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البحوث المنشورة تعبر عن آراء أصحابها وليس بالضرورة عن رأي المجلة

قواعد النشر

- لغة المجلة هي اللغة العربية والانكليزية على أن يراعى الوضوح وسلامة النص.
- ترحب المجلة بنشر البحوث والدراسات السياسية النظرية والتطبيقية ولا سيما التي تجعل من قضايا المنطقة والعالم محط اهتمامها، ماضياً وحاضراً ومستقبلاً، وعلى وفق الآتي:
 1. أن لا يزيد عدد صفحات البحث أو الدراسة عن (15) صفحة مطبوعة بحجم خط (14) والتباعد (1,15) ونوع الخط Simplified Arabic تقدم عبر المنصة الاليكترونية للمجلة على الرابط :
<https://pissue.iq/index.php/pissue/about/submissions>
 2. أن تتصف البحوث والدراسات بالموضوعية والدقة العلمية.
 3. أن تعتمد الترتيم العشري للعناوين الأساسية والفرعية او التصنيف المعياري العام.
 4. يرفق مع كل بحث او دراسة ملخصين (احدهما باللغة العربية والآخر باللغة الانكليزية/ يتضمن اهداف البحث ، المنهج والمعالجة ، ابرز النتائج واهم الاستنتاجات والمقترحات) مع ضرورة مراعاة ان الملخص مختلف اختلافا جذريا عن المقدمة وليس تكرارا لها .
 5. تخضع جميع البحوث المقبولة للنشر الى نظام الاستلال الالكتروني في كلية العلوم السياسية -جامعة النهرين.
 6. يرفق مع كل بحث ودراسة سيرة ذاتية مختصرة للباحث وتعهده .
- تقوم المجلة بإخطار الباحثين بإجازة بحوثهم أو دراساتهم من عدمها بعد عرضها على محكمين تختارهم على نحو سري من بين أصحاب الاختصاص.

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- يجوز للمجلة أن تطلب إجراء تعديلات شكلية أو شاملة على البحث أو الدراسة قبل إجازتها للنشر بما يتماشى مع أهدافها.
- البحوث المنشورة تعبر عن آراء أصحابها ، ولا تعبر عن رأي المجلة .
- ترحب المجلة بالمناقشات الموضوعية لما ينشر فيها أو في غيرها من الدوريات وبأية ردود فكرية أو تصويب، وكذلك ترحب بنشر التقارير عن المؤتمرات والندوات ذات العلاقة ومراجعات الكتب وملخصات الرسائل الجامعية التي تتم إجازتها على أن تكون من إعداد أصحابها.

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Subject Review[∇]

In Criticism of The Occupation and Global Imperialism

الإمبريالية الأمريكية الجديدة وأوروبا القديمة: منشور في مجلة الدراسات الفلسطينية المجلد 14، العدد 56، خريف 2003، ص139، مؤسسة الدراسات الفلسطينية، متاح على الرابط:

<https://www.palestine-studies.org/ar/node/35448>

الكاتب: ليون هدار، زميل باحث في دراسات السياسة الخارجية في مؤسسة كاتو بواشنطن العاصمة

Reviewed by :Dr. Omar Saadi Salim Al-Musawi*

The book entitled "Brown Skin, White Masks" by the Iranian-American thinker "Hamid Dabbashi" which exposed the Orientalist narrative of European colonialism in Africa, is one of the most important critical books on American imperialism. This book had adapted the theory of Frantz Fanon.

The author "Dabbashi" argues that contemporary Western discourse, since the end of the Cold War, has undergone a systematic reproduction of the image of the "other" in a new form. In this new form, the former ideological enemy has been replaced by an alternative civilizational adversary, and according to this view, communism no longer represents the central threat to the Western order; rather, Islam has been presented as the new danger to Western values and ideals.

Further, "Dabbashi" contends that this discursive shift was founded on an intellectual basis paved by the writings of Bernard Lewis, who portrayed Islam as a civilizational entity and antithetical to the West and a constant source of threat. Then, this perspective was reinforced by the theses of Francis Fukuyama in "The End of History" and Samuel Huntington in "The Clash of Civilizations" which contributed to shaping the narrative of the new world order and justifying its conflictual dichotomies. "Dabbashi" asserts that the creation of this image was not merely the product of external Western discourse, but was also reinforced by actors from within Islamic societies, through the "local informant" or "comprador"* intellectual" who played the role of cultural mediator in reproducing the fear of Islam.

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* *The Comprador Intellectual: He is that cultural broker who works for a ten percent commission paid to him to facilitate cultural hegemony and political appeasement in service of the colonizer through the intellectual, literary and cultural output he presents.*

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The "local informant" is regarded as one of the active elements in the neoconservative ideology. The writer introduces him as that intellectual or writer who grew up in Iran, Lebanon or Iraq and presents himself / herself as an expert on the affairs of Eastern society or as an expert on the affairs of his / her society, but in reality he/ she reproduces Western Orientalist narratives, which facilitates the American-European occupation and their interventions in the Eastern "Arab and Islamic" world. Examples of this include Kanan Makiya, Azar Nafisi, Salman Rushdie...and others.

These local informants, as it is noteworthy, and who present themselves as opponents of the regimes in their home countries, actively contribute to justifying American imperialist interventions in their countries, portraying them as liberators and saviors. In other words, the local informant is the modern extension of the colonized individual who has attempted to identify with the colonizer, as described by Frantz Fanon. Furthermore, this intellectual, who prioritizes serving the colonizer over liberation, experiences a state of schizophrenia and alienation*, as the colonizer forces him to adopt their culture, language, and behaviors at the expense of his own identity and origins. This creates a state of psychological conflict and internal alienation, resulting in a profound psychological tragedy. However, the difference between the two models lies in the fact that the contemporary version discussed by Dabbashi is more nuanced than Fanon's darker version.

The identification of elites and intellectuals in the Arab-Islamic world with Western modernist discourse has made them agents of cultural hegemony and tools of soft imperialism, believing in Western modernity as the sole path to renaissance. In reality, this behavior, employed by the local "intellectual" informant, is merely a reproduction of dependency. Geographically, by identity, and by their "brown" ethnicity, they belong to their countries, but in terms of methodology, thought, and behavior, they wear the "white" mask of Western imperialism.

* *Alienation: It is one of the concepts of sociology that has been addressed by a considerable number of thinkers such as Durkheim, Max Weber, Karl Marx, and others. It means (a person's feeling of separation and alienation from reality, himself, and his thoughts, which puts him in a state of social isolation, so he looks for a group that resembles him, usually a minority).*

In this context, Azar Nafisi, in her novel (Reading Lolita in Tehran), paved the way for a state of rebellion and alienation aimed at undermining Islamic culture and society. Similarly, Salman Rushdie, author of (The Satanic Verses), became a tool for promoting Islamophobia, sowing doubt and trivializing Islam and Muslims, all to advance neoliberal political and cultural elites in Muslim societies. Furthermore, Kanan Makiya played a role as a local-international informant who defended and supported the 2003 American occupation of Iraq .as a moral necessity to liberate the country from Ba'athist tyranny, when in reality he was merely a tool for promoting the United States and the occupation.

Thus, American-Western imperialism reverted to viewing Muslims and Arabs as demons and enemies of the white Christian. This, in turn, produced a strategic vision for confronting Islam, exemplified by the book "The Clash of Civilizations," which posited a conflict between Islamic and Christian civilizations, with Arabs and Muslims becoming the new demons after 9/11/2001. This prompted expatriate Muslim intellectuals to seize the opportunity to promote their ideas, arguing that these societies were not constitutionally disintegrating and needed intervention to liberate themselves. This is evident in the writings of "Kanan Makiya" and "Fouad Ajami" during the period of American preparations for the invasion of Iraq.

As for the comprador intellectual—that intellectual of Islamic origin—he came to America to study or work, then decided to sell his wares to his audience, according to what they wanted to hear. This is why names like the Iraqi Kanan Makiya, the Lebanese Fouad Ajami, the Indian Salman Rushdie, and the Iranian Azar Nafisi emerged.

These compradors are like mercenary armies that the empire mobilizes to fight in its wars. The empire needs to destroy all local groups and cultures that might become potential sites of resistance to its ideology. They are corrupt brokers and rootless homeless people created by the American empire as thinkers without homelands to be the cultural arm of the American Blackwater Corporation.

The era of George W. Bush unveiled the true nature of humanity, revealing a darker complexion that had been used to justify American global dominance by exploiting the notion that the rest of humanity was merely raw material—"clay to be molded by the potter"—which is, in essence, American imperialism. This is precisely what Frantz Fanon understood when he said that the white man created the black man, who is almost a puppet in his hands. Even the idealized black man is a product of

the European white man, educated and cultured in Europe. He is a reflection of Enlightenment ideals, not a real person with his own identity, history, and civilization. This has led to an internal conflict, as he doesn't understand his own race or ethnicity. Consequently, the fate of the black man has become dependent on the white man, who shapes his consciousness, personality, and destiny.

It is worth noting that "Hamid Dabbashi's" metaphor of the conflict of opposing dualities between the internal and the external "imperialist-American" is the same opposing duality that Frantz Fanon spoke of: black/white, colonized/colonizer, marginal/central, and master/slave... This opposing duality is to address a social problem through which the extent of the violation of human rights stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be demonstrated, especially in its first article: (All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights...).

This colonialism has entrenched the duality of contradiction within societies and deepened the images of human rights violations, which in turn produced the comprador intellectual and the local informant who emerged during the American occupation of Iraq in 2003 and their brutal practices against the prisoners of "Abu Ghraib" with the help of the American military intelligence, to highlight the intellectual's betrayal of his society and homeland and the imperialist occupation's violation of human dignity and rights.

The neoconservatives, led by George W. Bush, focused on creating an empire without hegemony, as they focused on occupying peoples under the pretext of the "war on terror," "spreading democracy," and "Islamophobia," relying on the betrayal of the intellectual. The novel "Lolita in Tehran" was the main propaganda tool of the Bush administration during its war on Iraq and Afghanistan, thus achieving several results, the most prominent of which was distorting the culture of resistance and the "revolutionary spirit" of Islamic societies.

Reading literature and language cannot be disregarded and considered merely a tool for communication; they are integral to a society's identity, history, and civilization. Therefore, the colonizer's focus on targeting the colonized's language aims to sever them from their history. This is what European occupation did to Black Africans, and similarly, the study of English literature by Indians facilitated British rule during their occupation of India, as exemplified by Macaulay, who was Indian in blood and color, yet English in taste, opinions, vocabulary, and thought.

Thus, language and literature are effective strategic weapons of European colonial control, as well as in American imperialism. The American occupation of Iraq deliberately severed society from its history and shared heritage, focusing on the concept of "components" that undermined the Iraqi state and its identity. To this end, fluency in English became the defining characteristic of an intellectual, granting them the right to speak out and express opinions.

Accordingly, literature appears as a player in marketing this empire, and the new generation of compradors and local informants rise up in this task to serve this ideological construction of American imperial hegemony. Since 9/11/2001, their mission has focused on pretending to be responsible, authentic, knowledgeable about local affairs, and highlighting the brutality within their societies in order to justify the American occupation and promote the idea that American imperialism is nothing but a liberator. An example of this is the support of "Azar Nafisi – Kanan Makiya" for the United States of America project and its marketing and promotion through literature and media.

These informants have succeeded in creating a self-hating, alienated Muslim, showcasing the character of "Ibn al-Warraq" a fictional character about whom we know nothing except articles, research, and books published as a Pakistani Muslim living in the West, hiding for fear of his life from other Muslims. This fantasy of "Ibn al-Warraq" as a Muslim criticizing Islam is nothing but a soft tool of American imperialist psychological operations/soft war against Islam. It is merely a fictional character created by a group of literary content creators linked to the CIA, whose mission is to undermine Islamic ideology and create a state of identity loss within the Muslim community.

To confirm what was mentioned about "Ibn al-Warraq" being a fictitious character, in his first book in 1995 (Why I Am Not a Muslim) he points to a great contradiction in thought, as he says: "I was born a Muslim in a Muslim country that does not speak Arabic, yet I learned to read the Qur'an in Arabic without understanding any word of it, and I still do not master the Arabic language." Then he published a book entitled The Origins of the Qur'an, then the book (Searching for the Historical Muhammad). My question is, how can a researcher who does not understand Arabic write volumes whose primary reference is in the depths of Arabic books, especially the Qur'an and Sunnah?

In conclusion, we note that the critique of occupation and imperialism provides us with a realistic account of two approaches. The first is known as the intellectual in exile, represented by the writings of Edward Said and Hamid Dabbashi. The other is the local informant, who became the propaganda tool for marketing the imperial empire, represented by Azar Nafisi and Ibn al-Warraq, and many others. The local informant has become the most important figure in the world because of the clear services he provides to distort the reputation, culture, and spirit of Islam and to provide the necessary justifications for the American occupation of Afghanistan, Iraq, and Palestine.

Moreover, this laboratory opens the door wide to a new reading of the reality of the occupation and an explanation of its role in dismantling society and stripping it of its cultural identity by striking at religion, language, literature and morals, and an explanation that imperialism is nothing but a tool to implement the “clash of civilizations” project, and that there is only one civilization, which is American liberalism, and that the occupation did not end in military war but was reproduced through literature, art, language, universities and research centers.

Thus, the occupation has made countries live in a state of conflict between their national identity and the desire to identify with the imperialist-American culture. This is what happened with the Iraqi youth. The American occupation affected many of the values of society and national identity until the citizen began to live in a state of alienation, which resulted in: youth emigration during 2015 and internal alienation that exploded in the October protests of 2019, which represented the real absence of Iraqi national identity among most of the youth and a fragile crack in the structure of society, which can be observed through the chants of the youth in the protests: (In the name of religion, the thieves stole us), (Today the hair is talking, leave your headscarf for the drummers)... These examples of chants represent a state of rebellion against the constants and social values of Iraq and a clear embrace of American imperialist values and standards.

From the above, we have reviewed this article and provided a deep analysis in understanding occupation and how its role continues to influence indirect ways. Even if the colonized country achieves its independence, the influence of imperialism and its role in stripping away identity and enhancing the fragility of society will be through the media, civil society organizations, education... among the soft means known as Soft War or psychological operations.

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