

The Ideological Employment of Political Islam in the Middle East Region Islamophobia as a Determinant of American Strategy in the Middle East

التوظيف الأيديولوجي للإسلام السياسي في منطقة الشرق الأوسط الإسلاموفوبيا كمحدد للاستراتيجية الأمريكية في الشرق الأوسط

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Abstract: This research examines the extent of the impact of the September 11 events in the United States in 2001 on Islamic political movements in the Middle East. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of the Cold War, and the rise of the United States, the United States needed to create an imaginary enemy to show its power, so the incident was the Twin Towers incident. It is recognized that the Middle East has been a melting pot of cultures for centuries. If we talk in this study about these events and their manifestations, then these events have been and still represent one of the points in history where several international and national assumptions and beliefs, especially security, political, social, cultural...etc. , The research problem is discussed based on: the impact of the September 11 events on the international community and the Arab and Islamic world, including the Islamic Movement Politics of the Middle East region, both at the internal and external levels, Islamic movements in the Middle East ultimately faces three scenarios: decline, stability, and greater presence.

Keywords: September 11 2001 events- United States- Islamic political movement- Middle East- International community- Terrorism .

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Introduction

We started our vision from two premises: Firstly, we consider that correcting the images that have crystallized in the Western media and culture about Arabs and Muslims is not a simple matter, and reactions related to specific occasions and events are not useful, because the war of images is today part of the comprehensive war existing in the world. Our era has been characterized by its use, in times of continuous wars, of various means that enable it to defeat and defeat the enemy, and the war of imagined, composite, and fabricated images is part of these means.

In the second, we consider that the battle to correct contradictory and mixed images is considered, in its beginning and foundation, as a subjective battle, a battle that concerns us first and foremost, without this necessarily meaning that we diminish the importance of the external actor, whom we reduce to the abstract and general formula (the other) and associate with the West and the United States of America. As we synonymies it in our political verses with imperialism, colonialism, and global Zionism... We believe that our contemporary conflict with the West has not stopped and that, in depth, it is a historical conflict driven by historical interests and goals that are Subject to control, understanding, and reason. But in this context, we want to emphasize the importance of our internal battle, our battle with ourselves, which is the battle that represents our attempt to achieve reconciliation processes with the world that frames and conditions our national and regional existence and our belonging to the world.

Let us diagnose the matter in the form of examples that define the nature of this battle, which the repercussions of September 11 brought back to the forefront. The matter is related to our historical destiny in the contemporary world. Before and after the aforementioned events, we have not completed the battle of understanding the logic of contemporary times, the logic of modernity and modernization, which is the logic that gives us the competence of equal dialogue with others. This completion will only be achieved by supporting the efforts that Arab thought has been making as it strives to establish, localize and disseminate modern knowledge.

Modernity has faded in some countries of the Islamic world, not because of the inability of Islamic peoples to absorb modernity, but rather because of wrong policies for which Western countries bear partial responsibility. The other part of the responsibility is borne by the leaders who took over the affairs of the countries that emerged from colonialism in the middle of the twentieth century. Rather, the events of September 11 were a leap into the void on the part of those who prepared and implemented them, because the fundamentalist project had reached a dead end. During more than twenty years of the growth of Islamic fundamentalism, experiences have shown us that they have failed in their programs despite the support they received from masses of true believers who were despairing of the failures that the Islamic peoples reaped in the battles for development, independence, and democracy.

On the contrary, the events of September 11 should prompt us to take a closer look at our relations with a world that is increasingly becoming united, so that we can strengthen our position in it.

It is not easy to approach what has happened and is happening in the world since the major incident that befell the United States of America years ago, and it is also not easy to synthesize the facts and repercussions that have occurred in America and in the world. since that date. Perhaps today, at the beginning of the third millennium, we are living in manifestations of a new global war with mechanisms and methods of military action that differ from the familiar historical models. For this reason, in this attempt, we will limit ourselves to stopping at what we might call the existing and declared war of images. Since the aforementioned event, the Western media has worked to crystallize and install stereotypes of a supposed enemy, and these stereotypes have been circulated and used to confront the world.

The United States of America, after the events of September 11, has all the right because it has all the power, and the entire world is incapable of expressing another opinion, just as it is incapable of confronting the American oppressor. The world began to seem as if it had no history, no philosophy, and no cultural balance. He called on thinkers, philosophers, and intellectuals, along with all the oppressed, to return to their moral and ethical standing in order to establish a moral revolution that protects the world from the unique, brutal American oppressor.

Because of these transformations that occurred after September 11, we present the nature of the impact of these events and their repercussions on the Islamic movement in the Middle East, and the challenges that these repercussions imposed on the Islamic movement itself internally and externally.

1. The problem of the study:

The problem of the study in light of the above revolves around the following main question: What is the extent of the impact of the events of September 11 on the Islamic movement in the Middle East?

The following sub-questions branch out from the main problem:

- What is the essence of the internal and external repercussions of the events of September 11 on the Islamic movement in the Middle East?
- To what extent have the effects of the events of September 11 on the Islamic movement in the Middle East?
- What was the future vision of the Middle Eastern Islamic movement after the events of September 11?

2. Importance of studying:

The importance of this research lies in trying to identify the most important internal and external repercussions of the events of September 11 on the Islamic movement in the Middle East region, which has become the focus of interest for many researches and studies. The importance of the research also lies in determining the future vision of the repercussions of the events of September 11 on the Islamic movement in the Middle East region.

3.Objectives of the study:

This research aims to shed light on the internal and external repercussions of the events of September 11 on the Islamic movement in the Middle East region, by talking about the repercussions of these events on the Islamic movements in the Middle East, and on the Arab and Islamic system as a whole.

4. Study methodology:

To answer the previous problem, we relied on the descriptive approach by trying to describe the correlation between the events of September 11 and the Islamic movement as a whole, in addition to the analytical approach to analyze the most important of these repercussions on the Middle East region.

Firstly: The nature of the impact of the events of September 11 on the international system:

The events of September 11, with the rapid global transformations and influential strategic changes they imposed, affected the foundations of the international community that were stabilized after World War II (perhaps including what is called international legitimacy and its organizations: such as the United Nations, and others)... They, in return, had their influences on Islamic movements of all kinds. (The peaceful ones and the violent ones, the advocacy ones and the kinetic ones; the resistive ones and the non-resistant ones)¹.

We can consider these attacks as a watershed and an international historical landmark that had a major impact on the international community and the Arab and Islamic worlds, especially political Islam movements, and changed the features of the international system before September 11. In order to arrive at scientific facts, even relative ones, we can emphasize the most prominent features of the reality of the international community after the events of September 11, as follows:

1 . Reorganization of autonomy at the global level:

The existence of political authority is considered an essential pillar of the existence of the political state, characterized by the quality of autonomy, which establishes the state with an original and supreme legal authority and imposes its dominance in this capacity over all individuals and bodies.² These events clearly demonstrated the extent to which governments have lost their ability to control their absolute autonomy. The international system's interference and infringement on the autonomy of many countries is in order to support democracy and freedoms. Hence, the goal of the current international system is to eliminate the strongholds of the authoritarian regime and transform countries into a democratic political system³.

After the events of September 11, the system of government in terms of the state's supreme and exclusive authority over its territories has become an issue that cannot be applied in practice, as no amount of institution building and legislation issued by the state alone allows this state to be able to extend its absolute control over the areas under its control, and as a result it has become clear that the next stage includes the following facts⁴:

1- The state, in exercising its autonomy, has become the subject of great external pressure in the form of international law, towards placing restrictions on the state in its behavior, and all laws must be consistent with international law.

2- There has been a major change in the concept of the state's power towards its citizens, and it has moved from the power of coercion to the power of legitimacy.

3- Sovereignty has become more of a responsibility than a tool for control, and there is a major trend that has begun to emerge, which is that the nation-state is the one that is distinguished by its efficiency and legitimacy.

4- Interference in state affairs has become justified under the guise of intervention for humanitarian purposes, which forces the state to submit to foreign intervention in the form of human rights activists and international observers.

2. The spread of globalization and its mechanisms:

Globalization in its political and cultural concept differs from globalization in its media and economic concept. The first is related to democracy, human rights, national identity, and the totality of values, customs and traditions. Meaning, it is globalization that touches people with what was positive before it and what was negative that they rejected. While the second is dictatorial globalization par excellence; For this reason, many opponents of globalization appeared between late November and early December 1999 because this summit was attended by representatives of 135 countries that wanted to globalize trade more than the Marrakesh Agreement of 1994, but the events of September 11, 2001 came to weaken the anti-globalization movement and strengthen the globalization movement, but given the segments Representative of the opposition movement, the possibility of his return as soon as possible is very real⁵.

3 .The political changes that occurred in Arab-American relations:

The most important political changes that have occurred in Arab-American relations can be limited to the following elements:

1- Targeting some Arab and Islamic countries and organizations, which he described as "axis of evil" countries and accused them of supporting terrorism.

2- The emergence of some political movements within the United States of America, especially in Congress, which demanded the severing of economic relations with the Arabs, especially in the field of energy, and the search for other sources in Asia, while reconsidering and freezing American relations with some Arab countries⁶.

3- The activity of the Zionist lobby within the United States of America with the aim of increasing tension in Arab-American relations in favor of Israel, and pushing the American decision-making establishment towards expanding the scope of the war to include other Arab countries.

4- The events of September 11 were an opportunity for the far-right movement, which holds the reins of government in the United States of America, to implement steps for comprehensive global hegemony, even if by blatant force.

4. Crystallization of the idea of opposites:

These attacks produced new data and crystallized the idea of opposites (bad guys - good people). In his speech to Congress on September 20, 2001, US President George W. Bush announced that the world today is divided into two parts: a good

part and an evil part. As for the good part, it is the one that consists of the United States of America and the West in general (in addition to Israel). While the evil section is the one called Islamic terrorism, which includes countries, organizations, and individuals; The world must fight this enemy, as there is no other choice. Either with the West - that is, civilization and civilization - or with barbarism, backwardness and murder - which is represented in the Islamic world -. All this means that the conflict between the West and the Islamic world seems to be the title of the next stage of the twenty-first century.

5. The right of legitimate defense:

After the Security Council unanimously issued on September 12, 2001, Regulation No. 1368, which considers that the killing of 6,000 people by blowing up civilian aircraft is no longer a terrorist act, but rather a “real armed” aggression. This interpretation of the events of September 11 as acts of war has opened the door wide to justify the use of the right to The legitimate defense stipulated in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter⁷.

Due to the lack of an agreed upon definition of legitimate defense, states often resort to war under the pretext of legitimate defense. Perhaps the events of September 11 allowed us to enter the war on Iraq and Afghanistan and besiege many countries, especially Islamic countries, and even demand that they change their educational programs.

As a second example, the brutal Israeli aggression on the Gaza Strip at the end of September 2008; The Security Council moved with record effectiveness and speed to confront weak states and movements whenever the interests of major states required it. Especially the United States of America. For example, Resolution 1368 was adopted one day after the events of September 11, which gave light to this country to take the measures it deems appropriate within the framework of legitimate self-defense. He was unable to stop these aggressive operations that targeted children, women, mosques, schools and universities in Gaza. Despite widespread international condemnations and protests⁸.

Israel, with American support, has tried to promote that these operations fall within the legitimate right it exercises in the context of defending itself against the missiles used by the Hamas resistance movement, which bombard areas deep inside Israel. This is in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which states: “Nothing in this Charter shall weaken or abridge the natural right of States, individually or collectively, to defend themselves if an armed force attacks a member of the United Nations, Until the Security Council takes the necessary measures to preserve international peace and security⁹.”

This justification lacks any legal legitimacy. Rather, Israeli behavior is aggressive and unequivocally inconsistent with the content and objectives of the Charter. This is because the Charter frames the use of this right (legitimate defense) with a set of controls and conditions. So that it is not an excuse to intimidate countries, attack people, and achieve narrow interests.

6. Marginalization of the United Nations:

The marginalization of the United Nations in the declared war against terrorism came under the guise of the right to defend the American nation, freedom and democracy. The recent war proved that the first word in the world is not for this entity that planned to maintain international peace and security, but rather for the largest power in the world. The Security Council and its Secretary-General no longer have an important role in reducing international conflicts other than being a coordinator of some committees and a delegate of the Council to attend international forums¹⁰.

The killing and blatant aggression that Palestinians have been exposed to in Gaza since the end of 2008; It sharply questions the credibility of international institutions in general; At its forefront is the United Nations Security Council, as it is supposedly responsible for maintaining international peace and security

7. Changing the goals of wars:

The goals of wars changed from imposing ideologies to imposing civilizations in fulfillment of Samuel Huntington's prophecy, and the use of unconventional weapons for these wars: the economic weapon - the technology weapon - the media weapon and the weapon of political pressure...

After September 11, 2001, everyone can prove that there is a great danger that began to emerge and appear mainly because of the denial of the other, the arbitrary and unjust inverse designation of: "the new enemy," which coincided with Islam¹¹.

Mutual ignorance leads to increased risks that pose a "clash of cultures", since at the heart of the cycles and cycles of decision-making in the West, the concentration and power of all its forms create policies that harm peace¹².

With the development of international relations and the balance between nations on the other hand; Modernity is an excuse for presence in the form of a sudden external attack¹³.

Secondly: Internal repercussions of the events of September 11 on the Islamic movement:

Talking about Islamic movements after the events of September 11, 2001, which took place in the United States of America, extends to include an area of history; It also does not stop at the borders of geography, but rather goes beyond them. It is a talk about the past as well as a talk about the future, a talk about the self as well as a talk about the subject and the other.¹⁴.

It includes a complex and complex issue and does not require improvisation, opinions, preconceived positions, and general judgments without providing convincing evidence for them. It is a talk of the past, reality, development, work methods and the future.

The term Islamic terrorism was the main headline of the American administration after the attacks occurred, and this is in addition to its behavior and successes in the Middle East region. However, it is also correct to say about the repercussions of these events on the Islamic movement, whether in its relations with its societies or its relations with the world.

Thirdly: Negative repercussions: the most important of which can be summarized in the following:

3.1 The problem of defining and classifying Islamic movements:

As a result of the misunderstanding and confusion that imposed itself after the September 11 attacks on most parts of the world, especially in the West, it led to the emergence of widespread confusion and great ambiguity in defining the term "Islamic movements." As a result, despite the large number of studies and articles that dealt with different aspects of these movements, and despite the many different contributions to that treatment, each took its own approach in naming and classifying the components of these multiple movements.

This led to the conceptual dictionary of Islamic movements after the September 11 attacks being in a state of methodological and cognitive chaos and miscalculation. In Arabic writings we find: Salafist, fundamentalist, terrorist, extremist, Islamist, extremist...etc. The problem increases in foreign languages, such as French and English, which contain another huge arsenal of terms and classifications.

It is also clear that what lies behind these classifications and the evaluative options for their topics is ambiguous through the extensive use of many concepts with different connotations in close places. This is also the case with concepts such as: Islamic or Islamist movements, fundamentalism, Salafism, Islamic radicalism, political Islam, etc, which suggests that they have the same meanings, but this is not entirely the case.

3.2. Marginalizing Islamic movements and restricting their activities:

The marginalization and restrictions on Islamic movements following the events of September 11 is a major feature that governs most of these movements.

The state of siege and subordination imposed by the state on Islamic movements has become a characteristic of the present of these movements, and has reached the point of using the media and security methods of prosecution against them to distort their image, obscure their goals, and Attempt to eliminate them or limit their activity witch weakened its ability to move among the masses.

3.3. Arrests and persecution of leaders and activists of Islamic movements:

Due to external dictates, we find that most Middle Eastern countries have become increasingly restrictive of Islamic movements. After the September 1 attacks, they dared to bargain with members and affiliates of Islamic movements in terms of rights, such as stripping them of citizenship; And explicit bureaucracy in obtaining the most basic documents, such as a passport, and even bargaining among the families of the members of these movements.

In Egypt, for example, these arrests and confrontations took place at a time when the security services were encouraging political repentance or a broad intellectual review carried out by the leaders of the extremist Islamic Group, and the matter ended with the release of about three thousand of them in September and October 2003, which raised questions for observers. How seriously the political system deals with influential Islamic movements in the arena¹⁵.

3.4. Changing the names of Islamic movements when requesting a license for activity:

Some movements decided to change their names, considering that the name is an external appearance, and changing it does not affect the content. Giving up the name does not mean giving up the method. In addition, some governments stipulated that the movement's name be changed when requesting a license for public political action.

This is despite the importance of the name that expresses the approach of the Islamic movement's political plan, but these movements have no escape from the conditional response due to the priority of political and advocacy work for these movements.

3.5. The defeatism that appeared in the Islamic movements:

We mentioned that the Islamic movements that responded to the demand to change the name remained in the political arena, while those that did not change their name chose either isolation and distancing themselves from the environment in which they live, or control over the largest part of their surroundings, or adapting to the pressures of the environment to continue political work.

There are defeatists who have seen the phenomenon of flight or reluctance to hold positions and the migration from political work under the pretext of futility, and they have not hope of reforming society except in restoring the Islamic Caliphate.

3.6. Non-recognition of some Islamic movements:

Some countries still refuse to officially recognize the activity of some Islamic movements, even though it is self-effective to participate in the political game. In Egypt, for example, political forces and groups of an Islamic nature are still deprived of the right to have a public and legal party, thus blocking their legitimacy, which contributes to the lack of development of Egyptian political life¹⁶.

3.7. Preventing Islamists from coming to power:

The idea of sharing power by any political group that accepts the principles of the political game is a legitimate requirement, and the arrival of Islamists to power is also natural, but depriving them of access to power through multiple means was a crime against legitimacy, against the desire of the people, and against the principles of the law.

But this deprivation took root after the September 11 attacks, and it can be prevented by all means, including coercion, suppression, prevention, torture, prisons, black propaganda...etc. However, the signs of detente are what allow the Islamists to participate in power, although this permission is not innocent, but rather a conspiracy to implicate them and weaken their power¹⁷.

Fourthly: Positive repercussions:

- Islamic movements gain new members in their ranks:

The national situation constituted an impetus for both Islamic and nationalist movements - as a result of these events - to move to confront these hostile plans, as well as the international situation and the uniqueness of the American pole in dominating the world. The United States' commitment to the Zionist settlement

expansionist project constituted a strong motivation for the Islamic movements to gain new members and push them into the field of political action for the sake of the Islamic project against the goals of the Western administration and the attempt to obliterate the Islamic personality¹⁸.

- Islamists won the elections in Bahrain, Pakistan, Al-Aqsa Morocco, and Turkey:

In less than two months during the year 2002/2003, the Islamic movements achieved a landslide to moderate victory in the parliamentary elections¹⁹.

It was surprising that the images were reversed if the elections held in more than one Arab or Muslim country reflected significant progress for the Islamists.

* Bahraini Islamists obtained nearly half in the new parliament (19 seats out of 40), distributed as follows:

Among their Sunnis and Shiites (12 and 7), respectively, in addition to these are a group of independents whose seats reached 18; While the Liberals only won three seats.

* As for Pakistan, the coalition of Islamic parties has achieved remarkable progress that has qualified it to control some states, especially those adjacent to Afghanistan, where some Americans' sympathy for the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, and Bin Laden is growing.

* In Al-Aqsa Morocco, the Islamists in the Justice and Development Party gave an eloquent lesson in calculated progress. They ran for office in 56 out of 91 constituencies, and yet they fielded 38 deputies to parliament, in addition to four women from the national list, bringing the total to 42, compared to 14 deputies in the previous council, which means Mathematically, an increase of 28 deposits, i.e. (200%).

* The most prominent victory within the 2002 legislation was the victory of Recep Tayyip Erdogan in the Turkish Justice and Development Party, where they dominated two-thirds of the seats in Parliament²⁰.

Sixtly : External repercussions of the events of September 11 on the Islamic movement:

The attacks of September 11, 2001 affected and had real repercussions on the Islamic movements, and created a kind of global crisis due to the United States of America's mobilization of global public opinion, considering that those who carried out the attacks belonged to the Islamic geographical area and to the Islamic faith or Islamic fundamentalism, as the West calls it.

Although the United States of America did not provide conclusive evidence and convincing evidence about the identity of those who carried out the attack, it pinned the charge on a group of Islamic extremists led by Bin Laden, the leader of Al-Qaeda.

As a result of these events, the Islamic world has become a direct party to them, which has had an impact on the Islamic world in general and the Islamic movements are struggling to gain power in particular, as they are trying to rid the Islamic world of Western hegemony, a matter whose repercussions may extend even into the future.

These events also had a very significant impact on the Islamic movement externally. These events represented a great opportunity for the United States to extend its pressure and influence on the Islamic world and undermine the Islamic movements. The most important external negative repercussions of these events can be summarized in the following manifestations:

6.1. Generalizing the label of violence and terrorism to all Islamic movements:

The events of September 11, 2001 helped the United States greatly to impose and market false terminology to the Western world in general thanks to the terrible media arsenal it possesses. From exploiting these events and attaching the concepts of violence and terrorism to all Islamic movements, even those that practice peaceful political work.

This generalization and lack of neutrality from the West is due to the policy of “prepared templates” by considering all Islamic movements as a single given without delving into the specifics and working to pin accusations on Islam, that it is a religion of violence and murder, and that Islamic movements carry the project of Islamizing societies by force. As a result of these events, these movements turned, in the eyes of the American administration, into terrorist organizations and the Islamic religion turned into a religion of violence and extremism (despite the primacy of this religion in the concepts: (peace, tolerance, and reconciliation).

In addition, the Western media coverage of the events was mostly characterized by a hostile tendency toward the countries of this region, given that most of the accused belong to this region, led by the main accused, “Osama bin Laden,” whom the media used to present as a “wealthy Saudi terrorist”²¹

This led to the wrong and subjective description of most Islamic movements, even peaceful ones that believe in the democratic political game.

6.2. The war on terrorism and political Islam movements:

After the events of September 11, 2001, the international media directed its attention towards the political movements described as “Islamic”, and during this critical period a kind of chaos occurred in analysis that led, in one way or another, to a lack of distinction between Islam as a religion and some sects that differed over the interpretation and application of Islamic law, which led to the spread of some concepts, the effects of which are still evident to this day, from a generalization used by a minority in the Western world towards the Islamic world that it constitutes a threat to the Western way of life and dealing.

The war on terrorism came to break the Islamists who had become a threat to the interests of the West and Israel. In the event that these Islamists come to power and control power, America's imposition of tightening its grip on this vital region of the world by controlling oil and its prices will be called into question²².

Therefore, some Islamic analysts believe that America has long been concerned with preventing this, and the facts of what happened in Iran - after the victory of its Islamic revolution - came to confirm these American fears - as with the fall of the Shah - its strategic ally, America lost all the privileges that its point companies had

there, and thus the loss of... Its trump card is in one of the most important strategic locations in the region... This Iranian scene has become a nightmare that haunts the Owners of major oil monopolies in the West. Therefore, work began in American decision-making circles so that what happened in Iran would not be repeated - at any cost - again.

It clearly appears that there is a war on Islam and Islamic movements led by Western governments and assisted in this by local governments, some cultural elites, and agents of Westernization against the Islamic movement on the pretext that it supports terrorism. The issue from an Islamic angle is that this war, called the "Global War against Terrorism," is in fact a pretext to attack Islam and the active Islamic and national forces in the region in order to pave the way for America to extend its influence and military prestige, and to free Israel's hand for economic hegemony. After it becomes - with America's support - part of the map of the (greater democratic) Middle East.

6.3. The Greater Middle East Project:

The Greater Middle East Project, with all its names, includes a changing geographical area and does not express a specific geographical scope. This project was created specifically to facilitate the integration of the Zionist entity into the region and to control its borders by Israeli security and American economic interests. It appears from many statements that the Islamic movement does not enjoy its natural and realistic position imposed by its strength and wide spread among the masses. The freedom and democracy that the project heralds will not reach them and they will not benefit from them despite their harmony with many of the chapters of this proposal from a theoretical standpoint. Rather, what is required of them in this project is to soften their discourse and ways of participating in social and political life in a way that is consistent with the backgrounds of the project and the conditions for its implementation, and on top of that is harmony With the governments of the countries in charge of the operation and with the existing secular regime, review their positions on the Israeli entity, deal positively with American policy, and abandon the idea of jihad once and for all²³.

6.4. Recognizing Israel's legitimacy to allow it to participate in power:

The Islamists' access to power or their participation in it is normal. It is not a criminal goal, but it is legitimate and acceptable. The Islamic movement can be considered the most expressive of people's feelings and interests, without of course having the right to monopolize Islam. Hence, his access to power is a noble goal. But the fundamental variable is that after the events of September 11, the factor of participation became linked to recognition of the legitimacy of Israel, and allowing Islamists to participate in power in those countries will not be acceptable or permitted by the United States unless there is a public or secret guarantee that these movements accept the legitimacy of Israel²⁴.

This conditional acceptance, while allowing it to attack Israeli oppression or demand withdrawal to the lands of...1967, etc., is of course immoral; Because we do not recognize the legitimacy of the State of Israel, its conflict with it, and supporting

the resistance is one of the most important foundations for the establishment and spread of the Islamic movement in the Middle East and the countries surrounding the Zionist entity in general, Especially the Palestinian Islamic movements, especially the Hamas movement, which won the elections in 2006; Perhaps this is a serious qualitative difference from the Islamists in Türkiye or the Maghreb.

6.5. Attacking resistance movements under the pretext of fighting terrorist organizations:

The Palestinian Islamic movements are among the most influential political movements and factions in the Middle East, as the reasons for this are multiple. On the one hand, it is part of the Arab and Islamic world, which has become the subject of accusation from the West in general and the United States of America in particular. On the other hand, most of the perpetrators of the September 11 attacks were affiliated with the Islamic Movement. On the other hand, these movements occupied different positions in the list of organizations that have a direct relationship with terrorism, according to American policy, to the same extent that could make these movements among the most important focus of challenge or threat to American leadership in the region. This may, of course, mean that it is the first opponent of American-Zionist policies in the Middle East²⁵.

6.6. The West is often silent about official violence (state violence) in Middle Eastern countries:

The West has always interfered in the internal affairs of Islamic countries. It supports division, strife, and often provoking disputes, under the pretext of spreading democracy, intervening for humanitarian purposes, protecting human rights, and the right of minorities to self-determination.

Anyone who follows the course of events following the September 11 attacks notices a double standard. As a result of these events and the security and media repercussions they caused, the Western world did not move to limit these violations that primarily affect human rights. In fact, the West's silence in many cases regarding official violence (state violence or authority violence) practiced by governments against opposition political movements, including the Islamic Movement, was the dominant position on the grounds that these governments apply the law in order to maintain order and security. While it is the one who separated the law and used it to serve its interests and enable it to remain in power²⁶.

Which indicates the existence of a kind of collusion and neglect on the part of these forces with the Arab and Middle Eastern regimes, given that the Islamic movement represents the real threat to both the Western powers externally and the Arab Islamic regimes internally.

6.7. The distortion of the image of Islam and the Islamic movement and the mobility of the world public opinion against them:

Following the events of September 11, the image of Islam was distorted among the official and popular West, all the peoples of the world, and among new generations in the Islamic world as a religion of murder, blood, hatred, and revenge.

Immediately after these attacks, the West worked, according to the conspiracy theory, to distort the image of these Islamists. These Islamic movements call for the rule of Islam as a law, a political law, and a way of life, while Islam is not suitable for this time and does not suit the era, according to their claim²⁷.

After the world reached this civilizational progress, it is no longer valid, and these movements use democracy and political pluralism only to achieve, and after their arrival, they do not allow pluralism. They say: "We fear the rule of Islam because it does not accept pluralism and only sees one opinion. As for the secularists, they are good; As for the democrats, they are successful; As for the Shiites, they are smart and geniuses; "As for the Muslims, we do not want them to rule or raise their voices." ²⁸.

Violence and terrorism have become associated with Islamic movements and they fight Western and democratic values.

The matter did not stop there, as they mobilized global public opinion and called on world leaders to meet to confront this (terrorism)²⁹. Rather, they impose on the international community the need to confront this act labeled as terrorism through the United Nations and relevant international organizations, while they did not direct any expression of blame or criticism at the open Zionist terrorism against the Arabs and against the people of Palestine in particular, rather they fabricate pretexts for the Zionist terrorist acts, and what is worse than that is that some Arab rulers are calling for mini-summits to be held to confront what they call (Palestinian and Arab) terrorism³⁰.

6.8. Deliberate confusion between the duality of jihadist movements and terrorist movements:

The first to be affected by Middle Eastern Islamic movements are the Palestinian Islamic movements. Most of the jihadi movements recognized by the enemy were considered an Islamic terrorist movement, in order to dilute the meaning of jihad, distort its sanctity, give it the name terrorism, and export it to all countries of the world, so that all acts of Resistance is called terrorism, even if it is in defense of the soul and the land. The great powers understood this new game and entered the line, and the word terrorism became the new danger that must be confronted in all forms.

This propaganda serves as a justification for daily crimes, injustice and arrogance against rebellious peoples and uprising movements with the aim of completely eliminating the word jihad.

An example of this is the inclusion of the Islamic Resistance Movement "Hamas" as a terrorist movement. After the events, Sharon seized the opportunity by asserting that Yasser Arafat resembles Bin Laden and that Hamas is Al-Qaeda. Likewise, what these movements are described as a result of the recent brutal war on Gaza, the "War of December 27, 2008," and the world watches the transitions of the Zionist occupation towards the peoples and Islamic movements in the position of spectators³¹.

This propaganda and rumor is intended to create a twin connection between jihadist and terrorist movements, making the Mujahid a terrorist and the homeland

defender an extremist. This led to distorting the lofty meanings of jihad, confusing the true mujahideen in the lands of jihad such as Palestine, Iraq and Lebanon, confusing the preachers and disrupting their activities by diverting your efforts and energy into unnecessary marginal debates.

6.9. The security, media and political siege of Islamic movements internationally:

It is certain that there is an American security, media and political war against the Islamic movements in the Middle East, given that America has sensed the danger of the Islamic movement in this region. The events of September 11 were a justification for the American attack on Islamic movements and specific Islamic countries. International Zionism and the Zionist entity behind it know very well that this is their opportunity to end Islamic work in general³².

Perhaps the determinants of the conspiracy and the neutralization of Islamic action can be identified in the following indicators:

- Pressure on Islamic governments to restrict Islamic movements and parties, especially in the context of dealing with external interactions with the aim of containing the events of September 11; Many observers expected that this would lead to a state of political tension within these countries, especially after the American accusations against many Islamic movements and associations that they are an indirect source of financing terrorist operations due to the “twin connection” between the Islamic movement and terrorism. This made the United States of America demand that the countries in which these movements and associations exist must monitor and blockade them, especially with regard to their sources of funding and their disbursements.

- Pressure on countries containing elements of Islamic movements abroad;
- Restrictions on most Islamic movements and their institutions and on Muslims in general in Western countries and at airports³³.

6.10. Domesticating Islamic movements after not eliminating them by force:

After the failure of the series of means directed by the United States of America to eliminate Islamic movements following the events of September 11, especially the use of military authority according to thinkers of the realist perspective such as:

Kenethwaltz, Raymond Aron, Hansmorgen, and Edward Hcar

The United States worked to domesticate the political Islam movement and its group and tried to restrict it and restrict its movement after it became clear that it could not be eliminated by security or armed force. Such as including him in power in preparation for signing other suspicious political deals to pass other American political projects in the region, most notably more pressure on the ruling Syrian regime as it is one of the old enemies of the Islamic movement in its country, and calm in the occupied Palestinian territories. As the most important facts of the Palestinian resistance are from the Islamic movement, “Jihad” and “ Hamas”... as well as an attempt to improve the security and political conditions facing the American forces in Iraq and Afghanistan and the Islamic parties’ support for the political process in both countries³⁴.

In general, these are the most important negative external repercussions that we saw negatively affected the Eastern or Middle Eastern Islamic movements following the events of September 11. No matter how severe these negative effects are, they do not lead to their disappearance from the political arena. , but they have left their effects on them, whether in the short or long term. However, the September attacks cannot be considered the only ones that negatively affected Middle Eastern Islamic movements. Rather, there are positive effects and repercussions, the most important of which we summarize in the following points:

- Islamic movements remain at the forefront:

Despite the many efforts made to cripple the Islamic movement - after the September attacks - nothing much was achieved. Rather, these movements remained in constant growth that did not allow them to be erased or eradicated.

Also, while it was able to impose itself as a basic social and political force, most of the elections were held in the Middle East, especially the resounding victory of the Hamas movement in the January 2006 elections, confirmed that it has the most acceptable program and the most ability, and thus to face the challenges. In addition, as a result of these events, the Islamic movement has become an expression of a natural, mass response rejecting the state of American-Zionist colonialism and hegemony, a path to a political agreement, and standing in the face of attempts to obliterate the Arab and Islamic national identity in favor of the Islamic project. This expresses a historical significance that the movement, despite the many problems it has known since its founding, was able to overcome many of them and turn them into an addition to its work agenda, but some of them require special attention and work to overcome them. .

The strength and popularity of Islamic movements have grown, riding the wave of democratic transformation and gaining exponential strength in various fields. Perhaps this Islamic progress is what prompted thinkers and decision-makers in the West to question the ability of the Arab peoples to democracy.

For others, the integration of religion and politics contradicts democratic civil rule. There is no doubt that the Islamic resurgence and the re-emergence of political Islam movements constituted a serious challenge to the ruling elites in most countries of the Arab world and the Middle East, which began to suffer from a clear lack of legitimacy. The elements of strength of Islamic movements are summarized in the popularity of their slogans on the one hand, and their entry and drive towards democratic openness on the other hand.

Conclusion

Based on the new reality after the events of September 11, the events of September 11, 2001 had negative effects on the performance, positions, and even the natural development of the moderate Middle Eastern Islamic movements, which called for peaceful struggle, democratic change of society, and dialogue instead of violence. Even the violent ones were affected, and the effect was mostly negative. However, there were bright aspects in this scenario that came from Islamic movements that believed in peaceful struggle and that reached positions of influence

and political action through elections and democracy, such as what happened in Turkey, Pakistan, Bahrain... etc. Accordingly, we arrived at a number of results, which we summarize as follows:

1- There is no doubt that the events of September 11, 2001 in the United States were the peak of the dramatic escalation of terrorism in the world. In the past, the world has witnessed many terrorist operations with multiple motives and objectives, but it has never witnessed an operation on the scale of the September operation and the destruction and material and human losses it caused, and the shift in the view of the major powers and the United States - in particular - towards terrorism and ways to confront and confront it.

2- After the events of September 11, state autonomy is no longer an absolute state right, as much as it has become an obligation in the form of international law and international pressure. Add to this the possibility of intervention under the pretext of humanitarian purposes.

3- The events of September 11 paved the way for America to manipulate the fate of humanity, and to mobilize great support to support it in its war on terrorism, which divided the world into an axis of evil and an axis of good, and whoever is not with its policy is with the axis of evil.

4- The world after the events of September has become more fearful and more insecure, not in specific geographical areas, but rather the virus of terrorism and violence has spread to include the entire world. The tragic events that humanity is going through now bear witness to the false and false claims of the policies of the capitalist countries controlling the world, led by America.

5- The results of the post-September events are clear in the war on Afghanistan and Iraq, and there is no doubt that the fall of the Taliban and the Baathist regime is a great gain for humanity, but not through those devastating wars that America imposed on the two countries, creating a terrible human tragedy against the population. On the contrary, US policies paved the way for the expansion of Al-Qaeda and its widespread terrorist activity in Iraq.

6- At the level of the Middle East, the events of September 11 led to the rise of Islamic movements and the decline of the forces of the leftist movement and secularists. They also contributed to the advancement of Islamic parties in a number of electoral processes and taking the reins of power, just as the Hamas movement arrived in Palestine and the religious tide took control of Arab societies, as happened with The Brotherhood movement in Egypt and the victory of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey...etc.

7- The events of September 11 led to the globalization of terrorism and its spread throughout the world, and even its spread in Western countries, which led to the escalation of right-wing and racist movements, and the increase of hatred and malice against foreign countries. communities, especially Arab and Islamic. In return, foreign youth were pushed to join Islamic terrorist movements and organizations and resort to violence, and the recent crisis surrounding the caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), and the recent statements of the Pope of the

Vatican that caused a great global uproar and the propaganda of the Crusades; Which created a large gap between the indigenous population and the Middle Eastern communities in those Western countries is one of the results of what happened after September 11. Public opinion in the Western street has been drawn into this hideous war and the spirit of racism has been strengthened under the banner of defending freedom of the press, media and opinion.

8- One of the results of the war against terrorism was that Western governmental authorities violated civil and personal rights, increased censorship and significant interference with individual privacy, pressure on activists of Islamic movements outside their countries, and pressure on the countries in which they are active, such as Syria, for example. Thus, many of the rights and gains that citizens obtained as a result of their long struggle were taken away.

9- We affirm that the "September events" were not the reason that sparked the fierce attack launched by Western media and political circles on Islamic work and on Islam and Muslims, but rather they were the moment that revealed the existence of these hostile feelings among influential sectors of European and American societies.

10- The proposals of Fukuyama and Huntington also contributed to distorting the image of moderate Islamic movements, as they made them live in a state of schizophrenia - in the words of Dhia Al-Moussawi - due to the policy of the war on terrorism, which imposed several future challenges on them.

11- There are negative internal repercussions on the Islamic movements, mainly represented in:

- Escalating a widespread and comprehensive arrest campaign of leaders of Islamic movements.
- Marginalizing and restricting Islamic movements.
- Preventing Islamists from coming to power.
- The defeatism that appeared among the Islamic movements.
- The war on terrorism is, in fact, a war on political Islam movements.
- The defeatism that appeared among the Islamic movements.

12- There are negative external repercussions on the Islamic movements, mainly represented in:

- The war on terrorism, which is actually a war on political Islam movements.
- Geeralizing the label of violence and terrorism to all Islamic movements.
- The West is often silent about official violence (state violence) in Middle Eastern countries.
- Distorting the image of Islam and the Islamic movement, and mobilizing world public opinion against them.
- Domesticating Islamic movements after it was not possible to eliminate them by force.
- The Greater Middle East Project, which requires it to adapt itself and soften its discourse and ways of participating in social and political life.

Margins:

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