I have the Constitution." (154)

His racial either prejudice or violence, political or ideological, controls his attitude towards Khaled. According to him, Khaled comes to such a free nation only to satisfy his queer and eccentric tendencies. He has no contribution:

BARTLETT. You became a citizen so you could indulge in your perverted little fantasies, you sick little prick. Come here, wrap the flag around you and whack off. (*He picks up a porn magazine.*) Well, I don't particularly want your cum over everything I hold dear! (154)

Khaled rejects firmly the agent's claims. He is an American citizen and has to enjoy all his rights of citizenship:

KHALED. I am making a contribution.

BARTLETT. You're *unemployed*. You're on *welfare*.

KHALED. I have grants.

BARTLETT. That's taking.

KHALED. It's a prize.

BARTLETT. For what?

KHALED. For my stories.

BARTLETT. You haven't finished one.

KHALED. For past stories.

BARTLETT. You're blocked . . .

.....

KHALED. I *am* writing, I'm just stressed out.

BARTLETT. You're involved in something you shouldn't be, that's why you're blocked. It's hard being creative when all you're thinking about is plotting destruction. (155)

The agents throw light upon evidences on Khaled's accusation: a strange photo in a strip joint, another photo with Gamal Asfoor, one of the hijackers of the planes that hit the World Trade Center. Khaled's question appears not to be accidental. They have information about his connection with the now-dead terrorist despite its unclearness and mystery. The play goes

back and forth between the present and the past to see what would happen if both tie up together (Bacalzo 2). The action comes to be more complicated with the appearance of new characters—Shelly, the librarian; Beth, Khaled’s ex-girlfriend; and the dancer, Jean.

BARTLETT. . . . Quite the wordsmith. If a little cryptic. We’ve been able to trace most of his e-mails. Worked out of a library not too far from here. The librarian remembered him. Said he was like a dark cloud that changed the mood the moment he walked in. But said she felt sorry for him nonetheless. Reminded her of Pigpen, she said. (El Guindi 158)

Shelly has an unwilling contact with Asfoor. She thinks his innate stoicism and privation results in violence and terror. He is a mysterious character and has provoked her once. She wishes she would allow him touch her again “if it would open [him] up” (160). The theme of racial discrimination and the other’s feelings of deprivation and backwardness is persistent.

Bartlett asks Khaled what kind of relationship is with Asfoor. The librarian witnesses she sees both of you together:

(BARTLETT briefly picks up a library book.)

KHALED. Because we used the same *library*?

BARTLETT. Locked eyes across a library table?

KHALED. That’s the connection? It’s the only library for miles, *everyone uses it*.

BARTLETT. *(Continuing.)* Rubbed shoulders in the book shelves. Shared books? E-mails?

KHALED. *(Overlapping.)* That’s what brought you here? You don’t think I wouldn’t have come forward if I’d seen him, if I’d have had *any* information about him. (160)

Due to his denial, the officer shows Khaled a photo with Asfoor. Khaled becomes perplexed. He asks where the officer got such a photo and how many people told him about his name. To what extent the discourse of hatred achieves its targets.

ASFOOR. Khaled.

KHALED. You're not going to pin this on me just because I went into the
same *building*.

ASFOOR. I'm bleeding into you, and there's nothing you can do about it.

BARTLETT. Pin what?

.....

KHALED. I *wept for this country*.

ASFOOR. So did I.

.....

KHALED. . . . and I'm not going to be screwed by something this flimsy. I
will not be dragged in by association of having used the same space!

.....

ASFOOR. We're all in this together. (160 - 161)

Yussef El Guindi motivates thinking about the reality of the involvement of either the hijackers or Arab-American ethnicities in general, and if the WTC destruction is a result of a terrorist attack as the US administration claimed. Khaled, the playwright himself, Asfoor, Middle Easterners, and the whole Middle East region afterwards are goats to a mysterious classified project which has to be fulfilled in the Middle East. It may concern Palestine issue, the division of the region, or the formation of both the New World Order and the Israeli state from the Nile to the Euphrates. Future has the concrete answer. But, the price of September 11 episode is paid only by Arabs inside the US, or in their homelands which are invaded under the umbrella of the war on terror and the liberation of the Arab people from

dictatorship and tyrannies. The conspicuous or evident conclusion is the desolation of the whole region and the spreading of American peacekeeping forces and naval bases in the region entirely, in addition to the worldwide stigmatization of Arabs, Muslims, and Islam.

The image of Arabs and Muslims as homosexual and having repulsive attitude against women because of their uncleanness is innate in the Western culture. The West believes that they are complicated and hard-up due to unnatural and wrongful childhood:

BARTLETT. From his letters we know he shared similar interests with you: writing, poetry, Middle-Eastern stuff, politics, radical books, porn, didn't much like women. Said some nasty things about women in his letters.

ASFOOR. (*At the computer.*) "Unclean."

BARTLETT. God knows what his childhood must have been like.

ASFOOR. "They corrupt. They diminish you. When I die, do not let them touch me."

KHALED. What on earth does that have to do with me?

BARTLETT. Well, Khaled, not knowing you; not really knowing much about you; just from meeting you and casual observance I would have to say your relation to the opposite sex seems to have a kink or two in it.
(163)

Arab-American writers as well as native ones, like Allan Havis in *Three Nights in Prague*, share the same depiction about the Arab mind and how an Arab feels, as if his queer inclinations are concessive and unchangeable through times. The liar, dummy, blockhead sucker does stand as usual.

Furthermore, Khaled's private life is roughly violated and his affair with his ex-girl friend is discussed in light of politics. The personal differences turn out to be a public issue.

The 9/11 attacks and the accusation of Arabs and Muslims urge Beth to revalue her former contact with Khaled, but in a wicked manner suitable for the paranoid atmosphere. She presents a new reading of every single touch:

(At some point, KHALED moves to help BETH zip up her dress, but she refuses his help. The exchange continues over this.)

BETH. Next you'll tell me this is all *our* fault.

KHALED. Do you or do you not want to make sure this doesn't happen again?

BETH. And your solution is what, we should flagellate ourselves? It's not enough they fucked us over, now you want us to finish the job by beating ourselves up? Paralyze ourselves by examining our *conscience*?

KHALED. Our *policies*.

BETH. That's your idea of defense?

KHALED. We'll finish the job they started if we don't. You've always been able to see the bigger picture, why can't you see it now?

.....

BETH. *It was a rape. . . .*

KHALED. *(Disbelief, then ☺)* The United States of America is not a woman who just got raped. The United States of America is the biggest, strongest eight-hundred-pound gorilla on the block. (166)

He discusses objectively the attacks with his girl in an attempt to lighten what results in this end. He does not differentiate between them. Such ruin is a fatal disaster overrunning their country. He uses "we," unaware of the distinction made between them, the Arab immigrants, and the natives. To him, the US government as a super power has to evaluate its foreign

policies, particularly in the Middle East, and its persistent support to Israel against the rights of the nearby countries. Duality is the prevailing language, even in the blatant cases in which Israel launches repeated wars against Palestinians and puts its hand on their lands. The US considers them a defensive act, while any reaction from the Palestinian side is seen as a terroristic mission. Next, it takes part in preventing the international society from voting against Israel despite their confession of the rights of Palestine and its request for liberation. All these aggressive actions stir hatred and opposition to both Israel and the US. The United States has to use its powers to achieve the interests of the whole region and to spread peace. On the contrary, the American policies exceed aggression as long as they enhance the good of the Israeli side, and disregard the Arabs' calls for independence and good lives. Beth twists his viewpoints that are devoid of their context. She projects hostility and fear on Khaled. He represents the terrorists because they share the background and the Islamic doctrine.

The FBI agents are eager to reach a clear confession from Khaled, but in vain. Consequently, they resort to physical force than harsh language; brutality is the best effective way to deal with the Orientals, according to Carl who spent some time in the Middle East. Although Bartlett represents most of the time the hard and cruel cop, he is reluctant to use power lest it is outlawed:

CARL. (*Reading.*) "Section 8, paragraph 2. Willful damage is not permitted but a relaxed, consistent pressure on parts of the body that may be deemed sensitive is allowed. As long as the suspect remains conscious and doesn't scream longer than ten seconds at any one time. Some bruising is allowed."

.....

To bring the full weight of our authority to bear on him. With the aim of making him adjust his expectations as to what options are available to him.

(Slight beat.)

BARTLETT. Fine. . . . But gently.

.....

(CARL kicks KHALED in the groin. KHALED gasps, grabs his testicles, and collapses onto his knees.)

.....

CARL. You really give a bad name to immigrants, you know that. Because of you, we have to pass tougher laws that stop people who might actually be *good for us*.

KHALED. I haven't done anything wrong! (170 - 172)

Till that moment, Khaled believes that law and Constitution have the upper hand, unaware that 9/11 attacks change the situation, and racial discrimination and ideological exclusion are the outcome. The existence of aliens on US soil is a source of risk to USA national security. Immigrants, convicts or innocents, have to be deported. Hence, Arab-Americans' rights of citizenship and their civil merits have been vanished. The passage of legislation, like Patriot Act 1 and 2, and the arrest of large numbers of Middle Easterners and their brutalization in captivity are evidences on the transgression of their civil liberties and human rights. The cops as well as Americans consider Khaled and his ethnic group enemies to the US and its liberal-democratic regime. They do their best to get visa although they hate and envy its liberalism and the American freedoms and autonomy. They are hypocrite. Khaled becomes aware of his situation as a suspect and behaves as if he is in a nightmare. Also, the language hovers between humor, discomfort, and insult to reflect no logic (Stoudt 1).

Carl's abuse grows in an excessive way, asking Khaled about the role he plays in the September terror, using some Arabic swearwords, like "Hitit khara," and "Sharmoot" (El Guindi 173). He projects such humiliation on Khaled and his parentage:

(KHALED opens his mouth as if he's about to vomit. CARL lets go as KHALED dry heaves. Slight beat.)

CARL. You know what I really resent? . . . What you force us to become. . . . I hate it when I have to beat the shit out of someone because then by an act of willful horror, whose effect on my soul I can only imagine, I have to shut out everything good about me to do my job to defend and protect. . . . (173)

The FBI agent's priority is the US homeland security, regardless of such philosophical principles of its institutions. Arabs and Muslims have to feel themselves the flashbacks of their actions of horror. They feel he may hide some information, and this may give reasons for their use of violence. Khaled is still not arrested or accused of committing a crime (Bacalzo 2).

However, in spite of her suspicion, Beth reappears onstage to give emphasis that Khaled may have no relation with such calamities. She does not want her anger, and anxiety, affect the procedures of the interrogation. She does not want her patriotic tendencies come over justice and rights. The agents continue their quest, asking Jean, the dancer, about her encounter with Khaled and Asfoor. She testifies they are together at the club and proves her view of them stimulating in a sexual manner. Khaled faces this damnation with denial. Yet, the cops may want to increase his sense of humiliation, fragility, and impairment in an attempt to get at the reality (Stoudt 1):

(KHALED makes to bolt out of his chair, but Carl pins him down, wrapping his arms around KHALED's chest, immobilizing his arms. BARTLETT puts on a latex glove.)

BARTLETT. I'm sure it's nothing. I bet it's nothing. But it sure does make me wonder.

(BARTLETT starts to undo KHALED's trousers. KHALED writhes in his chair in protest. This can be done with most of KHALED's back to the audience. Alternatively, this can take place on the futon, with the agents blocking most of the audience's view of KHALED.)

KHALED. No.—No.

BARTLETT. *(Overlapping.)* What with that e-mail he sent about tattoos, and the book, and doing it where the skin fold, where you can hide it.

KHALED. *(Half in tears.)* Stop it. No.—No.

BARTLETT. *(Overlapping.)* Was there like some secret mark you each showed yourselves? To ascertain something? Membership?

Commitment? What were you doing in there for fifteen minutes?

Excuse me. This is embarrassing for me too. (El Guindi 173)

The FBI officers end the investigation harshly, asking Khaled to think about the matter and how to defend and give proofs of his innocence otherwise the matter will be more complicated to the extent he may leave the US or ends his life in detention. Khaled is interested in the study of the economy of the world as a whole, while Uncle Sam traces evidences of acts of terrorism in lap dances at Local Strip Club and the shape of Arab earlobes (Stoudt 1). The hero's penis may be more allegorical. It may be a metaphor for Americans' loss of privacy and violation of civil order immediately following September 11 attacks on the WTC and the US government's crackdown on terrorism (Brown 1).

However, the play's end fills with anxiety because of its ambiguity and unclearness. The audience is left asking questions about the hero's part and the facts behind the governmental suspicion. Also, the dramatist uncovers the deep worry inside the hearts of the Americans that chases Arab ethnicities (Austin 1). His message comes to be that Khaled and the like have to be seen as humans, away from their religion, names, and color, as the same as the agents whose attitudes have to be not limited by their job titles. They are examples of population who hate immigrants or at least against their existence on US soil (Snyder 2).

Yussef El Guindi ends the play with Khaled and Asfoor onstage whom they have a private English class. Asfoor highlights his American dream and his desire to learn the US international language. He hopes one day he might have a book in English or be an English teacher, wishing one day the Muslims will restore their former glory and laurels, and in return their language and culture will have the power and supremacy. They will learn the West words they never know. Yet, the last scene carries much sadness and difficulties the Arab American ethnicities suffer post such horror. The hostility of both the American society and government put Middle Easterners in a critical situation. Like natives, they are shocked and horrified by the large losses of souls, resultant from the WTC devastation, but at the same time they are against the categorization of Arabs as aliens and foreigners. They are American too and share together its states of either welfare or impairment:

(ASFOOR draws closer to KHALED. KHALED does not look at him.)

ASFOOR. And now . . . my tongue . . . it wants to rise. Soar. As it used to. It wants to take off in this new language and conjure up brilliant words. It wants to do things in English that seemed so impossible for so long. I can help you find your voice, too. . . . You're stuck. I know you are. You've lost your way. I can feel it. I can help. Most of all . . . above all

else, Khaled . . . I know how to inspire. . . . I know how to inspire.

(182)

After an hour-long investigation in a time of institutional hysterics and aggrandizement, the protagonist's life has turned upside down and his individual rights fade away (Texas A & M University 1). Although his presence adds obscurity and confusion, Asfoor's final words emphasize that the agents' blame for Khaled may be true or not, and their violent and excessive use of power in defense of liberty upholds extremism and fuels "the fire of fanaticism" (Berson 2). El Guindi is sure that this is a storm in a teacup, and principles of justice, equality, neutrality, diversity, and pluralism will prevail once again; each immigrant has a contribution in this country. He assures he has the means that will help Middle Easterners find once again their place in their country. He is as a writer and has the means to raise high their voices and their issues. Sooner everything will be okay.

Hence, *Back of the Throat* sheds light upon the threats impended Middle Easterners, particularly Arabs and Muslims after September 11 attacks on the level of government and federal authorities, while *Browntown* shows the social response toward Arab-Americans, and how cinema and TV behold the Arab-Muslim terrorist model. Younis' target in this play is to inform himself, and other actors and playwrights how to have a role to push Hollywood to present Arab groups in a right way (Parry 2). The dramatist writes such a piece of drama as a reaction to the phenomenon spread after the episodes of the World Trade Center, which is that Arab, Indian, south Asian immigrants whose skin color is brown are casted in the role of a terrorist in cinema, theater, or TV productions. This problem has been lasting since 2001 (nytheaternow 1).

Thus, *Browntown* is a consequence of factual encounter the playwright faces in a TV audition as an Arab American actor. After 9/11 events Middle Eastern actors have been confined to the role of evil as if their artistic creativity ended in that limit. He asks himself

these questions: “Why am I routinely a candidate for terrorist roles? Why are these terrorists always named “Mohammed”? Why does that Indian guy keep getting the Arab terrorist parts over me? Why should that upset me? Am I a sellout?” (Younis 225) Inside, Younis shows the stereotyping difficulties and how the Western cultural misunderstanding leads to terrible political stands and fatal conclusions.

The play takes place in the New York City office of Wide-Net Talent Casting, in November 2003, right away the US invasion of Iraq. The actions come to be in the waiting and the audition rooms of the office, and are divided into eleven scenes. The incidents occur on Tuesday, eleven o’clock A.M. (229 - 233).

Browntown discusses film making and production, and shows how this industry takes part in the misrepresentation of Islam and Middle Easterners, and emphasizes the constant and frequent images of the Orientals, but in a crude way as an output of the 9/11 terror. As an Arab, Muslim or not, should he accept such roles for money? Or ethically he has to not participate in the ill-reputation of his people and their religion. This ideological struggle and cultural ignorance are apparent in the conversations of Omar, Malek, and Vijay, the brown actors who come to make auditions for a TV movie, *the Color of Terror*.

OMAR. . . . So, do you know anything about this TV movie thing?

MALEK. It seems kinda interesting. I finally finished reading the script on the way here and I thought it was *way* better than—what was that last one we both auditioned for a couple of months ago?

OMAR AND MALEK (*Simultaneously*). *Geronimo Jihad!* (1. 234)

This dialogue highlights the difficulties of brown actors and their entrapment in the terrorist role and the lies concerning Islam and Muslims as representatives of backwardness and aggression. It also hints at their inner conflict due to their disagreement with the Western and American handling and falsification of the character of Muslims and their prophet whose

name is always used to symbolize a terrorist on the one hand, and their inability to live in such a society without work on the other hand. Money is necessary otherwise starvation is waiting:

OMAR. Hey, at least they cast Sameer, and not one of those poser Indian guys.

MALEK. Whatever, who cares, man.

OMAR. Is Sameer cool with all the “lu-lu-lu-lu-lu”? (*Mimicking the “crazy Arab” sounds*)

MALEK. Yeah, he’s game. They made him grow out a long beard and behead a Dutch journalist.

OMAR. That’s ridiculous.

MALEK. I know, but he hadn’t worked in a while so . . . (235)

The two actors disclose the increasing discourse of discrimination and defamation of Arabs in TV movie productions whose core after 9/11 events is to stigmatize Muslims and overdraw their characters as attackers and enemies of the West and its modernism. And how blindness, and lack of knowledge of the other culture, may exceed hostility towards this race, and causes hate and violent crimes.

To them, Indian actors’ primary concern is to take the role, disregarding the outcomes and disfigurement of Islam and Muslims. However, both zeal and passion blind them from real evaluation of the matter. Middle Easterners generally are preys to such racial profiling. They all pay the price of an operation of horror whose real organizers are still not known. The American audience is not aware of the difference. They all are brown.

OMAR. I dunno. I wasn’t crazy about it. *The Color of Terror!* Just seems like another scary brown-guy movie.

MALEK. Hey, at least the Arab in this one is a *valiant* terrorist.

OMAR. What do you mean?

MALEK. I mean he has heroic reasons for blowing up the supermarket.

OMAR. Heroic reasons?

MALEK. He cared about his family. Al Qaeda was gonna kill his baby if he didn't comply, so Mohammed has no choice.

OMAR. But that's the thing, man. Why is his name *Mohammed*? Why do *all* terrorists gotta be named Mohammed in these movies? (235)

The heroes argue the script of *the Color of Terror* and its topic, in reference to al Qaeda terrorist organization and its violent and unhuman missions, targeting civilians and innocent people—infants, women, and old. This terror company exploits paternal love and forces Muhammad, the principal character in the TV movie, to explode a supermarket. However, does terror have a color? Why is the terrorist always from the Middle East in these movies? Why is his name blatantly Muhammad, not “Tarek,” or “Fadi” (235)? *The Color of Terror* and post-9/11 TV movies keep in mind the Bush administration story of such attacks as the product of the schematization of bin Laden and his allies as a pretext for artistic productions. Hence, al Qaeda is the manipulator; the terrorists are Arabs and Muslims; their name has to be Muhammad, referring to the prophet of Islam as a motivator for panic, horror, and fear. To the West, Islam is a false religion, and its messenger is a caller for demonization and suffering. Muslims are eager to spread chaos and instability in the whole world. Nevertheless, fair investigations of most terrorist attacks or actions result in the opposite. Oklahoma explosion, the worst in the US history, was operated by an American in 1995. The World War I and II, led to the death of millions of human beings, were not launched by Muslim fundamentalists. The source of violence is not ever Islam. The distortion of the image of the prophet Muhammad and abused caricatures envelope the coverings of Western newspapers and magazines. Besides, the Arab authorities and regimes are silly allies to the

United States and servants of its interests in the region. Who are the enemies? For what reasons is the slander of Islam and its believers?

MALEK. I take that back. She's not exactly justifying his actions, but at least making him more human. And did you notice—they even called him a “Freedom fighter” in the breakdowns!? “Freedom fighter.” That's some progress right there! You can't be a snob about this shit, man.

OMAR. I'm not, I'm just saying, you gotta draw the line somewhere. For Chrissake, this Mohammed's got four wives, he hates all Jews, he drives a Mercedes that he bought with his family's oil money, and he's conspiring with a guerilla group called “Allies for Allah.” They may as well put him on a camel and strap a bomb on to him in the opening scene. . . . (235 - 236)

The Arab actors continue showing that the protagonist in the TV production appears to be a rich man from Yemen, Pakistan, or maybe Saudi Arabia that controls the oil market and threatens the US interests. The movie targets the Islamic sharia and how Islam allows its believers to marry four wives, highlighting that this belittles the status of women and their consideration of a second sex, not a human, disregarding the allowance of divorce if the woman feels hatred of the husband or shows her inability to continue their marital relation, or refuses polygamy. Moreover, the wife has the right to divorce herself if she feels hurt and pays compensation. Is this not freedom? Is the image of unclothed and sexy women as trademarks on Western brands, an expression of women respect and freedom? Next, the Muslims' hate of Jews and Israelis irritate the US. It is a taboo that has to be fiercely emphatic in any talks about Muslims' extremism and intolerance. Are Israeli politics in the region, its killing of Palestinian people, and its sweeping away their lands, not enough to breed hostility? Does Israel desire peace or aspire to form its legendary state? Why does the

United States usually blame Arabs and introduce them as terrorists? The strife in the Middle East is a result of what? The US interests and the Israeli existence support such state of instability and dictatorship to enslave Arab nations and weaken their power in case of union. Besides, what is the problem if Muslims fear Allah and try to stick to His doctrine? Why do they want Muslims disappear and go to hell? Is this the US pluralism or diversity? Is such an attitude a sort of animosity or not?

Vijay appears on the scene and a culture dispute catches the sight:

OMAR. Well, my guess is they really don't know the difference.

VIJAY. Tell me about it. Ever since I filmed *Hijacked at Home*, it's been one Ahmed after another for me.

OMAR. Go figure.

MALEK. Hey, at least you're working.

VIJAY. Very true. No complaints here. (237)

Omar and Vijay are unaware of their similarity. The US society does not differentiate between them; they are Middle Easterners—Indians, Egyptians, Lebanese, Arabs—they are the same. Consequently, both act the other role, regarding the different cultural background or not. The most important is to work and earn money. Acting various roles, evil or good, is all brown actors' ambition. They are both victims and perpetrators at the same time.

Sam's language is natural and sometimes satiric to represent the dilemma of youth actors who have great dreams and enthusiasm. They live the whole of their life on US soil, enjoy their civil liberties, and value freedom. Why is their skin color a brand of a terrorist now? Social, racial, or cultural stigmas articulate their characters, for what reasons? This terrible visibility amidst waves of hostility stands for what? Therefore, the actors' vocabulary shows anger, confusion, dismay, and panic.

ANN. . . . Keep in mind that this is a guy who has probably spent most of his life in some Arab country—like Afghanistan or Pakistan. In other words, he's crazy! We are dealing with a backwards moral code. When you talk about women, there can't be any sense of reverence or love. We need to see that you're gonna go back home and show them who's boss. You know.

.....

It's great! It's great! What you are doing is great. But you don't need to be so respectful. When you say, "I take care of my wives," you mean, "if they cross me, they die," you know? Just keep in mind that this guy is a super devout Muslim. You know what I'm saying?

.....

Okay, that's not what I'm getting at. This is an Arab terrorist we're talking about, Malek. You're not afraid to detonate yourself at any moment, because your religion is telling you that you'll go to Heaven for it. You're angry, and you want those virgins. That's what's driving you. You're a walking time bomb. (2. 239 - 240)

Malek auditions for Muhammad whose character has to be more harsh, tough, complicated, sharp, and masculine. He must not show respect for his wives. They are dolls. The inferiority of women and their enslavement is innate in Islamic and Arab cultural background. For Muslims, according to Ann, they are little and powerless. Edward Said highlights the representation of Arabs in cinema and media. Films and TV productions view Arabs as being "associated with lechery and bloodthirsty dishonesty. He appears as an oversexed degenerate, capable of cleverly devious, intrigues, but essentially sadistic, treacherous, low" (Said 226). The United States shows former interest in the Arab mind and

the vague difference between the Orient and the Occident, as a preliminary step and a preparation for its imperial progress in the region. American's knowledge of Arab is briefly an image of a backward, murderer, static, exaggerated, irrational, and an oil supplier whose religious doctrine of jihad and a creed to dominate the world threaten the universe (226 - 231).

MALEK (*Having a mini breakdown*). Why do I do this shit? Why?! Why do I go to audition after audition and pray that some asshole will give me the opportunity to slander my own culture on network television?

.....

Well, I'd rather do that than this whole political thing.

.....

VIJAY. That's because you try too hard. You should ease up a bit. You're so fucking eager. These auditions don't have to control your future. Don't give them that power.

.....

MALEK. Okay, yes, maybe it is. Omar and I are gonna come up with a film concept, a new idea that will, that will—

VIJAY. That will do what? Reverse centuries of negative depictions of the brown man? Yeah, good luck with that. (Younis: 3. 242 - 244)

Vijay, an Indian actor and atheist, tries to facilitate the matter to Malek and convinces him that it is only a job whatever the role is. And such stereotypes are ancient irrespective of 9/11 events. "Brownsploitation" (242) is as old as the Western interests in the Middle East and its resources.

OMAR. See that's what I'm wondering about. Isn't Chemical Ali from Iraq?

.....

Oh that's right. That clears everything up. Thanks. (4. 245)

Bush administration cover-up of the events and the allegations of its war on terror have to be references to such movie productions, even after the invasion of Iraq and the clear falsification of these claims. The Arab terrorist stereotype has to be spotlighted. America and its interests—indoors and outdoors—have preference. The character of Chemical Ali and his chemical and biological weapons stand for the Iraqi possession of weapons of mass destruction in spite of its inaccuracy. The headed portrayal has to be that of terror.

OMAR (*As Mohammed*). Death to Israel, death to America! ALLAH
AKBAR! ALLAH AKBAR! (246)

The theme of Arabs' hatred of the United States and Israel is emphasized. The West views such animosity as unreasonable and loses logic and objectivity. The Middle East strife for independence and Palestinian intifada due to the increasing Israeli uses of force and the US general support of its ally, are portrayed as practices of violence and terror. However, what about their infringement of human rights in Iraq, Palestine, and at the Guantanamo Bay, is this not terror? What a crazy and vague duality! Violence is an attitude and behavior regardless of the race and religion.

ANN. I've seen a lot of ethnic talent today, and so far one actor has been a
clear standout.

HAMILTON. Really. Look, I need real terror from this guy. Is he fierce?

ANN. Yes, he's very fierce, I was genuinely fearful. He even used the "f"
word while he argued with me, it sent chills down my spine.

HAMILTON. Hmm. Does he speak Arabic?

ANN. Well, based on the accent he used during his read, I would imagine he
does.

HAMILTON. Are you sure? Where is he from?

.....

ANN. Yemen. Or maybe Pakistan. He's got that ethnic look, so don't even worry about that. The thing is, he was so angry! It was really authentic. Like he was about to explode. It just seemed right. I think you and Barry would agree. (247 - 248)

The producers of *the Color of Terror* are looking forward to a Middle Eastern actor to present true terror. They aspire at "authenticity" (248). But what type of veracity do they want? Are all Arabs terrorists? Are all Middle Easterners Muslims? Is Islam a false religion? Is bin Laden the organizer of 9/11 destruction? Are Boeing 757 planes able to do harm to such skyscrapers of the World Trade Center? Do Middle Easterners and Arab World the only goats of such atrocities? Is media cover-up—newspapers, TV, cinema—of the events fair and genuine? If Arabs are sadistic and depraved, what do you think about the US practices and its transgression of human rights and international laws at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq? Do you believe that the US invasion of Iraq is for the sake of an Arab—mostly Muslims—nation that it used to denigrate and belittle its culture (Ameen 27)? The Westerners, American, English, French, Italian, are always the invaders directly or indirectly. All conquests left behind divided and dependent countries and autocrat and tyrant regimes. Also, this is evident in their support of military coups and dictators in the Third World to achieve the same targets of imperialism, but without the higher prices of conquest. Sometimes political entries are the most effective and winner papers (11).

The Color of Terror, *Geronimo Jihad*, *True Lies*, *Not without My Daughter*, *24*, *Hijacked at Home*, and *Baby Bombers* are some TV-movie productions that deal with the Arab stereotypes and their sponsor and cultivation of terrorism:

ANN. So, Vijay—I see you just finished *Baby Bombers*! I've heard nothing but good things about that project!

.....

VIJAY. Yes, at the very end he manages to intercept a bunch of Palestinian children from Al Qaeda before they are forced to become human bombs. After killing off the bad guys, he offers the Arab kids a better life as cattle herders on his ranch in Billings, Montana. (6. 250)

Bin Laden and his company harbor terror and its training camps prepare suicide bombers and jihadists for its missions against the West. The US seeks to relate the Palestinian issue to terrorism, and represents its intifada and defensive movements against Israeli attacks as acts of terror. The Palestinians' defense to restore their lands and achieve independence is a right, not aggression.

Furthermore, Vijay, an atheist, views such roles as experiences for his talent. So, whatever is introduced does not matter. Islam, Muslims, Palestinian struggle, and their demonization are of no concern to him.

ANN. Tanning?

.....

Sweetie, they're gonna have her covered from head to toe, so it really won't matter. You just need to be ready to cry on cue. Jumanji is very emotional in her interrogation scene. (252)

Sherry takes the role of one of Muhammad's wives, Jumanji, who provided the police with information and documents describing the kinds of explosives used in the supermarket attacking. As Muslim women, she wears hijab. So, there is no need to tan her body brown. She has no individuality.

VIJAY (*As Chemical Ali*). The train to Montauk is always packed with rich Americans going to the Hamptons. Their tax dollars pay for the bombs that kill our people.

.....

Of course! After I have gained control of the train, I will announce a prayer to Allah over the loud speaker. Then I will release my chemicals into the air. (8. 256)

Muhammad's unwillingness to such a suicidal mission as well as death is clear in the scene. He is threatened and is divided between his family and his desire for life. Avoiding such a destiny is impossible. He has to sacrifice for the life of his family. He died as a martyr, wishing Allah's forgiveness and paradise in the afterlife.

The audition ends, and none of them has the role of either Chemical Ali or Muhammad that is given to a "name actor" (10. 258) for the production interest and success.

Both *Back of the Throat* and *Browntown* shed light upon the period post-9/11 and the Arab challenges in such times of stigmatization. The old cultural stereotypes of the Orientals as barbaric and thirsty for blood, and unchangeable exceed Middle Easterners distortion and inabilities to escape hostility, hate crimes, or detainment. Their ethnicity, the region problems, the issue of Palestine, and the defense for land and freedom, were used to slaughter Islam and Muslims. Arab Americans and the Arab World come to be the victims despite the allegations of the United States. Pain, baffle, suffering, and continuation of life within these aggravating circumstances are inevitable.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

“A Socio-Political and Literary Study of Post-9/11 America in the Vision of Some Native and Arab-American Playwrights” is a mere reading of the situation post September 11 and its effect on the US government and nation. Therefore, the research is a trial to understand the puzzles around the reasons and motivations behind such a percussive attack as well as the question marks concerning the claims the US administration terribly adopts. As a consequence, it deals with the events from varied viewpoints, claims, and conspiracy theories. It also argues the US official story announced to the American people and the world, and its feedback indoors and outdoors. Thus, it clears the American—governmental and societal—attitudes regarding the Arab ethnicities and the likes, and to what extent they abide by the liberal-democratic principles of the American Constitution in light of the war on Afghanistan and Iraq under the elastic label of fighting terrorism. In addition, the study questions the US government respect for international traditions, laws, and diplomatic solutions and negotiations? Why does it resort to the choice of war—the hardest and most expensive—in spite of its capabilities of putting intensive sanctions against the involving countries? Why are Arabs the scapegoats? Is it back to the fragility and subordination of their governments? Or is it a pretext to a secret project related to its ally—Israel? Hence, the research tries to highlight 9/11 episodes and its consequences in light of liberalism, politics, conspiracy theories, and drama, taking into consideration the views of Christman, Khalezov, Edward Said, Jalal Amin, and the playwrights themselves. It discusses the liberal-democratic philosophy of the American regime and how the individual and his rights have special attention, next to principles like tolerance, neutrality, diversity, and equality. Each person is free to choose what is good, on condition that his freedom and value system do not constrain others’ own choices and lifestyle. Each seeks his own prosperity and the state regulates the relation and achieves justice and respect between citizens. Justice guarantees each member’s

right to search, realize, accept, refuse, or change whatever is value for himself. The concept of neutrality is apparent. The liberal state does not coerce a certain religious and political orientation; the individual autonomy is the only concerned. Thus, does the US government stick to these principles post-9/11?

However, George W. Bush policies stem from neo-conservatism tied up by traditions. It represents usual policies such as strict penal system, a strong military, family values, and classical religious practices. The economic development of the society and the welfare of the people are at first, and then come autonomy and freedom. Obedience and authority are essential. Change is far from their philosophy; they prefer experienced actions. Social stability is the highly important. Hence, Bush aims to achieve military glory under the cloak of the war on terror. Then, calls for nationalism and public service—indoors or outdoors—for the sake of the homeland security reach the highest degree. Patriotism and the interest of the country are prior to individual rights. As a result, the Patriot Act was passed, and police state USA unveiled. This new law depresses Americans’—in particular Arab and Middle Eastern ethnicities—privacy rights and paves the way to the excessive involvement of governmental institutions, such as federal authorities, in the citizens’ activities and concerns. The Attorney General now has the right to question suspects for a period without clarifying the cause or starting an official interrogation.

Consequently, hostility, hate crimes, racial profiling, and the stereotypes of a terrorist are the conclusion of wartime. Besides, the important institutions of Arab-American groups like, schools, charitable organizations, and mosques were attacked by either the American authorities or the masses for being a shoring of terrorism and terrorists as well as the detainment of a thousand and four hundred of Middle Easterners. And the discourse of division—others, aliens, foreigners, them in front of, we and us—becomes louder.

So, a new form of global power points its real intentions towards the East and its resources, and introduces itself not as an empire, but as a guardian or a protecting power within an ideology of 'doing good', as in the case of Afghanistan and Iraq. Immediately, on the same day of the attacks at 11 pm, the US administration announced its determination to stop terror, and the war on terrorism was officially launched. From a religious and conservative background, the US President introduced himself as a messenger of God; one came to execute God's will on earth. America has a duty towards the world, to free countries and spread democracy. Bush exploited the American religious adherence and such a state of fear of external threats, to motivate the emotions of sacrifice for the nation and its interest. Public service at this disastrous time is a duty and virtue. To put an end to evil wherever it is and spread the teachings of Christianity are America's destiny. Hence, the US war against terror is not an accident; it is a long designed project that it is the right time to carry out. This is because of being a superpower the US has the ability to punish the involving countries and attain general international approval to endorse sanctions and penalties. For what reason is the choice of war the best?

In addition, the research, to introduce an objective vision about the events, throws light upon varied stories around the wreck of the World Trade Center and to what extent each story might be true or false in view of some conspiracy theories and the claims of Bush administration itself. The US government accused bin Laden and his company of committing 9/11 horror, and as a result its long war on terror has been begun, and wars in Afghanistan, and then in Iraq. However, the US actions concerning the prevention of photography, the seal off of the whole area of lower Manhattan, the pull of the WTC-7, the healthy condition of the firefighters and rescue teams, the mass media false information and cover-up, the increasing discourse of hostility, hatred, and departure regarding the enemies of the US, all these procedures stir questions around the reality behind September 11 attacks and the United

States real intentions. Therefore, it is necessary to point out some conspiracy theories—its causes and motives—in a trial to open new gates for thinking, analyzing, and understanding.

Firstly, the 9/11 Truth Movement denies that the collapse of the twin towers was a result of the crash of the hijacked planes. It thinks that such ruin is due to a controlled demolition process because of its free fall speed, disregarding elements of gravity and resistance. Its members suppose that there must be squibs or explosive devices to reduce the construction of the WTC buildings 1 and 2. They think that the planes impact on the WTC causes the squibs to flame and produce heat that leads to the fraction and the expansion of the steel and its trusses as well as the weakness of gravity. These influences result in the destruction of the buildings. Also, some conspiracy theories unveil the US intentions to launch war in the Middle East for economic ends. Others claim that the US administration foreknew about 9/11 events and authorized such terror to be able to curb civil liberties. Among these theories is one that puts the blame on Israel and Jews and enlightens their responsibility for the harshest and most destructive attacks in the US history.

On the contrary, Khalezov states in his book, *9/11Thology*, that neither of these conspiracy theories has offered logical explanation about 9/11 episodes, except that of mini-nukes and clandestine nuclear reactors. Both have tried to interpret technicalities around the free-fall speed of the collapse of the twin towers. He also clarifies why the demolition of the WTC is named ground zero. According to him, the Mossad had a big role in September 11 mission, but the project itself was designed by those behind the curtains—the superior group who wishes to establish police states out of these democracies afterwards to be the kernel of the global concentration camp. These events caused the creation of an international police force under the cloak of the war on terror. Besides, he assures that the WTC 1, 2, and 7 were demolished by three underground thermo-nuclear explosions, the so-called ground zero. He witnesses that when he still serviced in the Soviet Special Control Service in the 80s, he had

knowledge of the in-built emergency nuclear demolition system of the World Trade Center. Also, ground zero is meant to refer to the point on the ground nearby or above the point of the detonation of an atomic or thermonuclear bomb. The writer points out that no aluminum-made planes could penetrate into the WTC because of its densely thick steel construction whether the core columns or the external perimeters. He refers to what Leslie Robertson, one of the two original structural engineers for the WTC, has said stating that the WTC skyscrapers were designed to bear clashes of such big planes as Boeing 707 and 767. Hence, no airliner could down the twin towers in one way or another. But he explains that clear hard evidence on 9/11 is impossible because the perpetrators of such an operation and the US highly cheating cover-up, which needs unusual expenses exceeding billions or trillions of dollars and cooperation between all secret services in the US and abroad, would leave no concrete evidence for truth seekers. Next, the doer has the possibilities and power to coerce any eyewitness to sign non-disclosure contracts. The only hard proof is the comparison between the definitions of ground zero before and after September 11, 2001. In addition, analysts have to rely on common sense, any come by classified information, in the form of rumors or officials' slips of tongue, paying attention to not to be a part of the game of disinformation. Moreover, firefighters and rescue workers, due to the long time they spent at ground zero site, piled doses of radiation enough to suffer from varied degrees of radiation sickness, types of cancer and leukemia. The writer ends pointing that although the US is not complicit with the schematization of the terror of 9/11 events, the American administration improves it to serve its interests in the Middle East, its initiation of the war on terror, and the stigmatization of Arabs and Islam. Creating such a demonic enemy and stirring fear enable the American authorities to not only unite opposing parties and agencies, obstruct criticism, but guarantee patriotism on its highest level as well. However, one cannot grasp the idea that the United States does not know about the destruction of the World Trade Center depending

on how it can cause the death of its citizens. Policy is a dirty game; and if governments care about the lives of people why were the World War I and II launched and left behind hundred millions of dead bodies? Why are there calls for the World War III? Governments and politicians give priority to interests and far-reached goals. The US claims of the Iraq involvement and its possession of weapons of mass destruction, and the American desire to liberate such dictatorship and turn it to democratic regime were proved to be false. The US left behind a divided, dependent, and sanctioned country and trifling and conflicting nation under the control and domination of the US troops. Nonetheless, the whole story is still a puzzle, and the abstract truth is classified yet.

To pinpoint 9/11 mystery and its reverberations, the research studies certain dramatic works of native and Arab American playwrights. Nelson's *the Guys* and Havis' *Three Nights in Prague* visualize the gloomy atmosphere following September 11 and the ugly face of terrorism. Anne Nelson succeeds in drawing the real picture post-9/11 and to what extent these terroristic events result in deep pain, sorrow and hurt inside the hearts of Americans, and a shady and black sky all over the United States, not only the New York City. However, the American people behave in a heroic manner and sacrifice their lives to save their nation and are willing to serve the interests of America even outside its borders. Nelson gives an example of such braveness and heroism through the delineation of the characters of firefighters and their companionship, and how terror and destruction put an end to the life of innocent people who have ambitions and hopes for better future. Joan, the writer, and Nick, the captain of the fire department, wish if these attacks were not happened, and the airplanes made a safe landing, but in vain. Death, wreck, and ruin are fact. Nelson uses monologues as a direct way to interact with the audience immediately, and share their pain and depression. Also, this stage of nearness and openness whets endeavor to get over negativism and denial and behave like fighters. America needs all of you; each has a role to play. *The Guys* is

massively produced whether indoors or in Europe to deliver a certain message that the United States is not alone and to mobilize the international society against terrorism and its backlashes.

Allan Havis' *Three Nights in Prague* discloses the life and character of a terrorist and his ideology and way of thinking, and for what reason he chooses to sacrifice his own life. In addition, he refers to the probable role of the Iraqi authority in financing such terror in a trial to pave the way in front of the US to invade Iraq under the alleged claims of liberation its people from the tyranny of Saddam Hussein. The fear of Islam and Muslims as well as imperative patriotism and the priority of homeland security than principles of liberalism and individual rights of privacy and freedoms have to reach its highest levels. Such achievement is done by the horror of 9/11 events. Americans feel the Middle East animosity towards their nation and the Arabs' desire to destroy it.

The writer shows Arabs as barbaric, thirsty for blood, demonic, homosexual, and non-civilian. Their being on Western lands is surely for a secret mission to spread chaos and devastation. In the prologue, Havis shows the will of Muhammad Atta, the leader of 9/11 attacks, which summarizes the Western image of the mind of an Arab and a Muslim. Atta states that the prophet Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, and that he believes in the afterlife and resurrection of dead bodies. He advises his family and who reads this testament to fear almighty God and pursue His doctrine and His prophets, wishing human beings following prophet Abraham's advice and die as good Muslims. He also desires no woman attend his funeral.

The play is a sincere image of the Western taboos regarding the character of a Muslim whoever he is, Atta, Al Ani, Jaber Salem, Saddam Hussein, or others. It shows Islam as a lasting trauma representing nothing but terror, hate, violence, and destruction. Such antagonism is against liberty and civilization, and as a result the West and democracy are the

ever target. Muslims project their savagery, deprivation, and queerness on civil people due to their feelings of inferiority. Thus, Atta is delineated as homosexual, suicide bomber, and a member in al Qaeda terrorist organization that thought of the United States as a blatant embodiment of imperialism and the source of enmity against Muslims, Islam, and the Middle East in general. The US and its allies are called the Zionist Crusades of the modern era.

The dramatist deals with the events and the hijackers from a master-slave viewpoint. The invasion of Iraq is shown implicitly as necessary to stop violence targeting American soil and its security, although Havis fails to prove the Iraqi involvement in the attacks and its probable cooperation with bin Laden due to their different ideologies and political orientation. However, he assures that Arab culture is same; their power and greatness is God. He disregards totally the US foreign policies and its transgression of Arab world rights of independence and freedom. The US policies depend on interests. Today's enemy may be tomorrow's friend and vice versa.

Hence, both *the Guys* and *Three Nights in Prague* highlight the vague and harsh influence of 9/11 episodes on the US and the division of its history into pre- and post-September 11. They record the speed movement from shock and pain to war and revenge. For Americans and Westerners, Atta's face, and his race, is a representation of evil while the WTC victims, civilians and firefighters, are of heroism and sacrifice.

The accusation of bin Laden and Arab countries of being the perpetrators and organizers of the horror of 9/11 is an excellent pretext to stigmatize Islam and the whole Middle East. Hence, to draw a complete picture of September 11 events and its aftermath, we have to light the side of the immigrant Middle Easterners and how they feel and what are the problems they face after these atrocities. Yussef El Guindi's *Back of the Throat* and Sam Younis' *Browntown* unveil the ugly consequences of this period. Racial profiling is the tool

to degrade one's existence and rights. The American society and government behave in a hysteric manner.

Bush administration handling of the events and its rapid announcement of the doers increase hatred and hostility against the whole race indoors and overseas. The American government will trace its enemies and liberate them from their fundamentalist religious dogmas and enmity of civilization and liberties, and pass laws that save the homeland security and spread safety among people.

As a result, a deep fear grows inside the Americans against Arab ethnicities in the US, and this period witnesses hate crimes and violence against Middle Easterners and loud voices to deport them and control the flow of immigrants from this region. Racial discrimination is everywhere in FBI agencies or in films, TV-movies, mass media in general. Khaled, the hero of El Guindi's play, found himself under suspicion. All Arabs are all Muslims and terrorists because of the violent nature of their doctrine and their desire to dominate the world. Their being on the west is for a secret mission, to spread chaos and destruction. Therefore, to the federal agents, Khaled's possessions come to be of great interest. People are known from their doings and things they own. So, books on assassins, politics, poverty, porn magazines, and a copy of the Koran are not usual. They hint at something abnormal and motivate the agents to search behind Khaled, his former relations, with whom he contacts and for what reasons, and his relation with his ex-girlfriend and both discussions about 9/11 and the necessity to put hands on the real problems and how to face them and suggest solutions. Second, his encounter with Asfour, one of the hijackers of the planes crashed the WTC, forces the agents to think of the writer as their man. They investigate Khaled and rush into violent and harsh techniques in a trial to get information, but in vain. The hero insists on his right as an American citizen. At first, he is eagerly willing to help. He has a duty towards his country. As soon as the agents unveil their ugly face and the reasons behind their visit, and

that Khaled is a suspect, chaos, confusion, and shock dominate the action. The investigation is not casual as they claimed at the beginning. And after 70-minutes interrogation, the agents left backward the broken, humiliated Arab thrown on the floor unconscious as if he is in a nightmare.

While Omar, Malek, and Vijay, the principal characters in *Browntown*, suffer from discrimination, their skin color comes to be of great concern to the American society. They are actors who found themselves entrapped in the roles of a terrorist. An ideological debate rises. Vijay is an Indian and atheist. He sees no problem accepting such roles. Evil, or good, characters do not matter. What concerns is to work. However, Malek and Omar think they have to refuse such roles on principle. How they take part in the stigmatization of their people. How they can change the atmosphere and prove the falsification of media cover-up and TV-movies, and films. El Guindi and Younis raise the same question. The answer is writing plays. They have to raise their voice and light up their ethnic problems and fears. Therefore, the Arab actors ask certain questions: why are all terrorists Arabs or middle Easterners? Why is their name usually Muhammad? And how do we look at each other, depending on old cultural ideologies and dogmas? We have to understand the others' differences and accept their rights and freedoms as long as they do not violate your own rights. Why is this retrospection perspective? Why is this war against their religion? Terror is a behavior and has no relation with religion, race, or color.

The American political dualism and changeable interests control its foreign policies. Today's enemy may be either the past friend or tomorrow's friend. The discourse of power is highlighted. And interests are the criteria that affect the relation with the other whoever he is. Therefore, the outcomes and conclusions of September 11 Operation urge us to think about the beneficiary and the US story concerning the attacks themselves? Why are Islam and Muslims chosen as a source of evil, terror, and malignity? The devastation backwards the

wars on Afghanistan and Iraq, and the current tension and instability in the Arab World explain the fact as clearly as possible. The United States and Israel are simply the carpetbaggers. The US gains a lot of benefits behind 9/11 terrorism inside and outside its borders. Indoors, the government keeps the civil liberties organizations silent as well as shows patriotic inclinations and public service as a must in such a time of danger. Outdoors, these wars lead to limitless advantages. Among them are the Iraqi and middle Asian oil, the right of propagation and transmission of the American campaigns against terror, the power of the US military department that succeeds in widening its authority and control, and the achievement of the Israeli target of stigmatization of Arabs and Muslims. Israel needs to improve its image all over the world and introduces itself as a representative of Western culture in the Middle East to gain material and spiritual support, and international silence on its crimes in Palestine (Amin 85). The danger of Israel is not only represented in its occupation and existence in the region, but in its persistent threat and pressure on economic and political decision makers in the Arab World (122).

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قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وآدابها

دراسة اجتماعية-سياسية وأدبية لأمريكا ما بعد الحادي عشر من سبتمبر من منظور بعض كتاب المسرح الأمريكيين والعرب الأمريكيين

رسالة لنيل درجة الدكتوراه في اللغة الإنجليزية وآدابها

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المستخلص

هذه الدراسة تدور حول ماهية أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر وما دار حولها من أحجيات حاول البحث السعي في فك طلاسمها من خلال إلقاء الضوء علي الرواية الأمريكية وما يحاك حولها من تضليل في محاولة الزج باسم الإسلام علي أنه دين معاد للحرية والتمدن، وإمعان النظر في بعض نظريات المؤامرة، إلي جانب مجموعة من الأكلشيهات التي يتبناها الغرب وكثير من المستشرقين حول الشخصية العربية من خلال دراسة مجموعة من النصوص المسرحية لكاتبين أمريكيين وآخرين من أصول عربية. وتتمثل النصوص في *الشجعان* (2001) لأن نيلسون، و*ثلاث ليال في مدينة براغ* (2003) لأن هافيس، و*غصة في الحلق* (2006) ليوسف الجندي، وأخيرا *مسرحية مدينة العرب* (2006) لسمير يونس. يسعى كل كاتب لنقل تجربته الشخصية وكيف أثرت عليه هذه الأحداث الدموية والتخريبية. فنجد أن نيلسون تبرز الصدمة التي أحس بها الأمريكيون وحالة الخوف الشديد والهلع التي سادت الشارع الأمريكي آنذاك. أما هافيس فقد تطرق للإرهاب وأثار الكثير من الأسئلة حول الشخصية الإرهابية وخلفيتها الفكرية والعقائدية من خلال رسم شخصية محمد عطا، منفذ أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر، بحسب الرواية الأمريكية. أما الجندي ويونس فقد سلطا الضوء علي المعاناة والتشويه والتمييز الجنسي والديني الذي أحاط بالعرب المهاجرين بعد حملة التشهير الضارية ضد الإسلام والمسلمين عقب هذا الحدث المدمر. فقد باتوا رمزا للبربرية الوحشية. وأبرز الكاتبان تداعيات هذا الإرهاب علي المستوي المؤسسي والمجتمعي.

الملخص العربي

الملخص العربي

تقدم هذه الدراسة صورة لهجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر وكيف تعاملت معها الإدارة الأمريكية آنذاك وما تبعها من أحداث وتداعيات شكلت قلب الموضوع. فقد صورت الولايات المتحدة هذه الهجمات علي أنها عمل إرهابي من قبل أسامة بن لادن وتنظيم القاعدة، مع احتمال تورط دول عربية أخرى، لأن أمريكا هي العدو بالنسبة لهذه الدول، فهي أرض الحرية، والديمقراطية، والتعددية، والتسامح—أرض الأحلام بالنسبة لكثيرين. وقد ركزت الدراسة علي محورين أساسيين: السياسة الداخلية والخارجية للولايات المتحدة بعد هذه الأحداث الكارثية وتدشينها لحرب عالمية ضد الإرهاب لمحاربتة والقضاء عليه من برائته. فكانت الحرب علي أفغانستان والعراق من ناحية، وتضييق أفق الحريات داخل المجتمع الأمريكي ضد كل من له أصول عربية إسلامية أو شرق أوسطية من جانب، وبث روح الكراهية تجاه كل ما يمثل العرب والمسلمين من جانب آخر. كما ضربت عرض الحائط بالدستور الأمريكي وما يكفله من حريات وحقوق لكل الأمريكيين—الأصوليين والمهاجرين—دونما تفرقة أو تمييز.

تسلط هذه الدراسة الأضواء علي الصورة التي نقلها بعض كتاب المسرح لهذا الحدث الجلل. فقد تسببت هذه الهجمات في إحداث صدمة لدي الأمريكيين، ودفعت الإدارة الأمريكية إلي تقليص الحريات وممارسة سياسة الشك تجاه المهاجرين، خصوصاً ذوي الأصول العربية.

تبرز هذه الدراسة عدة نصوص مسرحية كتبت علي خلفية هذه الأحداث، فهي نابعة من تجربة الكتاب الشخصية والمشاعر التي أحسوا بها حيال هذه الهجمات. من ضمن هذه النصوص *الشجعان* (2001) لأن نيلسون، و *ثلاث ليال في مدينة براغ* (2003) لأكن هافيس، و *غصة في الحلق* (2006) ليوسف الجندي، و *مدينة العرب* (2006) لسمير يونس. تتناول هذه المسرحيات ما بعد الحادي عشر من سبتمبر، والتداعيات التي آلت إليها علي صعيد المجتمع الأمريكي. فقد ترسخت لغة الكراهية، والنزعات العنصرية تجاه المواطنين العرب، وانحصرت صورتهم في

نموذج الإرهابي. لذلك تقوم الدراسة علي تبين هذه الفترة من منظور النقد السياسي الأدبي، وبعض المفاهيم الأمريكية عن الحرية، وحقوق الإنسان، والمساواة، والعدل.

مشكلة البحث

تكمن في كيفية تناول النقد السياسي الأدبي كمنهج تحليلي لتسليط الضوء علي نتائج أحداث 2001 علي الأمريكيين أنفسهم، والعرب الأمريكيين سواء كانوا مسلمين أو مسيحيين من خلال دراسة مجموعة الأعمال المختارة التي تم ذكرها سلفاً. كما يثير البحث تساؤلاً عن مدى تعارض سلوك الولايات المتحدة حيال هذه الأحداث لكل مفاهيم الحريات التي طالما ناديت بها. فالأمر الآن متعلق بالأمن القومي الأمريكي.

الهدف من البحث

يتطلع هذا البحث إلي دراسة مجموعة من المسرحيات لعدد من الكتاب الأمريكيين والأمريكيين العرب لتوضيح وجهة نظر الطرفين تجاه الهجمات التي استهدفت برج التجارة العالمي ومبنى البنتاجون سبتمبر 2001. تعتمد هذه الدراسة علي منهج النقد الأدبي السياسي، وخصوصاً المذهب الليبرالي الديمقراطي، والمذهب العرقي، إلي جانب بعض الأيديولوجيات التي دائماً ما تتادي بها أمريكا كالحرية، والمساواة، والحرية الشخصية، والليبرالية. كما يوضح بعض النزعات التي تأصلت في المجتمع الأمريكي نتيجة لتعظيم الإدارة الأمريكية للخطر المتربص دائماً لمثلها من المجتمعات الحرة. وهذه النزعات مثل القومية، والوطنية، والأمن القومي الأمريكي. البحث أيضاً يسلط الضوء علي الصدمة التي أحدثتها هذه السياسات علي الصعيد الشخصي، والمجتمعي، والسياسي، كما يوضح زيادة حدة لغة الكراهية، ومدى تأصيل النزعات العرقية والأصولية في المجتمع آنذاك.

لذلك كان من الضروري عرض وجهات النظر المتباينة وما أطلقت عليها الإدارة الأمريكية بنظريات المؤامرة. وإن كانت في مجملها عمل مخابراتي لمنع الوصول إلي الحقيقة. فقد قدم بعضها صورة مغايرة للحقيقة أو

أنصاف حقائق. وقد برهن ذلك الكاتب الروسي ديميتري كلزوف في كتابه الحادي عشر من سبتمبر بين الحقيقة والسراب، فقد قام بتنفيذ كل المزاعم الأمريكية بما فيها المناهضة لتقرير لجنة الحادي عشر من سبتمبر ، مبينا أن هذه الأحداث لا يمكن أن تكون نتيجة تخطيط أية منظمة إرهابية مهما بلغت إمكاناتها المادية وغيرها لأنها نتاج مخططات لجهود ومؤسسات حكومية ومخابراتية وأهلية صهيونية وأمريكية وربما عربية. لكن لا يوجد دليل دامغ وملمس فهذه الحقائق يمكن استنباطها في خطاب لدبلوماسي مرموق وزلات لسان بعضهم، لكن الحقيقة المؤكدة لا يمكن الوصول إليها. لذلك قام البحث بعرض وجهتي النظر المؤيدة والمعارضة والقارئ عليه أن يميل لما يصدق.

جاءت الدراسة في أربعة فصول، تتخللها مقدمة وخاتمة:

مقدمة

تشكل الإطار الخارجي أو الظاهري لكل الأيديولوجيات التي يقوم عليها البحث من حيث المبادئ الليبرالية الديمقراطية وإلى أي مدى تمسكت بها الإدارة الأمريكية في حربها المزعومة علي الإرهاب بعد إسناد عملية برجي مبني التجارة العالمي إلي تنظيم القاعدة و احتمال تورط عدد من الدول العربية مع إلقاء الضوء علي النصوص المسرحية محل الدراسة.

الفصل الأول: الديمقراطية تحت القصف

يتناول هذا الفصل أساسيات ومبادئ الديمقراطية في المجتمع الأمريكي وما تكفله من حقوق وحرّيات للفرد والمجتمع، مع التشديد علي احترام الخصوصية والاختلافات العرقية والفكرية، كما تطرق لمنظور الغرب للشرق من جهة، وللشعوب العربية والإسلامية من جهة أخرى، وكم هي شعوب متبلدة، ومقلدة، وغير قادرة علي الإبداع ولا تتوق إلي الحرية والتمدن والحضارة. إلي جانب ذلك عرض بعض سياسات الإدارة الأمريكية وعلي رأسها الرئيس الأمريكي

جورج بوش الابن وخلفيته السياسية والدينية ودعوته الغرب بأكمله لنصرته ودعمه في حربه ضد الإرهاب في عقر داره—في أفغانستان والعراق.

الفصل الثاني: 9/11: الصندوق الأسود

يعرض هذا الفصل وجهات النظر المعارضة للرواية الأمريكية، إلى جانب عرضه لأهم ما جاء في كتاب كلزوف—الذي يخصص موضوع البحث—مع توضيح أن هذه الهجمات ما جاءت إلا ليستهل الغرب حربه السرمدية علي الشرق الأوسط، وفي مقدمته العالم العربي والإسلامي وتحقيق هيمنته علي العالم كخطوة استباقية في طريق النظام العالمي الجديد.

الفصل الثالث: ما بين الصدمة والحرب: الخديعة الكبرى

يقوم هذا الفصل علي دراسة مسرحتي الشجعان، وثلاث ليال في مدينة براغ للكاتبين الأمريكيين آن نيلسون وألان هافيس اللذين يتناولان أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر وتأثيرها علي المجتمع الأمريكي وحجم الكارثة من حيث عدد الضحايا أو من حيث تأثيرها المعنوي علي الشعب الأمريكي وأعراض ما بعد الصدمة من حيث الألم والأسى والنفور من الآخر إلي حد الكراهية ومحاولة النيل منه وإن كانت الحرب عليه هي الثمن. فمسرحية الشجعان تعرض الصدمة وحالة الذعر والحزن التي تلت هجمات الحادي عشر من خلال محاولة مساعدة قائد قسم إطفاء نيويورك، الذي لاقى جزء من طاقمه حتفهم إثر قيامهم بواجبهم تجاه ضحايا هذه العمليات الإرهابية، في رثائهم وكتابة مراث عن هؤلاء الأبطال لإلقائها في الحفل التأبيني الخاص بهم. أما ثلاث ليال في مدينة براغ يسלט ألن هافيس فيها الضوء علي شخصية محمد عطا، قائد عملية الحادي عشر من سبتمبر، وما الدوافع التي يمكن أن تدفعه للقيام بهذا العمل الإرهابي، مع التركيز علي الجوانب الشخصية والسيكولوجية من خلال قراءته لوصيته، وطرقه لبعض المواقف الحياتية له خلال إقامته في براغ وكل الأكلشيهات المتوارثة عن الشخصية العربية وما يعرف عنها من شذوذ، وشك، وريبة، إلي جانب

سخطها الشديد علي المجتمعات الغربية وفي مقدمتها الولايات المتحدة وحليفها الدائم إسرائيل. إلي جانب محاولة الكاتب الزج بتورط العراق من خلال توثيقه للقاء محمد عطا وأحمد العاني، أحد الدبلوماسيين في القنصلية العراقية، اللقاء الذي لم يتم إثباته حتى الآن، بل علي العكس كل الشواهد أكدت نفيه. كما أكد تعاون القنصلية العراقية مع جهاز الاستخبارات التشيكي من خلال شخصيات جابر سالم، والعاني، وباقي، ودولني الذي تنتهي المسرحية به في مقر الشرطة التشيكي الرئيسي في براغ، مرشدا عن محمد عطا وعن مخططاته والعملية التي سيقوم بها علي الأراضي الأمريكية.

الفصل الرابع: العربي الأمريكي: مواطن أم دخيل

يعرض هذا الفصل مسرحتي غصة في الحلق، ومدينة العرب للكاتبين الأمريكيين من أصول عربية يوسف الجندي وسمير يونس. يستعرض الكاتبان حياة العرب المهاجرين بعد هجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر وحرب التشويه التي مورست ضدهم وقضايا الاشتباه التي أقحموا فيها علي الرغم أن منهم من لا يتحدث العربية ولم يزر موطنه الأصلي مطلقا، ومنهم من الجيل الثاني ولا يربطه بجذوره العربية سوي جيناته. فمسرحية غصة في الحلق تلقي الضوء علي شخصية خالد—كاتب من أصول عربية—يخضع للتحقيقات من جهة مكتب التحقيقات الفيدرالي المسئول عن الأمن القومي للاشتباه في تورطه في أحداث سبتمبر الإرهابية، لكن هذه التحقيقات تتم في ظروف غير شرعية ودستورية وتمنعه من حقوقه التي ضمنها له الدستور والقانون، من بينها ضرورة حضور محام للدفاع عنه ولضمان سلامته وأمنه. أما مدينة العرب تستعرض أزمة ممثل—من أصول عربية أيضا—يعاني من عدم توافر فرص عمل له، وأصبح الدور الذي يعرض عليه وأقرانه، مثل الهنود والباكستانيين، هو دور الإرهابي. يصور الكاتب الصراع الذي دار داخل البطل وهل يقوم بمثل هذه الأدوار التي تشوه الشخصية العربية والمسلمة وترسخ صورة الإرهابي في أذهان المشاهد الأمريكي. دارت الأحداث أثناء خضوعه لجلسة استماع ومنافسته أقرانه القبول والانضمام إلي طاقم العمل

الفني وسط خوف وذعر من الحضور الأمريكي الذي أصبح بالنسبة له كل عربي إرهابي قاتل وإن كان ولد وعاش معه في نفس المحيط ولديه نفس الموروث الحضاري والثقافي.

الخاتمة

تبلور أهم النقاط التي قامت عليها الدراسة وأثرها في نفس بعض من كتاب المسرح الأمريكيين والعرب المهاجرين ومحاولة كل منهم تصوير الحقيقة من منظوره الشخصي والفكري، مع تسليط الضوء علي سؤال مهم حول المستفيد من إثارة الخوف والكراهية في نفوس الأمريكيين وزيادة حدة التشهير ضد الإسلام والمسلمين.

قائمة المراجع