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A Socio-Political Perspective

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Anti Americanism in the Arab World

A Socio-Political Perspective

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Abstract

Despite what many Americans and others argue, anti-American sentiment in the Arab World is a relatively new phenomenon that resulted from US support to Israel and its hostile actions against some Arab countries and Islam. Therefore, and during the last 20 years, the Arab media introduced America as the first enemy for the Arab Nation and the protector and supporter of Israel's occupation and aggression against the Palestinians and other Arab countries. The paper uncovered four main reasons for Arabs' hatred against America. First, US political, economical and military support for Israel that enable it to defeat the Arabs and continue its occupations to their land. Second, US air attacks and sanctions against some Arab countries and its occupation of Iraq. Third, US support for some undemocratic Arab regimes and its military bases in some Arab countries. Fourth its hypocrisy and double standard behavior toward democracy and human rights in the Arab World and its campaign against Islam and its citizen of Arab and Islamic origin.

The study revealed that despite the America's efforts to solve the Arab Israeli conflict for the last 20 years, on the bases of the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338; its success in sponsoring two peace treaties between Israel and both Egypt and Jordan; its military and economic aid to Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Morocco and other Arab countries; its war against Iraq and the liberation of Kuwait in 1991 with full cooperation and participation of some Arab countries, many Arabs believe that the aim of US efforts was to protect its interests, and the interests of Israel and some friendly Arab regimes. They never perceive those efforts as to serve the Arab people, the Palestinian problem, development, democracy or human rights in the Arab World.

The study uncovers that that many Arabs believe that America follows double standard measures in dealing with the Arab Israeli conflict, democracy and human rights in the Arab World and discriminates against its citizen of Arab and Muslim origin and attacks Islam and those policies generate anti- Americanism.

The paper concluded that if the United States is really interested in ending anti-Americanism and terrorism it should follow new political, economic and military policies toward the Area. On the forehead of them is solving the Arab Israeli conflict, ending Iraq's occupation, closing its military bases in the Arab countries and pressing Arab regimes for real democratization, development and human rights.

Keywords: Anti-Americanism, Arab World, US Policy towards Israel & the Arab World, Undemocratic Arab regimes

Introduction

Hostility to the United States is hardly new phenomena, yet the multiple sources, and symptoms, of anti-Americanism in the Arab World make it difficult to arrive at an accurate cause. **Anti-Americanism** is a term-of-rhetoric used to express strong disapproval for US Government's policies and actions and it may carry different meanings in different regions of the world. Anti-Americanism may be based in or related to anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism, anti-secular, anti-American culture and finally anti US-polices (Wikipedia (www.wikipedia.org)).

Anti-American is also used to describe any sentiment, thought, act, concern from the terrorist attack of September 11, to marching in a peace rally protesting US' use of military force, to the killing of innocent Americans, to the political disagreement of

European, Arabs, and Japanese with US foreign policy (Wikipedia).

Growing Anti-Americanism Across the World

There is almost no place in the world where the US is not facing a rising trend of anti-Americanism among the people over the past few years. According to a recent Survey conducted by The Washington based, '**Pew Research Center for the People and the Press**', conducted in 2002 among over 38,000 respondents from 44 nations, the criticism of America is on the rise in most of these countries. The people are opposing American unilateralism, its aggressive war on Iraq and other countries, and significantly, its star war program, globalization drive, business, human rights, and environment practices.

The most hatred for America is concentrated in the Arab World and in Central Asia, the regions on



which the US's hegemonistic designs are centered at present. The vast majority of the people in the World believe that the US does not take into account the interests of their countries when making regional or international policies.

There is an overwhelming opinion in majority of the World Nations against the US war on Iraq. According to the **Pew Global attitude survey** (2002) 'discontent with the United States has grown around the world over the past two years. Images of the U.S. have been tarnished in all types of nations: among longtime NATO allies, in developing countries, in Eastern Europe and, most dramatically, in Muslim societies'. The war on Iraq threatens to further fuel anti-American sentiment and divides the United States from the publics of its traditional allies and new strategic friends in Europe (Pew, 2002). Huge majorities in the Arab and Islamic Worlds, France, Spain, UK, Germany and Russia oppose the use of military force against Iraq. This position was so evident through the huge demonstrations and rallies that took place across the World. Some argue that the war was motivated by colonialist desire to control Iraqi oil and they asserted that the conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians is a greater threat to stability in the Middle East than Iraq. This view was evident by the signs and banners carried out by the demonstrators all over the World "*war for oil*". Moreover, many Arabs believe that behind the US occupation of Iraq is Israel's security and oil, (Maddix, 2001) and almost 60 percent of Europeans say that Israel is a larger threat to world peace than North Korea, Iran or Afghanistan. (European commission poll published in November 2003).

Anti-Americanism in the Arab World

Arabs attitudes of anti-Americanism are very much complicated and could not be attributed to a single reason or factor. There are two conflicting views regarding this matter. The first one argues that anti-Americanism in the Arab World is a response to Arab Regimes' political and economic failures and a scapegoating behavior from those regimes. They argue that the Arabs could not admit and face their failure in the socio-economic and political aspects therefore; it was easier for them to direct their angers towards America. "By assigning responsibility for their own shortcomings to Washington, Arab leaders distract their subjects' attention from the internal weaknesses that are their real problems. And thus rather than pushing for greater democratization badly needed in the Arab world, the public focuses instead on hating the United States" (Rubin, 2002).

Rubin added that "Despite what many argue, Arab and Muslim rage at the United States has had very little to do with actual U.S. policies--policies that have been remarkably pro-Arab over the past 50 years. Promoting anti-Americanism is simply the

best way Muslim leaders have found to distract their publics from the real problem: internal mismanagement. New U.S. policies or a PR campaign will not change matters" (Rubin, 2002)

Robert Sibley, argues that to say that the United States has always been hostile to Arab countries is a "distortion of history. When Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956, the United States intervened to stop Britain, France and Israel from overthrowing the Nasser regime. In 1973, the United States came to Egypt's rescue when it forced the Israelis to accept a cease-fire that ended the Yom Kippur War. Today, the Americans supply Egypt with billions in aid, asking only that it keep the peace with Israel" (Sibley, 2003).

Rubin supports this view and argues "Arab anti-American radicals have distorted the record, ignoring all the positive examples and focusing only on U.S. support for Israel." He added, "Arab leaders also readily adopt anti-American attitudes as a way to divert attention from their own economic and political failings. For years now, anti-Americanism has served as means of last resort by which failed political systems and movements in the Middle East try to improve their standing" (Rubin, 2002).

Salman Rushdie, introduces similar argument and claims that anti-Americanism "has become too useful a smokescreen for Muslim nations' many defects - their corruption, their incompetence, their oppression of their own citizens, their economic, scientific and cultural stagnation. America-hating has become a badge of identity, making possible a chest-beating, flag-burning rhetoric of word and deed that makes men feel good" (Rushdie, 2002).

Martin Indyk, the former US ambassador to Israel, agrees to the existence of Arab anti-Americanism for a long time and argues that "I think that anger in the Arab Streets is real. It is produced by a number of different factors. But in the end, what matters is not whether they hate us or love us—for the most part, they hate us". He added before the House of Representatives in 1991, in the aftermath of the Gulf War: "The antipathy towards the West that is likely to follow this war, it has long been present in the Arab world. It cannot be resolved through accommodation" (Democracy Now, 2002).

Indyk's assumption that Arabs hate America and that the reasons for it are essentially immaterial and obscure—"has appeared elsewhere in the recent discourse of American policy makers and pundits, as if Arabs and Americans have always been and will always be doomed to a relationship of mutual antagonism" (Makdisi 2002).

This view simply claim that the Arabs hate America because of their internal failure and therefore the US should not change its current policies toward Israel or its policies or actions against the Arabs and Muslims since this move would be seen as giving up to terrorism.

The second view argues that anti-Americanism in the Arab World is a response to certain US hostile policies and aggressive actions against the Arab World and thus it is not a blind hatred. They view anti-Americanism as a direct result of US unbalanced policies toward Israel, the Arab-Israeli conflict and American aggression on some Arab and Islamic countries. Mark Tessler, for one believes that anti-Americanism throughout the Arab World is based on "America's foreign policy toward Israel, toward Iraq and above all, perpetuation of the status quo". He added that "the reasons for these sentiments can be understood as a "reaction to US Middle East policy, including American support of Israel's brutal campaign against Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza and perceived US indifference to the human suffering caused by sanctions against Iraq" (Tessler, 1998).

Rob Kroes, agrees that US assistance to Israel is one of the reasons for such sentiment and asserts that: "Israeli occupation policy of expropriating Arab land to build Jewish settlements and roads to connect them, while deploying soldiers to protect settlers, would never have been possible without American largesse." *Rob Kroes, 2003*)

In a reference to the connection between Israel and America Mahathir Mohammad said before the 10th Islamic conference (2003) that: "Jews have now gained control of the most powerful countries and they, this tiny community, have become a world power and rule the World by proxy" (Mahathir, 2003).

Makdisi too argues that: the anti-Americanism stems from US unbalanced policies toward the Arab-Israeli conflict, of the deep disappointment from the ongoing role of the United States in "shaping a repressive Middle Eastern status quo" and less from a "blind hatred of the United States or American values". He continues to say: "Anti-Americanism is not an ideologically consistent discourse—its intensity, indeed, its coherence and evidence, vary across the Arab world" (Makdisi, 2002).

Hamish Robertson agrees with this view and argues that: "The American connection between the war on terror, and support for an Israeli Government that's perceived as ruthlessly anti-Palestinian, has lent respectability to the view that the United States is anti-Arab and anti-Islamic. He added "however much this might be rejected by American Diplomats, many Arabs see the United States as being primarily concerned with maintaining its own interests, by protecting the flow of oil, propping up unpopular, corrupt and authoritarian governments, and helping to entrench enormous disparities of income" (Robertson, 2002).

The question which needs to be answered here is why Arabs' hatred is directed against the United States and not against any other country? Obviously, the United States has tried to pursue a foreign policy

that accords with its own political, economic and strategic interests in the Middle East. But the fact remains that this policy has generally been against the interests of the Arabs, serves US and Israel's interests, and maintains the unfair status quo.

Objective

The main objective of this paper is to analyze the causes of anti-Americanism in the Arab World from a socio-political perspective. It tries to explore the causes of anti-American sentiments, and explain the connection between this sentiment and US policies towards the Arab-Israeli conflict, US support for Israel, US military bases in some Arab countries, US policies and attacks against some Arab countries, US attacks against Islam and its citizens of Arab and Muslim origins. It finally looks for the best way of ending this phenomenon.

Causes of anti-Americanism in the Arab World.

Arab attitudes of anti Americanism are very complicated and couldn't be explained on the bases of one single factor. I believe that there are internal and external reasons for Arab hatred to the United States. These reasons can be divided into four groups: 1). America's support for Israel and its position from the Arab Israeli conflict. 2). US military attacks and sanctions against some Arab countries and its military bases in the Arab World. 3). US support for some authoritarian Arab regimes and its hostile policies towards Islam and its citizen of Arab and Muslim origin. 4). US hypocritical behavior from democracy and human rights in the Arab World.

America's Support for Israel and its Position from the Arab Israeli Conflict

Political Support

During the last fifty years the US stood beside Israel in any conflict situation with the Palestinians and the Arabs. There is a very obvious reason for that, America considers Israel its closest ally and the only reliable strategic partner in the Middle East. Therefore, America provided political support for Israel at the UN Security Council, the General Assembly, and other UN and International Organization. American political support for Israel is widely seen as being unfair and at the expenses of the Arabs (Shafeeq, 2003). Consequently it generated and continues to generate hostility against America in the Arab and Islamic Worlds. The US Government was always involved in the efforts to solve the Arab Israeli conflict but neither called it colonialism nor demanded Israel to end its occupation to Palestine and other Arab territories. Moreover, it continuously uses its veto power to

block any resolution that may condemn Israel's excessive use of force against the Palestinian people or any resolution to end the occupation. During the last 20 years America used its veto 23 to protect Israel, the last one was on 15th September 2003. One week later and on the 20th of September 133 members of the General Assembly voted against Israel's threat to deport Yasser Arafat from Palestine and only the US and two other small countries opposed the resolution. Less than a month later the US again used its veto on 15th October 2003 against a draft resolution condemning the security fence built by Israel cutting the West Bank into pieces. It is worth noting here that three Americans were killed in Gaza on the same day the US used this veto at the Security Council which confirms the connection between US support to Israel and Arab hatred. Gebreen Al-Regoob, the security advisor for Yasser Arafat, commenting on this veto by saying: "The US veto provided cover and protection to the Israeli occupation and support for the destruction and killing of the Palestinians" (Al-Regoob, 2003). Al-Regoob's statement was shown on all Arab T.V. satellite stations and it was broadcasted together with horrible seen of the eight Palestinians killed by the Israeli Army and the destruction of more than 70 houses in Rafah/Gaza on 12-14th October without any condemnation from the US administration. There is no doubt that the connection between US support the Israeli attacks Against the Palestinians is one of the main cause of Arab hostility and terrorism against the US that hatred and terrorism will continue as long as this conflict continues. It is recommended therefore, that US should follow a more balanced policy towards the Arabs and Israel.

Economic Support

Israel is the largest recipient of US aid in the world, receiving over one-third of total US aid to foreign countries. Since 1949 the US has given Israel over one hundred billion dollars as aid and grants. "What is not widely known, however, is that most of this aid violates American laws. The Arms Export Control Act stipulates that US-supplied weapons be used only for "legitimate self-defense." Israel has maintained an illegal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Palestinian territories) for 35 years" (Bowles, 2003).

What is important here is the Arabs' perception of the US economic aid to Israel. They see it as an American effort to strengthen Israel's economy and to funding its occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories. Israel they argue is one of the richest countries in the area and there are many Arab and African countries that are in need for such aid more than Israel and therefore some argue that without this aid Israel's economy would collapse (Elmissiri, 2003). "It is doubtful that Israel could afford the heavy economic burden of continuing their occupation of neighboring Arab lands, such as the

costs of maintaining the military forces in the territories, the construction of illegal settlements, and the expanded infrastructure to bypass autonomous Palestinian population centers, without U.S. financial support" (Zunes, 2003). US Government therefore, should connect its economic aid to Israel with its compliance with UN resolutions and the Road Map Plan and to prevent Israel from using any part of US aid to be used for any settlements' activities.

Military Support

US provide Israeli with sophisticated arms such as attack helicopters, tanks and F-16 fighters and missiles that are used to target Palestinian civilians, homes, forces, buildings and in demonstrations and in some cases used against Lebanon and other Arab countries. US is committed to maintain Israel's security and qualitative edge over all Arab countries and that is enabled her to defeat them in all wars. US-Israeli joint arms development and sales is seen as US help to Israel to continue its superiority over the Arabs. One explanation for US military aid "may come from a desire for Israel to continue its strategic and political dominance over the Palestinians and the region as a whole. It has long been in the U.S. interest to maintain a militarily powerful and belligerent Israel dependent upon the United States. Real peace could undermine such a relationship. The United States therefore has pursued a policy of Pax Americana, one that might bring greater stability to the region while falling short of real peace" (Zunes, 2003).

Some Arabs argue that without this generous American military aid Israel wouldn't be able to defeat Arab Armies and keep its occupation to Arab land. President Nasser announced during the 1967 war that the American and the British were involved in attacking Egypt and that they provided Israel with military assistance. (Abu-Odeh, 1999).

The Arab masses according to Abu-Odeh "believed that the Arab defeat was due to the Americans and British offering military assistance to Israel" Abu-Odeh 1999, p. 135). This view or interpretation of the relationship between US support for Israel and its victories over the Arabs was accepted and repeated again and again by many Arab politicians, military and journalists during the last fifty years. This view was strengthened by Arab mass media, including more than 22 T.V., over 30 radio stations, hundreds of newspapers, seminars, rallies, and thousands of Mosques' preachers and by the political elite & the regimes themselves. All those resources repeat and emphasize that US support to Israel is unfair, unbalanced, raciest and the main reason for Israel's victories and humiliation of the Arabs (Bakrey, 2003). These resources use the Israeli horrific air raids and bombardment of Palestinians and Lebanese territories and the killing of many civilians, the destruction of their homes and

properties by US maid f-16 fighters, helicopters, artillery and tanks to prove this view and this generates anti-Americanism (Attwan, 2003).

Bowles argues that “the Israeli military (IDF) --the third or fourth most powerful army in the world-- routinely uses tanks, Apache helicopter gun ships, and F-16 fighter jets (all subsidized by the U.S.) against Palestinian population that has no military and none of the protective institutions of a modern state”. He added, “to understand why the U.S. spends this much money funding the brutal repression of a colonized people, it is necessary to examine the benefits for weapons manufacturers and, particularly, the role that Israel plays in the expansion and maintenance of U.S. imperialism” (Bowles, 2003).

The American occupation and their similar actions in Iraq undoubtedly contributed to the anti-American feeling and anger among Arab peoples. Thanks to Arab satellite stations and mass media that provide 24 hours coverage of Israeli and American aggressive actions in Palestine and Iraq and to those commentators who passionately make the link between the two cases (Attwan, 2003).

This interpretation for the connection between US support to Israel and Arabs’ military defeats and humiliation explains why Arabs’ anger is directed against America and not against Japan, Germany, Russia, France, China or even Britain the main partner of US invasion and occupation of Iraq. This aid of course is given to Israel as “Israel was to be a military stronghold, a client state, and a proxy army, protecting U.S. interests in the Middle East and throughout the world” (Bowles, 2003).

Reese believes that “US support of Israel’s aggression and cruel treatment of the Palestinians is alienating not only the Arab world but the entire Muslim world. This hatred will eventually be expressed in the form of terrorism directed at Americans and at American interests. Terrorism is the poor man’s way of waging war” He added “America’s blind support of Israel’s gross violations of human rights and international law will not only cost billions of tax dollars but eventually American lives as well” (Reese, 2001).

The connection between US military assistance to Israel and anti-Americanism is clear Palestinians’ minds like shaikh Atta: “Even small children know that Israel is nothing without America,” ... “And here America means F-16, M-16, Apache helicopters, the tools Israelis use to kill us and destroy our homes” (Ford, Peter, 2001).

It must be mentioned here that the US provides many Arab countries with military aid and training such as Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and Yemen, while it provides arms, training and military protection to other Arab countries. But Some argue that US arms sales to the Arab World suffer from two short comings: first they are less sophisticated than those sold to Israel and they were sold under strong

guarantees that they would never be used against Israel. Second, to strengthening the ability of some Arab regimes to continue in power, as they are the best choice to serve US interests. Thirdly, preventing Islamists from taking power and become hostile to the interests of the US and its presence in the area. Finally, they are not intended to defend the Arab countries or to fight Israel rather to fight each others and suppress their people (Attwan, 2003). US must put conditions on the use of its arms by Israel against the Palestinians and the Arabs and insists to be used for self defense.

US Policies toward the Arab- Israeli Conflict

One of the main causes of Arab anti-Americanism is US’s policy toward the Arab Israeli conflict. The Arab perception of the American position is that it is completely supportive to Israel against the Arabs (Erekat, 2003). Many Arabs believe that America adopts Israel’s point of view in this conflict. That the US is the protector of Israel and that its strategic alliance with Israel is against the Arabs. Many Arab see the US war and occupation of Iraq as part of US effort to protect Israel beside oil (alshar’ 2003, Attwan, 2003). US doesn’t condemn Israel’s killing of Arab or Palestinian civilians, demolition their homes, detention without trial, deportation and consider these actions as self defense ignoring that fact that Israel is a colonial state occupying Palestinian lands since 1967(Sheik Yasseen 2003). More over, the US administration while it condemns any Israeli killing by Palestinian keep silent when Israeli occupying forces killed larger numbers of Palestinians (Sha’th, 2003, Maher, 2003). US uses double standards in dealing with nuclear weapons in Israel and the Arab World since the US Government never brought Israel’s capabilities to the UN, but it does this against the Arabs. (Musa 2003) US always stands beside Israel in any discussion to the Arab-Israeli conflict at the UN at the expense of the Arabs especially at the Security Council and the General Assembly. America’s veto power in the UN Security Council has repeatedly been used to prevent any resolution against Israel, while it uses its veto to block any UN resolution that is against Israel or serves the Palestinian or the Arab causes.

The Arabs see US position from the Arab Israeli conflict as biased and resulted in the continuation of the Israel’s occupation of Arab territories and the continuation of the status quo. That the US government is not an honest broker in the Palestinian and Arab-Israeli conflict, and always took the Israeli view in its efforts to solve the conflict (Eriqat, 2003). Therefore, this position generates anger against America and not against any other country.

Such explanation might appear convenient to some Arab regimes especially diverting the anger of the

masses to America instead of the many political and economic problems in their countries. The paradox here is why America has never challenged those hostile Arab regimes' position from America? Why the US Administration continues to support the same Arab regimes that encourage advocating anti-Americanism?

The only logical explanation for the US odd position is the common believes in America and Israel that the alternative would be Islamists regimes. I think therefore, that the status quo of the US -Arab relation would continue until US realizes that this is a wrong policy. The best US policy toward those regimes in my view is to press them for a real and gradual change into democracy. Fortunately the US administration started lately to realize fact and started to formalize a new policy represented by Collin Powell's initiative for partnership for democracy in the Middle East (Powell, 2003).

A significant factor in the recent rise of anti-Americanism in the Arab and Muslim worlds is US occupation of Iraq and its unbalanced position from the crisis in the Israeli-Palestinian relations and especially the unending cycle of Israeli incursions on Palestinians areas and Palestinians retaliation of suicide bombings. Thus US seems in Arab eyes doing practically nothing to end this cycle of violence by forcing the application of its map-road plan on both sides, and practically doing nothing to generate hopes for the resumption of peace talks (Sha'th, 2003). Rather president Bush considers Israeli attacks against Palestinians and even the last Israeli air raid on Syria on 5th October 2003 as "self defense" and consequently the situation is deteriorating and open for all possibilities including another regional war and more terrorists attacks.(Bush press conference interview 7th October 2003).

Arab and Muslim resentment grows exponentially when they look toward many US hostile foreign policies that are perceived as anti-Muslim and anti-Arab. Chief among them: "the blind, unconditional support provided by the U.S. to Israel's continued brutal military occupation of Palestinian lands. Daily on Al-Jazeera they view images of American Apache helicopter gunships and U.S.-provided tanks, fighter jets, and missiles wreaking death and destruction on Palestinian towns and refugee camps" (Abdelkarim, Riad. 2002).

Nicolas presents a similar view and argues that "the American connection between the war on terror, and support for an Israeli Government that's perceived in the Arab World as ruthlessly anti-Palestinian, has lent respectability to the view that the United States is anti-Arab and anti-Islamic". (Francis Nicolas, 2002) And however much this might be rejected by American and Israeli Diplomats, "many Arabs see the United States as being primarily concerned with maintaining its own

interests and helping to the continuation of Israeli occupation of Arab land" (Moneim, 2002).

This situation According to Shehata created hostile attitudes toward America in Egypt. "Egyptians from all walks of life, urban and rural, educated and illiterate, rich and poor, are outraged at American policies in the region, particularly with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the current Iraq crisis" (Shehata, 2003).

However, the question that the Arabs continuously ask themselves for the last half century is why the United States provides Israel with such generous political, economical and military support? The answer that was given to them is that Israel was created by the West and America and that Israel is their only reliable strategic alliance against the Eastern Block during the cold war, and still their front post in their efforts to control the Area. Therefore, the Arabs blame America for its aid and commitment to Israel, and more importantly Arab mass media is used extensively to interpret this aid as US effort to help Israeli to defeat them, continue its occupation and to dominate the area.

What is not mention here is that America is also committed to the security and existence of many Arab regimes and provides them with military and economic aid. But the Arab people don't appreciate US economic and military aid to those countries because they belief that US aid is directed to support some unpopular regimes whom they want to get rid of them. Let alone that Arab regimes and media don't talk much about US aid and therefore many people think that a large part of this aid eventually goes back to America or ends in private accounts to some corrupted members of those regimes (Attwan, 2003).

It is obvious that the United States is committed to solve the Arab Israeli conflict on the bases of the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle "land for peace". But the different US administration were and still until today reluctant or unwilling to pressure Israel to end its occupation and the Israeli aware of US position were and still unwilling to compromise on their extreme position that is the continuation of their occupation of the Arab lands. The Arab leaders on the other hand, faced with this Israeli position, were unable to accept any peaceful settlement less than the return of all territories lost in 1967 war and the return of the Palestinian refugees. If they accept any settlement less than the above demands they might accused of being traitors and might face violence and revolt against them (Alsoudi, 1986).

The US understands this reality and therefore its approach to solve the conflict is based on the principles of encouraging the parties to negotiate a settlement that is acceptable to Israel first and then the Arabs. This approach succeeded between Egypt and Israel and between Jordan and Israel but failed

until now between Israel, the Palestinians, the Syrians and the Lebanese.

The irony here is that the US is reluctant until now to force a settlement on Israel and the Palestinians according to the "road map" because they believe that such settlement wouldn't last for long because each party will tell its people that America forced the settlement against their will. And that the Palestinians and the Israeli continue their extreme positions there is no hope that a peaceful settlement will be reached in the foreseeable future. This means the continuation of the status quo with its very much-expected violent and terrorist consequences on America, Israel and the Middle East. Therefore, US Government must change its policy regarding this issue if it wants to reduce anti-Americanism in this region.

US Policies, Attacks, Sanctions and Military Bases in Some Arab Countries

US Policies, Attacks and Sanctions Against Some Arab Countries

US perused hostile and aggressive policies towards many Arab countries such as its military air strikes against Libya, Sudan and Iraq during the last two decades that resulted in killing many innocent Arab civilians and consequently created great anger in the Arab World. This is in addition to its Invasion and occupation of Iraq on false accounts, its political and economic sanctions against some Arab countries, Iraq, Libya, Syria and Sudan, and its inhuman treatment of Arab and Muslim prisoners especially in Guantanamo jail. The seen of heavily chained prisoners led and guarded by armed soldiers with their heads are pushed down was outrageous, cruel and against all human and religious values (Christian, Muslim and Jewish). I believe that the broadcasting of the prisoners' pictures was intended from a sociological point of view to give a strong message and lesson to other terrorists who may think of committing crimes against American. The American behavior with those prisoners regardless of its motives or intentions gave the opposite effect on World and Arab public opinion. This is in addition to the last US government's discrimination action against its citizens of Arab and Muslims origin especially after September 11 attacks. Thousands of them have been detained or mistreated only because they are Arabs or Muslims and this action was seen as a racist policy. As a result of this policy thousands of Arab quit their education, business, visits and jobs and returned to their countries preaching anti Americanism. This is beside the refusal of US embassies in the Arab World to give visas to many Arab citizens and the bad treatment for Arabs at US airports.

The Arabs "despised US support for Israel, US decisions to launch wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, its

ill treatment of Arabs and Muslims within the United States, as well as US media campaigns against Islam" (Salama, 2003).

Al-Mesfer, political science professor at Doha University, said Washington had to take radical steps if it wanted to boost its image. He called for "the immediate and unconditional pullout of US forces from Iraq and handing power back to the Iraqis, the dismantling of all US bases in the Middle East and a halt to support for Israel and its crimes against the Palestinian people." He added that the United States must also "stop accusing the Arabs and Muslims of terrorism and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Arab and Islamic countries" (Al-Mesfer, (2003).

It worth noting here that the United States' involvement in the Iraqi issue in the 1990s came as a response to the request of some Arab countries. Many of them opened their countries, provided logistical support and finance to the US forces. According to James Backer, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait contributed 30 billion US dollars to finance that war (Backer, 1999:422). In addition to that the war was executed with the participation of forces from Egypt, Syria and GCC countries under the leadership of the US army in the 1991.

As for the US military and economic sanction against Iraq, it was done with acceptance and participation of some Arab countries on the hope they would weaken Iraq and prevent further Iraqi threats to those countries. Therefore, they provided America with air bases, logistic support to force the no fly Zone over Southern Iraq during the 1990s.

So why the Arabs then blame America? The answer is simple, some argue that the US did all that to protect Israel and its friendly regimes and it wasn't done for the sake of the people the majority of them were against it. "the people became poorer, the regimes became more repressive, and the Arabs are the biggest losers, while Israel is the biggest winner, and that is why Arabs blame and hate America (Al-Mesfer, 2002).

US Military Bases in Some Arab Countries

There are several US military bases (air, ground and navy) in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, UAE, and Bahrain and regular military training and exercises with Egypt, Jordan and Morocco. These bases and exercises are seen as new American colonialism and practical means to strengthen Israel and Americans' control over Arab oil and other political and economic affairs and secure American's domination of the Middle East. America used those bases in its war and invasion of Afghanistan, its 10 years forcing the so-called non-fly zone over Iraq and later to invade and occupy Iraq. James Backer, the former US Secretary of State, admits that: The US between 1989-1992 has provided five contributions to the existence and security of Israel: Financial and political assistance to absorb hundreds of thousands

of new immigrants from Russia, helped her in establishing diplomatic relations with 44 countries including USSR, abolishing the UN resolution equalizing Zionism with racism of 1975, finishing the strategic threats of Iraq to Israel as a result of desert storm in 1991” (Backer, 999).

Others argue that the aim of the war against Iraq is to shape the area according to US and Israel interests. “There is a sense by many ordinary people and politicians that the moves against Iraq are an effort to redraw the map for the strategic interests of the United States and Israel” (Khouri, 2002)

Bin Laden considers the US military bases in Saudi Arabia and especially near Mecca against Islamic teachings, which forbid any non-Muslims from entering that sacred area. He called for Jihad against the United States stating as his primary reason “the very presence of the United States occupying the Land of Islam in the holiest of places in the Arabian peninsula where America is plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, and humiliating its people”. He issued a *fatwa* (religious decree) in February 1998, authorizing attacks on U.S. civilians and military personnel anywhere in the world. He cited the U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf, the Palestinian issue, and U.S. support for Israel as justification for ordering these attacks (Bin Laden, 1998).

It is true that America uses these bases to protect its interests and Israel but it uses them to support some Arab regimes through direct interference, training of loyal troops and sharing intelligence reports. Moreover, US bases in many Arab countries were established with full consent or as a response to request of those countries after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The same thing is true regarding the US military joint training exercise with Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and other Arabs’ Armies. The Americans are invited and welcomed by those regimes to train their troops so why the US should be blamed for such assistance? The answer is clear. Many Arabs argue that the establishment US bases are intended to provide protection for Israel and support to some friendly Arab regimes and to secure American interests in those countries and not to serve the Arabs or to liberate Palestine (Islamic Action Front, 2003).

US Attacks Against Islam & the Clash of Civilization Thesis

There is the well-known “Clash of Civilizations” thesis, in which Samuel Huntington argues that cultural and religious differences are a major cause of international conflict in the post-Cold War era and asserts that Islam in particular encourages Muslim aggressiveness toward non-Muslim peoples. According to Huntington, “Some Westerners have argued that the West does not have problems with Islam but only with violent Islamic extremists . . .

But evidence to support [this assertion] is lacking . . . The underlying problem for the West is not Islamic fundamentalism. It is Islam” (Huntington, 1997, pp. 209- 217).

Although the Administration of President George W. Bush insists that the US War on Terrorism is not a war on Islam, too many Americans seem to view it that way. A national poll taken by the University of Michigan’s Institute for Social Research following the attack of September 11, 2001 found that 54 percent expressed the view that the attack was motivated by a conflict between Christianity and Islam (Tessler, 2002).

Bashar Assad, the Syrian leader, told the 10th Islamic Summit Conference in Malaysia that the September 2001 attacks on the United States “provided the opportunity and pretext for a group of fanatics and ill-intentioned people (top people in US administration) to attack human values and principles.” “Those fanatics revealed their brutal vision of human society and started to market the principle of force instead of dialogue, oppression instead of justices and racism instead of tolerance”. They even began to create an ugly illusionary enemy which they called ‘Islam’, and made it appear as if it is Islam while Islam is completely innocent of it” (Assad, 2003).

Even more disturbing are the statements of some religious figures in the US. For example, Rev. Franklin Graham said of Islam, “I believe it’s a very evil and wicked religion” (Kristof, 2002).

Yet another illustration is the reaction of some conservatives to a plan by the University of North Carolina to assign a book on Islam to incoming freshmen. The Family Policy Network, a conservative Christian organization, filed suit against the university. Fox News Network talk-show host Bill O’Reilly denounced the teaching of “our enemy’s religion” and compared the assignment to teaching *Mein Kampf* in 1941. (Democracy Now, August 8 2002)

William Boykin, deputy undersecretary for intelligence at the Pentagon, attacked Islam depicting the war on terror as a battle between Islam and Christianity. In Speeches, some made in uniform, he said, “why do they hate us so much”? And he gives very interesting explanation: “because we’re Christian nation, because our foundation and our roots are Judeo-Christian”. Because “we’ve got a commitment to Israel and it is a commitment that we are never to abandon... and our religion came from Judaism”. He concluded that: “therefore, these radicals will hate us forever”(NBC, June 2003). In other speech he said, “you know my god is real god, and his was idol”(NBC, June 2003). When some Islamists groups protested at Boykin remarks Defense Secretary Rumsfeld refused to criticize him and said, “That is the way we live we are a free people” (Kilian, 2003)

These are very important remarks by a US General. He makes a clear connection between US support for Israel and Anti-Americanism in the Arab World and that the war on terrorism is a war against Islam and Muslims.

However, after the terrorist attacks of September 11, the clash of civilization thesis was strongly introduced to the American public and Islam was strongly attacked as a bloody religion and Muslims as terrorists. Many journalists, T.V presenters, academics, and members of the Congress adopted this view. Even President Bush asked why they hate us? (Tessler, 2002).

Elie Kedourie, argued that “the institutions and values associated with democracy are profoundly alien to the Muslim political tradition” (Kedourie, 1994.)

Such analyses not only posit Islam as a stimulus to aggressive and anti-Western sentiments, but also as the principal reason that democracy has not taken root in Arab countries.

These characterizations are not only troubling they are also harmful. “The idea that Islam is at the center of a fault-line dividing “the West and the Rest” leads away from an understanding of attitudes in the Muslim world toward a broad array of issues, ranging from relations with the US, peace with Israel, democracy and domestic governance --- “to the extent Americans are concerned about relations with the Arab world, they will be led astray if their perceptions and policies are guided by erroneous assumptions and stereotypes. (Tessler, 2002).

However, some western polls’ findings demonstrate that “Islamic attachments have relatively little explanatory power so far as political attitudes are concerned. There is at best a weak relationship between the degree of religious piety or strength of Islamic attachment on the one hand and, on the other, attitudes either about war and peace or about democracy (Tessler, 1998). In other words, those individuals who are most religious, or for whom the religion is most important, are no less likely than others to favor compromise with USA, democracy, human rights and so forth.

“Over 90% of University students believe that there is no contradiction between democracy human rights and Islamic teaching. (Alsoudi, 2001).

Some Arabs responded to the American recent calls for educational change in the Arab World as “Bush-Sharoon” efforts to dominate the area. They see American efforts to modernize Arab teaching books as a “deliberate US policy to impose American-Israeli culture on the Arab World and to destroy Arabic culture” (Shafeeq, 2003). But according to Tessler, “it should be clear that religion and culture are not fostering antipathy to Western norms and institutions and that anti-Americanism is for the most part a response to perceptions and judgments regarding US foreign policy” (Tessler, 2003).

Mahathir Mohamad, the Malaysian Prime Minister, referring to the connection between the Jews and America said before the 10th Islamic Summit in Malaysia that the “Jews rule the world by proxy. They get others to fight and die for them.” He added Today “we, the whole Muslim ummah (community) is treated with contempt and dishonor. Our religion is denigrated. Our holy places desecrated. Our countries are occupied. All Muslims were suffering “oppression and humiliation” with their religion accused of promoting terrorism” (Mahathir, 2003).

Ali Saleh President of Yemen, declared on the same occasion that “terrorism is supported by Israel security forces “almusad” and called upon the World to end Israel’s membership at the UN” (Saleh, 2003).

The final communiqué of the Islamic Conference in Malaysia condemned US Congress draft law to impose sanction against Syria and condemned the Security fence build by Israel on the West Bank describing it as a races fence (Islamic Summit Communiqué 16/10/2003)

US Support for Some Arab Regimes & Hypercritical Behavior

US Support for some Authoritarian Arab Regimes

Another source of anti-Americanism is America’s support for some authoritarian Arab regimes that are unpopular in their countries. It provides those regimes with great amount of economic and military aid to help them stay in power. The US never connected its aid with a process of democratization and therefore, this aid never seen as aid to the people. The US economic aid is very much needed in many Arab countries but it should be directed to socio-economic development and not to be used for the security or for buying useless arms and military hardware.

Kuttab argues that “for years people in the Arab World have suffered from this double-faced U.S. foreign policy. Human rights, the great Wilsonian concept of the people’s right to self-determination seems to stop when the subject of discussions are Palestinians”. He adds: “When the average Arab citizen tries to reconcile his desire for domestic freedom, his feelings of frustration at home, American support for his government, and the increasing presence of Western culture he is caught in the middle. It is easier to lash out at a distant America than to risk raising one’s voice against the local dictators” (Kuttab, 2001) .

He added that popular Arabs’ support for America “will be hard to muster until Arabs are able to live as they wish, without oppression and without restrictions. Once Arabs are able to voice concerns about their own government without fear of

reprisals, their focus will turn inward “ (Kuttab, 2001).

Indeed the US can do much to help the Arab people to achieve this goal not through military attacks and occupation rather by solving the Arab Israeli conflict, leaving the area and connecting American’s aid to democratization, improvement of human rights. It should replace its military aid with economic assistance, uncover Arabs secret accounts in Europe and US banks and press them to reuse them in development or pay for their countries’ debts since most of this money was stolen from those countries.

The continuation of the present status quo (millions of oppressed powerless Arabs) is the main reason for the Islamization of the Arab masses. They are left with no other choice but to join some Islamic organizations or become more religious sense political parties, political participation, freedom, free press and speech are forbidden thanks to US support and silence. Arab regimes can deny their people democracy but can’t prevent them from joining the Islamic organizations or becoming more religious since such action would be interpreted as hostility to Islam, something the regimes could not afford to do.

It worth noting here that, since the September 11 attacks many Arab countries has suffered regression in their human rights and political participation conditions and increased state control over their peoples. According to Khori, the repression in some cases, “are widely seen by Arab citizens as their states’ preferred means of participating in the war against terrorism, given most Arab states’ very high reliance on American military and/or economic assistance. This has tended to heighten anti-American sentiments at popular levels and within political elites”. He added that “American occupation of Iraq, the rapid expansion of permanent American military bases in the Middle East and the possibility of a long-term American military-political presence in Iraq are all widely seen by Arabs as signs of a novel American imperial adventure” (Khori, 2002).

Pollack, argues that “at one level, U.S. policies have no doubt stirred considerable animosity within the Muslim Middle East. Most Arabs and many non-Arab Muslims chafe at U.S. support for Israel, which they see as a means of keeping the Arab states of the region weak and pliant. Likewise, U.S. containment of Iraq strikes many Arabs as a deliberate campaign to keep a strong Arab state down” (Pollack, 2001).

Hazhir Teimourian, argues that the anti-western feeling throughout the Arab world, mainly reflects the Arab people unhappiness with their Governments. He believes that they see their “Governments as most corrupt and authoritarian and because, US gives billions of cash every year to some Arab regimes the public opinion assumes,

those regimes are a lackey of the United States” (Teimourian, 2002).

Some argue that there is common interests between Some Arab regimes and the US administration represented in US support for those regimes in return for guaranteeing US influence and interests in the area. “Perhaps most perverse of all, we allow the moderate Arab states to deflect domestic criticism on to us and so breed anti-Americanism because, they tell us, this makes it easier for them to rule which ensures that we get their support on regional issues”. He added “These regimes are corrupt, despotic, and unresponsive to their peoples’ aspirations and there is a near universal view in the region that the U.S. keeps these regimes in power because they serve our (nefarious) purposes” (Pollack, 2001).

However, in a delayed attempt to address the root causes of anti-U.S. terrorism, Secretary of State **Colin Powell** lately announced an initiative aimed at improving America’s poor image in Arab countries by helping them build democracy and increase economic opportunities, with a particular accent on lifting participation by women. (Powell , 2002).

Anti-American sentiments is spread through thousands of editorials, seminars, lectures, interviews and articles highly critical of the US administration’s Middle East policy during the last few years. Articles with titles like “An Answer to George Bush’s question: ‘Do the Arabs hate America or do they hate America’s policies?’“ and “Who is the Victim? Between America’s Missiles and Sharon’s Tanks.” In fact, explicit comparison was increasingly made in both political cartoons and words between Ariel Sharon’s policies toward the Palestinians and United States policy in Afghanistan and Iraq (Shehata, 2002). **Mehanna** wrote in the leading opposition Alwafd on January 14, 2002 “United States deals with Egypt like a school child, where the United States is the teacher, both preparing the exam and grading it accordingly” (Shehata, 2002).

American Hypocritical Behavior toward the Arab World

US government talks about democracy and human rights but its practice and action often doesn’t support democracy and human rights principles in the Arab World. Rather democracy is undermined by the American support for some Arab repressive regimes. Furthermore, the US government never pressed Arab regimes to change into democracy or respect human rights. The Arab people know that America wouldn’t do such a thing because those regimes are the best form of governments to serve America’s interests. They sell oil in the prices determined mainly by America, open their countries for US military bases, facilitate American control and domination over the Arab Worlds’ economic

resources including oil and convert the Arab World into a huge consuming market for US products (Attwan, 2003). This in addition to unnecessary huge arms deals that worth billions of dollars to some Arab countries, which hardly used other than for internal security and suppressing of the people, instead of using such arms against Israel or using such money for much needed socio-economic development. This hypocritical behavior is best reflected in American invasion of Iraq to “liberate it oppressed people” while they never demand other Arab regimes to change into democracy.

The Arab people don’t admire the fact that the US government is deeply hypocritical in its application of foreign policy in the region. Claiming to be pro-human rights, but supporting the Israeli occupation and funding some Arab regimes. “America is a hypocritical nation when it comes to the question of Palestine: for it gives solid support and lethal weapons to the Israelis, but gives the Arabs and the Palestinians only words” (Fadlallah, 2002).

Arabs and Muslims resent US policy of promoting democratic reform and human rights in every corner of the globe except for the Arab and Muslim Worlds. And, unless US “policymakers make an earnest attempt to end the double standard and promote democracy and human rights uniformly and universally in the Middle East and Muslim world, I fear that the message of these new bin Ladens will once again resonate with a disaffected and disenfranchised Muslim world” (Abdelkarim, 2002).

Makdisi follows the same line and argues that those US officials “have explicitly condemned Palestinian terror against Israeli civilians while remaining largely silent when Palestinian civilians in far greater numbers are killed by Israeli terror. The dominant view in the Arab world is that American foreign policy regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict is shaped by the pro-Israel lobby, notably the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)” (makdisi, 2002).

Arab Anti-Americanism is a New Phenomenon

A number of recent opinions surveys in Arab and Islamic countries provide an opportunity for a more realistic look at the views of ordinary men and women, and at the factors that are shaping these attitudes and values. In the Arab world, there has been very little serious political attitude research until recently, which has made it difficult to challenge stereotypes about the Arab public opinion (Tessler, 2003).

However, several Arab and Western institutions have played an important role in this regard such as the polls and surveys done by the Center for Strategic studies in Jordan, the Palestine reach center in the West Bank the Zoghbi and Prew polls in the USA. Some of these surveys investigated attitudes

toward the United States and the peace process. It is interesting to note that the pattern that consistently emerges is a “strong dislike for American foreign policy but much more nuance, and often-quite positive, attitudes toward American society and culture and toward the American people” (Tessler, 2003). This confirms what Americans visiting the Arabic world often hear in one-on-one conversations “When you return to the US, give my love to the American people and tell your president to go to hell!” Tessler, 2003).

A Zogby poll conducted in spring 2002 confirm this notion and shows that “men and women in different age groups have favorable opinions about US education, US Freedom and Democracy, and US policy toward the Arabs”. More specifically, “it shows that while almost no respondents have a favorable attitude toward US policy, very substantial majorities have a positive view of US educational system and form of government” (Zogbi International, 2002)

Monem asserted this view, “ask anyone in Egypt what country they would like to visit, and they will probably say America.” Ask them what movie they would like to see and it will probably be an American film. Ask them what school they would like to attend and they will name an American university. They may disagree violently with American policies, but they don’t hate America. This is the paradox.” (Monem, 2002).

Makdisi, argues that “anti-Americanism is a recent phenomenon fueled by American foreign policy, not an epochal confrontation of civilizations. While there are certainly those in both the United States and the Arab world who believe in a clash of civilizations and who invest politically in such beliefs, history belies them” (Makdisi, 2002). Indeed, at the time of World War I the image of the United States in the Arab World was generally positive; the Arabs saw it as a great power that was not imperialist as Britain, France, and Russia were. Liberal America was not simply a slogan; it was a reality encountered and experienced by Arabs, Turks, Armenians, and Persians. But over the course of the twentieth century and especially after the cold war American policies toward the Arabs World profoundly changed their position from America (Makdisi, 2002).

Arab Anti-Americanism is not against American People or Culture

Arab hostility is primarily directed at specific US policies, not at America or the American people. I would say from my own experience that Arabs love America, the West, their people and culture. Americans and Europeans are very much welcomed in the Arab world. I myself worked with American, Swedish, Dutch and German companies in Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Jordan. There are

thousands of American working and touring the Arab World and the majority of them enjoying living their, treated with respect and appreciation and have Arab close friends with rare personal harm before the US direct military interference in the area at the beginning of the 1990s.

It is no secret to the American Embassies that large numbers of Arabs wish to immigrate study or work in America. Most Arabs are tolerant to Christians, and as part of Islam believe and respect Christianity and Judaism.

The **Zogby poll** shows favorable attitudes were expressed by substantial numbers of Arab respondents when asked not only about American education and freedom but also about American science, American movies and television, and the American people in general. By contrast, judgments about virtually all aspects of US Middle East policy were judged very unfavorably. This means that antipathy toward the America does not flow from cultural dissonance; “it is based not on who Americans are perceived to be but on what they are perceived to do” (Zoghbi International, 2002)

Khori argues that: “the rising anti-Americanism is driven almost exclusively by cumulative frustration and anger with the substance and style of American foreign policy in the area, and not by any imagined opposition to basic American values of freedom, democracy, equality and tolerance” (Khori, 2002).

Jane Perlez, argues that “anger at the United States, embedded in the belief the Bush administration lends unstinting support to Israel at the expense of the Palestinians, is at an unparalleled high across the Arab world, according to analysts and diplomats in the region” (Perlez, 2002).

While some have claimed that “anti-Americanism” stems primarily from misinformation from local media and distorted Hollywood images of American values, the core problem results from specific US foreign policies. “Arabs and Muslims are profoundly angered by three policies in particular: a bias toward Israel in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; the US-led sanctions and war against Iraq and Washington’s consistent support for authoritarian regimes friendly to US interests”(Shehata, 2002). **Shehata** argues that Anti-Americanism is “not primarily about American culture or values (what the United States is), but about the way the United States conducts itself in the region and the world (what the United States does). He added “Arab perceptions of America have become more negative as a result of the US war on Iraq, Washington’s almost total support for Ariel Sharon, new policies directed at Arab and Muslim immigrants and visitors to the United States” (Shehata, 2002).

Indeed the vast majority of Arabs and Muslims do not hate America, per se. “Any statement to the contrary is a myth, which only serves to perpetuate the dangerous, false “Islam-as-the-enemy” doctrine promoted by some self-styled experts on Islam. In

fact, a great many Muslims and Arabs would cherish the opportunity to immigrate to the United States and enjoy the political, religious, economic, and educational freedoms that many of us take for granted” (. Abdelkarim, 2002)

Conclusion

Anti-American sentiment is a new phenomenon in the Arab World and became one of the realities of US- Arab relations and a major concern for both sides. There are however, different views and explanation regarding the roots and causes of this phenomenon. Some Americans believe that the Arabs hate America because of their jealousy of US progress, culture and democracy, religion or a syndrome of what some call the “clash of civilization”.

The paper tried to show that widespread Arab anger at America is based, not on long-standing hatred of Americans’ values, religion or culture, but on recent American policies and actions in the region. Among the reasons given for this phenomena are first: US political, economic and military support for Israel that enabled it to defeat and humiliate the Arabs. Second, US military attacks and sanctions against some Arab countries, US occupation of Iraq and its military bases in some Arab countries. Third US support for some undemocratic Arabs regimes and its campaign against Islam and discrimination policies against its Arab and Muslim citizens. Anti-Americanism in other words is not civilizationally rooted nor does it stem primarily from Islamic philosophy or teachings rather it is resulted from certain hostile American policies and actions against the Arab World.

The mass disappointment and frustration that plague the majority of the Arab peoples as a result of the continuation of the status quo represented in the Israeli occupation, American hostile actions and absence of democracy, continue to foment an environment that is conducive to extremism and terror that we might see more of it directed against American, Israel and some Arab regimes. Many Arabs see US economic, political and military aid to some Arab countries as US effort to enable the some friendly undemocratic regimes to suppress their people and it was never intended to serve the Palestinians’ problem or to improve the social and economic well being of people.

The paper revealed that Arab sentiments are neither fixed nor static or are they irrational. Arab attitudes of anti-Americanism are primarily a result of US policies toward the Arab World and if those policies change so will Arab perceptions and attitudes.

It suggests that solving the Arab Israeli conflict, Ending US occupation to Iraq, and its military bases in the Arab World, ending its military support to some Arab authoritarian regimes and pressing for

democratization in the Arab World would stop anti-Americanism among the Arabs.

The paper has attempted to analyze the causes of Arab negative attitudes toward the United States, and it is written in the belief that similar attempts

must be made to help explain the United States policies and positions to the Arab world. To do so in any meaningful way, however, requires that both Arabs and Americans to sit down and work together to solve the outstanding issues.

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